Bozal Spanish: Restructuring or creolization?

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1. Introduction

Afro-Hispanic pidgin as spoken by bozales (African-born slaves who spoke Spanish only imperfectly) was by and large a transitory phenomenon, emerging in different guises in each Afro-Hispanic speech community and reconverging with native varieties of Spanish within a single generation. Claims to the effect that Afro-Caribbean bozal Spanish, particularly from 19th century Cuba, coalesced into a true creole are in large measure overstated, although creolization undoubtedly occurred in isolated slave barracks and maroon communities (Lipski 1998a). Contact with other Caribbean creole languages, spoken by workers imported from neighboring islands during the sugar plantation boom of the mid 19th century, also gave rise to hybrid sociolinguistics containing creoloid elements which could be confused with the results of true restructuring of bozal Spanish (Lipski 1996b). There is, however, at least one case of incipient restructuring of bozal Spanish, found among the large numbers of Yoruba-speaking lucumies and kiKongo-speaking congos who arrived in 19th century Cuba. The present study examines two incipient innovations in 19th century Afro-Cuban bozal Spanish: (1) the beginnings of a new verb system, based on a combination of Yoruba-like constructions and hybrid combinations; (2) the use of pleonastic object clitics, particularly lo, in clitic-doubled constructions, and even with intransitive and unaccusative verbs. These configurations emerged in Cuban bozal Spanish during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, only to disappear as subsequent generations of Afro-Cubans acquired Spanish natively. The incorporation of these constructions into Afro-Cuban Spanish — even for a generation or two — did not represent incipient creolization, primarily because there was never a substantial INTERRUPTION in the transmission of Spanish across generations, a sine qua non for creole formation. The presence of a homogeneous substrate combined with ready access to native and quasi-native models of Spanish created the beginnings of an interlanguage in which African morphosyntactic features were smoothly
grafted onto a full Spanish grammatical basis. This interlanguage restructuring never reached completion because the rapid elimination of the African slave trade and the dispersal of African-born slaves throughout Spanish-speaking Cuba resulted in the rapid loss of Yoruba and kiKongo among successive generations of Afro-Cubans as the coherent African language-speaking communities disappeared. If this Yoruba- and kiKongo-influenced restructuring had proceeded further, Afro-Cuban Spanish would look more like vernacular Andean Spanish rather than resembling Afro-Iberian creoles.

2. The African background

2.1. Afro-Cuban demographics

Slaves in colonial Cuba were drawn from all parts of Africa, as well as from other Caribbean territories, but at least during the 19th century, the majority of the bozal population came from a handful of well-delimited geographical and ethnic regions of Africa. Curtin (1969: 247) gave the following proportional breakdown for slaves imported into Cuba in the period 1817-1843, which represents the most intense period of slave importation in the entire history of Spanish America:¹

(1) Bight of Benin (Yoruba, Fon, etc.): 31.1%
Mozambique (Macuá, etc.): 29.5%
Northern Congo: 13.0%
Angola/Congo: 11.3%
Bight of Biafra (Igbo, Ijo, etc.): 9.9%
Sierra Leone: 3.3%

Eltis (1977: 419) gives a somewhat different breakdown:

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<th>Region</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bight of Benin</td>
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¹) Curtin’s figures are a bit strange, especially the reference to Mozambique, which according to his data supplied nearly 30% of the slaves imported to Cuba during the first half of the 19th century. It is known that towards the end of the slave trade, Mozambique and other east African venues rose in importance in supplying the Atlantic slave trade, particularly to Portuguese possessions, but there is no evidence that such a high proportion of southeast African slaves ever arrived in Cuba. In particular, the linguistic panorama is quite bare as regards the possible influence of Mozambican languages in the development of bozal Spanish in the Caribbean.

Moreno Fraginals (1978, vol II: 9) estimated that during the period 1850-60, bozales on Cuban sugar estates represented the following ethnic divisions, according to Cuban usage:

(2) | West Guinea | Bt. of Benin | Bt. of Biafra | North Congo | Angola | SE Africa |
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<td>1826-30</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>20.9</td>
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<td>1831-35</td>
<td>18.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1836-40</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
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<td>1841-43</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
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These figures demonstrate the high concentration of speakers of Kwa languages, the Congo-Benue languages of Nigeria (especially Yoruba and the Efik/Ibibio/Ijo cluster), and of Congo Basin languages, during the peak of the sugar plantation boom in the first half of the 19th century, during which more than 85% of the total number of Africans were taken to Cuba. What is not revealed by the demographic data is the high degree of cohesiveness exhibited by these Afro-Cuban communities, in which African languages and cultures were maintained to a degree never witnessed during earlier periods of slavery. As late as the final decades of the 19th century, Gallenga (1873: 79-80) estimated that "fully one-third of the slaves at present working on the sugar estates in the island are natives of Africa; while, had Spain been willing or able to fulfill her obligations, no African negro less than fifty-eight years of age ought to be found in the plantations". African-born slaves were known as negros de nación in the Spanish Caribbean, and they formed religious and social organizations known as cabildos, some of which continue to exist. The lucumíes (Yoruba speakers) and the congós (speaking kiKongo and related languages) represented hegemonic cultures in Africa, and were among the most prominent of the Afro-Cuban cabildos. The influence of these societies was such that speakers of other African languages were drawn into their midst, acquiring some of the linguistic attributes of these leading Kwa and Bantu languages and imparting these same traits to their acquisition of pidginized Spanish. The closest any sociol of Afro-Cuban Spanish ever came to grammatical restructuring occurred among the thousands of Yoruba-speaking lucumíes who arrived in Cuba during the first half of the 19th century. Given their prominence in santería rituals, as well as the extensive observations by Lydia Cabrera, the language and culture of Yorubas in Cuba is well enough documented as to hazard some hypotheses as to
their approximations to received Spanish. The contributions of the baKongo and related peoples in Cuba are not as well known; numerous lexical items of kiKongo origin have been conclusively identified (Cabrera 1984; Granda 1973a, 1973b; Schwegler 1999), but there is almost no direct evidence as to the characteristics of Spanish pidgin as used by kiKongo speakers.

2.2. The Yoruba language in Cuba

The Yoruba language in Cuba represents a conservative and archaic form of varieties currently spoken in Nigeria (cf. Olmsted 1953; Yai 1978). In this respect, it is similar to vestigial forms of Yoruba spoken in Trinidad (Warner-Lewis 1971, 1982) and Brazil (Silva 1958). Cabrera (1970c) provides the most extensive vocabulary, she deliberately avoided comparing her results with Yoruba as spoken in Africa, in order to record what was actually used in Cuba. Lucumi/Yoruba culture in Cuba provided the most extensive syncretic religious tradition, enshrined in Cuban santería. The coherence of the Yoruba culture and its transplantation nearly intact to Cuban soil gave to the term lucumi one of the most coherent ethnolinguistic identifications in African-Cuban society. To this day, many older Afro-Cubans know and use lucumi words, and Cubans of all races participate in Yoruba-based religious ceremonies.

2.3. Bantu languages in Cuba

Despite the term congo used to designate an Afro-Cuban ethnic group, more than the BaKongo people (speaking kiKongo) were covered by this designation. The Bantu languages of the former Portuguese Congo and coastal Angola are closely related in terms of structure, and share much cognate vocabulary. In Cuba the congós were closely identified with the palo mayombe rituals (Cabrera 1979), but by all evidence had comparatively less effect on the daily culture of the diverse African-Cuban population. Given the grammatical congruence among the Bantu languages found in 19th century Cuba, it is likely that Bantu speakers as a group employed similar strategies when acquiring Spanish, and that instances of substratal interference found in one idiolect would readily be comprehended by speakers of neighboring Bantu languages. It is therefore more useful to speak of a Bantu linguistic presence in Cuba (although Schwegler 1999 affirms that kiKongo was virtually the only contributor), with the understanding that this includes only the closely related group of coastal languages and cultures stretching from the former Portuguese Congo through central Angola.

3. Development of preverbal particles in Afro-Cuban pidgin

The principal Yoruba contribution to Afro-Cuban consisted of a few dozen lexical items, some of which have survived as part of santería rituals. During the period of most intense acquisition of Spanish by Yoruba speakers, incipient restructuring of the Afro-Cuban verb system was a probable concomitant of the bozal generation, and quite possibly at least the first Cuban-born generation of lucumí/ Yoruba verbs were based on the participle + stem structure of Yoruba verbs, and were of two kinds. The first were innovative verbs based entirely on Spanish words, and employing preverbal particles restructured from Spanish auxiliary verbs and sentential adverbs, together with phonologically reduced infinitives. The second were formed by combining Spanish particles with Yoruba stems, variously derived from Yoruba verbs and nouns.

The gradual and partial restructuring of Spanish forms to create preverbal particles was particularly easy, given the fortuitous existence of auxiliary + infinitive combinations in Spanish, together with independent processes of phonetic erosion which reduced auxiliaries to monosyllables and infinitives to phonotactic configurations compatible with Yoruba verbs. Of the possible existence of preverbal particles in Yoruba-derived Afro-Cuban Spanish, the most suggestive element is ta, acting variously as imperfective, progressive, or habitual particle.2)

(4) – Siempre ta regalá dinero a mi ‘He always gives me money’ (Caballero 1852)
– Horita ta beni pa că ‘Now [she] is coming here’ (Ignacio Villa, “Drumi, Mobila”; Guirao 1938: 183-6)
– Como yo ta cuñá la gente que habla tanto... yo ta mirá gente mucho ‘Since I heard that the people were talking so much... I watched the people a lot’ (Cabrera Paz 1973)
– Primero ta llorá na má. ‘He’s just crying, that’s all’ (Santa Cruz 1908)
– Si, pue, yo ta roba un gaiá jaba. ‘Yes father, I stole the speckled chicken’ (Cabrera 1976)
– Cuando ojo ta llorá na nica toca su parte. ‘When the eyes are crying, the nose does its part’ (Cabrera 1970b)

2) In a few cases it might be possible to argue that spontaneous developments took place, e.g. when ta is clearly derived from estar(3) where erosion of gerund is involved:
– Que to mi cupeo me est tá temblía ‘My whole body is trembling’ (Cabrera 1979)
– pavo real ta bucan palo ‘the peacock is looking for [a] tree’ (Cabrera 1983)
– yo está cortá un cañas ‘I am cutting [sugar] cane’ (Ismael Consuegra Guzmán, “Yo está cortá un cañas” [Feijoo 1979]).

In other cases, however, the verbs in question are habitual or durative, contexts where Spanish would not use any combination involving estar. This residue is among the few sure indicators of an infusion of creole elements into bozal language.
The particle *ta*, found in nearly all Ibero-Romance derived creoles in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean, is undoubtedly derived from the Spanish / Portuguese copula *cum* auxiliary verb *estar*, most probably the third person singular form *está*, regularly reduced to *ta* in colloquial speech. In Spanish, the auxiliary *estar* combines only with the gerund in -ndo to form progressive tenses (e.g. *estoy trabajando* 'I am working', *estamos comiendo* 'we are working'), and with the adjectival past participle in predicate adjective constructions (e.g. *estás equivocado* 'you are wrong', *estoy convencido* 'I am convinced'). In the Afro-Hispanic examples, *ta* typically combines with an invariant stem derived from the Spanish infinitive lacking final /ei/, an established phonetic reduction which began as early as the 16th century (Lipski 1995). In Spanish, *estar* never combines directly with the infinitive. Although some investigators have suggested an earlier pidgin/creole Portuguese basis for preverbal *ta* in Afro-Cuban Spanish, the direct evidence is scarce and problematic (Lipski 1987, 1992). A more probable source for some instances of *ta* is Papiamentu, which was present in 19th century Cuba and Puerto Rico as thousands of sugar cane cutters were taken from other Caribbean islands during the sugar plantation boom. Pockets of Papiamentu speakers are documented for Cuba and Puerto Rico, and other Papiamentu elements penetrated Afro-Cuban Spanish (Lipski 1993a, 1996b). Another source of *ta* + *V* constructions in Afro-Caribbean Spanish is phonetic reduction of the gerund, suggested by such half-reduced constructions as *pavo real ta buca palo* (Cabrera 1983) 'the peacock is looking for [a] tree'. Finally, the frequent use of a bare uninfllected infinitive (lacking final /ri/) in Afro-Cuban pidgin provided a ready foundation upon which preverbal particles such as *ta* could be graft (Lipski 1993a).

Yoruba shares with other languages of the Kwa and Nigerien Congo-Benue families a series of monosyllabic preverbal particles used to mark tense/aspect and mood. In Yoruba these combine with an invariant verb, normally a monosyllabic stem of the shape CV, together with some bisyllabic verbs. The Yoruba particle corresponding to the Spanish progressive is *n*, a high-toned syllabic nasal, which assimilates in point of articulation to a following non-coronal consonant:

(5) ki o fè 'what are you doing?'
    mo n jeun 'I am eating'

Crucially, in Yoruba *n* is also used to mark habitual, as opposed to the past/aorist meaning associated with the bare verb stem. Rowlands (1969: 60) notes that Yoruba speakers acquiring English tend to use the English progressive with habitual meaning. Salazar (1978: 654-5) compares Yoruba particle combinations with homologous constructions in several creoles. In the Afro-Hispanic corpus, there are many examples of *ta* + *V* with habitual non-progressive meaning:

(6) – Siempre ta regalá dinero a mi 'He always gives me money' (Caballero 1852)
    – Lamo ta regañá mi, yo siempre con soramienta no cuchá … 'The
      master always scolds me, annoyed, I never listen' (Cabrera Pax 1973)
    – Si, que progrosa son bucy, poque quando nei ta veni ya yo no tiene
      que da vueta y vueta y vueta lo trapiche 'Oxen are very dangerous,
      because when they come, I don't have to turn the sugar mill' (Cabrera
      1976)
    – soldào ta cabrán, mambi piliando con machete aflá y corta cabeça
      'The soldiers are bastards, Mambis fighting with sharp machetes,
      cutting off heads' (Acosta-Rubio 1976)

These examples, while not readily derivable from Spanish gerundival progressives, are completely compatible with homologous Yoruba constructions, as well as those in other Kwa languages, particularly those known to have been spoken in 19th century Cuba. They are also consistent with Papiamentu usage, where *ta* signals habitual aspect as well as progressive, unlike most other Ibero-Romance derived creoles. The final example, in which *ta* behaves as a copula followed by a (perhaps adjectivized) predicate nominal coincides with Papiamentu, the only Spanish/Portuguese-based creole in which *ta* exhibits this behavior. Indeed, Papiamentu is relatively unique in using the same copula -ta-for four discrete functions: (i) with verbs, to indicate progressive or imperfective action (*mi ta bini* 'I am coming/I come'); (ii) with predicate adjectives (*trabaño ta pisá* 'the work is heavy'); (iii) with predicate nominals (*mi ta hombor* 'I am a man'); (iv) with locative predicates (*e ta na casa* 'he/she is at home') (Stassen 1997: 142-3). This same cluster of properties is also found in several key *bozal* texts. However, it is the combination of progressive and habitual aspect in Afro-Hispanic *ta*-constructions that points most clearly to an incipient restructuring occurring as the result of intensive language contact.
Less convincing cases have been made for preverbal *ya* as a past/perfective marker and for invariant *va* as a future/irrealis marker. Examples of preverbal *va* include:

(7)  
- yo *va* a contá a ti una cosa 'I'm going to tell you something' (Barnet 1966)  
- ¿y nélle lo muchachito *va* pendé su Pañá de nuté? 'And those boys are going to depend on that Spain of yours?' (Morúa Delgado 1975)  
- ¿Qué yo te *va* a dici ...? 'What can I say to you?' (Benítez del Cristo 1930)  
- Así yo no *va* muri 'I'm not going to die like that' (Cabrera 1971)  
- Ese otro yo me lo *va* yéun ... Yo va sabé si su bocna no jahla mentira ... 'I'm not going to swallow [eat] that other one ... I'm going to find out if his mouth tells lies' (Cabrera 1983)  
- Cuanto yo *va* vini de filósofo bautizado ... 'How many philosophical baptisms will I have seen ...' (Francisco Fernández, El bautizo [Montes Huidobro 1987])  
- yo *va* etá diviti nese casa 'I'm going to have a good time in that house' (Mellado y Montaña 1975)  
- Yo *va* matá mi matería 'I'm going to finish off my material' (Rodríguez 1969)

Spanish and Portuguese commonly use a periphrastic future construction *ir a* + INFINITIVE; in Spanish the third person singular is *va a* + INFINITIVE, pronounced *va* + *va*Vinf. Thus the Afro-Cuban examples could very well be unmodified Spanish structures, except for the use of the third person singular form as invariant particle. Some subtle cases of Afro-Hispanic *va* suggest that contact with Yoruba and other Nigerien languages gave this construction a boost in bozal speech. In standard Yoruba (essentially a 20th century creation), the future particle is *yi6* (usually pronounced as *yo*); however in many vernacular varieties, the particle is *ā*. This is very close to Spanish *va*, which in consonant-weak Caribbean Spanish often loses its initial consonant in rapid speech. This fortuitous near-identity would reinforce an already prevalent Afro-Hispanic construction. In this case, Papiamentu influence can easily be ruled out, since Papiamentu uses preverbal *lo* (from Ptg. *logo* 'then, later'), which precedes subject pronouns (*lo* *mi* bai 'I will go').

Possible use of *ya* as preverbal particle in Afro-Cuban bozal texts include:

(8)  
- *Ya* mi llegá la buji ... 'I arrived at the hut [buhay] (Cabrera Paz 1973)  
- yo ta yorá poque Calota *ya* ta mori 'I'm crying because Carlota died' (Ignacio Villa, *Calota ta mori* [Guirao 1938])  
- *ya* yo jablá mimo hoy don Criaco ... *ya* yo eche a usté ... 'I talked to Don Criaco just today ... I heard you ...' (Benítez del Cristo 1930)  
- Sehó acade, *ya* yo ve poquito menos 'Mister mayor, I saw a little bit less' (Berenguer y Sed 1929)  
- *ya* yo bruhl 'I returned' (Villaverde 1981)  
- *ya* yo no casa cuannel *I didn't marry him' (Francisco Fernández, *Los negros cateóricos* [Montes Huidobro 1987])  
- *ya* yo no puei aguantá má un sofocación de ese 'I can't stand that suffocation' (Mellado y Montaña 1975)  
- *ya* sumberé vinió? 'Did your grace come?' (Villaverde 1979)

It is difficult to unequivocally assign particle status to these elements, since *ya* is a commonly-used sentential adverb in Spanish. In most instances, *bozal ya* occurs before subject pronouns (like Papiamentu future/irrealis *lo*) rather than preverbally, as is the case with the particle *ya*/*ja* in other Ibero-Romance based creoles, as well as representing the most usual configuration in Spanish. When the subject is a full NP, *ya* appears after the subject in most *bozal* texts. In some instances, the placement of these elements in immediately preverbal position, together with the lack of subject-verb agreement in the case of *va* and the presence of accompanying adverbs with *ya* may signal grammaticalization of these elements as preverbal particles.

In Yoruba, the particle most closely corresponding to the bozal use of *va* is *ti*:

(9)  
- *tò* lo sile he/she has already gone home'

In Yoruba, *ti* can be translated as 'now, already' just as in Spanish (Rowlands 1969: 76). Virtually identical combinations are found in neighboring languages with which many Afro-Cuban *bozales* would have spoken either natively or through previous contacts in Nigeria. It is not unreasonable to expect that Yoruba-speaking Africans who were attempting to learn Spanish in Cuban slave quarters would instinctively construct verb phrases in an already familiar pattern. Since Spanish already provided a series of monosyllabic verbal adjuncts or auxiliaries which could occur in positions identical to those of *Kwa* preverbal particles, it was but a small step to the restructuring of such words as *ta*, *ya*, *va*, etc. to take on new functions. In many cases, Spanish speakers would not notice that a familiar item was being used in a modified fashion, and thus it may be that Cuban *bozal* language actually contained a more radically restructured verb system than is suggested by the selection of texts surveyed above.

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4) A joke told in Cuba has a good-looking woman receiving the 'compliment' *te amo* 'I love you' from a couple of thugs on a street corner. However, one of the low-lifes explains the full meaning of this abbreviated expression: *primero te [v]amo[s] a robar, y luego te [v]amo[s] a violar* 'first we're going to rob you, then we're going to rape you'. This illustrates not only loss of final /s/ but also of initial [v]/[b] in the periphrastic future construction.
The main impediment to proposing that Yoruba *ti* and similar particles in other Kwa languages influenced the use of *ya* as a preverbal particle in *bozal* language is the frequent placement of *ya* before the subject, particularly with pronominal subjects. This does not correspond to particle usage in Yoruba, but rather reflects the role of *ya* as a sentential adverb in Spanish. The use of *ya* before pronominal subjects not only in *bozal* texts but also in contemporary Caribbean Spanish reflects the acquisition of subject clitic status by pronominal subjects in this dialect cluster. The use of non-inverted questions with pronominal subjects, of the sort ¿Qué ud quieres? 'What do you want?', provides additional evidence that monosyllabic pronominal subjects in vernacular Caribbean Spanish are becoming subject clitics, and therefore that they cannot be separated from the verb by adverbs or other adjuncts, but only by negative elements and object clitics (cf. Heap 1990a, 1990b, 1991).

4. Creation of hybrid Spanish-Yoruba verbs in Afro-Cuban pidgin

A documented strategy employed by Yoruba-speaking *bozales* in 19th century Cuba (and presumably — although no written documentation exists — by speakers of other African languages) was the free creation of hybrid structures, employing a Spanish (or pidgin Spanish) morphosyntactic frame with an African lexical core. Thus in Lachatañeré's *Oh, mío Yemayá*! [1938]) we find the Yoruba/Spanish chant:

(10) A la mofílé
Changó tá mólé ...

From Lydia Cabrera's writings come:

(11) – ¿Por qué tú coge owo Elégbara? Si é mimo dici tú ta olé y é te va agarrá pinado su papalote ... Why did you take Elégbara's money? He says that you are a thief and he's going to catch you stealing his kite' (Cabrera 1983)
– Ese otro yo me lo va yéun y a Miguel no pasa nada ... 'I'm going to eat that other one and nothing will happen to Miguel' (Cabrera 1983)
– Olofi ya *oko*, Olofi ta mirando, ya *iku*. 'Olofi died, Olofi is watching, he died' (Cabrera 1983)
– Olofi no está *aro*. Olofi está *óddara*. 'Olofi is not bad [crippled]. Olofi is good' (Cabrera 1983)
– Cómo va se sé mano branco, si ta qé, ta pristó yo ... 'How can it be a white hand, since I'm brown, I'm black' (Cabrera 1970a)
– Vanno *siré* 'Let's play' (Cabrera 1970a)
– Mañana yo *iku* 'Tomorrow I will die' (Cabrera 1970a)

From the Afro-Cuban song 'Elegua quiere tambó' by Celia Cruz (Castellanos 1983: 57) comes the fragment:

(12) No hay Orisa como Elegua pa la ilé, porque siempre está ofé ... Ochún ta weye weye ... 'There is no god like Elegua for the [ceremonial] house, because [he] is always watching ...

These examples show the incorporation of Yoruba elements into Spanish sentences, sometimes slightly modified, and in other cases without modification. Thus *owo* 'money', *yéun* (Yoruba *jun*) 'to eat', *olé* 'thief', *ofé* 'to watch' (*á o fe*'s*he watches*), *aro* 'sick', *oko* 'husband', *afé* 'dark', *ewe* 'leaves', *siré* 'to play', etc. However, the texts also reflect Yoruba morphosyntax, including the at times tenuous or non-existent morphological difference between nouns, verbs and adjectives, and the attempt to create hybrid verbal constructions using Spanish elements to replace Yoruba particles, in conjunction with a Yoruba stem. In several instances, the results closely resemble verbal structures in Afro-Iberian creoles such as Papiamento, Palenquero or Cape Verdian Crioulo, but in which the case for an independent development can be made quite strongly.

Consider, for example, the Hispano-Yoruba hybrid transcribed by Cabrera: "Olofi ya *oko*, Olofi ta mirando, ya *iku". In this combination, *ya* seems to be acting as a preverbal particle, much as in Afro-Iberian creoles. In reality, however, this sentence embodies a subtle form of code-switching. In Yoruba, the root for 'die' is *ikut*. This element can also be used as an adjectival verb, meaning 'be dead'. Thus *ikt* can mean either *(s)he dies/died* or *(s)he is dead*. When modifying a noun, the adjectival form is *ikut*. The corresponding noun is *ikut* 'death'. In the pidginized Yoruba used by the Lucumi Afro-Cuban religious cults, much of this grammatical information has been lost, so that, e.g. *ikut* can be used as a verb/adjective: *mañana yo ikt* 'tomorrow I will die/be dead' (cf. also Cabrera 1970c: 160). When combined with *ya*, as in *Olofi ya *oko* ... ya *ikt* 'Olofi is already dead/already died', there seems to be a prototypical creole formation in which *ya* operates as a preverbal [+anterior] particle. In the Spanish/Yoruba hybrid constructions transcribed by Lydia Cabrera, the fact of code-switching does not preclude analyzing *ya* as a clitic or verbal particle.

The case of *é mimo dici tú ta olé 'he himself says that you are a thief/are robbing* appears to embody *ta* as a preverbal particle. In Yoruba, *ólé* is a noun meaning 'thief', while the verb *robi* is *jále*. Once more, in the pidginized Yoruba used in *El Monte* (Cabrera 1983), this distinction is usually lost, either because the speakers in question were not truly native speakers of Yoruba (whether or not they were born in Africa), or because code-switching between two languages with radically different morphosyntactic patterns resulted in

5) The form *oko* is probably a combination of the {3sg.} subject clitic *ó*, the stem *kt*, and the rhetorical final -*ó*, common in spoken Yoruba.
canonical full forms from Yoruba being used when a Yoruba item was inserted in a Spanish sentence. The hybrid combination Ud ta olé is thus ambiguous, meaning both 'you are (a) thief', and 'you steal/are stealing'. In the first interpretation, ta is used incorrectly as a copula with a predicate nominal, a usage also found in vestigial or semi-fluent usage in other regions. In the second meaning, ta is more clearly derived from the progressive auxiliary estás, routinely pronounced as ta in vernacular Cuban Spanish. The resulting configuration, however, is superficially identical to quintessential Iberian-based creole constructions derived from ta plus the Romance infinitive. The combination vamo siré 'let's play', involves a Yoruba verb used identically to a Spanish infinitive; the superficial form of the Yoruba verb resembles a Spanish infinitive. Many of the other Yoruba items transcribed by Cabrera have the same canonical shape as Ibero-Romance infinitives: afé, molé, olé, etc. In the hybrid constructions characteristic of Afro-Cuban speech these items are not behaving as verbal infinitives, whether or not derived from a Yoruba verbal stem. Similarly, in the hybrid constructions, ta á estás is not behaving as an auxiliary for a progressive construction, much less as a TMA "particle", but rather as a simple copula, introducing a patently foreign importation. The analysis of Yoruba-Spanish hybrid constructions in a fashion different from that of TMA PARTICLE + VERBAL STEM found in Afro-Iberian creoles, the superficial similarity with the latter phenomena has led to the inclusion of the hybrid constructions in the "evidence" of a former creole status for Cuban bozal Spanish, as well as to the purported similarities with Afro-Portuguese pidgins and creoles. Among Cuban bozales, purely Spanish constructions based on ta +

6) This same process is observable, e.g. in Ese otro yo me lo va yéen 'I will eat that other one'. In Yoruba jeun is an intransitive verb meaning 'eat'. As such, it can never be combined with an object direct or NP, as in the example cited by Cabrera. The transitive verb 'eat' is je; however in the Spanish-Yoruba hybrid, the longer intransitive form has been adopted. Alvarez Nazario (1974: 216) observes that 'negro criollo' (i.e. those born in Spanish America) use the internal structure of borrowings from Yoruba and other African languages, and that "los descendientes de los antiguos esclavos emplean en expresiones mixtas el español y el anágl [Yoruba: JML]: 'me voy ps(a) el intl [I'll eat it up' JML] ...'.

7) The pattern is similar to the constructions based on hacer + ENGLISH WORD, at times found in the Spanish of Mexican-Americans from California and New Mexico: hacer fix 'to fix', hacer type 'to type', etc. (cf. Reyes 1976).

8) Given the importance of Lydia Cabrera's writings, in particular anthropological-religious studies such as El monte, to Afro-Caribbean creole theories, it is useful to consider how accurate and representative such texts might be as specimens of bozal speech in Cuba and elsewhere in the Caribbean. Cabrera's works are extensive and captivating, and the long segments written in African languages and in bozal and vernacular Cuban Spanish sound so convincing that they seem to be the transcription of actual recordings. For such scholars as Granda (1972), Perl (1982), and Otheogy (1973), Cabrera's Afro-Cuban anthropological studies are not only the most accessible source of bozal speech, but also the most trustworthy, given the author's clearly positive attitudes towards Afro-Cuban culture and her avowed intention of describing it accurately. Missing in these writings is the mocking humor which characterized the habla de negros in the Cuban "teatro bufo", and in other writings from Spain and Latin America (although in such texts as Francisco y Francisco (1976) and Refranes de negros viejos (1970) some glimpses of this tendency emerge). At the same time, many of her writings employ literary techniques of magical realism, complete with possible exaggeration of linguistic usage. For Ortiz (1940: 9),

estos cuentos [Cabrera's Cuentos negros: JML] vienen a las prensas por una colaboración, la del folklore negro con su traductora blanca. Porque también el texto castellano es en realidad una traducción, y en rigor sea dicho, una segunda traducción. Del lenguaje africano ... en que las fábulas se imaginaron, éstas fueron vertidas en Cuba al idioma amenizado y dialectal de los negros criollos. Quizá la anciana morena que se las narra a Lydia ya las recibió de sus antepasados en lenguaje acriollado. Y de esta habla tuvo la coleccionista que pasarlas a una forma legible en castellano ... la autora ha hecho tarea difícil pero leal, y por tanto, muy meritaria, conservando a los cuentos su fuerte carácter exótico de fondo y de forma ...

For Ortiz, then, the bozal language of Cabrera's writings is (at least) twice-removed from what might have once been an Afro-Cuban creole (cf. also Martínez Gordo 1982: 52). This position contrasts radically with, e.g. Grandas's view that Cabrera's literary representation of bozal Spanish is as faithful as a tape recording or verbatim transcription. This is not to say that Cabrera used bozal Spanish to represent conversations held mostly or entirely in African languages, although many older Afro-Cubans did use African languages amongst themselves. In personal conversation, the late Lydia Cabrera described to the present writer the manner in which older bozales spoke throughout Cuba (not just in Havana, as Grandas seems to imply), but both from her writings and her personal recollections it is clear that no bozal speaker used creoloid forms exclusively. Most combined creoloid, pidgin, and standard Spanish forms, not necessarily because the bozal language was "decreolizing", but because the creoloid elements often arose spontaneously as African-born Cubans evolved in their acquisition of Spanish.
as third person singular forms used as invariant verbs; in fact, such combinations are much more frequent than putative combinations involving preverbal particles. It is not feasible to postulate Yoruba or other African languages as the source of such constructions in Afro-Hispanic pidgin, since use of a simple invariant verb is a concomitant of all pidginization and rudimentary second-language acquisition, as well as being found in vestigial and semi-fluent language (Lipski 1986, 1993b). However, in the Afro-Cuban bozal corpus where there is clear evidence of incipient restructuring in contact with Yoruba, the alternation between bare verbs and preverbal particles is particularly striking, since the distribution exactly parallels Yoruba usage. The alternation between the third person singular and the infinitive for the bare verb reflects competing strategies in the pidginization of Spanish, in which two high-frequency morphological variants are taken as templates for an invariant verbal stem. Examples of the bare infinitive in Afro-Cuban bozal speech include:

(13) — La vieja Asunción nunca jahí 'Old Asunción never speaks' (Ruiz García 1957)
— yo también me calentá ... y cuando cuchá campana, yo me va pa la Tamisa 'I'm warming up too ... and when I hear the bell, I'm going to Artemisa' (Cabrera Paz 1973)
— No, sí, yo no maté ningún, yo sentí atrás quitar y yegá prisa, prisa, na panadería 'No sir, I didn't kill anyone; I was sitting in the back of the carriage to get to the bakery fast' (Estrella y Zenea 1980)
— Yo llevé ventidió muerto, aquí va clito ... 'I carried 22 corpses, here is Christ' (Feijóo 1966)
— Torcuato tené que hablale ... Torcuato cogó guerrillero, Torcuato cambió viejo po bueyes ... 'Torcuato has talk to you ... Torcuato caught the guerrilla, Torcuato traded the old man for oxen' (Montenegro 1934)
— si muri, miío sería 'If he dies, it would be better' Ramón Méndez Quitiones, Alternate fragments from 'Pobre Sindal!' [1884] (Girón 1991: 399-411)

In each of these examples the bare infinitive is behaving as an aorist; the same holds for most examples of the invariant third person singular found in Afro-Cuban bozal texts:

(14) — yo empeña mi ropa 'I pawned my clothes' (Ortiz 1985)
— Yo alébanta sojo 'I raised my eyes' (Cabrera Paz 1973)
— A mi no bebe aguariente, mi ama 'I don't drink whiskey, master' (Merlin 1974)
— Yo sabe lava, plancha, jasule y cosiná 'I know how to wash, iron, make sweets and cook' (Ballagas 1946: 92)
— Yo va con uté, si señor. 'I'm going with you, yes sir' (Cabrera 1983)
— Yo no me llama José, me llama Cirilo 'My name isn't José, my name is Cirilo' (Villaverde 1979)

6. Pleonastic lo as an incipient subject clitic in bozal Spanish

One subtle yet curious feature of certain purported Afro-Hispanic texts, both early and late, involves the pleonastic use of what are superficially direct object clitics, usually lo. In some instances the object clitic is used in conjunction with a transitive verb and an overt direct object NP (although not always exhibiting the correct morphological agreement), thus in effect a form of clitic doubling. In other cases the clitic is combined with an intransitive verb, where no question of absorbing an object theta role is at issue. Although most examples of pleonastic lo come from the 19th century Afro-Cuban corpus, sporadic attestations were found in earlier centuries. The Spanish Golden Age bozal corpus provides a few examples of intrusive object clitics:

(15) — ... no quitando la plensensia, que estos artilieros vivoz que lo yeyaron se queja ... 'without your presence, that these sharp pins cause complaints' {Quiiones de Benavente. El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña [Rosell 1874]}
— ... le hallamo entre pajas, al ringo del frio, aunque sin trigos, que lo segamos en agosto. 'We find it among the straw, in the cold, without wheat, we thresh it in August' {Lope de Vega, Mayor rey de los reyes [1930: t. VII]}
— ¡Ay, síñor Jesum Cristo! ¿Qué facendas me lo pides? 'Oh lord Jesus Christ, what do you ask of me?' {Lope de Rueda, Comedia de los engañados [1908: t. III]}
— ... Como só li la Mesé, lo manda el señor Retó qui venga cun la tandane mañana la Pracisió. 'Since the master will be there, the Rector orders him to come with the flag tomorrow to the procession' {Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Villancico [1952]}
— Rítigaixi di mi guelo, dun 'iñojo xaritaco, xi me la de dex un pello! {Jaime de Cuete, Tesorina [1913]}
— lo salte lo pé 'My feet are jumping' {Anon., Teque leque, Colombia, 17th c. [Perdomo Escobar 1976]}

—the juxtaposition of bare verbs and preverbal particles in the Afro-Cuban bozal corpus is consistent with the notion of partial restructuring along the lines of Yoruba structures; as can be seen from the above examples, the alternation between bare forms and preverbal particles occurs in many of the same texts, which is all the more remarkable since these documents were written by white native speakers of Spanish with little interest in delving into the linguistic peculiarities of Afro-Hispanic pidgin.
The 19th and early 20th century Afro-Cuban *bozal* corpus provides more examples of the pleonastic clitic *lo*, among them:

(16) — ¿¡regame Dios la trágica que lo tiene la criptana? ‘My goodness what outfits these Christians have!’ (Cabrera Paz 1973)
— Negrito má motuá no lo sali ian Guane bindita hora que branco me lo tráe neta tierra. ‘An unfortunate black I didn’t leave Guane, blessed be the moment when the white people brought me to this land’ (Cretò Gangà, “Canto de Bodas” [Cruz 1974])
— Yo no lo perdi doce mil y quinientos pesos para quedalo con uno cheche perdido. ‘I didn’t lose 2 500 pesos to end up with a loser’ (Fernández, *El negro cheche* [Montes Huidobro 1987])
— Y a ote, qué lo va ni lo viene, ote vi vavi en ella? ‘And you, who don’t care one way or the other, are you going to live in it?’ (Mellado y Montaña 1975)

The use of non-argument clitics, especially invariant *lo*, is found in some bilingual interlanguage varieties of Spanish in Latin America, reflecting syntactic peculiarities of indigenous languages (cf. Lipski 1994). Usually, Spanish *lo*, by virtue of its usual preverbal position, its invariant nature, and its clitic status, is reinterpreted as a transitivity or tense marker found in the native language. In Quechua-influenced Andean Spanish, for example, invariant *lo* accompanies all transitive verbs, regardless of the direct object.

In Nahuatl-influenced Spanish, invariant *lo* not only doubles direct objects, but also appears with some intransitive verbs. This dialect also offers clitic doubling with inanimate direct objects, use of *lo* as universally unmarked direct object clitic, pleonastic possessive articles, and interrogative D0s [Direct Objects]. Clitic doubling with *lo* was once common in indigenous interlanguages in parts of Central America, including Pipil (a variety of Nahuatl) and Lenca in El Salvador and Honduras.  

Non-argument *lo* in the *bozal* texts described previously cannot be traced to a single substrate language, and the type of reanalysis proposed for Nahuatl and Quechua-influenced Spanish is not at issue. No surviving Afro-Iberian creole makes use of pleonastic object clitics, nor is evidence of such usage to be found among vestigial Afro-Hispanic enclaves. Nonetheless, assuming that at least some of the configurations were actually produced in Afro-Hispanic interlanguage, the location of non-argumental *lo* — invariably in immediately preverbal enclitic position — is consistent with the nearly universal western and central African common denominator of SUBJECT clitics, despite the fact that the item in question is derived from a Spanish OBJECT clitic.

In many African languages, subject pronouns are closely related to subject-verb agreement. A question as apparently straightforward as whether or not "null subjects" are permitted in African languages becomes entangled with syntactic characterization of "subject" position vs. agreement or inflectional marker. To further complicate matters, many African language families have dual series of "subject pronouns" — a free-standing stressable set which closely correspond in meaning and usage to Ibero-Romance subject pronouns, and preverbal clitics, which find Romance counterparts only in some northern Italian dialects. At the same time, proponents of a universally unmarked syntax during the creolization process frequently point to overt uninflated subject pronouns as the preferred option. An overview of subject pronoun behavior in key African language groupings will be useful in interpreting bozal language past and present.

One of the first African language families to interact with Spanish and Portuguese is the Mande group, from the Senegambia. Many of these languages continued to be present in the Afro-American creole mix — in Spanish, British, and French American colonies — through the end of the 18th century. The Mande family is typified by the behavior of Mende. In this language, there are several sets of closely related subject clitics, which are used with different verbal tenses, with conjunctions, and in certain other constructions. There is also a series of emphatic (disjunctive) subject pronouns. Use of the subject clitic

9) Lipski (1994) suggests that Andean Spanish invariant *lo* has replaced the Quechua direct object noun suffix -ta (or -man if following a verb of motion). This suffix is invariable, cliticizes to all direct object nouns whether definite or indefinite, and even attaches to questions and relative clauses. The accusative marker -ta does not occupy the identical syntactic position as the invariable *lo* of the corresponding Andean Spanish sentences, which would be roughly as indicated above. However, it would be easy for a speaker of Spanish interlanguage to interpret the clitic *lo*, statistically the most frequent, as some sort of transitivity marker comparable to Quechua -ta. Although in Quechua this element is always attached to the direct object noun, in a canonical Quechua OVS or SOV transitive sentence where the direct object immediately precedes the verb, -ta coincidentally comes just before the verb, i.e. in the identical position as Spanish proclitic *lo*. As interlanguage speakers develop greater fluency in Spanish, word order gravitates to the more usual V-O for non-clitic D0s. It is at this stage that *lo*, now recognized as an object clitic, remains behind in proclitic position, yielding the stable Andean Spanish clitic-doubled pattern.

10) In Nahuatl, no single element corresponds to the ‘non-Spanish’ uses of *lo* as shown above. However, more subtle forms of interlanguage transfer suggest themselves. Nahuatl forms sentences with a SWO word order similar to Spanish, but Nahuatl transitive verbs take a direct object prefix (*qui* in the 3rd person singular and *quín* in the 3rd person plural), which is also combined with direct object nouns, even when questioned. Here the correspondence between *quín* and Spanish *lo* is even closer, since the corresponding Nahuatl element is also a clitic, albeit with different distributional characteristics. Nahuatl- and Pipil-influenced Spanish, unlike Andean varieties, frequently uses invariant *lo* for intransitive verbs and locative constructions, combined with frequent stem changes depending upon the class of verb.
is obligatory, and when an optional emphatic pronoun is used, it must be followed by the subject clitic: nigia nig ti teve 'I (emph.) cut', where nigia is the disjunctive pronoun, and nig is the subject clitic. In this language, subject clitics are best analyzed as situated in INF (or, in an "expanded INF" model of phrase structure, in AGR.). In this sense, Mende is a "null subject" language, since the only optionally occurring "subject pronoun" is in fact an agreement marker which does not occupy the subject's true argument position (as [SPEC, IP]).

Mandinka has a similar distribution of emphatic subject pronouns and subject clitics. The first person singular subject clitic is veñ or veñas nasal with a high tone, alternating with m- and n-; the first person plural subject clitic is similar, but with a low tone.11

TheAtlantic family of languages (typified by Wolof, Fula, and Diola), also from northwestern Africa, was another earlier player in Afro-Hispanic linguistic encounters. Subject pronouns in Atlantic languages often exhibit the same disjunctive pronoun/clitic split found among the Mande group. Among Kwa and non-Bantu Benue-Congo languages (including the Akan languages of Ghana — Twi, Fante and Asante — as well as the major languages of Nigeria such as Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, Ijo, and Ibibio, all of which were prominent in Afro-Hispanic contacts), it is more usual to find a distinction between emphatic subject pronouns and subject clitics; when emphatic pronouns are used, the clitic is normally absent.

The largest African language family to come into contact with Spanish and Portuguese is the Bantu family; the principal Bantu languages which entered the mix are those spoken in Angola and the former Portuguese Congo, including KiKongo, kíMbundu, uMfundu, and related languages. These languages share a much greater similarity and even mutual intelligibility than the members of the other major African language families. Among the Bantu languages, optional free-standing (and emphatic) pronouns are combined with obligatory preverbal subject clitics. Although the full subject pronouns vary widely among African languages, the subject clitics are typologically quite similar. All are monosyllabic, and many consist of a single vowel or consonant which is prefixed to the verb. The greatest cross-linguistic similarity concerns the first-person singular subject clitic, which takes the form of a nasal prefix m- or an homorganic nasal, alternating with the CV combination mi- (with

11) Rowlands (1959) observes that since the tonal distinctions are often lost on Europeans, "Mandinkas tend to use Emphatic forms in speaking to Europeans in many situations where they would use unemphatic forms among themselves. This corresponds to putting stress on a Pronoun in English to ensure clarity". This suggests that the use of emphatic pronouns to reinforce subject position (e.g. Ibero-Romance use of (a)mi instead of yo/ea) could work in the opposite direction, with Africans deliberately choosing disjunctive pronouns in their dealings with Europeans, who then overgeneralized their notions about pronouns in African languages (cf. Lipski 1991).

alternative form mo-) in a surprising variety of languages, from the Senegambia to southern Africa. To observers unfamiliar with the languages in question, preverbal subject clitics may be confused with the verb itself.

No major African language allows for free elimination of all subject marking, except for imperative constructions in many languages. Subject clitics — which are prefixes — take the place of verbal suffixes, which mark subject-verb agreement in Romance. To most African speakers, leaving off a subject clitic renders the sentence as "incomplete" as would a Spanish verb stem from which the inflectional suffix had been truncated. On the other hand, no major African language group marks subject-verb agreement enclitically (postverbally), although Bantu languages typically combine both prefixes and suffixes in creating verb complexes.

Several Afro-Lusitian creoles, formed in close symbiosis with African languages which exhibit the pronoun/subject clitic duality, show how originally Portuguese elements — at times supplemented by fortuitous similarities with homologous African forms — can be transformed into a system of free-standing emphatic or focused pronouns together with a new form of subject-verb agreement: subject clitics. The case of Guinea-Bissau Kriyól is illustrative. Kriyól has a full set of subject clitics, including n, bu and i in the singular, and no, bo and e in the plural. These subject pronouns are obligatory preverbal constituents, except for some sentences containing a third person NP as subject. Kriyól also contains a set of disjunctive/contrastive pronouns: ami, abó, el, anós, abós, and elis (Kilm 1994). In addition to carrying contrastive focus, these pronouns must combine with the subject clitic pronoun to produce grammatical utterances:12

(17) Ami n ta kria limarya
‘As for me, I raise cattle’
Abó gora ku bu tene caga, abó bu ta bin panyá-l
‘Now you who have got a wound, are you going to catch it?’

No Afro-Hispanic bozal texts examined to date contain transparent cases of Ibero-Romance pronouns being used as subject clitics; we do not find, for example, constructions such as *Juan él sabe or *yo m(t) sabe (i.e. without a topicalized subject set off by an intonational pause), as might occur in some northern Italian dialects and in some vernacular varieties of contemporary

12) Among the surrounding Atlantic and Mande languages of Guinea-Bissau, the first person singular subject clitic is normally a syllabic nasal, while the third person singular subject clitic contains a single vowel. Kriyól has replaced Portuguese subject-verb agreement via verbal suffixes (which allows Portuguese to be a "null subject" language) with obligatory preverbal clitics, while reserving Portuguese free-standing pronouns (in this case derived from the disjunctive object pronouns) in combination with the preposition a for true pronominal argument subjects and/or as topicalized NPs.
French. However, the possibility that lo and similar elements derived from Spanish object clitics may have operated as quasi-subject clitics in partially stabilized bozal language is worth pursuing. Although literary stereotyping frequently ascribed fanciful speech patterns to marginalized groups, these stereotypes invariably had some basis in true dialectal or interlanguage features. There is no other Spanish linguistic stereotype known to Golden Age and 19th century Caribbean authors which introduces pleonastic object clitics in a fashion which is consistently different from prevailing Spanish usage. There are, moreover, demographic facts which enhance the plausibility that some varieties of Afro-Hispanic pidgin began to incorporate lo into the verb with the morphological value of subject clitic. First, whereas subject clitics are generally required across all major West and Central African language families, the combination of an emphatic subject pronoun or full NP + subject clitic occurs predominantly in the Mande and Atlantic families, and the Bantu languages. The Mande languages represent the first major African language family to interface with Portuguese and Spanish, as witnessed by the frequent use of the ethnic designation Mandinga in early Afro-Hispanic texts. Moreover, the presence of speakers of Mande languages remained strong in the Afro-Hispanic mix at least through the end of the 18th century, given the intense Portuguese slave trade in northwest Africa, using the Cape Verde Islands as a transfer station.

Bantu languages first enter the Afro-Hispanic linguistic profile towards the middle of the 17th century, when references to Congo, Manicongo and Angola become frequent in Afro-Hispanic literature. Speakers of these languages were present in Portugal and Spain since the turn of the 16th century, but their numbers were comparatively low at first, increasing rapidly after 1640, when Portugal began exporting slaves from the Portuguese Congo and Angola in large numbers. 13

In 19th century Cuba, the two most prominent African languages were Yoruba and kiKongo. The former language does not combine emphatic subject pronouns with subject clitics, while the latter language does. In addition to the prominence of Yoruba in Afro-Cuban santería rituals, Yoruba may have contributed to the incipient grammaticalization of preverbal particles, as discussed previously. KiKongo may have contributed double negation to Afro-Cuban pidgin, 14 and may conceivably have nudged lo into incorporating into the verb as a subject clitic.

7. Development of INFL in Afro-Hispanic pidgin: clitics and particles

Since in the West African and Bantu languages which exhibit the EMPHATIC PRONOUN + SUBJECT CLITIC configuration the subject clitic occupies a position in INFL (more specifically, as AGR-S), these languages are technically null subject languages, just like Spanish. In this fashion, one would expect to find partially restructured Afro-Hispanic phrases in which lo serves as a subject clitic both with null subjects and with overt pronominal and nominal subjects. In all the examples shown here, negatives and adverbs all precede lo, as befits its clitic status. Indeed, the fact that Spanish preverbal lo always occupies the immediately preverbal slot even in clitic clusters increases the likelihood that this prominent item would be reinterpreted as an invariant subject clitic by speakers of developing Afro-Hispanic pidgins.

One possible approach to the combination of null subjects with faulty subject-verb agreement is to adopt the perspective that the first stages of Afro-Hispanic pidgin (as represented by the texts of the Cancioneiro Geral, Reino's Coplas, Lope de Rueda's characters, etc.) are characterized by a reduced syntax in which there are no functional heads (hence no functional projections), but only lexical heads and lexical projections. There is a significant, although highly controversial, research paradigm which attributes certain aspects of early child language to the lack of functional projections (cf. for example Aldridge 1988; Déprez and Pierce 1993; Hyams and Wexler 1993; Lebeaux 1988; Pierce 1992; Radford 1988, 1990). The interest arises from the observation that early child speech across a wide variety of languages tends to allow null subjects, even when the adult languages rigorously require overt subjects (e.g. English). 15

complementary distribution. Prior to the middle of the 17th century, Afro-Hispanic language was the result of contact with West African languages, the vast majority of which distinguish /l/ and /r/.

13) One collateral verification of the insertion of Bantu elements into Afro-Hispanic language comes in the evolution of phonetic patterns as evidenced in the literary imitations. Many bozal texts are characterized by the shift of /l/ to /l/ in all positions, a stereotype which became so characteristic of Afro-Hispanic pidgin that the 17th century humorist Quevedo (1988: 127) quipped that to speak guineo (bozal Spanish), "sabrás guineo en volviendo las r II, y al contrario: como Francisco, Flancico; primo, plimo" 'You will speak Guineo by changing r into l and vice versa, like...'. It is in fact not until the beginning of the 17th century, with such works as the "Tremitès de los negros" of Simón Aguado (ca. 1602), that literary Afro-Hispanic language begins to systematically depict the interchange of /l/ and /r/, usually in favor of the former sound. Quevedo's oft-quoted stereotype was produced only a few decades later. By this time, Africans from Bantu-speaking areas of the Congo Basin and Angola were present in large numbers, both in Spain and in Spanish-American colonies, and the recurring absence of a distinction between /l/ and /r/ in these languages begins to seep into literary authors' representations of bozal speech (Lipski 1995). An additional trait implicating Bantu influence is the continual confusion of /l/ and /d/ in later bozal texts; in the principal Bantu languages which interfaced with Portuguese and Spanish, /l/ and /d/ are in

15) For some observers, this is simply proof of the "unmarked" status of the positive setting of a "null subject parameter", but the eventual acquisition of non-null subject languages in the absence of negative evidence (e.g. explicit correction) is rendered difficult if not impossible.
If we accept the notion that a normal matrix sentence is a projection of the functional head INFL, then the canonical "subject" position is [SPEC, IP]. In a grammar which does not contain functional heads like INFL, there is no mechanism for generating a VP-external "subject" position. In accounting for the frequent subjectless sentences in early child speech, e.g. in English, some have claimed that the category INFL has not yet developed (e.g. Aldridge 1988, Radford 1990 for detailed analyses which claim that early child language lacks subject-verb concord of the sort which justifies the INFL postulate), hence there is no way for the external subject position [SPEC, IP] to be projected. Lebeaux (1988) goes even further, in claiming that in earliest child speech, what appear to be subjectless sentences are not even VPs, but simply the bare lexical entry for the verb. According to the principles and parameters approach to syntax, the subject theta-role is not projected by the lexical entry for a verb, but rather by the "extended projection principle". Thus if only the arguments selected by the verb are projected, a "subjectless sentence" will result.

Although there is considerable discussion over the details of the proposal, the notion that early child language contains no functional projections is supported by the absence of articles, complementizers, and stable subject-verb agreement, even in rich-AGR languages such as Spanish. However, in extending the "no functional head" claim to pidgins and other forms of second-language learners' speech, one must be careful not to confuse metaphor with reality. Early child speech, regardless of the theoretical model chosen to represent it, represents a developmentally immature grammar, in which certain notions have yet to emerge as in adult grammars. Thus it is that children at the "two word" stage need little else except bare nouns, verbs, and some adjectives, by such an approach. Similarly, the "subset principle", according to which children first tend to acquire a proper subset of adult language, would — if negative evidence is not allowed — also require that early child language use only overt subjects, since this configuration is a proper subset of adult "subject" grammars of languages like Spanish, in which both null and overt subjects are possible. These theoretical considerations notwithstanding, small children routinely produce all sorts of "small clauses" (in the sense of Radford 1988), without giving any indication that they are deftly flouting universal markedness constraints or struggling to overcome an innate parameter setting. As a result, many investigators have proposed that child grammars are themselves a proper subset of the adult grammars, in the sense of allowing fewer elements as heads, and therefore containing fewer syntactic projections. Although there is considerable variety among the available proposals, they coincide in suggesting that early child language has a structurally reduced syntax in comparison with adult language.

Not all child language sentences lack a subject; another line of approach is to attribute lack of an overt subject to processing constraints, which limit "sentences" to two major constituents: either subject-verb or verb-complement. Another approach is to analyze overt elements occurring in the canonical "subject" position as topics, not instantiating a 1-role (= theta-role) of the sentence itself. In Spanish, where subjects are also allowed in the base-generated VP-internal position, even the claim that no functional projections exist should allow for some overt subjects to appear, if no other processing constraints are operative.

and dispense entirely with prepositions, articles, complementizers, agreement markers, etc. In many respects, pidginized and rudimentary second-language learner speech is similar to child language, and in imitating pidgins, untrained or insensitive observers usually substitute their own notion of "baby talk". Indeed, "baby talk" as deliberate output by superstrate speakers has been suggested as a factor in pidgin and creole formation. Although this scenario is unlikely in most instances, attitudes of intolerance and perceived inferiority of a subordinate group do at times elicit baby-talk speech from fluent adult speakers. Some early bozal texts, in which displaced Africans were cast as overgrown children, drew more heavily from the writers' ideas about baby talk than from any observations of legitimate Afro-Hispanic pidgin.

Despite real and perceived similarities between child language and second-language learners/pidgin speakers, the latter are in possession of fully mature grammars of one or more languages, and have activated whatever resources Universal Grammar makes available to all natural language speakers. Even when struggling to acquire a new language under difficult and even threatening conditions, there is no reason to suppose that individuals in possession of a fully developed grammar will revert to syntactic patterns characteristic of earlier developmental stages. If functional heads are scarce or absent in rudimentary pidgins and second language learners' speech, it is not because the speakers lack the grammatical competence to project such categories, but only because bare-bones communication is often possible without heavy reliance on non-lexical categories. It is also likely that pidgins and second-language learners' speech will not categorically eliminate all functional heads, but may selectively fail to project certain types of heads, especially those which deviate most significantly from patterns in the speakers' native languages.

The bozal Spanish and Portuguese corpus shows many instances of deficient or nonexistent subject-verb agreement, which suggests that INFL, or at least the AGR component, was not a developed category in Afro-Hispanic pidgin. Among the early texts the lack of consistent agreement manifested itself in many different fashions, most prominently the third person singular, the uninflected infinitive, and the first person plural, especially the invariant copula samo(s) (Lipski 1996a, 1996c). Most of these examples also contain overt subject pronouns, which makes it untenable to claim that all forms of bozal Spanish lacked INFL, hence a [SPEC, IP] subject position. However, the 15th and early 16th century texts come closest to the vision of an Afro-Hispanic pidgin lacking most functional projections. This was the period in which few Africans had come into contact with European languages, and the black African community in the Iberian Peninsula was so small that no Afro-Hispanic speech group could form. The use of preverbal particles and the pleonastic preverbal lo both represent the same phenomenon: instantiating the functional category INFL in Afro-Hispanic pidgin.
Afro-Cuban *bozal* Spanish shows some examples of null subjects, particularly in conjoined constructions or when recoverable from the immediately preceding discourse.

(18) From Cabrera (1976):
- chiva ese que uté me da tiene do tetas. ¿Quién ha visto eso? Tienes do.
  'That goat that you gave me has two udders. Who ever saw such a thing? It has two.'
- Na do, né chém lo chicharrón caliente, [0] bebe de l'agua fría, y a la noche [0] pasó de lo catre a lo tibo 'The doctor ate the hot pork rinds, he drank cold water, and spent all night at the bedside'
- Hoy me encontré con soldá y [0] me punta con escopeta, [0] me pinchó con bayoneta, [0] dicen que me va matá, que neve va acabá con pacifico insurrecto 'Today I ran into some soldiers, they pointed their guns at me, they poked me with their bayonets, they said they were going to kill me, they were going to finish off the pacific insurrectionists'
- Palero no toca campanita pa Nganga, [0] no toca giro, [0] no toca la matraca, [0] no toca pito pa Cuatro Trillo. [0] No tiene tanta raimienta, [0] no tiene túnico ni banico. 'The palero doesn't ring the bell for Nganga, he doesn't play the gíro, he doesn't play the flute for the four Trillos. He doesn't have any implements, he doesn't have a robe or a fara'.

From (Cabrera 1975):
- Sienta, yo manda que sienta. Y ¿[0] sabes por qué? 'Sit down, I order you to sit down. Do you know why?'

These examples suggest that Afro-Hispanic and Chinese-Spanish pidgins\(^\text{17}\) were lacking an AGR/INFL node entirely, at least in their most rudimentary forms. As such, they had no ready syntactic position for a subject, and thus the subject could be freely omitted, just as in early developmental stages of Spanish. With

\[\text{17}\] The small but important Chinese pidgin Spanish corpus (Lipski 1998b, 1999) shows a greater preference for null subjects in the presence of invariant verbs. Like Spanish, Cantonese permits null subjects. The manner in which null subjects are licensed is quite different however, given that Chinese languages have no subject-verb agreement, and arguably have no INFL node whatsoever. Subject identification is effected through discourse-level constraints, intimately linked to the possibility for null and non-gap topics, and syntactic binding of null subjects by discourse antecedents (cf. Chung 1984; Cole 1987; Gilligan 1987; Hermon and Yoon 1989; Huang 1984; Jaeggli and Safir 1989; Raposo 1986; Rizzi 1986; Suñer and Yépez 1988; Wheeler 1982). Cantonese also permits null (definite) direct objects, a configuration which is not allowed in Spanish, except for some Andean varieties characterized by Spanish-Quechua bilingualism. The high degree of null subjects in Cantonese (which are often preferred over overt pronominal subjects in normal discourse contexts) is often carried over to Chinese pidgin Spanish, a feature which runs against the normal stable/expanded pidgin and creole tendency to employ overt subject pronouns to compensate for loss of verbal inflection.

BOZAL SPANISH: RESTRUCTURING OR CREOLIZATION?

8. Conclusions

Afro-Hispanic *bozal* language never underwent complete restructuring due to its limited status as a native or near-native language. However, in 19th century Cuba the conditions favoring restructuring briefly existed in some of the larger sugar plantations, and reconstruction of the initial gambits in this direction suggests a process of creolization which would ultimately have led to a language combining features found in Papiamentu, Palenquero, and Cape Verdian/ Guinea-Bissau Creole. What happened instead was the transitory creation of mixed-language verb phrases — during the decades when Yoruba-speaking communities existed in Cuba — together with the partial displacement of existing Spanish structures to more closely match those of the *bozal* speakers' native languages. This scenario reconstructed with the help of the Afro-Cuban data potentially sheds light on the formation of fully-developed Afro-Iberian creoles. The principal difference between Afro-Caribbean *bozal* Spanish and the above-mentioned creoles is that in the 19th century Caribbean, contact with significant native or near-native models of Spanish was never removed to the extent found in those Afro-American societies where creole languages emerged. Speakers of Yoruba, Kikongo, and other languages did not enjoy the degree of personal freedom and interaction with native Spanish speakers as, say, the average German Gastarbeiter, but because Afro-Cuban pidgin was not formed in maroon communities or slave holding stations, there was never a total separation from the full Spanish-speaking community. A key factor in the rise and fall of *bozal* Spanish is the inevitable presence of a group of intermediaries, namely slave drivers, overseas, teamsters, and other suppliers of goods and services who provided the linguistic and cultural bridges between *bozal* slaves and the surrounding Spanish-speaking population. These intermediaries — known as *mayorales*, *contramayorales*, *capataces* and *mayordemos* — were invariably free blacks and mulattoes. Although born in the colonies and speaking Spanish natively, given their own relative isolation from wider
segments of the Spanish-speaking population, they may have used an ethnically marked variety. There is some evidence, for example, that the gender-invariant third person pronoun *elle*, the invariant copula *son*, and the invariant verb *va* 'to go' were retained among the more marginalized sectors of the native-born and Spanish-speaking Afro-Cuban population. African-born *bozales* in a Caribbean plantation environment would hear, in decreasing order of frequency, (1) the pidginiñed Spanish of other non-native Spanish speakers, including other African-born workers as well as laborers from other Caribbean islands who spoke Afro-Atlantic creoles natively, and whose approximations to Spanish would be nudged closer to creoloid structures; (2) Cuban-born workers, including foremen and supply personnel, all of whom spoke nonstandard varieties of Spanish, and some of whom may have used ethnonlinguistically marked forms; (3) native speakers of prestige dialects of Spanish. In the plantation environment, contact with the third group would be minimal, and even slaves living in the cities often had little direct contact with the speech of the ruling classes. It is the interface between the *bozales* and the intersection of the first and second groups — that is, other Africans as well as speakers of creoles formed in contact with West African languages — that was responsible for the restructuring that shaped Afro-Cuban speech. The African-influenced constructions surveyed above, which run the gamut from second language learners' approximations to radical departures from Spanish grammar, are not the result of decolonization, but rather represent the full extent of the Afro-Hispanic linguistic interface. Africans in the 19th century Spanish Caribbean reinforced each other's use of Spanish, in direct proportion to the structural homogeneity of their respective native languages. In the case of Yoruba or kiKongo and their African neighbors, this grammatical congruity was quite high. The urgency to speak a crisis variety of Spanish pidgin with other Africans and Caribbean-born workers — which if left to itself would encourage radical creolization — was tempered by the proportionately greater part of the average communicative day of the Cuban *bozal* which could be spent using a shared native language with other Africans. This demographic configuration had rarely existed in the past, but the massive ethnic homogenization which resulted from the final wave of slave importation into the Spanish Caribbean significantly altered the acquisitional model by modifying the relative amounts of time spent speaking Spanish or an African language. And when these *bozales* did speak Spanish, it was frequently to (nonstandard) Spanish-speaking overseers, which further dilutes the proportion of the acquisitional spectrum which provided input only from other pidginizing speakers. The resulting variety of Spanish combines indisputable substratal features, deriving from the considerable percentage of time *bozales* from major African ethnic groups spent speaking their own language and the ready acceptance of substratum-influenced Spanish constructions by fellow *bozales*. This is the clearest available evidence of contact-induced alteration of Spanish as a result of the African diaspora, not

the abrupt creolization that took place in maroon communities and slave depots, but rather the gradual emergence of an interlanguage containing coherent substratal features superimposed on an ever-closer approximation to received Spanish. Caribbean *bozal* Spanish in its least coherent form was a structurally reduced variety of Spanish sharing features with other learners' modes and not likely to coalesce into a stable creole. When a more homogeneous and more readily accessible substratum was present, as in the Yoruba- and kiKongo-speaking Afro-Cuban communities, the resulting interlanguage shared similarities with partially restructured varieties of Spanish in the Andean region, where comparable demographic and sociolinguistic conditions obtained. By treating contact-induced *bozal* Spanish as a steadily evolving interlanguage rather than as the product of interrupted transmission which produces creolization, a more accurate picture of events shaping 19th century Afro-Caribbean Spanish can be obtained. If the evolved *bozal* interlanguage did not leave as lasting an imprint on Caribbean Spanish as Quechua- and Aymara-based interlanguages have left on Andean Spanish, the answer must be sought in the rapid loss of African languages among successive generations of Caribbean-born Afro-Cubans, as compared with the continued presence of indigenous languages in the same communities which underlie Andean Spanish.

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Centre africain et périphérie portugaise dans le Créole santiagais du Cap Vert?

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Le problème

La créolisation d'une langue présuppose un travail individuel de personnes alloglottes qui, ignorant cette langue, cherchent à analyser des discours tenus en elle à l'aide des catégories de leurs propres langues. Cette analyse se fait non seulement en vue d'une compréhension momentanée de ce qui est dit, mais surtout en vue d'une communication prolongée avec les locuteurs de cette langue. Une langue est dite "créole" dans la mesure où elle conserve les traces de cette première et inévitable démarche.

On peut donc s'attendre à trouver dans les créoles des structures qui dérivent de structures caractérisant leurs langues dites "de substrat", sans que, bien entendu, ces structures soient nécessairement identiques à celles des "substrats" (cf., pour cette réserve, Lang 1996: 66). On peut encore s'attendre à trouver, dans n'importe quel créole, des structures inédites, surgies dans le processus de la créolisation ou plus tard, au cours de l'histoire de ce créole. Pris ensemble ces deux types de structures, d'ailleurs souvent difficiles à distinguer les unes des autres, forment ce qu'on pourrait appeler les structures "exotiques" d'un créole par rapport à celles déjà présentes dans ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler sa langue "de base".

Je me propose d'offrir, à une autre occasion, une liste de telles structures "exotiques" pour le créole de l'île de Santiago au Cap Vert (cf. aussi Lang 1994). Dans ce qui suit, je présenterai deux ensembles de structures repérées dans ce créole qui, par contre, semblent être de véritables calques de structures portugaises. Qu'on puisse aussi trouver, dans un créole, des structures imitant de très près celles de sa langue de base, cela pourrait paraître surprenant pour ceux qui adhèrent à une conception de la créolisation proche de celle que je viens de

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