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

John M. Lipski

*The Pennsylvania State University*

1. Introduction

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Spanish and Portuguese languages throughout the world is the African contribution. There exists a tantalizing corpus of literary, folkloric and anecdotal testimony on the earlier speech patterns of Africans, in the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America. In Spain and Portugal, the populations of African origin have long since been absorbed into the prevailing cultural and racial patterns, while in contemporary Latin America, despite a considerable Afro-American population in many regions, and notwithstanding racial stereotypes in literature and popular culture, there is nowhere to be found an ethnically unique `Black Spanish,' comparable to vernacular Black English in the United States. Arguably there is no `black Portuguese' in Brazil either, although the issue is clouded by the apparent restructuring of colonial vernacular Brazilian Portuguese through massive contact with African languages. The situation was different in the past, and there exists ample evidence that distinctly Afro-Hispanic speech forms did exist. The greatest obstacle in the assessment of earlier Afro-Iberian language is the high level of prejudice, exaggeration and stereotyping which has always surrounded the description of non-white speakers of Spanish, and which attributes to all of them a wide range of defects and distortions that frequently are no more than an unrealistic repudiation of this group. In the following remarks, I will survey the principal literary imitations of `Africanized' Spanish and Portuguese, with an eye towards determining what element of veracity they might contain. In particular we will discover a cyclic pattern, oscillating between reasonably accurate linguistic imitations (although riddled with cultural...
stereotypes and vicious word-play) and totally fanciful formulaic representations, perhaps based on some earlier legitimate Afro-Hispanic speech, but out of touch with the reality of the time. Not surprisingly, these cycles coincide with the demographic proportions of first- and second-language speakers of Spanish or Portuguese among the populations of African origin, in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Americas. Thus, in the 15th, 16th, and early 17th centuries, natives of Africa who struggled to speak Spanish or Portuguese were abundant in the major cities of Spain and Portugal, and literary imitations reveal demonstrable features of these language contacts. By the middle of the 17th century and continuing on through the 19th century in Spain and Portugal, the arrival of African-born second-language speakers of Spanish or Portuguese diminished to a mere trickle (although in the 19th century Portugal once again brought a number of workers from their African colonies); literary imitations concentrated on a handful of facile and formulaic stereotypes, most of which were irrelevant to a population which spoke Spanish or Portuguese natively, quite likely with little or no linguistic features which would reflect their African ethnicity. In Latin America, most 17th and 18th century imitations of Africans’ attempts at speaking Spanish and Portuguese continued Peninsular stereotypes, although the African-born population was considerable in many areas. During the 19th century there occurred a great outpouring of Afro-Hispanic literary imitations, mostly from Cuba, Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Given the high percentage of African-born speakers during this last tidal wave of the slave trade, imitations tended to be linguistically accurate, if sometimes exaggerated and overblown, and the accuracy of these imitations continues into the early 20th century, especially in the Caribbean, where African-born Spanish speakers could still be found. The final sweep of the cycle includes much of contemporary Latin America, where literary depictions of ‘black’ Spanish (invariably spoken by native Spanish speakers of African descent) inaccurately suggest
objective linguistic differences between monolingual Spanish dialects and sociolects based on race or ethnicity. The linguistic features thus ascribed to `black’ Spanish are usually common to all popular strata in the countries in question, especially among the socially most marginalized sectors of society, in which individuals of African origin are overrepresented. That not all such stereotyping is racist in origin emerges from the fact that several prominent Afro-Hispanic writers (including Nicolás Guillén, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Nelson Estupiñàn Bass, Adalberto Ortiz, and Manuel Zapata Olivella) have also linked vernacular speech traits to speakers of African origin, assigning only `normal’ unmarked Spanish to their other personages.

2. The cycle begins: Portugal

Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts, although occurring sporadically throughout the Middle Ages, emerged as a significant phenomenon in the 15th century, with Portuguese explorations of the West African coast. Although Portuguese contact with Africa had begun in the 1420's, with voyages commissioned by Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese first established permanent contacts with sub-Saharan Africa in 1445, upon building a trading station on Arguim Island, off the coast of present-day Mauritania. Following these initial contacts, Portugal established a permanent presence along the Gold Coast (Ghana) at the fortress of Elmina, and in the Congo Basin. All these contacts engendered greater awareness of the specifics of `African’ linguistic interference in Portuguese. Portugal was also acquiring greater familiarity with African geographical and ethnological terminology, albeit with considerable inaccuracy. This developing ethnolinguistic awareness, together with the inevitable fruits of language contact between Portuguese and Africans, emerged in literary imitations of Africanized Portuguese, beginning with a trickle of poems and songs, and culminating in a torrent of popular literature that encompassed the entire Iberian Peninsula (Brásio 1944, Saunders 1982, Tinhorão 1988).
Shortly thereafter, the African presence in southern Spain took on significant proportions, at first via Portugal, and later supplemented by direct contacts between Spain and West Africa. Africans arriving in the Iberian Peninsula often learned only the most rudimentary forms of Spanish and Portuguese, and their halting attempts at speaking European languages earned them the name of bozal (boçal in Portuguese), a term roughly meaning `savage, untamed.' From the outset, the pidginized Portuguese and then Spanish spoken by Africans was recorded in literature, first in poems and later in songs, plays, and prose. The earliest texts come from Portugal, written in the late 15th century. The earliest texts are poems in the Cancioneiro geral, published by Garcia de Ressende in 1516, but the earliest of the poems is dated 1455. In the early 16th century, Gil Vicente used Africanized Portuguese pidgin in several play, and the literary representation of Afro-Portuguese language recurred frequently during the 17th century, occasionally extending into the 18th century, in Portugal and Brazil {HANDOUT A}. By the early 16th century, the original Portuguese fala de preto had spread to Spain, and the corresponding habla de negro appeared in Spanish literature, and flourished until the end of the 17th century in Golden Age literature {HANDOUT B}. Spanish writers of the stature of Lope de Rueda, Góngora, Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and Quiñones de Benavente, as well as scores of lesser-known writers, routinely presented African characters speaking bozal Spanish.

The early Afro-Portuguese texts, written during a period in which sub-Saharan Africans were present in ever greater numbers in southern Portugal, contain many linguistic features which can be independently verified, since they made their way into the Portuguese-derived creole languages of West Africa, including São Tomé, Príncipe, and Annobón in the Gulf of Guinea, as well as the Portuguese creoles of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau and the Afro-Hispanic Caribbean creoles Papiamentu (Netherlands Antilles) and Palenquero (Afro-Colombian...
village of Palenque de San Basilio). Other traits found in Afro-Portuguese literature are simply those common to all second-language learners struggling with an unfamiliar language under difficult circumstances. Repeating traits which in all probability actually occurred in Afro-Portuguese bozal speech include {HANDOUT #19}:

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

Some of these traits can be directly attributed to contact with African languages; for example the confusion of prevocalic /l/ and /h/, which does not appear in Spain or Portugal until the late 16th century, is a feature of the Bantu language family, with many of the languages prominently represented in the Portuguese incursions into the Congo Basin and Angola. Similarly, use of (a)mim as subject pronoun, a practice already begun in the Mediterranean Lingua Franca and
influenced by northern Italian dialects in which *mi* had replaced *io* as subject pronoun, was reinforced by the coincidental similarity of first-person singular subject pronouns across a wide variety of West African languages, from the Senegambia region into the Congo/Angola area, all of the form *mi/ami/emi*. The adding of vowels to break up consonant clusters and word-final consonants reflects the fact that most of the African languages which came into contact with Portuguese and Spanish have no consonant clusters or syllable-final consonants; modern vernacular Brazilian Portuguese continues to ameliorate consonant groups in this fashion: *flor* > *fulor*, *advogado* > *adevogado*, *Nova York* > *Nova Yorqui*, etc. In the aggregate, the early literary imitations are consistent with documented Afro-Lusitanian language, from which we can conclude that these Portuguese authors were interpreting foreigners’ Portuguese for their own literary purposes, rather than re-inventing a non-viable speech mode as a social commentary. There is even some evidence that descendents of Africans born in Portugal and speaking Portuguese natively may have retained a few ethnolinguistic markers, such as *sioro* and *dioso* for *senhor* and *Deus* and even the invariant copula *sa*, as deliberate assertions of ethnicity.

Eventually, however, no discernible ‘African’ Portuguese remained, and the large quantity of late 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} century pamphlet literature, almanacs, and calendars produced in Portugal and purporting to represent ‘black’ Portuguese were throwbacks based on earlier literary paradigms. That stylized use of speech traits which had disappeared from common usage nearly two centuries previously resurfaced in 19\textsuperscript{th} century Portugal is a testimony to the power of the Afro-Portuguese linguistic interface during its heyday.

3. The cycle continues: Golden Age Spain

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

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

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

(2) neutralization of /d/ and /r/, usually in favor of the latter element;
(3) loss of /s/, originally only in word-final redundant contexts (e.g. n the verbal desinence -mos and in such words as Jesús, además, etc.) and later in other syllable-final cases;

(d) neutralization of /y/ and /ll/, always in favor of the former phoneme;

(e) epenthetic nasal consonants, particularly in the shift negro > nenglo/nengro/nengre and llamar > ñamar.

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

4. From authentic to stereotype: the later Golden Age

After the reasonably authentic early 17th century examples by writers such as Lope de Vega and Góngora, changes in the literary representation of Africans become evident, although some later texts continue to duplicate earlier patterns, well into the 18th century. In general, grammatical deformations become less frequent, except for stereotyped morphological distortions such as diosa < Dios. Greater emphasis is placed on phonetic patterns and word play, unrealistically coupled with essentially normal Spanish grammar. Thus Quevedo (1988:127) once joked in the `Libro de todas las cosas,' that `sabrás guineo [= bozal Spanish:JML] en volviendo las rr ll, y al contrario: como
Francisco, Flancico; primo, plimo.' The most frequent stereotyping was not phonetic distortion but humorous plays on words, such as the frequent cagayero/cagayera for caballero, in the use of onomatopoeia and humorous pseudo-African songs, and in the repetition of stock lines such as `aunque negro(s), gente somo(s).'</p>

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

5. A new cycle in Spanish America

Beginning in the early 17th century, songs and poems written in Latin America attributed a similar language to African-born slaves, with the most famous examples being found in some
villancicos by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz [HANDOUT #35]. Other surviving 17th century documents demonstrate the existence of bozal Spanish in the highland mining areas of Peru, Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia and Guatemala. By the 18th century, literary representations of Africanized Spanish in Latin America broke away from the Golden Age patterns, and came to more closely resemble vernacular Caribbean and coastal South American Spanish of today, as well as Ibero Romance-based creoles. Few documents representing Afro-Hispanic speech remain from 18th century Latin America; Cuba and Mexico are among the regions so represented (cf. Megenney 1985a, Lipski 1995).

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

Beginning around the turn of the 19th century in Latin America, there is a great outpouring of imitations of bozal language [HANDOUT C]; by far the most extensive corpus comes from Cuba, the second largest group comes from Buenos Aires and Montevideo, with relatively small numbers of texts coming from Peru and Puerto Rico. Significantly, there are no known bozal imitations from the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Panama, or Colombia from this time period, reflecting the proportionally small number of African-born bozales in these colonies. The existent Afro-Caribbean texts run the gamut from the crude parodies of past centuries to reasonably accurate travellers' observations, anthropological descriptions of local customs and language, and works written by abolitionist authors who had no reason to denigrate
Afro-Hispanic language. These abolitionist writers, whose imitations of bozal speech cannot be dismissed as racist parodies, were responsible for only a fraction of the Afro-Hispanic literary imitations from the 19th century Caribbean. Much more frequent were poems, newspaper columns, plays and novels, whose authenticity ranged from the most vulgar stereotypes to accurate—if not flattering—approximations to Afro-Hispanic pidgin. Particularly popular was the figure of the negro catedrático, speaking a macaronic mixture of erudite Spanish, filled with humorous malapropisms and fancy-sounding invented words, and at times infantile and ungrammatical Spanish. The sheer number of such texts, as well as the availability of information on the authors, makes evaluation of the linguistic details somewhat easier, especially when compared with the living memories described previously.

The earliest known bozal texts from the Río Plata come from the first decades of the 19th century (cf. the Appendix), which extrapolating backwards can be taken to represent AP speech of the final decades of the 18th century. In view of the demographics of the African population in the Río Plata, it is doubtful that a coherent bozal Spanish was found in Montevideo or Buenos much before the second half of the 18th century, although individual African slaves would speak a rudimentary approximation to Spanish when first learning this language. By the end of the 18th century, Afro-Hispanic speech in the Río Plata was more than a minimal pidgin, and appears to have had some consistent traits which were recognized by native Spanish speakers and used in literary representations of bozal speech. AP texts recur throughout the 19th century and continue into the first decades of the 20th century, representing little more than a century of Afro-Hispanic language, during which time little evolution can be noted. By the end of this period, only a few true bozales remained in the Río Plata, but given de facto social and cultural segregation of the black population in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, it is conceivable that second-generation
Afro-Americans in these cities exhibited speech patterns that did not entirely coincide with those of white criollos.

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

By the middle of the 19th century, Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans began to speak with their own voices, via the medium of the Carnival. With the Carnival, Africans formed comparsas and actively participated in Carnival events, including dancing and songs in which AP language often appeared. The music and dancing was in turn part of an even older tradition, dating back to the time when bozal slaves were allowed to organize dances and sing work songs. In Buenos Aires and particularly in Montevideo, Afro-Hispanic cultural and linguistic traditions in the Carnival continued until well into the 20th century, although by this time legitimate bozal Spanish had long since disappeared from the Río Plata. In Uruguay, for example, the music of the tamboriles or African drums continues to be played at Carnival time (Ayestarán 1990), and contemporary Afro-Uruguayan theatre and dance groups preserve some of the earlier traditions,
although without imitation of bozal language. The Buenos Aires Carnival, with its Afro-Hispanic comparsas, no longer exists, but its activities have been well documented.

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

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

Despite considerable variation in the literary nature, the linguistic features of 19th century Argentine, Uruguayan, Peruvian, Cuban and Puerto Rican Afro-Hispanic texts reflect predictable features of second-language Spanish, combined with the by now well-established Bantu family pattern of confusing /l/ and /r/. Many of the grammatical forms of Golden Age Afro-Hispanic language disappear, such as the invariant copular verb sa and use of (amí) as subject pronoun, while some new features occasionally creep in. Frequent in Afro-Cuban texts and found occasionally elsewhere is the invariant copula son (yo son, tú son, nosotros son, etc.). Also found in Cuba and Puerto Rico was the invariant third person pronoun elle or nelle, still remembered and actually used by some very old Afro-Cuba speakers. Some Afro-Cuban texts use the preverbal particle ta followed by an invariant verb derived from the infinitive, as in yo ta hablá, tú ta queré, etc., a construction also found in many Afro-Iberian creole languages. Some linguists have pointed to the existence of this construction—abundant in the writings of Lydia Cabrera and certain other Cuban authors—as proof that Afro-Hispanic language actually
coalesced into a stable creole language in the Caribbean, but the majority of Afro-Caribbean texts show only the normal errors of verb conjugation found among second-language learners of Spanish. Moreover my own research suggests that in some cases what Cuban writers were hearing was the Spanish of black laborers imported from other Caribbean islands and already speaking Afro-European creole languages with similar structures, particularly Papiamentu of Curaçao, whose speakers are amply documented in 19th century Cuba and Puerto Rico.

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

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

In contemporary Latin America, there is no ethnically identifiable ‘black Spanish,’ comparable to vernacular African-American English in the United States or Caribbean English in Great Britain. There are a number of isolated Afro-Hispanic speech communities in which some vestiges of earlier bozal language may remain; there are also many instances where Afro-American speakers of other Caribbean creole languages such as Haitian Creole and Jamaican English Creole use Spanish extensively as a second language, with consistently recognizable characteristics which some observers might mistake for a ‘black’ Spanish [HANDOUT D]. These speakers have virtually no linguistic effect on the surrounding communities, and their speech patterns are generally unknown outside of the limited areas in which they occur. Despite these facts, for the past century—that is well after truly second-language bozal Spanish had disappeared from Latin American nations—a number of writers have created literary stereotypes in which a marked form of language is attributed exclusively to (usually poor and marginalized) black speakers. In most instances the writings are racist in tone, although some Afro-Hispanic writers have deliberately adopted this ‘special’ language in order to give voice to dispossessed citizens of African origin. In all instances, the speech traits in question—nearly all phonetic in nature—are common in the vernacular speech of the region, irrespective of race. Indeed, with few exceptions all of these traits are common to vernacular Spanish worldwide, and represent linguistically universal patterns of consonant and vowel reduction. It is therefore instructive to examine the literary creation of objectively specious Afro-Hispanic language, and to ponder its place in the final cycle of Afro-Iberian literary representations.
The Cuban linguist Sergio Valdés Bernal (1971), who has extensively studied Afro-Cuban language past and present, adamantly asserts that:

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

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

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

It is evident that, regardless of his qualifications as an explorer and an anthropologist, Hassaurek was a questionable linguist, who was strongly influenced by stereotypes and generalizations that even in the 19th century were invalid for Hispanic American dialectology. The fact that the choteños' songs were incomprehensible to the visitor (who apparently was not entirely fluent in
Spanish) says nothing essential about the local Spanish dialect, but rather exemplifies a natural phenomenon, the phonetic deformation of sung language and the stylistic discrepancies between daily speech patterns and the lyrics of popular songs. Despite this fact, the historian from Esmeraldas, Julio Estupiñán Tello 1967: 45-8) speaks of the settlements in the interior of Esmeraldas province that had virtually no contact with the outside world until the Ibarra-San Lorenzo railroad link was constructed a few decades ago, and where "los negros vivían semidesnudos y hablaban su propio dialecto ... así los encontró el ferrocarril Ibarra-San Lorenzo cuando por primera vez atravesó estas comarcas." Other linguists such as Peter Boyd-Bowman have also referred erroneously to a `black' dialect of Ecuadoran Spanish. In once such account, Speiser (1985: 36) describes the speech of the predominantly black coastal province of Esmeraldas:

Visto que los negros esmeraldeños provienen de las tribus más distintas del Africa no podían mantener un idioma propio. Desde el principio de su estadía en Esmeralds les tocó hablar castellano, pero sí desarrollaron un dialecto propio:

hablan muy rápido, comiéndose algunas letras, sobre todo las "s." Además existe una serie de palabras que no se conocen en otras partes, como potro por canoa, mampora por guineo, y otras más.

The distinguished Ecuadoran linguist Toscano Mateus Mateus (1953: 19-20), while describing the phonetic characteristics of coastal Ecuadoran Spanish, claimed that `... no son menos peculiares del español haablado por negros. Estos, sobre todo en ciertas zonas donde antiguamente vivieron a sus anchas, sin mayor relación con el blanco, llegaron a desarrollar una jerga de la que todavía deben quedar rastros.'
In the introduction to a book of Afro-Panamanian poems by the Panamanian writer Víctor Franceschi, Matilde Elena López claims that `... se puede en Panamá, con rasgos propios dentro de la rica temática negra ... en la poesía americana, el acento negro no es un modo único, pero se impone con una fuerza tan poderosa, que la aventura rítmica en que se mezclan atavismos africanos y tradiciones indígenas ...' (Franceschi 1956: 12). She also asserts—again erroneously—that `Existe el acento de color ...' (Franceschi 1956: 13).

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

Speaking of the presumed existence of a natively spoken Afro-Cuban Spanish in the early 20th century, Fernando Ortiz (1916: 180) claimed: `Ese lenguaje se oye aún mucho en las comarcas campesinas donde antaño abundaron cañaverales, barracones y cachimbos y es marcada la persistencia y a veces el predominio de los elementos negroides descendientes de las africanas dotaciones.' For Mansour (1973: 170), la imitación del negro en la requiere `hablar como él, pronunciar el español como él ... así algunos poetas nегristas ... recrearon en sus obras el "dialecto" de los negros hispanoamericanos ...'
Wilson (1979: 66), citing the Afro-Uruguayan poetry of Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, says that `el poeta uruguayo no emplea casi el habla dialectal.' The Afro-Colombian writer Manuel Zapata Olivella (1987: 68) affirms that

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

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

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

Until only a few decades ago, Cuban radio drama prominently featured the personage of the negro, speaking in a distinctive language which listeners readily identified—this despite the fact that not all of the actors were Afro-Cubans. One black radio actor, Amador Domínguez, aspired to a more intellectual career, and tried to distance himself from the inevitable type-casting as buffoon. His aspirations were rebuffed by the station manager, who responded `¡ Bah!
Tu negocio es seguir hablando como negro!' (López 1981: 393; Lipski 1985).

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

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

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

Similar opinions have been voiced regarding supposed Afro-Hispanic language in other countries. The distinguished Puerto Rican linguist Alvarez Nazario (1974: 175) referred to `la tendencia del negro a la nasalidad,' an opinion reiterated by his compatriot Rubén del Rosario (1956: 8): `los negros esclavos, base de la población negra y mestiza, tenían una clara propensión a la nasalidad ... el negro trajo o desarrolló su hábito de nasalizar ...' Speaking of supposed Afro-Peruvian language, Romero (1987: 102) speaks of the `número abundante de nasalizaciones vocálicas, que parece provenieran de influencias afronegras.'

(1958) described coastal Afro-Mexican language as `special,' although not quite claiming that a
black Spanish existed in Mexico. Muhammad (1995: 175) says that ‘the language of Afro-
Mexicans is sometimes said to be "unintelligible Spanish" ... this unique Spanish dialect ... 
developed because maroon communities were isolated from the rest of the country.’ In his study 
of Afro-Hispanic novels in Latin America, Jackson (1986: 73) says that ‘todas las novelas 
revelan el uso de un idioma recreado por los esclavos y lleno de elementos africanos y 
características del habla de la comunidad afrohispanoamericana de las 

In a linguistic study of Afro-Hispanic poetry Kubayanda (1982: 22) declared that ‘... in 
learning Spanish the Africans in Spain or in the Americas would tend, almost in the same way as 
their Motherland brothers, to transpose or disregard the peculiar phonological units. Only the 
rare circumstances of rigorous formal education can prevent this from happening on a large 
scale.’ Later he adds(23) ‘Of significance in these phonemic gains and losses, alternations and 
dislocations is the presence in written Spanish through the ages and across territorial boundaries 
of African oral varieties. These varieties reached both the literate and nonliterate speech 
societies of Spain and the Americans mainly through social and culture contacts.’ 
Contrary to the many writers who have claimed the existence of a contemporary ‘black’ Spanish 
in Latin America, other observers have denied the existence of such an ethnically distinct 
language. López Morales (1971: 67) asserts that purported Afro-Cuban speech merely 
continues the Andalusian character of popular Cuban Spanish. Valdés-Cruz (1974: 93), 
commenting on the supposedly ‘Africanized’ Spanish used by Lydia Cabrera in her Afro-Cuban 
 writings, notes that:

   Cuando incluye palabras en un español deformado que imita el habla de los 
egrigueros, se vale de ciertos recursos, como la supresión de la "s" o de otras 
consonantes finales y a veces hasta de toda la sílaba final (má por más; seño por
señor, tó por todo). Otro recurso es el de la asimilación y la pérdida de consonantes interiores o el de la confusión de los sonidos "l" y "r" (cansao por cansado; yebba por yerba; arma por alma).

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

That matters have not been resolved in favor of those who claim no special `Afro’ Spanish in contemporary Latin America, {HANDOUT E} provides a selection of literary fragments in which distinctive language is attributed to black characters, and is not found in the speech of characters of other racial backgrounds. Invariably, phonetic modifications found in all varieties of popular Spanish, or peculiar to certain coastal dialects, are the sole features of this supposedly `Afro-Hispanic’ language. Unlike true bozal texts of earlier times, when the second-language nature of Africans’ Spanish was revealed by significant grammatical modifications, modern `black’ Spanish literary imitations show no deviations from the speech of uneducated but indisputably native speakers of Spanish. The most common phonetic features ascribed to black characters are the loss of syllable- and word-final /s/, and the interchange of syllable- and word-
final /l/ and /r/, usually in favor of [I] or total loss of the sound. Both phenomena are widely
found in southern Spain, the Canary Islands, and many regions of Latin America, independent of
any former African presence. Indeed, these features are common to the evolution of the
Romance languages, as a glance at any manual of Romance philology will demonstrate. Loss of
intervocalic and word-final /d/ is another pan-Hispanic speech trait sometimes associated with
literary ‘black’ Spanish. Only the pronunciation of intervocalic /d/ as [r], found in coastal
Colombia and Ecuador (e.g. Candelario Obeso {HANDOUT #86}, Arnaldo Palacios
{HANDOUT #87} {HANDOUT #92}) probably has its origins in the former prevalent use of
Spanish as a second language among Africans. The feature is not uniquely African; indeed
speakers of most languages, including English, similarly distort Spanish /d/, as any basic
language teacher can attest.

In contemporary Brazilian literature there is a smaller but no less poignant suggestion
that a ‘black Portuguese’ may exist in Brazil, a claim which cannot be rejected as readily as for
Latin American Spanish, but which has been overstated in literature. Limitations of time
preclude a detailed examination of contemporary Brazilian literature, but once again
predominantly popular phonetic features define the ‘black Portuguese’ dialect. These include
loss of final /t/ in

mulher > muié), loss of /s/ across noun phrases except for the first instances, usually an article (os livro velho), loss of /s/ in the verbal endings –mos and in such words as mesmo > memo. The only grammatical trait commonly found is use of the third person singular verb with other subjects, such as nós trabalha, êles trabalha. Whereas the latter trait strongly hints of an earlier stage when
Portuguese was spoken as a second language in Brazil, all these features are found in vernacular
Brazilian Portuguese as spoken by Brazilians of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.
7. Whither Afro-Hispanic language?

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

1. From 'Carta de D. Affonso rei do Congo, a el rei D. Manuel [Portugal]–5 de outubro de 1514'

Muito alto e muy poderoso pryncpe Rey e Senhor. Nos dom affomso por graça de deus Rey de conguo e senhor dos ambudos etc. “Nos encomendamos a sua alteza como a Rey e Senhor que muyto amamos e lhe fazemos saber como em vida de nosso padre semdo nos crystaõ e crendo firmemente na fie de noso Senhor Ihesu Christo e asy dom pedro meu prymo hum fidallguo de nossa terra dise a EIRey nosso senhor como eu e dom pedro nosso primo eramos crystaõs e que cryamos emdes caro e nos seus ydolos pollo quall EIRey nosso padre dise que querya mandar trazer o dito dom pedro ao seu tereyro pero a mandar matar pero ver se deus o lyvraria daly e que a nos tyrar a renda ...

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

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

3. Fragment from Anrique da Mota (in Cancioneiro Geral–1516)

a mym nunca, nunca mym
entornar
mym andar augoá jardim,
a mym nunca ssar rroym,
porque bradar?
Bradar com almexer ico,
Alvaro Lopo tambéém.
Vos loguo todos chamar,
vos beber,
vos pipa nunca tapar,
vos a mym quero pinguar,
mm morrer.

4. Fragments from Gil Vicente

O clérigo de Beyra (ca. 1530)

Ja a mi forro, nama sa cativo.
Boso conhece Maracote?
Corregidor Tibão he.
Elle comprai mi primeiero;
quando ja paga a rinheiro,
deita a mi fero na pé.
He masa bredora aquele,
aramá que te ero Maracote ...
Qu’he quesso que te furta?...
Jeu, Jeju, Deoso consabrado!
Aramá tanta ladrão!
Jeu! Jeju! hum caralasão;

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

Auto das regateiras

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

Prática de oito figuras

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

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

hora beyio sua pee co sua caracanhar merado
mi trazez ca lu recado pera bay a booso merce.
Eu sa negro de booso yrmão que ronte de Brasil chegou ...
Portugal sa elle agora tam bragante hora tam fermosante ...

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

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

8. Fragment of anón. `Sâ qui turo’ (ca. 1647)

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

9. Letter from ‘Rei Angola’ to ‘Rei Minas’ (Lisbon, 1730)

seoro cumpadra Re Mina Zambiampum taté, sabe vozo, que nossos festa sa Domingo,
e que vozo hade vir fazer os forgamenta, ya vussé não falta vussé cumpadra, que os may Zoana os fia dos may Maulicia, e dos may Zozefa sa biscondessa dos taraya, nos processão hade vozo cantar o Zaramangoé, e traize vussé nos forfia que o pay Zozé
nos fezo o cutambahla, zanahba cuyé numas minueta, agora se vozo vem zangana se não zangana vussé homembo Zambiampum taté muitos ano.
(10) Fragment from *Plonostico culioso, e lunario pala os anno de 1819, telceila depoie dos bissextio*

Aviso ós pubrico: Amado Flegueza, m im vai a continuar com os Repertoria dos presente Anno, e zurgo dever repetir os Advertencia, que os Repertoria que tiver nos Flontespicia, ou Subsclita: Porto, na Oficina de Viuva Alvarez Ribeiro, e Filhos ser mia, e outlo quaisquer de Pleto, que appaleça debaixo dos mia nome, não sendo ali implesso, ser falso; tomo vozo tento, pala nã ser enganaro.

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

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

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

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

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

Já non pore deixá de incricá os cabeça, e confessá, que vozo doutrina só hunz doutrina tão craro, e verdadeiro, que pla mim só hunz admiraçon non só platicada per toro o mundo. O trabaho a que vozo obliga os pleto, e os blanco, só hunz trabaho a que ninguém se pore nega sem melecé hunz cossa bom; porque os genia, e os incrinaçon do natureza a toro gente move pala ere, e fóla de trabaho ninguém pore vivê em satisfaçon. Mim agola sem trabaha nom pore conté ainda que mim ter abominaçon a captivo eiro cruere de blanco, de que sá forro; com tuo non aglada a mim estar aqui sem nada fazê: evita vozo tanta plegiça, os excessa de pedlogi, e dos varento, que nozo podermos toro assi havê os oira, e triunfá dos indigencia, e de tuo quatto poro infellicita. Se aqui apaleca agola uns blanco, que pole escrevé os mavisos doutrina, que vozo platicá, e toro o gente ouvire cos oreia aberto, faria ere ao familia toro do mundo hum favore, que meoro non pore imaginá.

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

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

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

Be pala cá Tapua Eguê, façamo feça a nozo Rey façamo façamo feça a nozo Rey. Oye Tapua que rigo Tapuya vem nos nopreças que nozo ha de fazê un feças se vos vem quando te rigo. Nós no quere ba contigo minya Rei que me quere? I Zazu quanto matanza sen que nozo, branco sè oy a menina manito que sar esperando pro nozo oya minña premoço como sa parna Pherippo. Par deze e pro Zazuclito que eu minino querá be Eguê. Oyá que mim sa doyente Tapua, e sar mu Gaçados se bos nom bem meu mandados sar negros mu negro zente. Nos não coiesse esso zente proque ha de feça fazê? Zente que sa tão premozas a remudar condiçãos a remetè fecanos ha reser muto morrozas. Bozo sa Rei podorozas pode mandar nos co a pé se bos mostra cofianza e Rei frugá de nos be i fará nozo un mercê. Proroá bozo merce proque nozo ha de baýá tambem sabemo cantá muto bem maguí, maguí, cadum fazê o que sabe começa moro cantá Tapua reba bantaze porque bajá e cantá. Zá que temo Rey
(16) Afro-Brazilian folkloric fragment, transcribed 20th century (Roger Bastide, A poesia afro-brasileira)

Quando iô tava na minha terra
iô chamava capitão,
cheqa na terra di branco
iô me chama Pat Joaô.

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

Losso bozo irma
por Adram pai nozo
poze quasi sà
nos non sar patife.

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

a. Intervocalic /l/ pronounced [t] (turo < tudo);
b. Paragogic vowels (seoro < senhor); [isolated forms only]
c. Vowel harmony (Parutagü < Portugaul);
d. Delateralization of / ë/ (muiere < mulher);
e. Loss of final /t/ in infinitives (cantá < cantar);
f. Loss of final /l/ in -mos;
g. /sl/ only on first element of plural noun phrases (dos may Zozefa);
h. Shift /l/ > [I] in syllable onset (agola < agora, pleta < preto);
i. Use of invariant copula sa;
j. Use of (a)mi as subject pronoun; [very occasionally retained]
k. Use of invariant baivai for 'go'
l. General lack of gender/number agreement [occasional invariant olos]
m. Minimal verb conjugation; use of 3sg, or infinitive [occasional]
n. Occasional substitution/omission of prepositions

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

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

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

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

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

(24) Jaime de Guete, Comedia llamada Eufemia (ca. 1540): 'ya saber Dios y tu madre, qui no te dará, qui no te dará, qui no te dará.'

(25) Lope de Rueda (1538-42): Comedia llamada Eufemia: 'agora si me contenta, mas sabe qué querer yo, siñor Pollos'; Comedia de los engañados: 'ya saber Dios y tu madre, mía muy merced; qui no me dará, qui no me dará, qui no me dará.'

(26) Simón de Aguado, Entremes de los negros (1602): 'aunque negro, somo huerro y no sufrir cosiquillas, aunque sean del mismo demonios ... si ca brabo o no ca brabo, a dixo dearem conta'

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

(28) Lope de Vega (ca. 1605-1612): 'sensucliso cagayera, deseuno bosamesé, no queremlo que sabé lo que somo bata fueru; 'si somo de monicongo ... pensé somo de mi terra, si querer ser mi galán' (El santo negro Rosambuco); 'ho ye de meso setiembre, pensa que tenemos ocho, sando el cielo flevendo, triste nubrado y mençónico' (La madre de la mejor)
pa que buca que bebé? Con qué oté lo va pagá?


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

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

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

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

(55) From José Crespo y Borbón (“Creto Ganga”):

Yo sabé que ño Ráf
son guardiero tu bují
que ta namorá de ti
y tú le correspondé.
Todo, Frasica, yo sé
manque me lo ta negando
porese ta díprisiando
mi corás sinfilé,
porese yo ta morí
y pena me ta jogando...

(56) Lydia Cabrera, La sociedad secreta Abakuá: 'Cómo va sé mano blanco, si ta afé, ta prieto yo. Ta jugá. Ya blanco ta debaratá cosa. Así no é. Ay, yijo, yo no tiene
El monte: 'Por qué tú coge owo Elégbara? Si é máno dicí tú ta
olé y é te va agarrá pinando su papalote. Ve gallinero, trae akukó ... tú me saluda y deja quieto ya; tú pide bendición, sigue tu camino, yo ta pa riba, riba cielo, tú ta bajo, tú

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

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

Carajo, yo te va joder ... Yo va sarúa [saludar] al niño Otavio ... vá vení o yo ta aquí ... yo te ve se cuento de toro cosa de que tu pasó ... poque yo ta vení de lo tiera mia de llá de lo de lo Africo ... yo mirá tú do ece ... ahora yo te va catí ... yo tumbar caña lo que ne tiela den balanco iva len leye patlisia!

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

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

(61) AFRO-ARGENTINE 'CARTA A LA NEGRA CATALINA A PANOCHO LUGARES (BECKO S. F.: 18-9) [1830]

hacemi favol, ño Pancho de aplical mi tu papeli hacemi favol, ño Pancho

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

Compañero. Ya qui turu vusotro acaba mu ri bíarí, ri batuqui cun nuestra ningrita, para rase a cunнесу е a ese Siñore branquillo, rumierto qui tinemu; ya qui hemu tumaru un poco ri cachiri, y yamu a impezá ri nuevuto bairí, mi parece mijuri, qui entre musotro mestu, mi fumase una caucion, un renguarí ri branquu, para cantase con primiso ri nuestro Generá, cuandu se aseca esu brancu frujunasu, a tucánu ra ribarba y rigueyo y tin tin, tirando unu tiru, para gatase puvuru un má. Esa canciónen narie puere hacere mijó, qui nuestro compañeru érotó Ci etá cu nusotro y turu ru negru rivemu pirisiru in nete mumentu, todos si, si.

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

Viva len condituusión! iva len leye patlisia! Que ne tie la den balanço Se cabió len dipotima.

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

Semo nenglu lindu Semo Vetelanu Y cum Milicianu Quelliemi piliá Pue sahi hací fuegu Y fuegu, avanzandu, Y muli, liliandu Pu la livetá.

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

Los coflades de la estleya vamo turus a Beleya y velemo a rio la beya con cielo en lo potal vamo vamo currendo aya, oylemo un viyansico que lo compondlá Flacico siendo gatuu su focico y luego lo cantalá Blasico Pellico Zuanico y Tomá y lo estlivio diálu Gulumbé gulumbé guachemo bamo a bel que traen de Angola a Zioló y a siola Baltasale con Melchola y mi plimo Gasipar

vamo vamo currendo ayá currendo acá vamo siguiendo la estleya lo negliyo coltezana pus lo ray e cun tesuro, a la estleya tlas lo Rey a pulque ayá de calmino los tles ban, Blasico Pellico Zuanico y Tomá e ya vamo turu ayá, que pala al niño aleglar Vamo turus los Neglios pues nos yeba nostla estleya que sin tantos noche abla i co Pellico Zuanico y Tomá plimo beya noche abla vamo alegle al polta riyo velento junto al pesebl

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

Turulu negro samboyarico, que a naciro niño en Belen, Niño Jesus dale que dale tumbere tumbere tumgurugur. Niño Dioso nace en Belen lo pesebre tan condero con su gaita turu junto yegaremos frasiguasi Doncel y madre pario turu y pantaro tenes que chiqui i para toro tene corason abierta. Danza y tañe y tañe la guitarriya niu danza base la tu.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(70) MANUEL ATANASIO FUENTES, 'LA LIBERTAD' (BIBLIOTECA DE CULTURA PERUANA 1938: 289):
Tó nojotro trabahaban [trabajábamos] junto
Yo tiene [tengo] cuaranta ocho año
Asina, yo pone [pongo] todo
Yo no sabe [sé] bien
Yo mimo [misma] me enfelmó [enfemé]
Nosotros ten[emos] otro pelcado que se come bueno
Había la fecha yo tiene [tengo] conuco
Cuando yo viene [vine], tiene [tuve] que trabáy mucho
Paltera lo llamó [llamamos] nosotros
Lo que ello ehtudian en lo [las] chuca
Si pa mí [yo] tocaba un cuarto, yo no volvía cantá
Me complace de encontrá[se] [me] con uhtedeh
Si el gobieno encontraba con tú [te encontraba] con calzón la logged
La salga eh buena pa uté [su] cabeza
Tú tiene [cuando tú tengas] tiempo, viene aquí [la] crihtofina cogió [el] puehto del cacao
Yo tiene cuatro helmano

(78) PIGEINIZED SPANISH SPOKEN BY ELDERLY HAITIANS IN CUBA

No pu decil na, si ta mal ... yo prende hablá catellano con cubano ... yo me gusta hablá catellano ... pichona que nació aquí allante de mí ... en la casa mío ... nosotros habla catellano ... habla creol también ... yo crió mucho animal, simbra mucho animal, se roba to, toro, toro ... yo no sabe mucho catellano, pero sabe poquito ... el valón son tieniente La Habana ...
Yo contrao [encontro] un paisano mía nosotros habla su lengua e nosotros poco catellano él sabe yo poco nosotros habla también
Yo trabaja, yo come. Yo trabaja lo cañaverale
Yo prende hablá catellano con cubano ... yo me gusta hablá catellano, pero poca cosa no sabe ...
Yo tiene aquí, tien 16 año. Siempre una haciendo una trabaya yo comó, yo va bien.
Yo hacel mucho trabaja; coltal, coltal caña balato; recogel café a sei kilo ...
Depu uté decansal ...
Uté lo hablá, uté ta trabañando con un dueño ma grande, quello deci uté hacé

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

RAMÓN MARRERO ARISTY, OVER:

Bodeguela, depacha mué plinto. Yo quiele deja la comía con la fam, pa jallalo cociná cuando viene del cote. Shopkeeper, serve me quickly. I want to leave the food with my wife, so it will be cooked when I get back from the fields.

FRANCISCO MOSCOSO PUELLO, CAÑAS Y BUEYES:

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

FROM 'DIALÓGO CANTADO ENTRE UN GUAIRO DOMINICANO Y UN PAPÁ BOCÓ HAITIANO EN UN FANDANGO EN DJABÓN' BY JUAN ANTONIO ALIX (1874):

Hier tard mu sortí Dotrú
Pu beniro a Lajabon,
e yo jisa lentención
y si tu lo quiero bé
de biní cantá con tú.
Manque yo tá lugarú
paoñol no tenga cuidá,
deja tu macheta a un la
pasque yo no cante así
tu va blesé mun ici
e freca daquí tu bá ...
compañ, contenta ta yo,
e alagra de vu coné
si un di uté ba Lembé,
mandé pu papá bocó.
La cae mu gañé gombó
bon pu ráus e calalú.
Tambien yo tengue pu ú
caño de gento safé.
Apré nu finí manció
tu tien que bailá vodú ...
pringá pañolo, pringá
no biní jugá con mué

Arizona conference -6-
Cuando yo estaba niño, en el colegio, me daban un libro de lectura y uno de gramática. Fue en ese libro donde aprendí a leer y a escribir.

Antes de eso, había asistido a un instituto privado, pero allí no había un currículo bien definido. Los maestros solían darle vueltas a los contenidos, dependiendo de su humor del día.

En aquel entonces, el currículo era muy libre y se adaptaba a la imaginación de cada maestro. Era como si cada profesor tuviera su propia visión del mundo y quisiera compartirla con sus alumnos.

Creo que esa libertad de expresión era algo bueno, pero también nos dejaba un poco confusos. A veces no sabíamos qué debía hacermos, ya que el currículo no era muy claro.

Además, había muchos libros que nos gustaban, pero que no teníamos permiso para trazar. Fue una época muy interesante, en la que me fui formando como escritor.

En la actualidad, el currículo está más definido y estructurado. Nos dan tareas y deberes que debemos cumplir, y a veces nos hacen sentir presionados.

Sin embargo, creo que esa libertad de expresión de antaño fue importante para desarrollar nuestra imaginación y creatividad. Aún hoy, pienso que es fundamental que los estudiantes tengan la libertad de expresarse.

En resumen, la educación es un proceso que debe ser adaptado a las necesidades de cada época y cada lugar. Es importante tener un currículo claro, pero también permitir que los estudiantes tengan la libertad de desarrollarse de la manera que les guste.
‘A ver quién es el que se le pone gallo al jefe ... le juro patroncito, que no lo gueño a hacé ... la culpa júe mía y de ete endemoniaio bebtraje ...’

(104) VÍCTOR FRANCESCHI, ‘BOCARACA’ (PANAMÁ):

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

(105) FROM CONTEMPORARY URUGUAYAN STORIES:

Javier de Viana La vencedura: ‘Cómo hec sé! ... ‘Tuvo hemóe morí, a cabo!’

Juan Mario Magallanes, Desertores: ‘No somo polecá, como ve ... somo gente’e
paz ... Qui’anda haciendo, solo, po’eust laos? ... Son dó! ...’

Santiago Dossetti, La rebelión: ‘... Só negro embusier, mismo ... Apéndi si me
acuerdo yo, que soy má grande ... yo andaba gatando en una batea vieja cuando
ella se jüe pal pueblo ... mirá como trabajan eso critiano ... son cosa que li han
venido’ e golpe all capitá ... quiere quemó la cicuta, lo cardo, lo hinojo, la ortigá, lo
sabrojo ... ya tar lindo ... pero dipué quiero ve ane ponen lo ndale de la gallina ...’

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Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA 16802-6203
(814) 865-4252; FAX (814) 863-7944
email: jlipski@psu.edu
home page: http://www.personal.psu.edu/jml34
dept. home page: http://sip.la.psu.edu