

THE SPEECH OF THE NEGROS CONGOS OF PANAMA: AN AFRO-HISPANIC DIALECT

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The Afro-Colonial residents of Panama's Caribbean coast celebrate elaborate rituals during Carnival season, the *congo* games, which reenact aspects of life in colonial Panama. Part of this ceremony is the *hablar congo*, a special speech mode used principally during the games, and used occasionally at other times. This paper describes the linguistic structures of the *congo* dialect, and suggests the likelihood that it is an indirect derivative of earlier Afro-Hispanic creole Spanish, supplemented by elements of distortion and exaggeration. The principal creole structures of *congo* speech do not coincide with those found in other major Afro-Iberian creoles, which leads to the suggestion that a wider range of earlier creole Spanish dialects probably existed in the Spanish American colonies.

1. Hispanic-African contacts in Latin America are as frequent as they are misunderstood, and few would deny the all-pervasive African influence on the Spanish of the Caribbean region. Scrutiny of documents from earlier centuries and extending well into the present century indicates that African slaves in Spanish America frequently spoke distinctly Africanized dialects of Spanish, ranging from slightly defective Spanish to what appear to have been true creoles (Álvarez Nazario 1959, 1974; Granda 1978). Except for literary attestations, which often involve exaggeration and idealization, few direct vestiges of such Afro-Hispanic language remain to be studied, and thus the reconstruction of earlier stages of Spanish usage by African subjects is fraught with uncertainty. Combining the case of the most carefully studied Afro-Hispanic dialect, the *palenquero* dialect of Colombia (Escalante 1954, Bickerton and Escalante 1970) with Papiamentu, and recently reported Cuban and Puerto Rican creole Spanish, several investigators have revived the single-origin creolist hypothesis, which points to a fifteenth and sixteenth century creole Portuguese as underlying the majority of Atlantic creoles and even some in the Pacific region.¹ The similarities are striking, and raise the interesting question of whether *bozal* (Africanized) Spanish ever really existed at all, or whether African slaves and laborers passed directly from creole Portuguese to a gradually perfected Spanish (Naro 1978;

¹The most exemplary studies are Granda (1968, 1978), Whinnom (1965), Valkhoff (1966), Álvarez Nazario (1974), Alleyne (1980), Taylor (1971), Boretzky (1983). See also Laurence (1974), Alsopp (1977), González and Benavides (1982), Taylor (1960), Thompson (1961), Voorhoeve (1974). For an opposing interpretation of Caribbean Spanish data, see López Morales (1980, 1983).

Granda 1968, 1978:386-440). What is needed is the discovery of other pockets of Afro-Hispanic language, providing additional data that permit a more accurate assessment of the existence of non-Portuguese Hispanic creoles. The present article will report on one such dialect pocket, the speech of the *congos*, an Afro-colonial population found on the Atlantic coast of Panama. A careful scrutiny of the speech of the *congos* promises to be of significance for general Afro-American studies.

2. The *negros congos* are a well-known folkloric phenomenon in contemporary Panama, for each year during Carnival season, the predominantly Afro-American population of the Caribbean Coast, the *costa abajo* (to the west of Colón) and the *costa arriba* (from Portobelo to Santa Isabel) celebrates an elaborate ritual of dancing, singing, mock battles and other events which bear directly or indirectly on the history of African slaves in colonial Panama. The anthropological aspects of the *congo* ritual have been well studied (Béliz 1959, Zárate 1962, Smith 1975, P. Drolet 1980, Cheville and Cheville 1977), although considerable controversy continues to surround the exact interpretation of the events portrayed in the ritual, since some see in these events the reenactment of specific historical events, while others attach a more symbolic significance. Of importance to Hispanic dialectology is the fact that the principal actors of the *congo* groups in each town utilize a special style of speech during the Carnival games, the *hablar congo*, a ritual or play language derived from Spanish, which is all but unintelligible to the non-initiated. It should be noted that during ordinary speech, the Spanish spoken by these Panamanians is indistinguishable from that of other rural residents of that nation (Robe 1960; Alvarado de Ricord 1971; Cedergren 1973, 1978), and there exists no distinctly identifiable dialect among the descendants of African slaves,² in contrast, for example, to the accent which remains among many Afro-Antilleans, descendants of West Indian laborers contracted to build the Panama Canal, who in addition to West Indian English, speak a recognizably different form of Spanish.³ The *congo* speech is not a variant of regional Spanish, but is rather a special type of in-group slang learned by young aspirants to *congo*

groups, usually by imitation of family members or other recognized virtuosos. Community participation in the *congo* ritual ranges from a small segment of the population, in Colón and even in Portobelo (the largest settlement on the *costa arriba* and the closest to the trans-isthmus highway) to nearly 100% participation in the small towns of the *costa arriba*. This study will report on field work done on *congo* speech of the *costa arriba*, specifically, in the towns of Portobelo, Cacique, Nombre de Dios, Viento Frío and Palenque, during December of 1983 and Carnival season in January and February of 1984. Studies of the *congo* speech of the *costa abajo* carried out by Joly (1981) indicate a considerable differentiation between two areas, perhaps due to the influence of creole English and/or the importation of Colombian speakers of *palenquero* in the *costa abajo*; the materials that Professor Joly graciously furnished me are convincing proof that whatever the anthropological similarities between the *congos* of the two regions, linguistically the two dialects share little in common, except for the element of burlesque and exaggeration.

Among the towns of the *costa arriba* there is also considerable variation, which is contained within the general limits to be described below, and consequently *congo* practitioners from different towns can communicate adequately with one another. The ritual language has a particular significance within the *congo* games, since it excludes non-participants or non-initiates and enables the expert *congo* to dazzle and ensnare onlookers with elaborate verbal manipulations, all of which result in the levying of 'fines' which are paid off in rum or food (P. Drolet 1980). Naturally, outsiders are not normally initiated into the *congo* rituals, although anyone may observe them as a simple spectator, and previous studies done on the *congo* groups have encountered difficulties in gaining the confidence of the coastal residents. The present study was no exception, but I am happy to report that the inherent generosity and pride of the *costeños* quickly overcame the fear of ridicule and exploitation by unscrupulous outsiders, and it was possible to obtain many hours of excellent tape-recorded materials, which include monologues in *congo* dialect, structured dialogues between *congos* and the interviewer, dialogues between two or more *congos*, and completely spontaneous interactions between *congos* and members of their respective communities.

Before commenting on the linguistic details of *congo* speech, it is necessary to consider the controversy surrounding the origin of this speech mode. According to the oral tradition existing among the Afro-colonial population of Panama, the *congo* speech is a carryover from the days of the *negro bozal*, that is, a reproduction of the partially creolized Spanish of earlier centuries. That this is not entirely accurate becomes evident upon considering the high degree of deliberate distortion and exaggeration which characterizes contemporary *congo* speech, and yet, given the clearly traceable Afro-colonial roots of the

²Granda (1978:321, 323, 382) suggests, based on reports that reached him, that a creolized Spanish is spoken in the area of Palenque, Panama. However, such a dialect does not exist, nor does any memory of such a dialect exist among even the oldest residents. The original settlement, founded by slaves, has long ceased to exist, and its remains have recently been excavated by archeologists (R. Drolet 1980). The current town of Palenque, some 10 km. from the original town, speaks regional Panamanian Spanish and most residents have considerable knowledge of *congo* speech, but use no creole dialect in daily communication.

³This accent is a natural consequence of the native creole English background of such speakers, and may also be found among other Afro-Antilleans all along the Caribbean coast of Central America, from Guatemala to Panama. It must be noted, however, that in the *costa arriba* region of Panama no Afro-Antilleans were ever settled, and there is no identifiable English influence on either regional Spanish or *congo* speech. There is some slight evidence that suggests creole French origins for a few items, apparently transferred during the 18th century.

congo ritual as a whole, this oral tradition may not be discarded out of hand. No evidence exists of the use of *congo* dialect as a ritual language until at least the middle of the last century, that is, following the abolition of slavery in Panama, when the lifestyle of the slave society disappeared and Panamanian Afro-colonials became more integrated into the life of the new republic. The *congo* ritual in its present form is an attempt to recapture the spirit of the colonial days, replaying the more colorful aspects of Afro-Panamanian history while making light of the element of suffering and tragedy which invariably accompanied such societies.⁴ Previous to this time, it was evidently not necessary to artificially reconstruct a special Afro-Hispanic speech mode, since there was still direct awareness of earlier partially Africanized patterns, at least in the more isolated regions of the coast.

That the *congo* dialect has not been invented totally in the post-abolition period is indicated by the fact that forms of this dialect exist in widely scattered and mutually isolated villages all along the length of Panama's Caribbean coast, as well as some towns in the interior (Tejeira Jaén 1974), and evidence exists that up until the last 50 years or so, even larger segments of the Panamanian population participated in the *congo* ceremonies (Franceschi 1960, P. Drolet 1980, Zárate 1962). The variation that exists is the result of geographical isolation, the limited possibility for social transmission of the *congo* dialect and the lack of widespread public diffusion of this speech mode outside of the confines of each individual town.

Although it is beyond reasonable doubt that the original source for *congo* speech is the earlier *bozal* speech of Afro-Panamanians, the direct awareness of this form of speech has faded into the indistinct past, with the result that current attempts at reproducing the speech of *negros bozales* contain a large element of stereotype, exaggeration and distortion, even when there is no conscious attempt at burlesque. An examination of the texts in the appendix will reveal that the original Afro-Hispanic structures have been affected by successive overlays of drift and modification, in addition to serving as the basis for deliberate distortion of contemporary Spanish, with the result that the Afro-Hispanic roots must be searched for with considerable care.

3. Upon being questioned on the particulars of the *congo* dialect, most Panamanians, both in the *costa arriba* and in other areas, assert that the *congós* speak Spanish al 'revés', that is, inverting the semantic value of individual words, and this does occur, as will be seen. Nonetheless, the most striking characteristic when first hearing *congo* speech of the *costa arriba* is the massive phonetic modification,

⁴This phenomenon is not confined to Panama, but occurs throughout much of North and South America, as for example, in Brazil (Meggeney 1978, Mendonça 1933), Trinidad, Cuba, Jamaica, and many other areas.

together with the considerable syntactic and morphological transformations, all of which combine to produce a speech mode which, while clearly Hispanic in origin, is confusing if not unintelligible to the non-initiated. The principal phonetic modifications include the following:

(a) Neutralization of intervocalic and phrase-initial /r/, /r̄/, /l/ and /d/, in favor of [d]: *carretera* [kadedeta], *color* [kodól], etc. This is the most unusual change, not paralleled in any major Hispanic dialect, although neutralization of /d/ and /r/ is common in some areas of significant Afro-Hispanic presence (Granda 1977, Montes Giraldo 1974, Tejeira 1964), whereas /r/ and /r̄/ have been neutralized in *palenquero* (Escalante 1954, Bickerton and Escalante 1970, Arrazola 1970, Ochoa Franco 1945, Friedemann and Patiño 1983), the Spanish of Equatorial Guinea (González Echegaray 1959; Castillo Barrill 1969; Lipski 1984, 1985a; Granda 1984, 1985), and in *bozal* speech of earlier centuries (Chasca 1946, Álvarez Nazario 1974, Granda 1978). Intervocalic /l/ and /r/ were occasionally neutralized in *bozal* speech, but a widespread neutralization is not normally found in contemporary Spanish dialects, although I have had informal reports of such behavior in some areas of the Colombian Chocó region, and in the Pororó dialect of the Dominican Republic, where /d/ may also be included. In *congo* speech, although /l/, /r/, /r̄/ and /d/ are normally neutralized to [d] in intervocalic and phrase-initial position, the distinctions among these phonemes are partially maintained in the phonologically weak implosive positions, in apparent contradiction of 'natural' phonetic tendencies. For example, *arma* and *alma* may be phonologically distinguished in *congo* speech, although as in all popular Panamanian Spanish dialects, there is also a potential for neutralization of /l/ and /r/. The result is a variable realization of syllable-final liquids, which are sometimes distinguished and sometimes neutralized, in contrast to intervocalic positions, where neutralization is the rule in *congo* speech. In phrase-final position, /l/ is normally maintained as [l], while /r/ normally disappears from verbal infinitives and often in such words as *mujer*, where, however, an [r] (but never [l]) occasionally appears. Similarly, word-final /d/ usually disappears, but may occasionally be realized as [d] in *congo* dialect. In syllable-initial postconsonantal position, [r̄] alternates with [r], as in popular Panamanian Spanish (*alrededor*), but [d] never occurs in this position. This points to the intervocalic neutralization of /d/, /l/, /r/ and /r̄/ as a partial reconstruction of earlier periods, when these phonemes fell victim to processes of neutralization in various positions, using the phonetically most prominent contexts (intervocalic and phrase-initial) in *congo* speech to reintroduce a deformation which at one time must have affected all positions. Significantly, in the *congo* dialect of the *costa abajo* this four-way neutralization does not take place (Joly 1981), although /r/ and /r̄/ may be neutralized in intervocalic position, nor is this massive neutralization found in the rich song tradition of

the *congós*, which is characterized by archaic popular Spanish, evidently highly influenced by the Hispanic element of Panamanian society, but which evidences none of the linguistic distortion found in *congo* dialect.

(b) Change of syllable-internal /l/ to /r/, common in many Portuguese dialects, occurs occasionally in *congo*, although not with the regularity of other creole dialects: *cravo* (*clavo*), *diabria* (*diablo*), *cumprimento* (*cumplimento*), *crado* (*claro*), *jubriá* (*hablar*), *habria* (*habla*), *probiema* (*problema*). More frequent is the addition of an epenthetic /r/, normally added after a syllable-initial consonant: *brachinche* (*bochinche*), *crambio* (*cambio*), *brombita* (*bombita*), *grasto* (*gasto*), *pripa* (*pipa*), *momriento* (*momento*), *chocotrita* (*chiquitito*), *triempo* (*tiempo*), *detracamiento* (*destacamento*, *tri* (*ti*)).

In the *congo* dialects farther to the east (Nombre de Dios, Palenque, Miramar, etc.) an epenthetic semivocalic /i/ is also added, sometimes in conjunction with the /r/: *priapria* (*papa*), *diabria* (*diablo*), *llevriamo* (*llevamos*), *criocrio* (*coco*), *conobriá* (*carneval*), *triago* (*trago*), *ecoprieta* (*escopeta*), *priagá* (*pagar*), *cufríe* (*café*). There is no evidence that links these epenthetic consonants with earlier periods of *bozal* speech; rather, they form part of the deliberate distortion of Spanish that forms the humorous backdrop of contemporary *congo* speech.

(c) /b/, /d/, and /g/ are uniformly pronounced as occlusives, even in intervocalic position, in contrast with regional Panamanian Spanish, in which the normal occlusive-fricative alternation occurs. This occlusive pronunciation is also found in other Afro-Hispanic manifestations, such as San Basilio de Palenque, Equatorial Guinea and Papiamentu.

(d) All regional variants of *congo* dialect are characterized by an extreme vocalic instability, and the principal deformation of Spanish words often consists of maintaining the consonantal skeleton while freely modifying the vowels. At times, a type of vocalic harmony seems to be at work (Joly 1981), but in most cases the changes give no evidence of systematic modification, although for given speakers and/or towns, some words have received nearly constant pronunciations. One of the principal manifestations of this vocalic instability is the nearly total neutralization of grammatical gender, and verbal tense and mood. Earlier *bozal* speech often manifested such instability (Chasca 1946, Weber de Kurlat 1962, Álvarez Nazario 1974), although not in such an extravagant form as is found in *congo* speech, and gender is unstable or unsignalled even in modern Afro-Hispanic dialects. Examples from *congo* speech include:

zucría
poquitria
ahoda mima
sagenta

azúcar
poquito
ahora mismo
sargento

ese momrenta	ese momento
botije llene	botella llena (vacía)
guguntu	garganta
múquino	máquina
costumbro	costumbre
dos india	los indios
bronzó	bronce
sumuna suntu	semana santa
grucia	gracia
tumbién	también
mugaña	mañana
pringadigui	cigarillo
mundebrío	Nombre de Dios
pogriá	pagar
güene	bueno

(e) The normal phonetic rhythm of Spanish, characterized by *enlace*, vowel fusion, and other tendencies which obliterate the phonetic signalling of word boundaries, is partially suspended in *congo* speech, where individual words are normally pronounced in a more staccato fashion. This is indicated by the non-systematic neutralization of /l/, /r/, /r̄/, and /d/ in word-final prevocalic position: *el hombre* is more commonly [el-om-bre] than [ed-om-bre] and is never *[e-dom-bre].

4. Morphological modifications include sporadic improvisations on the ordinary morphology of Spanish, particularly in proper names. In the present investigation, the fact that the investigator was *polaco* gave rise to the following improvised forms in the various towns where the research was carried out: *podaco*, *puducu*, *podonense*, *podonés*, *podoniápoda*, *podonino*, *podonita*, etc. *Panamá* is also *pringamá*, *pringón*, *priamá*, etc. Another characteristic morphological feature of *congo* speech is the random neutralization of verbal and nominal desinences, the almost random switching of person, gender, number, mood, and tense endings, as in the following examples:⁵

sabo	sé
tú sabo	tú sabes
yo esté	yo estoy
tú vengo	tú vienes
yo do quede	yo no quiero
uno tengo	uno tiene
nosotros sabo	nosotros sabemos
un árbo que tienen	un árbol que tiene
pa que tú tiene	para que tú tengas
aquí do tenga	aquí lo tienes

⁵It is possible that such use of conjugated verb forms points to the 'invented' nature of *congo* speech. However, similar examples of misuse of conjugated verb forms in Afro-Hispanic speech have been reported for many other regions, not only in *bozal* speech of previous centuries, but in the contemporary Dominican Republic (González and Benavides 1982), Equatorial Guinea (Lipski 1985a), the Chota Valley of Ecuador (Lipski 1985b), vestigial Cuban *bozal* Spanish (Alzola 1965), etc. (Lipski 1985c).

5. In the syntactic dimension, *congo* speech is characterized by a somewhat reduced syntax vis-à-vis regional popular Spanish, particularly as regards elaborate dependent clauses. In addition, a severe reduction of prepositional usage occurs, most frequently affecting *de* and *a*, but at times involving other prepositions:

yo te venía buhco	'Yo te venía a buscar'
qué permiso tá podaquí	'¿Con qué permiso estás por aquí?'
madedá bronzo	'Madera de bronce (lámina de zinc)'
qué vamo sé	'¿Qué vamos a hacer?'
un botella fuda	'Una botella de fuda (ron)'
caja sodiya	'Una caja de (agua de) chorillo = ron'
cocopraya	'coco de playa (cocotero)'
vamo praya	'vamos a la playa'

Use of *ser* and *estar* is normally effected in accordance with general Spanish norms, although occasionally *ser* may disappear. Importantly, there is no large-scale reduction of verb forms to a variant of *ser/estar* plus a form of the infinitive, as in other Spanish/Portuguese creoles. Despite the freely shifting morphological patterns, fully conjugated verb forms are the rule, with the exception of the following cases:

pa onde tú ta dí	'¿Adónde fuiste?'
cómo tú te mabá	'¿Cómo tú te llamas?'
po qué cadeteda tú llegá	'¿Por qué carretera llegaste?'

Occasionally a copulative verb may be eliminated:

tú comunita	'tú eres comunista'
esas bota cubano	'esas botas son cubanas'

For the *congo* speech of the *costa abajo*, Joly (1981) has signalled the frequent use of the particle *mi* prefixed to verbs, but this never occurs in the dialects of the *costa arriba*:

turavía no mi frato	'todavía nos falta'
mungaña cuando mi so la ocha	'mañana cuando sean las ocho'

The existence of this particle in the *costa abajo* may be due to the presence of Colombian speakers of *palenquero*, but after having listened to the materials collected by Prof. Joly, I believe that this *mi* is an extension of the use of *mi* as a subject pronoun in a few common syntagms of the *costa abajo*: *mi sabo (yo sé)*, *mi teno (yo tengo)*.⁶

In the *costa arriba*, use of subject pronouns is normally in accordance with universal Spanish norms, although very infrequently *mi*

⁶Joly (1981) has suggested that the particle *mi* comes from *palenquero*, although no such particle appears in the latter dialect. The suggestion was that the use of aspectual particles in *palen-*

may be used instead of *yo*. To a greater extent than in the rest of Panama, the declarative order is maintained in questions with pronominal subject: *¿Qué tú quieres?*

6. Judging from the comments of *congos* and other Panamanians, the essence of *congo* speech consists of semantic inversion, putting meanings 'al revés.' Franceschi (1960) says 'los congos dicen *sí* cuando es *no* y lo contrario a su vez. . . la jerga que hablan, cortando las palabras y haciéndose difíciles de entender por el mismo hecho de decir las cosas al revés.' The precise origin of this practice is not clear, but it appears to be connected with the double meaning of *al revés*, both 'backwards' and 'inside out', since during colonial times, black slaves during Carnival often put on their masters' clothing, wearing them in-side out as a form of mockery. This practice is continued among the *congos*, as well as 'shaking feet' instead of shaking hands, and other inversions of social customs. In *congo* speech, virtuosity consists of introducing as many semantic inversions as possible, either by employing words with an opposite meaning, or as a less desirable alternative, by using negative words to counteract semantic content:

vivi	muerto
llene	vacio
endedezá	enrevesar
cementedio	iglesia
padase	sentarse
di	venir
macha	esposa

The syntax of negation is at odds with normal Spanish usage, since the percentage of negative elements is higher, and *no* appears in contexts where normal speech would not indicate such usage:

a donde tú no quede di	'¿Adónde quieres ir?'
que é do que tú no quede	'¿Qué es lo que quieres?'

Sometimes the semantic displacement does not result in total inversion, but rather in a simple shifting of meaning, as indicated in the following cases:

negrimacha	negro/congo
bronzo	zinc
agua sodiya	ron
mujediego	mujer

quero permitted the creation of similarly-used elements in the *congo* dialects of the *costa abajo*. Another possibility is the creole English use of *mi* as subject pronoun, although other uses of English *mi/me* do not appear in the *congo* speech of the region. It is worth repeating at this point that in the *costa arriba*, there was no influx of Colombian workers from Cartagena and Palenque de San Basilio, so that there are no extra-Panamanian sources documented for particular phenomena in the *congo* speech of the *costa arriba*, with the possible exception of a few French lexical items.

As seen in the appendix, much *congo* speech is not meant to be coherent conversation, but rather a show of verbal expertise designed to dazzle and confuse onlookers and result in benefits for the speaker. *Congo* speakers do engage in dialogues among themselves, but most of the interactions are in the form of monologues, or of speeches directed to non-*congo*-speaking participants in the ceremony, who answer in Spanish. Since the ceremony is accompanied by a consumption of phenomenal amounts of alcoholic beverages, it is possible that the assertion by most *congos* that they cannot speak the dialect unless they are *sudao* means that *congo* speech is merely a drunken deformation and improvisation (P. Drolet 1980).⁷ That this is not true is evidenced by the fact that my best materials were collected when the informants were entirely sober, and increasing drunkenness merely reduced phonetic precision and led to repetition of stereotyped phrases and a loss of improvisational skills. Alcohol clearly smooths the way for the freeing of the spirit exemplified by Carnival, but *congo* speech has nothing essentially to do with the linguistic modifications associated with drunkenness.

7. In addition to the above elements, *congo* speech contains some words and expressions which may not be clearly traced to Spanish:

judaminga/judumingue	child
fuda	rum
mojongo/mojobrio	woman/wife
joprión	banana
jotá	to drink
potoñá	to leave
chochobriá	to drink (<i>chupar?</i>)
mucuna	<i>congo</i> dialect
dumia	to eat
jopio	to smoke
bosonilla	cup/glass (<i>vaso?</i>)
cudia/jutia pacá	come here (<i>acudir?</i>)
de fuché	rich/luxurious
sopodín/chopodín	small boat or other vehicle

Joly (1981) believes that *juduminga* is a deformation of *hormiga*, but the latter word appears freely in *congo* speech in unmodified form.⁸ It is possible that some of the unidentified words are of African origin, although a consultation with a number of speakers of West African languages has not revealed any definitive etymologies,

⁷Bickerton (1975:172) notes that occasionally individuals actually increase linguistic precision as a hypercorrection while intoxicated.

⁸Aretz (1977:260) cites *juruminga* in an Afro-Venezuelan dance, while Alegria (1954:74) gives a similar form in a song from the highly Africanized Spanish of Loiza Aldea, Puerto Rico. The phonetic similarity among these forms may not be fortuitous, although Sojo (1943:29-30) derives the related *arremingui* from *arremangarse* 'arremangarse para bailar, sin duda.' Curiously, Cabrera (1970, 1979) cites the use of *juruminga* as 'hormiga' in Cuban *congo* speech.

despite suggestive possibilities. Mere phonetic similarity is not sufficient, given the enormous linguistic diversity of African languages and the lack of accurate documentation on the origin of Panama's black residents (Granda 1978:185-215), and given the fact that African lexical elements are not as frequent in Panama as in neighboring Colombia (Megenney 1976, 1982; Granda 1978; Castillo Mathieu 1982), mere speculations as to the origin of *congo* words is a nonproductive enterprise.⁹

8. Whereas the precise origins of Panama's *congo* speech are still surrounded by uncertainty and historical obscurity, the basic similarities with Afro-Hispanic or *bozal* speech of other areas are beyond question. The clearest cases include the following:

(a) Reduction of grammatical gender, resulting in partial or total neutralization of masculine and feminine forms. Both *congo* speech and most attestations of earlier Afro-Hispanic speech contain considerable instability, which effectively blurs and frequently neutralizes grammatical gender, without completely dismantling the morphological system.

(b) Reduction of prepositional usage, under the influence of standard Panamanian Spanish, is moving away from the massive reductions of *bozal* speech, but enough cases remain to suggest earlier periods in which use of prepositions deviated significantly from other Spanish dialects.

(c) *Congo* speech has not eliminated verbal inflection, but the instability of person, number, tense, and mood morphemes and even verbal stems leads to the systematic breakdown of morphological differentiation, hinting at the possibility for a total elimination of verbal inflection, as has occurred in some creole Portuguese dialects (Granda 1978, Morais Barbosa 1967, Scantamburlo 1981, Valkhoff 1966).

(d) The elimination of /r/ in favor of the single tap [r] as well as neutralizing the latter with /d/ is common to many Afro-Hispanic dialects, although inclusion of /l/ in this neutralization is not frequent.

(e) Partial neutralization of syllable-internal /l/ and /r/ is less frequent in *congo* speech than in Portuguese creoles, but is considerably more frequent than would be due to random variation (Salvador 1978).

⁹Granda (1973, 1978:463) presents evidence that the *lengua congo* used in Cuba was really a form of KiKongo, but in Panama this is clearly not the case, and none of the *congo* words have indisputable KiKongo etymologies. I personally verified this in numerous conversations with native speakers of KiKongo, both in West Africa and in the United States, none of whom could recognize any of the Panamanian *congo* words.

9. As significant as the similarities between *congo* speech and Afro-Hispanic dialects attested elsewhere, are the differences which separate the *congo* dialect from the Afro-Iberian creoles represented by *palenquero*, Papiamentu, Cuban and Puerto Rican *bozal* Spanish, and the Portuguese creoles:

(a) Non-attestation of the second-person pronoun *vos*, despite the fact that *voseo* is common in much of rural interior Panama.

(b) General preservation of the distinction between *ser* and *estar*, and lack of reduction of verbs to a non-conjugated form plus an aspectual particle, of the form NP *ta* Vinf.

(c) Lack of neutralization of pronominal case, and maintenance of subject and object pronouns, as well as non-use of subject pronouns as possessive morphemes.

(d) Partial maintenance of nominal pluralization. The *congo* dialect partially neutralizes nominal morphology through the instability and interchange of ending, but when signalled, plural marking always involves the addition of /s/, and never, for example, a subject pronoun.

10. It is significant that in Spanish literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, certain phonetic traits (generally loss of syllable-final consonants) as well as occasional morphological and syntactic modifications have been used as literary concomitants of the speech of blacks, not only by white authors but also by black writers (Lipski 1981). This stereotyping occurs even when such speech patterns are not exclusive to blacks in a given region, but characterize popular tendencies with no direct racial connection. Such writers as Nicolás Guillén, Candelario Obeso, Nicomedes Santa Cruz and others have added to the stereotype of the black speaker by putting into the mouths of such individuals tendencies reminiscent of the popular speech of their respective countries. It is therefore not surprising that the *congo* groups of Panama would similarly exaggerate and hit upon certain linguistic tendencies felt, rightly or wrongly, to characterize black Spanish, or more accurately, *bozal* speech of culturally unassimilated slaves of earlier centuries. These tendencies are often seen distorted in whites' mistaken notions of *bozal* speech, as in Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* (López Morales 1966), and the distortion increases along with the distance, both chronological and cultural, from legitimate *bozal*-speaking communities. In Panama, due to the relatively early assimilation of Africans into Hispanic culture and the lack of massive importations of slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,¹⁰ distinctly Africanized Spanish dialects, as opposed

to popular speech of black and white Panamanians alike, apparently disappeared at an earlier time in Panama than in many Caribbean regions, although awareness of the existence of such speech modes continued. The early assimilation of Africans into colonial Panamanian life is also evidenced by the nearly total lack of vestiges of African religious or magical traditions, as compared with Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and northern Colombia, where African ritual elements often survive nearly intact. The *congos* of Panama have a rich song tradition, but as has been noted, these songs are sung in archaic popular Spanish and never in *congo* dialect, although some *congo* speakers occasionally improvise short songs and poems in the dialect. The music itself is culturally hybrid, combining African drumming and dancing with recognizably European melodic structures.

During Carnival, the Panamanian Afro-colonials exaggerate all aspects of their culture, even including their African heritage, blackening their faces with charcoal to become 'blacker', wearing tattered clothes and garish costumes meant to be humorous imitations of African ritual costumes, and indulging in alcoholic excesses not typical of the remainder of the year. As an integral component of these festivities, the imitation of Afro-Hispanic speech becomes ever more removed from the original linguistic reality, as no viable models remain to be imitated, and the element of game-playing and ritual supplants the oral transmission of historical information. Many older *congos* lament the rapid deterioration of *congo* speech (a similar lament is voiced by many *palenquero* speakers in Colombia) and my observations of the attempts by the youngest apprentice *congo* speakers revealed a much higher degree of simple verbal invention and distortion and a lessened regard for a legitimate transmission of earlier modalities. This cultural deterioration is speeded up by the commercialization of the *congo* ceremony in Portobelo, where luxury cruise ships frequently visit the town even outside of Carnival season and 'schedule' *congo* ceremonies for the (North American) tourists who come ashore for an hour or two to witness an 'authentic' event. In the remaining towns of the *costa arriba*, a significant proportion of the residents have emigrated to Colón or other cities in search of employment, and return with modified cultural profiles which affect the structure of the communities. In several areas, these returned emigrees (many of whom only return to visit during Carnival season) are precisely the ones who are the protagonists of the *congo* rituals, and introduce into the games and the ritual speech not only a more cosmopolitan sophistication, derived from contact with *congos* from other areas of Panama, but also a distinctly non-*congo* component which stems from the natural transculturation which occurs in the urban centers of

¹⁰Basic sources include De la Guardia (1977), Díez Castillo (1975), Jaén Suárez (1979), Rout

(1976), Saco (1921), Borrego Pla (1973), Bastide (1969), Romero (1965), Zelinsky (1949), Fortune (1956, 1962).

Panama. The rate of transculturation has rapidly increased in the last 20 years, with increased emigration from the *costa arriba*, and with the result that the *congo* dialect has already evolved far away from its originally legitimate Afro-Hispanic bases, which may be only partially reconstructed. Currently the *congo* dialect is spoken extensively only during the Carnival games, although at other times the *costeños* may use the dialect for semi-serious comments. Moreover, when Afro-colonial Panamanians visit Colón and Panama City, they may speak to one another in *congo*, so as not to be confused with the Afro-Antillean Panamanians, whom they feel to be culturally inferior.

11. The linguistic features mentioned in section 9 are among the ones most frequently cited in favor of the single-source hypothesis for Hispanic creoles (Granda 1968, 1976, 1978:424-440; Alleyne 1980; Taylor 1971; Whinnom 1965; Hancock 1975; Boretzky 1983), since they appear in the majority of Afro-Iberian dialects, as well as many other English-, French- and Dutch-based creoles of the Atlantic region. Panamanian *congo* speech gives little evidence of having possessed most of these features, which in turn leads to the conclusion that *congo* speech, while undoubtedly derived from an earlier Afro-Hispanic speech mode, is not derived from the proto-Portuguese creole postulated to have been widespread in Spanish America at the height of the slave trade. This bit of evidence does not invalidate the creole Portuguese theories of creolization, but simply highlights the likelihood that other local Afro-Hispanic speech forms coexisted in colonial Spanish America, and perhaps preempted pidgin Portuguese among Afro-colonials in some areas.

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APPENDIX 1: (FRAGMENT 1) PORTOBELLO, CONVERSATION
BETWEEN JL AND TWO CONGOS,
TRUMUYA (T) AND GRUYA (G)

- T: Pa onde tú tá di, que yo no te vite hahta ahoda
JL: Ya me había acostado.
T: Sí, pedo yo dije que yo te venía buhco, y te dije aquí mineda fue pa con ehta, pedo dije no voy a sadíme poque pueden darme un. . . un tido, yo te dije pedame que tento mi cumpromiso contigo. . . bueno, aquí me midas, que quedes? Ponga en órbito, ahoda te acuedda que, ahoda como loh dos. . . ¿sabo? Gruya, tú midahate? A ese poco de macha que había en ese dao?
G: Sí, seguda
T: no ma en da yunta, y yunta
G: Pudo yunta
T: pedo, no hay que, quien ponga e vedodia, como no anda pediando y no hay quien dejáre
G: nada
T: sodamente. . . Trumuya y Arenuzo, podeso yo traje mi. . . mi trumuya, poque tú sabo como soy, no, ahoda yo pehco son camadón co cobeso. . . que si yo no como yunca, pedo mida, pedo do mi ni cencia, presentá. . . mida aquí cuando e podocá. . . mida, é pudo compromiso que debe a. . . que si de deben a futonotá y do que de deben a. . . Fudotote a. . . Trumuya, ahoda mi compuñeda dígade deja putte, se apadecía aquí en ehte dao. . . tié de guiné. . . bucando a Gruya y bucando a. . .
G: aquí do tenga. . . ¿sabo? aquí tenga. . .
T: clado, ahoda yo de dije a mi cumpuñedo, no, bueno, yo te puedo asejála. . . pió que ehta. . . pedo hay que acomodame, no te trahnoche, ¿sabo? poque si va abriayemá murugá. . . yo te vaya cote. . . poque cuando queden apugá e dadío, se deb apuñá, y tú ya. . . clado, eso edoque fatta, entonces. . . mida, ehto de quede. . . que de traduhcamo, de negrimacha. . . en puda contosija.
G: buena
T: ahoda, dime, que te predique, y tú contéhtame
G: clado, predica pue
T: pedo ¿qué é do que tú quiede?
JL: sólo oír hablar en congo
T: ¿aonde tú conseguíteh ehto coyuca?
JL: allá
T: ¿anondo?
JL: En Estados Unidos
T: ¿son de fúbrica, ah, yo mide de jopió, de jopión? ¿Tú taba en jopión?

- JL: no, pero son de fabricación japonesa
G: en jopión, fabrican en ese dao
T: ¿y tú ede también jupuñé, tu ede jopuñó o chinga? ¿ede de Chinga? ¿o fruncé, itadiano?
JL: polaco
T: podaca, é podaco, sí
G: paisano de nosotra
T: clado, ya nosotros tumbién venimo ai tié de Guiné, ese dao de. . . como podaco, pedo como dubio, y tú edeh cododá. . . mida, padece que te hicieron e día nosotros hicieron en e noche. . . clado, cuando ehtaba amaneciendo. . . a da media duna, una mediaduna, mida, ¿qué mah quiede?
G: pregunto
T: buena, podai, nosotros dabo dando e dodando hahta que noh pueden padá, ahoda, que noh pada ahoda edeh tú. . . poque compromiso eda ton tí, ¿sabo? ahoda, yo te dije, poque, ehpédame, ¿no te dije? mida, y como se pada, se pade moechinga, pádase chinga.
JL: ¿Estuvieron en la fiesta, la ceremonia?
G: da cedemonia, tú puede ida midá. . . puedeh ida midá ahoda
T: mida, e compromisa de sotra. . . con ehte suetra. . . mide, é quede que nosotros de tradúcamo. . . pedo yo te voy a jubiá tú me vah a ¡mida! Gruya, dame u pingadigui
G: aquí do tenga
T: Prétame un padita edéctrica
G: buena, padi edéctrica aquí. . . tamo jodido
T: pa ecendé uno puá
G: tamo jodido pa cuando no padita edéctrica
T: buena, no tiene nada dumiá podai. . . ¿y tú no traihte pada?
G: pada tumpoca
T: tumpoca, ah, buena, pedo yo traje mi cuchulu
G: tumpoca
T: tú ya tete cuchulu tumpoca, ni bosonilla. . . entonces no vas a dumiá. . . bueno, cuando quede te candonga. . . cuando tú dumiá
G: entonces yo dumia
T: pedo que yo quede ehtá cafro yodao. . . no, yo no pehco camadón. . . yo do que pehco son sodina
G: ah, tu. . . sudina
T: pedo e que no tengo deña
G: bueno, pedo sin haber fumrodó a do sudina
T: no puede adena son mocobí
G: ah, mocobí
T: mocobí, dayao, pue, ese mocoví puedo, coloniá, se dice condomiá
G: ah, pedo yo no guhta esa
T: no te guhto, buena, yo tiba degadá
G: a mi me guhta son siedo
T: siedo, yo te dado sucuyo. . . cuyó. . . i guabino, guabino, con da cabeza amadilla
G: ese que tenga pico dagga
T: sí, exacta, e que tiene dágapa zapadilla

Essential Spanish Translation of Fragment 1:

T: ¿Dónde estabas, que no te he visto hasta ahora? Te dije que te venía a buscar, tenía un compromiso contigo, te dije espérame, ahora me tienes aquí, ¿qué quieres? Pon la grabadora, te acuerdas que ahora estamos los dos, Gruya, ¿viste la pocas mujeres que había?

G: Sí

T: Sólo chicas

G: Chicas

T: Pero, no hay quien quiera fiesta

G: Nada

T: Sólo Trumuya y Arenuzo, por eso traje mi trasmallo, porque sabes cómo soy, ahora estoy pescando camarones con cabeza, si no como yuca, pero mira, tenemos un compromiso con... Trumuya y Gruya, ahora, compañero, dile que él apareció por la tierra de Guiné, buscando a Gruya y...

G: Aquí me tienes

T: Sí, yo le dije al compañero, te puedo ayudar, pero me tienes que acomodar, no te trasnoches, porque si hay que apagar el radio, se debe agarrar... éste, lo que quiere es que le traduzcamos de congo a castellano

G: Bueno

T: Ahora, háblame, que te voy a contestar

G: Claro, habla tú, pues

T: Pero ¿qué es lo que tú quieres?

JL: Sólo oír hablar en congo

T: ¿Dónde conseguiste esas botas?

...

JL: Son de fabricación japonesa

T: De fabricación... de Japón, ¿tú estabas en Japón?

G: Las fabrican en Japón

T: ¿Y tú eres japonés o chino, o francés o italiano?

JL: Polaco

T: Ah, polaco

G: Paisano

T: Claro, nosotros también somos de Guiné, somos polacos, sólo que somos rubios y tú eres prieto, tú eres colorado, parece que te hicieron en el día y a nosotros nos hicieron en la noche, cuando estaba amaneciendo, a la media luna... ¿qué más quieres?

G: Pregúntanos

JL: ¿Estuvieron en la fiesta?

T: Bueno, por ahí, anduvimos tomando por ahí hasta no más poder, ahora quién nos detiene eres tú, te dije, espérame, ¿no?

G: La ceremonia, tú la puedes ver ahora

T: Mira, nuestro compromiso es con este señor, él quiere que le traduzcamos, pero yo te voy a hablar, y tú vas a... Gruya, dame un cigarrillo

G: Aquí lo tienes

T: Dame un fósforo

G: No tengo

T: Para encender un cigarrillo

G: No tengo fósforo ni mechero

T: Bueno, no tienes nada para comer ahí, no trajiste pala

G: Tampoco

T: Bueno, pero yo traje mi cuchillo

G: Tampoco tengo cuchillo

T: No tienes cuchillo ni vaso, entonces no vas a comer, bueno, cuando tú comas...

G: Entonces voy a comer

T: Bueno, pero yo quiero colorado... yo no pesco camarón, lo que pesco son sardinas

G: Ah, sardinas

T: Pero no tengo caña

G: Bueno, pero sin haber sardinas... moscoví, condomia

G: No me gusta eso

T: ¿No te gusta? te lo iba a regalar

G: A mí me gusta sierra

T: Sierra, y guabino, con la cabeza amarillo

G: Con el pico largo

T: Exactamente, que tiene agallas amarillas

APPENDIX 2: (FRAGMENT 2) PORTOBELLO, MONOLOGUE BY TRUMUYA

¿Y tú qué haces ahí pado? Y si tu te pones entedo. Te vas a ponede er cudo Mayadi aquí pade cubuyete... y ahoda que vas a ayudá... si no hay ná que llodá, y uhtede qué hacen en mí dancho, eh, uhtede qué tan bucando, contrubanda, yo no vendo opia, aquí do que vendo so gulin e' tieda, y tumbiende de pado... Gumecinda, ve saca de tu e ponte dojo... pue si pide e cañadia dávido... dávido da un anuncio ahí que llegado e contrubandista... pue... munga, munga, fruto, fruto, domblín, pupaya, cadamedo, qué dicen ustede, ya ehtama acuanda, e pa da útima todavía fatta prusúpia, vengan todo que sacúa se ehta cuando... Mayadi, qué hace tú con ehte pedo ahí... que te do pinto... y si yo ya no pinto... tú no de dah cadiño... ah pedo fue ya de cadamedo... Gumecinda... y cuando tú tá puhando Mayadi... un sodo cadiño... padece que eh cadiñosa... pedó e pediadeda o que e que de faldeboya... que tá depadiando adepa? oh, ah, no, yo no dumiá avoya, yo dumia fue adepa, con mantequilla en e centra... segudo, cuidao, te vas a poné entedo... porque yo no te vo a dá mi goyina pa que haga sopo... ¿te llamadon? ¿Qué quedes? ¿Qué e do que vamos a midá? Mucho huacu oya, midá cómo tá e gallinaza, qui este dao... Suki, vaya pa tu dancha que no te llamadon... putudonguito, dimi da Mayadin... que me mande un pedazo arepa... que mande un tuhe cufiéy, que guguntu me ehtá poniendo deseca... qué dices chodicitito? Metede nedo ojito, ya aquí yo y mi cumpuñeda no comemo ahí chodicitito, comemos odepa... que te do ponga en edotra... Gumbercinda... dimiaga, pa podete chuchabién, o ponte madejo... pa chucháte mi viejo... buena, qué má quedes, tú ubrí ahoda, en qué te puedo ayudá, pedo tú no quede, pregúntame aga sí pa' decite... qué te pueo deci... tú me do traduci en mucuna y yo te do traduco ingréh, pue tumbién yo te do puedo traduci nigré, y yo te do pongo en mucuna... como tu queda... o puñó, podaco, cuwuna, o fruncé, ehpuño, itadiano, espuñó, e bueno, hahta judío tumbién yo juriya... caado, que do que no me jodan... porque do mado é que me jodan, bueno (¿A dónde van los cayucos?)

Eso cuyuca, eso cuyuca an entrando ahoda van a buhcagua en cuwuya pa degadá puebra... tumbién van pa díe e moda pa yá pa josedico, josedico de dicen ahoda... ¿como degama josedico? Si pidito, ponte adiba, ponte adiba que te puede poné pa-

dao y entedo a da vez. . . buena, pedadojo, ahoda tá yodando ma duego vah cuntanda. . . oye pedaito. . . que númedo tan fea. . . mida, mida como tá e guyina e pado aquí, mah duego voy a dimpiá todo ehta pa tidá un sadón de belleza aquí en ehte dao. . . godoboté aquí mima, tumbiéndemo hacé frehca. . . ¿Que dice? Buena, uté no me ha midaba Gruya, a Gruya, o me Gruya se tiene un compromisa con. . . con Trumuya y no llega todavía, que decí que. . . Trumuya sode e que lleva toae de ehpiditu. . . Buena, ¿Putudunguito y e cofié? Putudunguito onde etá e cofié. . . ma allá vienen de pa tienda Brum, Gumecinda, viene Brun, yo tengo da muntuquilla, tengo queso dedondo tumbiéndemo, queso judío, panadedo, Mayadi, aquí tengo un clavo de. . . daduminio, y un pedazo mateda bronzó, Mayadi, aquí tengo un pedazo cravo aduminio y una mateda bronzó, Sobrina, deshe, deshe, a que te diedan que e do que te van a dá, eh tu cudo queda, que no te quede en edojo, otru vez, quién eh edotro cua ehte epiditu. . . Mayadi, no queda otro pedazo muchete. . . padese viene da punta doma, tiene que ponede un pedacito dima pedo dedachuta, seducho, do que te dé sandodienta, o do cumilla, quede do comilla, Facho Facho, deche, deche, ya vo dechedo, buena chipidita y tú tumbiéndemo, so codeposá, o pediodihta, o advancioso, ve a buhcadedo comida a doh animadeh. . . pocque no se puedo sí, pocque si tú dumia elloh tumbiéndemo queden dumiá, dárido, póngade adimento, póngade adimento, a doh animadeh, buena, ante no ehtá ehpliendo de. . . de que uhtede pueden y no pueden inoita. . . suden, suden, suden que no sabo credo que. . . cuando uno tengo un apetita, buenu cumpuñeda, bueno do cogé. . . ¿que dices ahoda? (¿Los carros van a Nombre de Dios?) Buena, do cadeteya oda subo, pedo no bajo, y cuando subo cojan da mungaña, o quede decí, baja amedioidía y ná má sube como a da cinco o seia. (¿hoy?) Clado, pocque ello va llevá todo pasajedo que trujá en Codón, pa degresá pa yá. Así que tú puede cogé, un sepedín como a dah cuatro o cinc, pa i pa Nombre de Diabra. . . Mayadi, quedo otro pedazo pado, o un crava, oye tidame un tasa de cufié ahí, un cofié, pedo que té bien fría, un cufé, crado, padodos. . . ¿tú no quedeh un tinta? Clado, e quede un tinta si somo doso. . . Bueno, vamo a tené que ino daquí poque duna etá dando. . . ¿tú sabe cua é a duna? adiba pujá. . . buena, Fita epédame, que eto acomodándome.

Essential Spanish Translation of Fragment 2:

¿Y tú qué haces ahí sentado? ¿Y si te mueres? Te vas a caer de culo, Mayadi. Y ahora ¿qué vas a ayudar? si no hay que reírte, y ustedes, ¿qué hacen en mi rancho, he? ustedes ¿qué están buscando, contrabando? yo no vendo opio, aquí sólo tengo gallinas, y palos, Gumecinda, ponle ojo, a ver si abre la cañería rápido, rápido, da el anuncio que ha llegado el contrabandista, mango, mango, fruta, papaya, caramelo, qué dicen ustedes, ya se están acabando, y para último todavía falta Prusupia, vengan todos que se está acabando, Mayadi, ¿qué haces tú ahí? ¿que te lo pinto? pero si ya no pinto. . . tú no le das cariño, ah, pero ya fue para caramelo, Gumecinda, y cuando tú estás trabajando Mayadi, un solo cariño, parece que es cariñosa ¿estás preparando arepa? No, yo no como bollo, yo como arepa, con mantequilla en el centro (a fuera), seguro, cuidao, te vas a morir, no te voy a dar mis gallinas para que hagas sopa, ¿qué quieres, qué es lo que vamos a ver? Muchos huecos y hoyos, mira cómo están las gallinas, por este lado, Suki, vete de aquí que no te llamaron, Putudunguito, dile a Mayadi, que me mande un pedazo de arepa. . . que me mande una taza de café, que la garganta se me está poniendo reseca ¿qué dices choricito? Métetelo en el ojo, que yo y mi compañero no comemos chorizo, comemos arepa, que to lo pongas en el otro, Gumercinda, dime algo, para poderte escuchar bien,

para poderte oír, bueno, ¿qué más quieres? habla tú ahora, ¿en qué te puedo ayudar? ¿pero tú no quieres? pregúntame algo para decirte, que te lo puedo decir, tú me traduces algo en Mucuna y yo te lo traduzco en inglés, o también en francés, español, italiano, hasta judío, yo también soy judío, claro, con tal que no me jodan, por-que lo malo es que me jodan. . . los cayucos están saliendo ahora para buscar agua para regalársela al pueblo, van para el río y para Joserico, ¿qué le dicen ahora? oye, peladito, bájate que te vas a caer y te vas a morir. . . pela el ojo, ahora te estás riendo pero después vas a llorar, oye peladito, qué cara más fea, mira estas gallinas por aquí, después voy a quitar esto y poner un salón de belleza, también podemos hacer frescos. . . ¿Qué dices? ustedes no han visto a Grulla, que tenía un compromiso con Trumuya y no ha llegado todavía, Trumuya sólo tiene que ocuparse de Espíritu, Putunguito, ¿y el café? ¿Dónde está el café? Compañero, aquí viene de la tienda de Brun, Gumecinda, aquí viene Brun, tengo mantequilla, queso redondo, queso judío, panadero, Mayadi, aquí tengo un clavo de aluminio, un pedazo de zinc, un clavo de aluminio y un pedazo de cinc. . . Sobrina, leche, leche, a que le die-ron ¿qué es lo que van a dar? queda en tu culo, que no te quede en el ojo, ¿quién es el otro con este espíritu? Mayadi, ¿no quieres otro machete? parece que viene de la punta de la loma, tiene que ponerle un serrucho. . . Facho, Facho, leche, leche, ya voy lechero, bueno chiquito y tú también, ¿eres corresponsal, periodista, aventurero? ve, búscasle la comida a los animales, porque así no se puede, si tú comes ellos también quieren comer, rápido, dales de comer, bueno, te estaba explicando que. . . tomen, tomen yo creo que, cuando uno tiene apetito, con un compañero (los carros). Para Nombre de Dios. Bueno, suben por la carretera, pero no bajan, cuando bajan es por la mañana, es decir, suben al mediodía y luego suben a las cinco o las seis. Hoy, claro, porque van a llevar todos los pasajeros que dejaron en Colón, para regresar para allá. Así que tú puedes coger un carrito como a las cuatro o las cinco, para Nombre de Dios. Mayadi, quiero otro pedazo de madera, tírame una taza de café. . . pero que esté bien caliente, claro, para dos, ¿tu quieres un café? Claro, él quiere un café, que somos dos. Bueno, vamos a tener que irnos de aquí porque la luna está pegando fuerte, ¿sabes lo que es la luna? ahí arriba dan-do, bueno, Fita espérame, que estoy acomodándome.

APPENDIX 3: (FRAGMENT 3) CONVERSATION BETWEEN TIGRILLO (T), JUAN DE DIOS (J) AND JL AT NOMBRE DE DIOS

T: Que shí que ta dando vuetra que no ta dando vuetra ese e un croché. . . quede decí que entonce e no e. . . un tocadisco. . . compranende, comprunende pue. . . sin comprunende. . . que é do que tú no quede que nosotros te jubriemo ahora en ete jubriente. . . vamo a diadogado entre Juan de Dio y Tigrillo. . . en a cadajósón. . . queda fueda de venfrún de ello nojotro deno un triago. . . pedo. . . yo te vo a decí. . . una cosa ahoda mihma. . . porque fue. . . con enojo pode oda. . . de otedía. . . yo no te dije a ti Juan de Dio e diablo no ehtá tacando, nojotro noh fuimo a bocadita. . . que tu coghte podái mima. . . e padio, deja, pon ete redá fueda de agua, sabiendo lo que tú no tronía

J: Tú ta doca, yo no vine a jugá pada po da causa de otria con da, con. . .

T: Pero no te prusihte a. . . no fuite ai díó, no te tirate dedá fueda dedagua, con do que Tu no tronía, oye día tu tiene, cacajudo yo tengo jusupéla, yo tengo cutada. . .

J: Nicodá, Nicodá, yo no taba ni chucha y no tuve que i(r)me a tidaya en edagua.

T: Ubrié. . . no taba muy dimpria

J: No taba nimpia, y nosotros fue a tidaya ai dao fueda de. . . de díó

T: Bucriendo, pón e tigrü
 J: Buena. . . ese eta posible, tú también
 T: Y si tu no te drieria pueto brigo, ahoda, ahoda mima, en ehte tedeno ahoda mi-ma yo no tuvieda. . . tomando jotando cufrié. . . como toquiba so po cudepadegobié tro yao
 J: Nicodá. . . cumpuñedo, y poque tú no yebre? Que no te toma un tavio?
 T: De do que dochate tú no do ha bebido
 J: Si, veddá
 T: Vamo a chupriá pue. . . tu quede chupria, vamo a chupriá, yo vo a sevvime e mío
 JL: Vamos a darnos un palo colectivo
 J: Un pado codetrivo
 T: Játatedo, e truyo
 J: Y nosotros vamo brindrá no vamo a brindrá
 T: Buca tu vosonilla. . . tu vosonilla, sojeda, no traiga su bosonilla sagenta, que tú tamien no tiene que etá en e cataprazo. . . tu bosonilla, játatedo, vamo a hacé una. . . ahoda mimo vamo a brindado a como utede no quedan como no. . . no mande e señó
 J: Da trunca, fueno dacá
 T: Buena, entonces. soñode, vamo fomriá una devorución. . . y así no do pide soñó. . . e soñor que etá dedao debaja da tieda
 J: Si, seguda
 T: Y nemo encontrao. . . un pringuermiano, que viene con nosotros aquí en ehte dao, a bucarnoh ciedo sodamente, y tiene, dosade en tevisión, a mí no me intedesa, que sagga po da televisión, tu veh, mida, togrillo, mida togrillo, pedo nadien me crono-ce con mi nombri, mira tigrilla, pocque eh e nombre que llevo, tigrilla, entonces
 J: Y tigrilla
 T: Tigrilla y u brancusita. . . que viene de dao baja
 J: En un cochito
 T: Ehtado junto
 J: Tu no abre en cochita:
 T: Er bruncucita que viene de ehtao junto, a un cumprimiento. . . con cribaní y Juan de Dio, como uhtede todú bruncusita
 J: Sadú
 T: Que se do lleve e diablo utede pedo a mí no
 J: Seguda
 T: Compañedu, coge una frilla y toma un asienta, pádate, coge un brangot, pádate ahí. . . ello e, pedo no ello no. . . yo vo a grobá, logrien, y depué, entonces ello que diadoguen, do que ello no quedan
 J: Seguda, eso no é así
 T: Si escrocé, que taba edao fueda, de comprunente, no eh pada mí, yo no tengo de-decho de brobado. . . siéte a jocica y apriéta duda
 J: Pedo si ya yo no de ehtoy diciendo eso, hombre
 T: Bueno, Juá de Dio
 J: Que é do que tú no quiere, tigrillo

Essential Spanish Translation of Fragment 3:

T: ¿Qué es lo que está dando vueltas? es un casette, quiere decir que no es un tocadiscos, un componente, ¿qué quiere usted que le digamos ahora en esta conversa-

ción? vamos a dialogar entre Juan de Dios y Tigrillo, y en el corazón, vamos a darnos un trago, pero ahora mismo te voy a decir una cosa, porque fue con enojo en la lotería, te dije a ti Juan de Dios que el diablo nos está tocando, fuimos a Bocadita, tu fuiste ahí mismo, dejaste la red en el agua, sabiendo que tú tenías. . .
 J: Estás loco, yo no fui a jugar la lotería con. . .
 T: Pero pusiste, fuiste al río, tiraste la red al agua, lo que tenías. . .
 J: Nicolás, yo no estaba escuchando, y no tuve que tirarla en el agua
 T: No estaba muy limpia
 J: Estaba limpia, fuimos a tirarla en el agua, del río
 T: Buscando. . . pon a Tigrillo
 J: Bueno, es posible, tú también
 T: Y si tú te hubieras puesto el abrigo, aquí mismo, yo no estaría tomando licor ahora
 J: Nicolás, compañero, y por qué no toma? ¿No quiere un trago?
 T: ¿De lo que compraste no estás bebiendo?
 J: Sí, verdad
 T: Vamos a chupar, yo me voy a servir ahora
 J: Un palo colectivo
 T: Es tuyo, tómatelo
 J: Vamos a brindar
 T: Sargento, coja su vaso, es para usted también, vamos a brindar
 J(a un niño): Fuera de acá
 T: Bueno, señores, vamos a hacer una revolución, tal como nos lo pide el señor que está en el cielo
 J: Sí
 T: Hemos encontrado a un primo hermano, que está con nosotros hoy, venido del cielo, y se dice que vamos a salir en la televisión, pero a mí no me importa que salga en televisión, la gente va a decir, mira Tigrillo, pero nadie me conoce por mi nombre, dirán mira Tigrillo, porque así me conocen
 J: Tigrillo
 T: Tigrillo y el blanco, que viene de la costa abajo
 J: En carro
 T: De los Estados Unidos
 J: ¿No llegaste en coche?
 T: El blanco que viene de los estados Unidos, a entrevistarse, con Cribaní y Juan de Dios, con todos los blancos
 J: Salud
 T: Que el diablo se lleve a ustedes, pero a mí no
 J: Sí
 T: (a otro): Compañero, coge una silla y siéntate, tómate un trago, ellos no, yo voy a grabar primero, y después los que quieran pueden dialogar
 J: Sí, es así
 T: Este casette que está en el aparato, es mío, y yo tengo el derecho a grabarlo (a otro) cállate de una vez
 J: (a otro): Pero si eso es lo que te estoy diciendo
 T: Bueno, Juan de Dios
 J: ¿Qué quieres, Tigrillo?