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PALARA

Number 3 Fall 1999

Table of Contents

Articles

Review Essays

La herencia cultural africana en las Américas

Compilación
Beatriz Santos

Colección Afroamérica XXI
Tomo I

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Creole-to-Creole Contacts in the Spanish Caribbean: the Genesis of Afro-Hispanic Language

by John M. Lipski

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of Latin American dialect differentiation is the African contribution. There exists a tantalizing corpus of literary, folkloric and anecdotal testimony on the earlier speech patterns of Africans, in Spain and Latin America. 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 (Lipski 1985a). 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-Hispanic 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. One group which did use a 'special' language were the *bozales*, slaves born in Africa, who spoke European languages only with difficulty. *Bozal* language first arose in the Iberian Peninsula late in the 15th century; the earliest attestations come from Portugal. *Bozal* Spanish makes its written appearance in Spain early in the 16th century, and continues through the middle of the 18th century, being especially prominent in Golden Age plays and poetry.[1] Latin American *bozal* Spanish was first described by writers like Sor Juan Inés de la Cruz, at the beginning of the 17th century. Other surviving 17th century documents demonstrate the existence of *bozal* Spanish in the highland mining areas of Peru, Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia and Guatemala. 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). At the turn of the 19th century, the last big surge of slave trading, spurred by the sugar plantation boom and by increased urbanization of many coastal regions, resulted in an outpouring of Afro-Hispanic literary representations. The geographical distribution of extant texts mirrors the profile of the African slave trade in Latin America. The 19th century texts come principally from three regions: Cuba (with a couple from Puerto Rico), coastal Peru, and the Buenos Aires/ Montevideo region.[2]

2. SOME IMPORTANT PROPOSALS

Although most *bozal* Spanish specimens reflect only non-native usage by speakers of African languages, data from some Caribbean texts have given rise to two controversial proposals, which are of great importance to general Spanish dialectology. The first is that Afro-Hispanic language in the Caribbean and possibly elsewhere coalesced into a stable creole (i.e. had consistent structural

characteristics and was eventually acquired natively). A corollary is the claim that this creole had its origins in an even earlier Afro-Portuguese pidgin or creole, formed in West Africa and surviving in the contemporary creoles of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Annobón, and in Latin America in Papiamento (spoken in the Netherlands Antilles) and Palenquero (spoken in the Afro-Colombian village of Palenque de San Basilio).[3]

The second proposal is that this earlier Afro-Hispanic pidgin or perhaps creole extended beyond the pale of slave barracks and plantations, and permanently affected the evolution of ALL Caribbean Spanish, not only contributing vocabulary items, but also touching syntax and phonology.[4]

The debate on the status of Latin American *bozal* language has involved a number of distinguished scholars on both sides of the issue, and matters are far from resolved. Research conducted by the present writer finds little evidence of any stable or consistent creole in surviving or reconstructed Afro-Hispanic language throughout Latin America. Found in most regions is simply the imperfectly-acquired Spanish spoken by Africans who learned Spanish as a second language. The linguistic features of such interlanguage are not markedly different from other second-language varieties of Spanish, including that used by English-speaking students learning Spanish in the United States. This interlanguage exhibits discrepancies in subject-verb agreement, unstable noun-adjective concord, misuse or elimination of prepositions, strange circumlocutions, and generally short and syntactically simple sentences. In some cases, phonetic modifications reflect a broad cross-section of West African languages (Lipski 1986d, 1995), but in the area of grammar there is little of the consistent modification and replacement of an input language that is associated with creolization.

3. THE RESIDUE OF POSSIBLY AFRO-HISPANIC CREOLE TEXTS

Despite the generally negative conclusions, there is a small but important corpus of materials, both historical and synchronic, which contain creole-like features that are unlikely to have appeared spontaneously. Moreover, many of the features in these texts are similar or identical to combinations found in acknowledged Afro-Iberian creoles. It is precisely these similarities which have fueled theories of an earlier creolization of Caribbean Spanish (e.g. by Granda 1968, 1971; Megenney 1984a, 1984b, 1985b; Otheguy 1973; Perl 1981, 1989a, 1989b). The limited corpus which has been used in support of the claims of earlier creolization in the Caribbean come (1) primarily from Cuba (with two documents from Puerto Rico), and (2) from the 19th century. These examples are set against several hundred Afro-Hispanic texts from the same regions and time period, in which nothing other than what might be called 'broken Spanish' appears (cf. Lipski 1986c, 1986e, 1987, 1991a, 1992b, 1993). Equally conspicuous are areas in which there is no textual evidence of any creole-like Spanish at all. The Dominican Republic, whose Afro-American population is at least as large as that of Cuba and Puerto Rico, provides no examples whatsoever (Lipski 1994a), nor do predominantly black coastal areas of Venezuela and Colombia. On the other hand, those pockets of still existent vernacular Spanish which hint at earlier creolization in the

Caribbean are most prevalent in the Dominican Republic (e.g. González and Benavides 1982; Lorenzino 1993), are found occasionally in Cuba, and are nonexistent in Puerto Rico. These facts require an explanation which transcends a simple correlation between an Afro-American population and particular linguistic features. The matter is sufficiently complex as to elude simplistic solutions. One promising area of research, which has emerged only recently, suggest that contacts between Spanish and already established creole languages in the Caribbean setting account for many of the linguistic pecularities which have been used to bolster claims of earlier creolization. The events in question are not of early colonial origin, but rather occurred principally during the demographic and economic upheavals of the 19th century Caribbean, in some instances carrying over well into the 20th century. For this reason, the linguistic traces of these creoles are still observable in vestigial and isolated communities in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, all of which are Afro-American. The Afro-European creoles in question all share significant structural similarities with one another, and in the absence of demographic and linguistic documentation, the traces of Caribbean creoles in vestigial Afro-Caribbean Spanish are potentially indistinguishable from structures to be expected if the Spanish dialect itself had passed through a creole stage.

The historical circumstances which gave rise to Spanish-creole contacts in the Caribbean varied from one region to another, and also varied according to the time period. In the Dominican Republic, contact with Caribbean creoles resulted in part from the shared history of the island of Española and the highly permeable Spanish-Haitian Creole interface. To this natural coexistence is added a gradually increasing labor force from other Caribbean islands, beginning early in the 20th century. The presence of Caribbean creoles in Puerto Rico was even more limited, due to the minimal importance of large plantation agriculture. Most speakers of creole languages found in Puerto Rico are occasional arrivals from neighboring islands, whose impact on the island's linguistic profile is negligible. It is in Cuba that the greatest demographic upheavals occurred, beginning early in the 19th century and continuing through the first half of the 20th century. The voracious labor demands, coupled with Cuba's geographical location and already linguistically diverse population, resulted in a patchwork of languages and dialects whose traces can still be detected. It is therefore useful to begin the discussion with an account of the labor situation in 19th century Cuba.

4. Labor demands in 19th century Cuba

During most of the 18th century, Cuba remained a neglected although not impoverished colony. The expansion of trade routes throughout the Caribbean, together with the reduced importance of the treasure fleets, deprived Havana of much of its former strategic importance. The Cuban sugar industry received a boost with the Haitian revolution of 1791, which destroyed the world's largest source of sugar production. Many Haitian planters escaped to Cuba, and the rapid increase in world sugar prices resulted in a frenzied conversion of all available land in Cuba to sugar cultivation. To meet the skyrocketing labor demands, Cubans began to

import African slaves and nominally free workers on a scale never before seen in the Spanish Caribbean. Some three quarters of a million slaves were imported in less than a century, and in the first quarter of the 19th century African slaves represented as much as 40% of the total Cuban population. If to this figure is added the large free black population, Africans and Afro-Hispanics made up well over half the Cuban population for much of the 19th century. The demographic distribution was not even; in the larger cities, the population was predominantly of Spanish origin, while in rural sugar-growing areas, the Afro-Hispanic population was in the majority (Aimes 1907, Castellanos and Castellanos 1988, Curtin 1969, Humboldt 1827, Knight 1970, Moreno Fraginals 1978).

Where did all these workers come from? In the case of slaves brought from Africa, the largest group came from Nigeria, in particularly the Yoruba-speaking western coast; these slaves were known as *lucumíes*. Lesser numbers came from eastern Nigeria, speaking Igbo, Ijo, and related languages, and known as *carabalíes*. Other West African areas included the Gold Coast (modern Ghana), home of the *Minas*, and the Slave Coast (modern Benin), home of the *Ararás*. Another large group came from the Congo Basin, speaking KiKongo and related Bantu languages. Remnants of these languages and the cultural traditions represented by their respective ethnic groups are still found in rural central Cuba.

By the first few decades of the 19th century, anti-slavery movements in Europe were strong, and slaving ships en route to the Americas were routinely intercepted and confiscated. The African slave trade could not provide sufficient workers to satisfy Cuban demands, and laborers from all over the Caribbean were sought. A burgeoning contraband labor trade ensued, and the Dutch station at Curaçao was instrumental in making up the difference between the slaves coming from Africa and the total needs of the Spanish colonies. For much of the colonial period, the Dutch had maintained an *asiento* or franchized slave market on Curaçao, from which slaves were re-shipped to Spanish, French and English possessions in the Caribbean. The *asiento* was revoked in 1713, but clandestine traffic from Curaçao and St. Eustatius continued past this point, transshipping Africans throughout the Caribbean. For nearly two centuries, the Dutch depot at Curaçao supplied both authorized and clandestine slave traffic to Cuba and, on a much reduced scale, to Puerto Rico. As will be demonstrated shortly, the participation of Curaçao in the labor trade to Cuba added the already established creole language Papiamento to the mix of languages present in Cuba.

In addition to the well-organized slave and plantation laborer supplies offered by commercial traders, Cuba attracted thousands of workers from throughout the Caribbean, who emigrated to Cuba voluntarily and individually. The largest contingent came from Haiti and settled in eastern Cuba. This immigration began in the latter part of the 19th century, but in the early decades of the 20th century the Cuban and Haitian governments entered into accords which guaranteed a steady annual supply of Haitian contract laborers, not only in Oriente but also in the sugar-growing areas of central Cuba. The plight of these hapless workers is documented in Alejo Carpentier's first novel,

Ecue-Yamba-Ó. Another major source of laborers for eastern Cuba was Jamaica, although the Jamaican contingents in Cuba were never as numerous as in the Dominican Republic (Alvarez Estévez 1988, Serviat 1986: chap. VI). In Cuba, the heaviest Jamaican immigration occurred in the early decades of the 20th century, and coincided with the influx of Haitian cane cutters. Smaller numbers of laborers came from the Virgin Islands and from the lesser Antilles.

Of all the Spanish Caribbean, 19th century Cuba was also the largest recipient of non-black plantation laborers, in the form of Chinese recruits. In the second half of the 19th century, Cuba received at least 150,000 Chinese laborers, known as *culies* (English *coolie*), who worked in the sugar plantations and mills as virtual slaves, side by side with Africans and workers from other Caribbean islands. The linguistic conditions surrounding the lives of Chinese laborers in Cuba closely parallels that of African *bozales*, and according to available evidence, Chinese workers' acquisition of Spanish followed similar paths. Moreover, the linguistic model for Chinese workers was frequently the speech of *bozales* who had already learned some Spanish, as well as the Spanish spoken as a second language by workers from (Afro-American creole speaking) Caribbean territories. Finally, since most of the Chinese were recruited through the Portuguese colony of Macau, where a Portuguese-based pidgin and creole was spoken among the native Chinese population, there exists the possibility that some of the Chinese workers added their knowledge of a Portuguese creole to the already rich mix of creole and creoloid elements present in 19th century Cuba.[5]

5. The labor situation in the Dominican Republic: 19th & early 20th centuries

Spanish Santo Domingo never experienced the last-ditch importation of sugar plantation laborers from all over the Caribbean, as occurred in Cuba and Puerto Rico. As French Saint-Domingue became the world's richest sugar colony, the Spanish side of the island could not compete, and instead Dominican farmers devoted themselves to supplying meat, hides and other agricultural products to French planters. Following the Haitian Revolution, Spanish planters were not inclined to repeat the mistakes which had led to the destruction of the French sugar colony. The Spaniards had already experienced smaller-scale slave revolts, and invasions by Haitian troops were already on the horizon.There were probably a few speakers of Papiamento in Santo Domingo, since a number of merchants and traders, largely Sephardic Jews, arrived from Curaçao, and lived in a neighborhood called Punda, recalling a similarly- named neighborhood on Curaçao. However, in the Dominican Republic, these (presumed) Papiamento speakers formed part of the urban bourgeoisie, unlike in Cuba and Puerto Rico, where Papiamento-speaking laborers worked in the canefields side by side with African- and American-born workers. There is little likelihood that Papiamento ever affected Dominican Spanish.

The major extra-Hispanic influence on 19th and early 20th century Dominican Spanish was Haitian Creole, carried first by invading Haitian armies, then by settlers who arrived from the western end of the island during the Haitian occupation, and in the 20th century by migrant

sugar plantation laborers. Beginning with the Haitian revolts and continuing through the nominal transfer of Santo Domingo to French and then Haitian control, the population of the Spanish colony dropped drastically. From a high of 180,000 residents in the last decade of the 18th century, a census of 1819 revealed only 71,000 people in the Spanish colony. By 1844, i.e., the end of the Haitian occupation, the population had risen to 126,000; in 1863 the population was 207,000, and in 1887 more than 380,000 residents of the Dominican Republic were counted. Most of the repopulation which occurred during the first half of the 19th century was the result of settlement by Haitians.

The Haitian takeover of Santo Domingo, from 1822-1844, prompted even more Spanish emigration. Haitian occupation forces began to systematically dismantle the Spanish administrative structure, abolishing slavery and confiscating and redistributing land and infrastructure. Although the Haitian government attempted to implant French as the de facto language at the Spanish end of the island, this did not go beyond official decrees and administrative circles. Many of the Haitian political leaders, such as Toussaint L'Ouverture and Dessalines, knew French and used this language in official activities. However, Haitian Creole had already become established as the language of the masses, considerably before the Spanish-French conflicts; few of the Haitians who moved to Santo Domingo spoke French, and even fewer Spaniards learned this language. Shortly after the Haitian occupation began, Haitian president Boyer ordered the military conscription of all male Dominicans between the ages of 16 and 25, an event which put them in contact with the language of the Haitian troops—Creole, not French.

United States black English also made its way into the 19th century Spanish Caribbean. Vestiges of black English still survive on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic, on the Samaná Peninsula, and there are reports of isolated black English speakers in rural southern Cuba. Such groups were attested on the Isle of Pines (Isla de la Juventud) in earlier decades of this century (Carlson 1942, Perl and Valdés 1991, Martínez Gordo 1985b.

In the Dominican Republic, the presence of black Americans began with the Haitian occupation, part of an ambitious plan initiated in 1824 by Haitian president Boyer to create a settler-state of dispossessed blacks from throughout the Americas, who would owe unswerving allegiance to the Haitian revolution (Rodríguez Demorizi 1973, Puig Ortiz 1978, Tejeda Ortiz 1984). Although today the only speakers of black English are found in Samaná, the Afro-Dominican village of Villa Mella was also the scene of immigration of speakers of black U. S. English. Unlike what happened in the isolated Samaná, American blacks resettled around Santo Domingo were rapidly assimilated to local linguistic and cultural patterns, and switched from English to Spanish (and also acquired knowledge of Haitian *patois* in some cases). In Puerto Plata and other areas of the Cibao, use of English was retained for at least a few generations, aided by the use of English in some local schools.

A more recent source of creole English in the Dominican Republic arrived through the importation of workers from the British West Indies, especially Barbados and Jamaica. In the Dominican

Republic, these workers are usually referred to as *cocolos*, and although they often work together with Haitians (referred to as *congos* or *mañés*), the West Indian laborers enjoy greater freedom and a higher standard of living. West Indians' approximations to Spanish, however, are scarcely distinguishable from Haitianized Spanish. This language, spoken by socially stigmatized foreign laborers, is unlikely to have permanently influenced Dominican Spanish, but it does form a prominent part of the Dominican linguistic landscape. As the children of these workers grow up in the Dominican Republic, there exists a potential for subtle transfers from the pidginized Spanish of their parents to the most marginalized sociolects of Dominican Spanish.

6. The labor situation in 19th century Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico participated in many of the same demographic movements as 19th century Cuba, but on a much reduced scale, and with different ethnic and linguistic groups. Whereas the sugar plantation boom sent wave after wave of slaves and free laborers into Cuba, Puerto Rico received only a few ripples. It is estimated that or the approximately 77,000 African slaves taken to Puerto Rico, 55,000 arrived during the 19th century (Curtin 1969: 234). The respective figures for Cuba—both total slave arrivals and 19th century slaves—are approximately ten times greater than for Puerto Rico. In addition, western Puerto Rico received numerous slaves from Curaçao, as well as from the Danish colony in the Virgin Islands, and from St. Barthelmy, Martinique and Guadeloupe (Díaz Soler 1981; Morales Carrión 1978: 39). Both during and after the slaving period, the greatest number of non- Spanish speaking blacks in Puerto Rico came from the neighboring Virgin Islands. While the islands were still a Danish slave-holding territory, slaves frequently escaped to the Puerto Rican islet of Vieques (Westergaard 1917: 160-4), which is easily reached by swimming. Following the aboltion of slavery in the Virgin Islands, social and economic upheavals caused large numbers of Virgin Islanders to seek work in Puerto Rico, and the trend continues even today. During the early 19th century, slaves on St. Croix and St. John mostly spoke the Dutch creole Negerhollands; English-based creoles later came to dominate the Virgin Islands. During the 20th century, groups of Haitians have always been present in Puerto Rico, but their numbers are small in comparison to the Haitian presence in Cuba and especially the Dominican Republic, and their linguistic impact is negligible.

7. Papiamento in the Spanish Caribbean

Throughout the 19th century and extending well into the 20th century in some places, the Spanish Caribbean was characterized by language contact: Spanish with African languages, and Spanish with Atlantic creoles formed elsewhere in the Caribbean, or in West Africa. The former contacts have been the primary focus of attention, since *bozal* Spanish is principally the product of speakers of African languages attempting to learn Spanish. However, the contact between African-born *bozales* and workers from other Caribbean islands who fluently spoke creole languages was an important component in channeling the learning

patterns of Africans, and in gradually reshaping 'black' Spanish as used in both urban and rural environments throughout the Caribbean. These creole languages share many structural similarities—the very similarities which form the basis for monogenetic theories—and so frequently the intersection of more than one creole language could produce a single pattern in the developing Afro-Hispanic vernacular of a given locality. The following sections will briefly survey known and likely cases of Spanish-creole contacts in the 19th century Caribbean, after which the overall significance of these contacts will once more take center stage.

The survey begins with Papiamento, the creole language spoken on Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire. Both demographic and textual evidence suggests that of all the languages spoken in the 19th century Caribbean, Papiamento made the greatest impact on Afro-Hispanic language in Cuba and possibly also Puerto Rico. Papiamento is documented for Cuba, by both residents and visitors. For example, in the first decades of the 19th century, the Dutch traveller Gerardus Bosch (1836: 226) encountered Papiamento speakers in Cienfuegos (cf. also Hesseling 1933: 265-6). According to Granda (1973), Bosch's previous knowledge of Papiamento as spoken in Curaçao would assure that he was not mistaking a local Afro-Cuban creole or pidgin for legitimate Papiamento. Hesseling himself did not rule out the possibility that Bosch was confusing the Dutch-based creole Negerhollands with Papiamento, although according scant probability to such a hypothesis. Other, briefer, descriptions document the presence of Papiamento speakers in other parts of Cuba. Papiamento was rarely commented on by Cubans themselves; those few who had ever heard the language referred to it as *español arañado*. Given Cubans' negative attitudes towards the speech of Africans, it is unlikely that most observers had either the experience or the inclination to differentiate the halting pidgin spoken by African-born laborers from the well-established Afro-Iberian creole in use on Curaçao. Most educated Cubans of the time period were familiar primarily with life in urban areas, particularly Havana, and were not aware of the speech of peons on remote sugar plantations. Thus the Havana resident Bachiller y Morales (1883: 102-3) noted that 'en mi dilatada vida, ni oí hablar del papiamento, ni hubiera conocido su existencia a no haber salido de Cuba.' Since Bachiller y Morales' (1812-1889) period of observation would have begun just shortly after the visit of Bosch, this indicates that caution must be used in claiming widespread use of Papiamento in 19th century Cuba. A mitigating circumstance is that the term Papiamento was rarely used by outsiders to describe the speech of Curaçao; terms such as *español arañado* or *español degenerado* were more common.

Papiamento is also attested for 19th century Puerto Rico. Most Papiamento speakers probably entered from the western end of the island, often via the Virgin Islands. Alvarez Nazario (1970), after tracing the arrival of slave and free blacks from Curaçao in Puerto Rico during the 18th and early 19th centuries, analyzes a text originally published by Pasarell (1951: 124), which purports to represent the use of Papiamento in early 19th century Puerto Rico.[9] For Alvarez Nazario (1970: 4), the text 'ofrece pruebas de primera mano que establecen el arraigo definitivo y claro en nuestro suelo por

entonces de sectores poblacionales usuarios del papiamento, con raíces que se remontan posiblemente en el tiempo a los siglos XVII y XVIII ... cuando este instrumento expresivo va definiendo y consolidando históricamente sus caracteres de lengua criolla del Caribe...' According to him, the language in question represents the vestiges of Papiamento transplanted to Puerto Rico several generations prior to the attestation in question, and partially remodeled through contact with evolving *bozal* and *criollo* Spanish of Puerto Rico. The most significant aspect of this discovery, amply recognized by Alvarez Nazario, is the fact that the language of these *genti di Corsó* was familiar enough to observers in early 19th century Puerto Rico as to require no special introduction or translation. Alonso (1975: 57), in the classic work *El jíbaro*, also referred to the presence of 'criollos de Curazao' in 19th century Puerto Rico, evidently an unremarkable phenomenon in his day.

Direct attestations of Papiamento in the Spanish Caribbean are quite scarce; the above sources are nearly exhaustive. However, careful scrutiny of a number of key Afro-Cuban texts from the 19th century, nearly all of which have been overlooked by other investigators, reveals a number of words and constructions that almost certainly had their origins in Papiamento. Moreover, in the key texts in which these items appear, it is frequent for several Papiamento-like features to cluster, thereby increasing the likelihood that Afro-Cubans were absorbing influences from the already established Ibero-Romance creole. These same items are conspicuously absent in Afro-Hispanic texts from other regions. Among the more salient features which coincide partially or totally with Papiamento are the following:

(1) The Papiamento word for 'child, son, daughter' is *yiu*, with an intrusive initial /y/ not clearly derivable from Spanish *hijo* or Portuguese *filho*, including all known regional dialects.[7] The form *yijo* appears in Cuban *bozal* texts from the 19th century, but is unknown in *bozal* texts from other areas:

•Mi *yijo*, gayina negro son mucho, y toíto pone güebo blanco (Morúa Delgado 1975)
•no ta sufrí mi *yijo* (Ruíz García 1957)
•*Yija* de mi pecho son (Benítez del Cristo 1930)
•Si mañana *yijo* fúiri, ¿quién llora su madrina? (Cabrera 1972)
•ay, *yijo*, yo no tiene carabela aquí. (Cabrera 1970a)
•Yo ta compañá to *yijo*. (Cabrera 1970a)
si, *yijo*, es mío el quimbombó (Cabrera 1983)
•mi *yijo* Eulogio, nacío y criao en el Guatao (Sánchez Maldonado 1961)
•¿Tú no ve uno yegua paría que anda con la *yijo* suyo como quien la tiene orgullo porque saca lotería? (Rodríguez 1982)
•Neye lo que tiene só un bariga con su *yijo* lentro. (Morúa Delgado 1972)
•tu son mi *yijo*, arrea, vamo ... Yo no tiene mujé, no tiene *yijo* ... (Cabrera 1979)

(2) In Papiamento, the word for 'today' is *awe*, which is not easily derivable from either Spanish *hoy* or Portuguese *hoje* cf. Lipski forthcoming b).[8] Forms similar or identical to Papiamento *awe*, and with identical meaning, appear in several Cuban *bozal* texts:

•Poquitico fatá pa que señora murí *agüoi* (Estrada y Zenea 1980)
•*Agüe* memo, ñamito (Santa Cruz 1908)

•*ahuoy* lo va a jasé Pancha ... Ma *ahuoy*, letó mi corasón ... *ahuoy* bariga yo saca ... *Ahuoy* vamo ta mosotro como pecá dentro lagua ... (Creto Gangá, 'Un ajiaco o la boda de Pancha Jutía y Canuto Raspadura,' en Leal 1975)
•*ahuoy* cun ese cumeria (Cruz 1974)
•*agüé* día tambó to mundo baila (Cabrera 1979)
•*ahuoy* mimo po la mañanito (Cruz 1974)

(3) In Papiamento, *awor* is the word for 'now.'[9] Among existing or attested Spanish dialects, *aguora/ahuora* appears only in 19th century Cuba, in *bozal* texts or as the representation of illiterate rural speakers in areas with a strong Afro-Hispanic presence:

•¿Y qué yo dicí *ahuora*, eh? ... *ahuora* sí mi pecho está girviendo como agua que pela engallina (Benítez del Cristo 1930)
•y *ahuora* que no lo ve ... donde *ahuora* yo só otra vé congo y trabajaore la muelle ... dende *ahuora* yo só José mimo ... *Ahuora* a trabajá (Francisco Fernández, 'El negro cheche,' en Montes Huidobro 1987)
•con toa esa bemba se larga *ahuora* mimo de aquí ... vamo a ve si *ahuora* oté me entiende ... *ahuora* sí verdá que no pue má ... hasta *ahuora* yo no tení guto pa conocé a noté (Manuel Mellado y Montaña, 'La casa de Taita Andrés,' en Leal 1982)
•Prusumpueto que *ahuora* narie lo habra diotro cosa ma que de la Jópera (Cruz 1974)
•... la Cula ta gualando, *aguola* en la cafetá (López 1879)
•Camina, pícaro, que *aguora* tú lo va pagá (Estrada y Zenea 1980)
•*aguora* yo jabla oté (*Guayabo, rumores del Mayabeque*, [Güines, 1881]; cited in Ortiz 1924: 12).

(4) In Papiamento, *riba* (< Sp., Port. *arriba*) is a preposition meaning 'on, upon': *Kiko tin riba mesa*? 'What is on the table?' *Arriba* is not used this way in Spanish, although the combination *arriba de* occasionally appears with the meaning 'above, over.' Among Cuban *bozal* texts *riba/arriba* appears on several occasions as a preposition, with the meaning 'on, up':

•pone cañón *riba* alifante ... uté sienta *riba* pelo y va arastrao como en coche ... echó vara *arriba* ngombe yo brinca volante ... mi pecho ta roncando, parece toro galano que etá *nriba* la loma ... (Cabrera 1979)
•Ese trepa *riba* palo (Cabrera 1976)
•*Arriba* entoto me juran ganga (Cabrera 1972)
•Savaó *ariba* loma. (Villaverde 1981)
•no lo guanta que moca lo para *riba* su yo (Creto Gangá, 'Un ajiaco o la boda de Pancha Jutía y Canuto Raspadura,' en Leal 1975)
•Yo sé, moca fueron, mira como ta *arriba* la mesa. (Feijóo 1981)
•lo salí cribindo *ariba* Lan Faro Sindutriá en luenga mandinga? (Cruz 1974)
•o había *ariba* de la papé muchu diabro pintao (Cruz 1974)

(5) In Papiamento, the first person singular subject pronoun is *(a)mi*, with the longer form being emphatic or contrastive. Since the 16th century, no form of *bozal* Spanish has used *(a)mí* as subject pronoun (cf. Lipski 1991b), but this form reappears in a few 19th century Cuban *bozal* texts. Also found in the latter documents is the use of disjunctive *mí* as object pronoun, instead of the usual clitic *me*. This pattern is not found in any monolingual variety of Spanish, but is parallel with Papiamento usage. Examples of these uses of *mí* in Cuban *bozal* texts include:

•*A mí* no bebe aguariente, mi ama (Merlin 1974)
•Ay, siñora, nigua no deja caminá *a mí*. (Estrada y Zenea 1980)
•Ah, ñamito, perdona *mí* ... *Mí* no sabe, ñamito ... *mí* no sabe ná (Santa Cruz 1908)
•sí, iñó, contramayorá manda *mí* ... Ta juí, ta pujá *mí*, siñó (Suárez y Romero 1947)
•El amo mata *mí* ... (Malpica La Barca 1890)
•Tú dise *mí*, yo calla ... Eyo lleban *mí* una casa. (Bacardí Moreau 1916)
•Ay, Flancico, tú perdona *mí* ... (Feijóo 1981)
•Nél cré va agarrá *mí* ... (Cabrera 1979)
•la sojo suyo, que lumbra como cocuyo, ta mirando yo namá. A *mí* no ... Lamo ta regañá *mí* ... (Cabrera Paz 1973)
•Ecucha Encarna, *mí* no guta eso ... ella dise, *mí* ba casa ma Cecilia ... (Bacardí Moreau 1972)

(6) The third person pronoun *ne*, found in some Afro-Cuban texts, corresponds to a variant of Papiamento *e*, the pronoun meaning 'he' or 'she'.[10] In Papiamento, *ne* is of quite limited distribution, being found most frequently after the preposition *ku* (< Sp./Port. *con*) 'with' or *que* (e.g. *ta un Dios tin y no tin otro mas que NÉ* 'there is only one God and no other' (Hesseling 1933)). In the Cuban *bozal* texts, however, no such restrictions apply:

•¿Qué nimá son ese que *ne* parese majá? ('Canto de comparsa ta Julia,' in Guirao 1938)
•*ne* te mea, *ne* te caga, *ne* te tumba, *ne* te mete rabo la culo, y se va ... Na dotó, *né* comé lo chicharró caliente ... *Né* tiene un güequito aquí, un güequito allá (Cabrera 1976)
•*Ne* murí jayá tiempo ... *ne* contrá lo río la suete lo rey ekoi, y varón quitá neye ... (Cabrera 1970b)
•Yo va curá *né* cun su mecé. (Suárez y Romero 1969)
•Cuando ley Mechó contendía con ley inglé, *né* ta sentao en su trono ... *Né* mirá po teojo ... si *né* no tiene serrucho, y manque negro jabla mucho mucha yuca hay que rayá ... ¿hijo de quien *né*? (Cabrera 1979)

(7) The most convincing creoloid feature of some 19th century texts, mostly from Cuba but also including one key Puerto Rican text, are verbal constructions involving *ta* plus an uninflected form of the verb, derived from the infinitive. This construction, unlikely to have arisen spontaneously from an unstructured Spanish pidgin, is identical to verb phrases in Iberian-based creoles throughout the world, including Palenquero and Papiamentu in Latin America, Portuguese-based creoles in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, India, Sri Lanka, Macau and Malaysia, and Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano). Many researchers have regarded the presence of *ta* in Afro-Caribbean Spanish as conclusive proof that an Afro-Hispanic creole, similar to Papiamento, was once spoken throughout the Caribbean, and perhaps even in South America (e.g. Granda 1968, 1971; Megenney 1984a, 1984b, 1985b, 1986; Naro 1978; Otheguy 1973; Perl 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1989d; Schwegler 1993; Thompson 1961; Yacou 1977; Ziegler 1981). However, closer examination of many of the examples reveals considerably less similarity, particularly when other verbal particles used in creole verb systems are taken into account. Moreover, among the scores of Afro-Hispanic texts, from Spain and all of Latin America and spanning nearly 400 years, the com-

bination *ta* + V_{inf} is found ONLY in a very small number of 19th century Cuban texts (and in one Puerto Rican text). Even in the 19th century Afro-Caribbean corpus, constructions based on *ta* alternate with the archetypical *bozal* pattern of partially or incorrectly conjugated verb forms:

•¿Po que tú no *ta* queré a mí? (Caballero 1852)
•Siempre *ta* regalá dinero a mí (Caballero 1852)
•Horita *ta* benî pa cá (Villa 1938a)
•Río seco *ta* corre mamba (Ortiz 1985)
•Como que yo *ta* cuchá la gente que habla tanto ... yo *ta* mirá gente mucho (Cabrera Paz 1973)
•Primero *ta* llorá na má. (Santa Cruz 1908)
•yo *ta* yorá poque Calota ya *ta* morí. (Villa 1938b)
•Sí, páe, yo *ta* robá un gaína jabá. (Cabrera 1976)
•Como no va *ta* contenta si uté vovió cuando yo *ta* acodá mi yari yari que etá en Guiní. (Cabrera 1976)
•Cuando ojo *ta* llorá a narice toca su parte. (Cabrera 1970b)
•Amo *ta* pedí leche. (Cabrera 1971)
•Ya branco *ta* debaratá cosa (Cabrera 1970a)
•pavo real *ta* bucá palo (Cabrera 1983)
•*Ta* juí, *ta* pujá mí, siñó (Suárez y Romero 1969)
•é *ta* dicí: tu buca la cosa bueno (Cabrera 1979)

In a few cases it might be possible to argue that spontaneous developments took place, e.g. where *ta* is clearly derived from *esta(r)* acting as either a locative verb or in combination with an adjective, or where erosion of gerund is involved:

•Que to mi cuepo me *etá* temblá (Cabrera 1979)
•pavo real *ta bucán* palo (Cabrera 1983)
•yo *está cortá* un cañas (Ismael Consuegra Guzmán, "Yo stá cortá un cañas", in Feijóo 1979).

In other cases, however, the verbs in question are habitual or durative, contexts where Spanish would not use any combination involving *estar*. This residue is among the few sure indicators of an infusion of creole elements into *bozal* language (Lipski 1986e, 1987, 1991a, 1992b). All indications point to Papiamento, and not an already existent pan-Caribbean creole Spanish, as the source of most such combinations.

The literary and folkloric examples just surveyed do not constitute conclusive proof that Papiamento was a direct source of input to Caribbean *bozal* speech, but the circumstantial evidence cannot be ignored. Forms such as *yijo*, *ahuora*, *agüe*, subject pronouns *(a)mí* and *ne/nelle* are not attested for any other variety of Spanish, Afro-Caribbean or otherwise. These items appear only in a handful of 19th century texts from areas where the presence of laborers from Curaçao is independently attested. Moreover, even though the literary texts themselves cannot be taken as definite linguistic documents (the authors had no knowledge of Afro-Iberian creoles, and often dismissed all Afro-Hispanic language as 'broken Spanish,' when not deliberately exaggerating *bozal* traits for humorous purposes), most of the texts texts which contain at least one Papiamento-like item offer more than one member of this cluster, a fact which suggests that the authors in question were accurately reproducing the *bozal* innovations which they heard. For example, Benítez del Cristo's 'Los novios catedráticos' (1930) contains the verbal particle *ta*, the words

ahuora, *yijo*, *bisar*, and use of *mí* as disjunctive object pronoun. Lydia Cabrera's *El monte* (1983), among the potentially more accurate anthropological accounts of Afro-Cuban language, contains *ta*, *nelle*, *yijo*, and *riba*. Cabrera's *Reglas de congo* (1979) contains *ta*, *nelle*, *agüe*, *yijo*, *riba*, *bisar*, and object *mí*. Santa Cruz's *Historias campesinas* (1908) gives *ta*, *agüe*, *bisar*, and subject *mí*. The satirist Crespo y Borbón, using the pseudonym Creto Gangá (Cruz 1974) uses *ta*, *ahuora*, *agüe*, *riba*, and object *mí*. It is unlikely that any of these writers actually heard fluent speakers of Papiamento. More plausibly, words of Papiamento origin seeped into the language of plantation slaves, impelled by the obvious prestige which would attach to workers who arrived already speaking a language which to the uninitiated seemed to be a sort of 'black Spanish.' Eventually, these items spread beyond the pale of the plantations and slave quarters to reach larger segments of the Afro-Cuban population, where they became associated with marginalized black speech. Even today, some elderly Afro-Cubans recall the use of *agüé*, *ahuora*, and *neye* as belonging to the rural 'black' Spanish of yesteryear.

8. French creole in the Hispanic Caribbean

Creole French has been an important source of linguistic material in the Dominican Republic, given the close proximity of Haiti and the traditionally large presence of Haitians throughout the Spanish-speaking end of the island. Another significant population of Haitians is found in eastern Cuba, where their speech has interacted with isolated forms of Cuban Spanish for at least a century. In Puerto Rico, there was a relatively small number of creole French speakers from the Lesser Antilles, and in recent times, a sizeable Haitian population has developed.

Beginning in the latter decades of the 19th century, Dominican literature and folklore is replete with legitimate examples of the use of Haitian in fluid combinations with Spanish (Larrazábal Blanco 1975; Lipski 1994; Rodríguez Demorizi 1975). Rather than bilingual code-switching, these texts suggest a gradual interpenetration of the two languages resulting in a creoloid form of Spanish which in the absence of knowledge of the Haitian contact could be taken for a vestige of an earlier purely Afro-Hispanic creole. Indeed, Larrazábal Blanco (1975: 197) cautions that 'la existencia de voces criollas haitianas en nuestros cuentos no debe ser índice de su origen afro, como pudiera suponerse.'

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

(Rodríguez Demorizi 1975: 146-9). Other Haitian forms appear throughout the Dominican Republic, at the vernacular level among rural, predominantly Afro-American populations; few have been recorded in glossaries or other dialectological accounts.

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

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

Hier tard mu sorti Dotrú
Pu beniro a Lajabon,
e yo jisa lentención
de biní cantá con tú.
Manque yo tá lugarú
pañol no tenga cuidá,
deja tu macheta a un la
pasque yo no cante así
tu va blesé mun ici
e freca daquí tu bá ...
compad, contenta ta yo,
e alegra de vu coné
si un di uté ba Lembé,
mandé pu papá bocó.

More than an example of Haitianized Spanish, this poem demonstrates code-switching, with entire sentences in Haitian intermixed with phrases in broken Spanish, of the *bozal* variety.[2] A closer look at the latter elements reveals a number of combinations which, when occurring in Afro-Hispanic texts from other regions, have often been cited as evidence in favor of an earlier pan-Latin American Afro-Hispanic creole.

Although Alix's poems are the best known and most humorous imitations of Haitians' attempts at speaking Spanish, other examples are found in Dominican literature and folklore, children's games, etc. Among more realistic representations of Haitian-Spanish interlanguage are passages from the novel *Over*, by Marrero Aristy (1939), which documents the situation of Haitian and West Indian laborers on Dominican sugar plantations or *bateyes*. Examples include:

•En la finca tó son ladrón. Roba el bodeguera, roba el pesador, roba la mayordomo, y yo ta creyendo que la má ladrón de toitico son el blanco que juye en su carro.

•¡Bodeguel! A mi me se olvida el manteca. Vendeme un poquita ... dipensá ... mi no sabé ... dipensamué ... pasá

mué cinco
•uí papá, uí papá. yo me va enseguila.
•Bodeguela, depacha mué plonto. Yo quiele dejá la comía con la fam, pa jallalo cociná cuando viene del cote.
•tu son gente grande, porque tu come tó lo día, compai.
•¡a mi sacán casi ajogao, compai!
•compé, la saf tá fini
•¡a mí no consiga má!

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

•¿yo? Andande ... tú me tá engañá, Chenche ...
•No juega tu Chenche. Tu siempre mi diga así. Y yo tá perdé. No sacá ná. Tú no ve mi pantalón ta rompío ...
•¿Dónde yo va a bucá jente?
•Pero tú mi va a pagá. Tu no mi va a jacé como la otra vé? ... Embute. Tu me dite quence plimelo, dipué vente y no mi dite má ... tu siempre mi diga así ...
•Bueno, yo vá, pelo tu mi paga? ...
•Chenche, tu sabi mucho ...

Lipski (1994a) surveys a number of Dominican texts purporting to represent the Spanish pidgin spoken by Haitians, which run the gamut from simplistic stereotypes to linguistically accurate depictions. In addition to the introduction of unassimilated Haitian vocabulary items (both function words and other lexical items), these texts share similarities with pidginized/ creolized Spanish of other areas. In the absence of information that the texts were produced by speakers of Haitian Creole, some of the configurations could be interpreted as remnants of an earlier stable and consistent *bozal* Spanish created within the Dominican Republic. Among the more noteworthy features subject to this dual interpretation are the following:

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

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

(3) Inconsistent noun-adjective agreement.

(4) Incorrect endings on nouns (e.g. *trabaja* for *trabajo*, *dominicane* for

dominicano, *enferme* for *enfermo*, etc.).

(5) Sporadic use of *son* as invariable copula (*tu son gente grande*). This usage became fixed in 19th century Cuban *bozal* Spanish, being found in a variety of texts, and is remembered even today by older Cubans as characteristic of the speech of the oldest Afro-Cubans (cf. Lipski 1993, 1996a, 1996c; Ortiz López 1998a). Given the high percentage of cognate vocabulary between the two languages, such a partial relexification of Haitian discourse with Spanish elements could easily be mistaken for a Spanish-based creole formed entirely with Spanish input. None of the features found in the other texts directly implicates the substratum effects of an established creole (in this case Haitian), and all are found in general *bozal* Spanish, vestigial Spanish, and Spanish as spoken as a weak second language throughout the world (Lipski 1985a, 1986a, 1986b). These Haitianized Spanish examples, if taken out of context, are virtually identical to other Afro-Caribbean examples from Cuba and Puerto Rico which have been taken as specimens of *bozal* Spanish, and whose creoloid characteristics have been offered as evidence that a stable Afro-Hispanic creole once pervaded the Caribbean and perhaps other Latin American regions. Nonetheless, they represent *bozal* language of a different sort, twice-removed from African substrata. Haitianized Spanish of the sort surveyed above is, like the Africanized *bozal* Spanish found in other regions and time periods, the result of the imperfect acquisition of Spanish by speakers of another language. Unlike the *bozal* Spanish of other regions, the substrate is not heterogeneous, but consists of a single language, Haitian Creole. This language in turn was creolized across a variety of West African languages, but the structural patterns most closely reflect the Kwa languages, in particular Fon/Ewe (cf. Lefebvre 1986). However, the Haitianized Dominican Spanish texts reveal the transference of structures from an already established creole, one based on a language cognate with Spanish. The resulting Spanish interlanguage has already been 'preselected' for creole features, particularly as regards the structure of the verb phrase. If the latter factor is not taken into account, one would appear to be witnessing the emergence of a spontaneous Afro-Hispanic creole.

Haitian Creole was also an important linguistic and cultural element in Cuba. In the 20th century, the Machado and Batista governments imported thousands of Haitian contract laborers to cut sugar cane (Alvarez Estévez 1988), creating generations of Cuban-born Haitians, whose plight is typified in Alejo Carpentier's novel *Ecue Yamba-Ó*. These Haitians often spoke a rudimentary Spanish which the uninitiated observer might mistake for an Afro-Hispanic creole. Moreover, Haitian Creole influence in Cuban Spanish antedates these 20th century contacts. French Creole-speaking laborers were very common in 19th century Cuba, being especially prevalent around Santiago de Cuba. A few 19th century Afro-Cuban texts hint at Haitian Creole influence; for example the use of *pa mí* 'mine,' identical in structure to Haitian *pa-m* (< *pa-mwe*):

> •colazón *pa mí* ta brincando dentro la pecho como la cuebro (Benítez del Cristo 1930)
> •No señó, vegüenza no e *pa mí*, e pa amo Tomá. (Berenguer y Sed 1929)

(Creole) French-speaking blacks in Cuba organized into musical societies known as

the *tumba francesa*; these societies still exist, and although many of the musicians are no longer completely fluent in Haitian creole, some of the songs mix Spanish and Haitian ((Alén Rodríguez 1986, 1991; Martínez Gordo 1985a, 1989; Franco 1959: 76-7; Betancur Alvarez 1993: 43-8; Perl 1981; Perl and Grosse 1994, 1995). These texts cannot be confused with *bozal* Spanish, but rather constitute Spanish-Haitian code switching. In earlier periods, however, native speakers of Haitian who arrived in Cuba and learned Spanish as a second language spoke with many of the same creole-like features documented for the Dominican Republic. The last generation of such speakers still survives in eastern Cuba. Some Haitians, despite having lived as long as 70 years in Cuba, still speak Spanish with second-language characteristics which are similar if not identical to *bozal* Spanish attestations of earlier centuries: lack of subject-verb agreement, use of the third person singular or bare infinitive as invariant verb form, misuse and elimination of prepositions, unstable noun-adjective agreement, and incomplete targetting of Spanish words (Ortiz López 1996, 1998a, 1998b):

FROM ORTIZ LÓPEZ (1996):

- •Yo contrao [encuentro] un paisano mía nosotro habla su lengua e nosotro poco catellano él sabe yo sabe poco nosotro habla también
- •Yo trabaja, yo come. Yo trabaja lo cañaverale
- •Nosotro habla catellano, habla creol también
- •Yo cría mucho animal, siembra mucho animal, se roba to, toro, toro
- •Yo no sabe mucho catellano, pero sabe poquito
- •El valón son teniente [en] La Habana
- •Yo tene do hijo ... y varón yo tenía se murió

FROM ORTIZ LÓPEZ (1998B):

- •Yo prende hablá catellano con cubano ... yo me guta hablá catellano, pero poca cosa no sabe
- •Yo tiene aquí, tengo 16 año. Siempre una haciendo una trabajo yo comé, yo va bien.
- •Yo hacel mucho trabajal; coltal, coltal caña balato; recogel café a sei kilo
- •Depué uté decansal
- •Uté lo hablá, uté ta trabando con un dueño ma grande, quello decí uté hacé

French creole was also found in Puerto Rico, although direct attestations are almost nonexistent. Long before Haitians came to Puerto Rico in large numbers, the island received speakers of French creoles from the nearby Virgin Islands (Van Name 1871: 127; Highfield 1979). The present writer once heard a tape recorded in the 1970's near Ponce, in which an elderly black woman sang a song (whose words she did not fully understand) in creole French. An assessment of creole French influence on Puerto Rican Spanish will have to await the discovery of more substantial attestations.

9. CREOLE ENGLISH IN THE SPANISH CARIBBEAN

Various forms of pidgin and creole English have also formed part of the multilingual matrix of the Spanish Caribbean, although the assessment of such influences has just begun. By far the largest source of such language are creole-English speaking laborers imported from the English Caribbean, especially Jamaica, to work on sugar plantations in

Cuba and the Dominican Republic. In both countries, the Jamaican population has been overshadowed by the much larger Haitian community, but both linguistic and cultural remnants of Jamaican society can be found in both Cuba and the Dominican Republic. For the most part, these accretions are twentieth-century phenomena, and although the linguistic characteristics of Jamaicans' attempts to learn Spanish bear the same stamp as earlier Afro-Hispanic *bozal* language, the direct contribution of creole English to Afro-Caribbean Spanish has in most cases been minimal. The main reason for including mention of this language group is that it might be possible for an unsuspecting fieldworker to interview an elderly black Cuban or Dominican whose speech exhibits *bozal*-like traits and, in the absence of knowledge of that speaker's Jamaican origin, conclude that vestiges of earlier *bozal* language still survive in the Spanish Caribbean. In fact, such misidentifications have occurred more than once in the saga of Afro-Hispanic reconstructions.

In the Dominican Republic, creole English-speaking West Indians (mostly Jamaicans) are referred to as *cocolos*, and their pidginized Spanish has occasionally been imitated in literature, for example Marrero Aristy (1939):

> •mi no vuelva
> •aquí yo pielda mi tiempo. Mijol que allá in Barbados no trabaja, pero no mi mata. Yo me vuelva pa no vuelva.

Mosco Puello (1975):

> mi no comprendi, Chencho!

Ferreras (1982):

> •tú no voy a salir del escuelo si no tengo tú necesidad de hacerlo (p. 18)
> •... estoy coge el caña yo tenga picá pa aumentá el suya, si soy así yo no voy seguí ser compañero suyo, conio. Tu soy muy sabio ... (p. 29)

From the documentary film "Mis pasos en Baraguá" come the following phrases produced by elderly Jamaicans living in Cuba for many decades:

> •Desde que yo viene de Jamaica, yo me quedó ... en Oriente, ahí [yo] aprendió ...
> •yo me gutaba má epañol que inglé ... [mi mamá] me llevá pa Jamaica otra vé ...

In Puerto Rico, there has always been a sizeable population of West Indian creole English speakers from the nearby Virgin Islands. Although no convincing examples of creole English presence in Puerto Rico have turned up, there are some tantalizing hints. Thus in the predominantly Afro-American village of Loíza Aldea, the researcher Mauleón Benítez (1974) encountered a song fragment containing perhaps the only contemporary example of non-grammatical Puerto Rican Spanish reminiscent of earlier Afro-Hispanic pidgin: *yo me ba pa Santo Tomá*. The author seems to suggest that this is a carryover from earlier Africanized Spanish, but it is in fact a reference to Saint Thomas in the Virgin Islands, as sung originally by West Indians who were not fluent in Spanish, or by Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans who were imitating the speech of Virgin Islanders.

United States Black English is still spoken vestigially on the Samaná Peninsula of the Dominican Republic, where it has apparently become mixed with a number of West Indian varieties, par-

ticularly from the nearby Bahamas (where the vernacular black English was itself influenced by United States black English during and following the Civil War, when many former slaves escaped to the more isolated islands of the Bahamas group). A few examples have survived which represent the speech of English-speaking blacks in Samaná in the 19th century (Ferreras 1982):

> •Mañana se llega aquí el vapor Independencia que se viene buscar eso gente. Coge todo ese vagamundo que se dice se están enfermos y mételos a bordo del vapor ... yo no se quiere en este provincia hombres que no se sirve para ná ... (344-5)
> •Yo se sabe lo que tú se quiere decir, pero para que tú se consigue ese cosa que tú se dice, yo se va a dar un buen consejo ... tú se saca de aquí a generalo Shepard o se saca a mí, porque dos culebros machos no se puede vivir en un mismo cuevo ... (346)
> •Antonces, ¿por qué ustedes se viene decir con su grande boca que ustedes son náufragos? ¡Ustedes se salvó de chepa! (354)
> •Son muy hermoso este guayaba ... (357) Con que tú son que se está toda la noche robando esos huevos ... (358)

The linguistic features of these texts are similar to those attested for *bozal* speakers at other times and places in the Spanish Caribbean, and once more an uninformed observer of such language, all of whose speakers are marginalized black Dominicans, might conclude that a *bozal* holdover is in evidence. Thus Rodríguez Demorizi (1975: 18) declares: 'Si en la villa de Samaná y en sus regiones aledañas no predomina de manera absoluta el español, ello se debe a la inmigración negra de los Estados Unidos ... y a las anteriores incursiones de piratas ingleses y franceses. Entonces nació el *patois* usado en la Península samanesa, confusa mezcla de español, francés e inglés.' In reality, the linguistic situation in Samaná is much more systematic, as pointed out, e.g., by Benavides (1973, 1985) and González and Benavides (1982). Three well-delimited languages are spoken: Spanish, English (in several varieties), and Haitian Creole (known locally as *patois*). There is none of the 'confusa mezcla' as stated above, although inevitably the languages have mutually affected one another. Despite this knowledge, González and Benavides 1982) use data from nonstandard Samaná Spanish to raise the issue of the prior creolization of Spanish in this region. The authors adopt the perspective taken by Granda (1978) in several articles, in which the conditions for the likely formation of creoles in Latin America are presented. More specifically, they adopt Granda's (1971) postulate of a former creole in Cuba, based largely on the writings of Lydia Cabrera. González and Benavides (1982: 128) conclude that 'existen evidentes coincidencias de tipo morfosintáctico entre el hipotético "criollo cubano" y el habla de Samaná ... es posible postular que en el habla de Samaná todavía se conservan algunos rasgos criollos en un posible estadio de "descriollización" ...' However, the data offered as evidence fail to demonstrate the existence of an originally Spanish-based creole on the Samaná Peninsula. None of the unmistakably Afro-Iberian creole features (e.g. use of the preverbal particle *ta*, genderless third person pronouns, use of *mí* as subject pronoun, verb serialization, predicate clefting, separable plural particles, etc.) are attested for Samaná

Spanish. Every non-standard feature considered so far is consistent with the hypothesis that Haitians' or black Americans' attempts at learning Spanish lie at the root of the creoloid elements in Samaná Spanish. Nor is it likely that a Haitianized or 'Americanized' Spanish ever became nativized in Samaná, thus forming a creole or semi-creole. The examples collected by González and Benavides and also scattered throughout Rodríguez Demorizi (1975) represent the language of individuals whose first language is not Spanish. This fact is not always obvious, since in Samaná most residents refuse to admit speaking Haitian or *patois* as a first language; indeed, during the Trujillo government, speaking Haitian was grounds for imprisonment, or even execution. There is less reluctance to admitting knowledge of English, but researchers from outside the area have not always found residents willing to identify themselves with the English-speaking community (cf. DeBose 1983, Poplack and Sankoff 1987, Tejeda Ortiz 1984).

10. West African Pidgin English in Cuba

A number of pidgin or creole English elements in Cuba may have come directly from West Africa, via a number of unsuspected routes. For example, the Cuban folklorist and anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1916: 238-9) registered such items as *tifi-tifi* 'to steal,' *chapi-chapi* 'to chop weeds,' *luku-luku* < *look* 'look, see,' *ñami-ñami* < *nyam* 'to eat,' etc. Although these items have cognate variants among Caribbean English creoles, they appear in this case to come directly from West African Pidgin English, which has been in existence at least since the beginning of the 18th century. Ortiz claimed that Pidgin English items formed the true lingua franca used by slaves while acquiring Spanish on Cuban plantations. If true, this considerably antedates the arrival of free creole-English speaking laborers from other Caribbean islands. There are two known routes of arrival of Pidgin English in 19th century Cuba. The first is coastal Nigeria (Castellanos and Castellanos 1988), where Pidgin English was already flourishing in the 19th century, and whence came the largest number of slaves brought to Cuba in the final stage of the slave trade. The second is a more indirect route, via the West African island of Fernando Poo. In the 1860's, the Spanish government deported white Cuban revolutionaries to this distant land, together with some rebellious Afro-Cubans. Many languished and died from tropical diseases, some eventually emigrated to Spain, and others finally made it back to Cuba. By this time, West African Pidgin English was already well-established on Fernando Poo, being the lingua franca of most of the African-born population. This in turn is due to the fact that England had been using the island as part of its anti-slaving activities, and had recruited Pidgin English-speaking Africans from Liberia and Sierra Leone to work in their colony. It is very likely that at least some West African Pidgin English entered 19th century Cuba through returning exiles.[11]

11. Negerhollands in Puerto Rico and Cuba

The remaining creole language to be discussed in the context of the 19th century Spanish Caribbean is Negerhollands, the Dutch-based creole which subsisted in the Virgin Islands through the early part of

the 20th century, and whose last speakers died only a few years ago. In the early 19th century, when the (Danish-controlled) Virgin Islands played a key role in the clandestine slave trade to Cuba and Puerto Rico, the Dutch-based creole Negerhollands was still the principal language of the black population, and was also spoken by a not inconsiderable proportion of the white population. Despite this fact, relatively little is known about this language, and about its interaction with other Caribbean languages (cf. De Josselin de Jong 1924, 1926; Graves 1977; Hesseling 1905; Pontoppidan 1881; Stolz 1986; Stolz y Stein 1986). Negerhollands appears to have developed first on the island of St. Thomas, although possible antecedents may have existed on previously colonized Dutch islands, including St. Maarten, St. Eustatius, Saba, etc. St. Thomas was never officially colonized by the Dutch, but when Denmark, anxious to gain a foothold in the lucrative American colonial scene, sent its first colonizing expedition to the Virgin Islands, they found a considerable resident Dutch population. The black slave population, which was slightly over half of the total islands' population when the Danes arrived, grew rapidly in the following decades, to reach some 94% (Reinecke 1937: 418). By the 18th century, some form of creolized Dutch had become implanted as the lingua franca of St. Thomas and the neighboring islands. This Afro-Dutch creole expanded rapidly to include the white Danish and Dutch populations of the islands (Paiewonsky 1989: 100f.). For a variety of reasons, in the Danish colonies the white residents tended to reduce the cultural and linguistic differences between themselves and the black population, as opposed to other European colonies in the Caribbean. The Danish government attempted to institute Danish as the official language of the islands, but it never extended beyond the pale of a small group of Danish settlers. Dutch missionaries used Dutch with the white population, but acknowledged that the black population spoke a creole language, and by 1733 the Dutch were publishing Bibles, catechisms, and beginning readers in Negerhollands.

During the slaveholding period, the majority of the black slaves remained in the Danish Virgin Islands, although a rather large number escaped to the neighboring Puerto Rican island of Vieques (Westergaard 1917: 160-4). After the abolition of slavery and the dismantling of large plantations, many Negerhollands-speaking Virgin Islanders emigrated to other islands in search of work; some went to Cuba, and an even larger number arrived in nearby Puerto Rico.

Although to date there is no direct evidence of Negerhollands being used in Cuba and Puerto Rico, it should be noted that the grammatical structures of this quintessential Afro-Atlantic creole coincide with those of other creole languages used in the Caribbean, and the traces of a former Negerhollands presence could not always be distinguished from the remnants of better-known creoles. Like Papiamento, Haitian, the Jamaican Creole, Negerhollands uses an invariant verb stem coupled with preverbal tense/mood/aspect particles: for example, corresponding to Papiamento *ta*, Haitian *ap*, and Jamaican *de*, Negerhollands has *lo/le* to express imperfective/progressive. Like the remaining creoles, as well as vernacular Caribbean Spanish, Negerhollands uses non-

inverted questions, uses a single negative word *ni* (sometimes pronounced *no* or *nu*), permits constructions using subject pronoun + 'infinitive' (of the sort *para yo tener* ...). The first person singular pronoun, used as subject and object, is *mi*, just as in Papiamento, Jamaican Creole, and West African Pidgin English, and similar to Haitian *mwe/m'*. A speaker of Negerhollands, upon encountering varieties of Spanish already influenced by other Caribbean creoles, would find the structural patterns to be identical, and even some core vocabulary would be recognized, especially if, as suggested by Hesseling, Negerhollands already bore the earlier imprint of contact with Papiamento.[12]

12. The Chinese Pidgin contribution in Cuba

The final linguistic contribution to be surveyed comes from completely outside the Afro-European creole domain, while at the same time representing a potentially significant component of the pidgin Spanish which developed on Cuban sugar plantations and later in marginalized rural and urban communities. After the first decades of the 19th century, the efforts of European abolitionists, headed by the British, were seriously curtailing the African slave trade to Cuba. Cuban planters and Spanish authorities tried a number of sources to obtain workers, including the virtual comandeering of Yucatan natives (Menéndez 1928, 1932). This project did not yield the desired results, and before long the Spanish government turned to a labor source already known in Spanish America through commerce in the Spanish colony of the Philippines: the nearly inexhaustable labor force of China. In the following decades, several hundred thousand laborers would be taken to plantations in Cuba and coastal Peru, where most of them would remain indefinitely. In Cuba, the importation of Chinese laborers began in 1844, spurred by a black slave revolt in Matanzas. The Chinese were recruited through a process known ignominiously as *el enganche*, whereby Portuguese entrepreneurs in Macao would obtain laborers from neighboring Chinese areas between Macau and Canton, using methods which ranged from flattery and false promises to kidnapping.

From the beginning, relations between Chinese and Africans in Cuba were not cordial. Each group regarded the other with hostility and considered itself superior. Africans saw that some Chinese could purchase out their indentured contracts or otherwise 'buy their freedom,' and were technically subject to the same abject slavery as were Africans. Chinese and Africans traded mutual accusations of ignorance and superstition, of unhealthy food practices and living habits, and of savage behavior. Some plantation owners segregated Chinese and African workers in separate *barracones* to prevent conflict and violence, but even in these instances the two groups worked together in the fields, and in many cases also shared living quarters. Most Chinese brought to Cuba were men, and some married African women, thereby initiating the inevitable rapprochement of the two races. Common misery did the rest, and by the time of the Cuban independence wars of the late 1800's, it was a common sight for blacks and Chinese to fight together with Cubans of European origin as *mambises* or rebel fighters. At the same time, after

importation of Chinese laborers ceased in 1873, there was a gradual movement away from the sugar plantations. Even during the Chinese labor trade, the coolies also worked in tobacco factories, and as their contracts were completed, many Chinese began the slow but steady move to Cuban cities, where they established themselves in small family-owned businesses, similar to their compatriots in other parts of Latin America. Chinese-Cuban volunteers first fought in the Ten Years War (1868-1878), where many realized acts of heroism. In the wars of independence which began in 1895, Chinese Cubans also distinguished themselves; their participation was cut short by the United States invasion of Cuba in 1898. The Cuban patriot José Martí (1946: vol. I, p. 593) commented admiringly that:

> Los chinos eran grandes patriotas; no hay caso de que un chino haya traicionado nunca: un chino, aunque lo cojan, no hay peligro: "no sabo", nadie lo saca de su "no sabo".

In comparison with Africans in Cuba, the number of Chinese was small indeed, although once the Chinese moved to urban environments, their pidginized Spanish became nearly as familiar to middle-class Cubans as the speech of African *bozales*. So familiar was the *habla de chino* to the average Cuban, that a literary stereotype quickly developed, almost always portraying the Chinese in a somewhat comical but never totally unfavorable light.[13] As with *bozal* literary texts, even some transparently derivative literary texts which depict pidgin-speaking Chinese characters show substantially the same linguistic characteristics as authenticated instances of Chinese interference in Spanish (cf. Lipski 1996d, forthcoming a). A few examples of Chinese pidgin Spanish will illustrate the phenomenon:

(a) *Mambí* soldier Juan Anelay (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)

> Ciudadano cubano tó: tó la gente ta qui jabla bonito na má. Tú dise nosotlo va pa la Camagüey, tú no da nosotlo life, tú no da pa nosotlo cásula, tú no da sino poquito póvolo, no da bala, no da papé, no da pomo, pobesito nosotlo gente la Villa. Nosotlo plincipia peleá ayá na Colón, nosotlo peleá Lemelio, Cienfuego, nosotlo pasa la Tlocha, nosotlo vinimo Camagüey, nosotlo peleá Camagüey, luego nosotlo viene Oliente: gente dise acá mucho life, mucha epedisión, nosotlo viene busca; chino busca, tó. Nosotlo tá Oliente, nosotlo peleá Oliente, generá de nosotlo muere aquí. Ahola tú quiele nosotlo va pa la Camagüey, pa matá soldao ayá; tó life, tó gente, to gobieno queda aquí Oliente comiendo boniato sentao lo monte, no peleá. Yo digo, junto tó nosotlo, tó gobierno, tó la gente camina pa la Camagüey, mata soldao la Camagüey, ayá mucho que comé, mucha baca, luego sigue pa la Villa, tó life, tó gobierno, tó Lepública, luego ¡Viva Cuba libe!

(b) Chinese officer (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 110):

> •Pañol no pue con lo chino cubano insulecto
> •No señó Capitán, pa mi no sentí gente pasá ... Yo no mila gente suleto tiene arma por la mañana. No señó, pa mi no sabe, ta trabajá, quema carbón.

(c) Chinese doctor (Cuba, 19th century) (Chuffat 1927: 63; Jiménez Pastrana

1983: 97)

> Si tiene dinelo paga pala mí. Si no tiene, no paga. Yo le da medicina pa la gente poble

(d) Chinese soldiers (Cuba, 1895) (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 122-3)

> •si tú pue cogé, coge; y si no, leja.
> •Tú quiele pollo? Mata capitán pañol

(e) Chinese *mambí* in Cuba (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 128; Souza y Rodríguez 1939: 95)

> Yo so má cubano que tú. Yo tá peliá ¡tú tá la casa ...!

(f) From the story 'El chino cambiachucho' (Feijóo 1981: 150-1)

> Cambio el chucho: un tlen coge por una línea, el otlo por la otla, y no pasá na ... Cojo bandela cololá, le hago seña a un tlen, tlen se pala; le hago seña a otlo tlen, tlen se pala; y no pasa na ... Cojo falol cololao, hago seña a un tlen, tlen se pala; hago seña al otlo tlen, tlen se pala y no pas na ... Hago fogata glande en la línea; lo tlen palan y no pasa na ... é de noche, faló no tiene lublillante, chucho tá tlabao, y fogata no se pue encendel polque talloviendo; pue yo llamo a Malía ... No, Malía son mi mujé, y yo la llamo pa que vea un choque de tlene de su male paliba ... 'Los habaneros botarates' (Feijóo 1981: 152)

> Mila que eto banero son botalata. Mujé tá buena todavía. Eta mujé tila todaví lié año má.

(g) From 'El discurso del chino reaccionario' (Feijóo 1981: 152)

> Señolas y caballelos, y to gente que viene a la sociedad Chan Kai Ché de Camajuani; chino so pesona lesente. Si chino no fue pesona lesente, alcalde no* tlaía señola, jefe Policía no tlaía hija. Y ese pasano bajito, lechoncho, que etá, que es plesidente Casino Chino Caibalién. Y ese pasano largo flaco que etá allí es plesilente Casino Chino Sagua ... Chino no lava lechuga donde mimo lava calzoncillo.

For the most part, these texts fit into the pattern of Spanish pidgin as used by other immigrant groups in Cuba, and do not demonstrate the structural consistency and substratum carryovers that might be expected to make a permanent impression on any variety of Spanish, even the evolving Afro-Hispanic language of the sugar plantations and marginalized rural and urban areas of the late 19th century. Nearly all the Chinese workers taken to Cuba spoke Cantonese, a Chinese language which lacks all verbal inflection, definite and indefinite articles, in which the same pronouns are used for subject and object, and where subject pronouns can be missing even in the total absence of any verbal suffix which would identify the subject. The limited Chinese pidgin Spanish corpus shows evidence of these traits, not all of which can be distinguished from the results of other language contact situations in Cuba, e.g. with many West African languages which exhibit many of the same traits. Indeed, only the preference for null subject pronouns when the subject referent can be extracted from the preceding discourse is a typical Chinese areal feature not found among African languages, nor among Afro-European creoles, in which the lack of verbal suffixes for person and

number is compensated for by the obligatory presence of subject pronouns. A few examples from the Chinese Cuban corpus are:

> •¡Qué late, late, late; si pue, coje y si no, leja! (Feijóo 1981: 145);
> •Vete, vete, no puele molí aquí (Feijóo 1981: 153).
> •Tú, Malena, jabla mucho; no tlabaja, no jase na; to lo día sentá la sillón (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; in Bueno 1984: 459-463);
> •yo pue cojé la cocina, tú come y halla sabloso, ¿poqué lice esa cosa ahola? (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)
> •No quelé tlabajá ... No sabel, capitán ... Yo no sabel ... Chino buenas costumbres. Sel inolante, todo inolante, jué. No sabel nala ... (Bueno 1959: 54-73)

These data suggest that first-generation Chinese workers in Cuba may have avoided some subject pronouns, particularly *yo* and *tú*, in contrast to the normally 'pronoun-heavy' Caribbean Spanish dialects, and the even greater use of subject pronouns among African-born bozales and speakers of other creole languages, where discourse identification of missing pronouns is not an acceptable strategy.

The Chinese labor situation in Cuba has additional implications for extending contacts among creole languages in the sugar plantations and multi-ethnic ghettoes which sprang up after the abolition of slavery. During the Chinese labor trade to Cuba, the major port of exportation from the China coast was the Portuguese colony of Macao. Even those workers known as *chino Manila* were more often shipped out from Macao, and nearly all the slave dealers in China were Portuguese, although some British entrepreneurs in Hong Kong also participated from time to time. It is not known precisely how many Chinese workers were actually from the Portuguese-held territory, but given the fact that recruitment efforts were normally most successful in rural parts of Canton province, it is probable that few natives of Macao were included among the *culíes* sent to Cuba. At the same time, recruited workers often had to spend several months in Macao, awaiting the ships which would take them to Spanish America. In Macao, the native Chinese population speaks Cantonese, so that Chinese workers recruited from nearby Canton would have no difficulty in communicating with their compatriots living in the Portuguese colony. The labor trade itself was predominantly in the hands of Portuguese entrepreneurs, as were Macao businesses and the maritime traffic to the Americas. To accomodate the vast linguistic differences between Portuguese and Cantonese, a Portuguese-based pidgin (sometimes learned as a creole in Macao) facilitated communication across ethnic boundaries. The small expatriate Portuguese community in Macao spoke European Portuguese with one another, but those born in Macao or who had lived there for an extended period spoke the local pidgin, which was used when speaking to Macao Chinese. The latter in turn were usually proficient in the Portuguese pidgin, which according to contemporary sources, was sometimes used among Macao Chinese in addition to Cantonese (Batalha 1958-9, 1960, 1974; Ferreira 1967, 1978, 1990; Gomes 1957; Montalto de Jesus 1926).

Macao creole Portuguese shares many of the patterns common to Afro-European creoles implicated in the formation of

Afro-Lusitanian varieties in Cuba and elsewhere in the Caribbean, including Cape Verdean, Papiamento, Palenquero, and more distantly São Tomense and Annobonese. There are also noteworthy parallels with Haitian Creole, Jamaican Creole, Negerhollands and other creoles known or suspected to have been spoken in 19th century Cuba. The implications for the study of *bozal* Spanish are immediate and far-reaching, for if it can be demonstrated that Chinese workers in Cuba brought with them, at least some fragments of Macao creole Portuguese, and added it to the linguistic mix in which *bozal* Spanish was formed in the Caribbean, this provides yet another route of entry of certain creoloid constructions in attestations of Afro-Cuban Spanish.

Among the linguistic features of Macao creole Portuguese, only a few are attested in the Cuban Chinese pidgin corpus. For example, Macao creole Portuguese uses no definite articles, reflecting the absence of articles in Cantonese. The use of pronominal clitics is quite limited, and several processes combine to reduce the Portuguese pronominal paradigm to a set of invariant forms. Direct objects are normally expressed via use of periphrastic constructions using *a*: *ele disse a mim*, instead of the (European) Portuguese *êle disse-me*. Direct object pronouns are normally replaced by the corresponding subject pronouns; this is similar to vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, but unlike the latter language, Macao creole Portuguese allows replacement of the first person singular object clitics by *eu*: *ele chamá eu vai alí* (Batalha 1958-9: 15). The Chinese pidgin corpus provides several examples of disjunctive object pronouns being used instead of clitics, as well as of elimination of definite articles:

•tú no da nosotlo life, tú no da pa nosotlo cásula ... (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)
•No señó Capitán, pa mi no sentí gente pasá ... (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 114)
•Si tiene dinelo paga pala mí ... (Chuffat 1927: 63; Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 97)
Comandante Lupelto, *pa mi* no mila ... (Feijóo 1981: 145)
•come caña hata sábalo y ven dipué, que yo lipachá comía pa ti ... (Feijóo 1981: 153-4)
•Mila, Ginilá, coje tlella pa ti, dásela otlo gente, que yo no quiele dejá máuse que to no lo lá pa mi ... (Consuegra y Guzmán 1930: 163-4)

In Macao creole Portuguese, verbs are sometimes omitted, especially when Portuguese would call for a copula. This reflects the syntactic strategies of Cantonese: *ele filho tudo crescido já* 'todos sus hijos están crecidos ya,' *sempre roupa muito limpo* 'la ropa siempre está limpia,' *ovos caro* 'los huevos están caros,' *esta criada bom* 'esta criada es buena,' *eu fómi* 'yo tengo hambre,' etc. The Chinese pidgin Spanish corpus contains a few instances of similar constructions.

•Ciudadano cubano tó ... Yo digo, junto tó nosotlo ... (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)
•Celo ta bueno ... mucho caballelo con dinelo; mucho casa glande; tlabajo bueno pa chino ... (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; in Bueno 1984: 459-463)
•Chino olvilalo ... Chino buenas costumbres ... (Bueno 1959: 54-73)
•Yo mimito con lifle... (Consuegra y Guzmán 1930: 163-4)

Perhaps the most significant single feature of Macao creole Portuguese which draws it into the theoretical discussions on the formations of Afro-Hispanic creoles

and the nature of Cuban *bozal* Spanish is the use of preverbal particles to signal tense, mood and aspect: *ta* (continuative), *lôgo* (future/irrealis), and *ja* (anterior/ perfective). The first particle, *ta*, has been implicated in nearly all monogenetic theories of Afro-Iberian pidgins and creoles; this particle is found in Cape Verdean creole, in Papiamento, and in Colombian Palenquero. The same particle is also found in most Asian Portuguese-based creoles, including those of India and Sri Lanka, Malacca, and Macao. It is also found in Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano), being one of the structural features which draws that language into the monogenetic debate, and which calls into questions the relative contributions of Spanish and (pidgin) Portuguese in its genesis. Significantly, preverbal *ta* is also found in several key Afro-Cuban *bozal* texts, and in one *bozal* text from Puerto Rico. In the Chinese-Cuban corpus, there are several indications of *ta* used as a preverbal particle in a fashion similar to that found both in Macao creole Portuguese and in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish; there are also many instances of *estar* reduced to *ta* as an invariant copula:

- •Ya poble chino ta jolí ... (Piedra Martel 1968: 91)
- •tó la gente ta qui jabla bonito na má (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)
- •pa mi no sabe, ta trabajá, quema carbón (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 110)
- •Glacia, señola. Aquí ta suciando (Feijóo 1981: 149)
- •Celo ta bueno ... mucho caballelo con dinelo; mucho casa glande (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)
- •Aló ta balato ahola; yo ba complá una aloba ... (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)
- •Luce Pelanza ta muy macliá (Francisco de Paula Gelabert; en Bueno 1984: 459-463)
- •¿Londi ta Ginilá Maceo (Consuegra y Guzmán 1930: 163-4)
- •Campo ta mijó (Loveira 1974: 165)
- •Nosotlo tá Oliente, nosotlo peleá Oliente ... (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 92; Quesada 1892: 130-1)
- •Yo tá peliá ¡tú tá la casa ...! (Jiménez Pastrana 1983: 128; Souza y Rodríguez 1939: 95)
- •Aguanta poquito, guajilo, que chinito tá quivocá (Feijóo 1981: 148-9)
- •Mujé tá buena todavía (Feijóo 1981: 152)

In the case of *ta* used as copular verb, reduced from *esta(r)*, there is no reason to assume that Chinese in Cuba learned this construction from any other than native Spanish speakers, or from *bozal* and Cuban-born Africans who had at least correctly acquired this facet of the Spanish verbal system. Examples like *yo tá peliá* and *ta trabajá* cannot be readily explained through imperfect learning of native speaker models, and in fact these constructions are identical both to Macao creole Portuguese and to Afro-Iberian creoles, including some attestations of Cuban *bozal* Spanish. Assuming—as seems overwhelmingly probable—that these similarities are not due to chance, the question remains of how Chinese laborers in Cuba came to acquire the combination of *ta* + V_{inf} as an invariant form of present or progressive verbs. There are at least three logically possible hypotheses: (1) Chinese workers had acquired Macao Portuguese creole prior to arriving in Cuba, and drew upon their knowledge of this language when attempt-

ing to speak Spanish; (2) Chinese laborers learned *ta* + V_{inf} constructions directly from their Afro-Cuban workmates; (3) both Afro-Cuban and Chinese workers learned *ta* + V_{inf} constructions from a common external source, such as the groups of Papiamento speakers found in Cuba at the time of the massive Chinese arrivals.

Although most Chinese workers carried to Cuba were not natives of Macao, and therefore had little lengthy exposure either to Portuguese or to Macao creole, the average period between recruitment in Canton province and arrival in Cuba was usually close to one year. Much of the time was spent in Macao or on shipboard, surrounded by Portuguese traders and sailors who routinely used Macao creole when speaking to Chinese. The conditions were therefore propitious for more experienced Chinese to teach some pidgin Portuguese to their newly arrived compatriots. Whatever Portuguese or creoloid elements the Chinese might have learned, these forms would have been reinforced by contact with Spanish, replete with easily recognizable cognate elements. The frequent reduction of *estar* to *ta* in vernacular Cuban Spanish, and the elimination of final /r/ in verbal infinitives by Afro-Cubans provided ready links to the Macao creole Portuguese verbal system. Moreover, *ta* + V_{inf} verbal constructions were already well known in Cuba, being common among Afro-Cubans and recognized by white Cubans as pertaining to *bozal* language. Thus, unlike some other constructions from Macao creole Portuguese, verbal constructions based on *ta* would be readily interpreted and accepted by white and black Cubans alike.

13. ASSESSING CREOLE-TO-CREOLE CONTACTS IN THE SPANISH CARIBBEAN

The preceding sections have demonstrated a linguistic situation in the 19th century Spanish Caribbean—especially in Cuba—which is much more complex than reflected by the usual descriptions. In addition to the well-studied dichotomy between natively spoken Spanish vs. Africanized *bozal* language, the labor demands of the second half of the 19th century brought in speakers of many structurally (and possibly genetically) related creole languages. In some instances the historical record provides direct testimony as to the manner in which such individuals learned and used Spanish, while in other cases the possible linguistic consequences must be extrapolated from available demographic information. It is unlikely that any single creole language significantly altered Afro-Caribbean Spanish during the contact period; a more likely scenario entails the mutual reinforcement of certain creoloid patterns which may or may not have been present in *bozal* Spanish, but which would be familiar to speakers of structurally cognate Afro-Caribbean creoles, and would be extended beyond normal expectations. Matters are not helped by the fact that writers of the time had little interest in Afro-American ethnography; any black individual who produced grammatically 'deviant' Spanish was dismissed as a *bozal*, even during the latter decades of the 19th century when black laborers born on other Caribbean islands far outnumbered African-born *bozales*.

The heavy African cultural and ethnic presence in the Spanish Caribbean has often been taken uncritically as proof that any unusual feature of Caribbean Spanish is due to African influence. When to the

mix is added a corpus of creole-like language formerly attributed to blacks in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the equation seems complete: Spanish once creolized in Latin America, at least among the population of African origin, and this creole gradually percolated up to encompass all local varieties of Spanish. This would make Caribbean Spanish much like English as spoken by Jamaicans, or French as spoken by Haitians, except that in the Spanish Caribbean the creole itself would have disappeared, leaving only fossil imprints in vernacular Spanish.

The facts, however, do not support this simple equation. Conditions favoring the formation of a stable creole never existed in the Spanish Caribbean. A much more reasonable basis route for creole-like characteristics of earlier Afro-Caribbean Spanish, as well as contemporary vernacular varieties, is the impact of established creole languages, which in one guise or another formed the linguistic backbone of the 19th century Caribbean. Regardless of the European language which provided their lexicon, these creoles already shared considerable similarity with one another, due both to universal aspects of creolization, and to commonly recurring patterns in key groups of West African and European languages. In the linguistic proving ground of 19th century Caribbean plantations, simply throwing Spanish together with any of the Caribbean creoles, or better yet with several, would yield strikingly similar results, which might be superficially indistinguishable from the effects of spontaneous creolization of Spanish.

Among some of the creoloid features found in some Caribbean *bozal* Spanish texts which may be attributable to contact with the creole languages mentioned above are:

(1) double negation in colloquial Dominican Spanish and in some 19th century Afro-Cuban *bozal* texts (cf. Schwegler 1996):

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

Probable source: Haitian Creole. Haitian is noted for use of a sort of double negation, combining the usual preverbal *pa* with cliticized phrase-final *-non* (ending affirmative sentences with cliticized *-wi* is an even more common strategy).[14] Recently, double negation has also been reported for the Spanish of the Güiria Peninsula of Venezuela (Llorente 1994, 1995), where Spanish was in contact with Trinidadian French creole, which uses both double negation (with postposed *no(n)* and double affirmation. Ortiz López (1996) discovered cases of double negation in the pidginized Spanish spoken by elderly Haitians in Cuba:

- •Cuando yo iba venil pa cá mi familia *no* quiere venil pa cá *no*

•La hija mía no entiende nada lo que yo hablo con él. *No* entiende *no*

(2) Realization of intervocalic /d/ as a stop [d] or flap [r], in Villa Mella, Samaná, and Afro-Dominican *pororó* dialects (Megenney 1990a, Núñez Cedeño 1982). Probable source: American Black English and Haitian Creole.

(3) Use of preverbal *ta* + INFINITIVE, found in some 19th century Afro-Cuban and Afro-Puerto Rican texts. Probable source: Papiamento, with slight possibility for Macao creole Portuguese reinforcement in Chinese-Cuban laborer groups.

(4) Use of *(a)mí* as subject pronoun in some 19th century Afro-Cuban texts. Probable source: Papiamento and/or West African Pidgin English, with possible reinforcement by Negerhollands, Jamaican Creole English, and among Chinese laborers, China Coast Pidgin English. This usage never took hold in the Spanish Caribbean, probably because it was highly stigmatized from the outset (this substitution is very common in early child language, and also was found in the first Afro-Iberian language from Spain and Portugal in the 16th century. In Jamaica, the Rastafarian movement is particularly repelled by the use of *mi* as subject pronoun, believing this to represent a weak and submissive stance. This avoidance is extended to similar-sounding words, so that *we* becomes *I and I*, and so forth.

(5) Errors of subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement in Samaná, Dominican Republic (González and Benavides 1982). Probable source: American Black English and Haitian Creole (i.e. Spanish not spoken natively in this area).

(6) Categorial use of normally redundant subject pronouns in Afro-Caribbean Spanish (e.g. Granda 1968, 1971; Otheguy 1973, Perl 1982). Caribbean Spanish is noted for its high use of overt subject pronouns, partially in compensation for the extensive loss of final consonants (especially /s/) in verbal endings. However, all of the pidgin and creole languages which came into contact with 19th century *bozal* Spanish in the Caribbean require overt subject pronouns, since there is no verbal inflection. Thus, any speaker of an Afro-Euro pidgin or creole would further extend the already existent Caribbean tendency towards overt subject pronouns.

In addition to the above-mentioned features, which actually deviate from grammatical Spanish usage in other monolingual communities, a number of pan- Caribbean traits have at times been attributed to an Afro-creole past. These include:

(1) Non-inverted questions, of the sort *¿Qué tú quieres*? (cf. Otheguy 1973). These constructions are common throughout the Caribbean, and may have been reinforced by Canary Island immigration. Afro-Euro creoles such as Papiamento, Haitian Creole, Negerhollands, West African Pidgin English and Jamaican Creole also make use of non-inverted questions, so that once more a speaker of a creole language might extend a characteristic with legitimately Spanish roots. It is interesting to note that within the Spanish Caribbean, non-inverted questions are very frequent in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic, all dialect zones characterized by past or present contact with Caribbean creole languages. Non- inverted questions are vanishingly rare in Venezuelan Spanish, where with

the exception of occasional pockets of escaped Papiamento-speaking *cimarrones* from Aruba, no other creole language has been spoken in contact with Spanish. The exception is the Güiria Peninsula, where Trinidadian French Creole (which uses non-inverted questions) was in contact with Spanish, and where non-inverted questions are found (Llorente 1994, 1995). The same holds for Panama and Colombia's Caribbean coast. In Panama, non-inverted questions are typical only in the Caribbean port of Colón, among West Indians who speak creole English, in which non-inverted questions predominate (Bishop 1976: 62). Finally, some bilingual speakers in Palenque de San Basilio, Colombia employ non-inverted questions when speaking Spanish, reflecting Palenquero usage but differing from prevailing patterns in coastal Colombian Spanish. The correlation between non-inverted questions and the adstratal presence of another language employing such constructions is difficult to exclude in the cases just mentioned, although this by no means implies that contact with creoles or other languages is responsible for the appearance of non-inverted questions in other Spanish dialects.

(2) Infinitives with preposed overt subjects: *antes de yo llegar*, *para ellos entender*, etc. (Alvarez Nazario 1959: 46; Megenney 1984a). Such constructions are found in Andalusian and especially Canary Island Spanish, whence they apparently arrived via the Galician-Portuguese maritime connection that brought other Portuguese elements into this dialect. However, cognate structures are found in Papiamento (using *pa*), Haitian Creole (using *pu*), Jamaican Creole (using *fi*, with variants *fo* and *fu*) and Negerhollands, using *fo* (Graves 1977: 139-41), etc. Although it is unlikely that creolized Spanish or another Caribbean creole lies at the root of this construction in Caribbean Spanish,(which also occurs, albeit less frequently, in other parts of Latin America (e.g. De Mello 1995), but the contribution of coincidentally similar creole structures cannot be ruled out in the Caribbean.

The combinations just mentioned have survived in non-African Caribbean Spanish precisely because they represent extreme cases of options that were already available in other dialects of Spanish. Other cross-creole characteristics were found in non-native *bozal* language, but did not survive the transition into mainstream Caribbean Spanish, since they were too 'exotic' to be accepted by the general population.

14. CONCLUSIONS

The debate on the possible creolization of Caribbean Spanish is far from over, and the language contact data surveyed in the present study in no way invalidate the serious scholarship which has taken place on all facets of the controversy. By seeing the 19th century Caribbean as a rich tapestry of interacting languages, many of which shared structural similarities, the task of deciding whether a truly creolized Spanish—whether spontaneously generated or transferred from other places and times—becomes harder rather than easier, since the simple presence of a creoloid configuration in attested or reconstructed Afro-Hispanic language cannot be taken uncritically as evidence of creolized Spanish. Much as in physical archaeology, the reconstruction of prior linguistic epochs is an evolving science which relies on methodological improvements, theoretical refinements, and ongoing discovery of

raw materials. The inclusion of creole-to-creole contacts in the Hispanic Caribbean is offered as a modest contribution to this endeavor.

Notes

[1]For an overview of the linguistic characteristics of Afro-Hispanic texts from the end of the 15th to the beginning of the 18th century, cf. Alvarez Nazario (1974), Castellano (1961), Chasca (1946), Dunzo (1974), Granda (1969), Jason (1965, 1967), Lipski (1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1992a), Sarró López (1988), Veres (1950), Weber de Kurlat (1962a, 1962b, 1970).

[2]Cf. Fontanella de Weinberg (1987), Lipski (1993, 1994b; Romero 1987).

[3]Among the researchers supporting the notion that Afro-Hispanic *bozal* language was a creole and/or the universal pidgin Portuguese origin of Spanish-based creoles are Castellanos (1985), Granda (1968, 1970, 1971, 1976), Megenney (1984a, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1990a, 1993), Naro (1978), Otheguy (1973), Perl (1982, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d), Schwegler (1989, 1991b, 1993), Taylor 1971, Thompson (1961), Wagner (1949), Whinnom (1956, 1965), Yacou (1977), y Ziegler (1981). The opposite perspective, that *bozal* language was merely the imperfectly acquired Spanish spoken by the first generation of African-born slaves, is taken by Laurence (1974), Lipski (1986a, 1986c, 1992a, 1993), López Morales (1980), Martínez Gordo (1982), Reinecke (1937), and Valdés Bernal (1978, 1987), among others.

[4]In addition to the items cited in fn. 3, see Alvarez (1991, 1992), González and Benavides (1982), Lorenzino (1993), Megenney (1990b, 1990c), Schwegler (1991a).

[5]Cf. the following sources: Chang (1956), Chuffat (1927), Corbitt (1971), Cuba Commission (1876), Deschamps Chapeaux and Pérez de la Riva (1974), Helly (1979), Jiménez Pastrana (1983), Martín 1939), Ordas Avecilla (1893), Pérez de la Riva (1966, 1978), Varela (1980).

[6]The text in question comes from a pamphlet describing festive activities realized in the south of Puerto Rico in 1830, celebrating the birth of the heiress to the throne of Fernando VII, who would become Isabel II. The language of the text, while clearly written in a type of 'jerga' (the term used by Pasarell), is not Papiamento, although bearing a number of resemblances to the latter language, as will be seen below. However, the attribution of this text to natives of Curaçao, and the references to Curaçao and its history in the song itself, suggest that some form of Papiamento was once to be found among the 'mulatos holandeses' residing in Puerto Rico.

[7]Considering that intervocalic /x/ is weakly pronounced in Caribbean Spanish, the spelling *yijo* probably represented a word similar or identical to Papiamento *yiu*. It is likely that the frequent combination *mi hijo*, pronounced with intrusive hiatus-breaking and hypocorrect /y/, is at the root of the transformation of *hijo* to *yiu/yijo*. However, while intervocalic /y/ is quite weak in Papiamento, it is generally strong in Caribbean Spanish, so that independent parallel development of *yijo* in Cuba is rendered unlikely.

[8]Birmingham (1970: 21) proposes that Pap. *awe* developed from Spanish *hoy* '... involving ... the breaking of a diphthong ... the Spanish diphthong [oj] is broken into two separate syllables [o] and [i], and further, that the [o] has opened to [a] and the [i] to [e]. The semiconsonant [w] is then produced to facilitate pronunciation. This process is not at all unlike the one that is observed in certain varieties of American English, particularly in the South, in which the word *boy* is pronounced ['bowI].' This may be a possible route of evolution, but unlike in the Southern dialects just mentioned, where breaking is generalized and not confined to

specific lexical items, Papiamento *awe* is unique in the breaking of a Spanish diphthong. Ortiz (1924: 11) gives the form *agüé*, with the meaning 'ahora.' Dihigo (1928) refers to this item as a 'forma adverbial que lleva en sí la característica del habla vulgar en boca de la clase de color,' proposing a step-by-step evolution from *ahora*. In nearly all the exmples in which the form occurs, however, it is possible to substitute *hoy*, especially since at the vernacular level in many Spanish-speaking regions (particularly in Central America), *hoy* is used in the general sense of 'now.' Ortiz (1924: 11) glosses *ahuoy* as 'hoy,' suggesting the influence of Congo (i.e. KiKongo) *guau* or *oguau* 'now.' In Palenquero, the word for 'today' is also *agüé*, a fact which reinforces theories which link these two creoles to an earlier common source. Schwegler (1989: 17), rejecting earlier claims of an African etimology for *agüé*, correctly recognizes the word as of Ibero-Romance origin, and cites the variant *güe* in Asturian-Leonese, as well as Ortiz' mention of Cuban Spanish. In Cuba, however, this word was exclusively found in Afro-Hispanic speech, usually among *bozales* but sometimes extending to native-born Afro-Cubans. In the case of Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, the influence of archaic dialectal forms from the Iberian Peninsula is quite unlikely, while direct transfer from Papiamento is a more plausible explanation. Cf. Lipski (forthcoming b).

[9]Birmingham (1970: 29) suggests an alternative variant **aguora* for the Portuguese/Old Spanish *agora*. Maduro (1960: 11) cites the Murcia variant *agua* [awa] 'now' in connection with Papiamento *awor*, although without explicitly claiming the former word as an etymon. Ortiz (1924: 12) suggests KiKongo *guau/oguau* 'now' as a possible contributing factor. The variant *aguola* (exhibiting intervocalic shift of /r/ > [l], typical of Afro-Hispanic pidgin) is also attested among Afro-Cubans (Ortiz 1924: 12; Dihigo 1928).

[10]This use of *ne* is not to be confused with the androgenous pronoun *elle/nelle/neye*, found in many 19th century Afro-Caribbean texts, and which does not appear to come from Papiamento, but rather to be a spontaneous development.

[11]Cf. Balmaseda (1869), González Echegaray (1959: 22), Fayer (1990), León 1976), Sundiata (1990), Liniger-Goumaz (1988: 25), Lipski (1992b), Saluvet (1892), Sarracino (1988).

[12]Hesseling (1933) analyzed many features of 19th century Negerhollands as bearing the earlier influence of Papiamento, stemming from a time when the Dutch also controlled parts of the Virgin Islands, and transfers of Africans from Curaçao to St. Thomas and St. Croix were frequent. One of the traits attributed to Papiamento is the extension of *bo* < *na bobo* to include meanings far removed from the original spatial value of 'over'; this extension exactly corresponds to Papiamento *riba* as compared to Spanish/Portuguese *arriba* (cf. also Goodman 1987: 295-8). It has been shown that *riba/arriba* occured in *bozal* Caribbean texts with an expanded range of values comparable to those of Papiamento and Negerhollands.

[13]Despite the fact that few pidgin-speaking Chinese are still to be found in Cuban communities, the stereotype remains, and is widely cultivated in popular culture. For example, the daily Radio Martí broadcasts aimed at Cuba by the U. S. Information Agency/Voice of America include a number of serial comedies produced in the Miami Cuban exile community. In one of these shows, '¿Qué pasa en casa?', Pancho, a Cuban-Chinese neighbor of the protagonist family frequently participates in conversations with a stereotypical 'Chinese' pidgin Spanish. Despite the type-casting, this character is portrayed as both generous and hard-working, and is highly regarded by his acquaintances. The pseudo-pidgin Spanish produced by this Hispanophone Cuban actor correlates closely with earlier

attestations of Chinese-Spanish pidgin, and with independent observations of the difficulties faced by Chinese speakers acquiring Spanish.

[14]Some of the Cuban *tumba francesa* songs exmplify this (Olavo 1986: 57):

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

Given that Spanish *no* is cognate with Haitian *non*, while Spanish *no* occupies the same syntactic position as Haitian *pa* and is easily acquired by speakers of the latter language, the pathway to the formation of double negation in Haitian-Spanish contact situations is straightforward. In Cuba, the documented presence of Haitian speakers needs no further elaboration. Speakers of Haitian were certainly in the right places at the right time to have influenced the formation of double negatives in Cuban *bozal* Spanish, although there is no direct evidence of a Haitian contribution. This hypothesis does not invalidate claims of a Bantu influence in Cuban and even Dominican double negation, but it does reduce the necessity of such a postulate, by suggesting another contributing source. Outside of the Afro-Hispanic domain, non-emphatic double negation has been observed in the Spanish of Quechua-dominant bilinguals in northwestern Argentina (Postigo de de Bedía 1994: 360-61), which has been traced to the use of a combination of preposed and postposed negative markers in Quechua. Some examples are:

No es orgullosa como yo *no*.
No ha estudiado la historia *no*.
Usted *no* sabe *no*.

All of the above examples point to the conclusion that double negation in Latin American Spanish dialects is the result of language contact, but not necessarily from a single source. Contact with creole languages in which double negation prevails appears to be the most likely source of double negation in Güiria, the Dominican Republic and eastern Cuba, while Quechua is the source in northwestern Argentina. In the Colombian Chocó, matters are less clear; contact with KiKongo or another African language employing double negation remains possible, as does the intermediate formation of a restructured Spanish semi-creole or creole, as suggested by Schwegler (1996).

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Naming and "African-ness" in Brazilian Umbanda

by Paul Johnson

In *The Savage Mind*, Claude Lévi-Strauss argued that naming is an act of classification, of structuring and rendering the world legible: "To say that a name is perceived as a proper name is to say that it is assigned to a level above which no classification is requisite ...proper names represent the *quanta of signification*..." (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 215) Naming is an act which concretizes, reifies, and classifies persons, groups and objects. Through the act of bestowing names, reality is structured, and identity is at least temporarily fixed. It is for this reason that naming is not only a creative act but also, by virtue of the capacity to fix and stabilize identity, an expression of power.

The act of naming human groups—"autonyms" when the name is selected by the group itself, "exonyms" when it is applied by outsiders or rivals—is a form of establishing relationships and patterns of social affinity or estrangement. Whether the issue involves the selection of the name of a new nation (Sutton 1997), an ethnic group (Proschan 1997), or a newborn child, onomastics always involve the problem of establishing social boundaries; of determining who falls within the circle, and who remains without.

It is not often that we have the opportunity to examine the naming of a religion, since religions' names are usually unavailable to historical documentation. More frequently, they are mythic, in the sense that they have no authorship, but rather belong to a community as a whole. It is clear in the history of religions, despite this opacity, that the structuring accomplished through name-giving is also ideologically powerful. We need look no further than the classic example of one of the oldest texts known to human-kind, the RgVeda 10:90. Here the classes of humans are named and simultaneously located hierarchically: Brahmans as the head, Ksatriyas as the arms, Shudras as the legs, and so on.

When we do have the opportunity to historically document the naming of a religion, it is a rare and privileged vantage point indeed. For it allows us to hypothesize not only about how human beings render the world legible through religious structures, but also how such structures legitimate certain kinds of social hierarchies. It is precisely such an opportunity which exists in Brazil, in the formation of a 20th-century religion, Umbanda. In what follows, I present a study of naming as an instance of social practice and the construction of social and ethnic identity. In the case of Umbanda, it is important to express the issue as both "social" and "ethnic", since it is no longer a religion, if indeed it ever was, strictly limited to Afro-Brazilians (Barreto 1951). On the other hand, it does imply, however dimly, an assertion of African identity. On this score we should note Roger Bastide's conclusion to his introduction to *The African Religions of Brazil*, where he asserts as the starting point of his research, not *niger sum,* but rather *Africanus sum*, based on his ritual induction into the Afro-Brazilian religious tradition (Bastide 1978: 28). While Bastide cannot claim to be Afro-Brazilian or black, he does claim to be, at least ritually, African.

Bastide's negotiation of blackness

versus African-ness is suggestive for the history of Umbanda. For in the popular Brazilian religion of Umbanda, communities and individuals have formulated different, competing meanings of the word *umbanda* despite the existence of a clearly African etymology. In what follows, I propose that the contestation of the meaning of the name of the religion Umbanda provides a window through which structures in the formation of the religion, and the contemporary Brazilian state, might be glimpsed. The negotiation of the meaning of the name can be viewed as an act of history-making, where a phenomenon, in this case the proper name Umbanda, is conjoined with a structure of interpretation (Sahlins 1985; Lincoln 1989; Bourdieu 1977). To put it more simply, I will explore 1) examples of the revision of the name umbanda, 2) the rhetorical strategies employed in such revisions, and 3) possible motivations; the ideological interests at play in the forgetting of the African origin of the name in many Umbanda communities (what Bourdieu [1977: 78-9] refers to as "genesis amnesia"), especially in those centros known as *Umbanda da linha branca* (of the white line). Who gains through such forgetfulness? And what sort of historical context provides the motivation for such revisions?

Virtually every academic study of Umbanda has at least glossed this issue of the contestation of the name. To cite only the three most important studies, those of Roger Bastide (1978), Diana Brown (1986) and Renato Ortiz (1991), they all treat it similarly, albeit towards very different ends—as an essentially sociological issue, such that Umbanda's African identity is denied or reworked to match the religion's ideology to that of the society in which it seeks to take root. There are good reasons to take this project further. First, scholars may find the Durkheimian reduction of these three sociologists' results to be inadequate as a complete model for understanding Afro-Brazilian religions. Second, their literature implies a diachronic history of the issue, in which the name Umbanda was raised at the First Umbandista Conference of 1941 and then resolved at a later conference. It does not address the ongoing present role of competing meanings given to the word up until the present. This essay attempts to remedy these deficiencies by examining naming as social practice.

Let us be clear at the outset why this is important: Social structures like "race" remain submerged, invisible and latent until one investigates a particular historical case of social practice. To put this more concretely, Brazilians have long claimed, at least at the popular level, and at least since Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala* (1933), the absence of racism or racial discrimination. Indeed, along with samba, futebol and mulattas, racial democracy has been one of Brazil's most marketable images for export. It is only by looking at particular issues or historical cases—say, the relation of Candomblé to the nation-state (Johnson 1997; Sodré 1988), or statistics of access to higher education, that underlying patterns of racism may be thrown into relief. The present essay takes naming as just such a specific historical practice. Finally, it is worth stressing that the power of naming as social practice, and the revisions of a name's origins, need not imply any conscious agency or overt meaning in the minds of practitioners. Indeed, as Antonio Gramsci's (1990) description of hegemony reminds us, it is

precisely when social practices are not available for conscious evaluation—when they appear so "natural" as to be beyond question—that they are most powerful, and at least potentially most pernicious.

Before we move on, a brief caveat: Umbanda is a religion that casts a wide net. It includes widely variant practices across an enormous spectrum, from West African derived Candomblé to the originally French Spiritualism or Kardecism, as well as the *macumba* perjoratively associated with "black magic" in the history of Rio de Janeiro. It is for this reason exceedingly difficult to categorize Umbandist practice. In what follows, however, I will limit my comments to the practice of so-called "white-line" Umbanda —the Umbanda which includes elements of Afro-Brazilian Candomblé, Catholicism and Kardecism, and which also relies on the press and the conference as at least parts of its typical *modus operandi*; the Umbanda, in other words, which appears in the public sphere. Let us, then, modify the objective of the investigation slightly: How have so-called "white-line" Umbandists attempted to control the name of the religion so as to obfuscate its African origins? And why?

THE BIRTH OF A NAME

In Rio de Janeiro, the beginnings of Umbanda can be traced to the 1920's. It quickly spread to other cities like São Paulo and Porto Allegre (under the diffusionist argument) or emerged simultaneously in those cities out of common pre-existing structures (under the model of independent origination based on homogenous national and urban factors like class mobilization). Later it spread to cities in the north of Brazil, excepting Salvador, the center of Candomblé, where it has never gained a secure footing. During the 1930's the movement grew exponentially in numbers, and by 1940 it had reached the stature of a "national" religion. It is estimated that up to some 30 million Brazilians are practicing Umbandists (Brown 1994: xviii), though such numbers are difficult to determine and nominal involvement may include even more. Though Umbanda is a distinctly Brazilian phenomenon, with an often explicitly nationalist construction, there are also Umbanda *centros* and *terreiros* in large U.S. cities like Miami, San Francisco and Newark. In this it follows the pattern of other New World African religions like Santería and Vodou, where a second migration has already taken place from sites in Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil to major centers of immigration in the U.S. and Europe.

Embedded in a context of related but competing urban Brazilian religions, Umbanda shares aspects with Candomblé (such as possession, specific drumming patterns which call the spirits, and *orixás*[1] as heads of spirit divisions), Kardecism (such as the manifestation of spirits of the dead for the purpose of consultation and healing, and a rigid hierarchy of more and less "evolved" spirits), and Catholicism (in the regard for Catholic saints, the use of holy water, and ritual postures such as kneeling). Indeed, one of the problems with describing Umbanda accurately is that it exists along a continuum of shared aesthetic and ritual patterns between French Kardecism and Afro-Brazilian religions, often without formalized boundaries (on "boundary-work," see Hess 1991). But while Umbanda can be fruitfully compared to these other religions oriented around possession, it also has its

own highly developed structure.

A typical meeting can be usefully divided into two main sections (Brown and Bick 1987): first the period of singing, hand-clapping and/or drumming and, depend-ing on the terreiro, dancing on the part of the mediums; and second, the time of *consultas* and healing. During the first part, terreiros which identify themselves as closer to Candomblé than to Kardecist spiritism may call this dancing a *xiré* ("play" dancing), which honors and calls the spirits. Centros which identify themselves more closely with spiritism may not dance, but rather sing hymns and clap until, gradually, the white-clad mediums become possessed. The spirits descend (*baixar*), called by particular songs and drum rhythms to possess mediums. Their new, possession identities (described below) are manifested through stylized clothing, postures, gestures, verbalizations, and dance steps. These spirit-guides then conduct consultations with members who desire their aid. Most often the spirits offer advice on topics like love, financial problems and future plans.

In addition to verbal consultas, possessed guides usually conduct cleansing and healing rituals by blowing cigar smoke across the members' extremities, snapping fingers, and chanting magical phrases, sometimes in in order to remove the influence of *exús*[2], or "bad" spirits. A typical meeting, then, begins with the calling the of the spirits, followed by the possession of mediums and a dramatic exhibition of the stylized mannerisms of the spirits, followed by the cleansing of and protection from "bad" spirits, and concluding with individual consultations with one of the manifested spirits of "light."

The spirits are organized hierarchically in a complex system of seven lineages, called *phalanxes*, each headed by an orixá/saint.[3] Simplified greatly, the spirits can be described as falling into four groups, three of which are spirits of light, and one, the exús, which are spirits of darkness (Ortiz 1989: 89). One kind of spirit of light is the *caboclo*, the spirit of the indigenous Brazilian Indian. Most often this spirit will have a fierce and arrogant manner, and bring vitality, strength, pride and energy to the encounter. Another is the *preto-velho*, the spirit of the old African slave, who manifests humility, kindliness, comfort and sympathy. The *erês* or *crianças* are spirits of children who are playful and innocent. Finally, the exús, derived from the Yoruba trickster/ messenger Eshu, are evil (more akin to the New Testament Devil than to the Yoruba/Candomblé Exu) and must be rigorously controlled. It is to the exús that *macumbeiros* may look to accomplish "evil" ritual works (*trabalhos*), and it is against the *exús* that much of the ritual life of "white-line" Umbanda is performed. Unlike Candomblé, then, Umbanda rigidly compartmentalizes the world into good and evil (Ortiz 1989:96).

When scholars have talked about Umbanda as a religion with a nationalist sentiment, they have pointed to the correspondence between the hierarchical nature of Brazilian social and political structures and the rigid hierarchization of spirits[4], and they have pointed to caboclos and pretos-velhos as ideal types in Brazilian folklore: the motherly slave-nanny and the free, fierce Indian. While these are the most characteristic, traditional spirit-roles in Umbanda, we should note the flexibility within some houses for new spiritual genres to emerge, such as manifestations of homeless

street-kids (Hale 1997: 410).

This minimal background must suffice for now. In the sections which follow on the competing etymolo-gies of the word umbanda[5] and the contextualization of its contested African-ness, a clearer picture of Umbanda will slowly be drawn. With this very brief introduction to the world of Umbanda in mind, however, it is possible to move in closer to the problem at hand.

CONTESTING THE NAME

In 1941 the First Umbandista Congress was assembled in Rio de Janeiro with the "sole purpose of systematizing the religion and codifying its rituals" (Brown 1986: 91). Prior to the conference, scholars of Afro-Brazilian religions had suggested that the etymology of the name Umbanda was Bantu in origin. Already in 1934, for instance, Arthur Ramos showed that umbanda, *embanda* and *quimbanda* all derive from the root *mbanda* in the Bantu language family (Ramos 1934). His basic thesis has since been repeatedly confirmed: Roger Bastide (1978) traced umbanda from the Kimbundu root *ymbanda*, the Angola group's name for the supreme head of the cult. Francisco Valente showed that umbanda was initially used to describe both religious objects and the *Kimbanda*, an expert in spiritual matters (cited in Ortiz 1989: 91). Others have proposed minor variations, such as that it derives from *umbundu* from the Angolan Ovimbundu language (Souza 1963). In academic discourse, in any case, the lexical etymology of the word umbanda is considered relatively resolved, at least in its general southwest African derivation.

But in spite of this early evidence, the 1941 conference became a site of contestation of, among other things, what the name, umbanda, means. The result was a fantastic display of imaginative and linguistic gymnastics. One paper, presented by M.D. Coelho Fernandes, rooted Umbanda in Sanskrit: The true spelling of Umbanda is "Aum-Bhandha" (sic), variously translated as "the limit in the unlimited," the "Divine Principle," "radiant light," and "the source of life and constant evolution" (Brown 1986:42). Another paper suggested that umbanda was an "Adamic" word, derived from the original language of humanity (Brown 1986: 42). Still another presentation claimed that umbanda came from Yoruba-land in southwest Nigeria. In this argument, however, Yoruba is claimed to be originally a colony of Atlantis, based on the visual resemblance of the Yoruba god Olókun to Neptune.[6] Finally, one A. Fl. Noguera stated, "The initiatory religious ideal was launched on the African continent by the divine Kariru kings who had come from the lands of Lemuria, of which Africa was a part" (qtd. in Bastide 1978: 321)."Lemuria," a Pacific counterpart to Atlantis, was considered by Umbandists to have been a large land mass somewhere between India and Egypt; a hypothesis which opened the way for elaborate diffusion schemes.[7]

While the First Umbandista Conference of 1941 provides the most dramatic concentration of alternative etymologies of Umbanda, it was by no means anomalous, either at that time or in the present. "Lemuria" as the place of origin for Umbanda was reported already in 1939: "It should not be forgotton that African magic is the heritage bequeathed to the Negro race by the ancient Lemurian civilization, the highest that ever existed" (Bento 1939: 111; qtd. in Bastide 1978: 320). In the present, Lindsay Hale (1997: 394-5)

reports of a similar account offered by a medium possessed by a preto-velho. She describes the encounter as follows:

> Umbanda originated on the planet Cabal and was the religion of Atlantis. The only thing 'African' about it, he told me, is its imperfections; it seems that when Atlantis disintegrated, its survivors washed up on the Guinea coast. They taught Umbanda to the 'primitives' they encountered there, who of course got it wrong. The work of enlightened spirits, he went on, is to correct the mistakes these 'simple' but good people inflicted on the true faith.

It is not too difficult here to note the bleeding of "enlightened" into enwhitened, at least in this Umbanda centro called the House of St. Benedict, which prides itself on its "purity." In this house, and others of its ilk, Africans are primitive and simple (however good). It is up to enlightened spirits to correct their mistakes.

One strategic distancing of umbanda from its southwest African etymology, then, is through a displacement to elsewhere—to Lemuria, Cabal, or Atlantis. Another way such distancing may be accomplished (again, not necessarily by conscious volition) is through the claim or experience of revelation. This pervasive account, for example, derives umbanda directly from a revelation to one Zélio de Moraes:

> Around 1920, Zélio de Moraes, then in his early twenties, became paralyzed. His father, a civil servant and real estate agent in the city of Niterói across the bay from Rio, was a Kardecist. After medical treatment failed to improve Zélio's condition, his father took him for a consultation at the Brazilian Spiritist Federation in Rio. While there, Zélio was visited by the spirit of a Jesuit priest, who revealed to him that his illness was spiritual and was the sign of a special mission. He was to be the founder of a new religion, a true Brazilian religion dedicated to the worship and propitiation of Brazilian spirits: caboclos and pretos velhos. This new religion would restore these spirits to the positions of respect and veneration denied them by Kardecists. The Jesuit spirit also revealed to Zélio that he would shortly receive a visitation from his own special spiritual mentor, who would give him further istructions and direct his future activities.

Zélio returned home and was soon cured. He then received the prophesied visit from his mentor, a spirit who identified himself as O Caboclo das Sete Encruzilhadas (the Caboclo of the Seven Crossroads) and who revealed to Zélio his mission to found a religion to be called "Umbanda." Zélio was directed to organize the first Umbanda centro and to have his followers found seven more, which would serve as the nuclei of the new religion. The Caboclo announced that he would serve as guiding spirit to the founding church, the Casa Mater, and would gradually reveal the rituals and doctrine to be followed (Brown 1986: 39).

The story told to Brown by Zélio is not merely a local legend or a circulating Rio "word of mouth" tale. It appears in many other writings as well. Orphanake's (1990) *Manual de Umbanda para Chefes de Terreiros*, for example, recounts the same story. He adds dramatic details of the miraculous healing, emphasizes that the new revelation occured at a Spiritist session, and dates the event earlier and

more specifically to November 15, 1908. Otherwise the myth of origin is very like that told by Zélios himself. Celso Rosa (1967: 26-7) also agrees with the etymology of umbanda as a new revelation, and places this revelation in the context of others, so that the religion Umbanda is now the "Fourth Revelation," following and building on those to Moses (monotheism), Jesus (Christianity), and Spiritists (rein-carnation). Bastide reported a similar attempt to link Umbanda to Christianity: "Silvio Perreiro Maciel divides the word Umbanda into three words: Um=the Father, Ban=the Son; and Da=the Holy Spirit" (Bastide 1978: 460).

Finally, it is worth noting that one more new etymology of umbanda is frequently mentioned by Umbandists and appears to be gaining in popularity: the claim that umbanda is a contraction of "uma banda" (a group, one group), signifying that "We (Brazilians) are all one" (Brown 1986: 51). Here, the relation between the word and the meaning is one of homonymy: "Umbanda" sounds like, and therefore is, a different, value-laden term: "one group."

In the above examples, a series of old but still circulating, and new, competing etymologies of the name Umbanda have been described where, etymologically, one is true and the others are false. Etymological accuracy, however, is only one level of a word's meaning. Once a name has been taken from the original context of its giving, at which time it may have had descriptive value, it takes on the colorings and contours of whoever is speaking or hearing it. In this sense it is like history, mediated between the historical field, the unprocessed historical record, other historical accounts, and an audience (White 1973: 5); or like art in post-structural semiotics, where the author or creator is afforded no privileged position to determine her creation's meaning (Barthes 1972, inter alia).

The interpretations of the meaning of umbanda are likewise fluid once set free from etymological derivation, and mediated by social forces. We cannot, of course, precisely measure something as subjective as meaning. We can, however, evaluate social practice and its consequences or effects. The appropriate question, then, is what kinds of social forces are suggested by the distancing mechanisms outlined above? And what is at stake in the name that makes its African etymology worth contesting?

In this case at least, naming is an act of location. The name, or rather the explanation for the name, locates the Umbandist in at least three ways: spatially, spiritually and socially. First, there is clearly a spatial aspect to the etymologies of umbanda: establishing a geneology from Africa, Egypt, India, Lemuria, Eden or the world of the spirits is an important part of the etymologies wherein the community identifies who "we" are by establishing where "we" came from. It is literally an em-placement. Next, a concomitant spiritual genealogy is entailed, with a value obviously laid on establishing descent from ancient, universal and mystical systems. The spiritual location is within a succession of already-authoritative systems, either of this world or the spirit world. Finally, suffusing both of the first two aspects is the social location which the name bestows. It is this part which most needs explanation. Since there is nothing less ancient, universal, mystical or author-itative about Africa than, say, India, the perception of it as such can only be socially based.

DIS-PLACING THE NAME

It has already been stated that the likely correct etymological basis for *umbanda* is African, most likely from the Kimbundu language of present-day Angola. Therefore all of the alternative etymologies of can be seen as means of distancing Umbanda from Africa. They are means of distanciation, or of dis-placement. It is clear that the displacement is from Africa, but to where? In some cases, as in those nationalist myths of origin wherein Umbanda is regarded as an autochthonous creation, it is displaced to Brazil itself. The majority of the etymologies and stories, however, displace umbanda from Africa to a universal stature, a dislocated place. That is, places are invoked, but only as devices for the arguing of Umbanda's universality. India, Egypt, Lemuria, Eden, and Atlantis do not represent serious geographies of a diffusion argument. Rather, they are proffered as tropes for a universalist argument. The etymologies of umbanda always link it back to yet another more civilized, wiser place until it becomes the primordial Word itself, or the accumulated knowledge of all ages. The revelation etymology is more direct; there umbanda comes straight from the spirit world, a universal world. In this etymology there is no need to traverse the globe to establish its universality.

Other mechanisms for the universalization of Umbanda exist as well. One example is in the meta-phorization of race, such that caboclo and preto velho no longer present actual cultural designations, but suggest instead metaphorical stations of spiritual evolution. One such account traces an evolution of Umbanda through five racial cycles: the pre-Adamic, the Adamic, the Lemurian, the Atlantean, and finally to the present Aryan.[8] Another version, spoken by an incarnated spirit, resolves racial type as a category by calling it a spiritual metaphor: "Son, the designation *caboclo* determines more the degree of evolution of a spirit according to the Law of Umbanda, then an actual racial type. Caboclo is a 'key,' a code indicating a spiritual order..."(Oliveira 1953).[9] These stations reflect the evolutionary process of all spirits, regardless of culture. They are universal and thereby displaced from being culturally situated.

Still another form of the universalization of Umbanda is in the resolution of cultural particularity into ethics. This is the final dislocation by one popular author: "..finally Umbanda is Charity. Nothing more." (..em resumo, a Umbanda é a Caridade. Nada mais...) (Pinto 1975: 192).

As already stated, this process of universalization generally takes the form of establishing distance from what is African or "primitive." The clearest example of this is found in the white-washing of Umbanda at the 1941 conference. The titles created at the Congress of 1941 to distinguish Umbanda from Quimbanda, macumba or "black magic," such as the names Umbanda Pura (pure), Umbanda Limpa (clean), Umbanda da Linha Branca (of the white line) were designed to accomplish exactly what their names reveal, to clean, purify, and whiten Umbanda of its African elements, such as sacrifice, ecstatic possession, pos-sibly drumming, and any explicit connections to Candomblé or macumba.

Now that the rhetorical strategies through which umbanda has been moved from southwest Africa have been described, we need to address the problem of motivations. What was and is at stake?

To begin to answer these questions we need to first address the historical context in which Umbanda emerged as a religion in its own right.

CONTEXTS OF DISPLACEMENT

Umbanda emerged out of a particular ethos in Brazil during the 20's and 30's, a period in Brazil during which several powerful ideological movements doevetailed: a strong nationalist emphasis under the populist dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, the paradoxical combination of anti-Africanism and romanticism in the history of scholarship on Afro-Brazilian religions, and the literary *Indianismo* movement. These themes are glossed for the purpose of generally locating Umbanda historically and ideologically, so that the "stories of the name" will be seen as generated by structures common to other domains as well.

The Vargas regime (1930-1945) brought a sudden shift in the official position towards Afro-Brazilian religions. Heretofore one of unpredictable house-arrests and general harassment, the policy now shifted to one of accomodation and co-opting. Co-opting is the process by which potentially subversive ideologies and organizations are legitimated and subsidized by the state and the middle and upper classes. In turn, the state assumes the power to regulate and control those ideologies and organizations. The ownership of the tradition, at least at a formal, bureaucratic level, shifted to the state. Henceforth, rather than threatening the extent hierarchy, Afro-Brazilian religions (along with other Afro-Brazilian cultural practices such as the *blocos sujos*[10] of Carnaval) became parts of a nationalist ideology. This happened at both a formal level and an ideological level. At the formal level, all *terreiros* and *centros* were forced to register with the state and so became subject to federal regulation. Already during the prior decade, in 1927, the chief of the civil police had already expressed concern over the unchecked proliferation of "low spiritism." As he reported:

> The chapter of crimes against Public Health is of great interest to the police...Mysterious cults of oriental origen, remnants of esoteric beliefs from the African tribes like macumba and candomblé, distorted by ignorance and greed, encamped without precaution in the Federal District, in the shadow of our indifference to the application of clear penal orders...(qtd. in Maggie 1992: 47)

During the 1930s, under Vargas, the concern increased. As a result, in 1934 the Polícia de Costumes was instituted, followed by, in 1937, a special section within this division—the Department of Toxins and Mystifications—under which such regulation could more efficiently be carried forward (Maggie 1992: 46). During the same period, however, Vargas approved the Presidential Law-Decree 1202 which recognized the legitimacy of traditional houses of Candomblé to practice. Shortly thereafter, in the Penal Code of 1940, Article 208 further protected some terreiros, regarding as a crime the disturbance or insult of religions, including religious acts and objects. Finally, by 1942, the practice of Umbanda had also been removed from the Penal Code. But did this really imply a climate of greater political tolerance? Hardly. It meant primarily that, along

with the famous houses of Candomblé being frequented by well-heeled and multi-racial Bahians, the "whitened" forms of spirit mediumship in Umbanda had also gained enough organizational structure and middle-class support to be rewarded by the state and removed from the list of criminal acts against "public health" (Maggie 1992: 47). The majority of the practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions, meanwhile, continued to suffer police invasions and confiscations.

At the ideological level, meanwhile, Afro-Brazilian religions were becoming folklorized and valued as cornerstones of Brazil's rising national identity and pride. At this crucial point in Brazil's history, the concepts of nationhood, race and religion were fused and frozen in a vision of modern Brazil. Umbanda was associated with nationalist impulses seeking to identify and valorize Brazil's unique, non-European and non-African character (Ortiz 1986; 1989). Even today, the Brazilian flags which adorn Umbanda meetings testify to its correlation with nationalism. Hess (1991: 158) cautions, however, that while the official position may have been one of increasing tolerance, in practice the Vargas era still brought its share of medical condemnations of spirit-mediumship as mentally ill and dangerous.

The scholarly literature on Afro-Brazilian religions during the 1930's provides an example of this nationalist agenda, permeated as it was by the concepts of "whitening" and acculturation. Gilberto Freyre established the mulatto as a distinctly Brazilian resolution of the issue of race and a point of national pride, particularly in his massive 1933 *Casa Grande e Senzala*. He described, in terms sometimes verging on nostalgia, the role of the slave-nanny and the mulatta, and the part each often played in the education of her master: "...The slave who tucked us in to bed, who suckled us, who fed us, she herself kneading in her hand the large ball of food. The old negress who told us our first animal and ghost stories...The mulatta who initiated us into physical love..." (Freyre 1973: 283, trans. mine). Yet key to this mulatto ideal was a crystal-ball vision of race becoming homogenous, such that within five or six generations Afro-Brazilians as a distinct category would cease to exist. The racism of the U.S., based on notions of the purity of blood and juridically fixed by Jim Crow laws, had a different face in Brazil. In the place of absolute segregation, it proposed a gradual convergence to a national mulatto identity, yet one wherein lighter is better.

This nationalist concern saturated the literature of the period on Afro-Brazilian religions as well, although here the rallying-cry was acculturation. Some scholars like Arthur Ramos (1934) continued to be concerned about the mental and physical "inferiority" of Afro-Brazilians, and so with their ability to assimilate into what he saw as a progressively more modern Brazil.[11] But most writers of the Vargas period were interested in Afro- Brazilian religions as "cultural survivals," which would inevitably and necessarily yield to modernity. These included not only Brazilians such as Edison Carneiro (1964), but also North Americans like Melville Herskovits (1937). What needs to made clear here is that models of acculturation were *de facto* nationalist models. The question being asked was, "How will Afro-Brazilian traditions become properly Brazil's?"

One answer given was to present them as folklore. In the folklorizing of religions

their cultural value, related to issues of identity and meaning, is replaced by national sentimental, artistic and market values which rely on a common populist definition of the *povo*. In Marxian terms, the tradition is transformed into a commodity holding exchange value in addition to, or perhaps at the expense of its own inherent "use value," in this case referring to its ethnic, religious and cultural value.[12] Another response may have been in the creation of Umbanda as a nationalized Afro-Brazilian tradition. Many Umbandists and some scholars of the religion adamantly defend Umbanda as the only "true Brazilian religion," a non-imported autochthonous creation combining the three large cultural strands of Brazil: the Amerindian, the African and the Iberian. This is evident in passages in popular Umbandist literature like that of J. Edison Orphanake: "They needed a ritual, a cult, a devotional practice which would be in the middle. A little of one, a little of the other. And, like that, this need dictated the appearance of Umbanda, *a religion typically Brazilian*, that came to prevent a religious lacuna" (1991: 22; italics mine). Ortiz also accepts this orientation in his distinction between Umbanda and Candomblé: "Umbanda is a *national* religion; Candomblé is one cultural group's religion" (Ortiz 1989: 90; italics mine). For Ortiz, Umbanda is "synthetic" not "syncretic," by which he means that Umbanda includes an African element but is not defined by it.

The influence of Indianismo as a cultural movement is apparent in the inclusion of caboclos spirits in Umbanda ceremonies. Furthermore, the caboclo is not only present but is valorized as fierce, proud and independent in stark contrast to the preto-velho spirits of old black slaves. Indianismo was a literary movement spawned by Chateaubriand and Fenimore Cooper. In Brazil its champions were José Alençar and Gonçalves Dias, who promulgated in their fiction the image of the freedom fighter Indian who resisted slavery and in the end died rather then submit to a life of servitude. Through these freedom-fighter images, the Tupi-Guarani and Tupi-Namba Indians were raised to symbols of Brazil's independence and national identity. This was not a novel creation, since already in the 17th century, Padre Antônio Vieira (following the example of Bartolomé de las Casas in New Spain), had juxtaposed the "natural" liberty of the Indian with the "natural" servitude of the African, ultimately leading to the freeing of Indian slaves in Brazil in 1755. Of course this also necessitated a concomitant increase in the enslave-ment of Africans. It would appear that Umbandists have relied upon and further developed this distinction—the elevation in status of the folkloric Indian thrown into relief by the humility of the folkloric African.

From a different perspective, however, it seems noteworthy that they are received in possession at all, whereas in Kardecism they are rejected as unwelcome, primitive, and backwards. Yet their appearance in Umbanda possession usually presents a stylization difficult to reconcile with any positive valuation of the African heritage of Brazil. The preto-velho is stooped, humble, subservient; yet also simultaneously pleasant, grateful and eager to please. African-ness in Umbanda, as symbolically condensed in the preto-velho spirits, is and always has been conflicted and paradoxical.

Looking at the same tension from the perspective of ritual instead of the

symbolism of spirits, one might ask what sorts of forces are in play when a wealthy white businessman kneels to kiss a poor black woman's hand and receive her blessing in the context of an Umbanda terreiro. Is this a site of inversion or rather a simple replication of the patronage relations that char-acterize much of the structure of urban Brazilian society? She, after all, lives only by the fleeting reputation of her mystical power and the generosity of wealthier clients. One's interpretation may depend on one's perception of ritual; whether one sees ritual as a "safety valve" which releases tension and thereby serves continuity and the status quo; or, like Victor Turner, one sees it as inherently "liminal" and as proffering inversive potential to serve change (Turner 1969; Comaroff 1985).

The major assessments of Umbanda, which have typically been sociological, reflect exactly this dichotomy. Bastide (1978) calls Umbanda a social movement by which lower-class blacks and mulattos come to class consciousness, solidarity, and increased social status and opportunity —although only at the expense of bastardizing the "purity" of more genuinely African traditions like Candomblé. Brown (1986), on the other hand, emphasizes vertical dyadic ties and patronage relations of Umbanda, and sees it as primarily a middle class white movement which reproduces class domination rather than denying or inverting it. Hale (1997), in a recent article, describes Umbanda more subtly; as superficially reinforcing "Uncle Tom" stereotypes, while in practice the preto-velhos protest their social position by asserting their moral superiority to whites in a sort of Hegelian Master-Slave inversion (p. 395-6). These conflicting arguments are summoned here to show that it is not only in Umbandists' self-understandings and in the wider Brazilian political context that Umbanda, and perhaps more particularly the African-ness of Umbanda is ambiguous and complex, demanding clarification. It is therefore not only the name of Umbanda which is and has been contested. Rather, the issue of the name merely reveals a deeper ambivalence towards African-ness which lies at the heart of Umbanda as a religion. That is, through the practice of naming, Umbandistas da linha branca locate themselves socially and ideologically, but not always after a consistent fashion. If in the contestation of the name, African-ness has been resisted, in other venues it may be embraced. How shall we interpret such ambivalence? Perhaps by viewing the naming of Umbanda as one exemplar of strategic rhetoric employed by Umbandistas towards different ends, and in varying contexts...albeit with consistent *structures*.

STRUCTURES OF DISPLACEMENT AND REPLACEMENT

For analytical purposes, I would like to isolate two structuring principles around which Umbanda has historically framed its identity in its literature and public discourse: 1) "race" and 2) the idea of the primitive.

Racial dis-placement: out of Africa and back again

The interpretation of the name Umbanda is a meeting place of structure and practice. It is also a juncture of cultures: African, Amerindian, European and modern, urban Brazilian. One of the framing

issues in the formation of Umbanda's identity is race, and in particular its relationship to African-ness and to the primitive.

But the interpretive move of universalizing the name Umbanda away from the African context is only half of the story. Umbandists have also constructed their identity by virtue of its African-ness. For example, in the origin myth attributed to Zélio de Moraes, the revelation explicitly specifies the purpose of Umbanda as the propitiation and worship of Amerindian and African slave spirits. In this sense the myth rejects Spiritism's rejection of these "low," "unevolved" spirits.[13] Zélio's myth does not only distance Umbanda from "African-ness"; it also moves Umbanda toward it. Furthermore, Umbanda marks its distance from its Spiritist cousin called Kardecism, which rejects the manifestation of any and all African spirits. Thus, if Umbanda is sometimes viewed as a whitened version of Candomblé, from another perspective it could be seen as an Africanized form of Kardecism.[14]

Africa is deceptively ambiguous for Umbanda, just as it is for Brazil in general. But the confusingly varied place of Africa in Umbandist discourse cannot be explained, as it has been until now, only in terms of racism or a mechanical model wherein Umbanda reproduces and reinforces the racist hierarchies of the larger society. Perhaps Umbanda is best understood by viewing race, as well as the modern/primitive continuum, as structures which assume different forms depending on the historical phenomenon they are invoked to explain. Race is a framing term which Umbandists use to maintain their social and religious boundaries on at least three fronts: with Catholicism, with Spiritism and with Candomblé. Race is used in varying ways with each of these conversation partners in a fluid, dynamic manner, depending on a set of variables which determine what is at stake, i.e. economic resources, social status, political clout or religious values like purity or continuity of tradition, truth, spiritual efficacy or others. Umbandists' predisposition to distance themselves from, embrace, or re-invent Africa in their discourse is a practice generated out of the meeting of the structure of race as a framing device and an actual moment of social and religious religious practice, an "objective event...calling for or demanding a determinate response"(Bourdieu 1977: 83).

The modern and the primitve

A second structure by which Umbandists have framed their identity in the competing interpretations of the name umbanda is that of the modern-primitive opposition. In most cases the interpretations which privilege the modern are synonymous with those which seek to distance Umbanda from African-ness. Those which privilege the primitive nearly always do so romantically, in the belief that the primitive offers more raw power or offers access to spirits or orixás whose power is greater for their primitive-ness.

If primitive wildness is at once degrading and empowering, the refined modern, while sterile and perhaps dispassionate, opens the door to status and power. As the large number of etymologies of Umbanda which rely on schemes of evolution attest, Umbandists have long constructed their identity in the gap between the two poles. On the one hand, it is fair to say that Umbandists feel

that there is something gained by their contact with the "primitive": with the spirits of pretos-velhos, caboclos, erês and exús. The call of the wild, however, comprises only part of the appeal of the "primitive." Many Umbandists with whom I have spoken refer to their satisfaction at communicating with spirits local to Brazil. Umbanda has a distinct nationalist flavor, having emerged out of an ethos of nationalist politics, scholarship, and culture. Umbanda came to consciousness of its identity as a distinct form concomitantly with Brazil as a whole. Like the nationalist, misceganized, carnavalesque image Brazil inherited from Gilberto Freyre and others during the Vargas period, Umbanda takes pride in the dual identities of the modern and the "primitive."

The subjective experience of Umbanda as modern or "primitive" as well as the use of these as tropes in Umbandist discourse with other Brazilian ideologies are forms of practice which reflect a common structure: the emplacement of Umbanda along the primitive-modern and African-European continuums for specific, historically-conditioned purposes. Predictably, these tropes are assembled in such a way that magico-spiritual power is linked with Brazil's African heritage, whereas status and respectability in the public sphere are associated with Brazil's European heritage, with the Amerindian, the caboclo, often providing the mediating ideological term.

CONCLUSIONS

First, I demonstrated the ambivalence and sometimes outright hostility within some Umbanda communities towards the African etymology of umbanda. Next, I described the rhetorical strategies of displacement by which non-African origins of the word umbanda, and thereby the religion of Umbanda, are constructed. Finally, I have attempted to tackle the complex issue of the motives for such displacements. One reason lies in the historical context in which Umbanda took shape, namely one of the linked ideologies of nationalization and acculturation. Another possible reason is a more structural one: the play across race and the modern/ primitive continuum as a means of defending religious boundaries with Umbanda's rivals and Brazilian co-religionists Candomblé, Catholicism, Kardecist Spiritism and, increasingly, Pentecostal sects. The location Umbandists select for their identity along these structuring axes will depend on particular historical contingencies: who the audience is, who comprises the terreiro's constituency, who the target religions "market" includes, and other variables.

The contestation of the name, then, is not anomalous, but rather presents an overt social and historical expression of the subtleties of negotiating social, racial and religious identity—or identities—in Brazil.

Endnotes

[1]The pantheon of deities in the Yoruba and Fon cultures of Nigeria and the Republic of Benin, respectively. While in West Africa, the *òrìsà* may be associated with forces of nature or with the histories of certain kingdoms as a sort of culture hero (notably in the case of Shango), in Brazil the *orixás* appear to be oriented around forces of nature and archetypes of persons—not around cultural histories of particular places. This shift in the notion of *orixá* is one of the cultural consequences of the physical

dislocation of the Atlantic Passage.

[2]These should only in the loosest sense be compared to the messenger and gate-keeper Exú in Candomblé, originally Eshu of the Yoruba pantheon.

[3]Most often these are Oxalá, Iemanjá, Xangô, Ogum, Oxossi, Crianças, and Pretos-Velhos.

[4]Diana Brown (1986), for example, has noted the unusual level of participation among officers of the Brazilian army during the military dictatorship from 1964-1985.

[5]When the word umbanda is intended, it will be left in lower-case letters; when the religion is intended, it will be capitalized.

[6] "...no país de Ioruba, na proximidade da bôca do Niger, uma estátua de bronze do deus Olocum, o Netuno africano. Ora, o pais dos Iorubas corresponde ao reino de Ufá que não era mais que uma colônia atlanteana; e sabemos que o culto de Netuno era muito prezado na Atlântica e em suas colônias." Alexandre Braghine, "O Enigma da Atlântis," as cited in Celso Rosa, *Umbanda de Caboclos* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Eco, 1967), p. 21.

[7]What is "Lemuria," and what does it or Atlantis have to do with Umbanda? The connection of the mythical land Atlantis comes through Rosicrucianism, Theosophy and various occultist movements, and finally to Spiritism and to Brazil in the last half of the last century. "Antilia" was originally a land mass on Toscanelli's map which was used by Columbus. Christian Rosencreutz (1378-1484), the founder of Rosicrucianism, and his followers have dis-seminated the myth of Atlantis as an ancient, highly evolved civilization whence come all civilizations, ever since. Atlantis received a boost when Helena Petrovna Blavatsky revived it and its counterpart, "Lemuria," with the founding of Theosophical Society in 1875 and her book The *Secret Doctrine* in 1888. Her doctrine of omnipresent spiritual Reality in which all souls parti-cipate, and the evolution of these souls, had much in common with the doctrine received by León Denizon Rivail from the spirit Allan Kardec several decades before, later called Kardecism. All of these movements shared common features which became immensely popular in Brazil following the "conversion" to Kardecism in 1886 of Menezes, the "Brazilian Kardec" (Hess 1991: 81) and his subsequent popularization efforts.

The first mention of "Lemuria" itself seems to have been by Ernst Jaekel, who was trying to explain the distribution of certain plants and animals in various parts of the world. The lemur was one of these animals. Jaekel considered Ceylon to be a remnant of Lemuria (Wauchope 1962: 38). I beg the reader's indulgence to tell one more anecdote which may help illuminate the significance of "Lemuria" for 20th century Brazilian Umbandists: James Churchward was an explorer and sometime scholar who believed himself to have discovered the ancient language of "Mu," from "Lemuria." He spent several years in India deciphering stone tablets, upon some which he claimed to have found a description of the Lemurians: They were a white race, handsome, with clear white or olive skin, large, soft, dark eyes and straight black hair (Ibid.: 42). In short, they looked like light-skinned Brazilians. The myth of "Lemuria" thus offered a white, civilized origin for Umbanda versus the black, savage one indicated by the etymology of Umbanda.

[8]This evolutionary scheme comes from Rosicrucianism and Theosophy.

[9]"Filho, a denominacão *caboclo* determina mais o grau de evolucão do espirito da Lei de Umbanda, do que propriamente um tipo racial. *Caboclo* e uma 'chave', uma senha que indica a ordema que pertence o espirito.." Translation mine. Gil Nascimento de Oliveira, *A Magia Nos Terreiros* (Belo Horizonte, 1953), no pagination.

[10]Literally the "dirty blocks," these groups of Carnaval dancers were the precursors to the famous state-sponsored Samba Schools which now perform in Rio. The process began in 1933 when Rio's mayor Pedro Ernesto Baptista offered

financial sponsorship for *blocos sujos* on the condition that they curb "disreputable features." Those groups who reformed and registered evolved into the Samba Schools. Shortly thereafter the federal government followed the lead of this program (Adamo 1989: 202).

[11]Ramos, 1934. This was a retention of an earlier evolutionary model steeped in the theories of Spencer, Comte and Lombroso. See, for example, Nina Rodrigues' 1935 *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Baianos.*

[12]First although not necessarily best articulated by Karl Marx, *Capital*, Book 1.

[13]Kardecist Spiritism disallows the manifestation of African and Indian spirits among its members, excepting Aztec and Mayan Indians (and all those considered to come from a "great civilization").

[14]While all of this is thorougly confusing, it becomes still more complicated by the fact that Brazilian Spiritism (Kardecism), Umbanda and Afro-Brazilian religions like Candomblé, Xangô, Casas das Minas and Batuque frequently form a continuum more than discrete communities. As complex as these lines of demarcation might be, they nevertheless provide meaningful borders for members.

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Hybridity or (IL)Legitimacy: The Problematic of Identity In Brazilian and Mozambican Narratives

By Niyi Afolabi

Mal de mim é ser um mulato
Nossa raça toda a gente passa de lado — *Portagem*

Brazil and Mozambique are living legacies of Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities" as well as the relics of Gilberto Freyre's problematic lusotropicalist theory. In both constructs, hybridity is that in-between space that allows for a discussion of the crisis of consciousness and of identity with particular reference to the offspring of two racial polarities: the biracial character. In problematizing hybridity as a tripartite construct of place, identity, and theory, the particular case of the mulatto in both Brazil and Mozambique generates issues of legi-timacy and illegitimacy. While racial mixture legitimizes hybridity, societal hypocrisy contradicts the projected image of harmony given the burden of alienation put on the biracial subject. The contextual realities of Maranhão and Maputo (former Lourenço Marques) mirror two cultural spaces (colonial Brazil and pre-independence Mozambique), racial ideologies and experiences that find commonality in the problematic of identity.

For the benefit of readers unfamiliar with Aluísio Azevedo's *O mulato* and Orlando Mendes' *Portagem*, some biographical and contextual information seem appropriate. Written under two different social and political eras and conditions, both texts share some crucial comparative points as far as the problematization of hybridity. *O mulato*, set in the city of São Luís do Maranhão, was published in 1881 colonial Brazil, a time when slavery still existed, while *Portagem*, set in the Mozambican colonial city of Beira, first appeared in 1965. Although set in two different "lusophone" spaces and eras, the primary commonality in these texts lies in the racial ideologies propounded in those settings that betray Portuguese colonialism and its attendant myth of lusotropicalism.

Aluísio Azevedo was a Brazilian naturalist writer who wrote about a dozen novels in his lifetime (1857-1913) although he is mostly cited for three important works, *O Mulato* (1881) [The mulatto], *Casa de Pensão* (1884) [The Tenement House], and *O Cortiço* (1890) [The Boarding House]. Daphne Patai and Murray Graeme MacNicoll sum up the contextual essence of *O Mulato* in their introduction to the translated edition:

> Aluísio Azevedo's *Mulatto* is a young man's novel, full of passion, venom, and caricature. Written at a time in Brazil's history when many young men were, as historian Thomas Skidmore has stated, "caught up in the converging tide of abolitionism, anti-clericalism, and republicanism," its theme are the corruption of the church, the evils of slavery and racism, the malice, savagery, and political ignorance of provincial life—but also love and desire, the search for one's past, the consequences of a personal and cultural amnesia, the struggle between individual and society. (*Mulatto* 7)

While these issues are somewhat inter-

connected, my focus is on Raimundo, the bi-racial subject, and the dilemma of his "hybridity" as it relates to racism, slavery, and identity.

Orlando Mendes (1916-1989) was a Mozambican writer who belonged to the first generation of nationalist writers ushering in independence from the Portuguese. Although his poetic collections are numerous, he is mostly anthologized and cited for *Portagem* (1965), a novel that concerns itself with the mulatto character in colonial Mozambican society. The emergence of this text may be said to be pioneering in Mozambican letters since the problem of the mulatto has only been explored in poetry by José Craveirinha and Rui Knopfli among others. Russell Hamilton sums up the predicament of João Xilim as the "unhappy prototype of the *mestiço* who must constantly bear the shame of a wanton mother and the blemish of a licentious father" (*Voices from an Empire* 180). Contextually, Hamilton adds:

> His novel *Portagem* ... treats a recurring theme in Mozambican literature: the tribulations of those with mixed blood. The novel's mulatto protagonist, João Xilim ... travels from his interior village to a coastal city, and along the way he is faced with the consequences of being neither black nor white. This theme of the marginal man is described in a ponderous, naturalistic manner as the author dramatizes in bizarre episodes the antipathy toward the mulatto by both whites and blacks. (181)

Just like *O mulato*, it is this same dilemma of being neither black nor white that is the central motif in *Portagem*. This question of split identity has been explored by various critics ranging from the apologists of Portuguese racial ideology (*mestiçagem*, *miscegenação*, and *lusotropicalismo*) to the current debate on hybridity.

The terms "lusotropicalism" and "miscegenation" resonate different ideological constructs in different contexts. The welcome addition of "hybridity," as propounded by Homi Bhabha, allows for a reexamination of the premises of these terms in light of the cross-cultural affinities between Africa and Brazil in particular. Using Aluísio Azevedo's *O Mulato* [1881] (Brazil) and Orlando Mendes's *Portagem* [1965] (Mozambique) as paradigmatic texts in which the problem of identity and the crisis of consciousness are explored, I propose to examine the contradictions of miscegenation as a "positive" achievement of Portuguese colonial policy as advanced by Gilberto Freyre as well as the notion of "hybridity" or "the in-between space that carries the meaning of culture" as suggested by Homi Bhabha. Other seminal works on the subject such as those by Kwame Appiah and Paul Gilroy further complicate the debate while offering refreshing and complementary vistas to the issues of "nativism," "double consciousness," "hybridity," and "(il)legitimacy".

In his seminal work, *In My Father's House: Africa in The Philosophy of Culture*, Appiah considers the African condition and by extension, the human condition, as a *shared* situation hence his definition of his project as "intercultural" and "transnational." Tackling the question of "African identity" in the plural, Appiah argues for a "negotiable middle way" (x) which continues to be elusive in past propositions by African and Western intellectuals. Theorizing on the invention of cultural affinities, Appiah sees every

human identity as a shared falsehood and presupposition, a construction to which "the world never quite manages to conform" (174). He goes on to discredit "race" as a viable element in the discussion of group identity, suggesting that "a biologically rooted conception of race is both dangerous in practice and misleading in theory: African unity, African identity need securer foundations than race" (176). Appiah finally posits that:

> "Race" disables us because it proposes as a basis for common action the illusion that black (and white and yellow) people are fundamentally allied by nature and, thus, without effort; it leaves us unprepared, therefore, to handle the "intraracial" conflicts that arise from the very different situations of black (and white and yellow) people in different parts of the economy and of the world. (176)

While these efforts at relativizing "race" have their merits as well as their dangers, the dismissal of race is even more "dangerous" and "misleading" for what Appiah calls "middle way" or "securer foundations than race" are escapist measures in avoiding issues of marginality, racism, and oppression. One needs not be racist to be anti-racist but it is ethically and intellectually irresponsible to explore "mutual inter-dependencies" (72) exclusively while downplaying conflictual relations that must be confronted and high-lighted in the discussion of racial ideologies.

While there is no doubt about Appiah's penchant toward universality and his invaluable contribution to the debate on race and the color line, it is questionable the extent to which we can engage issues of identity and consciousness without a grounding in the problematic of race. Using Abiola Irele's position in "In Praise of Alienation," Appiah further alludes to the implication of a Western education for the Africa intellectual. The "dualism of forms of life" to which Irele attributes the state of being "African" and "Western" needs further analysis. As Irele puts it:

> We are wedged *uncomfortably* between the values of our traditional culture and those of the West. The process of change which we are going through has created a dualism of forms of life which we experience at the moment less as a mode of challenging complexity than as one of confused disparateness. ("In Praise of Alienation" 54 [emphasis mine])

The key word here is the "uncomfortability" of that split subject which reminds us of both Aluísio Azevedo's Raimundo in *O mulato* and Orlando Mendes' João Xilim in *Portagem*. In spite of his erudition and education, Raimundo is made uncomfortable by the colonial society that refuses to see beyond the color of his skin. Even in the case of João Xilim, in which education is not the case but the privilege that accompanies being bi-racial, the *mulato* is not only made uncomfortable but traumatized through racial discrimination and rejection of his kind. And this is where Appiah's case for "middle way" falls apart. Race, indeed, is one of the viable elements in the consideration of culture and identity.

Paul Gilroy's project in *The Black Atlantic* picks up where Appiah seems to have summed up, even at a more encompassing scale. Appiah's proposition for a "middle way" in the definition of

African identities is here replaced with the metaphor of the "middle passage" to describe the African experience in the New World and its connection with modernity and double consciousness that Gilroy has termed the "black Atlantic world." In finding an alternative to "ethnic absolutism" and "cultural nationalism," Gilroy opines that hybridity and creolization are "unsatisfactory ways of naming the processes of cultural mutation and restless (dis)continuity that exceed racial discourse and avoid capture by its agents" (3). Yet, the alternative he proposes, the "cultural insiderism," the "counterculture of modernity" or "the black Atlantic" is still "contaminated" by the colonial symbolism of modernity and the West. Once again, the black experience becomes objectified, stripped of its history and context and laid on the altar of abstract Western theorizing while minimizing the more volatile issues of slavery, colonialism, and history. As Gilroy declares:

> This book addresses one small area in the grand consequence of this historical conjunction—the stereophonic, bilingual, or bifocal cultural forms originated by, but *no longer the exclusive property of, blacks dispersed* within the structures of feeling, producing, communicating, and remembering that I have heuristically called the black Atlantic world. (3 [emphasis mine])

In this declaration, the black experience is a shared "property" when beneficial to the new dispensation of conceptual configuration. The Black Atlantic thus blends blackness and modernity in the marginal and marginalizing sense. And it is this marginality that raises the question of ambivalence and ambiguity in Gilroy's formulation. Is being black and modern any different from to being a slave and being primitive? How does Gilroy's project fit into a more problematic hybrid aesthetic? The Brazilian and Mozambican case-studies provide some elucidation.

I contest hybridity on both levels of theory and practice. Theoretically, I consider hybridity as the contemporary version of miscegenation and lusotropicalism—both social constructs that legitimize racism, colonialism, and oppression in the specific contexts engaged in this study: Brazil and Mozambique. As Gilberto Freyre attempts to legitimize in *Casa Grande e Senzala*, the Portuguese were more apt at adapting to tropical realities than other Europeans. Indeed, the history of Portugal dating from the Portuguese contact with the Moors on the Iberian Peninsula is enough testimony of Portuguese adaptability with other cultures, culturally and biologically:

> A singular predisposição do português para a colonização híbrida e escravata dos trópicos, explica em grande parte o seu passado étnico, ou antes, cultural, de povo indefinido entre a Europa e a África. (86)
>
> The singular predisposition of the Portuguese toward hybrid and slavish colonization in the Tropics explains mostly explains their ethnic or even cultural past as far as a people divided between Europe and Africa.

Freyre's thesis of "hybrid colonization" was further man-ipulated over the years thus yielding yet another myth, that of "racial democracy" in Brazil.

Empirically speaking, Gerald Bender argues in *Angola under the Portuguese*,

that the adaptability and tolerance claimed by the Portuguese are "merely examples of cultural and material diffusion which characterize the history of practically every culture and nation of the world" (10). Bender goes on to suggest that the concept of miscegenation as practiced in Portuguese territories was no different from other European colonizers. The Angolan case proves the point. The ratio of availability of white women in relation to white men was the decisive factor that obliged the Portuguese to adapt to their reality: there were more white men than women. Whenever this ratio shifts towards a balance, miscegenation diminished significantly. The Mozambican experience was no different. In fact, Phyllis Peres in *Transculturation and Resistance in Lusophone African Narrative* makes a mockery of Portuguese hypocrisy by asserting that "the whole concept of multiculturalism, originally developed in the 1930's, was soundly rejected at that time by the Portuguese" (5).

Lusotropicalism and miscegenation produce the hybrid subject whose crisis of consciousness and identity is a recurrent problematic in Luso-Brazilian letters. Geraldo Bessa Victor, an Angolan poet, captures the contradictions of the lusotropicalist thought in his poem, "Apontamento na Quitanda do Muceque" (Note on a Shop in the Muceque) in which the poetic voice betrays the idealized integration of both cultures and races as reflected in the laughing and singing gestures of two children, one black eating ice-cream, the other white, eating "quitaba," a typical Angolan meal. While the children are supposedly able to trade cultures and customs, the irony in this exchange lies in the fact that the vision of the black boy is Eurocentric, an aftermath of successful acculturation and alienation: "E a minha alma de poeta / alma mestiça, luso-tropical / descobre acenos de Âfrica / no gesto do menino branco / e visões da Europa / no olhar do menino negro" [And my poet's soul / a hybrid soul, luso-tropical / discerns signs of Africa / in the gesture of the white child / and visions of Europe / in the look of the black child.] (Burness *A Horse of White Clouds* 16-17). The contrast between "signs of Africa" conveyed through the gesture of the white child and "visions of Europe" that the black child yearns for, demonstrates internalized objectification on the part of the black child. Although the poet with "hybrid soul" is the subject from whose perspective we read, supposedly, harmonized attitudes from both children, the choice of words as in the "signs" and "visions" betray an alienated poet who can only see one (white) with some African influence and the other (black) dreaming and longing to become or enjoy the benefits of being European. This analogy illustrates the inherent contradictions and ambiguities of hybridity from the viewpoint of the poet as well as the subject-matter.

In practice, Aluísio Azevedo's *O mulato* and Orlando Mendes's *Portagem* challenge the "racial harmony" supposedly created with the mixed-race personage. Azevedo's Raimundo and Mendes's João Xilim are both characters caught up in the web of societal hypocrisy, prejudices, and ignorance. The texts are significant not only in their portrayal of the dilemma of being of mixed-race but also the contradictions of two "lusotropical" societies that treat biracials as outsiders. Azevedo's context evolves around Brazil's Maranhão of the 1870's depicting 19th century liberalism, anti-clericalism, anti-slavery attitude,

abolitionist sentiments, and ridicule of the bourgeoisie. It is in this context that Raimundo's rejection and societal hostility must be understood: well-read, polished, and assertive, Raimundo constitutes a challenge to the Portuguese merchants and gentry of the time who seemed comfortable in their mediocrity and stability. Mendes's context presents colonial Mozambique of the 1950's questioning the effect of racial discrimination on the biracial subject who is neither accepted by blacks nor recognized by whites. As pointed out in two different instances in the text, João Xilim is torn between the two races in him and the society is quick at pointing out this "illegitimacy":

> —Este moleque parece-me esperto demais. Além disso, é mulato. E não gosto nada desta raça. São mais falsos que os pretos. (*Portagem* 13)
> —Xilim! Xilim! Xilim! Você não é preto! Você não é branco! Você é Xilim!... (19)

> "This chap seems too smart. Besides, he is a mulatto. And I don't like his kind at all. They are more crooked than blacks."
> "Xilim! Xilim! Xilim! You are not black! You are not white! You are Xilim!..."

By "legitimacy" and "illegitimacy" of hybridity, I am referring to the employment and redeployment of the term as used to justify Portuguese colonialism as well as its critique in the post-colonial context. The lusotropicalist argument falls apart when the discourse of hybridity is confronted with the realities of the biracial subject either in Brazil or in any Lusophone African context. As a colonial or racial theory, hybridity claims to be blind to difference while in fact, that blindness ends up justifying otherness and marginality on the part of the bi-racial subject. As a contemporary cultural critical construct, hybridity is a shifting paradigm that can be seen as a synthesis, symbiosis, or even fragmentation at the same time. Robert Young sums up this dialogic fluidity so cogently:

> Hybridity makes difference into sameness, and sameness into difference, but in a way that makes the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different. (*Colonial Desire* 26)

The two texts under consideration, *O mulato* and *Portagem*, exemplify the dilemma of the marginalized biracial subject faced with the crisis of identity and origin.

In *O mulato*, Raimundo, a biracial, and Ana Rosa, a white woman, fall in love. Raimundo decides to ask her hand in marriage but he is forbidden. Although biracial, Raimundo seems to be unaware of his black heritage since he is portrayed as having blue eyes and curly hair —features that he considers, along with his education, sufficient to be considered "white" or at least, privileged. He was mistaken. As Raimundo persistently asks for an explanation for this rejection, Manoel Pescada, his uncle, reveals this painful mystery of his past in confidence:

> —Recusei-lhe a mão de minha filha, porque o senhor é ... é filho de uma escrava...
> —Eu?!
> —O senhor é um homem de cor!... Infelizmente esta é a verdade...
> Raimundo tornou-se lívido. Manoel prosseguiu, no fim de um silêncio:

—Já vê o amigo que não é por mim que lhe recusei Ana Rosa, mas é por tudo! A família de minha mulher sempre foi muito escrupulosa a esse respeito, e como ela é toda a sociedade do Maranhão! Concordo que seja uma asneira; concordo que seja um prejuízo tolo! o senhor porém não imagina o que é por cá a prevenção contra os mulatos!... (130)

"I could not give my daughter's hand in marriage to you because you are ... a son of a slave..."

"Me?!"

"You are a colored man!... Unfortunately, that is the truth..."

Raimundo turned pale. Manoel continued after a brief moment of silence:

"You can now see, my friend, that it was not for personal reasons that I prevented you from having Ana Rosa but due to all things considered! My wife's family has always been very hesitant in such matters just like the entire Maranhense society. I do agree that it is kind of stupid; I agree that it is ignorant prejudice! You can't even imagine how the bias against mulattoes is seriously taken around here!..."

Manoel's cosmetic explanation of Raimundo's rejection must not be digested uncritically and simplistically. It is more complex than that. The rejection is indeed a reflection of a deeper racist thought that even goes back to explain the mysterious murder of José do Eleito, Raimundo's illegitimate father and violator of the mad blackwoman and slave, Domingas, Raimundo's mother. Seen from this racial ideology, the text is full of paradoxes. In the first instance, the initial miscegenation (Domingas and José do Eleito) is "illegitimate" because Domingas was only taken advantage of, violated and then abandoned. This act of violence, this rape of the black woman's body will not go unpunished by the society who sees that "violation" not from the viewpoint of the slave, Domingas, but from the viewpoint of racial purity. José do Eleito should not have contaminated the white race. And therein lies the irony for the theory of miscegenation held that the Portuguese were tolerant of other races and race-mixing was a way of proving that tolerance. The reader finds out through flashbacks that José was mudered by the priest Diogo, another reflection of societal hypocrisy. Raimundo will later be killed by the clerk Dias, with full protection and backing of priest Diogo, an embodiment of the corruption of the church in the era of abolitionist struggles.

Since the first miscegenation could not be helped, further race-mixing could at least be prevented. This is where Raimundo becomes a double victim: first of his racial origin and then of his past as an illegitimate son of a white man and a black slave. Efforts to stop Raimundo from his marriage proposal with Ana Rosa were enough for him to plan on leaving once his racial origin was disclosed. However, Ana Rosa, the young white woman who represents a "different" school of thought, and to whom he was denied and forbidden to have, would not let him go easily. Like a vicious cycle, she seduces Raimundo the same way her father, José, seduced and dominated Domingas. Ana Rosa becomes pregnant and decides to flee with Raimundo. Unfortunately, the clerk Dias, discovers their plan and kills Raimundo. The antagonistical role of Dias is relevant here. He is apparently the favored suitor of Ana Rosa and in addition, he works in the firm

of Joaquim Pescada. His "crime" is motivated by both passion and racial prejudice. In the final analysis, Ana Rosa has a miscarriage and is later depicted as happily married to Dias and having three children by him.

Ana Rosa's "miscarriage" is a profound metaphor for the implications of race-mixing and its ultimate prevention in a pre-abolition colonial context such as Brazil. Through a crafty blend of this physical miscarriage and the murder of Raimundo, it is as if Raimundo's mixed or black blood is prevented from remaining in Ana Rosa's body or at least, flushed out to prevent further "contamination." Contextually, nineteenth century Brazil and as early as eighteenth century witnessed a widespread campaign on evolutionary biology, scientific racism and potential destructiveness of race-mixing. Nancy Stepan suggests that racial biology "was a science of boundaries between groups and the degenerations that threatened when these boundaries were transgressed ("Biological Degeneration: Races and Proper Places 98). She goes on to say that:

> As slavery was abolished and the role of freed slaves became a political and social issue, as industrialization brought about new social mobility and class tensions, and new anxieties about the 'proper' place of different class, national, and ethnic groups in society, racial biology provided a model for the analysis of the distances that were 'natural' between human groups. (98)

Although Stepan is citing the case of the United States, the Brazilian scenario is not very different if not worse especially with regard to the dilemma of the mulatto. Mulattoes were considered a representation of the degeneration of the white race or "racial hybrid degeneracy" (115) as Stephan puts it. In addition, the social mobility and successes of some mulattoes were becoming of concern to a great number of white Portuguese merchants and the clergy. It is in this sense that Raimundo, having achieved erudition as an accomplished lawyer from Coimbra, becomes a threat to the São Luís do Maranhão society. In spite of his intelligence, he is still "unnatural," a "degenerate," a "hybrid" who must be checked. Raimundo is a victim of societal hypocrisy which on the one hand, proclaims the virtues of race-mixing while on the other, forbids the product, the biracial, from further "branqueamento," so to speak. Raimundo's case is very peculiar. He is the product of a Portuguese father, a merchant who had an affair with a slave named Domingas. Domingas would in turn be a victim in the hands of the legitimate wife who tortured her to insanity.

Raimundo's jeopardy is rooted in a shameful past that he denies. Not only is he a victim of that same past, his denial of his origin makes him vulnerable to the dictates of a society that forbids him from marrying a white woman. As a hybrid subject, Raimundo complicates his drama by denying his identity or at least, ignoring it. Finally, Raimundo and Ana Rosa end up forcing the marriage in spite of the prejudices of Maranhão society, while Raimundo is killed by Dias, the favored husband of Ana Rosa. Although it has been suggested that Azevedo "weakened his attack on racial prejudice through the employment of a Europeanized mulatto with blue eyes and light complexion, a figure obviously alien to the typical Brazilian mixed-blood"

(MacNicoll 239), I contend that such a contradictory exposition calls lusotropicalism and hybridity into question for Raimundo's "mulatitude" (Hamilton, *Literatura Africana, Literatura Necessária* 250) is never in doubt to the reader while Raimundo remains in a twilight zone of being and unknowing since he only discovers himself after a conscious search and unpleasant revelations. By creating this doubt in the mind of Raimundo, Azevedo is in fact raising a fundamental question: why should race, color or origin matter in a supposedly "mixed-race" society?

In this endless drama of human degradation, the church is a vital accomplice. José's death as well as his son's were sponsored by the priest Diogo. Raimundo's case was particularly melodramatic since Diogo encouraged and conspired with Dias to have Raimundo eliminated. Diogo's justification was simple: Dias needs to avenge the violation of Ana Rosa, his prospective wife, who has been put in the family way by Raimundo. More complex than that, priest Diogo suggests that this is not only an abomination, it is worse than mere adultery since the offspring will resemble Raimundo and not Dias when they eventually get married. It was a matter of honor as Diogo persistently tried to persuade and convince Dias:

> —Bem! Pois lembro-lhe somente que um homem de cor, um mulato nascido escravo, desvirtuou a mulher que vai ser sua esposa, e isto, fique sabendo, representa para você, muito maior afronta que um adultério. Assiste-lhe, por conseguinte, todo o direito de vingar a sua honra ultrajada; direito este que se converte em obrigação perante a consciência e perante a sociedade!
>
> —Mas...
>
> —Imagine-se casado com Ana Rosa e o outro no gozo perfeito da vida; a criança, já se sabe, parecida com o pai... Pos bem! lá chega um belo dia em que o meu amigo, acompanhando sua família, topa na rua, ou dentro de qualquer casa, com o cabra!... dirão todos?... e, vamos lá, com razão, com toda a razão! E a criança? a criança, se continuar a viver, o que não julgará do basbaque que a educou?... Sim, porque, concença-se de uma coisa! com a existência de Raimundo, o filho deste virá fatalmente a saber de quem descendeu! (*O mulato* 179)

> "Well then! Let me simply remind you that a man of color, a mulatto born slave, violated your wife-to-be and that, you can be sure, represents more affrontery than adultery. You now have all the right to revenge your tarnished image; such a right now becomes an obligation to your conscience and to society!"
>
> "But..."
>
> "Imagine yourself married to Ana Rosa and the other fellow having a ball of his life; the child, we all know, resembles his father... And then, one day, my friend, in the company of your wife, you run into the 'cabra' (half-breed)... What will be your reaction, Mister Dias? How are you going to take it?... What will people not say?... and of course, deservedly so! What about the child? What will the child, if he/she stays alive, think of the fool who raised him/her?... Yes, and get this straight! With the existence of Raimundo, the child will fatally find out his origin!"

The instigation of Dias by priest Diogo fulfills two goals. On the one hand, it allows Diogo to complete his mission of hate by eliminating Raimundo, the

offspring of José do Eleito, whom he had personally killed for contaminating the white race. On the other hand, the situation becomes a mutually beneficial one since for Dias, killing Raimundo will eliminate a rival without him having to worry about guilt and accountability given the backing of a moral institution such as the church. The moral question here goes beyond the corruption of the church and reflects that of the entire society of the time.

In Orlando Mendes's *Portagem*, the contradiction of hybridity is made manifest in the trauma of the protagonist, João Xilim, as he discovers the dilemma of being bi-racial and the prejudices that come along with it. As in the case of Raimundo in *O mulato*, João Xilim always considers himself an offspring of black parents until the epiphanic moment of self-discovery: he is actually an illegitimate child of a white man. Although Kati and Uhulamo are parents he has always known, João Xilim represents the manipulation and deception orchestrated by Patrão Campos, the white boss. Campos is not quite ready to have his fiancée join him from Portugal and in the meantime, he finds solace in an affair with Kati, a black woman. When she becomes pregnant, Campos buys her silence by arranging for Uhulamo, one of his black employees, to marry Kati, offering him money as well as job security in a new position as foreman—an offer he could not refuse. In this hypocritical and illegitimate transaction, João Xilim, the hybrid product of this moral bankruptcy is a double victim. Victimized by his own parents through betrayal and equally victimized by the society which condones such double-standards, he revolts against both institutions as he is torn within himself. João Xilim's discovery of his hybrid identity is as traumatic as that of Raimundo. Both subjects are products of violation and degradation, having to rediscover who they are as opposed to who they thought they were. The drama of Xilim is worthy of further analysis given the cryptic manner in which his identity is revealed. João Xilim has always wondered why he is not as dark as other blacks since he is supposedly born of black parents. Upon confronting Kati, his mother, he gets a mumbled and unconvincing explanation:

> —Por que eu não sou preto como toda a gente? A mãe tartamudeou mas depois falou firme:
> —Tu nasceu mais claro porque nasceu numa noite de lua grande. Mas tu és negro como tua mãe e teu pai.
> João Xilim não se convenceu com a explicação. Mas preferiu não insistir. (*Portagem* 17)

> "Why am I not as black as everyone?" His mother stammered and then spoke firmly:
> "You were born lighter-skinned because you were born on a great moon night. But you are as black as your mother and your father."
> João Xilim was not convinced. But he preferred not to insist.

This state of not-knowing and non-conviction creates a spirit of doubt and curiosity that will later be fulfilled in the text when he finds his mother in an amorous encounter with Patrão Campos. Hiding so as not to be seen by either his mother or the white boss, João Xilim confirms his suspicions:

> Quem seria aquela mulher com quem o

branco da mina andava metido? A negra ria-se, patrão Campos apertava-lhe os seios e encostou-a depois para trás, até a deitar no chão. João Xilim desobriu que a mulher que estava embrulhada com Patrão Campos era a negra Kati, sua mãe. (*Portagem* 20-21)

Who could be that woman with whom the Mines' boss has been messing? The black woman smiled, Boss Campos squeezed her breasts and gradually laid her down on the floor. João Xilim found out that the woman Boss Campos has been wrapping himself around was Kati, the black woman, her mother.

From this point on, João Xilim faces his identity as a burden, what Orlando Mendes appropriately calls "Portagem," a kind of toll payment for being bi-racial. One example of the injustices of racial discrimination is the stigma that it leaves on the victim whenever he is treated differently. On one such occasion, João Xilim expresses his frustration and disenchantment with the Mozambican colonial society when he fails to find a job because he is bi-racial. When he confesses his rage to Rafael, his friend only encourages him to be more patient although João Xilim is fast losing that very patience:

—Toma cuidado, pensa bem!... Agüenta mais pouco.

—Eu já pensei até demais. Mal de mim é ser um mulato. Nossa raça toda gente passa de lado. Outro dia, eu fui numa loja grande. Tinha lá um lugar de contínuo. Quando ouviram dizer no escritório que eu era mulato já não quiseram saber mais nada. Mandaram a mim embora. Se era negro, eu tinha mesmo ficado no lugar. Branco está sempre a pensar que mulato é filho dum crime. E eu também estou a pensar que talvez é mesmo. E preto tem vergonha da gente... (*Portagem* 51)

"Be careful, think about it!... Wait a little longer."

"I have thought about it long enough. My misfortune is being a mulatto. Everyone relegates our kind. The other day, I went to a supermarket. They had a position for a servant. When they heard that I was a mulatto, they did not want to know anything else. They sent me away. If I were a black man, I would have gotten the job. White folks think the mulatto is a criminal. And I am beginning to think, maybe, that's the case. And blacks are ashamed of us..."

In both texts, *O mulato* and *Portagem*, hybridity causes not only the crisis of consciousness but also of identity. The notion of a "happy synthesis" is not only a myth but an aberration to the hybrid subject who carries the burden of survival in both contexts examined. Instead, hybridity is a state of conflict, contradiction, and ambivalence. The dramas of Raimundo and João Xilim reveal two societies embattled by racial prejudice and purity. Both experiences further complicate the advancement of hybridity and related preoccupations as an "escape hatch" in the theorization of cultural differences and identities.

Gilberto Freyre's apologism of Portuguese colonial enterprise in Brazil and Mozambique is questionable through the realities the mulattoes face in both contexts examined. Miscegenation and lusotropicalism are fantastic concepts that are only laudable in theory but unapplicable or faulty in their practical application. Likewise, Homi Bhabha's hybrid aesthetics carries with it nuances and

contradictions that are only harmonizable through what he has called "negotiation." The danger of such a negotiating space that Appiah calls "mid way" or which Gilroy dubs "middle passage" or "the black Atlantic" is the relativization that then obscures the issues of race, history, identity and their relationship with the Other.

The problematization of hybridity is only a point of departure in the questioning of the a-historicity that often accompanies some of these travelling theories. Rather than focus on abstract theorizing, I have used the viability of the hybrid subject as a concrete experience, a concrete reality and a concrete context to discuss the treatment of a supposedly "harmonious" subject, the mulatto who, in principle, should have no difficulty blending with both white and black races since he is an embodiment of both. The paradox is that this same subject is rejected by both races. One who sees him as less of a human being but a "degenerate" and the other, who sees him as a traitor. He is rejected in both worlds, hence João Xilim's cogent lament: "Mal de mim é ser um mulato."

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Canto a los Orixas

by Ana Beatriz Gonçalves

Uno de los aspectos de mayor importancia observados en la literatura afro-brasileña contemporánea es la afirmación de una identidad cultural cuya principal característica es una búsqueda incesante de "unidad", que se traduce por una búsqueda de "one true self... which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (Hall 393). El denominador común, la experiencia de la esclavitud con todas sus consecuencias se hace, de este modo, el punto de unión de los pueblos de la diáspora negra quienes, de acuerdo con Marvin Lewis, "en un esfuerzo para encontrar símbolos e imágenes positivos buscan en África un punto de partida para la construcción de un mundo mítico. El mito representa, en este sentido, "una proyección simbólica de los valores y aspiraciones de los pueblos" (7). Se trata, por lo tanto, de un proceso de afirmación de identidad a través de lo que denominamos recuperación de la africanidad. Tal proceso ocurre a través de lo que Richard Jackson llama "creación a partir de una memoria étnica" (9). Crear presupone, entonces, buscar diferentes aspectos relacionados al continente africano y utilizarlos como punto de unión de los pueblos de la diáspora. Esa búsqueda es descrita por Franz Fanon como "un passionate research... directed by the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self- contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilities us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to the others." (qtd. in Hall: 393)

El escritor afro-brasileño Edimilson de Almeida Pereira, en una colección de poemas, parte de una obra titulada *Corpo Vivido*, utiliza la poesía como forma de expresión y se vale del mito de los Orixas como base para recuperar aspectos de la trayectoria de los negros, desde África hasta la vivencia en el Brasil.

Vale la pena resaltar que, entre los varios pueblos que llegaron como esclavos y que participaron en la formación cultural en ese país, los Yoruba fueron unos de los que más influyeron. En la cultura Yoruba la poesía es considerada el género más importante en la creación textual, siendo que, según el estudioso Bolanle Awe, "casi todos los aspectos de la vida Yoruba se expresan a través de la poesía, y la poesía es la forma literaria más popular para celebrar ocasiones importantes—bodas, funerales, cumpleaños, etc." (qtd. in Risério: 131).

En lo que se refiere a los Orixas, sabemos que las religiones afro-brasileñas, por su misticismo y magia, son discriminadas y negadas en su racionalidad. Comparadas a las religiones europeas, son consideradas "estágios anteriores do desenvolvimento da sociedade humana" (Cacciatore 11). Son, de este modo, denominadas de "crenças inferiores, próprias de pessoas incultas, marcas de nosso subdesenvolvimento" (Cacciatore 8). Sin embargo, a pesar de la discriminación, "a cultura que o negro trouxe para o Brasil... se transformou ao contato de outras, mas suas raízes permanecem ainda vivas e atuantes" (Cacciatore 18). Están, por lo tanto, presentes en el cotidiano de la sociedad brasileña.

El punto en cuestión no es la religión propiamente dicha o las contribuciones de los negros a la cultura brasileña, sino los

criterios utilizados para caracterizar cualquier aspecto cultural que no sea de origen europeo, ya que al establecerse esos criterios, siempre se posiciona la cultura autóctona en el ápice de la escala evolucionaria, haciendo de sus instituciones las más perfectas, superiores y mejores.

Se puede decir, de este modo, que la obra del poeta en primer lugar cuestiona ese posicionamento, en el momento en que, a través de voces marginadas y discriminadas cuestiona la superioridad en lo que se refiere a la concepción del mundo de la Civilización Occidental. En segundo lugar retrata una recuperación de la africanidad a través de la creación a partir de una "memoria étnica": busca en África, más precisamente, en los mitos de origen africano la "era espléndida y bonita", utilizando las palabras de Fanon para, a partir de ahí, buscar la anteriormente referida "unidad", o sea, una identidad positiva del negro brasileño.

En ese trabajo tratamos de analizar de qué manera Edimilson evalúa ese posicionamento superior, o sea, cómo une la poesía, una forma de expresión que al mismo tiempo en que es parte fundamental de una cultura considerada marginal, es también un forma de expresión canonizada, a la cuestión religiosa para recomponer, en la esencia de lo poético, una cosmogonía negra. Es el comienzo de la discusión de algunas cuestiones que creemos fundamentales cuando se trata de recuperar esas voces marginadas.

Cada poema de la colección está dividido en tres partes: un epígrafe relacionada a la historia de un Orixa, un subtítulo y el poema, siempre relacionado al elemento de la naturaleza o a la actividad económica identificada al Orixa, que son definidos como:

> intermediários entre... Oxalá e os homens. Muitos deles são antigos reis, rainhas ou heróis divinizados, os quais representam as vibrações das forças elementares da natureza... atividades econômicas primordiais do homem primitivo... ou minerais, que tanto serviu a essas atividades de sobrevivência como às de extermínio— a guerra. E ainda as grandes ceifadoras de vidas, as doenças epidêmicas... (Cacciatore 197).

Observamos que en casi su totalidad la voz poética está en primera persona del singular, representando la voz de los propios Orixas quienes, como en los cultos afro-brasileños, envían mensajes a veces enigmáticos que necesitan ser decifrados.

El primero empieza con el subtítulo "VISITAÇÃO" y con la figura de Exu, aquel que "se manifesta en tudo aquilo que vem em primeiro lugar" (197), el que sirve de intermediario entre los Orixas y los seres humanos. En los cultos afro-brasileños la figura de Exu es la más controvertida, muchos afirman que trátase de un Orixa, otros dicen que es una entidad diferente, generalmente relacionada a fuerzas malignas. Para algunos estudiosos de los cultos afro-brasileños, la relación entre la imagen de Exu y el Diablo cristiano es una herencia de la época en que el negro era forzado a adoptar la religión impuesta por los jesuítas. De todos modos, en los días de hoy es considerado el que por un lado une y, por el outro, separa; el que, según la mayoría de las leyendas, es el "causador de brigas, calamidades, acidentes e tragédias" (Araia 46). Edimilson utiliza esta imagen confundida de Exu y, a través de ella, representa el primer encuentro entre el blanco colonizador y el negro africano y

sus primeras consecuencias: "O sol ardeu, agora murmura um lamento de chama e nuvem" (197). La imagen del sol representa el caluroso continente africano; el "lamento", la tristeza, el desesperación del negro al ser capturado; la "chama", la imagen del fuego destructor. Niega la vida en la esclavitud: "Tua vida é nunca" (197) al mismo tiempo que afirma la ancestralidad del hombre africano: "mas desde sempre pousada no princípio do mundo" (197).

El segundo poema es "EMISSÁRIOS", o sea, los que son enviados con alguna misión especial. Vale la pena resaltar que trátase de uno de los pocos poemas en toda colección que está en primera persona del plural, o sea, es la voz de los negros como colectivo la que habla aquí. Dividido en tres partes: "o encontro", "encomenda" y "andações" y utilizando aún la imagen controvertida de Exu, que también representa "a vida, com todas as suas contradições e síntese" (199) el poeta retrata, precisamente, la captura de negros africanos y la propia esclavitud: "Nossa morte repousa, vontade merecida de um incêndio" (198), otra vez la imagen del fuego como elemento de destrucción. Representa, en un primer instante, la incomprensión, por parte de los negros, de su destino: "não sabemos porque somos a intenção dos raios" (198). En seguida observamos que para ellos es la voluntad de Oxalá, el Dios Supremo: "mas a encomenda nos acompaña" (199). Retrata, también el sufrimiento del negro esclavo: "serão tantas humilhações que o medo partirá o perfume das flores. / Cada punição há de nos parecer uma indagação sobre a felicidade"(200).

"DESTINAÇÕES" está relacionado a Orumilá, "Deus Supremo, em sua função de senhor do destino" (201). Es el propio Orumilá quien cuestiona el destino de los negros, la esclavitud como institución: "Não, —não há nenhuma verdade—há a hipocrisia e a argila violada" (201), o sea, es la violación del hombre en su forma más esencial y pura. Esa violación genera una pérdida de identidad: "Mudei-me em cão no ruivo das madrugadas. E lá senti a miséria das formas impossíveis" (201). Relaciona el colonizador al demonio, al mismo tiempo que lo niega al compararlos a cenizas, el resultado del fuego que destruye: "Os demônios são impessoais como as máscaras de cinzas" (201). Sin embargo, por ser la voluntad de Oxalá, no pierde la esperanza: "O destino me diverte" (201).

Ifá, "grande Orixá da adivinhação e do destino" (Cacciatore 142), aquel que "revela... como fazer servir o seu Exu pessoal, de maneira a cumprir corretamente o destino que lhe cabe" (202) es el tema de "MAU OLHADO". Relacionando la samba, otra representación de la cultura negra en el Brasil, más precisamente a las escuelas de samba, el poeta retrata la miseria de los negros, su condición inhumana, su "cosificación": "Os carros apodrecem...Narro a aflição dos carros mortos sob a lua de Mestressala...Um bicho que uma criança esmaga" (202). Sin embargo, si por un lado son considerados "no personas", por el otro, es el propio Ifá quien los ayuda a cumplir su destino, a no desistir: "Eu os recomeço com tempo e cores caídas" (202). Afirma la importancia de los negros en la cultura brasileña al mismo tiempo que niega la presencia blanca en ciertos aspectos de esa cultura: "Um deus inominado", o sea el hombre blanco, "não reina nas quadras" (202), local donde las escuelas de samba ensayan durante el año para el Carnaval.

"UM CASAL" presta homenaje a

Ogum, "antes de mais nada, o pioneiro. Vem das florestas, inventa o ferro, fabrica as armas de caça e de guerra..." (203) Simboliza "qualquer transformação que o homem provoca na natureza para deixá-la... à sua disposição" (Araia 9). Representa, de este modo, la utilización del esclavo como mano de obra: "forjamos as lavouras e as estradas" (203).

Otra característica importante de Ogun es la sexualidad. Según Araia, es "um tipo quente, apaixonado, alegre, conquistador, de sexualidade intensa" (12). El poeta se vale de este rasgo para afirmar el aspecto bendito de la sexualidad al mismo tiempo que infiere un aspecto bendito de los negros: "Consagram-nos o diálogo dos pelos abençoados" (203), mientras que afirma el aspecto del guerrero que sabe que va a vencer la batalla: "Ó minha esposa, herdamos os instrumentos todos. Quando o nevoeiro devorar a claridade das florestas, dançaremos as mutilações dos duelos" (203).

Oxossi, "rei da mata, deus da caça, protetor de todos aqueles que tiram o seu sustento da floresta" (204). A través de ese Orixa, el yo lírico refiérese una vez más al sufrimiento de los negros. Utiliza características específicas de Oxossi, para quien "o provocar a morte dos animais só é aceito se tiver como finalidade alimentar os seres humanos ou servir aos rituais litúrgicos, a alimentação dos Orixas" (Araia 32), o sea, sólo se acepta el sufrimiento si tiene alguna finalidad que lo justifique. Los compara a cazadores que se consideran inocentes: "O caçador implora a inocência das entranhas" (204). Sin embargo, verificamos que el sufrimiento de los negros es el sacrificio esperado, ya que ese sufrimiento y la consecuente muerte son las únicas maneras de purificación: "Ó caçador! Ó caçador! Não sois o meu sacrifício? Daí-me o vosso sofrimento. Os ossos acesos da purificação" (204).

"Obaluaê... é um dos deuses da terra. Provoca as epidemias, mas curas também" (205). "A CURA", subtítulo del poema dedicado a ese Orixa, representa el final de una lucha que, a pesar de larga, se vence poco a poco. Tal lucha se define como: "o declínio manso dos infernos inocentes" (205). Destaca una vez más la ancestralidad del africano: "A pulsação da juventude alicia-me os pavores maduros" (205).

Oxumaré, "arco-íris, grande cobra d'água que une o céu e a terra, distribuindo a força sagrada pelo universo" (206). "Durante seis meses é uma divindade masculina, representada pelo arco-íris... durante os outros seis meses... assume a forma feminina, quando então é uma cobra a se arrastar agilmente tanto na terra como na água...é o Orixá do movimento, da ação, da eterna transformação" (39). El subtítulo "CIRCULO" indica esa idea de movimiento, de transformación. La culebra y el arco iris representan la renovación y la sustitución. Es la voz de Oxumaré quien afirma que "na manhã em que o sol se atrasar virei com meu colar de contas" (206), o sea, el arco iris, que por ser el opuesto de la lluvia, tiene un significado positivo, representando la esperanza de mejores días. La culebra, por ser un animal en constante mutación, también simboliza cambios. Sin embargo, por una probable influencia de misioneros católicos, adquiere una connotación negativa. Así, al decir "O arco-iris descobriu a vontade das serpentes" (206), el poeta invierte esa conotación negativa y afirma la necesidad de cambios.

El poeta insiste en la idea de cambios a través de Nanã: "deusa da fertilidade do solo, do grão que morre e renasce" (207).

Orixa femenino, relacionado a la tierra, lleno de misterios escondidos, "pois nela entram os mortos e através dela são modificados para poder nascer novamente" (Araia 46). Es la voz de Nanã que resalta, una vez más, el sentido de esperanza de un futuro mejor: "Conheço meus segredos... São nomes futuros. Ah, a toda criação me asila em gesto de quase infinita espera" (207). Afirma una belleza latente del negro al compararlos a raíces que desabrochan en flores: "Estimo as raízes que me saem destino ou flor espetalada" (207).

Xangô, "orixá do raio e do trovão" (46), "grande rei... foi outrora o quarto monarca da cidade de Oyo, e permanece rei entre os deuses" (208). Xango es la imagen de la justicia y es esa justicia que se exalta en "FESTA", poema dedicado a ese Orixa, a pesar de: "A calma dos machados deseja o inimigo" (208). Resalta el aspecto de una religión impuesta: "Sofri no amor dos anjos" (208). Los ángeles, que deberían traer amor, traen sufrimiento. Sin embargo, triunfa la voz negra: "mas coroei pedra e raio" (208), simbolizando la justicia de Xango, quien decide sobre el bien y el mal: "Ó paz, a pupila rasgada dos incêndios perfuma a celebração dos humilhados" (208). "FESTA", por lo tanto, simboliza el triunfo, la vitoria.

"AMIGA" es el subtítulo del poema dedicado a Iansã, fiel compañera de Xangô, com quien "compartilha o poder do fogo... ambos reinam sobre os raios e as tempestades" (209). Iansã representa la imagen de la fidelidad, de la guerrera que no mide esfuerzos por un ideal: "são de Iansã os personagens que transformam a vida numa grande aventura, numa festa constante, num enfrentar de riscos. Aqueles que repentinamente mudam todo o rumo de sua vida por um amor ou por um ideal" (Araia 11). Es la voz de Iansã que dice: "No reino de pedrassol me espero, permanecerei por amor ao mundo que desvendo" (209), estará siempre al lado de sus hijos, para que comprendan su misión. Por representar la fidelidad, es también quien ofrece apoyo y protección a aquellos que viven como muertos: "No campo, sou a árvore de todos os mortos" (209).

"GESTAÇÃO" que en español significa "gestación", presta homenaje a Oxum, "mãe da riqueza... alegria do sangue das mulheres fecundas" (210). "Tem a seu cargo o dom da fertilidade" (Araia 35). Es también una guerrera que, al contrario de Iansã, prefiere la negociación a la lucha. Así, si por un lado es la imagen de la mujer docil, delicada, por otro representa una lucha disfrazada, como la lucha de los negros: "Meus filhos não conhecem a tempestade que oculto nos olhos" (210). Es a través de esa imagen maternal que se encuentra una voz silenciada con deseos de tener voz: "Antes de perecermos será possível diluir o silêncio que nos adia" (210). Verificamos, también, el rescate de una imagen disociada de la frivolidad: "Temos a vida e a morte como o céu as chuvas tardias. Porque a vida não é só o rio sob as nuvens ou o amor se perdendo nas gemas do corpo esquecido" (210).

Iemanjá, "a mãe, a senhora das origens" (Araia 49), aquela que "encarna a mãe-amante, que se dedica ao jovem e ao adulto"(Araia 49). Es Iemanjá quien "Reina sobre todas as águas do mundo" (211). Iemanjá representa, por lo tanto, la figura de la madre dedicada a la educación del hijo, aquella que está siempre a su lado, que lo acompaña por toda la vida. "AMOR" es el subtítulo del poema dedicado a ese Orixa femenino y es ese amor maternal el único verdadero, incapaz de cualquier injusticia con sus hijos: "Ainda que o céu se quebre não te

condenarei" (211). Representa, también, la imagen de la sabiduría: "Meu ventre respira a sabedoria dos peixes, este amor de algas nos olhos" (211) y, otra vez, de la resistencia: "Suplico-te não mais que a humildade das flores entregues à chuva." (211).

Oxalá, "grande deus da brancura... Dele dependem todos os seres do céu e da terra. Ele é a brancura do indeterminado, o deus de todos os começos e de todas as realizações. A vida e a morte abrigam-se debaixo do seu pálio" (212). De este modo, "PRINCIPIO", subtítulo del poema, representa el renacer, el recomenzar: "As árvores presenciam a criação do mundo / Sendo eu a respiração das aves, serei novamente água e árvore" (212).

Es, por lo tanto, la voz de Oxalá que completa el ciclo iniciado com Exu, un ciclo de afirmación de identidad donde los distintos Orixas "hablan" a sus hijos, enviándoles mensajes de optimismo. Esos mensajes son, a veces, verdaderos enigmas que, como en los cultos afro-brasileños necesitan ser descifrados. Sin embargo, esa característica enigmática es común en los textos negros, como observa Henry Louis Gates, Jr. en un ensayo titulado "Criticism in the Jungle". Para él, "the heritage of each black text written in a western language is... two toned" (4), una vez que "black people have always been masters of the figurative: saying one thing to mean something quite other has been basic to black survival in oppressive Western cultures." (6) Se puede decir, así, que Edimilson sigue esa trayectoria inaugurada con los varios movimientos de afirmación negra, pues al utilizar un aspecto tan marcante de la cultura afro-brasileña, establece a través de su poesía una identidad positiva del negro brasileño.

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Las lanzas coloradas: *El anti-buen salvaje de Rousseau*

by Nuria Cruz-Cámara

Domingo Miliani destaca el aspecto histórico de *Las lanzas coloradas*, del escritor venezolano Arturo Uslar Pietri:

> [L]a obra bosqueja un cuadro colectivo, no sólo de la Venezuela de 1814, sino la perspectiva histórica y evolutiva, la sociedad en devenir, desde el punto inicial del arribo del conquistador hispánico ... pasando por el proceso de la sociedad asentada en base de colonia feudal- esclavista ... hasta llegar a los albores de la guerra emancipadora.... (293-94)

La novela, en efecto, presenta hechos históricos como trasfondo de su argumento. Su objetivo, sin embargo, no es presentar una crónica de los hechos del pasado, sino una interpretación de los procesos que configuraron la sociedad venezolana: "la sociedad en devenir."

La incorporación intertextual del pensamiento de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, por otra parte, plantea un cuestionamiento sobre la posibilidad de alcanzar el establecimiento de una sociedad pacífica. Se puede afirmar que toda la novela dialoga con la filosofía política del escritor suizo. A través de él, surge asimismo el pensamiento del filósofo inglés Thomas Hobbes, a quien Rousseau responde directamente en varias ocasiones. *Las lanzas coloradas* nos presenta la contradicción entre la idealización de la naturaleza humana y la realidad de ésta. En la novela queda desmitificado el mito del buen salvaje de Rousseau, que viene a ser el mito del paraíso perdido.

En el capítulo cuarto Fernando Fonta asiste a una reunión de los independentistas. Allí se citan las palabras textuales con que el filósofo abre *El contrato social*: "El hombre es nacido libre, y por todo él está entre los hierros. Tal se cree el dueño de los otros que no deja de ser más esclavo que ellos. ¿Cómo este cambio se ha hecho? Yo lo ignoro. ¿Dónde está lo que puede hacerlo legítimo? Yo creo poder resolver esta cuestión" (165-66). Los jóvenes patriotas creen también que "[s]i la humanidad se hubiera mantenido siempre en estado de naturaleza ... no habría conocido la esclavitud" (166). Este estado se corresponde con la teoría del buen salvaje, según la cual el hombre es bueno por naturaleza, y es la sociedad la que lo corrompe y lo vuelve contra sus propio hermanos.

La presentación de estas teorías provoca en todos los asistentes gran exaltación y entusiasmo. El narrador omnisciente revela en seguida, sin embargo, la escasa o nula profundidad con que analizan estas cuestiones: "A nadie se le ocurría pensar de un modo más o menos filosófico sobre la verdadera esencia de las doctrinas. Sólo sabían aceptarlas o rechazarlas calurosamente" (166). Por ello, abundan las afirmaciones simplistas sobre el modo de alcanzar la felicidad humana: la democracia pondría fin a todos sus males, ya que "en ella tornarán a ser felices como cuando aun estaban en estado de naturaleza" (167). El paso al sistema democrático se contempla, asimismo, como una transición sencilla y pacífica: "Es imposible que cuando todos los hombres conozcan las ventajas de la democracia no la proclamen inmediatamente.... La acción de la democracia será milagrosa.... De la noche a la mañana, por la sola virtud de su verdad, cambiará la

faz del mundo" (167).

Las lanzas contradice la lectura ingenua de la obra de Rousseau que los patriotas llevan a cabo, y nos ofrece, a través de los acontecimientos que narra, su propia interpretación de las teorías del filósofo suizo. La concepción de la naturaleza humana que se desprende de la novela se sitúa en el extremo opuesto de los bellos ideales que los patriotas abrazan. Los hombres que se mueven en sus páginas se acercan más bien a la idea de Hobbes: el hombre es agresivo por naturaleza. *Las lanzas* nos presenta, a través de la narración de la guerra de la Independencia venezolana, una visión absolutamente pesimista de la esencia del ser humano, que parece regirse por un afán desmesurado de poder, destrucción, sangre y venganza.

Para Rousseau, por otra parte, estos impulsos destructivos son la consecuencia de la corrupción que la sociedad ha llevado a cabo en el ser humano. Examinemos con más detalle la filosofía político-social de Rousseau, para luego compararla a los procesos históricos que en la novela delínean el devenir de la sociedad venezolana. En *A Discourse on the Origins and the Foundations of Inequality among Men*, Rousseau expone sus ideas sobre la fundación de la sociedad civil y la evolución del individuo en ella. Para Rousseau el estado de naturaleza existió realmente. En este estado, el individuo se dejaba llevar sólo por sus instintos, y vivía en paz, inocencia y felicidad. Este "hombre salvaje" era naturalmente bueno, siendo una de sus virtudes la compasión: "I speak of compassion, a disposition well suited to creatures as weak and subject to as many ills as we are, a virtue all the more universal, and all the more useful to man in that it comes before any kind of reflection, and is so natural a virtue that even beasts sometimes show perceptible signs of it" (99). En el estado de naturaleza, además, no existían peleas de importancia: "When men had such inactive passions, and such a salutary curb, when they were wild rather than wicked, and more intent on protecting themselves ... than tempted to do harm to others, they were not prone to especially dangerous quarrels" (102). Rousseau, contradiciendo a Hobbes, afirma que en aquel entonces la humanidad, en suma, vivía en paz: "Reasoning on his [Hobbes's] own principles, that writer ought to have said that the state of nature ... is the one most conducive to peace and the most suited to mankind" (98).

Rousseau encuentra el origen de la sociedad civil en la idea de la propiedad, que va unida al comienzo de la agricultura: "The first man who, having enclosed a piece of land, thought of saying 'This is mine' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society" (109); "From the cultivation of the land, its division necessar-ily followed..." (117). A partir de aquí comenzaron las desigualdades entre los seres humanos, con la consiguiente corrupción de la inocencia y la bondad del estado de naturaleza. Surgen entonces el sentimiento de venganza y la crueldad: "[R]evenge became terrible, and men grew bloodthirsty and cruel" (114). La desigualdad provoca el *amour- propre*, esto es, el deseo de ser superior a los otros: "*amour-propre* which I have tranlated as 'pride'; it is the desire to be superior to others and to be admired by them"

(Cranston 39). Esta pasión por superar a los otros provoca, según Rousseau, "a dark propensity to injure one another, a secret jealousy..." (119).

Este estado de cosas, producto, como mencionábamos, de la propiedad y la desigualdad, conduce por fin al estado de guerra: "Nascent society gave place to the most horrible state of war" (Rousseau 120). El peligro constante a que el individuo se ve sometido en este estado lleva a la instauración del contrato social, esto es, un acuerdo por el que todos se comprometen a obedecer a una autoridad. Este es el origen de la sociedad y de las leyes. Rousseau opina que este contrato no hizo sino perpetuar las desigualdades ya existentes entre pobres y ricos:

> Such was, or must have been, the origin of society and of laws, which put new fetters on the weak and gave new powers to the rich, which irretrievably destroyed natural liberty, established for all time the law of property and inequality ... and for the benefit of a few ambitious men subjected the human race to labour, servitude and misery. (122)

El proceso de desigualdad siguió varias etapas, siendo la última aquélla basada en la relación amo/esclavo: "that of master and slave, which is the last degree of inequality, and the stage to which all the others finally lead until new revolutions dissolve the government alto-gether or bring it back to legitimacy" (Rousseau 131).

Como señalaba Miliani, podemos observar que en *Las lanzas* se presenta la evolución de Venezuela desde la Conquista a la Guerra de la Independencia. Si comparamos esta trayectoria con el pensamiento de Rousseau, se puede concluir que la sociedad colonial es el fruto de un contrato social fraudulento. Se corresponde, además, con la etapa que el filósofo identifica con la relación amo/esclavo. La fundación de esta sociedad queda simbolizada en la novela por los antepasados de Fernando e Inés Fonta, quienes representan el orden colonial. El territorio anterior a la llegada de los conquistadores se puede relacionar con el mito del Paraíso. Los indios serían seres inocentes que vivían en paz y armonía, tal como el "buen salvaje" de Rousseau vivía en el estado de naturaleza, condición primitiva del ser humano antes de la institución de las sociedades. La llegada de los conquistadores españoles supone la ruptura de este estado: "[A]lgunos penetraban hacia el centro, y todos adquirían su encomienda de indígenas, erigían una horca, fundaban una ciudad, y con los indios indolentes se daban a romper la tierra virgen para buscar oro o para sembrarla" (*Las Lanzas* 128). La tierra virgen es anterior al comienzo de la agricultura y de la propiedad. Los conquistadores, pues, habrían instaurado las bases de la sociedad civil en América.

El acto de don Juan de Arcedo simboliza y sintetiza la injusticia y la violencia que se encuentran en el origen de la sociedad colonial: "Al cabo de un mes llegó a un valle que le pareció conveniente. Clavó una pica en tierra, proclamó solemnemente que tomaba posesión de aquel sitio, que en adelante se llamaría 'El Altar,' erigió una cabaña e hizo dar muerte a un indio, para con ese primer acto de justicia dar comienzo a su jurisdicción" (129). El comienzo de la sociedad colonial se basa, pues, en la apropiación arbitraria de tierras, en la proclamación de la propiedad, y en el uso de la violencia y la fuerza como fuentes de autoridad. Es significativo el

nombre de la hacienda, "El Altar," como luego veremos, así como el paralelismo entre la muerte del indio y la muerte del esclavo negro que Presentación Campos lleva a cabo cuando se rebela contra sus amos.

Uslar Pietri describe el orden colonial en estos términos: "El orden del mundo colonial hispánico va a quedar roto y destruido. Un orden fundado en la religión, la monarquía castellana y la obediencia ciega a la autoridad. Un orden fundado sobre el deber y la desigualdad...." (*Del hacer* 76). Una de las desigualdades básicas de esta sociedad es, sin duda, su fundación sobre principios racistas y esclavistas: "[Los independentistas] retan a los orgullosos blancos a considerar que los hombres de color les son iguales" (78).

El estallido de la guerra de la Independencia supone, como apunta Uslar Pietri, la destrucción de este orden injusto. *Las lanzas*, pues, recrea el proceso de creación de un contrato social fraudulento y su consiguiente destrucción. La situación de guerra, por otro lado, implica el regreso a la sociedad pre-civil. De aquí debería surgir otra sociedad fundada en un nuevo contrato social, cuyo ideal consistiría en la democracia preconizada en el capítulo cuarto. Pero vemos cómo los ideales que se plantean los independentistas quedan totalmente destruidos a lo largo de la novela.

La destrucción del orden colonial la lleva a cabo, en un acto simbólico--que no por ello pierde nada de su brutalidad —Presentación Campos. Uslar Pietri contempla la historia como un hacer y un deshacer, proceso en el que el fuego simboliza la destrucción previa necesaria para la construcción de algo nuevo:

> Toda historia es el proceso de un hacer y un deshacer. Se derribaron árboles para hacer casas, se mataron animales para hacer abrigos con sus pieles.... El fuego es el gran símbolo de esa ondición. Fuerza destructiva por excelencia, que el hombre convirtió en el primer instrumento de la civilización. (*Del hacer y deshacer* 7)

Es significativo, entonces, que Campos destruya "El Altar" mediante el fuego, adquiriendo así la hacienda categoría de lugar simbólico donde se realiza el sacrificio de la sociedad colonial: "[N]o hay creación sin sacrificio" (Cirlot 395). El papel de Campos dentro de la novela, por otra parte, encierra cierta ambivalencia. Es, por una parte, producto de sus circunstancias histórico-sociales; por otra parte, es el hombre "natural" que Hobbes retrata en el estado de naturaleza.

Examinaremos, en primer lugar, la dimensión social del protagonista. El mulato sintetiza todos los conflictos de esta sociedad que separa a sus individuos en castas inamovibles, de acuerdo con la raza a la que pertenecen. Presentación es la personificación perfecta de una sociedad que, como señala Uslar Pietri, ya lleva en sí toda la violencia que se desataría durante la guerra de la Independencia:

> El proceso del hacer y del deshacer es continuo, sólo que hay etapas en que reviste formas de violencia.
>
> En la etapa colonial están presentes todas las fuerzas y la mayor parte de las circunstancias de las que más tarde parece alimentarse la violencia. (*Del hacer y deshacer* 8)

La guerra de la Independencia constituye, idealmente, la búsqueda de una sociedad justa e igualitaria que, sin embargo, "caerá en sangriento fracaso ante la violenta

reacción de las circunstancias sociales que no fueron suficientemente tenidas en cuenta" (*Del hacer y deshacer* 100-101). Campos es el producto de estas circunstancias sociales, así como el exponente de un hombre que no lucha por el ideal de la patria, sino por un conflicto de clases y de razas. Como afirma Jorge A. Marban, Campos "es uno de esos hombres... cuyas motivaciones y psicología resultan de particular interés para entender ese convulso período histórico" (72). Son varios los autores que destacan el carácter de lucha de castas que tuvo la guerra de la Independencia venezolana. Antonio Isea comenta sobre la situación de opresión en que vivía la población de color, quien aprovechó "el conflicto bélico como la única salida de la situación de opresión en la que estaban" (28). Isea concluye que "la etapa final del conflicto bélico puede entenderse como un enfrentamiento entre la población de color y la élite blanca criolla" (28). Campos, significatvamente, se une a Boves, quien "[a]gitaba al pueblo al grito de '¡mueran los blancos y los ricos!'" (Parra 167). La Guerra se convierte así en "una ocasión de romper las limitaciones de la estructura jerarquizada que lo había colocado hasta entonces en los peldaños inferiores de la sociedad" (Marban 73). El ideal por el que se lucha—la democracia—no se halla, pues, en la realidad del campo de batalla. No se lucha por ideas, sino por el control del poder. Ya encontramos aquí la primera oposición entre los ideales y la realidad.

Estas circunstancias dan lugar a que Campos presente la condición de hombre marginal en la sociedad colonial. El mayordomo de "El Altar" posee muchos de los rasgos que Everett V. Stonequist atribuye al hombre marginal, cuya situación se describe como sigue:

> Briefly, it is a contrast, tension or conflict of social groups divergent in race or possessing distinct cultures in which members of one group are seeking to adjust themselves to the group believed to possess greater prestige and power. The groups are in a relationship of inequality. ... The individuals of the subordinate or minority group ... are on the margin of each society, partly in and partly out. (121)

Elizabeth Harrison estudia a Campos bajo esta luz, destacando su agresividad y su sed de poder, impulsos que surgen del deseo de incorporarse al grupo de los blancos: "His thirst for power, the desire to command and to be the master are indications of his desire for membership in the dominant social group" (23). Esto se relaciona con el complejo de inferioridad común en la personalidad del hombre marginal, que a menudo se convierte en complejo de superioridad: "The consequence of the feeling of inferiority is a constant striving to find a situation in which the individual can excel.... A 'superiority complex' may then develop as a compensation for the 'inferiority complex.'" (Stonequist 148). Este rasgo es quizás el que más sobresale en Campos, cuyo deseo de dominación es obsesivo. La novela abunda en comentarios que ponen este punto en evidencia. Basten un par de ellos como ejemplos: "Iba alto y orgulloso. Se sentía como señoreando los hombres y las cosas. Hubiera querido destruir para poner a prueba su fuerza" (191):

> Su voz fustigaba a los hombres y los hacía obedecer temerosamente. Se sentía satisfecho de su superioridad. Tenían que obedecerle. Estaba arriba, arriba de todos, como cuando estaba a caballo

sobre la bestia temblorosa dominada por las fuertes manos.

Era un hombre hecho para mandar. (191)

Harrison llama asimismo la atención sobre el rechazo por parte de Campos a pertenecer a ninguno de los dos grupos sociales. Desprecia a los esclavos negros, de los que se siente totalmente ajeno. Desprecia, también, a sus amos, a quienes considera débiles y fuera de la realidad. Campos sufre de lo que Stonequist denomina "double consciousness" (145): "We develop an idea of ourselves through imagining their judgement of that appearance .... In the case of the marginal man it is as if he were placed simultaneously between two looking glasses, each presenting a sharply different image of himself" (145). Campos se ve a sí mismo como amo: "Los amos. Él era Presentación Campos, y donde estaba no podía mandar nadie más.... No sabía obedecer. Tenía carne de amo" (123). Sin embargo, es visto por sus amos como esclavo. Inés se refiere a él con estas palabras: "Y fue él, mi esclavo, mi perro, el que se alzó contra mí" (276). Su sed de poder, entonces, es fruto de la necesidad de definir la identidad que él considera verdadera: ser jefe. Esto lo consigue alzando a los esclavos de la hacienda en rebeldía.

El liderazgo es también común en el hombre marginal. Los casos que destaca Stonequist se refieren a individuos que emprenden la tarea de guiar al grupo oprimido hacia su liberación. Judith R. Berzon señala asimismo la frecuente condición del mulato como líder de su raza, destacando que la acción se dirige a elevar el estatus de la raza negra (214). Esto es lo que aparentemente lleva a cabo Campos: impulsa a los esclavos a romper las cadenas e ir a la guerra. La guerra, como vuelta a la sociedad pre-civil, implica la ausencia de autoridad estable, y la posibilidad de establecer un nuevo orden de cosas. Campos, sin embargo, no parece guiar a los esclavos hacia su salvación, sino que los *fuerza* a seguirlo. Es inevitable que la escena en que Campos mata al esclavo que se resiste a obedecerle rememore la de Juan de Arcedo dando muerte al indio. Campos funda igualmente su poder en el uso de la fuerza. Su objetivo en la guerra es, además del poder, el botín, esto es, la adquisición de propiedades. Ya en pleno estado de guerra, pues, se adivinan los perfiles de la futura sociedad civil que surgirá de ésta.

Nos encontramos, entonces, en una situación que se asemeja tanto al estado de guerra imaginado por Rousseau como por Hobbes. La semejanza de ambos autores es destacada por Maurice Cranston: "At this point, Rousseau's argument is like Hobbes's. Indeed, while Rousseau rejects Hobbes's claim that the state of nature is a state of war between each and all, he gives a Hobbesian picture of the state of society as it was before the introduction, by a 'social contract,' of political institutions" (41). Una diferencia importante entre los dos filósofos se refiere al origen de este estado de guerra: "For Hobbes war springs from natural aggressiveness; for Rousseau war first began with the unequal division of possessions in the context of scarcity, coupled with a corruption of the human passions which was the work of culture rather than of nature" (Cranston 41). Dado que esta situación de escasez no se da en la sociedad colonial (una sociedad con todas las instituciones políticas bien establecidas, por otra parte) parece que la

guerra de la novela se acerca más a una regresión al estado de naturaleza descrito por Hobbes. Así, será entonces necesario cuestionarse estas palabras de Harrison: "The difference between our protagonist's thirst for destruction and the destructiveness of the war that is all around him is Presentacion's total lack of ideological motivation" (24). Es bien obvio que Campos no lucha por el ideal de la patria, pero la falta de ideología es común en casi todos los personajes que aparecen en *Las lanzas*. Los ideales patrióticos exaltados en las asambleas de los jóvenes republicanos del capítulo cuarto desaparecen en el campo de batalla. Así, Fernando Fonta, quien duda continuamente sobre si ir o no a la guerra, se decide a ir finalmente sólo a causa de la destrucción de su hacienda y del ultraje a su hermana Inés. Su motivación, pues, es la ira y la venganza. Una vez en el estado natural de guerra, vemos que todo su comportamiento se rige por el miedo, siendo éste el segundo rasgo que Hobbes atribuye a la naturaleza humana en el estado de naturaleza. El supuesto idealismo de David, por otra parte, no deja de ser, como él mismo reconoce, una máscara literaria: "Él suspiró aparatosamente. Como todos los hombres de la Europa de su tiempo, vivía y padecía en romanticismo. Sentía delectación en mostrarse ante los demás como un personaje extraño y misterioso, perseguido por el dolor y guiado por la fatalidad" (186). Tras hablar de su continua lucha por la libertad, el narrador comenta: "Para el capitán eran frases banales que había oído y repetido infinitas veces, y leído hasta la saciedad en todos los libros en boga" (186). Por ello, la interpretación de Isea resulta igualmente problemática:

> Capítulo tras capítulo, el texto nos pone frente a un cuadro dantesco en el cual Presentación Campos se erige como el gran verdugo de la obra.... Tal imagen priva a Presentación Campos de su dimensión humana. Consecuentemente, este personaje no puede ser percibido como el sujeto marginado que lucha contra un sistema racista que lo oprime. (28-29)

Ya hemos visto que Campos sí presenta los rasgos del sujeto marginal en oposición a la sociedad racista que lo oprime. Isea, asimismo, opina que la novela "opta por perpetuar el estereotipo del sujeto mulato como un animal de presa" (29), y que Campos es el representante de la barbarie:

> En suma, Presentación y su tropa son el paradigma del discurso de la barbarie en este texto. Por otra parte, el discurso civilizador y modernizante inherente a esta obra se encuentra representado por los personajes de Fernando Fonta, Bernardo Lazola y el oficial inglés George David. Los dos primeros, Fonta y Lazola, son los intelectuales de la clase acomodada, los blancos criollos, los hombres que, aparentemente, persiguen un ideal. (26)

Tanto el personaje de Fernando Fonta como el del inglés David, como hemos visto, están lejos de la persecución de ningún ideal. Boves (hombre blanco), asimismo, se igualará a Campos como representante del discurso de la barbarie, aspecto que comentaremos más adelante. Lo que lleva a cabo Uslar Pietri en *Las lanzas* es la desidealización de la naturaleza humana. Ya señala Miliani que Uslar Pietri huye del romanticismo a la hora de presentar las luchas de la independencia: "El factor inductivo en la actividad del

novelista es ... reaccionar contra el romanticismo sobreviviente, proclive a dibujar las gestas americanas con lápiz de inmaculado heroísmo" (297). La novela recrea un estado de guerra en la que los individuos se comportan según el concepto de la naturaleza humana que Hobbes decribe en *Leviathan*. A la dimensión social de Campos se une, así, su condición de hombre natural. De este modo lo percibe el capitán David: "Usted no sabe lo que es esto. Usted es un hombre de la Naturaleza" (181).

Hobbes considera que en el estado de naturaleza el ser humano presenta la siguiente condición: "Continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man [is] solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (82). Existe, igualmente, una constante sed de poder: "So that in the first place, I put for a general inclination of all mankind, a perpetual and restless desire of power after power, that ceaseth only in death" (64). Así, si Campos es un hombre impulsado a la guerra por una sociedad injusta, es asimismo un individuo que se encuentra en estado de naturaleza. Alan Ryan interpreta de este modo la idea de Hobbes: "The state of nature is simply the condition where we are forced into contact with each other in the absence of a superior authority that can lay down and enforce rules to govern our behavior toward each other" (217-18). Ryan destaca que el estado de naturaleza al que se refiere Hobbes es más bien una especie de guerra civil: "so not only was the state of nature a historical fact but relapse into it was a standing danger. Indeed, the state of nature with which Hobbes is concerned is more nearly the condition of civilized people deprived of stable government than anything else" (218).

En este estado el individuo se conduce por tres impulsos básicos, que son las tres causas de la guerra: "First, competition; secondly, diffidence; thirdly, glory" (Hobbes 81). Es este último, que consiste en el deseo de ganar reputación, el que más impide la paz (Hobbes 81). Como apunta Ryan, este impulso conduce necesariamente al conflicto: "Vain Glory is satiable only when we come top of the heap.... There logically cannot be more than one top position; if that is what we seek, the conflict between ourselves and others is absolute" (221-22).

Es obvio que el mayor deseo de Campos es dominar y ejercer el poder sobre el resto. Pertenece a esa clase de hombres que poseen "bolder characters": "Some people have bolder characters and perhaps a taste for violence; they will present a problem, since they will not be moved by the fear of death that moves most of us to desire peace" (Ryan 223). Pero el mulato no es el único que presenta esta característica. Boves es del mismo tipo, un hombre que sólo se mueve por el afán de poder y el ansia de destrucción. A Boves, de hecho, se le identifica continuamente con el Diablo: "Aquel era Boves, el amo de la legión infernal, el hijo del Diablo, la primera lanza del Llano" (266). Representa, así, el Mal absoluto, que para Hobbes es el deseo de poder dirigido por la vanagloria: "the striving after power which is characteristic of the human individual may, in Hobbes's view, be evil; it is so when it is directed by Pride" (Oakeshott liv). El mismo defecto aqueja, pues, a Campos y a Boves. Al aparecer éste como una figura lejana y estilizada—además de ser blanco—, pierde la dimensión social que observábamos en Campos, y pasa a representar la agresividad natural que Hobbes achaca al ser humano.[1] Ambos personajes, además, aparecen muy unidos

al caballo: "[Presentación] [e]staba arriba, arriba de todos, como cuando estaba a caballo sobre la bestia temblorosa dominada por las fuertes manos" (51); "En la penumbra, sobre el caballo negro, volvió a encenderse la sonrisa de Boves" (269). Así, se los puede identificar con la figura mitológica del centauro, que simboliza "la situación en que el elemento inferior (fuerza cósmica no dominada por el espíritu, instintos, inconsciente) domina plenamente" (Cirlot 124).

En *Las lanzas*, pues, se desecha la bondad natural del ser humano, cuya existencia Rousseau afirmaba en el estado de naturaleza. Uslar Pietri, de hecho, no cree en la realidad de este mito terrenal de felicidad e inocencia. Sobre la creencia de los primeros conquistadores en el hallazgo del paraíso terrenal en América comenta: "Él [Colón] por ejemplo piensa que ha encontrado el paraíso terrenal. [...] [Q]ue ese gran mito de la civilización antigua de que los hombres vivieron una vez en la felicidad plena, eso no era un mito literario sino era una realidad..." (*Arturo Uslar* 111). El estado de guerra contra todos que la novela refleja parece romper con toda posibilidad de conservar la inocencia. El mayor defecto, la vanagloria, se ha apoderado de todos: "sienten que ya no podrá vivir nadie más nunca. Sienten con desesperación que los hombres ya no sabrán hacer otra cosa que destruirse mutuamente, y temen que sus vidas sean un pecado horrendo que castiga un dios implacable" (*Las lanzas* 243).

Parece ya imposible que una sociedad feliz surja después de tanta masacre y crueldad. Tras el salvaje linchamiento a que es sometido Carlos Irón, Fernando Fonta reflexiona en estos términos: "Fernando se horrorizaba reconstruyendo la escena. Era un mal destino que se había atravesado en todas las vidas y las había alterado. Todos sabían que ya no podrían ser lo que hubieran debido ser" (41). Se apunta a la idea de un pecado original en el hombre o, al menos, al reconocimiento de que el hombre no puede ser más que lo que es: "ese ser adquisitivo y competitivo" (Uslar Pietri, "Proyecto" 49). Para Uslar Pietri, no hay otro tipo de relación que no sea de poder: "[T]oda relación entre los hombres es una relación de poder, toda relación, no hay otra" (*Arturo Uslar* 117). La agresividad, extremada en el estado natural de guerra, sería entonces consustancial con el ser humano, tal como piensa David: "El mundo no se ha hecho, Inés, para lo mejor. Por eso, justamente, es difícil explicarlo. La guerra está en él, y nadie la ha traído, ni nadie podrá quitarla" (126).

Tanto el personaje de Campos como el de Boves son la negación de la posibilidad de llegar a la democracia de una forma pacífica. Se pone así en evidencia el error de los patriotas del capítulo cuarto. La búsqueda de la sociedad ideal es compleja, y el choque entre los ideales y la realidad es inevitable. Los ideales—expresados en la asamblea de los patriotas—eran la bondad natural del ser humano y la posibilidad de crear una democracia igualitaria. La realidad era una sociedad, la colonial, pasivamente violenta —por su radical racismo y clasismo—, así como una condición humana regida por la competitividad y el ansia de poder.

La democracia no llegaría a Venezuela, en efecto, de esa manera milagrosa—por la sóla virtud de su verdad—en la que los independentistas creían. El pesimismo que se desprende de la novela queda justificado al contemplar la historia política de Venezuela tras la Independencia, sembrada de diversos caudillos dictatoriales.[2]

Las lanzas, pues, supone la negación del mito del buen salvaje de Rousseau. Refleja el choque entre idealismo y realidad, con el resultado de que alcanzar lo soñado es imposible: "Esta distancia entre las doctrinas y la realidad, entre lo prometido y lo alcanzable, entre los principios y los hombres, constituirá el signo trágico de toda la Primera República ..." (Uslar Pietri, *Del hacer* 98). La figura mítica de Bolívar, por otro lado, deja una nota de esperanza al final de la novela. En todo caso, Uslar Pietri no parece renunciar a la búsqueda de la democracia, la cual se plantea como un reto en el que se hallan comprometidos no sólo Venezuela, sino todos los pueblos latinoamericanos. Desmitificar la figura del buen salvaje no implica la adopción de un pesimismo que renuncie a la lucha por una sociedad más justa. Por el contrario, esta labor de enfrentamiento a la realidad de la naturaleza humana es necesaria si se quiere llegar a alcanzar un orden democrático que no quede destruido por un excesivo y engañoso idealismo.

Notas

[1]Es interesante, por otra parte, que Boves sea un personaje que existió en la realidad, y cuya fama de sanguinario está bien extendida. Domingo Miliani lo describe así en una nota a la edición de Cátedra de *Las lanzas*: "José Tomás Boves (1782-1814) constituye una de las figuras más crueles entre los oficiales que lucharon del lado realista durante la guerra de Independencia ... Se radicalizó en la crueldad, adquirió fama de sanguinario entre los patriotas ..." (185).

[2]El propio Uslar Pietri nació y creció bajo la dictadura de Juan Vicente Gómez, que Miliani califica como "la más larga y feroz dictadura que hemos padecido" (280).

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Lo africano en algunas obras de Quince Duncan

by Donald K. Gordon

Quince Duncan, de ascendencia jamaiquina, es decir africana, de padre afropanameño y madre afrocostarricense, nació en San José en 1940, y creció en Limón. Él rechaza el mito de la superioridad blanca, e insta a los negros a que se vean a sí mismos de manera muy positiva, por su herencia. Éste es un credo esencial en los varios géneros que el autor practica. Entre sus cuatro colecciones de cuentos se incluyen *Los cuentos del Hermano Araña* (1975), *La Rebelión Pocomía y otros relatos* (1976); entre sus cinco novelas *La paz del pueblo* (1978), *Final de calle* (1981) que ganó el concurso Editorial Costa Rica correspondiente a 1978, y *Kimbo* (1989); y entre sus varios ensayos, una destacada colección *El negro en Costa Rica* (1972), en colaboración con el profesor Carlos Meléndez, más una antología *El negro en la literatura costarricense* (1975).

En *El negro en Costa Rica* Duncan asevera con toda claridad que "el concepto de África como un continente de pueblos 'primitivos' es una generalización producto de los racistas europeos" (112). Junto con aquella generalización está el odio dirigido al negro. En la novela de búsqueda de identidad *Los cuatro espejos* (1973), Cristian Bowman es rechazado por su propio padre: "Vos no sos hijo mío, yo tuve padres con sangre europea. Vos sos más negro que un condenado salvaje africano" (61). En esta misma novela, Duncan indica lo soso del racismo en que la blanca Ester se casa con el negro Charles, y es ella quien temía tanto a los negros, asustada en su niñez de "si no haces esto...te va a llevar el negro...ahora sí, el negro viene por vos" (103). En el marido de Ester, Charles, enfoca la crisis de identidad. Éste, de vuelta en Limón, y visitando a Victoria a quien había abandonado, se da cuenta ahora de que había abandonado a su pueblo, a los suyos, y se pregunta: "¿había optado equivocadamente por una escala de valores contraria a la esencia de mi ser?" (153). Ha comprobado que "uno no puede huir de sí mismo" (146), hallazgo expresado antes por el protagonista Clif en la novela *Hombres curtidos* (1971), explicando su vuelta a Limón: "busco mis propias raíces" (4).

La búsqueda de las raíces va de acuerdo con la propia visión de Duncan quien se remonta a África para ligar sus tradiciones con el nuevo mundo, y enaltecer la diáspora negra, y los valores de África en ella. En la obra ensayística *El negro en Costa Rica* indica que en este país las logias, de ascendencia africana, eran de gran hermandad, y que existían la pocomía o pocomanía caracterizada por las posesiones de espíritu, y "obeah" que significa poder espiritual, sobrenatural. El impacto de Marcus Garvey, jamaiquino de nacimiento, y visionario del poder negro universal, y quien había estado tres veces entre los negros de Limón, está reflejado en *La paz del pueblo* en Pedro, impresionado por una reunión de seguidores de Garvey en que "le hablaron de poderosos zulúes, de Etiopía inmortal, del regreso al continente, de una construcción de una patria para el negro" (175). El efecto es que Pedro nunca se doblegará.

África es pues, una fuente de fuerza y vigor. También es la cuna del sentido rítmico, que Duncan identifica como

herencia africana en el poeta cubano Nicolás Guillén, el trompetista estadounidense Louis Armstrong, y el cantante de calipsos The Mighty Sparrow de Trinidad y Tobago (*El negro en Costa Rica*, 113).

El pueblo de herencia africana debe ser consciente de las cadencias rítmicas como un aporte de su pasado, de sus tradiciones, y el ritmo ayuda a definir la identidad. Duncan aboga por la autoafirmación del negro para conferir sentido a su mundo, y lo hace a menudo en contradicción a los credos eurocéntricos con sus estereotipos contra el negro.

En su autoafirmación del negro, y en su oposición a los estereotipos eurocéntricos, Duncan está buscando un equilibrio más justo. *Final de calle* muestra que él no teme criticar a quienes hayan traicionado las causas dignas; y a la vez la novela demuestra la utilización de un leitmotif eficaz en apoyo del mensaje de firmeza. La expresión "crucé los cerros," del narrador Carlos, repetida a través de la obra, tiene tanto un sentido literal de cuando él había cruzado los cerros con Fermín Solano y Salchicha Gutiérrez luchando por sus ideales, como un sentido figurativo en que no los renunciará como lo hicieron Solano y Gutiérrez.

El leitmotif, recurso estilístico, nace aquí de una geografía física. Otro recurso de Duncan, el símil, se puede ver enraizado en lo africano, como reflexión de su patrimonio. En el cuento "El candidato," de la colección *La Rebelión Pocomía* con su título africanista, el candidato Olman, que no ha tenido éxito, hace una apelación a los delegados, valiéndose de la herencia africana en profundizar sus comparaciones: "Hubo fraude ... como el eco de un tambor yoruba. Como la queja inmemorial de la quena" (18).

La mayor manifestación del eco africano se encuentra en la figura mítica y popular el Hermano Araña. Duncan comienza su ensayo "La tradición oral del afrocostarricense" diciendo "uno de los personajes más interesantes de la tradición oral es el Hermano Araña (Annancy). Su nombre viene de la palabra Ashanti correspondiente a araña. Los cuentos sobre el Hermano Araña tienen su origen en el folklore africano de la Costa Occidental ... En todo el Caribe, al igual que en África, se cuentan todavía las historias del famoso personaje" (*El negro en Costa Rica*, 161). Joice Anglin Edwards de Scott, en su tesis "Anancy in Limon"[1] (UCR, 1981) confirma el mismo origen y la extensión de la fama del personaje. Esencialmente, en sus acciones demuestra que la astucia vale más que la fuerza física. Se puede añadir que es tan conocido que su nombre se escribe de distintas formas. Duncan dice "Annancy," en Jamaica es "Anancy" con una variación "Anansi," en Ghana "Kweku Ananse" y "Kwaku Ananse." Una periodista Lois Turchetti alega que "Anansi is Anansi Korkoryo from Ghana," y que Anansi "was a goddess... so powerful... in fact she was the mother of fate and destiny."[2] Una adaptación de un cuento por Amy Friedman comienza "Everyone knows Anansi, half man, half spider."[3] *Los cuentos del Hermano Araña* constituyen un elemento vital de la herencia africana. La astucia del Hermano Araña aleccionaba al pueblo negro de una manera de sobrevivir ante la fuerza física superior. Añadimos que esta figura legendaria y popular ha inspirado muchos relatos de la folklorista jamaiquina Louise Bennett, igual que los relatos "Anancy's Score" y "Anancy" del poeta y novelista Andrew Salkey. La gran importancia para Duncan de esta figura mítica y popular es

evidente en que ha escrito colecciones tituladas *Los cuentos del Hermano Araña* (1975), y *Los cuentos de Jack Mandorra* (1989). Jack Mandorra, conocido también como Jack Mantorra, representa a la abuela o al abuelo en su hamaca narrando los cuentos de Anansi a los niños.

Parece que el cuento "Caballo de trote" le gusta mucho a Duncan quien incluye otra versión en *El negro en Costa Rica* (162-163) y también en *El negro en la literatura costarricense* (172-174). El Hermano Araña convierte al Hermano Tigre en su caballo de trote, a risa de todos. la moral es que "más vale maña que fuerza" (27), o "la inteligencia vale más que la guapura" (29), lección que dice Duncan tenía "valor... en una situación de esclavitud" (*El negro en Costa Rica*, 161).

Además de su uso en el cuento folklórico, Duncan utiliza lo africano en el final de los once relatos que componen la colección *La Rebelión Pocomía y otros relatos*. Dicho relato tiene el título significativo "Los mitos ancestrales." La mitología africana es la base de este relato parabólico que manifiesta la preocupación de Duncan por la historia y el destino de su raza. De ese tono verídico- mitológico practicado por Borges y Fuentes, "Los mitos ancestrales" representa la lucha por la identidad. Es una parábola de la invasión del europeo y los conflictos del nativo. El narrador, hablando por la colectividad, delinea los papeles de Nyambe: Dios Ashanti (73), Samamfo: espíritu y herencia de los antepasados (73), Okomfo: Rey Ashanti (74), Kumasi: sede del antiguo reino Ashanti (74). A través del narrador, se ve que para el negro, su identidad, la dignidad propia, se hacen difíciles debido a mentiras deliberadas de los historiadores extranjeros. El segundo borrador de Germanson, político, pinta a los nativos como paganos, a diferencia del primer borrador que retrataba la generosidad de ellos; y en el tercer borrador, Germanson, conquistador, les pinta como tribus bárbaras. En los textos pues, Germanson y su pueblo eran superiores al pueblo de Kumasi. Los negros terminaron siendo "descendientes de primitivos ... hijos de perdidos monos, humanoides, eternamente en proceso de humanización" (83). Con el espíritu del Samamfo, los negros seguirán las luchas. En "Los mitos ancestrales," simbólicamente el maní representa al nativo y la goma de mascar al invasor, como también el oro al africano y la plata al extranjero: "aquel jovenzuelo ... pintó otro cuadro sobre una civilización de plata en crisis y un sol de oro naciendo" (85).

Lo africano con sus fundamentos ancestrales informan no sólo cuentos y relatos sino también novelas. En *La paz del pueblo* Duncan utiliza la palabra clave "ancestral" al hacer resaltar los vínculos entre los negros del Caribe y la madre patria África. Mamy en su respuesta a Kingsman Moody pone "toda la carga ancestral de un pueblo en diáspora" (46). Duncan manifiesta otra vez la dicotomía África—Europa. La actitud anti-negra, anti-africana se encuentra en los sentimientos cristianos de la madre de Pedro (Margaret Dull) ofrecidos a su hijo rebelde: "Ahora mismo te vas a poner a leer la Biblia ... Kumasi no existió, ni existe. Piense en Jerusalén, en la ciudad de Dios" (174). En cuanto a la destrucción de las creencias africanas, el peligro para los negros es mayor cuando son la madre de Pedro y el pastor negro quienes abogan por el cristianismo contra los que aspiran a las tradiciones y a los valores africanos. Pero al final Pedro Dull saca inspiración y fuerza de los espíritus ancestrales para

resistir la opresión. Él está capacitado porque piensa en las grandezas del Samamfo. De éste, Duncan nos dice que es "Espíritu y herencia de los Ancestros. En el Samamfo están los valores y tradiciones del pueblo. Es la memoria colectiva de la raza-cultura que pasa de generación a generación y que se actualiza en los ritos religioso-seculares del pueblo, en sus luchas, en sus experiencias. Los Ancestros nunca han abandonado a sus herederos."[4] Pues bien, en *La paz del pueblo* el Samamfo también capacita a Mariot para rebelarse (132). Aliado al Samamfo está el Dios Cuminá, omnipresente, hasta en el cuerpo de Pedro capacitándole para rebelarse (179). Mariot, Pedro Dull, gente de herencia africana tiene que ser consciente de su pasado, de sus tradiciones, de sus dioses, de sus raigambres. La danza ayuda a definir la identidad, y Duncan la enlaza tanto con el Samamfo como con Cuminá, con frases que abarcan el título de la novela: "con el Samamfo la pasión y la danza han definido *La paz del pueblo*" (101), "Cuminá danzaba *La paz del pueblo*" (187).

La integración del título en la obra, relativo a la danza y las deidades espirituales, sugiere algo del logro técnico de la novela que está escenificada en Jamaica y en Costa Rica. Hay dos corrientes enrevesadas y entrelazadas: la familia Moody en Jamaica, y la familia Kenton en Costa Rica, y la trama se unifica. Estructuralmente es una novela complicada con una serie de paralelos indicados a veces por medio de repetición de una misma frase. El orden estructural no es necesariamente el orden cronológico. Hay pensamientos interiores indicados por paréntesis. A veces hay un cambio repentino de escenas yuxtapuestas en la misma página.

La paz del pueblo es una novela bien lograda tanto por su estructura como por su énfasis en la herencia africana, aspectos notables también en *Kimbo*, su mejor novela según Duncan, informa Richard Jackson.[5] Lo africano está muy presente en *Kimbo* con el relato sintetizado sobre el Hermano Araña y el Hermano Tigre y la conversión de éste por aquél en su caballo de trote, relato pertinente a las circunstancias de *Kimbo* encarcelado, por si acaso haya algún medio de sobrevivencia. Concepto muy importante es el que continúa de *La paz del pueblo* que todo vuelve al Samamfo, sitio de los antecesores. La presencia del Samamfo es esencial al bienestar, y su papel importante en *Kimbo* es señalado por Duncan desde el principio en la dedicatoria afirmando que no "hay poder en el mundo capaz de detener el flujo entre padre e hijo cuando la fuerza surge de las profundidades del samamfo" (9).

En *Kimbo* la influencia del Samamfo y del Hermano Araña en la existencia negra es patente a través de una voz narrativa que reconoce el valor del uno y del otro. La voz los une en el mismo pensamiento y con un verbo clave común: "Y eso es el Samamfo... Porque el pueblo sobrevive. La rebelión del pueblo sobrevive ... Porque la astucia del hermano Araña sobrevive ..." (126). En la novela el Samamfo es una fuente de consuelo y fuerza para el negro en favor del encarcelado *Kimbo*.

Kimbo está encarcelado injustamente, acusado de ser secuestrador, y cuando por fin queda libre, muere, víctima de las poderosas fuerzas que se resienten de él por ser un negro de prestigio. Su nombre en sí, *Kimbo*, deriva de "*Kimbo* off me. Expresión antillana que describe una situación de desafío, cabeza levantada,

manos en la cintura."[6] Desde el principio vemos a una figura en quien residen años ancestrales: "*Kimbo* con los kilómetros de historia cargando sobre él como leyenda, levantó la cabeza por una sola vez" (13); *Kimbo* bajó del avión "con la cabeza levantada" (105). Lo que ha sostenido a *Kimbo* a través de sus tribulaciones ha sido una fuerza espiritual interior, la de los antecesores, la del Samamfo.

La presencia del Samamfo penetra en la vida de los negros, y esto se ve hasta en la estructuración y narración de *Kimbo*. La novela está compuesta de cuatro partes, cada una introducida por una cita o citas pertinentes al contenido de la sección. La influencia del Samamfo es evidente cuando para la tercera parte Duncan pone una cita de sí mismo: "yo he contado la historia del Samamfo" (81); la cuarta parte va precedida por una cita de Manuel Zapata Olivella: "Siento que he fondeado en la rada de mis Ancestros" (113).

El poder ancestral se ve en la actitud de quienes piensan en favor de *Kimbo*, cuya vida se revela por testimonios, narración omnisciente en tercera persona, monólogos interiores inclusos los propios pensamientos de *Kimbo*. Los monólogos interiores revelan las emociones de los personajes, e incluyen retrospectivas como las del secuestrado El Barrigón, más el habla directa de la esposa-víctima del Barrigón autoritario.

La novela tiene capítulos simplemente enumerados como en la segunda parte, algunos con títulos como en las partes tercera y cuarta, y sobre todo voces narrativas, en las partes primera, tercera, y cuarta. La primera voz, la inicial que inaugura y también cierra la primera parte, es una meditativa. Primero, la persona habla por sí misma [II, p. 17], y después por la colectividad [X, p.48], siempre expresando duda de la culpabilidad de *Kimbo*. Lo más admirable es que *Kimbo* "de nosotros, de nuestras entrañas" no ha olvidado nunca sus raíces. Lo que les irrita a los poderosos, descritos con el pronombre de complemento indirecto, es que *Kimbo* "está ya en la cumbre y es negro y eso les molesta" (49). La segunda voz, de las partes primera y cuarta, inicia y reitera sus pensamientos con las mismas palabras: "Yo lo recuerdo tierno" (19, 120). Es de una persona quien pronosticando grandeza para *Kimbo* recuerda y reitera que le buscaba en los baúles "antiguas fábulas" (19, 120), reconociendo que "la fuerza debe venir del samamfo, y que la fuerza que viene de nuestra herencia trasciende la fuerza de todos los brutos" (120). La tercera voz, de las partes primera, tercera, y cuarta, es del defensor de *Kimbo* quien está seguro de la inocencia de él, y quien entiende que la meta es destruirlo, matarlo para silenciarlo, y quien está apenado porque "el espíritu del pueblo es algo común a todos nosotros" (125). Es esa la voz que une los papeles del Samamfo y el Hermano Araña. La cuarta voz, de las partes primera, tercera, y cuarta, es muy hostil a *Kimbo* —"carajo" (26), y a los negros—"puercos" (26), "perros" (100, 127), "sapos" (127), "hijos de mala madre" (26, 127). La quinta voz, de las partes primera, tercera, y cuarta, es una voz seca de un secretario legal aburrido de su vida rutinaria. La sexta voz, de las partes primera, tercera, y cuarta (dos veces) es de la mujer del abogado defensor de *Kimbo*, afectuosa y orgullosa de su marido, y deseosa de saber más "de esa cosa del samamfo" (134). La sétima voz, de las partes primera y cuarta, es del compañero de celda de *Kimbo*. Ese compañero de celda, de otro color, nació en Limón y expresa unas opiniones

estereotipadas acerca de los limonenses, a quienes, por ser negros, les gustaba reír. El hombre cree que *Kimbo* "sabía que iba a morir" (136), y ese hombre, limonense que también sabía cuándo reír, entre sus carcajadas y algunas lágrimas, termina diciendo "está bien, paisano, jodiste a todos estos hijos de puta" (136).

Limón, patria chica de *Kimbo*, es también patria chica de su creador Quince Duncan. Es su fuente de inspiración para sus narrativas—la folklórica "Caballo de trote" de *Los cuentos del Hermano Araña*, el relato "Los mitos ancestrales," las novelas *La paz del pueblo*, *Kimbo*. La figura popular el Hermano Araña, y la mítica Samamfo, sirven para dar confianza a los negros en la importancia de su herencia africana. La astucia de Anancy puede vencer la fuerza bruta, lección útil para los esclavos negros.

La lucha por la identidad, lo africano se ve en "Los mitos ancestrales." *La paz del pueblo*, y *Kimbo* realzan el valor del Samamfo para la fuerza espiritual interior. La técnica de Duncan—que sea el simbolismo en "Los mitos ancestrales," la incorporación del título en *La paz del pueblo*, las voces narrativas en *Kimbo*—siempre ayuda a enaltecer el uso de lo mítico y lo popular africano en su obra.

Notas

[1]Joice Anglin Edwards de Scott, "Anancy in Limon" (tesis, Universidad de Costa Rica), 1981.

[2]Lois Provost Turchetti, "Anansi is who?" *The Weekly Gleaner*, Xmas Supplement, December 18-24, 1997, p. 19.

[3]"Animals Teach Anansi a Lesson: Tiger strives to keep trickster from spoiling wedding," *Sunday Free Press*, Winnipeg, July 20, 1997, p. B7.

[4]Del Glosario en *Kimbo* (San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1989), 153.

[5]Richard Jackson, *Black Writers and the Hispanic Canon* (New York: Twayne, 1997), 72.

[6]Del Glosario en *Kimbo*, 153.

Obras selectas de Duncan

Ensayos:

El negro en Costa Rica [en colaboración con Carlos Meléndez]. San José: Editorial Costa Rica,1972.

El negro en la literatura costarricense (Antología). [Selección de Quince Duncan, Prólogo de Fabián Dobles]. San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1975.

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Los cuentos del Hermano Araña. Costa Rica: Artes Gráficas de Centroamérica, 1975.

La Rebelión Pocomía y otros relatos. San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1976.

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Los cuatro espejos. San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1973.

La paz del pueblo. San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1978.

Final de calle. San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1981.

Kimbo. San José: Editorial Costa Rica, 1989.

In Pursuit of the Word: Marianismo and Melancholia in ***En Chimá nace un santo***

by Stephenie Young

I live a living death, my flesh is wounded, bleeding, cadaverized, my rhythm slowed down or interrupted, time has been erased or bloated, absorbed into sorrow...Absent from other people's meaning, alien, accidental with respect to naive happiness, I owe a supreme, metaphysical lucidity to my depression. On the frontiers of life and death, occasionally I have the arrogant feeling of being witness to the meaninglessness of Being, of revealing the absurdity of bonds and beings.

Julia Kristeva
Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia

Manuel Zapata Olivella's work *En Chimá nace un santo* (1964) is a profound meditation on the plight of Afro-Hispanic culture of Colombia, yet one issue that needs to be teased out and closely examined in this work is the role of 'woman' and her position in relation to the mythical portrayal of the Virgin Mary, also known as *Marianismo*. Although this text is not an overt celebration of the female, nor is his work generally regarded as 'feminist,' in *Chimá* his lucid illustration of woman's denigrated position within her community and the stigma of *Marianismo* connected to it, draws attention to her crisis of representation within a *trigueño* culture. This crisis which, due to the community's imaginary relationship to the Virgin Mary, will lead Zapata Olivella's female characters to a site where language will no longer compensate for, nor represent, the trauma that life has become for them. It will ultimately lead to the pursuit of other forms of articulation, and to the inevitable abyss of asymbolia where "on the frontiers of life and death" lies the domain of melancholia (Kristeva 4).

In *En Chimá nace un santo*, Rafaela Vidal and her two daughters, Balaude and Andrea, are revered for their chastity and cherished for their role as 'mothers' and 'caretakers' of that which is most important to their community. Yet within the space of this potentially positive depiction they are viewed as women unable to develop their identity, and who have no space for movement beyond their pre-designated cultural role. They are forced to search for their identity in the only place *they* can—in the midst of their community which mirrors back its own representation of them, the only one *it* can. This leaves us with a portrait of 'woman' as the mythical Other who must relinquish any space for her own identity in an act of abnegation and self-sacrifice for the Saint. They are confined by their community and history to this mythical and imaginary relationship to the Virgin, which leads to the annihilation of any potential for an articulation of 'woman' as a subject because of their inability to articulate themselves through accepted linguistic signifiers. In other words, these women lack the ability to be compensated by language and this forces them to turn toward other forms of expression, be it through muttering unintelligibly (reminiscent of the mystics), wailing, or

remaining silently wrapped in the safe and warm cloak of melancholia. Scenes throughout the text evoke the familiar portraits of Mary created throughout the last two thousand years as the melancholic archetype of she who is silent, detached and timeless in her very nature—a woman without voice, without language.

This venerated image of Mary as she who is silent and without voice leads us to the importance of language and the examination of the relation between *Marianismo* and melancholia. There exists a strong tie between the stigma of *Marianismo* and its role in the shattering of the female psyche which destroys any potential for 'woman's' subjectivity, and leads her into a melancholic abyss from which she may never return. Two questions are examined here. First, how is 'woman' as a subject articulated throughout Zapata Olivella's text, and what are her avenues for representation in a community where her only source of identity is located within the mythical image of the Virgin, an image by which she has been designated as the caretaker, nurturer and martyr of the community? Second, how does she move within the confines of this mythic locale in which the community has consciously and unconsciously wrapped her so tightly that it virtually strangles any possibility for subjectivity?

Over the course of the last two thousand years a history has developed based upon the fetishizing of the Virgin Mary, beginning with St. Paul's earliest known reference to Jesus being "made of a woman" in Galatians 4:4. (Warner 3). Written around AD 57, this text is one source of the Cult of Mary, and today the concept of her has come to contain within it a strikingly powerful and transcendent signification in the Christian world (Warner 3). To many, her name alone rouses a rush of warmth that envelopes the body like a drug. This, combined with the calm beauty associated with her image, makes her more widely known and cherished than any other female in Western history. Commenting upon the reception of Mary in the last two thousand years Marina Warner writes in her rigorous history *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* that

> [w]hether we regard the Virgin Mary as the most sublime and beautiful image in man's struggle towards the good and the pure, or the most pitiable production of ignorance and superstition, she represents a central theme in the history of western attitudes to women. She is one of the few female figures to have attained the status of myth—a myth that for nearly two thousand years has coursed through our culture, as spirited and often as imperceptible as an underground stream. (intro.)

References to the "sublime" image of the Virgin can be found in everything from the children's sighting of her in Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* to the basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico where pilgrims come down the long avenue on their bloodied knees to venerate their most holy of icons, and weep in the presence of her image. Though this veneration of the Virgin as the female who is pure, whole (lacks nothing), and transcendent sounds positive in one strain of thought, in another it points precisely to the essential problem that *Marianismo* "represents...the history of western attitudes to women" and sometimes dictates what a "real" woman should be like, how she should act and think (Stevens 94). What is known as

spiritual strength in the Virgin Mary can also engender an "infinite capacity for humility and sacrifice [in which] no self-denial is too great..." (Stevens 94-95). In other words, this veneration often spills over into the "real" world, dangerously contaminating and stigmatizing the role of everyday living, breathing women who must attempt to inhabit and function within the space of the myth.

It is precisely this paradox that we find played out through the fictional female characters of *Chimá* whose plight points to the reality that thousands of women must suffer when they are expected to sacrifice themselves for others in the name of *Marianismo*. Though rarely discussed in *Chimá*, this is a central theme which is played out through three women who risk their self-preservation because they have taken on the arduous task of seeing to the care of the Saint during his life and, more importantly, after his death. *En Chimá nace un santo* recounts the life and death of the cripple Domingo Vidal who is heretically sainted by the Colombian community after he 'miraculously' comes out of a fire unscathed. In the aftermath of the "miracle," a tumultuous frenzy begins by the townspeople urged on by the local sacristan who himself hopes for sanctification as a prophet. In a conflation of religious beliefs and superstitions (which become fused and impossible to distinguish) the community's hope and faith are placed into the small, sickly body—and later cold corpse—of Domingo Vidal. It is also necessary to note that Vidal's life and death parallel a thinly veiled Jesus Christ. While alive he is only a *yarda* in length, suffers greatly as a paralytic, and can only use two fingers on his right hand. He also has miracles attributed to him, such as helping a barren woman become pregnant, and scaring off evil demons who are attacking young women in the town. He dies at thirty-three and is "resurrected" two years later in a gruesome exhumation scene which reveals his corpse to have remained virtually unchanged from his burial day. Eventually, the image of Vidal becomes a symbol of hope—the only hope that exists in the wretched lives of the community of Chimá, and the only possibility for change and renewal that these people, who have nothing else to live for, possess.

The text opens on *el dia de difuntos* with *las tres Marianas* visiting the deceased, and noticeably absent, father of the family:

> Rafaela Vidal hace recordar la estampa del «Ánima Sola», quejosa, alucinada. Sus cabellos canosos encenizan el ropón negro de su viudez. La escoltan, como siempre, sus dos hijas : Balaude y Andrea, de matrices envejecidas vírgenes. (10)

As women who live for the dead, they are the living dead. Rafaela, the mother, is a joyless widow who speaks to and takes directions from her husband who has been dead for twenty-five years. Still wearing the color of mourning, even the shade of her hair resembles the ashes of the dead. To add to this she is shadowed by her two constant companions, her daughters Balaude and Andrea, who have sacrificed their lives for this tomb called a life. Three women whose task it is to take care of the living dead—the paralytic Domingo Vidal—who is their son and their brother. This opening scene set in the tomb functions as more than a metaphor, rather it is the prophetic future that awaits each woman. It is the destiny each will face as

she plays out her thankless role in the theater of the community. They care for a man who is just a shell of a man, and the novel leads us through these women's crises as they search for a representation of themselves through him. Similar to the historical depiction of the Virgin and her role as the altruistic mother of Jesus Christ, Zapata Olivella portrays Rafaela, Balaude and Andrea as the caretakers of Vidal before and after he is proclaimed a Saint. Contrary to the positive depiction of the Virgin, who at the end of her life, as per Catholic theology, becomes the Queen of Heaven, their sacrifice leads to their destruction. Each woman reveals a violent disregard for her own well-being by acting out her designated communal role and wholly investing herself in the idea of a life lived only for the saint—a life lived for the idea and memory of the crippled son or brother. As the novel proceeds, the task of living only for, and through Vidal, will take its toll on all three. At the end of the story Andrea will be dead, Balaude will have been overcome with madness, and Rafaela will have become enveloped in such a deep state of melancholia that she will not be able to articulate nor locate the site of meaning for her existence beyond the shallow vision she had for Vidal's seemingly imminent canonization.

But what is this melancholia that their positions as *Marianas* leads them into? How do they fall into an abyss from which none ascend by the end of the novel? How do we arrive at an end which promises hope and revolution for Chimá, but in which the women are noticeably absent? While it is important to note that Freud situated melancholia in the unconscious without explicitly connecting it to language, Kristeva, following loosely in Lacan's footsteps, brings melancholia into the linguistic realm which helps us to move toward an understanding of the plight of Rafaela and her daughters who exist in a world which they cannot access through the symbolic realm of language. Kristeva writes that at the root of melancholia lies the subject's dysfunctional relationship to language, and without access to language, the melancholic cannot signify, cannot act, cannot maintain an interest in her own life. Melancholic women are described as those who have been traumatized by some disaster or catastrophic event such as betrayal by a loved one, a "fatal illness," or in the case of the women in this story, denial of subjectivity—and consequently cannot find the words to express their emotions or sensations (Kristeva 3). Language cannot articulate, cannot represent, cannot signify for them because it is "unable to insure within the [melancholic] composite, the autostimu-lation that is required in order to initiate given responses" (Kristeva 10). She further asserts that "[i]nstead of functioning as a 'rewards system,' language, on the contrary, hyper-activates the 'anxiety-punishment' pair and thus inserts itself into slowing down of thinking and decrease in psychomotor activity characteristic of depression" (Kristeva 10). If a melancholic woman attempts to use conventional language, the language of her community, she is not gratified nor does she feel compensated. Due to this lack of signifying power, she is unable to transcend the traumatic event, unable to move beyond it and is trapped in time and history. This dis-ease with life is supported and reinforced by "*intolerance for object loss and the signifier's failure* to insure a compensating way out of the states of withdrawal in which the subject

takes refuge to the point of inaction (pretending to be dead) or even suicide" (Kristeva 10). Severe depression or melancholia result; she suffers dis-ease with existence, and cannot take action and lift herself out of her plight. Rafaela, Balaude and Andrea are lost in a complex emotional labyrinth associated with melancholia. They are simulations, simulacrum, of the living dead who have been entombed but cannot undo the latch to their own caskets, placing them in the impossible plight of needing to attach meaning to words, signified to signifier. In their pursuit of the word they must climb out of the deep, dark well into which they have been violently thrown, but lack the strength and will-power to scale its slippery walls.

Shrouded in the blackness of eternal mourning, Rafaela is the embodiment of this melancholic Mary who seems to know no future nor have time for her life in the present. She is trapped in time. Living for her only son, her obsession with Vidal is evident when she tells her dead husband how she and her two daughters have sacrificed their entire lives for Vidal,

> ...Y en cuanto a nuestro Dominguito, cumplió ya los treinta y tres años sin que haya crecido más de una yarda. Anda cada vez más encogido. El pobre, come te he dicho, sólo mueve dos dedos de la mano derecha. Todos los días está más pesado, porque los huesos y la carne se le vuelven piedra. Tus hijas, que aquí ves, han jurado ante San Emigdio no casarse para atenderlo. (10)

Perhaps the closest of the three to Vidal as his birth mother, Rafaela embodies this link between *Marianismo* and melancholia. On the one hand she is morose and chaste—a woman whose gray hair and black clothing represent her position of eternal mourning. On the other, she is the woman who slowly loses access to language as she becomes deeply enshrouded in the frenzy surrounding Vidal's canonization.

In the opening pages Rafaela is in mourning but still retains some voice, some language of communication. As the community grows stronger and builds up momentum through its faith in Vidal, she grows weaker and loses her power as an active and vital component in her son's life. When Vidal is taken from her for the last time Rafaela loses her voice as she succumbs to her role as Mary and the martyr who will relinquish her son for the community's good. At that moment she realizes that "ha dejado de ser madre" rather now, "Dominguito pertenece al pueblo, está bajo su arbitrio ... [y] Rafaela cree sufrir los dolores de María tras su hijo crucificado" (46). As the story progresses she falls deeper into this role as the suffering mother/martyr of a Saint. By the end of the text she has lost any sense of herself and lives only to see her son glorified. It is also evident that she is willing to exchange Andrea's life, Balaude's sanity and even her own potential, her own possibility of regaining an identity in the community of Chimá and of locating her own voice, for the benefit of the saint.

Enacting the role that the community and *Marianismo* have created for her, Rafaela becomes what Barthes describes as "a relation of deformation" because she is the relation which "unites the concept of the myth to its meaning" (122). Time moves forward all around her, but she is trapped in history—unable to move

beyond or come to terms with what she needs to face the most: the death of her husband and son, the destruction of her daughter's lives, and her position within the community. She is trapped in the moment of her trauma and can only find representation through her son—whether he is living or dead. Language for Rafaela has become less satisfying, less of a "rewards system," and now turns towards a dissatisfying relationship causing an "anxiety-punishment" situation. She can only articulate her needs through her desire to have Vidal canonized. Vidal has become her only desire. Whether it be the moment of her husband's death a quarter of a century earlier, or with the birth of Vidal, the object of trauma attached to her body has made her incapable of transcending what originally caused it and now she is trapped in time and history. She wears the same black dress, remains faithful to her entombed husband, and believes that Vidal is still alive, even after his exhumation and the destruction of the body by the frenzied crowds who tear at it. All of these events push her further into a state of melancholia reinforcing Kristeva's point that Rafaela may still think but she cannot act. Rather, in this late stage, Rafaela must take refuge in inaction. She has become a ghost of herself. She has now entered the world of the living dead, a space where she can be with her husband and son.

Balaude, Rafaela's daughter, is a sister of the Saint but acts like a displaced and overbearing mother. Of *las tres Marianas*, she is the most verbal, but we must recognize that her personality is a result of her difficulty in locating signification through the community of Chimá. She has trouble locating an identifiable space for herself between the narrow confines of *Marianismo* combined with the sad reality of her existence as an aging virgin, living only for and through her crippled brother. Between the first and last pages of the novel, Balaude is transformed into a woman whose fanaticism turns to madness. Her melancholia takes her to the very edge of "living death" where her world is one in which she is "absent from other people's meaning" (Kristeva 4). It is a distance from the young woman we meet in the beginning of the novel. Here we meet a vibrant version of "Mary",

> Es la expansión, la inquietud. Trajina por la iglesia con la agilidad de una escoba atolondrada, cambiando constantemente los objetos de puesto. Quiere dar movimiento a Domingo; le incorpora en la cama y arrastra para obligarlo a andar. Lo carga en sus brazos y en la ventana lo muestra a quienes se pelean por verlo... Quisiera que fuera todo un hombre : que tuviera muchos hijos y peleara a machete con los más forzudos del pueblo. (14)

Unlike Rafaela, Balaude desires action and attempts to make Vidal come alive like a "normal" man while treating him like the son she will never have. She wants Vidal to have movement, and it becomes evident that this is because she herself cannot act. She is not able to independently act out her identity, being tied down by the restraints of *Marianismo* and the impossibility of representing any sense of self that she may have. Shadowing the position of her mother, she must act through Vidal because he has become her only source of representation—a man who is considered less than a man, with a mind that can barely function, a voice which articulates few understandable words. He

who cannot speak, must speak for her. To counteract the reality of Vidal, Balaude orders him to say something, to do something—to take action. But she is in fact powerless, because no matter what length she goes too, she is never compensated fully by his actions or inaction. The one moment in which there is potential for meaning also becomes the act which sends her into the abyss of madness from which she will never return. It is when she decides that Domingo must paint a picture of the Virgin, and she orders him to move the pencil but "Domingo se esfuerza hasta sudar..." and then "garabatea sin orden ni propósito" (15). Balaude violently grabs the paper from him and holding the drawing up with trembling hands she declares, "¡Sí, es la misma Virgen! ¡Miren! ¡Miren!" (15).

It is evident that in the beginning of the text her fanaticism is just beginning to take hold. Joining in the frenzy of the community which is attributing miracles to Vidal, Balaude must see the Virgin in this otherwise indecipherable and meaningless scrawl that he has created. She needs to apply some sort of order to chaos, to put meaning into her life, into her identity. She looks to Vidal's worthless pencil scrawl to fulfill this desire. But instead of finding a platform from which to articulate meaning, the drawing will lead her towards her own abyss from which she will never return. By the end of the story, seeing herself in the space of this scrawled image, her role of Mary is applied to this scribble and the meaningless Virgin which she must still attempt to attach meaning to. She sees in it a mirror image of herself—Balaude is that which is created through Vidal—a scrawl, a scribble, a mindless articulation of what she represents to the community, the world perhaps. She exists only as the caretaker of the paralytic, the caretaker of the heretical Saint. He is not even a Saint sanctified by the proper church, but a dis-articulated detached subject, yet the only one she can define herself through as a representative of Mary in the community.

As the text moves toward its apocalyptic ending, Balaude's fanaticism gains greater strength but becomes less decipherable to those around her. The further she goes—the farther she pushes herself and Vidal—the further she moves away from any recognizable linguistic reality that the community of Chimá can translate into its world. Her private reality begins to border on the psychotic—a world comprised of her own signifying system. In a response to this rebellion, she is eventually tied up, and declared the devil by the community of Chimá as she mutters a language reminiscent of the mystics while foaming at the mouth like one of the rabid dogs of Zapata Olivella's *Chambacú*. Here, near the end of the text, Balaude has realized that there is nothing left for her to identify with, no signifying system, no language that can possibly compensate her desire to speak or to be represented in the world. Her pursuit of the word is near its end when she realizes that she has invested her entire self in the idea of Vidal, hoping for her conception of him to be an immaculate force to fulfill her barren existence. Like Rafaela, she has not been compensated by conventional language, and must look to other forms of representation to fill her desire to go beyond she who is translated only through her dead brother Vidal and the community of Chimá.

Andrea, the third Mary in this trilogy, is perhaps the most enigmatic because she is

the one woman in the text that the least voice is given to. Yet she is also the one who will be thrown furthest down the dark well of melancholia. Her relationship to language throughout *Chimá* is non-committal. She is not as outspoken as Balaude, nor like her mother Rafaela who sees herself as the martyr that must relinquish her son for the good of the community. Rather, she is portrayed as having a lack of language throughout the text. Andrea is a quiet woman with few external needs or desires. Unlike Rafaela who is all but erased from the events surrounding her son's life by the end of the text, or Balaude who dives into her fanaticism so deeply that she never regains her sanity, Andrea is almost completely mute from the beginning. She articulates her feelings through alternative modes of expression rather than through the communal, conventional language of Chimá.

In the beginning of the story when there is a fire at their house and she believes her brother Vidal is burning to death, one can hear her excruciating cries as she prays in the corner "tiritando de miedo Andrea reza con gimoteo de perro apaleado" (12). She does not articulate her emotions through the language of her community but through other forms of representation. In her role as Mary she interprets Vidal as that absent object she can never procure, the one keeping her from attaining a feeling of wholeness that her sterile womb has created. In her role as caretaker of Vidal, Andrea is much more a mother to Vidal than a sister:

> Andrea juega con él. A falta de los hijos que le ha negado su matriz estéril, empolva a Domingo y le acicala como si fuera una muñeca de trapo. Lo abraza y cree tenerlo en su propio seno. Un hijo que le nace obsesivamente en su útero vacío. Siempre fue así, ensimismada, sepultura de sí misma. (13)

Fulfilling her role as a *Mariana* in the community, Andrea has given up any semblance of what might deemed a "normal" life. She is a virgin and will remain one until her death. Like her sister, Balaude, she is forced to turn to Vidal for her signification and she also invests all that she has, all that she is, all of her energy and life, into his body. He is a zone of refuge for her. In other words, because Vidal also lacks language because of his crippled body, making him a non-confrontational being and all the easier for Andrea to role play in an imaginary Madonna/Jesus relationship. Though he is thirty-three years old, she powders him like a baby and caresses him like a rag doll, holding him to her bosom in the hope that through him she may locate her identity. She venerates his every movement going so far as to take pleasure in crowning Vidal the saint when another miracle occurs in the community and is attributed to him Andrea "siente arrebatos de coronar a su hermano. Lo empolva y peina como si fuese una mujer. Luego, sonriente, le ajusta la corona de papel en la cabeza" (31).

Although the voice of Andrea appears in the first half of the novel before the death of Vidal, in the second half she has become completely closed off from any access to language and has retreated so far into herself that she is at the point of no return. The death of Vidal is her death, and because of this association she slides more deeply into a melancholic abyss in which, without any access to language, she can

no longer signify, she can no longer act, nor maintain an interest in herself. Andrea as a subject never existed except through the notion of her brother, and through the role that the community assigned her as the Virgin Mary. Unlike the "sublime" Mary who ascends to heaven at the end of her life, Andrea's role in *Marianismo* has led her into melancholia and to death without any mention of hell or heaven. A self-imposed death from starvation is her final act. She is neither glorified nor scorned. Rather, she is forgotten in the midst of the chaotic yet revolutionary ending of the text.

This essay only briefly touches on the idea of how the myth of *Marianismo* interacts with the linguistic realm of melancholia. It is only a beginning to understanding the plight of women, who in pursuit of the word, in their attempt to symbolize, must live through their community and identify with the community's idea of them in order to exist in that space. It is interesting to note that 'woman' as a subject is articulated in this text by the recognition and celebration of the womb, and the myth of the Virgin, but that these same forces that are often cause for celebration may also lead to her annihilation. They are seriously destructive if she comes to the realization like the three women of Chimá—that the signifier she identifies with, such as the 'sainthood' of Domingo Vidal, is only an empty one. In Chimá, there was never anything more than an imaginary wholeness for the women in this community. They depended upon on their empty wombs, which like tombs of death are empty signifiers for them, spaces in which there is no reward, no compensation for language. It is an abyss devoid of substance, devoid of meaning, devoid of matter and of life. In the midst of *Marianismo* it seems that the only escape is the escape to death as in the case of Andrea who died from grief, or a complete break with Reality as with Balaude, or in the case of Rafaela—the decision to sacrifice two children and herself to create an empty identity. That which Rafaela hoped for can never be located, never be articulated because Vidal's crippled and scorned body was sainted by the community through a hoax. Zapata Olivella's women then are deemed the caretakers of meaning in the life of a poor community in Colombia but find themselves utterly alone. Rather than the caretakers of that which is most vital to the community they are the caretakers of emptiness, the night watch-women of non-meaning. As a final note, while the community of Chimá shows signs of the possibility for revolution and hope at the end of the novel, the *Marianas* have been removed from the scene. They are absent from what turns out to be the central theme of the story, and instead thrown helplessly into the midst of death, insanity and utter devastation, never locating meaning through the community or themselves.

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La 'semicriollización' del español (afro)caribeño: testimonios lingüísticos de ancianos afrocubanos

by Luis A. Ortiz López

Introducción

El testimonio y su valor para los estudios afrohispánicos

En las últimas décadas se ha hablado mucho del testimonio como género de estudio. El testimonio se ha definido como una narración contada en primera persona gramatical por un narrador que es a la vez el protagonista o testigo de su propio relato (Beverly 1987: 157); en muchos casos se trata de un analfabeto o un excluido de los círculos de comunicación. De ahí que para la divulgación del testimonio se haya recurrido a una especie de etnógrafo que grabe, transcriba y redacte la producción oral del testimoniante. En el caso del testimonio acerca del esclavo en América surgen a la mente los títulos *Biografía de un cimarrón* del cubano Miguel Barnet (1966) y los escritos de la cubana Lydia Cabrera, en especial *El monte* (1975).

Se supone que el testimonio represente una historia 'verdadera' que el testimoniante vive o ha vivido con otros, y que en muchos casos es una polifonía de las voces de los testigos que han participado de la situación que nos narra, por ejemplo, *Me llamo Rigoberta Menchú y así me nació la conciencia*. Es decir, el testimonio es visto como una manera de dar voz y nombre a un pueblo anónimo, oprimido, y subordinado (Beverly 1987: 166). Sin embargo, para otros estudiosos de este género, el testimonio "no representa una reacción genuina y espontánea del 'sujeto-pueblo multiforme', sino que sigue siendo un discurso de las élites comprometidas con la causa de la democratización (Sklodowska 1990-91: 113). En otras palabras, existen fuertes discrepancias en cuanto al valor de este género, pero a nuestro juicio el problema fundamental del testimonio estriba en poder diluir lo que es particular al testimonio como forma y su capacidad de 'reconstruir la verdad', desde el punto de vista del nativo.

Para los estudios etnográficos, o lo que se ha entendido como la textualización de experiencias culturales, según el punto de vista del nativo, como la define Spradley (1979: 3), el testimonio ha sido un instrumento de vital importancia. Mediante la voz del testimoniante, podemos adentrarnos en las experiencias vividas, los recuerdos y las actitudes hacia los eventos que se narran, y hacer de ellos una reconstrucción más o menos auténtica. Este es nuestro objetivo al acercarnos al testimonio: reconstruir el habla de aquellos esclavos y sus descendientes cercanos, y de aquel pasado etno-socio-lingüístico bozal y afrocubano, partiendo de las respuestas "from the native point view", con el fin de aportar nueva evidencia a la polémica en torno a la supuesta existencia de una lengua 'criolla' en escenario (afro)cubano. Decodificamos el testimonio lingüístico y extralingüístico que aún está en la memoria de aquellos descendientes cercanos de hablantes bozales y afrocubanos, quienes aún viven en territorio cubano, y al cual no se le había considerado ni se le había otorgado valor para los estudios diacrónicos y sincrónicos del español (afro)cubano. Son testimonios recogidos *in situ,* directamente de los

descendientes cercanos de esclavos, testigos de aquel pasado, y que a nuestro juicio es muestra más fidedigna que el lenguaje artístico, literario y caricaturesco de los textos afrocubanos, y cuyo contenido aporta nueva evidencia a la discusión sobre la génesis y el desarrollo del lenguaje (afro)cubano.

Antes de lanzarnos a la tarea reconstructiva de aquel lenguaje mediante el testimonio, resumiremos la problemática que ha ocasionado el habla *bozal,* es decir, el español 'mal hablado', 'español de cocina' o el español hablado como lengua extranjera por los esclavos de nación, y la lengua de los descendientes de éstos, para la dialectología, la criollística, la etno-sociolingüística y la teoría lingüística en general. Las preguntas que requieren respuestas inmediatas son las siguientes: ¿Existió una lengua criolla en el Caribe hispánico, por ejemplo, en Cuba, como resultado de la importación de esclavos, y como consecuencia del contacto de lenguas que vivió la región?; ¿Con qué evidencia lingüística se cuenta para apoyar o desmentir tal modalidad de habla? Antes de responder a estas preguntas, les exponemos sucintamente el debate sobre el tema; luego mediante los testimonios recogidos *in situ,* intentaremos responder a estas interrogantes.

El contacto lingüístico afrohispánico

El contacto afrohispánico pasó por etapas diferentes como resultado de las condiciones etno-sociolingüísticas que imperaban en los diferentes escenarios en donde se producía el encuentro étnico. Este contacto produjo desde situaciones lingüísticas muy complejas, aún hoy sin respuestas definitivas, como parece ser el pasado etno-sociolingüístico afrohispánico caribeño, hasta la formación de modalidades 'criollas' como es la variedad palenquera de San Basilio, en Cartagena, Colombia[1] y el papiamento, lengua criolla hispánica o portuguesa hablada en Aruba, Bonaire y Curaçao. Para algunos criollistas caribeños[2], la variedad hispánica manejada entre los esclavos traídos a suelo americano transcurrió por una etapa lingüística intermedia entre el contacto y el aprendizaje de la variedad hispánica, llamada habla criolla, cuyo origen se remonta a las hablas desarrolladas en un *continuum* geográfico en las costas africanas, como resultado de las actividades, fundamentalmente comerciales, dirigidas por los portugueses a partir del siglo XV. Como evidencia en favor de esta hipótesis se han citado: 1) los datos demográficos acerca de la gran concentración de inmigrantes africanos en la zona del Caribe desde principios de la conquista y colonización española; 2) algunos tempranos testimonios lingüísticos emitidos por aficionados del lenguaje, destacándose el del Padre Sandoval (1627) acerca de un "lenguaje muy corrupto y reversado a la portuguesa" hablado en Cartagena de Indias, Colombia; el del diccionarista Esteban Pichardo (1836), sobre "Otro lenguaje relajado y confuso" escuchado en Cuba, y el del cubano Bachiller y Morales (1883), en torno a un castellano hablado de un modo distinto por los negros bozales; 3) la presencia de rasgos considerados criollos en textos de autores de la región Cabrera, 1975, Caballero 1852 y Derkes 1883, y 4) el panorama de lenguas en contacto que prevalece en el resto de la región del Caribe, en donde se hablan variedades del inglés, holandés, francés y lenguas

criollas, producto del contacto lingüístico entre tales modalidades, el español, el portugués y las lenguas africanas incorporadas al contexto geográfico caribeño a partir del siglo XVI.

Por lo tanto, los promotores de la hipótesis defienden el aprendizaje del español por parte de los esclavos africanos mediante un 'criollo' de base portuguesa, que evolucionó paulatinamente y produjo en la variedad acriollada un lento desarrollo de reestructuración y relexificación, como consecuencia de un fuerte proceso de asimilación a partir del siglo XIX. La mayor pervivencia de supuestos rasgos 'criollos', se ha concentrado, según Granda (1978: 315), en aquellas zonas geográficas, como por ejemplo en el Caribe y, particularmente, en Cuba, en donde hubo una gran concentración de africanos, entre los cuales, la etapa asimiladora resultó menos intensa o más breve. Este investigador identifica una serie de rasgos 'criollos' morfosintácticos en el registro hablado de los negros cubanos, de la cuarta y quinta década del siglo XX, como continuidad de variedades lingüísticas adoptadas por generaciones anteriores de los esclavos originarios de diversas zonas africanas (Granda 1971: 481-91). Para los defensores de una lengua 'criolla', la convivencia de rasgos 'criollos' e hispánicos son el resultado de la etapa de *descriollización* por la que atraviesa el español cubano de unas cuantas décadas atrás. Otheguy (1973: 323-39), por su parte, considera que el habla *bozal* fue una modalidad 'criolla' durante la época colonial, cuyas raíces son comunes a las demás variedades caribeñas, desarrolladas mediante un proceso de relexificación. Mientras que para Ziegler (1981), el español *bozal* afrocubano constituyó un 'criollo' definible, producto del portugués del siglo XV y con influencias tardías de lenguas africanas occidentales, de dialectos del español no estándar y del 'criollo' inglés jamaicano. Perl (1982, 1985, 1989), defiende que el español cubano contemporáneo es el resultado de una lengua 'criolla' en el pasado, cuyo estado actual demuestra un proceso de *descriollización* en el que fenómenos 'criollos' morfosintácticos conviven con formas del español estándar. Más recientemente, Figueroa Arencibia (1992, 1995) ha apoyado la influencia del sistema morfológico de las lenguas africanas, así como algunas huellas del habla *bozal* cubana, en la formación y evolución del español suroriental de Cuba. Asimismo, Schwegler (1996) ha defendido la formación de un 'criollo' en el Caribe hispánico a base de la presencia de los pronombres afroportugueses *(ele, elle, nelle)* en variedades 'negras' del español de América, incluyendo el Caribe insular.

La hipótesis 'criolla' queda formal y explícitamente expuesta en las siguientes palabras de Granda (1978: 502):

> Los esclavos negros establecidos en diferentes áreas de la América española desde el siglo XVI al XIX manejaron, primeramente junto a sus hablas africanas aborígenes y posteriormente con carácter exclusivo o al menos dominante, un código lingüístico 'criollo'. Esta modalidad de lengua fue evolucionando, con velocidad y características dependientes de los condicionamientos sociohistóricos propios de cada área geográfica y período cronológico, hacia el español **substandard** de las diferentes zonas hispanoamericanas en que el fenómeno se produjo, a través de un 'continuum' poscriollo en el que, progresivamente, el basilecto 'criollo' se transformó, por

reestructuración y relexificación hacia el español, en mesolecto y, finalmente, en el acrolecto actual.

Para este investigador, entre los africanos—antes de la entrada como esclavos a suelo americano español—se conocía y manejaba un código lingüístico que éstos utilizaron como lengua de contacto con la población española dominante, el cual se convirtió posteriormente en la base de la lengua que se iba desarrollando en el territorio entre amos y dominados. Por lo tanto, el autor español rechaza el canon establecido que postula una inmediata asimilación sociolingüística en el contacto étnico afrohispánico (p.e. López Morales 1980), y propone el habla 'criolla' como fase intermedia entre el contacto y la adquisición del español en algunas áreas de Hispanoamérica. Defiende explícitamente, además de una base 'criolla', la 'teoría monogenética', la cual postula un origen común entre las hablas 'criollas', como resultado del tráfico esclavista impuesto por los portugueses a partir del siglo XV. Por ende, de haberse llevado a cabo el proceso que defiende Granda (1978), la adquisición del español entre los esclavos pasó por un 'criollo' de base portuguesa que mediante el transcurso del tiempo pasó por etapas de reestructuración y relexificación, como consecuencia del contacto con la lengua dominante o 'relexificadora' (el español) a partir del siglo XIX. En aquellas zonas geográficas, como por ejemplo, el Caribe hispánico, en particular Cuba, en donde el flujo de africanos fue sistemático, el elemento 'criollo' mantuvo mayor arraigo (Granda 1978: 315).

A pesar de que, en la exposición de la hipótesis de una lengua 'criolla' en territorio americano, Granda (1978: 383) reconoce que "un fuerte proceso de transculturación lingüística determinó el recubrimiento de la capa de habla 'criolla' existente entre la población negra por el actual empleo de la variante *standard* del español de cada zona geográfica, a través, seguramente, del desarrollo de evoluciones reestructuradoras y relexificadoras," por otro lado, defiende, que las reliquias (vivas aún o pretéritas) de un estadio anterior 'criollo' en el habla de las comunidades negras hispanoamericanas son suficientes para postular dicha hipótesis como segura dentro de las estrictas exigencias metodológicas.

Metodología

Para apoyar o desmentir esta hipótesis se requiere documentación lingüística y extralingüística de primera mano, objetivo que en los últimos años se ha convertido en el centro de los estudios de este tema (Schwegler 1996, 1997; Ortiz López 1996, 1998, en prensa; Green 1997, en prensa). Estos investigadores han iniciado un trabajo de campo que procura—con la evidencia empírica recogida—aportar nuevos hallazgos para la reconstrucción de las modalidades afro-hispánicas de América dentro de la dialectología y la etno-sociolingüística.

En el trabajo de campo en suelo cubano, nos acercamos a las zonas rurales y marginales cubanas en busca de ancianos negros descendientes legítimos de africanos traídos a Cuba durante la época esclavista iniciada con la conquista misma (Saco 1962: 115) y extendida hasta 1776, quienes contribuyeron económica y socio-culturalmente a la formación e idiosincrasia del pueblo cubano.

Para la elaboración de este trabajo,

seleccionamos un corpus testimonial proveniente de sujetos ancianos afrocubanos residentes en las provincias de La Habana, Matanzas, Santiago de Cuba y Guantánamo, las cuales se consideran las áreas de mayor población negra en Cuba. Las primeras dos provincias fueron los centros occidentales de mayor producción azucarera, en alguna medida, como resultado de la gran importación de esclavos que recibieron desde el siglo XVI hasta el XIX, siglo en el que "mantenían aún barracones de patio recién construidos o en vías de construcción" (Pérez de la Riva 1975:12). Las provincias orientales, por su parte, son el producto de los africanos traídos a la isla, primero directamente desde España, luego desde Africa, y de aquellos esclavos importados de la isla vecina, Haití, entre 1790 y 1868 (Cremé y Duharte 1994). Según Pérez de la Riva (1975: 54), la zona oriental poseía más del 50 porciento de la inmigración haitiana en Cuba.[3]

La localización de los informantes se hizo siguiendo la "técnica de bola de nieve", común en aquellas situaciones en que los sujetos que se buscan no aparecen documentados en ninguna parte (Martínez Marín 1983). La técnica consiste en preguntar a los encuestados previamente acerca de otros individuos con características similares, luego preguntar a éstos sobre otros sujetos, y así sucesivamente. Siguiendo esta técnica, entrevistamos a (70) ancianos afrocubanos, de los cuales el 58.5% corresponde a ancianos mayores de 80 años, de quienes formalmente obtuvimos muestras de actuación lingüística y testimonios grabados. Para la obtención de los testimonios, les pedimos que nos narraran aquel pasado, la vida de los esclavos, las costumbres la forma de hablar. Los fragmentos de las conversaciones grabadas vinculados con el habla afrohispánica del negro *bozal,* así como los trozos que testimonian la vida de los esclavos y congéneres y el habla de éstos en el escenario cubano fueron transliterados ortográficamente.

Análisis de los testimonios

Podemos subdividir el corpus testimonial referente al lenguaje afrocubano en tres categorías básicas:

1) los testimonios generales que incluyen adjetivos calificativos del habla de los bozales traídos a Cuba;

2) los testimonios sobre datos específicos del lenguaje, y

3) los testimonios en los que se imita el habla afrohispánica de los esclavos.

Al decodificar estos testimonios, los narradores reconocen que la lengua que hablaban los negros bozales no respondía a los patrones del español estándar que se iba gestando en Cuba. Era, según nuestros testimoniantes, *"un dialecto enreda'o, tragiversa'o, feo, mal habla'o, bozalón, cruzado y al revés"*. Sin embargo, a pesar de lo llamativo de estos calificativos, y de lo que pudieran significar, aún son insuficientes como para llegar a conclusiones. No sabemos si se trataba de un "registro simplicado", una "lengua contaminada", un "pidgin" o una "lengua criolla" (Apéndice 1). Sí podemos aceptar que la modalidad bozal era una variante apartada del español, que surgió como resultado del contacto de lenguas africanas, el portugués y el español.

Entre los mismos esclavos de nación existía una complejidad lingüística, la cual a juzgar por los testimonios, manifestaba diferentes comportamientos lingüísticos como consecuencia de los múltiples

factores etno-sociolingüísticos que imperaban en suelo cubano, por ejemplo, el tipo de contacto, el aislamiento, la procedencia, el tiempo en la isla, entre otros. Los que convivían con blancos en tareas domésticas manifestaban un comportamiento lingüístico *'regular, bastante claro, aunque siempre con deje africano'* como parece ser el caso de una esclava llamada Amalia; mientras que los que vivían en las zonas aisladas, dentro de barracones, cuyos interlocutores eran otros esclavos o descendientes *'hablaban su lengua de ello' 'el lucumí, la lengua lucumí/congo', 'ditinto al cubano'; 'pero no hablaba catellano e así claro nunca, poqque mi abuela era de lo congo musindi* (Apéndice 2). Por lo tanto, estos testimonios parecen confirmar que entre los bozales se hablaba una lengua diferente y distante del español. Entonces, nos preguntamos: ¿en qué consistía esa lengua?; ¿cuáles eran sus particularidades? Más adelante, nuestros sujetos nos ofrecerán testimonios lingüísticos más específicos sobre aquella manera de hablar del bozal.

Respecto a los nacidos en Cuba, los testimonios documentan la adquisición bastante normal del español: *depué fueron lo sijo naciendo y fueron ya dominando algo el catellano; Lo sijo habían que nacían mejol. Lo que nacían aquí no. Hablaban bien"* (Apéndice 3); aunque no todos pasaban por los mismos procesos lingüísticos, como han defendido los opositores a ultranza del 'criollo' en Cuba (López Morales 1980; Valdés Bernal 1978; Martínez Gordo 1982), pues, el modelaje lingüístico determinaba el nivel de adquisición de los hijos:

> Eso tenían su fomma de hablar poqque la fomma de hablar era una fomma de hablar no era correcta, lo que le oían a lo padre así aprendían ello hablar. Como ello oían hablá a lo padre así aprendían ello, pero no tenían digamo la lengua de lo lo antecesore dellos (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A).

> Decían inta yo hago eto, inta yo hace eto, inta que se yo. No decían bien. ...Vá vení o yo ta aquí y nosotro también nada como muchacho hablábano así (F91, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

El corpus testimonial evidencia también la complejidad lingüística que presenciaban tanto los negros de nación como los nacidos en Cuba. No existe una fórmula única que reúna todas las posibilidades lingüísticas que reflejaban estos hablantes; sin embargo, aquella situación sociolingüística provocó una serie de situaciones muy particulares: 1) los africanos pasaron por diversas etapas de aprendizaje del español, entre ellas, aquéllas descritas por los afrocubanos como un español *'enreda'o, extraño, distinto, feo, mal habla'o, extranjero, bozalón, cruzado y al revés';* 2) la competencia del español evidenciada por los africanos importados a suelo cubano era distinta a la variedad que llegaban a dominar los hijos y generaciones sucesivas nacidos en la isla, aunque entre algunos se daban condiciones particulares que afectaban la adquisición; 3) los efectos que provocaban factores extralingüísticos como, por ejemplo, la integración social del negro a la comunidad de habla hispanocubana, la convivencia con los amos, el modelaje lingüístico mediante los progenitores y la procedencia en el proceso de adquisición y aprendizaje del español como primera o segunda lengua respectivamente, eran considerables; 4) la

presencia del francés y el 'criollo' haitiano, junto al resto de la población africana, ejerció cierta influencia en la formación del español suroriental de Cuba.

Estos hallazgos parecen coincidir con algunos testimonios de historiadores e intelectuales aficionados del lenguaje hablado en Cuba durante el siglo pasado y principios del presente, así como con los argumentos del debate que ha provocado la presencia africana y su influencia lingüística en el español hablado en muchas zonas de Latinoamérica, aspecto que consideraremos más adelante. Por otro lado, los testimonios proveen información lingüística valiosa que nos permiten indagar más a fondo en los rasgos fonéticos, morfológicos y sintácticos que caracterizaban aquel sistema lingüístico, evidencia que nos arrojaría luz en torno aquel instrumento comunicativo.

Entre los fenómenos fonéticos que con mayor sistematicidad resaltaron los sujetos, se destacaron: 1) el cambio de /r/ > /d/: *yo te vé se cuento de toro cosa de que to pasó* (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana,, 33A); 2) la palatalización de la alveolar + i */ni/* y la vocal */i/: ...en ve de decil mi nieto él [el africano] decía mi ñêto, mi ñeto* (M57, La Maya, Santiago de Cuba, 8B); *se referían a mi hijo y decía mi yijo, mi yijo* (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A); 3) la neutralización de */rr/* y */r/: Se referían a la tierra y decían mi tiera* (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A); 4) neutralización de */r/ y /l/* inicial o interior de sílaba y/o final de palabra: *Fabián [esclavo] decía:" bonito coló, bonito colól buen peso pero no me guta"* (M57, La Maya, Santiago de Cuba, 8B); *ella (Goyita) no decía esclavo, decía ecravo, ecravo* (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A); 5) la elisión de consonantes finales de palabras, como la */s/* y la */r/: *no terminaban la palabra, las eses, las eres, esa, esa no se pronunciaban* (F73, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B), y 6) fenómenos fonéticos de carácter popular, como metátesis, resilabificación y diptongación: (*matrillo, nagua, piaso).*

En cuanto a la morfología, identificaron: 1) la invariabilidad del sintagma nominal: *Rosario no decía el tinajero, la tinajero... ella martillo no decía martillo, la matrillo* (M85, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B); 2) el uso del pronombre de sujeto como objeto: *Mi abuela decía: Yo mira tú do vece y tú no hacé caso...* (M91, Marianao, La Habana, 38A); 3) la ausencia de determinantes: *Ella (Rosario) no decía ¿qué tiene el muchacho? Ella decía ¿qué tiene ø muchacho?, ¿Qué tiene ø muchacho?* (M85, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B); 4)el uso de determinantes invariables: *poqque yo tá vení de lo tiera mía de'llá de lo de lo Africo ... yo tá decí ø cosa, yo te vá sé ø cuento...libre como en lo tiera mío...* (M66, Centro Habana, LaHabana, 32A).

Respecto al nivel sintáctico, mencionaron:

1) el uso de la tercera persona del verbo:

Ta Javier le decían ... y cuando lo muchacho se ponía y le decía algo, el decía: 'carajó, yo te va'. ...que él no mete conmigo, deja quieto, uté mira y sigue... él no eté riendo, porque si él tá riendo de mi carajo lo jode... yo lo jode' (M85, Güira de Melena, 1B).

yo manda pa que tu mamá te lo cocine la comida esa que tú va comé ta talde (M90, Boyeros, La Habana, 3A).

Yo ta aquí, así hablaban (F91, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

2) la presencia de la partícula aspectual *tá:*

¿Qué carajo tú tá mirá, yo te vá joder... (M85, Guira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

yo vite tu manzó, ya tá decí, yo tá mirá.... Son cosa buena, no tá entendé. Yo tá mirá cosa que yo no entendé (F45, Guanabacoa, La Habana, 3B).

Tá compendé, son cosa grande que vá sucedé, y yo tá mirá hace día... pero hay cosa que no se puen decí (M67, Guanabacoa, La Habana, 3B)

Yo tá vení de lo tiera mío... Si tú tá queré que yo tá decí cosa (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A).

yo vá catigá tú poqque tú te quedá allí namá pa lengutal lo que tá convesá nosotro (F91, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

3) el uso de la partícula aspectual *vá:*

yo te vá se (hacer) cuento de toro cosa... yo vá sarúa al niño Otavio (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A).

Yo vá di, yo vá vení (91F, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

Yo mirá tú do vece...ahora yo te vá catigá (91F, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

4) el manejo del verbo en infinitivo:

Oye ven acá niño yo queré jablál contigo... que yo lo vo mandá a sé (M66, Centro Habana, 32A)

Yo tumbár caña la colonia (M45, Guanabacoa, La Habana, 3B).

Por falta de espacio, no hemos incorporado otros datos provenientes de testimonios 'crudos' (Apéndice 4), ni evidencia léxica. Tampoco podremos entrar en un juicio valorativo de cada uno de estos rasgos, desde luego, muchos de ellos con un origen muy debatido. Algunos de estos fenómenos aparecen en la actuación lingüística de hablantes caribeños, americanos, andaluces, canarios y de otras variedades peninsulares; sin embargo la mayoría son propios de las hablas afrohispánicas, como lo documentan los textos literarios afrohispánicos peninsulares y americanos, el criollo palenquero, el papiamento, y en alguna medida en otras modalidades negras como es el portugués popular de Brasil. De este conglomerado de rasgos, se destacan aquéllos que tienen un fuerte vínculo con las hablas criollas, por ejemplo, la pronunciación del fonema /r/ como /d/; la invariabilidad nominal y adjetival; el manejo del verbo en tercera persona singular; las presencia de partículas preverbales como marcas temporales, modales y aspectuales de los verbos, entre ellas *tá, ya, vá;* la ausencia de verbos conjugados, preferiblemente en su forma infinitiva, entre otros.

Estas características, por un lado, se distancian marcadamente de las hablas hispánicas maternas de Cuba y del mundo hispánico en general y, por otro, coinciden con criollos como el palenquero, el papiamento, las hablas bozales transcritas en textos peninsulares y americanos. Como hemos visto, en la memoria de estos informantes analfabetos aún existen datos lingüísticos de primera mano asociados con el habla de los negros (por ejemplo, un sistema verbal simplificado basado en partículas preverbales para portar los significados de perfectivo-durativo,

imperfectivo y futuro) que coinciden plenamente con hallazgos de investigaciones previas sobre el tema y, a su vez, nos permite enjuiciar aquella modalidad de habla. Reconocen, además, diferencias lingüísticas entre africanos importados e hijos de éstos nacidos en suelo cubano, producto de variables extralingüísticas, que refuerzan la hipótesis de procesos de aprendizaje entre africanos y adquisición entre descendientes.

Conclusiones

Como señalamos al comienzo de este trabajo, el testimonio nos permite reconstruir la 'verdad' según el punto de vista del nativo; en palabras de una informante: *"Sí, yo recueddo batante poqque era lo que yo oía"* (F91, Marianao, La Habana, 38B). Nuestros testimonios nos permiten adentrarnos en los hechos de habla de nuestros antepasados africanos y aportar nuevos hallazgos a la polémica génesis del español (afro)caribeño. Desde luego, estos datos junto a otros hallazgos recientes (Ortiz López 1996, 1998) contribuyen a desmentir la postura conónica de un aprendizaje inmediato del español entre los esclavos y una adquisición espontánea entre los descendientes, así como a rechazar los postulados simplistas de compenetración cultural y aculturación inmediata del negro. Asimismo, ayudan a ubicar en su justa perspectiva la génesis y evolución del español bozal y el de sus descendientes en relación con el español caribeño.

Estos testimonios comprueban que entre los bozales—y entre algunos de sus descendientes —de zonas aisladas se creó un código lingüístico afrohispánico fuertemente vinculado más que a una lengua plenamente 'criolla', a una modalidad 'semicriollada', entendida ésta como una variedad lingüística que posee conjuntamente rasgos 'criollos' (por ejemplo, las partículas preverbales *tá, ya, vá*, la doble negación, el pronombre *elle* en el habla afrohispánica cubana) y no 'criollos,' sin que ello implique necesariamente que alguna vez hubiera pasado por una modalidad 'criolla' basilectal, o sea, un 'criollo' plenamente formado, pues, según el promotor de esta teoría, Holm (1988: 9), tanto los 'criollos' como los no 'criollos' pueden convertirse en semicriollos al tomar prestados rasgos. A nuestro juicio, los testimonios y los datos lingüísticos hasta ahora presentados parecen apoyar la semicriollización de la modalidad afrohispánica caribeña del pasado y la de aún aquellos hablantes (afro)caribeños de zonas rurales, aisladas y fuertemente asociadas con el mundo esclavista y sus tradiciones (por ejemplo entre afrocubanos y afro-dominicanos), como defienden Green (1997, en prensa), Ortiz López (en prensa B), Holm, Lorenzino y De Mello (en prensa).

Según los datos testimoniales y lingüísticos, los esclavos bozales, durante el proceso de aprendizaje del español, pasaron por etapas muy variadas que van desde la formación de un 'pidgin elaborado' hasta la transferencia de rasgos acriollados a la variedad afrohispánica que iban aprendiendo, entre ellos, la puesta en marcha de formas lingüísticas (nominales, verbales y sintácticas) apartadas del español estándar que se hablaba en la región. Algunas de estas formas aparecen en boca de hablantes afrocubanos y dominicanos y/o se mantienen en la memoria de muchos de ellos.

Por otra parte, la criollización general del habla de los bozales y del español de sus descendientes (afro)cubanos es difícil

de probar con los datos con que contamos. De ser así, estaríamos aceptando que entre ambos grupos se formó una variedad mixta, producto del contacto entre las lenguas africanas, el español y el portugués de los traficantes de esclavos, convertida en lengua materna de aquéllos que adquirían el vernáculo y, que a su vez, fue evolucionando internamente hasta transformarse en la variedad acrolectal (más cercana a la modalidad estándar del español actual) que se habla en la región. Esta situación difícilmente se produjo en el Caribe hispánico por razones históricas y sociales como han defendido Mintz (1971), Laurance (1974), López Morales (1980), Vázquez (1995), McWhorter (1995).

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Apéndice 1

la Rosario Macía, esa también fue una de las que nació liberto, también, pero esa sí sí hablaba mal, esa hablaba enreda'o. Vaya, el, el idioma hablarlo mal. ... No, no [hablaban castellano] ni parecido, muy lejos, muy lejos del español que hablamos nosotros. Mucha cosa extraña hablaba [Rosario], hablaba como una cosa extraña (M85, Guira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

Sí, ella llegó (Goyita) hablar epañol, hablaba un poco epañol, lo hablaba batante enreda'o, pero hablaba (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 31A).

Enredado, cuando yo digo enreda'o e que una palabra correcta no la decía correcta como como nosotro podemo decirla ahora, correcta no. Porque a lo mejor ella decía decirnos uno eclavo y ella no decía eclavo, decia ecravo, ecravo y toda esa serie de cosa (66M, Centro Habana, La Habana, 31A).

Eso antecesore de ello, sí, sí hablaban ahí esa gente. Hablaban esa lengua...hablaban esa fomma, ese dialecto tragiversa'o (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 31A).

Ella, no decían no pronunciaban bien, hablaban muy etraño. Nosotro decíano abuelita pero qué é lo que uté quiere. Mi mamá decía utede saben que su abuela quiere eto (F91, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

Un poco extraño sí [refiriéndose al habla de Rosario]. Un poco extraño sí. Distinto, vaya. Mucha, mucha palabra que uno la comprendía como eran pero distinto a lo que no fuimo eclavo (F96, Güira de Melena, La Habana).

Como Rosario igual o peol. Esa vieja, vivía en un tubo... pero eso hablaba que no se le entendía.... pero hablaba muy extraño. Eso sí que no se le entendía lo que hablaba. Esa sí e vedda poqque e de africana, esa era africana...Hablaba muy etraño, Lorenzo poqque no sólo la palabra poqque no me arecueddo ya hace tiempo deso, pero e en la formma deleite de hablá la fomma de hablá muy etraña (M96, Güira de Melena, La

muy etraña (M96, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

Suponel como la palabra muy ditinta, muy ditinta, muy ditinta (M96, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

E como un etranjero (M67, Guanabacoa, La Habana, 4A).

...si con un acento con un deje que se notaban que no eran originales. Esoh negro eran bozaloneh....como cuando vienen loh muetto congoh esoh ...así hablaban eso negro descendiente de africanoh y los africanoh cuando ya empezaron a manejá nuehtro idioma (M45, Guanabacoa, La Habana, 4A).

¡A claro!, porque eran etranjero, los traían de allá (F80, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

...otro señol llamado Seferino Paule no convelsaba el catellano bien. También era africano.... Sí cruzado, ete, vaya convelsaban mal, vaya cruzado mal....La veldá que ello tenían su deje ello tenía deje para hablar... (M81, Contramaestre, Santiago de Cuba, 16B).

Hablaban feo, extraño, esa gente hablaban etraño (F60, La Maya, Santiago de Cuba, 8A).

Apéndice 2

Considérese poqque, lo que tenían la suette que etaban en la casa de lo eso hablaban ditinto [españoles, cubanos], pero lo que tenían que etal ...ello ahí, no podían, no era posible. Hablaban, ello hablaban su lengua de ello que ello eran quien se entendían (F96, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

Y cuando un negro en la eclavitú hablaba un poquito regular era poqque etaba recibiendo una enseñanza que se la daba el amo. El amo le daba la enseñanza esa ma o meno y sabía conducisse y hablar (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A).
Había casas que la tenían allí, casa de familia particulal y la tenían allí, y a esa la enseñaban lo amo (91F, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

Mi abuela como fue criada en una casa de, en la casa de de lo de lo samo hablaba batante claro, pero siempre con el deje, con el deje africano (F88, Marianao, La Habana, 38B).

Y Amalia no hablaba etraño tampoco, Pero elle siempre etaba no etuvo así con el grupo de africano y de eclavo junto, sino ella etaba siempre en la casa de cocinera o criando muchacho cosa así (F96, Güira de Melena, La Habana, 2A).

Apéndice 3

Sabe lo que pasa que esa gente aquí el eclavo lo que hablaba era el lucumí, la lengua lucumí/congo, esa cosa como vinieron de Africa, eso era lo que ellos habraban, depué fueron lo sijo naciendo y fueron ya dominando algo el catellano (M85, Guira de Melena, La Habana, 1B).

El español igual cubano igual. Esa gente [los hijos de africanos] aprendieron una vida, cubana igual... Ello [los africanos]hablaban ditinto al cubano, lo único que había alguno que se le entendía lo que hablaban igual (M90, Boyeros, La Habana, 3A).

Lo sijo habían que nacían mejol. Lo que nacían aquí no. Hablaban bien. (F90, Cuatro Caminos, Palenque, Santiago de Cuba, 9A).

Eso tenían su fomma de hablar poqque la fomma de hablar era una fomma de hablar no era correcta, lo que le oían a lo padre así aprendían ello hablar. Como ello oían hablá a lo padre así aprendían ello, pero no tenían

digamo la lengua de lo lo antecesore dellos (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana, 32A).

Decían inta yo hago eto, inta yo hace eto, inta que se yo. No decían bien. ...Vá vení o yo ta aquí y nosotro también nada como muchacho hablábano así (F91, Marianao, La Habana, 38A).

Apéndice 4

Entonce ya tá decí pa'ti. Niño, tú tá queré que lo negro áa decí cuanto yo vá hacé, si me tá acodá. Cuando yo tá vení de lo tiera mío sí poqque yo tá sé negro de nación. Entonce, yo branco tá cojé a toitico lo negro de lo de lo monte en baracón grande, grande. Y que tá metío dentro de lo mimo má. Negro tá soprendío sí señor. Otro negro etá juí juí po lo monte paque lo branco no lo tá podé cojé. Yo era un peque un piquinine e niño, como utede. Asi mimitico. Taita mío etá peliá y peliá con lo branco y tá morí. Sí. Mi amá, mi amá etá traé a mí mucho día sin que lo ve el só(l). No lo la quiera branco no no sé malo malo no sé malo con lo negro. Da mucho cuero y si negra tá revirá lo tá matá como per(r)o mimo, sí señó. Uni día blanco tá decí que salí de lo baracón entonce el negro etá mirá una tiera muy bonito, ¡linda tierra carai¡ Y tá creé que sotro mundo. Branco tá jabla que te jabla jabla que te jabla, no entendé, poqque el negro no jabla como lo branco. Y tá decí. Si lo negro no tá endé lo branco le mando lo cuero pa'que el negro tá entendé Luego branco lleva a uno baracó y pone a trabajá, entonce no, no le no no negro no sé libre como en lo tierra mío sí señó. Sé cabrón [cabrón], sé bravo mucho trabaja, mucho trabaja tá cogé mucho cuero pa'que lo trabaja y tá tené que decí a lo branco. Me mijamo mijamo tá decí y tá decí ovvida a lo diose de lo negro. Branco con bata lagga con cuu? En lo pecho que Dio de lo negro no sé cosa de lo diablo, sé cosa de lo diablo como negro sufrí no pa pué defocá lo tambó palegrá a diose de lo negro poqque branco tá poné furioso, furioso así pasa mucho tiempo yo tá jecho uno jombre y mi jama etá morí. ??? Yo trabaja mucho da que sa de só a só pero negro que no trabaja su jamo le tá decí a lo mayorá que cuero mucho cuero con lo negro paque lo negro trabaja para branco. "Déjala aí, é sabé lo que ta haciendo, déjalo yo no lo va yudá na ese tá pagá todo lo saño que ta siendo ovvidá, poqque sé muy malo. E acabá con todo gente de lo ? E tá cabá con to hata con madre suyo ta cogé y tá cé cosa malo. Déjalo aí que yo me vá metemme e ná. Yo si sá sabé lo que tá poqque e lo que tá pagando lo que tá haciendo en lo tiera. To lo a hecho yo no vá corré ná" Y era la mujer dél (M66, Centro Habana, La Habana. 32B/ 33A).

Notas

[1] Sobre la modalidad de habla palenquera de San Basilio, en Cartagena, Colombia, contamos con una extensa bibliografía: Escalante (1954), Montes Giraldo (1962), Bickerton y Escalante (1970), Granda (1972), Friedemann y Patiño (1983), Megenney (1983, 1986), Patiño (1989), Schwegler (1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1992).

[2]Entre los principales defensores de la postura criolla para el españo caribeño se encuentran Granda (1968a, 1968b, 1970, 1971, 1976, 1978, 1994), Ziegler (1981), González y Benavides (1982), Megenney (1982, 1984, 1985, 1990, 1993), Perl (1982, 1985, 1989a, 1989b), Lorenzino (1993) y Schwegler (1996, 1996, en prensa). Para un estado de la cuestión del tema vea Lipski (1993, 1994).

[3]El habla de la comunidad haitiana en la zona oriental de Cuba es objeto de una investigación en progreso. Los primeros resultados aparecen en Ortiz López (1996, en prensa).

Denuncia y Complicidad

by Norberto P. James

Santo Domingo: Editora Taller, 1997. 156 pp.

Reviewed by James J. Davis

Norberto P. James Rawlings is perhaps best known in literary circles as a Dominican poet who has published four volumes to date. His 1969 prize-winning poem, "Los inmigrantes," included in his *Hago Constar (Poemas 1969-1972)*, plunged him into a budding star in Dominican letters as a poet. *Denuncia y complicidad*, however, represents James' excursion into the world of scholarly investigation. The text is an in-depth study of two Dominican novels, *Jengibre* (1940) by Pedro Andrés Pérez Cabral and *Trementina, Clerén y Bongó* (1943) by Julio González Herrera. The volume is based on James' doctoral dissertation ("Un estudio socio-cultural de dos novelas dominicanas de la era de Trujillo: *Jengibre* y *Trementina, Clerén y Bongó*," Boston University, 1992). I point out the original title of the dissertation for a specific reason. It is much more descriptive of the text's content than the rather intriguing, yet possibly misleading, title under which the work is published. While this reviewer appreciates the need of book publishers to create an eye-catching title for purposes of marketing, I must admit that, for me, the chosen title seems a bit more appropriate for a novel or some other work of fiction.

The text is neatly arranged in the following sections: Introducción; El contexto histórico-literario; *Jengibre*: la denuncia desbocada; *Trementina, Clerén y Bongó*: la denuncia cómplice; Conclusiones; and Bibliografía. The five-page introduction offers a very lucid and coherent rationale for the study. James points out that the two works under study have received very little criticism and have remained essentially obscure. He summarizes the reasons in his concluding statements when he writes that: "El silencio en torno a estas obras obedece al rechazo de una, *Jengibre*, por la crítica literaria tradicional debido a su descarnado reproche al regimen de Trujillo; la otra, *Trementina, Clerén y Bongó* ha sido ignorada por la crítica contemporánea dado su trujillismo, su racismo antihaitiano y su descarada apología al intervencionismo norteamericano" (p. 134). James warns in his acknowledgments (p. 9) that there are sections in the work which might seem redundant, sketchy, overstated or even unnecessary for the Dominican reader and reminds us that the study was written with North American academicians in mind. This reviewer, however, deems such an "apology" unnecessary because these two novels and the specific socio-cultural context in which they were produced remain little known to Dominicans who, both at home and abroad, continue to grapple with a series of "antis–" "–nesses" and "–isms": anti-Haitianism, anti-Blackness, Trujillism, half-islandness, pessimism, interventionism, capitalism, and racism.

James' work explores profoundly the issues of Dominicans' deep-rooted psychological and historical reactions to race and ethnicity. The continual strained relations between Haitians and Dominicans play

major roles in the two novels studied and James confronts this issue with integrity and objectivity. While James deals with questions of race and racism throughout the text, this reviewer calls special attention to his chapter subdivisions entitled "Pesimismo y racismo" (pp. 60-69), "Haitianos y cocolos" (pp. 93-95), "Incidente domínico-haitiano" (pp. 123-126), and "El vodú: religión domínico-haitiana" (pp. 126-131). It is in these sections that James proffers the seeds of a "new rhetoric" which clashes ostensibly with that of the dominant and traditional Dominican thought regarding the tremendous contributions of African-descended peoples to Dominican culture.

In adddition to making available a serious study on two obscure anti-Trujillo novels from the 1940s, James' study is important also because it offers the perspective of a representative of a cultural group which has been marginalized in Dominican society. In addition to the Haitians and native Dominican Blacks, the settling on Dominican soil of Blacks from other Caribbean islands ("cocolos") and Blacks from the United States ("americanos") has complicated the racial crossword puzzle in the Dominican Republic. James is himself the descendant of Blacks from Jamaica and North America, hence the last names James Rawlings. While James (and others) may disagree with me, incidents like the Haitian [Dominican-Haitian] massacre of 1937 and the more recent killing of hundreds of Blacks in Palma Sola in 1962 continue to be a source of dissonance for many socially conscientious Dominican Blacks. James' treatment of the Haitian-Dominican conflict is prevalent throughout the study. He could have chosen to minimize it, but he did not. That point is significant! James' approach to the two novels he chose to expose to the public reveals much about James himself.

Denuncia y complicidad uncovers many directions of the maze of Dominican culture and history. James Rawlings is to be applauded for offering such a comprehensive and provocative study. This reviewer was prompted to reread *Jengibre* and to read for the first time *Trementina, Clerén y Bongó*. James' work should help us to alter our thinking on Dominican cultural history as well as our views on the Dominican discourse on what makes Dominicans who they are. With my personal preferences regarding the chosen title for the study aside, James' study is sure to spark greater research activity on Dominican literature by scholars from the Dominican Republic, the United States and from other countries. James aptly laments that "La literatura dominicana, en lo concierne a los círculos académicos norteamericanos, ha sido hasta hace poco víctima de la más fría indiferencia e ignorancia" (p. 133). I support that claim and extend it further by suggesting that Dominican literature, especially that which deals with the controversial issue of race in the Americas, is largely ignored. The literature of the Dominican Republic indeed does merit a prominent place in Latin American literary studies. James' *Denuncia y complicidad* offers us an invaluable guide and resource which will undoubtedly help us to unravel further that which is Dominican.

Reflections of Loko Miwa

by Lilas Desquiron

translated from the French original version (*Les Chemins de Loco-Miroir*, Editions Stock 1990) by Robin Orr Bodkin

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998. 198 pp.

Reviewed by Flore Zéphir

Lilas Desquiron's novel, *Reflections of Loko Miwa*, is a poignant and powerful portrayal of the fragmentation and dichotomy that plague Haitian society at every level. On the one hand, it graphically depicts the social class divisions between the mulatto elite and the black poor, the religious divisions between Catholic worshipppers and Voodoo practitioners, and the political tensions between the Duvaliers' corrupt politicians and their opponents who want "to remake" the country. Yet, on the other hand, it painfully brings to the fore the ambiguities and complexities of such dichotomies. In her novel, Lilas Desquiron exposes the deeply rooted contradictions of Haitian society with all its hypocrisy, which ultimately results in an irreversible and thundering disruption of the established social order.

The veils of Haitian stratified society are stripped away throughout *Reflections of Loko Miwa*, which is, simply put, the sorrowful story of a mulatto girl, Violaine Delavigne, from the wealthiest section of the Southern town of Jeremie, who at the age of sixteen, is made into a *zonbi* (living dead). This is the punishment imposed by her own mother because the rebellious daughter has violated the sacred codes of conduct, for a girl of her social rank, by allowing herself to fall in love and to be impregnated by Alexandre, a black fellow from the poorer part of town whose family name is unknown and is simply described as Sor Melie's son. Violaine' story—from her birth "in silk and Valenciennes lace" (p. 9) until age eighteen, when she is left as a *zonbi* in front of Bèl Antre at the Iron Market in Port-au-Prince to be reunited with her "twin" sister (p. 181)—is told by multiple, intermittent voices: 1. her own; 2. that of her twin sister Cocotte, a black girl from the village who was raised with Violaine by the Delavigne family (later, I will discuss how this arrangement was made); 3. that of Alexandre, this "no-name" young man; 4. that of Philippe Edouard Rougemont, the son of one of the "high" families of town, whom Violaine was destined to marry, according to the arrangement made by the two families from the moment they were born; 5. that of the gravedigger, Brisius, who was called by the Delavigne family to bury Violaine's body in a gravesite in the village and 6. that of Nounou, the maid of the Delavigne family, who is also a *manbo* (a voodoo priestess) and has the task of bringing Violaine back from the dead and taking her to the trails of *Loko Miwa*, the voodoo spirit that protects twins.

The names of the protagonists themselves exemplify Haitian stratification. The marker *De*, as in *De*Lavigne, is

reminiscent of old French aristocracy; therefore, it is not sur-prising that it belongs to a mulatto family of the "upper crust" of Jeremie. Similarly, the "grand-sounding" name *Philippe Edouard Rougemont* also belongs to a member of the high society. In contrast, *Cocotte* sounds more Creole than French, and, as such, does not suggest any membership in the nobility. It means a "confidante," a friend, as in the Haitian Creole expression *cocotte ak figaro*, used to describe two individuals who are best friends. The absence of Alexandre's family name already tells the reader that the young man is a nobody. After all, people from the slums are not worth knowing; therefore, why should "they" care about their last names? The same can be said about *Nounou*. At best, it sounds like a child's name, or the name of a toy, like a teddy bear. Yet this is the name of the old maid who is never called by her real name, Roselie. In fact, we learn about the real name from the gravedigger (p. 128). One can speculate that she got the name *Nounou* when she began working for the Delavigne family, probably as a *bonne d'enfants* (a nanny). In spite of her age, the children of the house, who are supposedly taught to show deference to their elders, never address her by any title, such as Man Roselie, Sò Roselie, or even Man Nou. Finally, the name *Brisius*, because of its *us* ending, suggests, with a certain degree of accuracy, peasant origin. Who else but the gravedigger could have a name like that?

The words of the protagonist Cocotte (p. 9), "there are always seven veils to be stripped away before the truth hidden behind life's comedy can be seen," eloquently tells the objective of Lilas Desquiron in *Reflections of Loko Miwa*. The author intends to strip away the seven veils that hide the crudity, cruelty, and hypocrisy of Haitian society. In no uncertain terms, she denounces the seven deadly sins of the Haitian aristocracy: 1. they are ashamed of their blackness; 2. they are prejudiced; 3. they are cruel; 4. they are hypocritical; 5. they are untruthful and treacherous; 6. they are informers, and 7. they are shallow.

For the longest time, the Delavignes have managed to hide their powerful family secret, "which is in fact the same secret that all mulatto families from Jeremie fiercely hide at the bottom of a similar old trunk" (pp. 41-42). They all have a BLACK grandparent. Indeed, Violaine discovers in an old trunk a picture of her paternal great-grandmother, Chimène. There is no mistake about it: "the girl is black, black as black can be" (p. 42). At sixteen, Chimène was hired by Great-Grandfather Delavigne as a house-keeper. Mr. Delavigne never married; "in fact, he fell head over heels in love with his young housekeeper," with whom he had three sons (p. 43). Because these boys were the sons of someone important, had striking looks, money, and light-complected skins, they were assured a place in the high society. All the Delavigne sons married proper young women belonging to the Jeremiean aristocracy. Consequently, the mulatto tradition was "safeguarded," and no one saw any reason what-soever to bring to the surface the "shameful" past. Because of her blackness, Chimène was never considered a family member; she was erased completely and "lived her life as a recluse" (p. 43). Since the sins of the past were erased, and "the milk was not spoiled with too much coffee" (to use a Haitian Creole expression), for all intents and purposes,

Chimène never existed. With her passing, any trace of shame brought about by the color Black was forever obliterated.

Therefore, Madame Delavigne cannot allow her daughter Violaine to tarnish the family name by bringing into the world the child of a man who does not belong to her "race," her class, and her world. By refusing to abort the child of the man whom she absolutely adores, Violaine has signed her own death decree. The hate that mulattos harbor toward blackness is stronger than blood relations, stronger than the love a mother might have for her own daughter, her own flesh and blood. In fact, we see in *Reflections of Loko Miwa* that Madame Clorinde Delavigne is capable of causing the death of her only offspring, rather than having a black son-in-law and a black grandchild. As she says to an aunt in the presence of Philippe Edouard Rougemont,

> You don't understand the full extent of our misfortune! She absolutely refuses to have an abortion. She is going to keep him, keep her little black baby...This accursed daughter of mine is going to bring on a terrible scandal, incite rioting and ransacking...(p. 106).

The decision is made. Violaine must perish:

> We are left with only one solution; and as real women, we must not flinch, must not show any fear whatsoever...You understand my dear Clorinde [Violaine's mother], that our shame must remain our secret. We have to act before 'too late' sneaks up and surprises us (p. 106).

And, of course, Alexandre too must disappear. Philippe Edouard Rougemont volunteers for the "noble" task and he finds a way:

> Leave him to me! He's up to his neck in a messy story about invasion. The police don't know it yet, but I'll bring it to their attention (pp. 103-04).

The young mulatto man, just like any other member of his class, could not bear the sight of what he calls "this grotesque arrangement: [his] aristocratic Violaine, a mulatto girl from the upper crust of Jeremie, and Alexandre, a black orphan from nowhere, from the poor side of town" (p. 102). At this time, it did not matter that he and Alexandre had attended the same school and had been friends. As we learned earlier from Cocotte (p. 31), the friendship between these two was unique in Jeremie, in spite of the fact that, "upon leaving school for the day, Philippe Edouard and Alexandre return to two worlds as funda-mentally divided as a river splitting off into different directions at the fork of a hill." The deceitful mask of the "friend" is lifted. Upon the insult made to his aristocratic feelings by a Black "ruffian," Philippe Edouard came to realize that "this type of friendship is often nothing more than a delusion in Jeremie" (p. 101). Consequently, he could free himself from the burden of a friendship that was odd in the first place, and become an informer, all for the sake of preserving the "sanctity" of the aristocratic "race." He had gotten wind of the fact that Alexandre was fomenting some kind of revolt against the Duvalier regime, and was hiding a group of Haitian opponents who had just arrived from Cuba in order to orchestrate an "invasion." What better way to get rid of Alexandre than to report him to the local authorities? In Duvalier's prison,

Philippe Edouard could rest assured that Alexandre would never see the light of day again.

Lilas Desquiron has masterfully unveiled "the true colors" of the so-called Haitian old aristocracy. They feared blackness; and they would seek to preserve the purity of their lightness by all means necessary—treachery, lies, and murder. Yet as paradoxical as it may seem, that same aristocracy was even more fearful of the African spirits, the *lwas*, that their European ancestors called outright superstition. Because of that fear, they faithfully paid their "dues" to the *lwas*, as they believed that this was "an essential condition for maintaining prosperity in [the] family" (p. 44). Through the story of the Delavigne family, Lilas Desquiron successfully unveils another mystery with regard to the religious allegiance of Haitian society.

The very same people who fervently attend Catholic services at church and piously sing: "I am a Christian, which is my glo-or-y, my hope, and my salvation..." are also the ones who dance at the Voodoo ceremonies, and "securely yield to the sacred trance of the Guinean spirits" (p. 99). The Delavigne family followed the "rules," and subsequently honored the decree according to which Cocotte, when she reached her eighth birth-day, had to be brought to town to live with them. Somehow, it had always been written that Violaine's mother and Cocotte's mother would give birth to girls at the exact same time. Therefore, adhering to the desiderata of the *lwa rasin*, Madame Delavigne was chosen to be Cocotte's godmother, and the two girls were raised as twins, or *marasa*. Right after they were born, they were both sanctified by the *lwa rasin*, and the talisman that linked them together was handed to them for safekeeping (p. 10).

However, the Delavignes, according to aristocratic traditions, kept secret the true story behind Cocotte's presence in their home. To all, she was simply a *restavèk*, or a live-in child indentured to a wealthy family. Cocotte's role, because of her class, was to serve Violaine. But paradoxically, because of the will of the *lwas*, her true role was to "protect" Violaine; and that mysterious capacity empowered her to be more a mistress than a servant.

After Violaine's "death," Cocotte was no longer welcome in the Delavignes' home since, according to Madame Delavigne, she had failed all her responsibilities, she "had not taken the necessary steps to protect Violaine" (p. 166). She then moved to Port-au-Prince and two years later, was reunited with Violaine, her *zonbi* twin. Indeed, *Papa Loko* has protected the twins, and together, they would stand tall:

> My God, Jesus, Mary, have mercy! Papa Loko, have mercy! But where has she come from, my Lord Papa? My absolutely beautiful sister, my runaway, where has she come from like this? Has the Kingdom of the Dead given her back to me like this, my poor *marasa*?...Yes, you've made it, my dear. You've arrived. And, you'll see, you'll see how we're both going to stand tall, plant ourselves solidly on our Jeremeian feet once and for all (pp. 181-82).

Lilas Desquiron, owing to her Jeremiean origin, brings an insider's perspective into this vivid portrait of Haitian society. Her novel is, indeed, an ethnographic work that describes the Haitian reality as it is, through the resounding voices of members

of the various social groups that comprise the society. The limpidity of her style and the magical power of the words and images enable the ethnographer to take the reader on a fascinating journey into the depths of Haitian landscape. *Reflections of Loko Miwa* is more like a painting, skillfully done, with each hue meticulously chosen, each brushstroke dexterously applied, each detail insightfully recorded. All masks are removed, and all hidden truths behind Haitian society—a slice of life's great comedy—stare at you, piercingly, right in the eyes.

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