

African Influence

- ◆ Anti-Andaluciasta position often attributes Andalusian-like features, such as s-weakening, to African influence
- ◆ Historical accounts of African-influenced Spanish
- ◆ Most features may not have survived beyond first generation
- ◆ A few African features may persist in Caribbean
- ◆ No general Afro-Spanish

Europeans in Africa

- ◆ 1445 - first permanent contacts with sub-saharan Africa (Portugal) - Arguim island off Mauratania
- ◆ Settlement in Senegal some years later

African slave trade

- ◆ Attempts to enslave Native Americans were generally unsuccessful
- ◆ By 1455 1000 slaves a year came through Arguim to Portugal
- ◆ By the end of the 15th century Lisbon was 25% African
- ◆ Also significant populations in Sevilla, Cádiz, Huelva, and Valencia

Treaty of Tordesillas

- ◆ 1494 - divided Brazil from Spanish America
- ◆ Portugal exclusive commercial and colonial rights in Africa
- ◆ Slaves to Spanish America came via Portuguese slavers
- ◆ Spanish government required that they be shipped first to Sevilla and then to New World
- ◆ Later three American ports authorized to receive slaves: Veracruz, Cartegena, and Portobelo; later Havana and Venezuelan ports; finally Buenos Aires and Montevideo

Portuguese and Dutch

- ◆ Portuguese monopoly until 1640, when Dutch captured slaving areas in Africa, entering the slave trade.
- ◆ Portuguese returned in early 18th century, followed by French and British slavers; also the Spanish Compañía Gaditana.
- ◆ By late 18th century Spain allowed slave trade from all nations - some from Africa and others from various colonies (e.g. Brazil, Curaçao, Barbados, Jamaica)
- ◆ Dutch and Portuguese were the main traders

Slavery Banned

- ◆ In early 19th century, Britain banned slavery and began intercepting slave ships
- ◆ Intensified intra-American trade, as plantation economies developed in the Caribbean (e.g. Cuba), 100,000s of slaves imported
- ◆ Slave revolt in Haiti.

African languages

- ◆ At first, there was an attempt to bring slaves from different backgrounds
- ◆ As the situation became tighter, this practice was abandoned
- ◆ As a result, there was significant representation of a number of African languages, including KiKongo and Yoruba

Slavery ban in Spain

- ◆ Spain banned slavery in Spain and in its colonies in 1811
- ◆ Exceptions were made for Cuba, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo.
- ◆ Various treaties between Britain and European countries to end slave trade (often paid off).
- ◆ Many former Spanish colonies abolish slavery in early 19th century.
- ◆ Cuba abolished slavery in 1862
- ◆ Puerto Rico 1873

African Spanish

◆ Several Golden Age parodies of Afro-Spanish. Features include:

- lack of agreement and concord
- lack of prepositions
- loss of final s
- $d > r / V_V$
- addition of final vowel (e.g. *Dioso* for *Dios*)

African features

- ◆ African Spanish features, continued:
 - $r > l$ (*neglo*)
 - Quevedo: "sabrás guineo en volviendo rr ll y al contraio: como *Francisco - Flancico, primo - plimo*"
 - intrusive nasalization - from prenasalized stops:
la botella > la mbotella > lan botella
 - *sar* for *ser / estar*

Pidgin

- ◆ A pidgin language is a simplified language used among speakers who don't share a common language
- ◆ In the context of slavery, slaves tended to be from different areas and didn't share a common African language
- ◆ The vocabulary of the pidgin came from Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, and Spanish, depending on who ran the slave ships and where the slaves ended up

Creole language

- ◆ If a child acquires a pidgin as their first language, the language develops into a more complex system - this type of language is called a 'creole' language
- ◆ Examples of creole languages include Papiamentu (Curaçao), Haitian Creole, and Jamaican Creole
- ◆ In order for a creole to develop, there needs to be a large, isolated, pidgin-speaking population with families - this almost always required a plantation environment

Lack of Spanish Creoles

- ◆ The conditions for creolization did not exist in Spain - slaves were freed fairly quickly and integrated into society
- ◆ The first generation may have spoke a Portuguese-based pidgin, but the second generation spoke Spanish
- ◆ In Spanish America, 1st generations slaves probably spoke a Portuguese pidgin, as they were shipped from holding stations in Cape Verde, Sao Tomé, Fernando Poo, Brazil, Barbados, and Curaçao

Slaves in Spanish America

- ◆ In the early period, most slaves worked in Highland mines (Bolivia, Mexico, Peru, Colombia)
- ◆ Mostly male, and did not survive
- ◆ Other slaves worked as domestic workers and adopted Spanish early on
- ◆ Plantation environment didn't exist in Latin America until 19th century, after sugar production moved to Cuba (following Haitian slave revolt)

Cuban slavery

- ◆ Plantation environment began in 19th century
- ◆ Prior to that only a few domestic slaves
- ◆ Intense importation in 19th century - primarily from Yoruba and KiKongo speaking areas
- ◆ These languages are still used in liturgical settings - Yoruba for *Santería* and KiKongo for *Palo Monte*

Santería



Palo Monte

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Bozal Spanish

- ◆ There are various literary examples of Africo-Spanish (*Bozal*) throughout the colonial period - often stereotyped and used in burlesque contexts
- ◆ Loss of final s, final consonants, and d>r
- ◆ Not clear that these examples of Bozal Spanish represent a stable creole - could just as easily be non-native Spanish use

Creole Spanish

- ◆ Until mid-20th century researchers doubted there was ever an Afro-Spanish creole - it is now acknowledged that there are at least two:
 - Papiamentu, based on Portuguese and Spanish, spoken in Aruba and Curaçao
 - Palenque, from San Basilio (Colombia); a settlement of runaway slaves who fled Cartagena and formed a maroon community in early 17th century

Papiamiento

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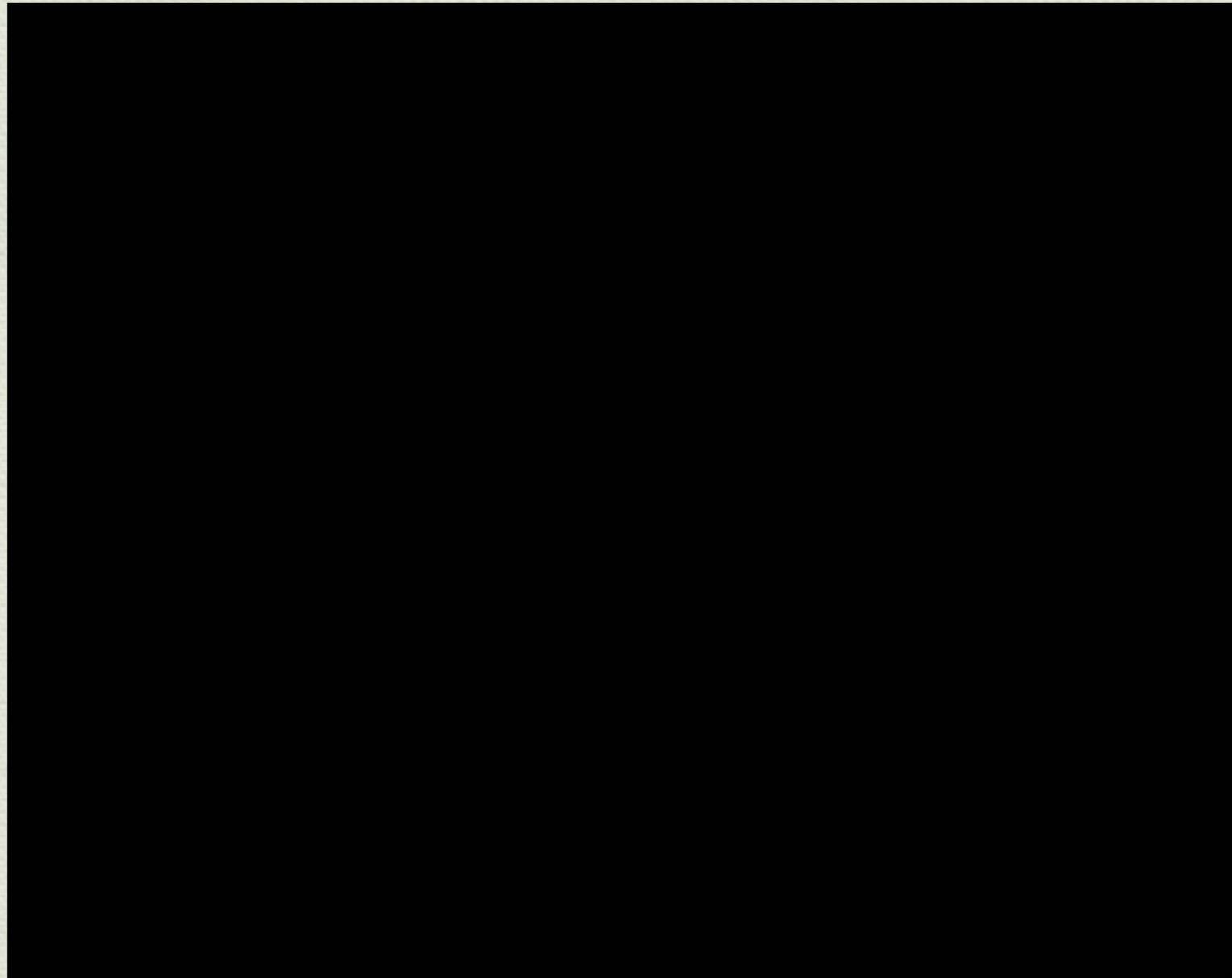
Palenque

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Palenque

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Monogenesis

- ◆ Similarities between Papiamentu and Palenque may provide evidence for a Portuguese pidgin basis - 19th century Bozal texts from Cuba and Puerto Rico show similar features
- ◆ Monogenesis theory of creoles: all creole languages (including English and Dutch-based) come from a single Portuguese based creole, and underwent relexification
- ◆ Alternatively, the similarities might be expected second language learner errors - agreement, prepositions, etc.

African Creole feature

- ◆ ta + infinitive:
 - Horita ta bení pa ca
 - 'S/he's coming here now'
- ◆ Cuban Bozal - identical in Papiamentu and Palenquero
- ◆ These languages have otherwise very different verbal systems
- ◆ Found in a small number of texts, only in 19th century, only in Cuba and Puerto Rico

Other Papimiento features

◆ *riba* (< *arriba*) as a preposition 'on'

- Pone cañon riba alifante

◆ *awor* (< *ahora*) 'now'

- Y que yo dicí ahuora?

◆ *awe* 'today'

- Ahuoy lo va a jase Panca

◆ *bisa* (< *avisar*) for 'say'

- Robé visa mi señora sení que yo ta nel rio

◆ *mi* as a subject pronoun - no Spanish Bozal use except 19th century Cuba

- Mi no sabe ñamito mi no sabe na

Papiamentu borrowing?

- ◆ These features might be attributed to borrowing from Papiamentu
- ◆ Slaves were shipped from Curaçao to Cuba and Puerto Rico during the 19th century - large demand because of sugar plantation, hence, clandestine shipments from Curaçao
- ◆ Attestations of Papiamentu spoken in Cuba until end of century
- ◆ Thus, similarities between 19th century Bozal and Papiamentu may be due to borrowing; not monogenesis

African borrowings

◆ Several borrowed words, particular in Cuba and Caribbean:

- *quiquiribó* 'ochra'
- *gandul* 'pea'
- *marimba* 'marimba'
- *ñame* 'yam'
- *bilongo* 'spell'

Phonological influence

- ◆ Possible phonological influence is harder, as some of the features are also found in Spain.
 - $y \ \& \ \check{c} > \tilde{n}$ e.g., *ñamar* < *llamar*, *ñato* < *chato*
 - $d > r / V_V$ only found in areas with historically large African populations (e.g. Dominican Republic)
 - loss of syllable-final consonants - also Andalusian
 - $r > l$ opposite of what is found in Andalusia; found where large African populations (Caribbean)

Afro-Spanish

- ◆ Aside from Palenquero, some other vestiges of Afro-Spanish remain: Chota valley of Ecuador, Dominican Republic, rural Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Panama
- ◆ Still, it is not clear why there is no robust Afro-Spanish (as there is AAVE in the US)