

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF LAN/NAN  
IN AFRO-CARIBBEAN SPANISH

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From the earliest days of the African slave trade, the figure of the black African *bozal* (born in Africa and speaking little or no Spanish) appears in Spanish literature, nearly always in the role of buffoon or at best unwilling victim of cruel fate.<sup>1</sup> Long before the massive importation of slaves to the New World, southern Spain (Sevilla, Huelva, Cadiz) had a significant population of black slaves and freedmen, many of whom had arrived via Lisbon, where in the late 15th century nearly half the metropolitan population was black.<sup>2</sup> Writers such as Gil Vicente, Henrique da Mota and Antonio Ribeiro de Chiado depicted the deformed pidgin Portuguese spoken by *bozales* in Portugal beginning in the 15th century, and by the end of the following century the phenomenon of the *habla de*

<sup>1</sup> Overviews of the linguistic nature of early *bozal* Spanish are found in Edmund de Chasca, "The phonology of the speech of the negroes in early Spanish drama", *Hispanic Review* 14 (1946), 322—30; Frida Weber de Kurlat, "Sobre el negro como tipo cómico en el teatro español del siglo XVI", *Romance Philology* 17 (1962), 380—91; Howard Jason, "The language of the Negro in early Spanish drama", *College Language Association Journal* 10 (1967), 330—40; Juan Castellano, "El negro esclavo en el entremés del Siglo de Oro", *Hispania* 44 (1961), 55—65; Germán de Granda, "Posibles vías directas de introducción de africanismos en el 'habla de negro' literaria castellana", *Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 24 (1968), 459—69; "Sobre el origen del 'habla de negro' en la literatura peninsular del Siglo de Oro", *Prohemio* 2: 1 (1971), 97—109; Paul Teyssier, *La langue de Gil Vicente* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1959).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ruth Pike, "Sevillian society in the sixteenth century: slaves and freedmen", *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (1967), 344—59; A. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal (1441—1555)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983); Alfonso Franco Sevilla, *Registro documental sobre la esclavitud sevillana 1453—1513* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979); W. Giese, "Nota sobre a fala dos negros em Lisboa no principio do século XVI", *Revista Lusitana* 30 (1932), 251—7; J. de M. Carriazo, "Negros esclavos y extranjeros en el barrio sevillano de San Bernardo (1617—1629)", *Archivo Hispalense* 20:64—65 (1954), 121—33; Arcadio de Larrea Palacín, "Los negros en la provincia de Huelva", *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos* 6:20 (1952), 39—57; Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis, *Las cofradías de morenos en Cádiz* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1958).

negro was so well established in Spain as to figure prominently in the works of writers such as Lope de Rueda, Lope de Vega, Góngora, Quiñones de Benavente, Sánchez de Badajoz, Simón Aguado, Rodrigo de Reinosa, and many others. In the new world, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz described *bozal* Spanish in the second half of the 17th century, and literary and folkloric testimony of distinctly Africanized Spanish as spoken by recently arrived slaves is found in nearly all parts of Latin America.<sup>3</sup> However, following the Peninsular Golden Age texts, the *habla de negro* fell from prominence, and returned to the literary spotlight only in 19th century literature, frequently from the Caribbean region, particularly Cuba and Puerto Rico. In the latter cases, there exists a considerable body of literature, principally poetry, dramatic sketches and narrative, which depict the Afro-Hispanic speaker from various points of view, but always underlining non-standard and partially creolized speech forms.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to its literary value, the use of Africanized speech in Spanish American literature is of significance for creole studies, since literary evidence has frequently been compared with data from established Afro-Iberian creoles such as Papiamentu and the Palenquero of Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia) in order to further claims that a homogeneous pidgin/creole of Afro-Lusitanian origin was spoken by African slaves brought to Spanish America.<sup>5</sup> Given the wide disparities among *bozal* texts from different areas,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Obras completas de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, t. II: villancicos y letras sacras*, ed. by Alfonso Méndez Plancarte (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952); for a survey of Latin American *bozal* Spanish, cf. Manuel Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1974); John Lipski, "Black Spanish: the last frontier of Afro America", *Crítica* (San Diego) 1:2 (1985), 53—75.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. José Juan Arrom, *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana* (La Habana: n. p., 1950), 109—45; "La poesía afrocubana", *Revista Iberoamericana* 55 (1942), 379—411; Emilio Ballagas, *Mapa de la poesía negra americana* (Tucumán: Pleamar, 1946); "Situación de la poesía afroamericana", *Revista Cubana* 21 (1946), 5—60; Mónica Mansour, *La poesía negrista* (México: ERA, 1973); Jorge Luis Morales, *Poesía afroantillana y negrista* (Río Piedras: Ed. Universitaria, 1976); José Sanz y Díaz, *Lira negra* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1945); Hortensia Ruiz del Vizo, *Poesía negra del Caribe y otras áreas* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1972); Aurora Albornoz and Julio Rodríguez, *Sensemayá* (Madrid: Orígenes, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> The bibliography on Hispanic creoles and theories of creole formation is voluminous; among the principal studies which specifically link the above-mentioned creoles, and which propose Afro-Lusitanian origins are: Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*; Germán de Granda, *Estudios lingüísticos hispánicos, afrohispanicos y criollos* (Madrid: Gredos, 1978); "La tipología 'criolla' de dos hablas del área lingüística hispánica", *Thesaurus* 23 (1968), 193—205; Ricardo Otheguy, "The Spanish Caribbean: a creole perspective", in C. Bailey, R. Shuy, eds., *New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English* (Washington: Georgetown University, 1975), 323—39; William Meggeney, "La influencia del portugués en el palenquero colombiano", *Thesaurus* 38 (1983), 548—63; "Traces of Portuguese in three Caribbean creoles: evidence in support of the monogenetic theory", *Hispanic Linguistics* 1:2 (1984), 177—90; "La influencia criollo-portuguesa en el español caribeño", *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) 1 (1985), 157—80; Matthias Perl, "Creole morphosyntax in the Cuban 'habla bozal'", *Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice* 5 (1982), 424—33; "El fenómeno de descriollización del 'habla bozal' y el lenguaje coloquial de la variante cubana del español", *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) I (1985), 191—202; "Die Bedeutung des Kreolenportugiesischen für die Herausbildung der Kreolensprachen in der Karibik" (MS, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig); Anthony Naro, "A study

and from the 15th century to the 20th, it is difficult to establish definitive conclusions as to the prior existence of widespread and homogeneous Afro-Hispanic creoles, but certain common patterns exist which continue to defy adequate explanation. The present note will deal with one such case, the curious item *lan* and its variant *nan*, as found in 19th century Cuban and Puerto Rican literary and folkloric texts.

Beginning around the turn of the 19th century, literary attestations of *bozal* Spanish in the Antillean region (especially Cuba and Puerto Rico) take a dramatic turn, away from the chaotic dispersion of pidgin variants (incorrectly conjugated verb forms, errors of grammatical concordance, phonetic deformations, etc.) and in the direction of a more stable and homogeneous set of structures which suggest the formation of a creole dialect. One of the principal features of the "new" *bozal* speech is the introduction of the verbal particle *ta* in the combination *ta + V inf: siempre ta regalá dinero a mí* "he always gives me money";<sup>6</sup> *horita ta bení pa cá* "soon she will come here."<sup>7</sup> Although this feature forms the cornerstone of many monogenetic theories of Afro-Romance creoles, its usage is sporadic in the Caribbean, and this combination is not found in other examples of Latin American *bozal* speech. In a detailed study,<sup>8</sup> I have traced the appearance and development of the *ta + V inf* construction in Caribbean *bozal* speech, and have suggested that this combination may be due to the importation of Papiamentu- and other creole-speaking slaves from Curaçao to Cuba and Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 19th century, to meet the labor demands caused by the sugar plantation boom. Evidence exists that Papiamentu was spoken in both Cuba and Puerto Rico in the early 19th century,<sup>9</sup> and

on the origins of pidginization", *Language* 54 (1978), 314—47; for an opposing point of view, cf. Humberto López Morales, "Sobre la pretendida existencia y pervivencia del 'criollo' cubano", *Anuario de Letras* 18 (1980), 85—116. The major study of Colombian Palenquero is by Nina de Friedemann and Carlos Patiño Rosselli, *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1983); one seminal study is by Derek Bickerton and Aquiles Escalante, "Palenquero: a Spanish-based creole of northern Colombia", *Lingua* 32 (1970), 254—67. A major study of the origins of Papiamentu is by John Birmingham, "The Papiamentu language of Curaçao", Ph. D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1970; cf. also Dan Munteanu, "Observaciones acerca del origen del papiamentu", *Anuario de Letras* 12 (1974), 83—115; H. Van Wijk, "Orígenes y evolución del papiamentu", *Neophilologus* 42 (1958), 169—82.

<sup>6</sup> Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*, 384.

<sup>7</sup> Morales, *Poesía afroantillana*, 188.

<sup>8</sup> John Lipski, "On the construction *ta + infinitive* in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish", forthcoming in *Romance Philology*.

<sup>9</sup> Manuel Alvarez Nazario, "Un texto literario del papiamento documentado en Puerto Rico en 1830", *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 4/ (1970), 9—20; "El papiamentu: ojeado a su pasado histórico y visión de su problemática del presente", *Atenea* (Mayagüez) 9 (1972), 9—20; *El elemento afronegroide*, 145—6, 218—23; 218—23; Germán de Granda, "Papiamento en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVII—XIX)", *Thesaurus* 28 (1973), 1—13; Luis Díaz Soler, *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras, Ed. Universitaria, 2nd ed., 1981); J. Hartog, *Curaçao, from Colonial Independence to Autonomy* (Aruba: De Wit, 1968); Arturo Morales Carrión, *Auge y decadencia de la trata negrera en Puerto Rico (1820—1860)* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1978); Johannes Postma, *The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1970); "The Dutch slave trade: a quantitative assessment", *Revue Française de Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 62 (1975), 226—7, 232—44.

the presence of the *genti di corsou* may have profoundly affected the prevailing Afro-Hispanic language patterns, or at least the literary representations, this accounting for the significant shift in linguistic structures beginning around the turn of the 19th century. Santo Domingo was barely affected by this last wave of slave trading, although another phenomenon influenced Afro-Hispanic speech of the Dominican Republic: the presence of French creole speakers from Haiti, whose attempts at speaking Spanish appear from time to time in Dominican literature.<sup>10</sup>

A less frequently commented but equally radical formation in 19th century Caribbean *bozal* speech is the use of *lan/nan*, which is not found in earlier texts from this region, nor in other Afro-Hispanic dialects, and which became a key feature of literary representations of *bozal* language in Cuban and Puerto Rican literature. Most instances of *lan/nan* are used as a portmanteau definite article, masculine or feminine, singular or plural; at times, the exact semantic values of this particle can only be determined from the surrounding context. Typical examples include:

me garra po nan pasa "he grabs me by the [curly] hair"<sup>11</sup>  
 nan cañón hacía - pum! "the cannon went boom!"  
 nanllí lan día se curía "there the days went by"<sup>12</sup>  
 ma que lan tiempo si pierde "even if the time is wasted"<sup>13</sup>  
 cuando lan galla cantá "when the roosters crow"<sup>14</sup>  
 como lan gallo cuando pelea "like roosters when they fight"<sup>15</sup>  
 puruga, jerejene memoquiera m'etá comiendo y lon diablo  
 m'etá llevando "fleas and ants are biting me everywhere,  
 and the devil is carrying me off"<sup>16</sup>

In other instances, *lan/nan* apparently replaces a preposition (usually *de*) + article: Señó Redató lan Faro Sindutrió la Bana "dear editor of the *Faro Industrial de La Habana*"<sup>17</sup>  
 gallo ta nan so "the roosters are in the sun"  
 nunca se quita nan so "I never get out of the sun"<sup>18</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Poesía popular dominicana* (Santiago de los Caballeros: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra, 1973, 3rd ed.), 266—86; *Samaná: pasado y porvenir* (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1973, 2nd ed.), 30—1; José Torres Morales, "El español en las Antillas", *Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña* 2:5 (1959), 1—4.

<sup>11</sup> Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*, 387.

<sup>12</sup> J. Alden Mason and Aurelio Espinosa, "Porto Rican folklore: décimas, Christmas carols, nursery rhymes and other songs", *Journal of American Folklore* 34 (1918), 143—208 [pp. 387, 361].

<sup>13</sup> Antonio Bachiller y Morales, "Desfiguración a que está expuesto el idioma castellano al contacto y mezcla de razas", *Revista de Cuba* 14 (1883), 97—104 [p. 101].

<sup>14</sup> Ballagas, *Mapa de la poesía negra*, 93.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Cruz, *Creto Ganga* (Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro "Contemporáneos", 1974), 118.

<sup>16</sup> Lydia Cabrera, *Francisco y Francisca: chascarrillos de negros viejos* (Miami: Editorial C. R., 1976), 15.

<sup>17</sup> Cruz, *Creto Ganga*, 157.

<sup>18</sup> Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*, 385, 387.

vine aquí nan Porto Rico "I came here to Puerto Rico"<sup>19</sup>  
 no lo salí lan Guinea "I didn't come from Guinea"<sup>20</sup>

The use of *lan/nan* has occasionally been noted in studies of Afro-Hispanic language,<sup>21</sup> but has rarely been the object of serious attempts at locating this unique element. Before reviewing the possible explanations, it must be reiterated that *lan/nan* consistently appears only in Cuban and Puerto Rican *bozal* Spanish, beginning in the 19th century; moreover, in no text is use of *lan/nan* categorical, but rather alternates with correct and incorrect use of articles and prepositions. This limited geographical and temporal extension of *lan/nan*, and the coexistence with forms such as verbal particles and constructions *ta + V inf.*, use of (*a*)*riba* to mean "in, on" etc. suggests a common and extra-Antillean source for such atypical *bozal* elements.

In the only serious attempt to account for the form *lan/nan*, Alvarez Nazario<sup>22</sup> postulates that the original form was *nan*, and that the change *nan > lan* took place through the influence of the definite article *la*. In Puerto Rican *bozal* Spanish, both *lan* and *nan* are found, but in extant Cuban texts, only *lan* (with occasional variant *lon*) occurs; there are a few instances of *ne* as an apparent substitute for a preposition plus article, which may conceivably comprise a related development: *yo tava ne río* "I was in the river."<sup>23</sup> If the occurrence of *lan/nan* in Cuba and Puerto Rico stems from a common extraterritorial source, then the existence of both forms in Puerto Rico and of only the former in Cuba would suggest an evolution *lan > nan*, initiated and only partially completed in Puerto Rico. The opposite development would be suggested only if it could be demonstrated that *lan/nan* was attested in Cuba significantly before appearing in Puerto Rico, having undergone the autative evolution *nan > lan* before the latter form was transferred to Cuba, via an as yet unattested route of linguistic transplantation. However, there does exist one attestation of *lan* in Latin America which considerably antedates those of *nan*: in 17th century poems by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz:<sup>24</sup> *a lan Dioso que sa yoranda* "to God who is crying" (1678); *qui vini lan fieta* "for the fiesta is coming" (1680). Although Sor Juana lived in Nueva España (Mexico) and presumably described *bozal* speech as found in that region, she also had contact with slaves from Puerto Rico, who appear in some "villancicos". Since *lan* is so rare in Sor Juana's portrayals of Afro-Hispanic speech (which in other respects is quite consistent with other contemporary literary accounts), it appears that this element was infrequent in the *bozal* language of Nueva España, and may well have been noticed by Sor Juana in the speech of slaves arriving from the Antilles. At approximately the same time period as Sor Juan's examples, in Peninsular Spanish literature, a few examples of *lan* with similar value are also found; for example from Quiñones de Benavente's *El negrito hablador y sin color anda la niña* (1664):<sup>25</sup> *la trena yama á lan cársel* "the jail is called *trena*"; in Lope de Ve-

<sup>19</sup> Mason and Espinosa, "Porto Rican folklore", 361.

<sup>20</sup> Morales, *Poesía afroantillana*, 151.

<sup>21</sup> E. g. Max L. Wagner, *Lingua e dialetti dell'America spagnola* (Florence: Ed. Le Lingue Estere, 1966), 158.

<sup>22</sup> Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*, 167, 185—97.

<sup>23</sup> Lydia Cabrera, *Por qué, cuentos negros de Cuba* (Miami: Editorial C. R., 1972, 2nd ed.), 166.

<sup>24</sup> *Obras completas*, t. II, 257, 277.

<sup>25</sup> Cayetano Rosell, ed., *Entremeses, loas y jácaras escritas por el licenciado Luis Quiñones de Benavente*, t. II (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos, 1874), 35.

ga's *La madre de la mejor*, we find:<sup>26</sup> *lan quiere creer* "he wants to believe it" where *lan* evidently replaces *lo*. Almost a century earlier, Lope de Rueda used the form *lantrañas* for *las entrañas* 'bowels' in *Comedia de los engañados*.<sup>27</sup> The form *an/en* used apparently as an article is also found in Peninsular texts; in Simón Agudo's *Entremés de los negros* (1602):<sup>28</sup> *voto an dioso* "I pray to God"; in Lope de Vegas's *El santo negro Rosambuco*:<sup>29</sup> *en diablo* "the devil"; Lope de Rueda's *Comedia de los engañados* has<sup>30</sup> *por an mar* „by sea“

Alvarez Nazario<sup>31</sup> identifies *nan* with a host of other elements (*nano*, *na*, *ne* and *no*), which appear in Afro-Hispanic texts from the Golden Age to the 19th century. The semantic replacement of a preposition plus article is also related to the plural particle *ma* of Colombian *palenquero*, e. g. *ma ngombé* "the cattle", where Alvarez Nazario interprets *ma* as a fusion of *na* and the Spanish possessive *mí*). Lumping together disparate elements beginning with /n/ is a risky undertaking, since, in particular, the forms *na* < *em* + *a* and *no* < *em* + *o* are found in Portuguese and in many Portuguese-based creoles; in Papiamentu, Palenquero and Philippine Creole Spanish, *na* has become a simple preposition, meaning "on, in, to" etc., possibly suggesting a common creole Portuguese origin.<sup>32</sup> Within Cuban *bozal* speech, *na* and *ne* are occasionally used as subject pronouns, not as articles: *na dotó, né comé lo chicharró caliente* "the doctor ate the hot pork rinds."<sup>33</sup> However, in Golden Age examples, *na* almost invariably represents the combination of preposition + article, evidently a translation of Portuguese *na*; for example Lope de Rueda's *Comedia de los engañados* has:<sup>34</sup> *sar yo sabrina na Reina Berbasina* "I am the niece of Queen Berbasina"; *contrita na religiosa* "contrite in religion".

According to Alvarez Nazario,<sup>35</sup> *nan* has its origins in West Africa, via the Portuguese-based creoles of the Gulf of Guinea (Annobón, São Tomé and Príncipe), where *ine(m)*, *ne*, etc. are used as third person plural pronouns and as plural markers. These forms have been identified with *ene/ama*, also third person plural pronoun in several West African languages. The extension of *ine(m)* to incorporate the function of the singular article would have occurred because *lan/nan* "ha rebasado la función de artículo plural ...

<sup>26</sup> *Obras de Lope de Vega*, t. III (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1893), 368.

<sup>27</sup> *Obras de Lope de Rueda*, t. I (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1908), 187.

<sup>28</sup> Emilio Cotarelo y Morí, ed., *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII*, t. I (Madrid: Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1911), 231, 234.

<sup>29</sup> *Obras de Lope de Vega*, t. X (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1965), 139.

<sup>30</sup> Lope de Rueda, *op. cit.*, 184.

<sup>31</sup> *El elemento afronegroide*, 176.

<sup>32</sup> This is suggested by Keith Whinnom. *Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippines* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 1956); Graciete Nogueira Batalha, "Coincidências com o dialecto de Macau em dialectos espanhóis das ilhas Filipinas" *Boletim de Filologia* 19 (1960), 295—303; Megenny "Traces of Portuguese"; Douglas Taylor, "Grammatical and lexical affinities of creoles", in Dell Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1971), 293—6; for an opposing point of view, cf. Mervyn Alleyne, *Comparative Afro-American* (Ann Arbor: Karoma, 1980), 130; John Lipski, "The Portuguese element in Phillipine Creole Portuguese: a critical assessment", forthcoming in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

<sup>33</sup> Cabrera, *Francisco y Francisca*, 12.

<sup>34</sup> Lope de Rueda, *op. cit.*, 180, 184.

<sup>35</sup> Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*, 185—6.

ampliando sus alcances funcionales para servir también como artículo de singular." The use of an African or creole Portuguese element as partial replacement of Spanish or Portuguese articles is apparently due to the lack of definite articles in the African languages presumed to have influenced Caribbean *bozal* Spanish. The extension of *lan/nan* to incorporate the meaning of preposition + article is not explained by Alvarez Nazario, although possibly parallel structures involving the particle *na* in some West African languages are noted in passing.<sup>36</sup>

Whereas the examples adduced by Alvarez Nazario represent a thoroughly researched cross-section of Afro-Hispanic speech, the proposed analysis of *lan/nan* is not entirely satisfactory for several reasons. First, it has not been adequately demonstrated that this form combines the values of singular and plural definite article, since the majority of attestations of *lan/nan* used solely as an article are either clearly plural in reference (e. g. *lan gallo*, *lan día*, *lan tiempo*) or ambiguous in reference (*lan diablo*, *lan cañón*). If a plural reference is present in most cases, and if at the same time *lan* chronologically precedes *nan* in Antillean *bozal* Spanish, then the final /n/ of *lan* might be attributed to the frequent process of nasalization of syllable-final /s/, found in several Spanish dialects and well represented in *bozal* Spanish: ¿*qué comió m'n gallito?* "what did my roosters eat?";<sup>37</sup> *disparates* > *dimparate* "foolish remarks"; *pecuezo* > *pincueso* "neck"; *despachar* > *dimpachá* "to wait on"; *desgraciados* > *dingrasio* "miserable"; *desgustado* > *dingutao* "displeased";<sup>38</sup> and the omnipresent *nengre/nengrito* < *negro*. At times, a final /n/ appears apparently as a hypercorrection: *la niña sen va*, *probre cravo llorá* "when the lady leaves, this poor slave will cry."<sup>39</sup> The change *lan* > *nan*, which appears to have spread only in Puerto Rico, may in turn be the result of retrogressive nasalization and/or non etymological addition of word-initial /n/; the latter process is particularly well represented in Antillean *bozal* Spanish, in the portmanteau third person pronoun *nelle* (variant *elle*), which may have masculine or feminine, singular or plural reference, and at times also includes the semantic value of a preposition: *yo me legra que nelle jase futuna* "I am glad that they are doing well"; *ya nelle se lo fue pa su tierra* "she went back to her land"; *elle estaba en un mortuorio* "he was in a mortuary".<sup>40</sup>

The apparent use of *lan/nan* as a preposition or as a combination of preposition + article is more difficult to resolve, since in none of the Afro-Portuguese creoles cited as comparative evidence does the element *ine(m)* include the value of a preposition. If *lan/nan* is either a direct transference from an Afro-Lusitanian or a calque of a creole Portuguese form, then the extension to include a prepositional value represents a serious divergence from the originally postulated base, which finds no parallel among other Afro-Romance creoles. If all instances of *lan/nan* in *bozal* speech are derivable from a single source, then it is preferable to interpret examples like *gallo ta nan so*, *yo vine lan Poto Rico*, *no conuco*, etc. as the result of the general loss of prepositions in creole Spanish, combined with the portmanteau article *lan/nan*. One of the principals characteri-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 117, 197—8.

<sup>37</sup> Cabrera, *Francisco y Francisca*, 65.

<sup>38</sup> Cruz, *Creto Gangá*, 103, 117—8, 170.

<sup>39</sup> Cirilo Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés*, ed. Raimundo Lazo (Mexico: Porrúa, 1979), 185.

<sup>40</sup> Cruz, *Creto Gangá*, 168, 73, 89; Villaverde, *Cecilia Valdés*, 137; Alvarez Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide*, 190.

stics of *bozal* Spanish from the 15th century to the present is the loss of prepositions, including *a*, *de* and *en*, so there is no need to postulate that *lan/nan* semantically represents the fusion of an article plus preposition. In other instances, *nan* actually appears to be a variant of the preposition *en* (used without an article), to which an initial /n/ has been prefixed, much as in *nanlli*, *nallá*, and so forth. We also find, in *bozal* Spanish, examples of the use of *en* without an article: *in [el] cielo tronando* "thundering in the sky"; *ya yo está en [la] capilla* "I am already in the chapel."<sup>41</sup>

Among the Gulf of Guinea creoles, there is no definite article, nor are nouns normally marked for the plural. The use of the third person pronoun to indicate plurality is never frequent, but is an occasional option most often used with human referents; for example São Tomé creole has (i) *ne mina* "the children", *ne mwala* "the women"; Príncipe has *ne su* "the gentlemen"; Angola has *ene ome* "the men". These forms alternate with the uninflected noun determined by context to possess plural reference.<sup>42</sup> Annobón creole allows the option of postposed *monchiu*, *muitu* "much" when it is necessary to pluralize non-human nouns: *opá monchi* "many trees", but this is not a true plural formation. For personal nouns, *na(n)* may be preposed when strictly necessary; however, *nan* is not the third person plural pronoun (which is *inēni*, even further away from *nan*): *nan da-mono* "the devils", *na mina* "the children".<sup>43</sup>

Also to be considered is the range of lexical combinations involving *lan/nan*; it appears, in considering the entire corpus of *bozal* language, that this element was never freely combined with all nouns, but rather recurred in a perhaps closed subset of stereotyped patterns. Given the limited corpus of available examples of *bozal* Spanish, it is impossible to offer a reliable quantitative analysis, but it is noteworthy that *lan/nan* normally occurs with: *gallina/gallo*, *gato*, *diablo* and *tiempo*; the remaining examples are apparently sporadic, since *lan/nan* rarely occurs more than once with *conuco*, *pero* (< *perro*<sup>44</sup>), *cañon*, *sol*, etc. In all the texts in which *bozal* Spanish appears, it is necessary to interject an element of caution, since in addition to the expected exaggeration and stereotyping characteristic of literary and folkloric imitations of Africanized speech, the texts in question are rarely the result of careful on-the-spot transcriptions. Most authors, regardless of their feelings toward Afro-Americans and their speech patterns, relied on memory or common conceptions of *bozal* speech, and may well have hit upon fixed or fossilized combinations involving *lan/nan* and interpreted the latter as an active combinatory variant of the definite or indefinite article, to be used with all nouns. Even those texts resulting from direct transcription may contain errors,<sup>45</sup> since the transcribers rarely had linguistic training, nor were they familiar with Afro-Hispanic patterns, and may have unintentionally distorted or misinterpreted what they were hearing.

<sup>41</sup> Lydia Cabrera, *El monte* (Miami: Ediciones C. R., 1983, 3rd ed.), 269; Ignacio Benitez del Cristo, "Los novios catedráticos", *Archivos del Folklore Cubano* 5:2 (1930), 119—46 [p. 141].

<sup>42</sup> Marius Valkhoff, *Studies in Portuguese and Creole* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University, 1966), 93—4; Luis Ferraz, "The creole of São Tomé", *African Studies* 7 (1978), 3—68, 235—88 [pp. 60—3].

<sup>43</sup> N. Barrena, *Gramática annobonesa* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), 25—6, 37—8.

<sup>44</sup> Cruz, *Oreto Gangá*, 157.

<sup>45</sup> Mason and Espinosa, "Porto Rican folklore", 361, admit this possibility for their own transcription.

It is noteworthy that the majority of attestations of *lan/nan* occur with nouns beginning with /g/ or /d/, and moreover with a possibly closed subset of such words. This lopsided distribution suggests another hypothesis as to the origin, or at least spread and reinterpretation of *lan/nan* in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish: prenasalization of word-initial *mop* consonants. West African languages, particularly of the Niger-Congo family, are characterized by a large number of prenasalized or coarticulated word-initial consonants (*hb*, *nd*, *nk*, *ng*, etc.), which are frequently interpreted by Europeans as /e/ + /NC/; thus in Equatorial Guinea, *Mbini* is pronounced *Embini*, *Nguema* is *Enguema*, etc.<sup>46</sup> Among Afro-American dialects, retention of African lexical items with prenasalized initial consonants is found in Gullah, Ndjuka, Saramaccan, Sranan Tongo, Palenquero, etc., while in other dialects (including Black American English), phonological reinterpretation has taken place, usually in favor of a single non-nasal consonant: *nguba* > *goober* "peanut".<sup>47</sup> Also found, particularly in Colombian *palenquero*, is the prenasalization of word-initial stops in Spanish lexical items, extending prevailing African phonotactic patterns. In Palenquero, it is significant that prenasalization occurs almost exclusively with word-initial /d/ and /g/: *dejar* > *ndejá* "to let", *gritar* > *ngritá* "to scream", *ganar* > *ngandá* "to earn", *dolor* > *ndoló* "pain", *doce* > *ndosi* "twelve", *duro* > *ndulo* "hard", etc.<sup>48</sup>

It is likely that prenasalization was frequent in *bozal* Spanish of all periods, although since Spanish writers would have no ready way of representing this pronunciation, it does not usually appear in written texts; such texts do, however, indicate word-internal nasalization, in forms such as *nenegre*, *dimparate*, etc. Also found is the loss of word-initial vowels in Spanish words beginning with /VN/: (*pa qué ngoddá [engordar] mi cuero viejo ya?* "why should I fatten up my old body"; *nfemo [enfermo] ta reventao* "the sick person has burst"; *nvento [invento] má grande que trefrafía y ferrocarrí son buey* "the ox is a greater invention than the telegraph and the railroad"; *ncoje [encoge] la pata* "to curl up the foot").<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cf. John Lipski, "The Spanish of Malabo, Equatorial Guinea: implications for Hispanic dialectology," *Hispanic Linguistics* 1 (1984), 69—96; *The Spanish of Equatorial Guinea* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985); Germán de Granda, "Fenómenos de interferencia fonética de fang sobre el español de Guinea Ecuatorial", *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) 1 (1985), 95—114; M. Castillo Barril, "La influencia de las lenguas nativas en el español de Guinea", *Archivo de Estudios Africanos* 20 (1969), 46—71.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. George Hutter, "Sources of Ndjuka African vocabulary", *De Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 59:1—2 (1985), 45—71; Lorenzo Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969, 2nd ed.), 241; Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli, *Lengua y sociedad*, 98—103; Mervyn Alleyne, *Comparative Afro-American*, 51—6; Ian Hancock, "A provisional comparison of the English-based Atlantic creoles", *African Language Review* 8 (1969), 7—72; Jan Daeleman, "Kongo elements in Saramacca Tongo", *Journal of African Languages* 11 (1972), 1—44; J. Ehteld, *The English Words in Sranan* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1962).

<sup>48</sup> Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli, *Lengua y sociedad*, 99—100.

<sup>49</sup> Cabrera, *Francisco y Francisca*, 70, 35, 47, 57. For examples of the alternation /NC/ : /eNC/ in vestigial Africanisms found in Cuba, cf. Gema Valdés Acosta, "Descripción de remanentes de lenguas bantúes en Santa Isabel de las Lajas", *Islas* 48 (1974), 67—85; José García González, "Remanentes lingüísticos musundis: un estudio descriptivo", *Islas* 44 (1973), 193—246; José García González and Gema Valdés Acosta, "Restos de lenguas bantúes en la región central de Cuba," *Islas* 59 (1978), 4—50. Salvador Brau, in his *Puerto Rico y su*

If certain Spanish words were pronounced, in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish, with prenasalized initial consonants, this configuration could give rise, among Spanish writers unaccustomed to African phonotactics, to phonological misidentification and incorrect morphological division. The change *gallina* > \**ngallina*, *diablo* > \**ndiablo*, *gato* > \**ngato*, etc. could result in combinations like \**la(s) ngallina(s)*, \**lo(s) ndiablo(s)* being interpreted as *lan gallina*, *lon diablo*, and so forth. Such stereotyped combinations could give rise to the impression that *lan/lon* actively combined with all nouns, resulting in the sporadic appearance of this form in *bozal* literary texts.

In summary, the attempt to identify the element *lan/nan* with a putative West African creole Portuguese subject pronoun \**nan* < *ine(m)* encounters serious difficulties. The following observations have emerged from the preceding survey: (1) the form *lan/nan* is found only in Cuban and Puerto Rican *bozal* Spanish, generally beginning in the 19th century; (2) *lan* appears to be the original form, with the evolution *lan* > *nan* found only in Puerto Rico, and always in alternation with *lan*; (3) it is unlikely that all instances of *nan*, *na*, etc. with prepositional value are etymologically related to *lan*, although in certain cases perceived analogy may have influenced the evolution of *lan*; (4) it seems that *lan/nan* was used in combination with a small, possibly closed set of nouns, most of which contain initial /d/ or /g/; (5) it is likely that the literary variant *lan* arose among non-black Spanish-speaking writers, upon hearing some form of definite article combined with a prenasalized initial consonant, in words like *diablo*, *gallina*, *gato*, etc.; (6) further examples of *lan/lon* may have arisen from nasalization of final /s/ in the articles *los* and *las*. Given the lack of first-hand testimony on 19th century Caribbean *bozal* Spanish and the equivocal nature of literary and folkloric documentation, it is impossible to offer definitive conclusions as to the origins of *lan/nan*; the preceding remarks have been offered in the spirit of stimulating further research on the much-commented but little-studied Afro-Hispanic language of Latin America.

*historia* (Valencia: Imp. de Francisco Vives Mora, 1894, p. 138) notes that in that country, "cimarrones bozales" frequently said *na-cosina*, *ne-pueblo*, *na-casa*, etc. for *en la cocina*, *en el pueblo*, *en la casa*, thus indicating another possible source for combinations involving /lan/.