DIFFERENCES IN CREOLE GENESIS IN THE CARIBBEAN DURING THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE ERA: A HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BRITISH AND SPANISH COLONIES

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DEDICATION

To my daughters, Andrea Sofia and Carolina Beatriz, whose love and smiles light up my days; they bring great joy into my life and are the inspiration for everything I do. To my husband, Ismael, whose love and support have been essential to me during all these years. To my father, Ivan, who is no longer with us but whose presence and love I feel every day. And to my mother, Miriam, who has always believed in me and has filled my life with unconditional love and support.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this dissertation is to identify the reasons for the lack of Spanish-lexifier Creoles in the Caribbean, in contrast to the many English-lexifier Creoles that exist in the region, and to demonstrate how this contrast is closely related to the socioeconomic factors present in each of the territories considered. The theoretical framework for the dissertation will be developed primarily from the analysis of theories formulated by Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, who have done research on language contact, and John McWhorter and John Lipski who have studied and proposed reasons for the lack of Spanish-lexifier Creoles in the Caribbean. The methodology will involve an analysis of the historical background and data concerning the slave trade on the British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, Suriname, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo) in order to find the reasons why creoles developed in colonies once dominated by England, but not in those dominated by Spain. Data and statistics regarding the slave trade will be discussed. Among the issues explored will be the Atlantic slave trade (that took place between the 16th and 19th centuries) and the socioeconomic factors that may have had an influence in the development of creole languages in the Caribbean: (1) the plantation society and its precursor, the habitation society[1], (2) sugar vs. other crops or mining, (3) proportion of African slaves, African-descended slaves, freed slaves, among others, in the total population, (4) where slaves outnumbered Europeans, in what year during the Atlantic Slave Trade period did this

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[1] This era, also called *sociétés d'habitation* (Chaudenson, 2001), is considered by some to be the third wave of Caribbean creolization; the first two being the pre-invasion and post-invasion co-habitation eras or *sociétés de cohabitation*. According to Marta Viada Bellido de Luna and Nicholas Faraclas (2012), this third wave was 'characterized by 'homesteads' (small holdings with Indigenous and/or African slaves)' (p. 87). This era began when Columbus arrived and extended until the end of the 1700's and it was 'typified by intimate contact between Indigenous, African, and European peoples, resulting in 'racial' and cultural mixing' (p. 27).

occur?, (5) amount of contact slaves had with the European colonists, (6) European powers attitudes toward their colonies, (7) were slaves loaned to other islands?, (8) living conditions of the slaves and how they were treated by their owners, (9), slaves' conversion to Christianity, and (10) whether or not slaves were taught a European language by their owners. The research will consider aspects of the overview model of socio-historical comparison presented by Nicholas Faraclas, Don Walicek, Mervyn Alleyne, Wilfredo Geigel and Luis Ortiz in their 2007 work, "The Complexity that Really Matters: The Role of Political Economy in Creole Genesis."

Some of the questions I will answer are: What role did socioeconomic factors present in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era have in the emergence or absence of creole languages in the colonies dominated by Britain (British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname) and those dominated by Spain (Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic)? Did the sociolinguistic background of the slaves brought to the British and Spanish colonies influence whether a creole developed or not? Did Spanish-lexifier creoles exist in the area during the Atlantic Slave Trade era? Did they develop in other areas of the Greater Caribbean and Latin America?

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss what creole languages are, how they are categorized, and their history and evolution. It will also discuss the historical background of the Greater Caribbean in order to shed some light on how the slave trade developed in the area and how it influenced the linguistic makeup of the countries selected for analysis. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the lack of Spanish-lexifier Creoles in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic within the context of the development of English-lexifier Creoles in other parts of the Greater Caribbean. Research questions that I intend to consider in this dissertation include the following:

1. What role did the socioeconomic factors present in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era have in the emergence or absence of creole languages in the colonies dominated by Britain (British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname) and those dominated by Spain (Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic)?
2. Did the sociolinguistic background of the slaves brought to the British and Spanish colonies influence whether a creole developed or not?
3. Did Spanish-lexifier creoles exist in the area during the Atlantic Slave Trade era?
4. Did Spanish-lexifier creoles develop in other areas of the Greater Caribbean and Latin America?

I will answer these questions using a historical comparative research methodology that will help me to analyze the historical background and data concerning the slave trade on the British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, Suriname, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic in order to find the reasons why creoles developed in colonies once dominated by England, but not in those dominated by Spain. Historical comparative research is “research that focuses either on one or more cases over time (the historical part) or on more than one nation or society at one point in time (the comparative part)” (Esterberg, 2002, p. 129). In this research, a number of cases (British and Spanish colonies during the Atlantic Slave Trade era, for the purpose of this study) are compared as the objective is to “understand the cases in depth, as well as compare their similarities and differences” (p. 129). I will establish a correlation between language genesis and the sociohistorical factors present in the aforementioned colonies at the time; I will study which languages emerged under which specific conditions.

1.1 Creole Languages: Definition, History, and Evolution

Any discussion of creole languages must begin with a formal definition of what a creole is. From an acquisition point of view, according to Holm (1995), creoles may originate as pidgins that have become the native language of an entire speech community. From a functional point of view, creoles may be seen as contact languages that have been generalized in their use from the limited and specific context of initial contact (trading, etc.) to all areas of daily life. But, what is a pidgin? What is a creole? What is the relationship between them? John Holm explains that a pidgin is

> a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication, perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or close contact. Usually those with less power (speakers of *substrate* languages) are more accommodating and use words from the language of those with more power (the *superstrate*), although the meaning, form and use of these words may be

> influenced by the substrate languages. When dealing with the other groups, the superstrate speakers adopt many of these changes to make themselves more readily understood and no longer try to speak as they do within their own group. They cooperate with the other groups to create a make-shift language to serve their needs, simplifying by dropping unnecessary complications such as inflections (e.g. *two knives* becomes *two knife*) and reducing the number of different words they use, but compensating by extending their meanings or using circumlocutions. By definition the resulting pidgin is restricted to a very limited domain such as trade, and it is no one's native language (Holm, 2000, p. 5)

Holm defines creole as having "a jargon or a pidgin in its ancestry; it is spoken natively by an entire speech community, often one whose ancestors were displaced geographically so that their ties with their original language and sociocultural identity were partly broken. Such social conditions were often the result of slavery" (p. 6). People who were living in this kind of environment developed pidgins in order to communicate with each other; these pidgins became creoles when their children started using them as their primary or native languages. According to Holm, the process in which a pidgin evolves into a creole is not yet fully understood, but linguists believe it is the contrary of what happens when a pidgin is born: a process of expansion rather than reduction takes place even though pidgins can be expanded without becoming native languages (p. 7). He discusses how creole languages have phonological rules and characteristics that cannot be found in early pidgins.

> Creole speakers need a vocabulary to cover all aspects of their life, not just one domain like trade; where words were missing, they were provided by various

> means, such as innovative combinations (e.g. Jamaican Creole *han-migl* ‘palm’ from English *hand* + *middle*.) For many linguists, the most fascinating aspect of this expansion and elaboration is the reorganization of the grammar, ranging from the creation of a coherent verbal system to complex phrase-level structures such as embedding (Holm, 2000, p. 7).

Regarding the process of creolization there are still more questions than answers. Is it really that different from the process of pidgin expansion without native speakers? Does the uprooting of those who start a new speech community play an important role in creole development? There are linguists who have proposed that the difference between creoles and pidgins does not have anything to do with having native speakers or not, but instead with whether or not these languages are languages of ethnic reference, that is, whether or not they are makers of ethnic identity (p. 7). Holm points out that there are other questions still unanswered: how much did adult speakers of a pidgin help their creole-speaking children organize their speech? How much did these adults use their native languages in that process? What role did language universal trends play in the acquisition of pidgins and creoles as first or second languages? (p. 8).

In the book *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction* (1995), Jacques Arends discusses the role played by socio-historical background in the genesis and development of creole languages. He poses the question: “Are creoles characterized by a particular social history, a social history that is common to all of these languages and that is not shared by any other group of languages?” (Arends, 1995, p. 15). Arends explains that this question cannot be fully answered since there are still many creoles whose history has not been written yet but he states that there are “strong indications that indeed in many cases there are a number of striking similarities among the historical processes through which these languages came into being" (p. 15). It is widely known and accepted that many creole languages developed during the European colonization of the so-called New World which took place beginning in the 1500s. This colonization was tied to a specific type of economy which was mostly based on agriculture (plantations) and the production of goods such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco, among others. This economy required a large number of workers so the colonists brought slaves (purchased from different places) to do the work.

Before discussing this type of economy it is important to take a look at its precursor societies of habitation, or *société d'habitation*. In his article "The Socio-historical Context of Creole Genesis" (2008), John Victor Singler discusses this concept which was first recognized by Chaudenson (2001) in his study of French-lexifier creoles. During the early years of colonization, the number of African slaves living in the colonies was far less than that of Europeans. In fact, there were a significant number of European indentured servants, *engagés*, who worked in close contact with the slaves. During this stage, known as *société d'habitation*, households were usually small and the slaves, all the *engagés*, the owner, and his family lived under the same roof. Singler explains that

> given not only work settings in which slaves and *engagés* worked together, but also a household situation in which slaves lived with the other residents of the *habitation*, it seems highly plausible that the first cohorts of slaves in such situations would have had sufficient access to speakers of the lexifier language that they would have acquired a second-language version of it (2008, p. 334).

When the colony turned into a sugar-based one, the socio-economic structure changed too; *engagés* were no longer used as part of the labor force so all the work was done by slaves. The change from a *société d'habitation* to a plantation-based society, or *société de plantation*, had consequences such as: an increase in the number of African slaves vs. a decrease in the number of Europeans and a decrease in the amount of contact between the Africans and the Europeans; *engagés* were no longer a part of the labor force, and slaves did not live in the household anymore since they had their own quarters and lived their lives apart from the Europeans.

Another factor that influenced creole genesis in the sugar plantations was the terrible conditions in which the slaves lived. Singler explains that when compared to the cotton plantations of the American South, the sugar plantations of the British colonies were a "demographic disaster" for the slaves; mortality was higher and fertility was lower than in other areas. Singler points to evidence that, the slaves did not usually reproduce which resulted in a continuous influx of new slaves. He states that statistics concerning mortality and slave import figures in Jamaica show a correlation between the shift to a sugar-based economy and the instability of the slave population. He points out that "linguists concerned with the setting in which creole genesis occurred need to assess the likely linguistic consequences of a situation in which much of the population is perpetually newly arrived" (Singler, 2008, p. 336).

In the period leading up to the change from a *société d'habitation* to a *société de plantation*, the slave population grew to the point that it surpassed the European population. According to Singler, many creolists see a correlation between the amount of time the Europeans were the majority and "how closely the colony's vernacular resembled its metropolitan counterpart or some variety thereof. As a general rule, the shorter that time period, the more 'radical' the creole, and the longer that period, the closer to the lexifier" (p. 336). He also points out that "such figures as the length of time between a colony's founding and the occurrence of parity have proven to be significant" too (p. 336).

Plantations were an ideal environment for the development of creoles but they were not the only one. To have a better understanding of this situation it is necessary to discuss three different types of creoles that can be distinguished according to their socio-historical backgrounds: plantation creoles, fort creoles, and maroon creoles (Arends, 1995, p. 15).

Plantation creoles developed among a large number of African slaves, who were imported from the western coast of Africa (specifically from the area extending from Senegal to Angola), to work on plantations all over the Caribbean region. These slaves came from different areas and spoke different languages so these types of creoles developed out of necessity since they had to understand and communicate with each other and their owners. Plantation creoles developed not only in the Caribbean but also in West Africa (on the islands of Annobon and Sao Tomé) and in southern parts of North America (pp. 15-16).

Fort creoles developed at fortified posts along the western coast of Africa, where slaves were purchased and put on boats destined for the European-colonized territories in the Caribbean. In these forts a form of communication developed among Africans that spoke different languages and between them and the Europeans living there. Arends explains that "interethnic communication extended to the forts' surroundings where

European men (so-called *lançados*) were living in mixed households with African women, with whom they spoke some kind of contact language. In the course of time these contact languages were expanded into creoles, in particular by the children that were born into these households" (Arends, 1995, p. 16).

Maroon creoles developed among slaves who escaped from plantations and eventually formed their own communities; these communities were located in the interior and lived in isolation. Maroon communities developed in places such as Jamaica, Suriname, and Colombia, as well as, in Africa (Sao Tomé). Arends points out that

> While most of these communities have been absorbed by the mainstream culture of the societies within which they existed, the Surinam maroons, who are distributed over several tribes, have preserved their own traditions and their languages up to the present day. But since these languages probably developed out of plantation creoles, we should not expect to find structural differences between the two. What may have caused some divergence, however, is the fact that the maroon creoles developed in relative isolation from the metropolitan, European, language (Arends, 1995, p. 16).

Contrary to other islands and territories in the Greater Caribbean where creole languages developed, such as the British Leeward Islands including Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Montserrat, and Saint Kitts and Nevis (Leeward Caribbean Creole English), Barbados (Bajan Creole), Jamaica (Jamaican Creole) and Suriname (the Surinamese English-lexifier Creoles), Spanish-speaking islands like Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico do not have what is conventionally referred to as a creole language. For example, Puerto Rican Spanish has many words and language expressions that it inherited from the Taínos and from the slaves brought from Africa between the 1500s and the 1800s to work on the island but these indigenous and African borrowings in themselves do not constitute a creole language. A similar situation holds for Cuba and the Dominican Republic, which do not have creole languages either. Why not?

Most creoles known today were developed after 1500 as a result of European colonial expansion efforts which led to the Atlantic slave trade and to Europe's control of the Greater Caribbean. According to John Holm, from the 1600s to the 1800s the European colonists in the New World brought African slaves that had different sociolinguistic backgrounds to work on sugar plantations. Holm speculates that the first generation of slaves encountered a lot of trouble since many of them had no African language in common and what they could learn from their masters and other Europeans was not much due to the social restrictions of slavery, creating the ideal environment for a pidgin to develop.

> The children born in the New World were usually exposed more to this pidgin – and found it more useful – than their parents' native languages. Since the pidgin was a foreign language for the parents, they probably spoke it less fluently; moreover, they had a more limited vocabulary and were more restricted in their syntactic alternatives. Furthermore, each speaker's mother tongue influenced his or her use of the pidgin in different ways, so there was probably massive linguistic variation while the new speech community was being established. Although it appears that the children were given highly variable and

> possibly chaotic and incomplete linguistic input, they were somehow able to organize it into the creole that was their native language, an ability which may be an innate characteristic of our species (Holm, 2000, pp. 6-7).

The European colonial expansion brought the colonists into contact with many languages that were unknown to them. According to Holm, the Europeans showed interest in studying those languages since they were seen as useful for commercial purposes and the establishment of colonies and other outposts. Europeans were also interested in using these languages for religious purposes, specifically to spread Christianity. Since the beginning of the European expansion, lists of words and phrases were collected and people that came later were able to note that new languages were developing out of the contact of people from different backgrounds. Holm points out that

> in 1640 Jacques Bouton, a Frenchman in Martinique, noted that the Carib Indians there used a jargon of French mixed with Spanish, English, and Dutch, and he recorded a sample. Not long afterwards, Père Chévillard, a priest on the same island, noted that the Africans were 'attentive observers who rapidly familiarized themselves with the language of the European, which was purposely corrupted to facilitate its comprehension' (from a 1659 document cited by Goodman 1964: 104).

Pierre Pelleprat, a contemporary, wrote that the changes in the language were initiated by the Africans and then repeated by the Europeans: "We adjust to their way of talking, which is usually with the infinitive of the Verb, for example *moi prier Dieu* ["I (me) prayed to God"]' (1655, cited by Goodman 1964, p.105) (Holm 2000, pp. 16-17).

Holm states that the earliest evidence found of a creole language in the Caribbean dates back to 1671 and it is from Martinique. It includes features of modern Caribbean Creole French such as the preverbal anterior marker *té* and the post-nominal determiner *là*:

(1) Moi té tini peur bête là

I ANT have fear animal DET

(p. 17)

It was during the 1700s that the creoles that had arisen in the Caribbean in the years following the start of the European expansion were recognized as varieties that showed great differences when compared to their European lexical source languages, “at least on a practical level by the Europeans who came into regular contact with them. It gradually became clear that somehow foreigners’ speech (‘broken English’, for example) had taken root and become the local language of blacks, influencing the speech of local whites as well” (Holm, 2000, p. 18). Additional evidence of the existence of Creole French can be found in Père Labat’s *Nouveau voyage aux Iles de l’Amérique, 1693-1705,* which tells the story of a woman from Martinique who was telling a man that he was her child’s father: “Toi papa li ’You are its father.” In the case of English-lexifier creoles, the first recorded evidence is in Sranan (a creole from Suriname), in J. D. Herlein’s *Beschryvinge van de volks-plantinge Zuriname* and it dates back to 1718.

(2)	Oudy.	Howdy
	Oe fasje joe tem?	How fashion you stand?
	My bon.	Me good.
	Jou bon toe?	You good too?
	Ay.	Aye.

(p. 18)

Britain expanded its commercial empire during the 1700’s; this situation led to the birth of new varieties of English in Africa and Asia, as well as in the Caribbean. In the 1730s it was the Moravian missionaries who were sent to St. Thomas and Suriname in order to convert the slaves to Christianity that were the first ones to take a serious look at creole languages after their patron, Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, met a slave who told him about the miserable conditions in which his people lived and their desire to convert to Christianity. Zinzendorf organized a mission and visited the area himself. According to John Holm, after failing to teach Dutch to the slaves, the missionaries started learning Negerhollands, a Dutch-based creole, which “they called *carriols* in the early days (cf. Dutch *creools*, apparently with an epenthetic vowel), one of the earliest known uses of the word referring to a West Indian language” (Holm, 2000, p. 19). The missionaries treated the creole as a separate language that deserved to be “studied and written as a linguistic system independent of its lexical donor language” (p. 19). They saw how important the creole language was so they taught the slaves how to read it and write it, resulting in the production of literature, including grammar, dictionaries, translations of the gospels, sermons and songs that were preserved in their archives.

> Although influenced by the second-language version of the creole spoken by the missionaries, the literature, particularly the letters written by the slaves, offers invaluable insights into the structure of the creole as used by the first generation of its speakers. For example, the earliest letters from the 1740s show no evidence of the creole’s pre-verbal markers *le* and *ka* or the plural marker *sender* and there

> is alternation of Dutch *ik* and Negerhollands *mi* for ‘I’, suggesting that the creole’s structure was not yet stable (p. 19).

In 1770, Jochum Melchor Magens’ *Grammatica over det Creolske sprog, som bruges paa de trende Danske Eilande, St. Croix, St. Thomas og St. Jans I America* became the first published grammar of any creole language. Magens, who was a native speaker of the more acrolectal creole spoken by the Dutch colonists, included in his work “a 24-page grammar on a Latin model and 43 pages of dialogue translated into Danish, as well as three pages of proverbs” (p. 19).

Moravian missionary Christian Oldendorp published a book in 1777 which tells the story of the mission, and he talked about the creole in it. The original manuscript (translated in 1986 by Glenn G. Gilbert) includes even more information on the creole: a 53-page grammar plus sociolinguistic information, a 189-page German-Negerhollands dictionary and 13 pages of texts. Holm deemed Oldendorp’s comments in the manuscript important enough to be quoted in full in his book *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles* since he thinks they shed some light on the thinking of that era:

> In the West Indies, the European languages tend to deviate to an extreme extent. For the most part, only those people who learned to speak them in Europe can talk the pure European form of the language. On the other hand, the people who were born here – the Crioles – do not speak the same language. They change it more or less; they employ words taken from elsewhere, arising from the collision of the people of many nations.They have lived together for a long time, or at least have been in constant contact, so that some features of their languages have been passed from one to the other…Hence, there is a criole English, a criole French,

> and so on. Blacks in these places speak Criole, too. Except for those who have learned the European languages in their youth, from whites for the most part, Blacks generally corrupt the European languages still more,
> due to their Guinea dialect and to the words which they mix in with their speech (Oldendorp, translated by Gilbert, as cited by Holm, 2000, pp. 19-20).

Oldendorp was convinced that the contact between people from different sociolinguistic backgrounds greatly influenced all the European languages used by West Indians as native languages. Likewise, he thought that African languages were a big influence on how much the blacks' speech differed from the standard languages. According to Holm, Oldendorp believed Creole to be the language of blacks acquired by whites only because black women were in charge of taking care of white children who, in turn, learned the creole from them and from spending their childhood surrounded by black children; he thought that this situation made it almost impossible for the white children to learn another language properly. He also believed that the whites spoke the creole better than the blacks. The Moravian missionaries also did work on two varieties of Creole English in Suriname: Sranan, which is spoken on the coast, and Saramaccan, which is spoken in the interior part of the country. Not only did they translate portions of the Bible but another of their missionaries, C. L. Schumann, wrote in 1778 a 55-page dictionary of Saramaccan and in 1783 a 135-page manuscript dictionary of Sranan. He also contrasted the variety of creole spoken by the whites with that spoken by the blacks (Holm, 2000, p. 20).

The first book on a creolized variety of English was published in 1778 by Pieter van Dyk who compared Sranan and Dutch. Two years later, the first grammar and dictionary of Malayo-Portuguese was published by the Dutch. The first text of Haitian Creole French appeared in 1785 in a book that talked about the colony and was followed by the publishing of a guide book to Haiti that included 24 pages of dialogue and a 74-page French-Creole vocabulary (pp. 20-21).

By the early 1800s other missionaries were studying other creole languages in the Caribbean, as well. Wesleyan missionaries started publishing texts in Indo-Portuguese in 1818. Religious texts in Papiamentu were published in 1825. A Sranan Creole English complete edition of the New Testament was published in 1829 (p. 21); this translation was heavily criticized by people who thought that it was trying to glorify a "broken English" that they thought was the result of the inability of blacks, whom they believed to have an inferior intelligence, to learn languages properly. Many people believed children had to be taught English not a "barbarous, mixed, imperfect phrase" (p. 22); they were obviously influenced by their racial prejudices and beliefs. Philologist William Greenfield took it upon himself to defend the legitimacy of Sranan. In 1830 he wrote a monograph in which he explained its history and how it was an "established and rule-governed language heavily influenced by Dutch" (p. 22). He goes on to dismiss the idea that Sranan is the result of the inability of Africans to learn English: "The human mind is the same in every clime; and accordingly we find nearly the same process adopted in the formation of language in every country. The Negroes have proved to be in no degree inferior to other nations in solidity of judgment or fertility of imagination" (Holm, 2000, p.22). Unfortunately, Greenfield was in the minority; for many years to come racial prejudices shaped the thinking of linguists and other people as well (p. 23).

It was not until the second half of the 19th century that an interest in colonial creoles emerged. The first book on a French-lexifier creole focused on the variety spoken in Trinidad was published in 1869, and it included a grammar, idioms, proverbs, and short texts. The first study of the French creole spoken in French Guyana was published in 1872, followed by a series of books on other French creole varieties published during the 1880s. During this period the first longer descriptions of English-lexifier creoles were published: a 68-page grammar (1854) and dictionaries (1855 and 1856) on Sranan and a study of Jamaican Creole (1868) which became the first published description of a West Indian variety of an English-lexifier creole. Also, the first dictionary of Papiamentu (1875) was published during these years (p. 24).

According to Holm, the first scientific study of creole languages was carried out by Addison Van Name (1869-70). He did the first comparative study of creoles from the four European lexifier groups found in the Caribbean: French, Spanish, Dutch, and English. He analyzed previous studies and used his own work with informants. “His description of the four lexical groups in some forty pages is remarkably clear, compact, and well informed” (p.24). Van Name was the first to talk about

> syntactic features common to many Caribbean creoles, e.g. the use of the third person plural pronoun to indicate plurality, the serial use of the verb meaning ‘give’ or the use of the word for ‘body’ as a quasi-reflexive pronoun. He also noted lexical similarities such as the words for ‘it has’ meaning ‘there is’, or those for ‘too much’ meaning ‘very’, as well as phonological similarities such as the regressive nasalization of vowels (Holm, 2000, pp. 24-25).

Holm states that Van Name “understood creolization to have been preceded by pidginization” even though the word “pidgin” did not have the same linguistic meaning to him as the one currently used, he saw a close relationship between pidginization and creolization (p.25).

The 1880s was a productive time for creole studies with many studies on individual varieties done during those years, including French creoles, African American English (AAE), West African Pidgin English, and Portuguese-lexifier creoles. According to Holm, the most important thing that happened during these years was that linguists started to think about and debate the theoretical problems related to the origin of creole languages; their discussion led to the emergence of the Universalist and substratist theories which, to this day, still cause controversy among linguists (p.27). The Universalist theory postulates that ‘creoles reflect the properties of Universal Grammar’, that is, that all languages, no matter how unrelated they may be, share certain properties and that human beings are born with a natural ability to learn and construct grammar. The substratist theory says that Caribbean creole languages were born as a result of the ‘gradual transformation of the West African languages (spoken by the slaves) influenced by the European colonial languages’ (Lefebvre, 2004, pp. 17-19).

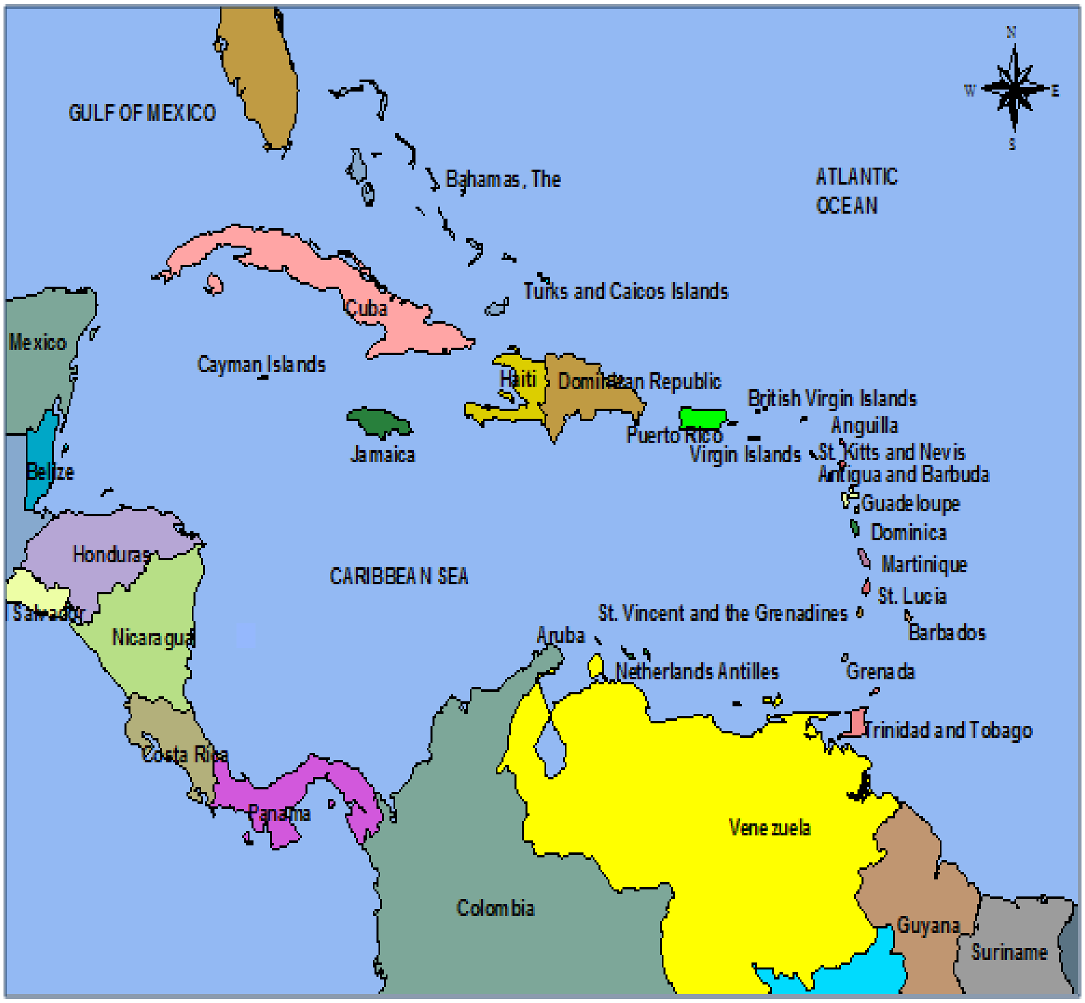
It was not until the late 1950s and early 1960s that creole studies became a recognized branch of linguistics, becoming so popular that by the 1970s the number of linguists doing research in the area had jumped from around a dozen to hundreds. According to Holm, the “early growth of creole linguistics was probably related to the movement toward independence in the British West Indies, which helped shift the perspective on language from that of the colonizer to that of the colonized” (Holm, 2000,

p. 44). During those years the theory of *monogenesis* emerged. Monogenesis postulates that many of the world's pidgins and creoles shared the same source language, "the Portuguese-based pidgin that arose in the fifteenth century in Africa, perhaps from the Lingua Franca, and that was eventually relexified (or translated word for word) into the pidgins of other European lexical bases that gave rise to the modern creoles" (p. 46). Another concept that emerged during that time was the *creole continuum*. This term refers to a continuous spectrum of speech varieties that goes from a variety that is the closest to the lexifier (the acrolect), passing through intermediate varieties (the mesolects), and finally getting to the creole variety that is the most distant from the lexifier (the basilect). Holm explains that a creole continuum can occur in cases where a creole coexists with its lexifier and "there is social motivation for creole speakers to acquire the standard so that the speech of individuals takes on features of the latter – or avoids features of the former – to varying degrees" (p. 50).

Having discussed what pidgins and creole languages are understood to be, how they are categorized, and aspects of their history and evolution, it is necessary to discuss the historical background of the Greater Caribbean in order to understand how the slave trade developed and how it influenced the linguistic makeup of the area. This will be done in the next section. An in-depth analysis of each of the countries selected for analysis will follow in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

1.2 Historical Background: The Greater Caribbean

Map 1: The Greater Caribbean


GULF OF MEXICO
Bahamas, The
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Turks and Caicos Islands
Cuba
Mexico
Cayman Islands
Haiti
Dominican Republic
British Virgin Islands
Anguilla
Puerto Rico
Virgin Islands
St. Kitts and Nevis
Antigua and Barbuda
Jamaica
Belize
Guadeloupe
Dominica
Martinique
St. Lucia
Honduras
CARIBBEAN SEA
El Salvador
St. Vincent and the Grenadines
Barbados
Nicaragua
Aruba
Netherlands Antilles
Grenada
Trinidad and Tobago
Costa Rica
Panama
Venezuela
Colombia
Guyana
Suriname
N
W
E
S

Source: http://africanah.org/suriname-lost-caribbean/

1.2.1 The First Caribbean Settlers

Prior to the European colonization of the Caribbean, the area was populated by three Indigenous groups that originated in South America: the Ciboney, the Arawak, and the Carib. It is believed that the Ciboney were the oldest group in the area; evidence of their presence has been found in Cuba and Hispaniola (Diaz Soler, 1994; Rogozinski, 1999; Knight, 2012). The Ciboney belonged to the “Arcaicos” or “Archaic” family who, according to Diaz Soler, were the first indigenous people to show interest in the Caribbean islands. This “Archaic” family was characterized by the absence of agriculture, no knowledge of pottery, semi-nomadic life in small groups, and the use of caves and other natural shelters (1994, p. 53).

According to Knight, the Ciboney “was the simplest of the three groups of pre-Hispanic inhabitants”; they were “not geared for warfare, they succumbed to their attackers, and if Columbus is to be believed, some Ciboney were being held in a form of slavery by the agricultural Taino” (Knight, 2012, p. 7). The “Archaic” group eventually disappeared after being absorbed by the Arawak who, according to Diaz Soler, were culturally superior (1994, p. 53).

Diaz Soler explains that the Arawaks originated in the Amazonian region and, in general, they were farmers whose specialty was cassava (or manioc). They moved throughout present-day Colombia and Venezuela until they reached the Orinoco River; then, they moved towards the Windward and Leeward islands (p. 54).

According to Diaz Soler, the Arawak migrated to the Caribbean in different “waves” that can be divided into four groups: Igneri, Ciguayo, Subtaino, and Taino. The Igneri were the first Arawak to arrive in the Caribbean; there is evidence of their presence from Trinidad to Hispaniola. They were farmers and were also very proficient in the art of pottery (p. 55). The next group was the Ciguayo. There is evidence of their presence in the northeastern region of Hispaniola. The next group was the Subtaino which are considered to be a transition between the Ciguayo and the Taino. The last “wave” of Arawak was the Taino. Knight describes their society as composed of theocratic chiefdoms similar to those found over a wide area from eastern Bolivia northward through the interior of Brazil and through Colombia and Venezuela.

The Taino Arawak formed one of a variegated group of such peoples, similar in culture though linguistically diverse, which inhabited the region. Unlike their ancestors on the mainland—groups such as the Chibcha, Warao, Yanomamo, Caracas, Palenque, Caquetío, or the Jirajara of the Colombia-Venezuela tropical forest belt—the island Taino were generally a no militaristic people with a hierarchically structured society of manioc-producing agriculturalists (2012, p. 9).

The third indigenous group of people that were already living in the Caribbean when the Europeans arrived was the Caribs. There are differing accounts about the true nature of the Caribs, with some historians pointing to their violent nature while others refuse to categorize them in such a way. The Caribs reached the Leeward and Windward islands and from there made sporadic attacks on the Arawak settlements in the Lesser Antilles. Their presence extended from Trinidad to Puerto Rico (Diaz Soler, 1994, p. 54-55).

According to Knight, the Caribs were fierce warriors and were constantly moving from one place to another. Knight explains that "by 1500, they had expelled or incorporated all the Taino communities of the eastern Caribbean islands and dominated the region" (2012, p. 13).

Anthropologist Jalil Sued Badillo, who has studied the Caribs extensively, disagrees with Diaz Soler's and Knight's assessment. In his book, *Los Caribes: Realidad o Fabula* (1978), he explains that the historical portrayal of the Caribs as violent and cruel is far from the truth. This version has its origin in the writings of Christopher

Columbus who portrayed the Carib Indians as a group of savages that were extremely violent and even delved in cannibalism. He argues that one of the reasons for the success of this version is that Columbus used the Caribs' supposed belligerent nature as an excuse to secure all kinds of royal favors, including the financing of risky enterprises (Sued Badillo, 1978, pp. 39-40).

1.2.2 The European Colonization

The European colonization of the Caribbean started with Christopher Columbus, who, on a commission sponsored by the Catholic monarchs of Spain, Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, arrived in the region in 1492. He was looking for a shorter and faster way to the East, specifically to China and Japan, where he hoped to find spices, gold, and other luxury goods. He also had the intention of spreading Christianity to new territories. It is common knowledge that Columbus never reached his intended destination; since he had sailed west, he referred to the region he found as "West Indies" because he thought he had arrived in India. When his ship, the Santa Maria, wrecked off the north coast of Hispaniola, Columbus established a settlement there. He went back to Spain and returned a year later but there was no sign of the settlement and the "Indians," who had been very welcoming and friendly when he had first arrived, had turned suspicious and afraid of the European visitors (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987).

The first European settlement in the Caribbean was established in 1502 when Nicolas de Ovando arrived in the eastern area of Hispaniola with about 2,500 colonists. This colony was called Santo Domingo, and it served as a base for the expansion of the Spanish Crown's power in the Caribbean and beyond. In 1509 Jamaica was settled and in 1510 Trinidad. By the following year, Spanish colonists had established settlements as far away as Florida. This expansion was not as easy as the Spanish colonists would have liked since the Caribs resisted their invasion but finally the Spaniards succeeded, except in the Eastern Caribbean and on parts of the Central and South American Caribbean coast (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987).

The Spanish settlers used the Indigenous population to work the gold deposits of the islands but, after Mexico was settled in 1519 and gold was discovered there, their interest in the islands decreased. There was a shortage of workers, due to a considerable decrease in the Indigenous population, which made matters worse. By 1520, the first African slaves, who had lived in Spain and spoke the Castilian language, were imported to the Caribbean to solve the problem of the labor shortage (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987). By the early 1600s other European countries, all enemies of Spain, were trying to establish settlements in the Americas too. Between 1595 and 1620, the English, French, and Dutch tried unsuccessfully to settle, on multiple occasions, along the Guiana coastlands of South America. The Dutch were the first to succeed, establishing permanent colonies along the Essequibo River in 1616 and along the neighboring Berbice River in 1624. In 1624 the English and French settled in St. Kitts in the northern Leeward Islands. During those years, Spain was deeply involved in the Thirty Years War in Europe, so conditions were propitious for other European powers to establish colonies in an area where, until then, only Spain had dominated (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987).

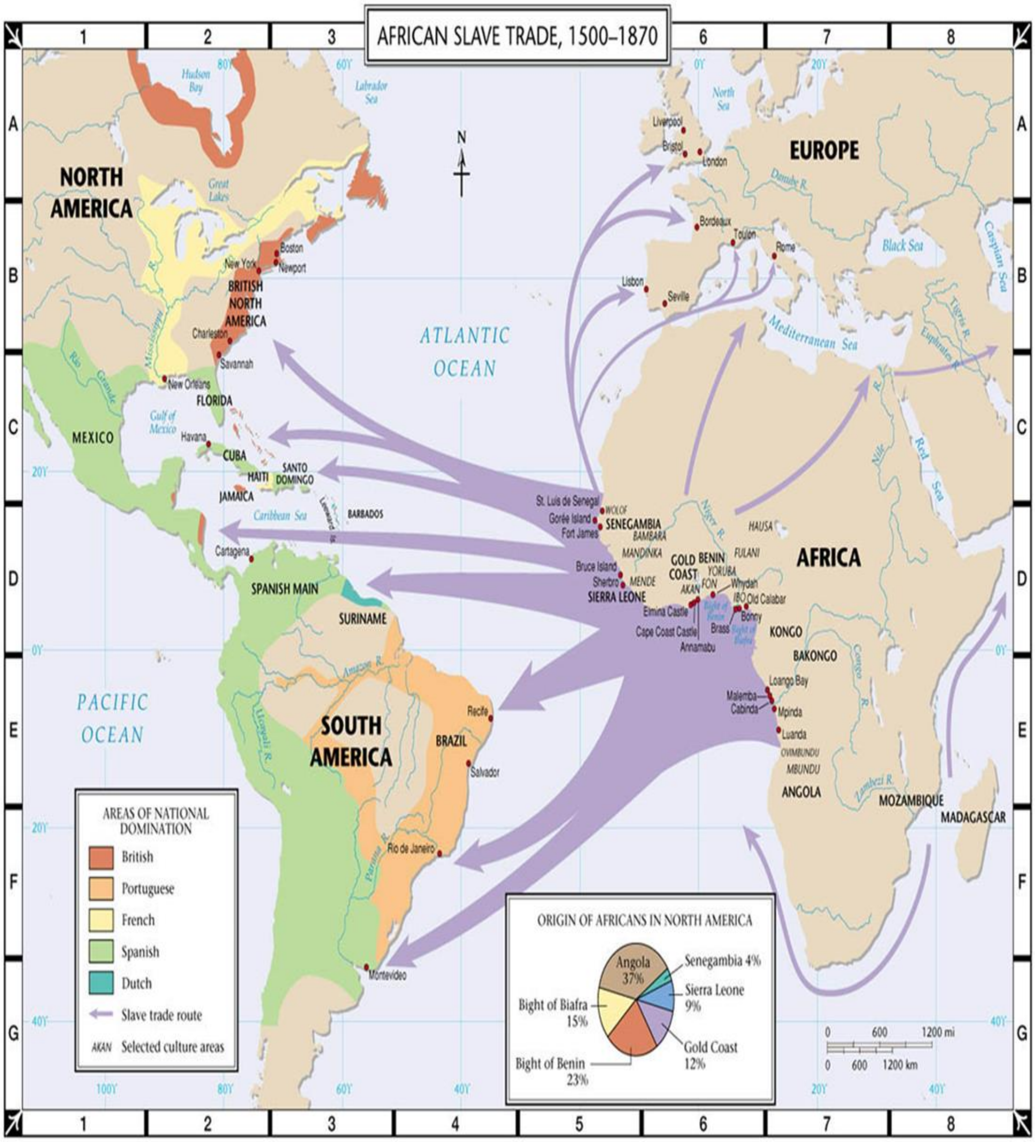
By 1621, the Dutch wanted to expand their holdings in the new world. That year they started to move aggressively against Spanish territory in the Americas, including Brazil which was temporarily under Spanish control between 1580 and 1640. In the Caribbean, they joined forces with the English in settling St. Croix in 1625 and then seized the islands of Curaçao, St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and Saba, which were unoccupied at the time. The English and the French also moved rapidly into the area; in 1625, the English settled Barbados and tried an unsuccessful settlement on Tobago. They took possession of Nevis in 1628 and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. They established a colony in St. Lucia in 1638, but it was destroyed within four years by the Caribs. In 1635, the French successfully settled Martinique and Guadeloupe, laying the base for later expansion to St. Bartholomé, St. Martin, Grenada, St. Lucia, and western Hispaniola, which was formally ceded by Spain in 1697 at the Treaty of Ryswick (signed between France and the alliance of Spain, the Netherlands, and England, and ending the War of the Grand Alliance). In 1655 England captured the first territory from the Spanish, Jamaica; the only other territory England was able to take away from Spain was Trinidad which was seized in 1797 and finally ceded in 1802 (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987).

1.2.3 The First Slaves

Slavery under the Europeans started in the Caribbean with the subjugation of the indigenous people who were already living there. As Rogozinski explains, a royal decree by the Spanish Crown authorized the distribution (*repartimiento*) of land among individual settlers who were expected to work it, build on it, and remain on it for four years. This decree was distorted by the settlers who refused to work and, in turn, lived off the labor of the local indigenous population. Christopher Columbus placated these settlers by distributing indigenous people among them instead of land so they “could legally force ‘their’ Indians to work without wages in a kind of semi-slavery or serfdom, known in Spanish both as *repartimiento* and as *encomienda*” (1999, p. 27). This practice was illegal but the Spanish government allowed it because they believed that the *encomienda* would make the colonies profitable (p. 27).

Indian slavery was short-lived due to the decline in the indigenous population as a result of abuse and sickness. The colonists started to import people to be used as manual labor, principally Africans shipped to the colonies as part of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Map 2 illustrates an overview of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Map 2: Overview of African Slave Trade, 1500-1870


AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1500–1870
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
N
NORTH AMERICA
Hudson Bay
Labrador Sea
Great Lakes
Boston
Newport
New York
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
Charleston
Savannah
Mississippi R.
Rio Grande
New Orleans
FLORIDA
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
Havana
CUBA
HAITI
SANTO DOMINGO
JAMAICA
BARBADOS
Leeward Is.
Caribbean Sea
Cartagena
SPANISH MAIN
SURINAME
Amazon R.
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
Recife
Salvador
Rio de Janeiro
Paraná R.
Montevideo
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
North Sea
Liverpool
Bristol
London
Bordeaux
Toulon
Rome
Lisbon
Seville
Danube R.
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Mediterranean Sea
Nile R.
Red Sea
AFRICA
St. Luis de Senegal
Gorée Island
Fort James
WOLOF
SENEGAMBIA
BAMBARA
MANDINKA
Bruce Island
Sherbro
MENDE
SIERRA LEONE
GOLD COAST
BENIN
YORUBA
AKAN
FON
Whydah
IBO
Old Calabar
Bonny
Brass
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Elmina Castle
Cape Coast Castle
Annamabu
Niger R.
HAUSA
FULANI
KONGO
BAKONGO
Loango Bay
Malemba
Cabinda
Mpinda
Luanda
OVIMBUNDU
MBUNDU
ANGOLA
Congo R.
Zambezi R.
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
80°
60°
40°
20°
0°
100°
AREAS OF NATIONAL DOMINATION
British
Portuguese
French
Spanish
Dutch
Slave trade route
AKAN Selected culture areas
ORIGIN OF AFRICANS IN NORTH AMERICA
Angola 37%
Senegambia 4%
Sierra Leone 9%
Gold Coast 12%
Bight of Benin 23%
Bight of Biafra 15%
0 600 1200 mi
0 600 1200 km

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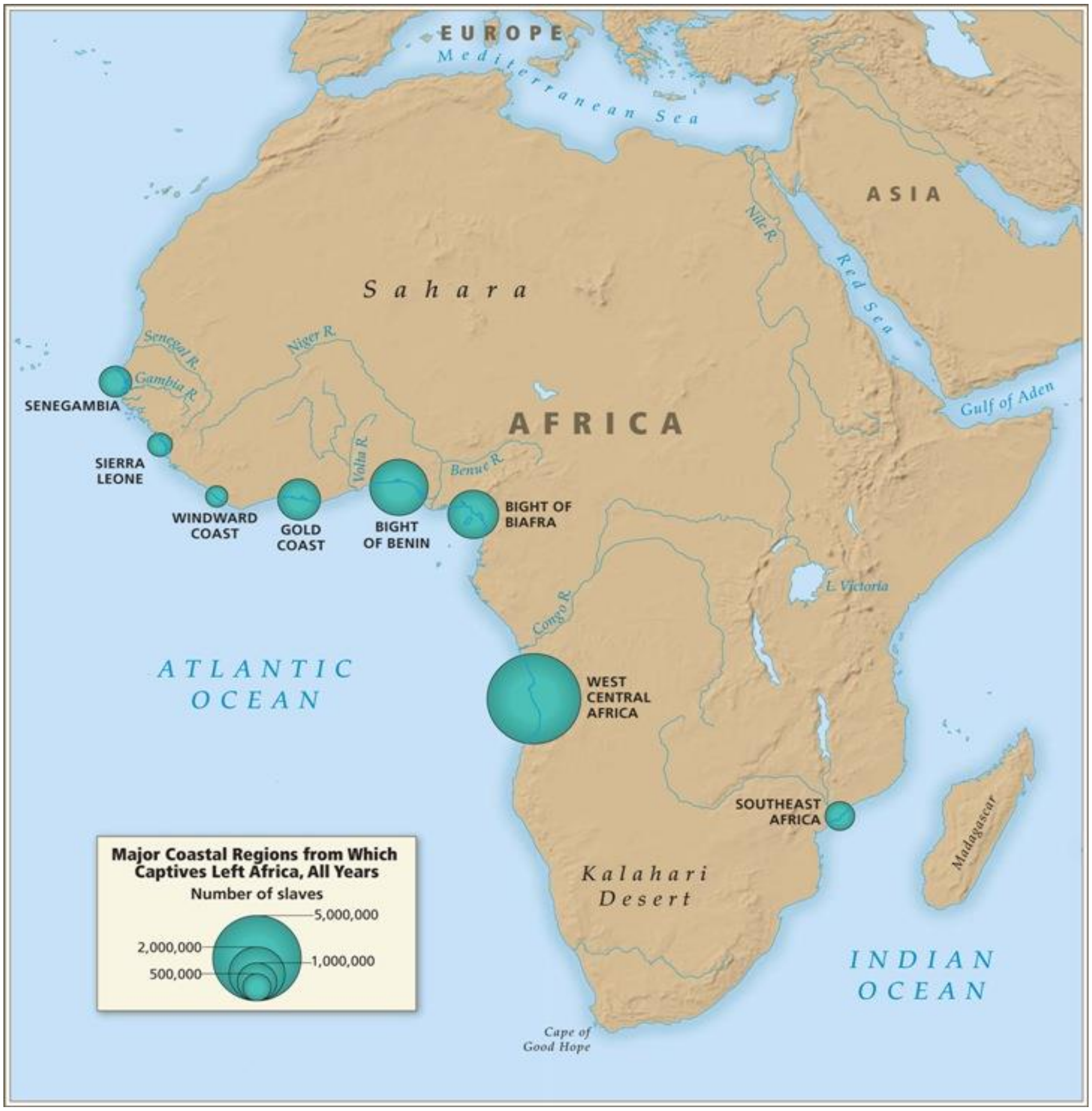
Source: http://wps.pearsoncustom.com/wps/media/objects/2428/2487068/atlas/Resources/ah1_m009.jpg

Map 3 indicates the areas were slaves who were carried to the Caribbean were embarked; the source for this information is the voyage records of Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, which will be referred to below. The map shows relative numbers of Africans taken from each area over the centuries when slaves were transported to colonies.

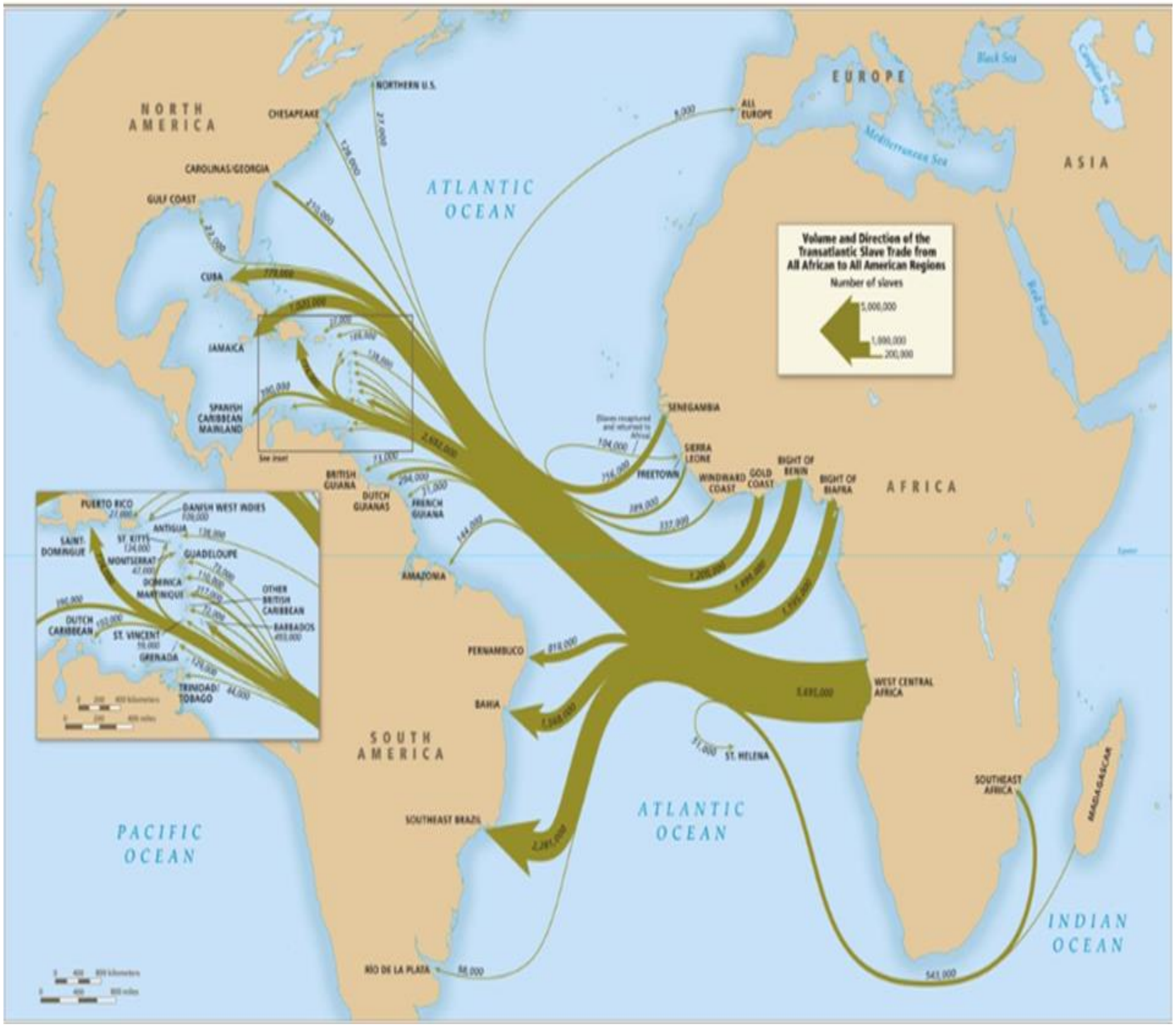
Map 3: Areas of Embarkation of Africans Taken to the Caribbean during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade


EUROPE
Mediterranean Sea
ASIA
Nile R.
Red Sea
Sahara
Senegal R.
Gambia R.
Niger R.
SENEGAMBIA
SIERRA LEONE
AFRICA
Gulf of Aden
Volta R.
Benue R.
WINDWARD COAST
GOLD COAST
BIGHT OF BENIN
BIGHT OF BIAFRA
L. Victoria
Congo R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
WEST CENTRAL AFRICA
SOUTHEAST AFRICA
Madagascar
Kalahari Desert
INDIAN OCEAN
Cape of Good Hope
Major Coastal Regions from Which Captives Left Africa, All Years
Number of slaves
5,000,000
2,000,000
1,000,000
500,000

Source: Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http: slavevoyages.org

Map 4 below illustrates the embarkation regions delineated in the slave voyages records and their relative importance to specific disembarkation areas.

Map 4: Areas of Embarkation and Disembarkation Numbers of Africans


NORTH AMERICA
NORTHERN U.S.
CHESAPEAKE
CAROLINAS/GEORGIA
GULF COAST
CUBA
JAMAICA
SPANISH CARIBBEAN MAINLAND
See inset
BRITISH GUIANA
DUTCH GUIANAS
FRENCH GUIANA
AMAZONIA
PERNAMBUCO
BAHIA
SOUTHEAST BRAZIL
RIO DE LA PLATA
SOUTH AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
ALL EUROPE
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
ASIA
AFRICA
SENEGAMBIA
Slaves recaptured and returned to Africa
SIERRA LEONE
FREETOWN
WINDWARD COAST
GOLD COAST
BIGHT OF BENIN
BIGHT OF BIAFRA
WEST CENTRAL AFRICA
ST. HELENA
SOUTHEAST AFRICA
MADAGASCAR
INDIAN OCEAN
Volume and Direction of the Transatlantic Slave Trade from All African to All American Regions
Number of slaves
5,000,000
1,000,000
200,000
PUERTO RICO
DANISH WEST INDIES
ANTIGUA
SAINT-DOMINGUE
ST. KITTS
GUADELOUPE
MONTSERRAT
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
OTHER BRITISH CARIBBEAN
DUTCH CARIBBEAN
BARBADOS
ST. VINCENT
GRENADA
TRINIDAD/TOBAGO
779,000
2,582,000
104,000
5,695,000
2,291,000
818,000
58,000

Source: Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http: slavevoyages.org.

For around two hundred years only African slaves were brought to the Caribbean colonies but, by the 1700s, indentured servants from England and Ireland were imported too. Some of the workers, mostly Irish, came voluntarily after selling their labor for periods of five to ten years in exchange for passage to the Americas and a small piece of land at the end of their service. Other European workers brought to the Caribbean were deceived into signing contracts for indentured servitude but upon arrival they were sold into slavery. Finally, there was a big group of European workers that were forcibly brought to the Caribbean; these people were kidnapped by gangs in Ireland, loaded onto slave ships in Bristol or Liverpool, and shipped off to the colonies. These practices continued until slavery was abolished in the British colonies in 1834. Whether they arrived by their own free will, by deception, or by force, these indentured servants endured appalling working conditions and excessive cruelty just like their Indian and African counterparts (http://www.exodus2013.co.uk/indentured-servants-to-the-west-indies/).

1.2.4 The Economy: Tobacco and Sugar

The production of tobacco and sugar played essential roles during the period of the Atlantic Slave Trade. According to Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. (1996), the first crop to be widely produced in the Caribbean during that period was tobacco; its production helped to make the early colonies successful. The reign of the Caribbean colonies as the most important producers of tobacco was short-lived; their success encouraged others to become tobacco planters. Soon there was a surplus of tobacco on the European markets, which pushed the prices down and resulted in an economic crisis among tobacco planters and their workers in the colonies. Tobacco planters saw a decline in their profits which, in turn, led to a rise in unemployment. However, the profits from the production and trade of tobacco allowed planters to start investing in the cultivation of sugar, for which the demand was rising rapidly in Europe.

Sugar production in the Caribbean colonies was so successful that there was a need for more workers; as a result, sugar producers started to import African slaves to be used as their principal source of manual labor in sugar cultivation. African slaves had been used before but on a limited scale since most plantations were small and were run by families who used mostly indentured laborers to work their land. Many of these small-scale planters did not have the capital necessary to make the transition to sugar production; they were eventually displaced by larger plantations (Woodward, Jr., 1996).

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This chapter will discuss existing theories of language contact and theories concerning the lack of Spanish Creoles in the Caribbean islands. Specifically, it will focus on the work done by linguists Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, John McWhorter, and John M. Lipski. This will be followed by a discussion of the theories concerning the existence of Spanish-lexifier creoles in the Greater Caribbean. This discussion will conclude by focusing on the cases of Palenquero, Yungueño, and on the research done by John McWhorter on Choco (Colombia), Chota (Ecuador), and Veracruz (Mexico).

2.1 Thomason and Kaufman's Theory of Language Contact

Linguists have been studying language contact, and how it relates to creole languages, for many years. Sarah G. Thomason, who is a linguistics professor at the University of Michigan, and Terrence Kaufman, a professor at the University of Pittsburgh, have dedicated a substantial amount of time to that topic, specifically focusing on contact-induced language change and the processes involved in it. In 1988, they published the book *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* whose main objective was to propose "a framework that is based on the substantive claims underlying the metaphors of genetic linguistics and on a systematic historical investigation of pidgins, creoles, and all kinds and degrees of contact-induced language change" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p. 3), providing arguments and evidence to support this framework. They are convinced that the history of a language is intertwined with the history of its speakers; a language cannot be studied without taking into consideration, and referencing, the socio-historical background of its speakers (p. 4).

Language contact can be simply defined as “the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time” (Thomason, 2001, p.1). Language contact takes place everywhere, and its intensity is different from place to place. In some cases, it is “stable, with both (or all) languages being maintained, at least over the short run” (Thomason, 2001, pp. 8-9). In most cases language contact results in the change in some or all of the languages: typically, though not always, at least one of the languages will exert at least some influence on at least one of the other languages. And the most common specific type of influence is the borrowing of words. English, for instance, is notorious for having a huge number of loanwords, by some estimates up to 75% of its total vocabulary, mostly taken from French and Latin (p. 10).

Everything related to language structure can transfer from one language to another depending on the social and linguistic context (p. 11). One possible outcome of this is that one of the languages in contact “disappears” or “dies.” A language can also disappear due to the death of all its speakers; this can happen as a consequence of extermination by hostile invaders, or because of natural disasters or diseases. Depending on how rapidly a process of group shift is completed, and on less tangible factors such as speaker attitudes, the language that is being shifted away from may or may not undergo the type of overall change that has come to be known as attrition, which is defined as the loss of vocabulary and simplification of structure without any compensating additions in the form of borrowings or newly created structure (pp. 11-12).

Thomason defines contact-induced language change as “‘any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation” (p. 62). In her article, “Language Contact and Language Change,” Thomason (2006) explains that contact-induced language change involves many kinds of changes where linguistic material is transferred from one language to another. She mentions cases of slow language death "that fall into the category of attrition (loss of linguistic material) but do not make the dying language more similar to the language that is replacing it" (p. 2). She also talks about intentional linguistic changes that are induced by contact but do not involve diffusion, like, for example, when "a speech community deliberately distances its language from neighboring languages" (Thomason, 2006, p. 2). Also, she mentions some changes that happen "as an indirect result of interference, typically when a borrowed morpheme sets off a chain reaction that has a snowballing effect on the receiving language's structure" (p. 2). Finally, she includes in her definition the "contribution from internal pattern pressures in a relevant change: multiple causation is always a possibility, whether the causes are all internal or a mixture of internal and contact factors" (p. 2).

Thomason and Kaufman propose two different kinds of contact scenarios that can lead to the birth and development of what they refer to as mixed languages, including creoles (1988, pp. 3-4). The first scenario is known as *borrowing*, which is

> the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features. Invariably, in a borrowing situation the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are words…If there is strong long-term cultural pressure from source-language speakers on the borrowing language speaker group, then structural features may be borrowed as well as phonological, phonetic, and syntactic elements, and even (though more rarely) features of the inflectional morphology. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p. 37)

The second scenario is known as *substratum interference,* which happens when a group in the process of language shift learns the target language (TL) incorrectly. The mistakes these speakers make during the process may spread to the entire TL when its original speakers imitate them (pp. 37-38). Contrary to *borrowing,* this kind of interference does not begin with words: "it begins instead with sounds and syntax, and sometimes includes morphology as well before words from the shifting group's original language appear in the TL" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p. 38). Thomason and Kaufman point out that

> there is unfortunately no reason to expect these two types of interference to take place in mutually exclusive contexts. Sometimes, to be sure, we find one without the other…In some cases, however, a language undergoes both types of interference at once. Target-language speakers may be borrowing words and possibly even structural features from a language whose speakers are in the process of shifting to the target language and incorporating their learners' errors into it (p. 45).

In all kinds of communities, from small villages to large countries, language contact has social consequences. These consequences can be benign or advantageous to the vitality of a language but they can also be painful or even lead to language death. Many times a dominant culture turns the language of a minority culture into a marker of cultural difference, and a cause for discrimination (p. 45). According to Thomason (2001), there are language contact situations in which the people in contact do not learn each other's languages, just because they are not interested or because they do not get the chance to do so. These kinds of situations may lead to the emergence of a pidgin or a creole. The vocabulary used in the new language will come, in most cases, from the language used by the dominant group in the contact situation. A notable example of this is the emergence of pidgins and creoles that took place during the Atlantic Slave Trade era. On the other hand, other features of the pidgins and creoles that emerge in multilingual environments do not come from any single language but out of the combination of features from all the languages in contact; these features are usually very accessible to the speakers.

Thomason and Kaufman propose a theory of linguistic interference in which the sociolinguistic background of the speakers determines the linguistic outcome of language contact. Linguistic factors are important but are relegated to second place behind social factors. "Both the direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another" (p.35). For example, in cases of colonialism, the presence of foreign invaders caused a state of unrest that may have led the population to move from one place to another resulting in the mixing of people with different socio-historical backgrounds and different languages (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988, p. 147). They state that "the major determinants of contact-induced language change are the social facts of particular contact situations, not the structural linguistic relations that obtain among the languages themselves" (p. 212). They believe that no case of creole genesis can be explained without taking into consideration its sociolinguistic background (p. 212).

Thomason has continued doing research on contact-induced language change. In 2001 she published the book *Language Contact* in which she focuses her attention "on linguistic results of contact rather than on the sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics of languages in contact” (p. ix). She pays special attention to contact situations in which at least some people use more than one language. She explains that this kind of language contact “does not require fluent bilingualism or multilingualism, but some communication between speakers of different languages is necessary” (p. 1). Language contact most often takes place in single communities where speakers of two or more languages live together and interact with one another on a daily basis. Also, there most often are people from one ethnic group who have joined another via marriage, slavery, immigration, or by adoption (pp. 3-4). This occurrence can lead to the birth of mixed languages such as in the Caribbean and coastal areas of North, Central, and South America, where the Atlantic Slave Trade led eventually to the emergence of creole languages (Thomason, 2001, p. 4).

2.2 Theories Concerning the Lack of Spanish-lexifier Creoles in the Caribbean

The absence of Spanish-lexifier Creoles in the Caribbean is an issue that appears to be considered less important than other issues in the study of creoles, but that has not stopped some linguists from focusing their attention on it. McWhorter, a linguistics professor at Columbia University and political commentator who has done extensive research on creoles and the role of socio-historical factors on language change, is, perhaps, the linguist that has given this issue the greatest amount of attention. In the article “The Scarcity of Spanish-based creoles explained” (1995) he states that the vast majority of creoles in the world developed as a result of the colonization carried out, for the most part, by England, France, Spain, Portugal, or Holland, between the 16th and 19th centuries. He explains that creolists have always considered the lack of Spanish-based creoles a strange occurrence given the fact that Spain was one of the countries involved in the colonization process. McWhorter thinks that it is quite striking that no convincing evidence of previous Spanish-based creoles can be found today and the few creoles that show some Spanish component, such as Palenquero, can "'be demonstrated to have arisen as Portuguese-based creoles, only relexified by Spanish later" (McWhorter, 1995, p. 213). In the article he argues that the lack of Spanish-based creoles "results not from sociological factors, but instead from factors which have been illuminated by advances in creole theory, as well as from certain accidents of history which prevented pidginization only incidentally" (p. 214).

McWhorter explains that the situation in the Caribbean sugar plantation society seemed to be prone to the development of pidgins. Sugar production required a considerable amount of manpower (around 300 slaves or more); this did not allow a lot of contact between slaves and their owners so most slaves communicated mostly with other slaves. If the cases of Suriname, Haiti, and St. Thomas are taken into consideration, pidgins should have also developed in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, where, according to McWhorter, similar social conditions prevailed, but this did not happen (McWhorter, 1995, p. 214).

McWhorter discusses the case of Cuban "*bozal* Spanish" which some linguists claim was a pidgin developed by slaves in Cuba during the 1900's but which "has since disappeared as the result of shifts in population distribution and the resultant increased access of rural Black Cubans to the standard" (p. 214). McWhorter does not agree with that hypothesis. He concedes that there is evidence of distinct phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures but not enough to consider *bozal* Spanish a creole. He also discusses the presence of a *bozal* variety in Puerto Rico and how it is similar to that of Cuba. McWhorter argues that this occurrence can be explained by the fact that in Puerto Rico, just as in Cuba, coffee was the dominant crop for a long time before 1800; which may have led to a large number of slaves learning Spanish. The sugar plantations that emerged in Puerto Rico were not as big as in other parts of the Caribbean (they only used around fifty slaves each) so the possibility of having a pidginized version of Spanish is unlikely (p. 225).

McWhorter argues that the only Spanish colony where a pidginized version of Spanish may have developed was the Dominican Republic where, during the 1600's, there were around forty sugar plantations with a hundred or more slaves each. Ultimately, Spain shut down the majority of them when they decided to obtain most of their sugar from Europe and the Canary Islands; thereafter, a few plantations remained that supplied the island itself. If a Spanish-based pidgin emerged during that time it disappeared completely leaving no evidence behind (p. 226).

McWhorter proposes three historical factors that he believes are responsible for the absence of Spanish-based creole languages in the Caribbean. First, Spain did not start cultivating sugar until after a hundred years of cultivating crops that did not require big plantations; this situation made it possible for the slaves to be exposed to the Spanish language for a longer amount of time, therefore, acquiring the language more effectively. Second, "in two locations where Spanish would certainly have been pidginized under other conditions, the former hegemony of the Portuguese effected a gradual relexification of a pre-existing creole by Spanish instead, a process spurred partly by the genetic closeness of Spanish and Portuguese" (McWhorter, 1995, p. 237). Third, Spain did not have trade settlements in West Africa, which could have prompted the emergence of

Spanish-lexifier creoles there that could have been brought by the slaves imported to work on the Caribbean plantations: “thus no Spanish-based pidgin was ever imported into a context otherwise unlikely to spur pidginization, as appears to have happened in Suriname and other colonies occupied by powers who did have such settlements” (pp. 237-238).

Spain did not have settlements in West Africa due to the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) that allowed Spain’s government to keep most of the new world territories while Portugal kept most of the West African coast. Due to this situation, Spain usually obtained their slaves via contract (the *asiento*) with other countries. Spain had its only presence on the West African coast in the Canary Islands which they received as part of the Tordesillas agreement; there they developed sugar plantations that were quite successful during the first half of the 1550s.

McWhorter believes that there are two major facts pertaining to why no Spanish-lexifier creoles emerged in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era: (1) plantation creoles developed due to encounters between the slaves and the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese settlers, but not with the Spanish and (2) England, France, Holland, and Portugal had trade settlements in West Africa while Spain did not. He argues that a causal relationship can be drawn between these facts due to the existing evidence (according to him) that it was in West Africa where pidgins emerged that “were later disseminated to plantation colonies” (McWhorter, 2000, pp. 197-198).

McWhorter investigates further the absence of Spanish-based creoles in the Caribbean in his book *The Missing Spanish Creoles: Recovering the Birth of Plantation Contact Languages* (2000). He challenges the notion of the “limited access model” which stipulates that the creoles that emerged in the Caribbean during the plantation era did so because African slaves did not have enough access to the lexifier spoken on plantations, “due to the disproportion of blacks to whites in such settings” (McWhorter, 2000, p. 1). McWhorter explains that the limited access model basically portrays the birth of plantation creoles as “an attempt by slaves to forge a viable lingua franca on the basis of unusually constrained input from a socially dominant lexifier. Thus, plantation social structure is seen as having filtered lexifier input to most slaves” (p. 1). He believes that the limited access model could have been seen as possible with the range of data available to those studying creoles during the 1950s and 1960s but with the amount of work that has been done since and the data available nowadays it is no longer a realistic option and must be discarded. The model does not take into consideration the fact that many slaves in Spanish colonies, living in similar conditions to those living in colonies controlled by other countries, were able to learn Spanish nor does it take into consideration recent research that points to evidence that all of the Atlantic English-based creoles share the same origin and that shows that in many colonies there were plantation creoles long before the black population outnumbered the white population (pp. 3-4).

Instead of the limited access model, McWhorter proposes “a new account of creole genesis which not only accounts for the questions the limited access hypothesis founders upon, but also answers other long-standing questions” (McWhorter, 2000, p. 4). He calls this new model the “Afrogenesis Hypothesis.” He argues that the pidgins spoken by slaves on the plantations did not develop in the Caribbean; instead, they emerged in West Africa as a result of the interaction between European colonists and Africans working in the trade settlements there. Africans needed a way of communicating with the

European settlers for utilitarian purposes; pidginization occurred as a result of this necessity. He believes that these pidgins were imported to early Caribbean colonies by slaves. Afterwards, the pidgins "took their place as vernaculars expressive of black identity and expanded into creoles" that were, then "distributed to subsequently settled colonies via intercolonial traffic" (McWhorter, 2000, pp. 198-199). He concludes that because Spain had no trade settlements in West Africa, slaves sent to the Spanish Americas could not bring with them preexisting Spanish-based pidgins that would eventually become creoles (p. 199).

Another linguist who has studied the apparent absence of Spanish lexifier Creoles in the Caribbean is John Lipski. He disagrees with John McWhorter's Afrogenesis Hypothesis. Noting that the Caribbean is the home to many English, French, and Dutch-lexifier creole languages, he states in his article "Spanish-based Creoles in the Caribbean" (2008) that the Caribbean has only one Spanish-based creole language, Papiamentu. Spoken in the islands of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire, Papiamentu is an Iberian-lexifier creole that combines elements from Spanish and Portuguese, among other languages, in its lexicon, 60% of which cannot be identified as coming exclusively from Spanish or Portuguese (*frio* 'cold,' *largu* 'long,' *boka* 'mouth'), but instead could have come from both of them. Some Dutch and English words have been added to Papiamentu's lexicon relatively recently. Lipski argues that there are different theories concerning the origin of Papiamentu. First, Papiamentu could have resulted from the relexification of an Afro-Portuguese creole. Second, it could be that Papiamentu was originally a Portuguese-based creole formed on Curaçao thanks to the influence of Sephardic Jews that emigrated from Brazil after the Portuguese regained control of that country from the Dutch. The third theory is that Papiamentu is a Spanish-related creole with elements that were introduced to the language by Sephardic Jews and Portuguese slave traders (Lipski, 2008, p. 547). According to Lipski, Papiamentu is “for all intents and purposes” a Spanish-based creole because it has been in direct contact with Spanish for over three hundred years. Most of Aruba’s inhabitants speak Spanish fluently and Papiamentu has been influenced by Spanish throughout its history.

Lipski also studies the possible occurrence of Spanish-related creole languages in Spanish colonies farther afield where African slaves were sent, such as Colombia and Bolivia. In the village Palenque de San Basilio, near the port of Cartagena de Indias in Colombia, people speak Palenquero which may also qualify as a Spanish-related creole, and which has elements from Portuguese, like Papiamentu. He thinks that Palenquero was part of a group of Spanish-related creole languages that emerged in maroon communities throughout the Spanish Caribbean. Lipski proposes that both Papiamentu and Palenquero could be considered to be mixed Spanish and Portuguese lexifier creoles (p. 543), and in recent work he has found in Bolivia a variety called “Yungueño” which he claims may be another creole whose original lexicon emerged predominantly from Spanish.

Lipski also draws attention to “a number of small Afro-Hispanic enclaves scattered throughout the Caribbean where ritual language, songs, and oral traditions suggest at least some partial restructuring of Spanish in small areas” (p. 543). He also points to the existence of a controversial but compelling research paradigm which asserts that Spanish as spoken by African slaves and their immediate descendants may have creolized in the 19th century Spanish Caribbean—particularly in Cuba—and that this putative creole language may have subsequently merged with local varieties of Spanish, leaving a faint but detectable imprint on Caribbean Spanish (Lipski, 2008, p. 543).

Lipski states that an essential element in the study of Spanish-based creoles is the repeated claim that all of them come from earlier Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles that were brought to the Caribbean by slaves that came directly from holding stations in West Africa. However, Lipski disputes McWhorter's claims, arguing that the apparent absence of Spanish-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean can be attributed to other factors. Lipski argues that the demographic conditions that prevailed in the Spanish colonies were not optimal for "the formation and long-term survival of Spanish-based creoles" (p. 588). Lipski concedes that Spanish-related creoles are "indeed scarce in the Caribbean" but he does not believe it is for the reasons theorized by McWhorter. He agrees there is not enough evidence to support their existence in the Caribbean although he does not rule it out, envisioning the possibility that future research may yield further evidence in support of their present or past existence (pp. 558-559).

2.3 Are There Spanish-lexifier Creoles in the Greater Caribbean?

2.3.1 Palenquero

Palenquero, considered to be a "variety of creolized Spanish" (Holm, 1994, p. 310), is spoken by less than half of the 3,000 residents in the isolated village of Palenque de San Basilio, located in the foothills of the Montes de María, southeast of the regional capital Cartagena, Colombia. Palenquero is considered to be a "variety of creolized Spanish" that has maintained its characteristics for over three hundred years. According to John Holm, the fact that it was not identified as a creole until the late 1960's suggests the possibility that there might be more unidentified "pockets of creolized Spanish in similarly isolated communities on the South American mainland" (Holm, 1994, p. 310). This creole is known as Palenquero by linguists and as *lengua* (the language) by its speakers (Lipski, 2008, p. 547).

The village of Palenque de San Basilio was originally one of the walled communities called "palenques," which were founded by escaped slaves, or maroons, as a refuge during the 1600s (www.unesco.org). Palenque de San Basilio was founded by maroons led by Domingo Bioho. It served as "a base for raids on the European colonists" (Holm, 1994, p. 310). It is believed that, during those years, armed conflicts between maroons and the Spanish colonists took place sporadically but in 1691 the people from San Basilio reached a truce with the colonists, who recognized their right to govern themselves and freed them. Of the many *palenques* that existed during the slave trade era, only the one at San Basilio has survived until the present day which could be attributed to the fact that Palenque de San Basilio spent many years isolated from the rest of Colombia (http://www.staff.ncl.ac.uk/i.e.mackenzie/palenque.htm).

Holm explains that there is a document from 1772 that "describes the Palenqueros as using a particular language among themselves but speaking Spanish fluently (cited by Bickerton and Escalante, 1970, p. 255), suggesting that the community's current disglossia dates from at least this period" (p. 311).

There are different theories concerning the origin of, and influences on, Palenquero but what is a fact is that it has survived for centuries and it has become an essential component of Palenque de San Basilio's culture (Romero 2007). According to Holm, Palenquero descends from the language used by the slaves that worked during the late 1500s and early 1600s in building the fortifications of the Cartagena area. Holm explains that, in 1627, Sandoval wrote that the language spoken by the slaves at the time "may well have been based on the restructured Portuguese of the Gulf of Guinea islands." He also explains that, in 1982, William W. Megenney "pointed out Palenquero's lexical remnants from Portuguese despite its centuries of contact with local Spanish" (Holm, 1994, p. 310). Palenquero constitutes a vital factor reinforcing social cohesion among community members (www.unesco.org).

Palenquero shows some influence from Spanish in borrowed inflections such as: *í ta kanta* ('I PROGRESSIVE sing) which can occur as "í ta kanta*ndo*" with a present participle ending like Spanish "(yo) estoy canta*ndo*" (p. 311). Holms points out that it also shows differences in comparison with Colombian Spanish such as the distribution of the flapped /r/ which in Palenquero can occur at the beginning of a word, and the fact that Palenquero "has nasal vowels not conditioned by their phonetic environment, as in *muhẽ* 'woman', as well as pre-nasalized stops" (p. 311). Holm points to evidence of the Bantu influence on Palenquero because the plural marker for nouns is *ma*, a Bantu-derived morpheme, rather than the pronoun 'they' as in many Kwa languages. Vocabulary of African origin also suggests more Bantu than West African influence (p. 311).

John Lipski, who has studied Palenquero extensively, further explains in his 2008 article "Spanish-based Creoles in the Caribbean" that Palenquero contains many unique features, as well as sharing similarities with other creole languages. According to Lipski, Palenquero's closest apparent relatives are the Portuguese-related creoles spoken on São Tomé and Príncipe and Annobón. Similarities among the languages include plural subject pronouns, the syntax of negation, postposed possessives, and pluralization. As mentioned above, Palenquero forms plurals by prefixing *ma*, presumably a generalized Bantu pluralizer. Possessive constructions place the possessor in postnominal position: *casa suto* “house 1 pl. = our house.” Like Papiamentu:

> […]the Palenquero verb system is based on preverbal particles plus largely invariant verb stems, but some verb stems also inflect, particularly to signal the imperfect; in the introduction of some ostensibly conjugated verbs, Palenquero resembles Cape Verdean Crioulo. Whereas Papiamentu may well have been formed in situ, it is almost certain that Palenquero arrived in Palenque de San Basilio at least partially formed, modeled on the already emergent São Tomé Portuguese creole, if not actually identical to the latter language (Lipski, 2008, pp. 547-548).

During that time, despite this situation, Palenquero shows no sign of having been in contact with any creole language. Germán de Granda, who was the first to study Palenquero (in 1968) concluded that it was a creole based upon Portuguese and African languages (Pousada 2007) while John McWhorter (2000) traced Palenquero’s origin back to Portuguese and explains that Spanish influence came later.

Those fighting to keep Palenquero alive have a difficult battle ahead of them; their village is not isolated anymore and therefore, there are many outside influences threatening their language. Only Spanish is taught in primary school which limits the children’s exposure to Palenquero and Spanish is the language younger people use when speaking to each other as well as when speaking to outsiders. Many younger people understand Palenquero, and even use it secretly outside their community, but it is the older people that use it regularly among themselves (Holm, 1994, p. 311). The few people that speak both Spanish and Palenquero easily code-switch between both. Nowadays, Palenquero is only spoken in the village and in a few neighborhoods in cities to which workers have migrated (Romero 2007). This situation suggests that Palenquero will disappear over the next generations.

2.3.2 Yungueño

In recent years, John Lipski has been doing research on a language spoken in Bolivia which he believes may be a Spanish-lexifier creole: Yungueño. Descendants of African slaves can be found in many parts of Bolivia but those who are referred to as *afrodescendientes* (the term preferred by Afro-Hispanic activists), who have kept alive the traditional Afro-Hispanic language and culture, live in communities in the regions of Nor Yungas and Sud Yungas, in the department of La Paz. Their ancestors were brought to work in the mines of what was first known as Alto Peru and which, after colonial independence, became Bolivia (Lipski, 2006, p. 180).

Although Peru was the place in the Spanish-controlled Americas where the first massive importation of African slaves took place, Africans were already being used as enslaved workers in other American colonies. The records documenting the arrival of these first slaves are very limited; it can be theorized that this was the result of the small number of slaves in the area. There are several reasons for this occurrence. First, almost all the slaves that arrived around during that period were adult males so procreation was practically impossible. Second, the death rate for these slaves was very high probably due to the altitude, harsh temperatures, malnourishment, and deplorable working conditions. There is a small collection of songs and descriptions of African dances that are part of the remaining records (Lipski, 2007, p.5). Lipski explains that the number of slaves in

Bolivia was never large and many of them mixed with indigenous or European residents; this had serious consequences on the cultural, linguistic, and demographic profile of Afro-Bolivians, but despite all of that a small community has survived up until today. This community has been able to preserve some of its culture and what he characterizes as a "fully intact restructured Afro-Hispanic language" (Lipski, 2006, pp. 179-180). This may have happened due to the isolation of the Yungas which are surrounded by some of the highest mountains in South America, the lack of safe roads to reach the communities, and frequent mud and rock slides disrupting the roads; all of this has contributed to the almost total isolation of these communities from the rest of the country (p. 180). Most communities are located within 150 miles of La Paz, but to reach them it is necessary to travel approximately six hours through what is known by the locals as *la carretera de la muerte"* (the death road) which is a one-lane mountain road that is covered with mud, has steep drop-offs, no guard rails, and where a lot of accidents have taken place (Lipski, 2007, p. 5). Afro-Bolivian communities are different from one another but their life style and daily routine appear to be very similar. Most of these communities have anywhere from 25 to 50 families, whose members are mostly related.

Most of the residents living in these communities do not travel to La Paz due to the aforementioned difficulties involved in making the trip. Due to the social and geographic isolation in which they live, the residents of the Yungas communities still exhibit cultural and linguistic traits that are not present anymore in urban areas where the population is considerably bigger. Doing a demographic profile of Afro-Bolivians is a difficult task since neither colonial nor post-colonial governments have kept a reliable record of that population, in fact, for over a hundred years, official census data did not include Afro-Bolivians as a separate category (p. 6). Lipski reports that in recent years many Afro-Bolivians have migrated from the Yungas to other parts of the country but there is no evidence of unique speech forms existing outside of the Yungas. While it is estimated that approximately 30,000 Afro-Bolivians live throughout the country there is no hard evidence to support this number. Afro-Bolivians are very aware of their status as *negros* (this is how they call themselves), and are working on drawing national attention to their community and to obtaining the legal and social recognition they deserve as a "long-standing (and long-suffering) ethnic minority in Bolivia" (Lipski, 2007, p. 10). The fact that this region is remote and isolated, along with the marginality its population have always experienced, has resulted in no documentation of their speech and culture (p. 10).

Lipski argues that there are not many reliable sources about the socio-historical background of Afro-Bolivians but what is available suggests that most slaves came from the Congo and Angola region. The first reliable records date from around 1700 and they have to do, for the most part, with death, marriages, and other accounts related to house slaves in the Yungas. There are records from the end of the 1700s regarding field slaves working in *haciendas* of the Yungas and in other parts of Bolivia. There are still no records available concerning migration routes and when the slaves arrived. Lipski states that it is believed that most of the slaves arrived in Bolivia during the late 1800's or early 1900s (p. 7). By the early 1900s most Afro-Bolivians were working on large *haciendas* where the main crops produced were *coca*, coffee, sugar cane, oranges and other tropical fruits and vegetables. They were living under abject conditions similar to those in other Caribbean colonies. Slavery was originally abolished in Bolivia in 1826, but due to protests by landowners it was reinstated in 1830 to be finally abolished a year later (p. 7).

According to Lipski, by the 1950s Afro-Bolivians in the Yungas were still working on the haciendas in conditions very similar to slavery. They worked three days a week without pay for the benefit of the landowners and the remaining four days to provide sustenance for their families. No rest periods were allowed during the working day. Children started working at the haciendas when they were around 12 years old. Aside from working the land, the workers also had to participate in the systems of *pongo* (for men) and *mitani* (for women) which obliged them to work in the plantation's owner's house. Until the mid-twentieth century most workers were not allowed to go to school or study so older Afro-Bolivians are for the most part nearly or totally illiterate (Lipski, 2007, p. 8).

When the hacienda system was abolished in 1952, most workers were allowed to stay living on the land they had worked without the necessity of land titles and without having to work for a landlord anymore. Public education was introduced into Yungas communities soon after although it was inadequate then and it remains so today. Nowadays, there are communities that have schools that only teach up to third grade level and to finish primary school children must walk great distances to the nearest community. With the education that was available to them, the Afro-Bolivians in the Yungas were able to learn different varieties of Spanish in both oral and written form. The downside of getting an education was that the people in the Yungas began to stop using their traditional variety in favor of Spanish assuming it was superior to their own language, which many people, specifically elderly Yunqueños, equated with "uncivilized" behavior (p. 8). To this day, Afro-Bolivians are not officially recognized as such and they and the language they speak are marginalized, not only by the Bolivian government and the general population, but also by most linguists.

2.3.3 McWhorter's Test Cases (the 'Missing Spanish Creoles'): Chocó, Colombia; Chota, Ecuador; Veracruz, Mexico; Peru, and Venezuela

John McWhorter has been studying mainland Spanish settlements in Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico, where there were extensive slave economies, but where no creole languages developed. This seems remarkable since the environment would seem to be favorable for creole genesis. The Spanish colonists had been importing significant numbers of African slaves that spoke different languages, starting in the late 1600s. For example, in the Chocó region of Colombia, in the lowlands of the northwestern part of the country, there were no less than 5,800 African slaves by 1778 and only 175 whites. McWhorter cites a creole genesis hypothesis by Bickerton which points to 'one in five as the minimum ratio of speakers to learners necessary to produce a creole sharply divergent from its lexifier language' (McWhorter, 2000, p. 7). He points out the significance in the fact that in the Chocó region the proportion of whites was approximately 3.3 percent. Sustained contact between blacks and whites was almost non-existent. The slaves were grouped into teams or "*cuadrillas*" (of around two hundred slaves each) that were supervised by white overseers but directed by black foremen or "*capitanejos*". Also, slaves were prohibited from communicating with slaves who had been freed which eliminated the possibility of their Spanish input (pp. 7-8).

McWhorter mentions that there are creolists who argue that the lack of a creole in the Chocó region is the result of whites and blacks working together in equal numbers for a long time making it possible for slaves to acquire Spanish completely and later pass it on to other members of their community. He does not think this was the case in the Chocó region where he states whites and black never worked in equal numbers. This happened not only at the beginning but during the entire 18th century: in 1704 there were 600 slaves but by 1782, there were 7,088. Many of the slaves worked in mining which did not allow them to have a lot of contact with whites. Contrary to the situation in English and French Caribbean colonies, African slaves did not work alongside whites, instead, they worked with indigenous people who were second-language Spanish speakers. The indigenous slaves had never lived in close proximity with their masters and they were only used during the first fifteen years approximately. The African slaves were imported with the intention of replacing them since many escaped or tended to die of diseases brought by the Europeans (McWhorter, 2000, p. 8). According to McWhorter, indigenous people:

> […]had had only distant and negative relations with the Spaniards, and had worked the mines for only a brief period during which they exhibited a high turnover rate. The Indians that Africans encountered were thus likely to be recent and miserable recruits unlikely to remain in service for long—they could have transmitted only fragments of Spanish to Africans at the very most (p. 8).

Nowadays, the descendants of the Chocó slaves live in virtual isolation in the same region as their ancestors and still work in mining. The white community retreated to the urban areas when the slaves were freed and remain there. The relations between both communities are uneasy and distant. Given the situation in the Chocó region a creole language should have developed there but that was not the case. In fact, the Spanish spoken by the Chocó population nowadays "is essentially a typical Latin American dialect of Spanish, easily comprehensible to speakers of standard Spanish varieties" and, even though, it shows "certain phonological and morphological reductions, as well as African lexical borrowings, this dialect clearly lacks the radical grammatical restructuring in creoles such as Sranan Creole English, Haitian Creole French, and São Tomense Creole Portuguese" (p. 9). The following is an example of the Spanish spoken by the Chocó population:

(3) Esa gente som muy amoroso. Dijen que…dijeron que
that people COP very nice they-say that they-say-PAST that
volbían sí … cuando le de su gana a ello
they-return-IMP yes when to-them give their desire to them
vobe. return
Those people are really nice. They say that … they said that they
would come back … when they felt like it.
(Schwegler, 1991, p. 99, as cited in McWhorter, 2000, p. 9)

McWhorter explains that what is surprising about Chocó Spanish is that, contrary to Sranan and Haitian, inflectional morphology is strong and there is minimal structural transfer from African languages. He concludes that the African heritage of Chocó Spanish is undeniable, nonetheless, it "classifies more as a Spanish dialect, retaining some traces of second-language acquisition, than as an example of the extreme reduction and transfer typical of Sranan, Haitian, and others" (p. 9). He states that the case of Chocó Spanish defies most creole genesis theories that predict that a situation like the one present in the Chocó region is conducive to the birth and development of a creole language.

McWhorter discusses a similar case in the Chota Valley of Ecuador where massive sugar plantations with many African slaves were established by Jesuit missionaries during the 1600s. Just as in the Chocó region, the black population outnumbered the white population and African slaves came from different areas in Africa, a situation that would appear to have been conductive to creole genesis but, again, that did not happen. Today, despite being mostly isolated throughout its history, the Chota black population speaks what McWhorter refers to as

> a dialect only marginally distinct from the local standard, typified by occasional, but by no means regular, lapses of gender and number concord (*hacienda**s** vecin**o*** "neighboring haciendas"), prepositional substitutions (*cerca **con** la Concepción* "near with la Concepción instead of *cerca **de***), article omissions (*porque **ø** próximo pueblo puede ser Salina* "because the next town may be Salina"). Such things leave the fundamental Spanish grammar intact, including, as in the Chocó, robust inflectional paradigms. (McWhorter, 2000, pp. 10-11).

As in the Chocó region, white and blacks did not work together in equal numbers. Indigenous people were supposed to be used initially but a large number of African slaves were imported from the beginning. Two Jesuit plantations shared the use of around eighty-five Indians but this situation lasted merely twenty years after the Jesuits' arrival; for the most part, African slaves were used. The Jesuits did not devote their land exclusively to tobacco, coffee, or indigo, like the English and French, instead, they focused their energy on several products at a time: cotton, livestock, cacao, plantains, and sugar and used Africans imported in large numbers to work the plantations. (p. 11).

Another example McWhorter has studied is the one found in isolated Afro-Mexican communities in Veracruz, Mexico. These communities are comprised of descendants of African slaves who were imported into the country during the 1500s when the colonists turned to sugar cultivation due to the unsuitability of indigenous slaves for cultivating other crops. Just as in Colombia and Ecuador, the Spanish colonists in Mexico established big plantation operations that needed lots of slaves; soon enough, the black population outnumbered the white resulting in little contact between them. Just as in the cases of the Chocó region of Colombia and the Chota Valley in Ecuador the situation should have been conducive to creole genesis but it did not happen. By the 1950s, "the local speech in these Afro-Mexican enclaves was little different from vernacular dialects elsewhere in Mexico" (p. 11). In the following example the departures from the standard language are indicated in parentheses:

(4) Ese plan tubo (<*estuvo*) bien hecho … pero si el gobierno
that plan was well done but if the government
atiende (la) lej, ba a causá (<*causar*) gran doló (<*dolor*).
follows the law, go to cause big pain
That plan was well done, but if the government follows the law it will cause a lot of pain.
(Aguirre Beltrán, 1958, 208, as cited in McWhorter, 2000, p. 11)

McWhorter also discusses the cases of Peru and Venezuela where a similar situation to the ones in the Chocó region, the Chota Valley, and Veracruz prevailed. In Peru, large numbers of African slaves worked the sugar plantations, mostly in the coastal valleys south of Lima. After slavery was abolished in 1856, many descendants of these slaves, who are known as Afro-Peruvians, established themselves in cities, kept their cultures and customs alive, and remained there until the turn of the 1900s. People that had been born in Africa “spoke a second-language (‘bozal’) Spanish, predictably, but blacks born in Peru simply spoke the local dialect of Spanish” (p. 12). Along the coast there are still Afro-Peruvian communities that have also kept their African cultural heritage alive although they do not speak a creole for example, their language only has a few phonological features that differ from the local Spanish (p. 12). In the case of Venezuela, a large number of African slaves were imported to work in mines and plantations. Just as in the other places discussed above, there was a disproportionate number of blacks compared to whites that resulted in a strong African influence still present today in Venezuelan culture. Despite this situation, and following the pattern found in the Chocó region, the Chota Valley, Veracruz, and Peru, no creole developed in Venezuela, only “unremarkable phonological quirks and African lexical items” can be found there (p. 12).

2.3.4 Were there Spanish Creoles in the Caribbean?

McWhorter also discusses the hypothesis, supported by some dialectologists and creolists, which proposes that Spanish creoles existed in Cuba and Puerto Rico in earlier centuries. The argument is that “the Spanish of African-born slaves (*bozales*) in these countries is evidence of a once-widespread creole” (McWhorter, 2000, p. 20). Linguistic evidence shows that creole languages distinguish themselves by being drastically reduced in comparison to their lexifiers and by showing extensive morphosyntactic transfer from substrate languages. Taking this into consideration, McWhorter points out that in the case of *bozal* Spanish, “paradigmatic reduction is only moderate” (p. 20). As an example, he mentions how plantation creoles do not show traces of the lexifier's inflectional system but in the case of Cuba, the *bozal* Spanish displays characteristics of the Spanish morphology. The following example illustrates this:

(5) Cuch-a canto. To nosotro brinc-ó la mar.
listen-IMP song all we cross-PAST the sea
Listen to the song. All of us crossed the sea.
(Otheguy, 1973, p.331, as cited in McWhorter, 2000, p. 20-21)

McWhorter states that there is "overt morphological past marking in *bozal* Spanish," something that is very unusual in creoles. He adds that the reduction found in *bozal* Spanish is not regular but variable. *Bozal* Spanish:

> […]displayed many *reductions* in comparison to standard Spanish such as lack of gender concord, omission of articles, occasional omission of copula, and omission of some prepositions and complementizers in favor of parataxis. The problem, however, is that many of these reductions are merely optional. In other words, the lexifier morphology appeared to have been basically acquired, although not expressed as consistently as by native speakers (McWhorter, 2000, p. 21).

According to McWhorter, this suggests that "*bozal* Spanish was merely a transient second-language register of Spanish, something we would expect of African-born learners" (p. 21). He points out that *bozal* Spanish does not have a key feature that we would expect to find in a plantation creole, morphosyntactic transfer from West African languages. Plantation creoles used serial verbs extensively but in *bozal* Spanish they are not found where they would be expected. Another difference between creoles and *bozal*

Spanish is that *bozal* Spanish used conjunctions between verbs to show sequential action contrary to creoles that used parataxis.

McWhorter explains that not only does Cuba's *bozal* Spanish differ from creoles but it also differs from similar varieties spoken in other areas of the Spanish Caribbean. He presents a sample of *bozal* Spanish from Puerto Rico, from a play written in 1852 in which one of the characters, a slave born in Africa, speaks using a reduced variety of Spanish:

(6) *Tu siempre ta jablando a mí con grandísima rigó.*
you always be talking to me with great rigor
yo ta queré mucho a ti; grande, grande así—
I be want much to you big big thus
son mi sufrimenta ... si tú ta queré mi corazó ...
be my suffering if you be want my heart
you are always talking to me with great harshness. I love you very much, greatly, greatly so—you make me suffer … if you want my heart …
(Alvarez Nazario 1961: 388, as cited by McWhorter, 2000, p. 26)

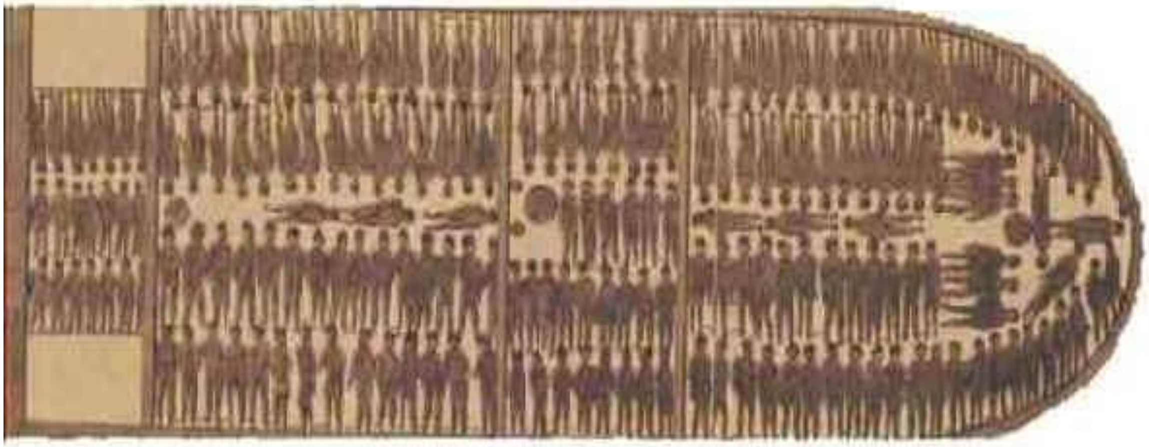
According to McWhorter, this is an example of the "incompletely acquired, second-language Spanish of an immigrant generation" (McWhorter, 2000, p. 26). McWhorter claims that sociohistorical evidence supports his analysis, and concludes that no linguistic or sociohistorical evidence available supports the idea that *bozal* Spanish is an extinct creole (p. 27).

Another theory that McWhorter discusses is the one that claims that a Spanish-lexifier creole was once spoken throughout the Spanish Caribbean and Latin America but now only survives in El Palenque de San Basilio as Palenquero (p. 28). He explains that one of the problems with this theory is that vernacular dialects tend to be strong and not easy to eliminate from speech communities. Creoles can be devalued by negative comments and attitudes but that is not enough reason for their disappearance. A more plausible reason could be that decreolization occurred due to erosion of social identity, but the isolation in which communities such as El Palenque live is not conducive to such an occurrence. McWhorter questions why a Spanish-lexifier creole in places like Chota would disappear whereas creoles elsewhere are still in use and are transmitted from generation to generation. He concludes that the most likely explanation is that a creole never developed in the Spanish colonies and that “a community variety of Spanish itself has always served as the vernacular” (pp. 28-29).

Chapter 3: The English Caribbean

Chapter 3 will discuss the socio-historical background of the British Leeward islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname, where creole languages developed during the time of the Atlantic slave trade. A special emphasis will be given to the situation in each of the territories before and after the arrival of the English colonists who brought the slave trade there for the first time. The slave trade turned out to be very profitable for the colonists. Bringing slaves from Africa became such a regular event that the journey from Africa to the West Indies became known as the “Middle Passage,” which was the second stage in a triangular trade that involved three trips with different cargos. The first trip took place from Europe to Africa where manufactured goods were traded for purchased or kidnapped slaves. The second trip, the “Middle Passage”, took the slaves across the Atlantic where, in the West Indies, they were sold or traded for raw goods. This trip could take from one to six months to complete during which the slaves were kept chained most of the time and in deplorable living conditions. The third, and last trip, took place from the West Indies back to Europe where the raw materials acquired by selling or trading slaves were taken to complete the voyage (Raybin Emert, 1995, pp. 20-44). Image 1 below shows how slaves were kept in the slave ships.

Figure 1: Slaves in the Slave Ships



Source: http://www.historyonthenet.com/slave_trade/middle_passage.htm

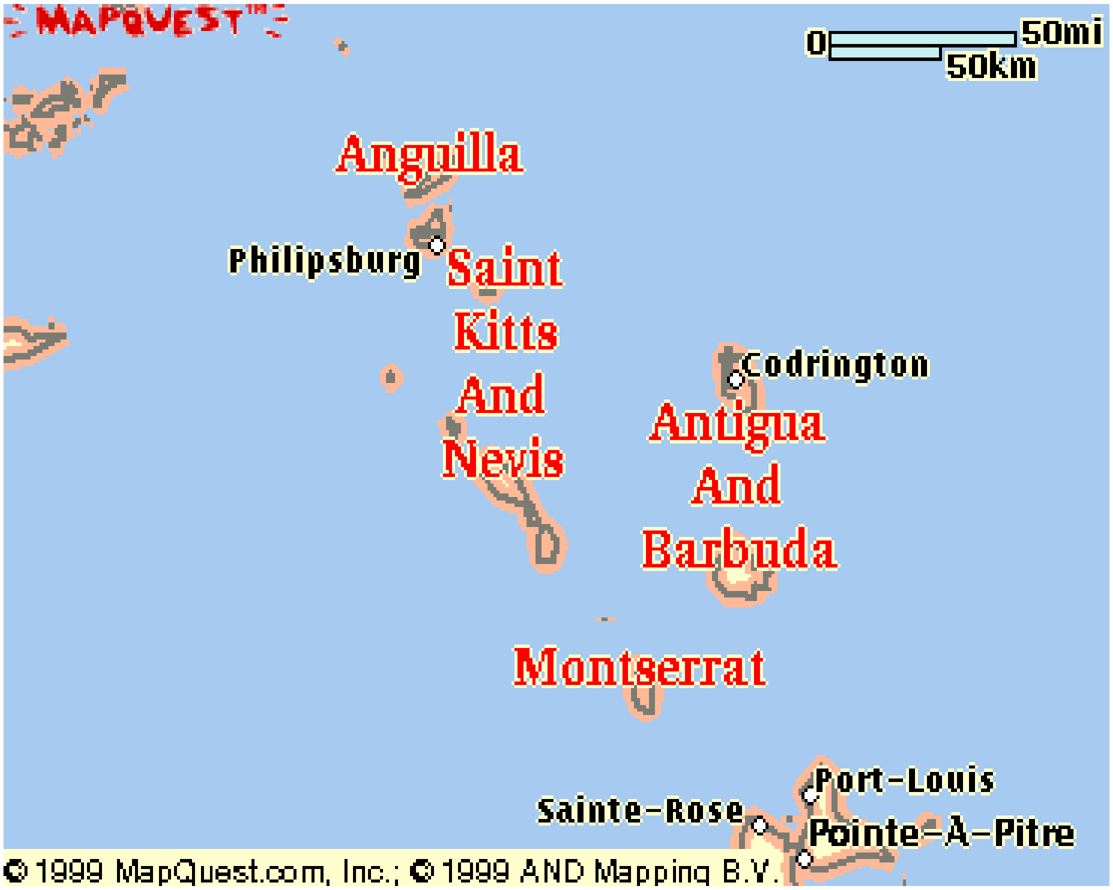
The increasing number of slave rebellions in the Caribbean was probably one of the reasons why the slave trade and slavery were abolished. The Abolition Bill was passed in Britain on January 1, 1808. The slave trade was declared to be “utterly abolished, prohibited and declared to be unlawful”. In most British colonies, emancipation and apprenticeship came into effect in 1834 and full freedom was granted in 1838 (Rogoziñski, 2000, pp. 186-193).

The slave trade, its economic consequences, the ethnic background of the slaves brought to each island, the conditions in which they lived, and how they were treated by their owners and society in general are some of the topics that will be covered. The focus will then shift to the birth of the creole languages in each territory and how they developed.

3.1 The British Leeward Islands: Saint Kitts and Nevis, Montserrat, Anguilla, and Antigua and Barbuda

The British Leeward Islands were comprised of a group of islands located in the West Indies, some 350 miles north of Barbados. They included Saint Kitts and Nevis, Montserrat, Anguilla, and Antigua and Barbuda. The largest island is Antigua, which has an area of approximately 108 square miles while the others are about half or a third that size. These islands were settled by England during the 1600s and, for the most part, developed successful sugar economies thanks to the work done by African slaves and other indentured workers, imported from Africa, England, Ireland, among other places. After spending three centuries under the control of England, each gained some degree of independence during the second half of the 20th century. Creole languages developed in all of the islands and are closely linked (Holm, 1994, p. 450). As a group they are closer to Jamaican Creole than some other varieties, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Map 5: The British Leeward Islands


MAPQUEST
0
50mi
50km
Anguilla
Philipsburg
Saint Kitts And Nevis
Codrington
Antigua And Barbuda
Montserrat
Port-Louis
Sainte-Rose
Pointe-A-Pitre
© 1999 MapQuest.com, Inc.; © 1999 AND Mapping B.V.

Source: http://www.ceg.ai/aboutanguilla.htm

3.1.1 Saint Kitts and Nevis

Prior to their colonization, the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis had been populated by Amerindians for over 3,000 years (since the "Archaic" Age, c.3000–500 BC. These people came from South America and the southern Lesser Antilles (the Windward Islands) and explored the islands thoroughly before settling there. They did not work the land or raise livestock for food during that period; they focused on hunting and using the natural resources (plants, animals, etc.) they found around them. By 100 BC, during the Ceramic Age, these Amerindians were growing and processing manioc (cassava) plants, living in villages, and producing and using pottery. Between that period and the arrival of the European colonists in the 1600s, the Amerindians abandoned Nevis and never returned; however, the Amerindians living in St. Kitts remained there (Dyde, 2006; www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ism/slavery/archaelogy/caribbean/ index.aspx).

In 1624, St. Kitts (known at the time of the colonization as St. Christopher) became the first island in the Caribbean to be successfully colonized by the English crown. Data gathered by the International Slavery Museum, states that St. Kitts was first seen by Christopher Columbus in 1493 during his second voyage to the Caribbean. He claimed it for Spain without ever setting foot there. According to Rogoziñski (2000), St. Kitts was colonized in 1624 by Thomas Warner, who arrived accompanied by fewer than 20 people and established the first English settlement in the Caribbean. The settlers cleared the land by killing or driving away a small group of Carib Indians that lived in the area, then proceeded to grow tobacco. In 1625, they were joined by the crew of a Norman privateer; the French men helped them to defeat the Carib Indians that returned to the island to take revenge for the massacre committed against them the year before (pp. 69-70).

As the English were busy establishing their settlement in St. Kitts, the French had landed at the other end of the island and were doing the same. Conflict erupted but they agreed to divide the island. The English kept the middle, while the French occupied the two ends, and they both agreed to share the valuable salt pans located in the southern region of the island. For the next 150 years the relationship between England and France was not easy as they competed with one another for power at home and in their colonies. It was not until the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, when France finally gave up their part of St. Kitts to England (Dyde, 2006).

Nevis was colonized in 1628, four years later than St. Kitts. Anthony Hilton, a farmer and businessman and friend of Thomas Warner, left St. Kitts to establish the first settlement on Nevis. Over 150 settlers followed him over the next year. When their settlement was destroyed by the Spanish the following year, they returned to Nevis. Just like the settlers had done in St. Kitts, they cleared the land and established small farms, which they worked with their families and the indentured servants that they had employed for that purpose. These indentured servants had been given passage to the West Indies and received clothing, food, and housing upon arrival; in return, they had to work for their master for a period of up to seven years. In most cases, they were subjected to abuse and harsh treatment at the hands of their masters who wanted to get the maximum work out of them during that period. After the seven year-term ended, the former servants received a small piece of land. The English settlers turned Nevis into a colony that produced tobacco, ginger, indigo, and most of their own food (Dyde, 2006).

In 1640 the settlers both in Nevis and St. Kitts began to grow sugar which, thanks to the islands' fertile soils and tropical climate, became their most successful enterprise yielding rich rewards for them. By 1655 sugar was the most important export crop for both islands. This success resulted in wealthy landowners buying up small farms, merging them, and turning them into big sugar plantations (Dyde, 2006). Due to the scale of sugar production, the English settlers were in need of more manpower to work the plantations so they imported African slaves for that purpose.

Growing sugar was very labor-intensive at every step. According to Cornwell (2007), the number of slaves employed on sugar plantations depended on the size of the holding and the scale of production. For a 300-acre plantation, around 300 slaves were needed. By 1650, St. Kitts was producing sugar only. Sugar production depended on how fast work could be done so the landowners had a great commercial desire for as many slaves as they could get. By 1680, St. Kitts was inhabited by around 1,500 English settlers and an equal number of African slaves. By 1720, the numbers were 2,740 English settlers and 7,321 slaves. During the following decade, St. Kitts' settlers imported over 10,000 slaves, but the population increased only by 7,000; this number shows that the death rate for the slave population was high. During the 1730s the English population was in clear decline. This situation continued up until the next century as the landowners who had made a fortune thanks to sugar production returned to England and managed their plantations and other businesses from there. According to Holm (1994), the fact that many of the indentured servants, who had been the first workers brought by the settlers at the beginning of colonization, were forced off the land by the spread of sugar production and the importation of African slaves also contributed to the slave population outnumbering the English population. By 1780 the English settler population was around 3,000 while the slave population was about 35,000 (p. 451). The following table contains data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database[2] that shows the number of slaves imported to St. Kitts from 1664 to 1807.

Table 1: Slaves imported from Africa to St. Kitts and Nevis

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1664-1675	1,238	984
1676-1700	1,145	974

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[2] **The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database** has information on more than 35,000 slave voyages that brought to the Americas, against their will, over 12 million Africans between the 16th and 19th centuries. "It offers researchers, students and the general public a chance to rediscover the reality of one of the largest forced movements of peoples in world history" (http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces).

1701-1725	8,308	6,845
1726-1750	58,826	47,983
1751-1775	68,643	57,269
1776-1800	13,828	12,545
1801-1807	2,986	2,678
Totals	154,973	129,278

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

83% of the slaves imported to St. Kitts and Nevis during the Slave trade era disembarked in those islands. 81% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1726 and 1775. According to the database, between 1664 and 1807, most slaves were imported from Senegambia and the Off-shore Atlantic, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and West Central Africa and St. Helena. The following table shows the number of slaves embarking from each area who were taken to St. Kitts.

Table 2: Embarking areas for slaves taken to St. Kitts

Years	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bight of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	Totals
1600s	974	0	0	0	984	0	1,958
1700s	8,654	8,180	12,754	19,561	53,034	22,458	124,642
1800s	0	766	0	0	413	1,499	2,678
Totals	9,628	8,946	12,754	19,561	54,432	23,957	129,278

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

96% of the total number of slaves imported to St. Kitts and Nevis during the slave trade era arrived during the 1700s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from the Bight of

Benin and Bight of Biafra (42%), West Central Africa and St. Helena (19%), and the Gold Coast (15%) regions.

In order to establish plantations, the English settlers had to turn tropical forests into fields suitable for growing crops and expand the acres of land devoted to sugar production. This was a grueling task performed by African slaves that had just arrived from Africa, who already had the highest mortality rate due to being weakened and traumatized after the ordeal of their long journey (Cornwell, 2007).

Slavery was a brutal and violent system, which slaves resisted by working slowly, breaking machinery, and stealing anything they could in order to stay alive. Many of them were able to run away, hiding in the mountains of St. Kitts. Resistance had serious consequences for the slaves; their punishment included whippings, severing of limbs, and even death by various means of torture. In the British colonies, although slavery was abolished as a legal institution in 1834, the former slaves' circumstances were not substantially improved. The English population owned all the land, controlled all employment, and controlled the government so the emancipated slaves were subjected to their rule and power. Despite the abolition of slavery, St. Kitts remained a sugar society well into the 1900s (Cornwell, 2007).

In the British Leeward Islands, the creole that developed was called Leeward Caribbean Creole English; each of the islands has its own variety although they are "closely linked" (Holm, 1994, p. 450). In the case of St. Kitts, the Saint Kitts Creole English developed during the slave trade era. The first documents that served as evidence of this creole were published by Samuel Matthews, who referred to it as Kittitian Creole. According to Corcoran and Mufwene (1999), the "disproportionate number of slaves" in comparison with the amount of white settlers living in the island (By 1780 the slaves outnumbered colonists by more than ten to one), “the practice of seasoning”, and the “probable concurrent introduction of institutionalized segregation would have all conspired to produce a Kittitian basilect” (a variety that is the most distant from the lexifier). They believe that, even though St Kitts was the first colony established by Britain in the Caribbean and contributed settlers to many of the other British colonies in the area, the Kittitian Creole did not develop until much later, after the other colonies were established apart from St Kitts (p. 80). Corcoran and Mufwene studied Mathews’ texts to see how they contributed to the history of the Kittitian Creole; they concluded that “the structural features of Mathews' texts are generally authentic”; despite some differences, many of the same features present in Kittitian Creole, exist in modern AECs (p.82). For example, there is the use of the marker *bin*: *Von rapper aw bin bring kum* “I brought her a wrapper” which can be found in Jamaican and Guyanese Creoles. There is the use of *da/daw* as a progressive marker and as the locative predicate (p. 88) and as copula and (demonstrative) determiner: *daw hog* “that hog” (p. 89), which can be found in creoles such as: Krio, Jamaican, Guyanese, and Gullah. There are also the personal pronouns: *Aw/Me* (first person singular subject pronoun), *My/Me* (first person possessive function), *Ee/He* (third person pronoun), *Um/Him* (third person object pronoun), and *You/Aw-you* and *We/Awwe* You (second person subject, possessive, and object pronoun). These personal pronouns can be found in both Krio and/or Gullah (Corcoran and Mufwene, 1999, pp. 95-98). Finally, there are the question words: *who*/*whorraw* and *wha*/*wharra* and the verb *se* which can be found in Krio and Gullah as well (p. 98). Nowadays, Kittitian Creole, which is now known as Saint Kitts Creole English, is spoken by about 39,000 people in St. Kitts and Nevis, but it does not have official language status (Lewis, 2009).

3.1.2 Montserrat

Contrary to other territories in the Greater Caribbean, the island of Montserrat does not have a very well documented early history. Prior to the European colonization of the Caribbean, Montserrat was inhabited, first by Amerindians who had arrived around 3000 B.C. and later by Carib Indians who had named it Alliouagana ("Land of the Prickly Bush"). By the time Christopher Columbus passed it by during his second voyage to the Americas the island had been abandoned. Columbus named it *Santa María de Montserrat* in honor of the Virgin of Montserrat in Spain. O'Callaghan (2001) claims that in the 1600s thousands of Irish were transported to be sold into slavery in the English colonies. In 1632, a group of Irish political prisoners, transported from Ireland to St. Kitts and Nevis as indentured servants, were forced to settle in Montserrat. They helped establish plantations in Montserrat where they grew tobacco and indigo, followed later by cotton and sugar. The Montserrat inhabitants were subjected to repeated attacks by French forces and Carib Indians. The French invaded and took control of the island in 1664 and again in 1667, but England regained it by the Treaty of Breda. France invaded the island again in 1712 and in 1782, but England finally won control over it thanks to the Treaty of Versailles signed in 1783 (Rogoziñski, 2000, pp. 75-76; 143-153).

The English settlers began importing large numbers of African slaves during the 1660s. This resulted in a demographic shift: in 1678 the island's population was 992 Africans and people of African descent and 2,682 Europeans and people of European descent; by I729 it was 5,855 Africans and 1,143 Europeans. The number of Africans and people of African descent had almost tripled, while the European population had declined by almost 40 percent.

Table 3: Slaves imported from Africa to Montserrat

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1664-1675	3,117	2,299
1676-1700	25,748	19,680
1701-1725	15,603	12,805
1726-1750	8,952	7,045
1751-1775	5,251	4,303
1776-1800	160	156
1801-1806	521	450
Totals	59,351	46,739

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

79% of the slaves imported to Montserrat during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 70% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1676 and 1725. Between 1664 and 1806 most slaves were imported from Senegambia and off-shore Atlantic, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, West Central Africa and St. Helena, and South-East Africa and the Indian Ocean islands. The table below shows the number of slaves disembarking from each area who were taken to Montserrat and Nevis.

Table 4: Embarking areas for slaves taken to Montserrat

	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bight of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	South-East Africa and Indian Ocean Islands	Totals
1600s	2,120	1,582	0	5,886	8,462	2,996	934	21,979
1700s	2,190	1,610	649	11,485	6,507	1,867	0	24,309
1800s	0	249	0	0	0	202	0	450
Totals	4,311	3,440	649	17,371	14,968	5,065	934	46,739

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

52% of the total amount of slaves imported to Montserrat during the slave trade era arrived during the 1700s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from the Gold Coast (37%), the Bight of Benin and Bight of Biafra (32%), and the West Central Africa and St. Helena (11%) regions.

In 1684, sugar became, for the first time, the most exported crop with shipments totaling 200,000 pounds, as compared to 48,000 pounds of tobacco. Tobacco was produced until the end of the 1600s, but its production decreased as the sugar and slave economy expanded. The transformation into a sugar economy was complete by the beginning of the 1700s. These events coincided with an increase in the documentation of Montserrat’s history. (Berleant-Schiller, 1989; Innanem, 1998). As in the rest of the English colonies, slavery was abolished in Montserrat in 1834. As the price of sugar fell during the 1800’s the island’s economy declined. From 1871 to 1956 Montserrat belonged to the (British) Federal Colony of the Leeward Islands along with the British Virgin Islands, Saint Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, and Dominica. In 1956 Montserrat became a colony in its own right and has voluntarily remained a colony of Britain ((Rogoziñski, 2000, p. 304).

When it comes to Montserrat's linguistic situation, a dialect of Leeward Caribbean Creole English developed on the island and it is still in use, just as in St. Kitts and Nevis. Unfortunately, there is not a lot of data on this local variety, known as Montserrat Creole. According to J.C. Wells (1980), Montserrat Creole has a great deal in common with other Caribbean English-based creoles such as: Antiguan Creole English and Barbuda Creole English. Just as in territories still linked or formerly linked to England, such as Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados, and Antigua, "there exists a continuum extending from the broadest Creole up to a local variety of Standard English" (pp. 74-79). According to data compiled by Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2015), as of 2001, 7,570 people speak Montserrat Creole but it does not have the status of an official language (www.ethnologue.com).

3.1.3 Anguilla

The next island to be colonized by England was Anguilla. Don Mitchell, a former deputy governor of Anguilla who has written extensively about the history of the island, explains in his article "The Amerindians" (2009) that

> Archaeologists recognize three separate phases of occupation of Anguilla and the other islands of the West Indies by Amerindians. The pre-ceramic or archaic period lasted roughly from 1,500 BC to AD 300, when the ceramic age begins. The pre-ceramic age occupants are thought to have been hunter-gatherers. Those of the ceramic period were sedentary farmers. The ceramic age occupants are divided into two cultures. Those of the earlier period 300-900 AD belong to the Saladoid Culture. Their pottery is highly decorated compared to the simpler more utilitarian pottery of the post-Saladoid period, 900-1,500 AD (p. 1).

These Amerindians called the island “Malliouhana” which meant ‘arrow-shaped sea serpent’.

The first of the European settlers arrived from St Kitts in 1650. According to Mitchell’s article “The First Generation” (2009) there is no way of knowing for certain whether there was anyone living in the island at the time of these settlers’ arrival but six years later Carib Indians from one of the neighboring islands destroyed their settlement (pp. 1-2). France attacked and seized control of the island, but England regained control of it shortly after, thanks to the Treaty of Breda in 1667. Soon after, African slaves were imported to work on the plantations. For a long time, the settlers tried to grow a variety of crops that included sugar, cotton, indigo, fustic (a plant and a dye produced from this plant), and mahogany. They were not successful since the dry conditions of the island made the plantation economy difficult to sustain (Dyde, 2006). France and England continued to fight over control of Anguilla during the entire eighteenth century. France made several attempts to invade and capture the island but they failed and the island remained under English rule.

Mitchell explains in his article “A Constitutional History of Anguilla” (2009) that the sugar industry in Anguilla started in 1725, much later than in the rest of the Leeward Islands, and it only lasted for fifty years, until the American Revolution of 1776 which resulted in war in the West Indies. This situation ended any hope of prosperity for the island which, to begin with, was never as successful as other islands due to Anguilla’s dry climate. The island was never treated as a real colony since it did not contribute to England’s economy (it did not export traditional plantation crops) nor did it have any strategic purpose. England did not show interest in investing much capital in Anguilla’s sugar industry as can be seen by the absence of windmill ruins. “The animal-round was the normal source of power for crushing the canes. The boiling houses and curing houses were small and insubstantial, and few of their ruins remain at this time” (p. 4). Mitchell explains that England’s lack of interest in Anguilla can be seen in the fact that for approximately 175 years after its settlement, Anguilla lacked a proper government (Mitchell, 2009, p. 1). In 1824, the administrative control of the island was given to St. Kitts and stayed that way until 1967 when St. Kitts, Nevis, and Anguilla became an associated state, despite the objection of the Anguillian people. Anguilla rejected the new status and a rebellion began, followed in 1969 by a full-scale revolution, and a self-declared independence that ended in 1971 when England took control of the island again and restored authority. In 1980, Anguilla was finally allowed to separate from St. Kitts and Nevis and was officially declared a full British colony (p. 9-16).

In his article “Sugar Arrives,” Mitchell explains that since the beginning of English colonization, slaves were used in Anguilla. In 1724 there were 360 whites and 900 slaves living in Anguilla (Mitchell, 2009, p. 3). Slavery there was as brutal and appalling as in the rest of the Caribbean colonies. Slaves were subjected to barbaric legal punishment; the penalty for any type of mutiny was severe. There is some evidence that the slaves on Anguilla had the intention of taking part in the great slave uprising in St Barts in 1736 although there is no information corroborating who were the leaders of the Anguillian group or the outcome of their plan. The punishment for taking part in any uprising was mutilation, maiming, and in many cases, death (p. 25).

According to Mitchell, after the sugar industry ended in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, many slaves “were rented out to planters in other islands to help earn their keep and to produce income for their impoverished white and colored Anguillian masters. After years of service in Aruba and elsewhere, they eventually returned to the island, with enough money to purchase their freedom.” Thus, many slaves were able to save money so they could eventually buy their freedom and also that of their spouses and children. Subsequently freed slaves were able to buy the plantation lands and estates of their previous masters for very little money since without the slaves the property had lost value. It is believed that many of those previous owners migrated to the U.S. The people that stayed behind, white and black, intermarried and eventually became the present Anguillians. Mitchell states “throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the qualities of character and spirit, that enabled the early Anguillians to survive and persist, have been refined by drought, neglect and hardship. They have produced the present-day islanders. The basic elements of white and black, seaman and farmer, have contributed to shape the Anguillians of today” (Mitchell, 2009, pp. 26-27). As in the rest of the British colonies, slavery was abolished in 1834, and all slavery in Anguilla ended by 1838.

The linguistic situation in Anguilla is similar to that of St. Kitts and Nevis and Montserrat: a variety of English-lexifier creole developed in the island and people still use it today. Anguillian Creole is classified as a dialect of Leeward Caribbean Creole English but it is also similar to the British Virgin Islands and St. Martin varieties of Virgin Islands Creole. It is spoken by fewer than 10,000 people, and it does not have official language status. Anguillians refer to it as “dialect” (pronounced “dialek”), Anguilla Talk, or “Anguillian”. Some of its grammatical features can be traced back to African languages while others can be traced back to European languages. It is believed that Anguillian Creole developed as “the language of the masses as time passed, slavery was abolished and local people began to see themselves as ‘belonging’ to Anguillian society” (Phillips, 2014).

3.1.4 Antigua and Barbuda

Antigua and Barbuda were the last of the British Leeward Islands to become involved in the slave trade. The vast majority of Antigua and Barbuda’s population is descended from the African slaves that were brought to the islands to work on the sugar plantations. The first to be colonized was the island of Antigua. Archeological evidence indicates that the earliest inhabitants, ancient Amerindians, date back to 2900 B.C. Arawak Indians, who migrated from South America, arrived around 775 B.C. Around 1200 A.D. Carib Indians invaded Antigua and, despite being warlike, they started mixing with the Arawaks. This mixed people were inhabiting the islands when the European arrived. (Kras, 2008, p. 23).

During his second voyage, in 1493, Christopher Columbus saw Antigua (there is no evidence that he saw Barbuda) and named it after Santa Maria la Antigua, the miracle-working saint of Seville. However, more than a century passed before a European settlement was established there, mainly because of the lack of fresh water on the island and the presence of Carib Indians (p. 23). Finally, in 1632, a group of Englishmen, led by Thomas Warner, arrived from St. Kitts and settled in Antigua. The Caribs, probably feeling threatened by the English invasion, attacked them repeatedly, and the European settlers were also caught up in the wars among the English, French and Dutch (p. 24).

Antigua was a colony whose main purpose was the production of agricultural exports. The first crops produced were tobacco, indigo, and ginger. The island was dramatically transformed in 1684 with the establishment, by Sir Christopher Codrington, of the first sugar plantation. Only four years later, half of Antigua's population consisted of slaves imported from the west coast of Africa to work on the sugar plantations (pp. 24-25). The following table shows the numbers of slaves disembarked in Antigua from 1677 – 1807.

Table 5: Slaves imported from Africa to Antigua

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1677-1700	7,922	5,985
1701-1725	29,012	24,174
1726-1750	40,568	33,684
1751-1775	57,233	48,162
1776-1800	12,758	11,410
1801-1807	1,734	1,550
Totals	149,226	124,964

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

84% of the slaves imported to Antigua during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 65% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1726 and 1775. According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, between 1677 and 1807 slaves arrived from Senegambia and the Offshore Atlantic, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and West Central Africa and St. Helena.

Table 6: Embarking areas for slaves taken to Antigua

Years	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bight of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	Totals
1600s	88	570	0	2,696	2,630	0	5,985
1700s	11,762	5,284	13,218	29,095	47,731	10,339	117,429
1800s	0	233	0	279	667	372	1,550
Totals	11,850	6,087	13,218	32,071	51,027	10,711	124,964

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

94% of the total number of slaves imported to Antigua during the slave trade era arrived during the 1700s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from the Bight of Benin and Bight of Biafra (41%), the Gold Coast (26%), and the Windward Coast (11%) regions.

Antigua became one of the most profitable of Britain's colonies in the Caribbean. In 1684 the island entered the sugar era after the arrival of Codrington and the establishment of the first large sugar plantation. Apart from using slaves, he used the latest techniques available for growing sugarcane and he also used windmill technology which helped him to have financial success (Kras, 2008, p. 25). By the mid-1700s there were approximately 175 cane-processing windmills in the island, each at the center of a very large plantation (p. 26).

Due to his financial success in Antigua, Christopher Codrington and his brother John were allowed, by the British crown, to lease the island of Barbuda. Christopher was also made governor of Antigua from 1689 to 1698. Barbuda was not used to grow sugar; instead, the Codringtons turned it into a vacation spot for them and their wealthy friends. They kept livestock and slaves on the island who led a freer life in comparison to slaves in Antigua due to the lack of sugar plantations there. Despite not producing sugar, Barbuda turned out to be profitable for the Codringtons. The west side of the island was surrounded by a shallow reef where many passing ships met their demise and the Codringtons earned a large amount of money thanks to the cargo and equipment recovered from the shipwrecks (Kras, 2008, pp. 26-27).

When in 1834 slavery was abolished in all the British colonies, Antigua, contrary to the other colonies, gave immediate full emancipation to all slaves instead of subjecting them to a four-year "apprenticeship," or waiting period. In terms of the economy, things got better after emancipation, but, nonetheless, the sugar industry was already declining. In 1967, together with Barbuda and the small island of Redonda, Antigua became an associated state and in 1981 it became a fully independent territory (Sasvari, n. d., pp. 8-12).

Concerning their linguistic background, Antigua and Barbuda are very similar to other British colonies where creole languages developed. According to Maria Teresa Galarza, in her thesis *Antiguan Creole: Genesis and Variation* (2011), during the plantation era, the African slaves had almost no contact with English native speakers or with speakers of a creole variety of English. This was probably due to the fact that these slaves were segregated from their owners and other settlers compared to the slaves living in Antigua before the change to a plantation society that lived in their owners' households. Galarza suggests that the segregated slaves must have spoken a very different version of the creole spoken by slaves born in Antigua and the European settlers. In addition to the African slaves working in the plantations, there were other groups represented in plantation society: the white Creoles (people of English or European descent born in the Caribbean), slaves born in Antigua, and European and/or

African descended free men. “These three groups had more opportunities of interacting with native speakers of English and/or speakers of a regional metropolitan English standard than the African-born slaves. Consequently, the linguistic contribution of these three groups might have been of extreme importance in the formation of Antiguan Creole” (Galarza, 2011).

According to Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2015), at the present, Antigua and Barbuda Creole, better known as Antiguan Creole, is spoken by about 67,000 people and is considered to be similar to English creoles of the Virgin Islands and Netherlands Antilles. One dialect is spoken mainly by older generations who live in Jennings and Bolans villages. People perceive the Southern variety of this dialect as being most different and difficult to understand. Most villagers deny the existence of a creole, though they speak it. Despite some negative attitudes toward it, its use in the community is quite strong and it is valued. Many migrants from Montserrat have lived in Antigua since the 1995 eruption of the Soufriere Hills volcano. (ethnologue.com).

The interaction between slaves and their English enslavers on the islands discussed in this section is thought to have played a role in the emergence of the Leeward Caribbean Creole English (Cornwell, 2007). Leeward Caribbean Creole English is still used on a daily basis and most people in the aforementioned islands constantly combine it with Caribbean Standard English.

3.2 Barbados

Both geography and demography have played a crucial role in the sociolinguistic history of Barbados. The island was first inhabited from 200 to 400 B.C. by Arawak or Taino Indians who arrived from what is now known as Venezuela (Blake, 2004, p. 502).

Map 6: Barbados

ATLANTIC OCEAN
SAINT LUCY
SAINT PETER
SAINT ANDREW
SAINT JOSEPH
SAINT JAMES
SAINT THOMAS
SAINT JOHN
SAINT PHILIP
SAINT GEORGE
SAINT MICHAEL
CHRIST CHURCH
Greenidge
Hope
Boscobel
Rose Hill
Mont Brevitor
Speightstown
Belleplaine
Bathsheba
Holetown
Pothouse
Steward Hill
Robinsons
Black Rock
BRIDGETOWN
Six Cross Roads
The Crane
St. Patrick
Gemswick
Hastings
Worthing
Oistins
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BARBADOS
0 km 2 4 6 km
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Source: http://hondajazz.anondns.net/barbados-map-3/

Barbados was never settled by Spain, maybe due to the fact that it is located near the Windward Islands which at the time were inhabited by the Carib Indians (Holm, 1994, p. 446). There were no people living there when England took control of it in 1624, under the orders of King James I. While under English control, European-descended people and African-descended people lived in Barbados, with the proportions changing over time due to the needs of the plantation system (Blake, 2004, p. 502).

The first group of English settlers arrived in Barbados in 1627. The island’s mostly flat topography and fertile soil supported the production of sugar, tobacco, and cotton. During the first twenty years of the English settlement, the English settlers used mostly indentured servants brought from England, Scotland, and Ireland; by 1631 there were around 4,000 indentured servants, a number that increased to 37,000 by 1642. That year the English Civil War started and Barbados became the place were prisoners of war, Irish rebels, prostitutes, and petty criminals were sent. During this time the English spoken in Barbados was probably a mix of 17th century regional dialects spoken by these people. This mix was probably what the few Africans that were living in Barbados at the time learned as a second language (Holm, 1994, p.446).

The English settlers began to grow sugar cane during the 1640s which altered the "economic, demographic, and linguistic development of Barbados" (p. 446). They had been selling tobacco to the English market but the supply in Europe rose causing the price to fall and leading farmers to consider other profitable products to grow in the island. They decided on sugar because its price was high, and they learned how to grow it from the Dutch who learned sugar cultivation from the Portuguese in Brazil. The Dutch "encouraged the raising of sugar in the Caribbean area so they could profit from transporting it and supplying its producers with slaves from the African trading posts they had seized from the Portuguese" (Holm, 1994, pp. 446-447).

The evolution to a sugar economy forced the mostly former indentured servants who owned small farms off the island when large sugar plantations started to dominate the economy. Many of the smaller famers migrated to the English colonies in Suriname, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands, among others. According to Holm, during the second half of the 1600s "Barbados played a central role in the dispersal of British regional speech in the New World" (p. 447).

According to Blake, even though Barbados served as a springboard for other Caribbean colonies, Bajan is unique amongst languages in the Anglophone Caribbean territories, i.e., from Jamaica to Guyana, because its creole affiliations have been questioned (as in the case for African American English). This is largely due to the nature of the island's historical links to Britain and its demographics during the early colonial period as discussed above. Barbados experienced an uninterrupted colonization period of more than three hundred years under English-speaking rulers, lending to the cognomen "Little England". Moreover, as shown above, in the first quarter century of colonization, whites outnumbered blacks, further lending to its image (Blake, 2004, p.501).

Holm (1994) discusses the debate among linguists as to whether or not an English Creole had already developed in Barbados by the time displaced former indentured servants migrated to other Caribbean colonies. He explains that Hancock (1980b) is sure this did not happen while Cassidy (1980, 1982) maintains it did. Hancock believes that

> In the earliest period the few Africans in Barbados worked closely with the many British indentured servants and simply learned their English as a second language since the social conditions were not those that lead to creolization. As new Africans arrived, they learned this variety of British regional English from those who had been there longer. Hancock accounts for the creole features in modern Bajan through areal contact phenomena, particularly from the nineteenth century when many Barbadians went to other British colonies in the Caribbean to work and later returned home, bringing back the creole features that they had acquired abroad (as cited in Holm, 1994, p.447).

Cassidy, however, argues that in the years after 1650 Barbados became a sugar colony in the classical sense of the word, with a plantation economy dependent on a substantial number of slaves that were kept segregated from the small number of Europeans living in the island, a situation that, he believes, led to creolization (p. 447).

As evidence, he cites “a passage of early creolized slave speech from an account of Barbados written in the 1700s: ‘Massa’ when titty Lucy been yerry uncle Musso tell you ‘bout ’um, she rise up in she bed fa listen to wha he say – and when he tell you they somebody been kill, she ‘top she breath fa yerry all ‘bout ‘um’” (Orderson, 1842, p. 112, as cited by Holm, 1994, pp. 447-448). Cassidy thinks that even if there was no English Creole in Barbados before 1640, it surely must have developed by the time of the above citation. Holm states that judging by the demography and other social factors of the time, a creole must have developed in the island around 1650 (p. 448).

Roy (1986) supports Cassidy’s hypothesis by pointing to an isolated fishing village in Barbados where its inhabitants spoke a variety that, after a thorough analysis, he identifies as a creole. He states that in most parts of the island decreolization occurred sooner and more completely than elsewhere in the Caribbean for several reasons: “Barbados is relatively small, has no real mountains and developed a road system early on. Because of these factors, Barbados was unlike other territories such as Jamaica and Guyana in that it had no areas or groups of people that remained isolated from the decreolizing influence of church, commerce, government, and education” (Roy, 1986, p. 143, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 448).

Holm believes that geography played a role as important as demography when it comes to the emergence of a creole language in Barbados. The island’s location was very important since it was the center of the British slave trade in the eastern part of the Caribbean. It became the first port for English ships bringing slaves from Africa due to its location in the eastern rim of the West Indies, one thousand miles closer to Africa than Jamaica. Despite this, Hancock (1980b) cautions that “its significance as a dispersal point must not be allowed to camouflage the linguistic situation…it is important to distinguish between the transitory slave or sailor population and the permanent residents of the island" (pp. 21, 23, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 448). Hancock concludes that the English brought by Africans to Barbados from the latter part of the 1600s onwards was learned as a pidgin while the slaves were still in Africa. He hypothesizes that the English Caribbean creoles share common features that point to a common linguistic origin, a proto-pidgin that had been spreading along the coast of West Africa during that time. Cassidy partly agrees with Hancock, and argues that the similar features found in the English Caribbean creoles suggest the existence of a common pidgin origin for the language spoken by the slaves taken from Barbados to other colonies, such as Suriname and Jamaica (Holm, 1994, p. 448).

From 1660 to 1720 Barbados was the dominant force of the sugar industry in the Caribbean, and after the relatively short and unsuccessful effort in using European labor slaves were imported from the West Coast of Africa, specifically from what are now Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, and Western Nigeria, to grow and process the sugar. The following table shows the number of slaves disembarked in Barbados between the years 1641 – 1808.

Table 7: Slaves imported from Africa to Barbados

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1641-1650	30,847	24,028
1651-1675	80,962	61,097
1676-1700	120,038	92,550
1701-1725	113,725	95,144

1726-1750	83,135	68,128
`1751-1775	99,640	82,736
1776-1800	31,243	27,653
1801-1808	7,190	6,369
Totals	566,781	457,704

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

81% of the slaves imported to Barbados during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 41% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1676 and 1725. According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, between 1641 and 1808 slaves arrived from Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, West Central Africa and St. Helena, and South-East Africa and the Indian Ocean islands.

Table 8: Embarking areas for slaves taken to Barbados

Years	Senegambia and off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bright of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	South-East Africa and Indian Ocean islands	Totals
1600s	15,531	2,164	0	37,025	105,898	10,871	6,187	177,675
1700s	18,132	15,236	18,548	72,792	112,447	33,532	2,973	273,660
1800s	0	0	1,790	250	2,845	1,483	0	6,369
Totals	33,663	17,400	20,338	110,067	221,190	45,886	9,160	457,704

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

60% of the total number of slaves imported to Barbados during the slave trade era arrived during the 1700s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from the Bight of Benin and Bight of Biafra (48%), the Gold Coast (24%), and the West Central Africa and St. Helena

(10%) regions. By 1670, the slaves in Barbados outnumbered the English settlers two to one; by the 1800s they represented the majority of the population.

Researchers such as Handler and Lange (1978) and Rickford and Handler (1994) have argued that the demography and social environment in Barbados during the 18th century led to the development of a creole language. Most African slaves worked and lived on plantations so the interaction between them and the European colonists was almost non-existent. At some point, the African slaves outnumbered the Europeans, an average of 70,000 to 17,000, and new slaves were constantly arriving. According to Rickford and Handler, by the later part of the 1780s the number of slaves living on plantations and small farms in Barbados was around 88% of the total slave population. Most of them lived in small villages located close to the owner or manager's house and the plantation yard. According to Cassidy (1982), “these are just the kinds of demographic and settlement patterns which would have produced and/or maintained creole-speaking communities” (p. 11-12).

According to Holm, during the 1800s, Barbados continued to be an important point of dispersal to the rest of the Caribbean. After the slaves were emancipated in 1834, there were too many workers in Barbados, due to the fact that the birth rate was high at the time, so many of them migrated.

> Barbadian migrant workers (and later school teachers and lower-level administrators) played an important role in establishing their English not only in the Creole-French-speaking Windward islands and Trinidad, but also in creole-Dutch-speaking Guyana, all of which had become British possessions by the end of the Napoleonic wars. Later Barbadian migrant workers in Panama helped not

> only in the building of the Canal but also in the establishment of English in that country, which still bears the distinctive hallmark of Bajan in the verbal combination *woz hav* (Holm, 1994, pp. 448-449).

Blake (2004) explains that due to the fact that Barbados had such a large African population and, consequently, a surplus of workers (contrary to other Caribbean islands) there was consequently a “low percentage of other ethnic minorities (e.g. East Indians, Chinese) comprising the island’s population” (p. 502).

Many features of Bajan Creole appear to reflect those found in the regional varieties of British English spoken on the island and of the African languages spoken by the slaves in Barbados. Holm (1994) explains that Bajan Creole is, in phonological terms, the only variety, among the creoles spoken in the West Indies, that is fully rhotic (the letter “r” is pronounced whenever it is present) at all levels of society; this rhotic feature, along with others present in the Bajan, lead British people to find in the creole a pronunciation that reminds them of the way people from the west of England and Ireland pronounce English. It has /ə/ and /ʌ/, sounds not found in the Western Caribbean creoles, and the /ay/ sound in *bite* is realized as /ʌɪ/ (Cassidy 1978: 3) as it is in the regional speech of southern England and Bristol (Orton *et al*. 1978: p. 104). Bajan folk speech has such creole and post-creole features as the reduction of final consonant clusters (e.g. /túrɪsɪz/ ‘tourists’) and the palatalization of certain velar stops (e.g. /kyar/ ‘car’) (Burrowes 1983) – the latter apparently resulting from the converging influence of British regional speech and certain African languages. Verbs often lack inflections for the past tense or the third person singular of the present (Burrowes 1983), and in the most basilectal variety of Bajan the pronominal system has no case or gender distinctions – as well as *om* ‘it’ and *wuna* ‘you’ (plural). In the verbal system *da* can mark the progressive: “You *da* sleeping?” (Roy 1986: 147) while *does* marks the habitual: “He *does* catch fish pretty,” and *did* often replaces standard *was*; “They *did* eating” or “Dat *did* a good picture” (Burrowes 1983) (Holm, 1994, p. 449).

Holm quotes a Bajan text from Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, p. 93) where there is the use of /ɜ/ as in standard British “shirt”, the /œ/ mid front rounded vowel, and the /ʔ/ glottal stop.

(7) *wel sɜ ai waz waakin gwong langap gavʔmɜnʔ hil an*
well sir I was walking going along up Government Hill and
je-es ai geʔ in franʔ mistɜ tyudɜ pleas hi dag rashœut an
just as I get in front of Mr. Tudor’s place his dog rushed out
hi boiʔ mi pan mi fuit . . . no sɜ hi di boiʔ mi pan mi fuʔ
and it bit me on my foot no sir it PAST bit me on my foot
sɜr . . . aaz a geʔ inʔ frangʔ di pleas di dag bang
sir as soon as I got in front of the place the dog bounded
œuʔ pang mi. out on me (Holm, 1994, p. 449-450).

Janina Fenigsen, who has studied the phonological differences between Bajan Creole and Barbadian English (BE) extensively, has found that in the case of consonants, they include interdental stops. “Bajan has non-fricative allophones of interdental voiced and voiceless fricative stops in BE: dhem => dem; thing => ting. This stigmatized feature, highly salient to Barbadians, is (prescriptively) absent from BE” (2011, p. 111). Apart from being “fully rhotic” and for using the glottal stop /ʔ/ (as explained by Holm above), Bajan Creole includes other phonological features, such as a tendency to reduce consonant clusters and a preference for an open syllable structure often considered to be a carryover from West African languages. This preference sometimes results in deletion of the word-final, syllable-final consonant(*Flaag* => *fle*, ‘flag’) and sometimes in vowel epenthesis (*bakl* => *bakele*, ‘buckle’).

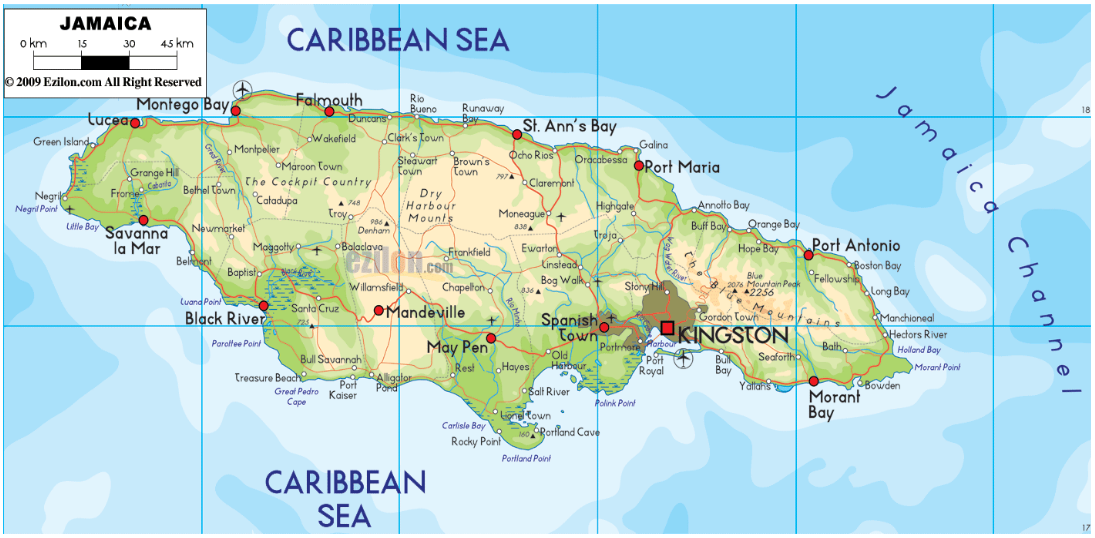
Other characteristic Bajan features include the presence of pure vowels in the distribution corresponding to diphthongs in BE. For example, in Bajan, BE *ai* => *a*. Also, Bajan is characterized by the heightening of the first part of diphthongs wherea diphthong obtains: *rait* (‘right’) is likely to be articulated as *rɔit*. Another feature isthe nasalization of vowels in the environment of nasal consonants (pp. 111-112).

Fenigsen adds that Bajan Creole has “no standard orthography” (p. 107) and “its readership and the generic scope remain limited” (p. 107). “Because the low prestige restricts social mobility of lower-class Bajan speakers, its lack of standard orthography reinforces social hierarchies” (p. 107).

Barbados gained its independence from England in 1966 although it still has Queen Elizabeth II as Head of State. The island is home to over 277,000 people. In Barbados, the population uses Bajan creole on a daily basis. However, for many people in Barbados being able to speak Barbadian English means not only a linguistic connection but, even more important, an ideological alignment with Britain, the former colonial center and, through this alignment, to a privileged positioning within global hierarchies of civilization, culture, and modernity (Bauman and Briggs, 2003). Today, Bajan Creole has decreolized due to its long-term contact with English (Blake, 2004).

3.3 Jamaica

Map 7: Jamaica


JAMAICA
0 km
15
30
45 km
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CARIBBEAN SEA
Jamaica Channel
Montego Bay
Falmouth
Lucea
Rio Bueno
Runaway Bay
Duncans
St. Ann's Bay
Green Island
Clark's Town
Wakefield
Montpelier
Ocho Rios
Galina
Oracabessa
Port Maria
Grange Hill
Maroon Town
Stewart Town
Brown's Town
The Cockpit Country
Claremont
Negril
Negril Point
Frome
Bethel Town
Catadupa
Dry Harbour Mounts
Highgate
Annotto Bay
Little Bay
Savanna la Mar
Troy
Denham
Moneague
Buff Bay
Orange Bay
Newmarket
Port Antonio
Hope Bay
Boston Bay
Maggotty
Balaclava
Frankfield
Ewarton
Troja
Belmont
Baptist
Linstead
Fellowship
Bog Walk
Williamsfield
Chapelton
Stony Hill
The Blue Mountains
Blue Mountain Peak
2256
Long Bay
Luana Point
Santa Cruz
Mandeville
Spanish Town
Gordon Town
Manchioneal
Black River
KINGSTON
Hectors River
Holland Bay
Parottee Point
May Pen
Portmore
Bath
Bull Savannah
Old Harbour
Port Royal
Bull Bay
Seaforth
Morant Point
Rest
Hayes
Yallahs
Treasure Beach
Alligator Pond
Salt River
Morant Bay
Bowden
Great Pedro Cape
Port Kaiser
Lionel Town
Pollink Point
Carlisle Bay
Portland Cave
Rocky Point
Portland Point
CARIBBEAN SEA
18
17

CARIBBEAN SEA
CARIBBEAN SEA
JAMAICA

Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/north-america/jamaica-physical-maps.html~~http://www.worldmapsonline.com/academia/academia_jamaica_physical_map.htm~~

The first people to live in Jamaica were the Arawaks. They came from South America 2,500 years ago and named the island Xaymaca, which meant “land of wood and water.” In addition to food crops and cotton, the Arawaks grew tobacco on a large scale. Most of them lived on the coasts or near rivers and relied on fishing. The Arawaks lived there until the Spaniards attacked them a few years after Christopher Columbus arrived in 1494, during his second voyage to the West Indies. Columbus had heard about Jamaica from the Cubans who described it as “the land of blessed gold” though he soon found out that there was no gold there. In the years following Columbus’ arrival few Spaniards settled in Jamaica. The island was mostly used as a supply base; in order to help in the conquest of the American mainland, food, men, arms, and horses were shipped there. The official colonization of Jamaica started in 1509, by order from the Spanish governor, Juan de Esquivel. (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, pp. 7-11; http://jis.gov.jm/information/jamaican-history/).

The Spaniards used forced Arawak labor in mining, farming, building, and stock breeding (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, p. 9; http://jis.gov.jm/information/jamaican-history/). Within a short period of time the Arawak slaves had all died from the hard work brutal treatment, and the introduction of European diseases to which they had little or no resistance. Since most of the Arawaks died during the first century of colonization, they left no cultural mark in Jamaica after the 1500s except for place names and food terms (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, pp. 7-11).

The Spanish colonists initially imported a small number of African slaves to work their lands, but by 1601 there were about 1,000 African slaves, and when the English army arrived with 9,000 troops in 1655 there were 1,500 (Patrick, 2007, p. 2). The following table shows the number of slaves that were imported to Jamaica between the years 1661 – 1808.

Table 9: Slaves imported from Africa to Jamaica

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1661-1675	22,203	16,999
1676-1700	94,436	71,785
1701-1725	161,644	134,481
1726-1750	225,537	185,760
1751-1775	272,038	219,137
1776-1800	330,816	298,752
1801-1808	75,952	67,611
Totals	1,182,625	994,525

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

84% of the slaves imported to Jamaica during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 52% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1751 and 1800.

Although Spanish colonists controlled Jamaica, it received little attention from Spain and Spanish neglect caused major internal conflict in the island, a situation which weakened the colony in the last years of Spanish rule. Pirate attacks exacerbated the situation and, in 1655, England successfully invaded Jamaica. The Spaniards on the island surrendered to the English, set their slaves free, and then migrated to Cuba. (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, pp. 11-13). When the Spanish left only about 300 Africans remained, escaping to the mountainous interior. These became the core of the Jamaican Maroons (Patrick, 2007, p. 2).

The English settlers rapidly established themselves in Jamaica and started to grow crops that could easily be sold in England. They began with tobacco, indigo, and cocoa but soon move on to sugar which became the main crop for the island. When England gained control of Jamaica the sugar economy was already established in the English Caribbean but it took around 15 to 20 years for it to start in Jamaica. In 1662, there were 70 plantations producing 772 tons of sugar and by the 1770s the number had increased to 680. During this period many slaves were imported to Jamaica where they became an essential part of the sugar industry. Rebecca Tortello explains in her article “Out of Many Cultures the People Who Came: The Arrival of the Africans” (2004) that the close relationship between the cultivation of sugar and slavery has set the course of the nation's demographics since the 18th century when slaves vastly outnumbered any other population group. By the beginning of the 19th century, the number of African slaves and their descendants living in Jamaica exceeded the number of English settlers; there were around 320,000 slaves and 19,000 whites (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, p. 22). In 1820 there were 5,349 properties in Jamaica, 1,189 of which had over 100 slaves each (Brathwaite 1971). Between 1661 and 1808 most slaves were imported from Senegambia and the Off-shore Atlantic, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, West Central Africa and St. Helena, and South-East Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands.

Table 10: Embarking areas for slaves taken to Jamaica

	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bright of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	South-East Africa and Indian Ocean Islands	Totals
1600s	7,476	874	0	7,690	45,634	20,725	6,385	88,784
1700s	19,849	29,833	38,793	267,666	339,352	141,174	1,462	838,129
1800s	0	1,469	2,261	13,653	36,119	14,109	0	67,611
Totals	27,325	32,176	41,054	289,009	421,106	176,008	7,846	994,525

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

84% of the total number of slaves imported to Jamaica during the slave trade era arrived during the 1700s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from the Bight of Benin and Bight of Biafra (42%), the Gold Coast (29%), and the West Central Africa and St. Helena (18%) regions.

For around two centuries, sugar was Jamaica's most important crop and export. The island reached its peak of sugar production in 1805 when 101,600 tons of sugar were produced. At the time Jamaica was the world's leading producer of that crop (Tortello, 2004).

Several slave rebellions took place in Jamaica in which the maroons also fought against the English. There was so much resistance that eventually the English government signed a treaty with the maroons, in 1739, giving them land and rights as free men in exchange for stopping the resistance and for helping to recapture slaves that had escaped (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, p. 24).

Following an 1865 revolt by blacks and the repression that followed which included over 400 executions, Governor Edward John Eyre then caused the island’s legislature to abolish itself and the Jamaican constitution on January 17, 1866. Afterwards, the island became a crown colony. The years that followed saw the island’s recovery, its social, constitutional, and economic development and its evolution into a sovereign state (Duke, 1999, pp. 28-29).

Jamaican Creole, or Jamaican Patwa, as it is known among the island’s population, is a creole of ethnic identification primarily spoken in Jamaica, but also by large numbers of Jamaican emigrants in urban Britain and North America. Other than a few lexical items and place-names, Jamaican Creole does not owe much to the Arawaks or the Spanish (Patrick, 2007, p. 2). It is the product of language contact between Africans and English-speakers, due to creolization under conditions of slavery (Alleyne 1971, 1988, as cited in Patrick, 2007, p. 2). By 1750 many of its key features were already developed although others can only be traced back to the early to mid-1800s. Evidence that a creole had already emerged by 1739 can be seen in the following complaint by an Englishman that a “a white boy till the age of seven or eight diverts himself with the Negroes, acquires their broken way of talking, and their manner of behavior” (Cassidy, 1961, p. 21, as cited by Holm, 1994, p. 470). Another person from that time remarks “the Creole language is not confined to the negroes. Many of the ladies, who have not been educated in England, speak a sort of broken English, with indolent drawling out of their words” (p. 22, as cited by Holm, 1994, p. 470).

More than 90% of Jamaica’s population is of African descent. Even though other groups claim Indian, Chinese, Syrian, and European heritage, only Europeans were present before 1845 and contributed to the formation of Jamaican Creole (Patrick, 2007, p.2). Throughout its history, Jamaican Creole has remained subordinated to English, which is the official language of Jamaica even though only a minority of the country’s inhabitants speaks it as a mother tongue. According to Patrick (2003), Jamaican Creole presents a very complex situation since it features a “creole continuum,” that is, a continuous spectrum of speech varieties that includes a variety that is closest to the lexifier (the acrolect), intermediate varieties (the mesolect), and a variety that is the most distant from the lexifier (the basilect) (pp. 3-5). The following is an example of a Jamaican Creole English text.

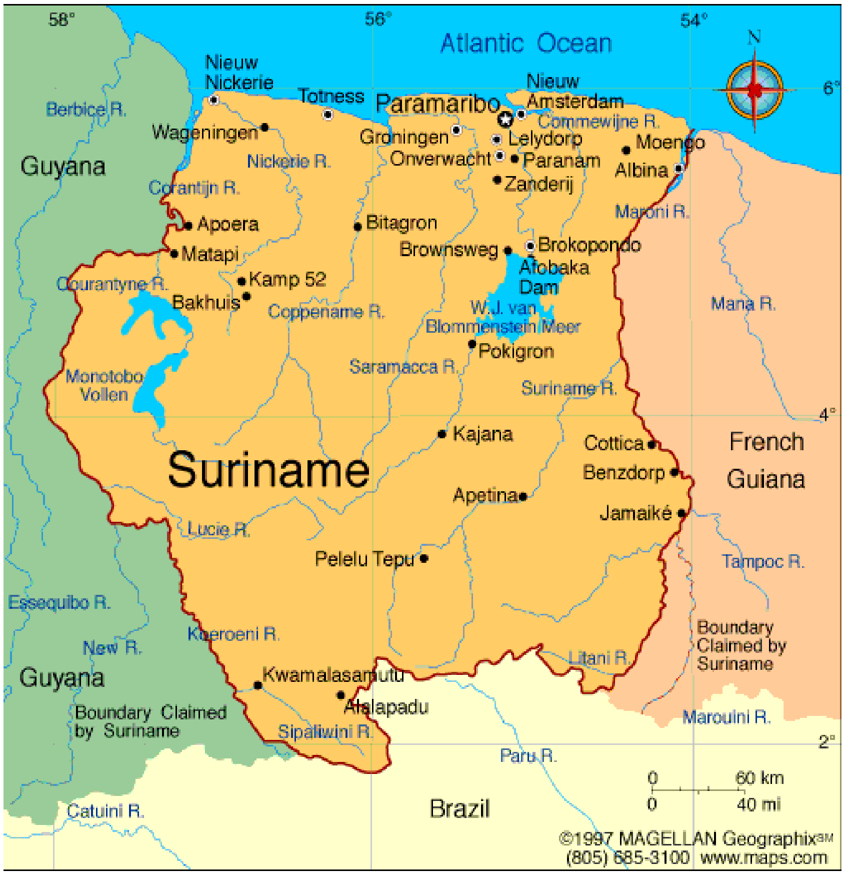
(8) *di uol liedi sie, tan! a wa de go hapm? Wilyam sie, was*
the old lady said wait what PROG go happen William said what
de go hapm yu wi fain out. wiet a wail! hin sie, wel, aa
PROG go happen you will find out wait a while she said well all
rait! hin lit doun wan a in eg so, wam! an di wata
right she smashed down one of her eggs so wham and the water
mount di gyal siem plies we im ben de, anda in truot
rose to the girl’s same place where it had been under her throat
ya.

here (Le Page and DeCamp, 1960. P. 141, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 471).

3.4 Suriname

Suriname is different from the other colonies mentioned before because of two major considerations. As mentioned above, despite being considered as part of the Greater Caribbean, Suriname is located in South America. Below is the map of Suriname which is located in northern South America.

Map 8: Suriname


58°
56°
54°
6°
4°
2°
N
Atlantic Ocean
Nieuw Nickerie
Totness
Paramaribo
Nieuw Amsterdam
Commewijne R.
Berbice R.
Wageningen
Groningen
Lelydorp
Moengo
Onverwacht
Paranam
Albina
Guyana
Nickerie R.
Zanderij
Corantijn R.
Marowijne R.
Apoera
Bitagron
Matapi
Brownsweg
Brokopondo
Afobaka Dam
Kamp 52
Courantyne R.
Bakhuis
Coppename R.
W.J. van Blommenstein Meer
Mana R.
Pokigron
Saramacca R.
Monotobo Vollen
Suriname R.
Kajana
Cottica
French Guiana
Suriname
Benzdorp
Apetina
Jamaiké
Lucie R.
Pelelu Tepu
Tampoc R.
Essequibo R.
Kuruni R.
Boundary Claimed by Suriname
New R.
Litani R.
Guyana
Kwamalasamutu
Alalapadu
Boundary Claimed by Suriname
Marouini R.
Sipaliwini R.
Paru R.
0 60 km
0 40 mi
Catuini R.
Brazil
©1997 MAGELLAN Geographix SM
(805) 685-3100 www.maps.com

Source: http://www.indosuriname.org/

Second, even though it was first colonized by England, it ended up being a Dutch colony; despite the fact that the English presence in Suriname was short-lived, its influence on the linguistic makeup of the country is undeniable.

Suriname has been populated since around 3000 B. C. when indigenous peoples began migrating to this area of northern South America. The first, and most important, indigenous group to settle in Suriname were nomadic Arawak Indians. They were followed by the Caribs (Carlin and Boven, 2002). The first Europeans to visit Suriname were Dutch traders, but the first European settlers were the English who arrived in 1630. They tried unsuccessfully to establish a colony and cultivate tobacco. The first permanent European colony was finally established in 1651 when the English settled along the Suriname River (Emmer, 2006). The governor of Barbados sent a hundred men to establish a colony in Suriname because there was not enough land in Barbados for growing sugar. Many of the founders of the first permanent settlement had been indentured servants that were looking for land to establish their own plantations (Holm, 1994, p. 434). By 1663 there were approximately fifty plantations in the area; most of the work was done by indigenous slaves and around 3,000 African slaves. Around 1,500 Europeans and people of European descent lived there at the time. Suriname came under the control of the Dutch in 1667 who invaded the English settlement during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Eventually, in 1668, the Dutch and the English signed the Treaty of Breda, referred to above, and the settlement was renamed Suriname (Emmer, 2006, pp. 100-113).

After signing the treaty, the Dutch turned Suriname into a plantation society, and it became the main destination for the Dutch slave trade. The Dutch were extremely brutal toward the slaves they imported from Africa, even by the standards of the time. The conditions in Suriname were so harsh that most of the slaves that arrived there died. This situation caused the slave population never to grow beyond 50,000 even though around 290,000 slaves were disembarked in the Suriname region during the period of 1651 to 1825 (pp. 100-113). Table 11 shows the estimate numbers of slaves that embarked in Africa and disembarked in the region.

Table 11: Slaves imported from Africa to the Suriname region

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1651-1675	10,352	8,088
1676-1700	30,140	25,921
1701-1725	28,876	24,244
1726-1750	70,335	60,044
1751-1775	113,618	100,742
1776-1800	34,555	29,459
1801-1825	1,971	1,818
Totals	289,847	250,316

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

86% of the slaves imported to Suriname during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 64% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1726 and 1775. The slaves imported to Suriname came from places such as: Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward and Gold Coasts, The Bights of Benin and Biafra, and West Central Africa and St. Helena. The estimate numbers from each region are shown in table 12.

Table 12: Embarking areas for slaves taken to the Suriname region

	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin	Bright of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	Totals
1600s	1,007	0	0	2,633	11,781	3,992	14,596	34,009
1700s	362	511	59,631	58,885	27,502	508	67,090	214,489
1800s	0	0	982	256	0	0	580	1,818
Totals	1,369	511	60,613	61,774	39,283	4,500	82,266	250,316

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

86% of the total number of slaves imported to Suriname during the slave trade era arrived during the 1700s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from West Central Africa and St. Helena (33%), the Gold Coast (25%), and the Windward Coast (24%) regions.

Despite the terrible treatment of the slaves, Suriname never experienced a general slave rebellion. Many slaves became maroons, fleeing inland and establishing permanent communities. When they needed to acquire goods that were in short supply or women, they attacked plantations. Their resistance proved to be so strong that in the 1760s the colonial government recognized them as free people. When the Netherlands were incorporated by France in 1799, Suriname fell under English control only to be returned to the Dutch in 1816, after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Dutch finally abolished slavery in 1863, although England had already abolished it during their short rule (Emmer, 2006, pp. 100-113).

As in the areas discussed above, the development of a creole in Suriname is closely related to its participation in the African Slave Trade. Most slaves who were transported to Suriname during the Slave Trade era were taken from parts of Africa where Bantu and Gbe languages were spoken. Bantu languages constitute a large family that belong to the Southern Bantoid branch of the Niger-Congo languages and are spoken from what is present-day Cameroon extending into South Africa. Gbe languages were until recently placed in the Kwa branch of the Niger–Congo languages, but now are classified as Volta–Niger and are spoken in southeastern Ghana, southern Togo and Benin, and southwestern Nigeria (http://www.journalofwestafricanlanguages.org). However, it is necessary to point out that recent research by Price (2007) has suggested that

> the linguistic background of imported slaves may have been more heterogeneous than has been recently believed. This is because, even though much of the demographic input to the colony in its early history came from ships departing from only a few coastal areas of Africa, there is evidence that the "catchment" areas for those slaves were fairly large, encompassing not only linguistic groups in close proximity to the relevant ports but also some that were relatively distant from them (Good 2009).

Another point that needs to be addressed concerning the demographics of the Surinamese slave population is that the nativization rate of the Suriname slave population was very low; over a century after the colonization, over 70% of the population was still African-born (Arends, 1995, p. 268). This number is closely related to the fact that Suriname was a sugar plantation colony that required a large labor force of African slaves. As mentioned earlier, these slaves were treated with extreme brutality leading to an inordinately high mortality rate, which meant that a continuous influx of new slaves was necessary not only for the expansion of plantations but also for their maintenance (Arends, 2002, pp. 115–116).

Today, the official language of Suriname is Dutch, but there are more than ten other languages in use, including half a dozen creole languages (Romero, 2008).

According to John Holm (1989), three of those creoles have English as their lexifier: Sranan, which is spoken by the “Westernized group” called Creoles, people of African and mixed descent living along the coast, and by other ethnic groups that use it as a second language, and Saramaccan and Ndyuka (or Aukan), which are spoken by descendants of maroons, who escaped from plantations located on the coast and went to live in the forests during the 1700s and 1800s (pp. 432-433).

Holm explains that linguists have long been interested in the Surinamese creoles for several reasons. The first one is that records of a Moravian mission established in Suriname in 1735 show how these creoles developed over a period of 250 years. The second reason is that Surinamese creoles were separated from mainstream English since the beginning, over three hundred years ago. Just a generation after this separation occurred, the English colony was invaded by the Dutch. By then, an English-lexifier creole had already developed among the slaves and the Dutch picked it up as a foreign language through their contact with the slaves. This creole developed despite the lack of contact with varieties of English that made it possible for the other English-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean to become closer to the standard. The third reason for linguists’ interest is that the Surinamese creoles have a complex lexical composition that has been the subject of debate for many years due to its theoretical implications.

While the core vocabulary of coastal Sranan is mostly derived from English, a good deal of the core vocabulary of Saramaccan is derived from Portuguese. This language may be based in part on that of the Jewish refugees who came to Suriname after the fall of Dutch Brazil. However, it has also been maintained that the language of the slaves being brought from Africa in the seventeenth century was undergoing relexification from pidgin Portuguese to pidgin English in Suriname during the period when the Saramaccans' ancestors were escaping from the plantations, so that their speech represents an earlier phase of this change than what became Sranan (Holm, 1994, p. 433).

According to Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2015), Sranan, also called Sranan Tongo or Taki-Taki, is considered to be the lingua franca of 80% of the population of Suriname, with around 120,000 native speakers (31% of the population) and 300,000 people that speak it as a second language (ethnologue.com). As mentioned earlier, at some point during the 1600s there were around 3,000 slaves living in Suriname to 1,500 whites. They were living in small plantations in groups of about twenty people. The number of native speakers was higher (33%) than the maximum (20 %) that Derek Bickerton claims "can be present in a situation leading to creolization" (Holm, 1994, p. 434). Holm states that "it is possible that something more like normal second-language learning was going on at this time and that the slaves were learning to speak something closer to English than modern Sranan" (p. 434). Between 1664 and 1665 around two hundred Portuguese-speaking Jews who came from Brazil, were allowed to settle in Suriname. They were forced to leave Brazil when the Portuguese took control of the colony from the Dutch again in 1654. In 1667, the Dutch captured Suriname and kept it thanks to the Treaty of Breda; this caused the eventual migration of the English settlers and their slaves, most of whom moved to other British islands in the Caribbean, particularly Jamaica. (p. 434).

Holm adds that during the short transitional period from the English to the Dutch settlers (1668 to late 1670s) "the new slaves that the Dutch brought in apparently learned the English (creole?) spoken by the old slaves, but this must have happened in a relatively short period of time" (Holm, 1994, p. 434). The number of "old" slaves diminished considerably during this transitional period (there were 1,300 old slaves in 1671, 200 in 1675, 100 in 1679, and then ten in 1680) so most of the language transmission must have taken place during these years. Nobody can know for sure what happened to English in Suriname prior to 1668 but Holm thinks "it seems likely that it underwent pidginization during the next seven years, whether for the first time or second" (p. 435).

The Dutch settlers picked up their slaves' creole as a second language; they kept using Dutch but only among themselves and kept it away from their slaves. By 1702, the European population in Suriname was only 8%. The first text written in Sranan, which was the first one in any English creole, was published in 1718 and its language bears great similarity with modern Sranan. Before the end of the century, practical manuals (for Dutch speakers) were written and the Moravian missionaries prepared a dictionary, a grammar, and a translation of the Bible. Prior to 1800 slave owners kept their slaves away from the missionaries so they couldn't learn Sranan, but by the beginning of the 1800s the number of freed slaves increased. The slaves made up 10% of the entire population of Suriname while in the capital the number was 25%. The missionaries' work spread not only to the city but also to the plantations and starting in 1844 they were allowed to teach slave children how to read Sranan but it was not until 1856 that the missionaries were allowed to teach them how to write (p. 435).

The slaves were emancipated in 1863. In 1876 the government established the teaching of Dutch in the schools, with the goal of "Europeanizing" the population of Suriname, Sranan started to be seen as the language of poverty and ignorance. Surinamese schoolchildren experienced the same kind of prejudice and discrimination creole-speakers in other colonies experienced during that time; they were punished for speaking the creole (Holm, 1994, p. 435).

Emancipation caused a shortage in the labor force so indentured laborers were imported from Asia. From 1873 to 1916 approximately 34,000 workers came from British India; they came on five-year contracts but only a third of them returned back to their country once their contracts finished. Most of the descendants of these workers now speak Sarnami Hindustani. Apart from the laborers imported from Asia, around 32,000 laborers were brought from the Dutch East Indies; even fewer of them decided not to return to their country of origin. Nowadays, the descendants of these workers speak Javanese (pp. 435-436).

Sranan has gained in prestige over the years. Today, it is seen as a symbol of national unity and of a national identity separate from that of the Netherlands, from which Suriname gained independence in 1975. It is also associated with the Creoles' ethnic group so its spread is a little problematic in the sense that other sectors of the population, especially those of Asian descent, feel under-represented. Nowadays, Sranan has a bigger representation in broadcasting and in state affairs. Its use depends on the level of formality and intimacy between the speakers and their ethnic origin (p. 436).

According to Holm, Sranan phonology has features of West African languages and 1600s English dialects. The most striking feature found in Sranan is the one requiring syllables to have the form CV (consonant followed by an oral or nasal vowel). Another feature attributed to West African sources found in Sranan is vowel harmony. Some examples that show these two features are: *ala* 'all,', *ede* 'head,', *bigi* 'big', and *mofo* 'mouth,'. Borrowing from Dutch has become very common in Sranan but "in general the most basic words are still English-derived (e.g. *mon* ‘money’) while those derived from Dutch seem to be largely additions rather than replacements (e.g. *frakwagi* ‘trunk’). When it comes to its syntax, Sranan shows many structural similarities with West African languages, specifically Krio, and with the basilectal varieties of the English-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean. The following text is an example of Sranan; the words written in bold indicate Dutch.

(9) *M e fter u wan ptjin tori f â ten di m b ê*
I PROG tell you a little story of the time when I ANT HAB
g â skoro. Te di m bîn g a skoro, m bj a ait
go to school time when I begin go to school I ANT have eight
jari. M ben kmop a pranasi, ***te zeggen*** *ben . . . mi mâ*
years I ANT come from plantation that is to say ANT my ma
mek mi a pranasi, da m k â foto. Dan di m bî, m
made me on plantation then I came to town then when I begin I
g a josjosj klas. Fa m tan tu dee nom a josjosj, dan den
go to nursery class when I am two days only at nursery then they
poj mi a . . . a ***eerste klas****.*
put me in in first form (Voorhoeve, 1962, p. 57, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 438).

According to Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2015), Saramaccan is the creole language spoken in Suriname by around 23,000 people (ethnologue.com) who are descendants of maroons that escaped from coastal plantations and went into the forest during the 17th and 18th centuries. They lived for some time near the Saramacca River, hence the name of their creole, but now are settled along the Suriname River. These fugitives fled between 1675 and 1715, with 1690 generally being given as the year when the largest amount of slaves, who would form the group's founding core, escaped. After 1715, the Saramaccans did not accept any more fugitives. The colonists kept on pursuing them, engaging in violent battles, until they reached a peace treaty in 1761 (Holm, 1994, p. 439).

Early stages of the Saramaccan language are comparatively well documented, with records going as far back as 1762. Lexical evidence indicates that substrates are drawn from two clusters of languages, Bantu languages spoken around the former Kingdom of Loango and Gbe languages, were especially influential in Saramaccan's development. This is similar to what happened with Sranan (Arends, 2002b, pp. 201–205).

Despite the relatively short period of English control, the lexicons of the Surinamese creoles show heavy English influence and are generally considered English-lexifier creoles, though the Saramaccan case is quite complex since the language shows a significant Portuguese element in its basic vocabulary, 37% as opposed to 54% from English and 4% each from Dutch and African languages. According to Holm, the fact that Saramaccan has a large percentage of vocabulary that is derived from Portuguese differentiates it from Sranan and Ndjuka. In fact, speakers of Sranan and Ndjuka cannot understand Saramaccan most of the time; around 80% of the vocabulary of Sranan and Ndjuka come from English whereas only 5% is derived from Portuguese (Holm, 1994, p. 438).

Holm explains that, according to Wullschlagel (1856), the traditional explanation for the presence of Portuguese words in Saramaccan is that the English settlers spoke English while Brazilian Jewish people that settled in the area during 1664 and 1665 spoke Portuguese so the slaves developed two different creoles depending on who their owner was. Over time, these two creoles became very similar. "Originally a corrupted Portuguese was spoken on the many Jewish-owned plantations, but it has now . . . almost disappeared. It is only spoken by one tribe of the free Bush Negroes, the so-called Saramaccans on the upper Suriname River, most of whom originally came from these plantations" (Holm, 1994, p. 439). Wullschlagel also explained that Saramaccan was called *Djoe-tongo* or "Jews" language.

Linguists such as Herskovits (1930) disputed the traditional explanation arguing that the Portuguese words had been brought to Suriname after having been incorporated into African Languages, while others such as Voorhoeve (1973) proposed that the Portuguese vocabulary had come with the slaves directly from Africa as part of their Portuguese pidgin; these slaves came from the Angola area and the Slave Coast which is where the Dutch bought the ones they imported to their colonies (Holm, 1994, p. 439). Voorhoeve also suggested that contrary to Sranan, which had evolved from such a pidgin that had been almost completely relexified into English, the ancestors of the Saramaccans escaped before this process could be completed which is the reason why there is a such a high percentage of Portuguese words in Saramaccan. Holm explains that this argument received a good amount of consideration since it supported the relexification theory (p. 440).

Saramaccan is considered to be the creole with the most African features (pp. 440-441). It maintains the tonal distinctions found in most Niger-Congo languages as can be seen in minimal pairs such as *dá* (high note) 'to give' and *da* (lower tone) 'to be' (Voorhoeve, 1961, p. 146, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 440). Holm points out that there is a "regular correspondence between the high note of Saramaccan and the main stress of Sranan, which is not a tone language" (p. 440). More African features can be seen in the segmental phonemes of Saramaccan than in Sranan. "Saramaccan's co-articulated stops /kp/ and /gb/ correspond respectively to Sranan's /kw/ and /gw/, while Saramaccan words with the pre-nasalized stops /mb/, /nd/, /ñdj/, and /ŋg/ correspond to Sranan words with the nasal only" (Alleyne, 1980, p. 55, as cited by Holm, 1994, pp. 440-41).

The Saramaccan lexicon seems to have a large number of words derived from African languages. Daeleman (1972) found some 137 words from Kongo while Smith (1987) found 129 words from Ewe-Fon. Smith is convinced that these languages served as lingua francas in Suriname, along with Twi, during the 1600s (p. 441). However, Bickerton questions whether there is really a big African influence in Saramaccan; he points to Saramaccan's lack of a serial verb construction similar to Sranan's *a teki nefi koti a meti* "he cut the meat with a knife.". He concludes that "if serial constructions also reflect African influence, one would expect to find that SA (Saramaccan) had more such constructions than DJ (Ndjuka) and SR (Sranan), rather than the reverse . . . There is no explanation for the pattern in terms of substrate influence" (1981, p. 120, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 441).

There are still opposing views as to whether Saramaccan is an English-lexifier creole or a Portuguese-lexifier creole but the fact that more than 50% of its lexicon is derived from English should settle the debate. The following text is an example of Saramaccan.

(10) *Nöö e I go a matu . . . hën I go a kuun liba. Te tjuba*
now if you go to woods then you go to hill top when rain
ta kai bëtë i sa si pakia. Ma a soonpu ka pina
HAB fall possibly you can see peccary but in swamp where pina
dë. Nöö fa I si . . . i dou a di soonpu dë kaa,
palm is now as you see you arrive at the swamp there already
nöö e i bi abi wan katoisi fii bi ta mëni u
now if you ANT have a bullet for-you ANT HAB think of
suti fou.
shoot bird (Roundtree and Glock, 1982, p. 182, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 441-442).

Ndjuka (or Aukan) is a creole spoken in eastern Suriname by around 16,000 descendants of maroons who escaped from plantations on the coast mostly during the first half of the 1800s “when the Saramaccans had already formed a group and stopped accepting new fugitives” (p. 442). They increased their numbers by raiding plantations, and by 1757 had doubled their population. In 1760 their freedom was recognized through the ratification of a peace treaty. Most speakers live along the Cottica River near the coast or along the Marowijne River (p. 442).

Ndjuka seems to have developed from the same plantation creole that eventually evolved into modern Sranan. Even though they grew out of the same plantation creole Ndjuka and Sranan are quite different in terms of their syllabic structure and the development of the liquids /l/ and /r/. Like Modern Ndjuka, early Ndjuka had a regular CV syllabic structure, while Sranan tended to reduce or elide unstressed vowels which created new consonants cluster, which probably happened due to the fact that Sranan had more contact with Dutch than Ndjuka. Eersel (1976) pointed out that there are cases in which Sranan words can receive extra vowels, like for example *ston* 'stone' can turn into *sitón*. "The vowel insertion in emphatic speech, songs, ritual language and poetry in Sranan produces phonetically the comparable Ndjuka words. It seems therefore that Ndjuka is more archaic in its syllabic structure, and that consonant clusters in Sranan are the result of the later development of vowel reduction" (Holm, 1994, p. 443). In terms of the liquids, both /l/ and /r/ "become /l/ in both creoles, e.g. *lobi* 'love, rub.' Between vowels, however both become /r/ in Sranan (e.g. *béri* 'bury' and *bére* 'belly') but /l/ in Ndjuka (e.g. *béli* 'bury') unless both vowels are the same, in which case both become θ between the vowels whether or not the vowels are the same (e.g. *béi* 'bury', *bɛ́ɛ* 'belly')" (p. 443).

Ndjuka is different from Sranan and Saramaccan in terms of phonological features derived from West African languages, Holm (1994) places Ndjuka between Saramaccan and Sranan (p. 443). Ndjuka is a singular case among creoles because it has its own writing system with a syllabary with 56 characters although it was never widespread and nowadays it is only used in medicinal recipes (p. 444). According to Lewis, Simons, and Fennig (2015), its present status is vigorous, and it is used in various settings, especially in oral and written form for religious services. The attitude towards the language is quite positive and, even though Dutch is the official language of education, many young people read it and write it. Ndjuka is also frequently used in broadcasting, especially on the radio (ethnologue.com). The following text is an example of Ndjuka.

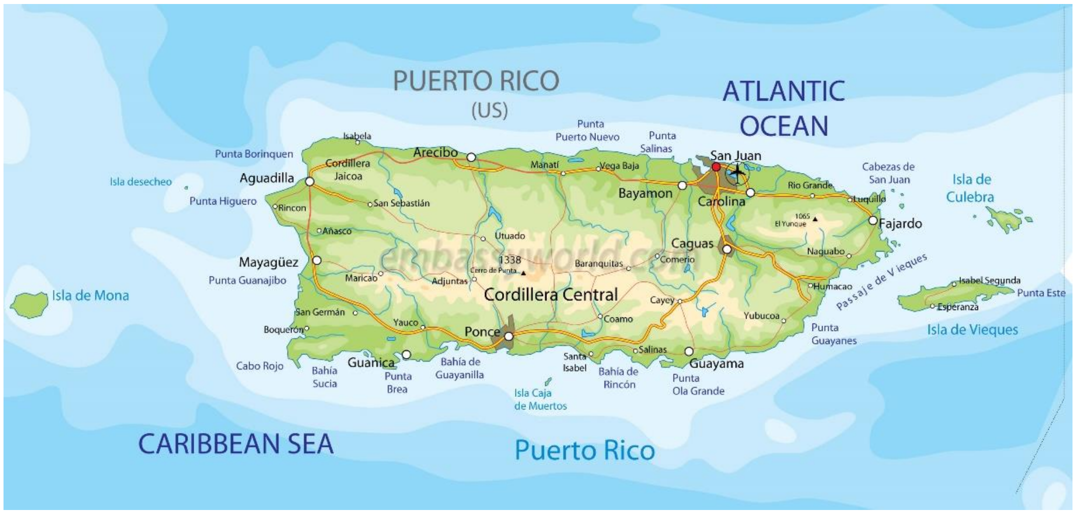
(11) *Fa wan sneki nyam mi. Mi be go a onti anga wan dagu fu*
how a snake bit me I ANT go to hunt with a dog of
mi. A be wan bun onti dagu. Da fa mi waka so, a
mine he ANT a good hunting dog then as I walk so he
tapu wan kapasi na a olo. A lon go so, a tyai wan
corner an armadillo to the hole he ran away so he brought a
he kon na a olo. A seefi olo. Da na tu meti de a
paca back to the hole the same hole then were two animals there
ini a olo, wan he anga wan kapasi.
in the hole one paca and one armadillo (Park 1975, as cited in Holm, 1994, p. 444).

Chapter 4 The Spanish Caribbean

Chapter 4 will discuss the socio-historical background of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic where most scholars believe no creole languages developed during the time of the Atlantic slave trade (see discussion in Ch. 2). A special emphasis will be given to the situation in each of the territories before and after the arrival of the Spanish colonists who brought the slave trade there for the first time. The slave trade, its economic consequences, the ethnic background of the slaves brought to each island, the conditions in which they lived, and how they were treated by their owners and society in general are some of the topics that will be covered. The focus will then shift to the reasons why no creole languages developed in those islands.

4.1 Puerto Rico

Map 9: Puerto Rico


PUERTO RICO
(US)
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Punta Puerto Nuevo
Punta Salinas
San Juan
Isabela
Punta Borinquen
Arecibo
Manatí
Vega Baja
Cabezas de San Juan
Isla de Culebra
Isla desecheo
Aguadilla
Cordillera Jaicoa
Punta Higuero
Rincon
San Sebastián
Bayamon
Carolina
Rio Grande
Luquillo
1065
El Yunque
Fajardo
Añasco
Utuado
Caguas
Comerio
Naguabo
Mayagüez
1338
Cerro de Punta
Baranquitas
Punta Guanajibo
Maricao
Adjuntas
Passaje de Vieques
Humacao
Isabel Segunda
Punta Este
Isla de Mona
Cordillera Central
Cayey
Esperanza
San Germán
Coamo
Yubucoa
Isla de Vieques
Yauco
Boquerón
Ponce
Punta Guayanes
Salinas
Cabo Rojo
Bahía Sucia
Guanica
Punta Brea
Bahía de Guayanilla
Santa Isabel
Bahía de Rincón
Guayama
Punta Ola Grande
Isla Caja de Muertos
CARIBBEAN SEA
Puerto Rico
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
Pta Borinquen
Isabela
Camuy
Quebradillas
Hatillo
Arecibo
Pta Puerto Nuevo
Barceloneta
Vega Baja
Dorado
Pta Salinas
SAN JUAN
Toa Baja
Bayamón
Loíza
Río Grande
Cabezas de San Juan
Luquillo
Aguadilla
Aguada
Moca
Pta Higuero
Manatí
Vega Alta
Toa Alta
Guaynabo
Carolina
Canóvanas
Trujillo Alto
Fajardo
Morovis
Corozal
Naranjito
San Sebastián
Lares
Añasco
Aguas Buenas
Gurabo
Isla de Culebra
Utuado
Orocovis
Comerío
Caguas
Juncos
San Lorenzo
Naguabo
Pta Puerca
Sonda de Vieques
Mayagüez
Barranquitas
Cidra
Las Piedras
Humacao
Pasaje de Vieques
Isla de Vieques
Vieques
Pta Este
Esperanza
Villalba
Aibonito
Cayey
Cabo Rojo
San Germán
Sabana Grande
Lajas
Peñuelas
Coamo
Yabucoa
Pta Guayanes
Boquerón
Yauco
Guayanilla
Ponce
Juana Díaz
Guayama
Guánica
Santa Isabel
Salinas
Bahía Sucia
Cabo Rojo
Pta Brea
I. Caja Muertos
Bahía de Rincón
Pta Ola Grande
ezilon.com

Source: https://annexx51.wordpress.com/pr-101/puerto-rico-maps/~~http://www.ezilon.com/maps/north-america/Puerto-Rico-map.html~~

Slavery in Puerto Rico has a history that separates it from the rest of the Caribbean islands that were involved in the Atlantic Slave Trade. The island was colonized as in the rest of the Caribbean but the plantation economy developed later than in other places therefore the need for enslaved manpower was not as essential in the beginning. During their first decades in the island the colonists depended mostly on the Indigenous people already living there upon their arrival. It was not until the end of the 1700's that the economy began to depend on the importation of slaves to be used as manpower (Bowman, 2002, p. 2).

When the Spanish colonists arrived in Puerto Rico, the island had already been populated for thousands of years. The first people to inhabit Puerto Rico were the Ortoiroid people that came from the Orinoco region in South America around 2,300 years ago; they had moved from island to island until they had reached Puerto Rico. The

Ortoiroid were eventually displaced by the Igneri, or Saladoid, who came from the same region and arrived on the island between 430 and 250 BC. The Arawaks are believed to have settled in the island after 700 A.D. The Taíno culture developed during the centuries that followed and, by approximately 1000 AD, it had become dominant (Rouse, 1993, pp. 155).

By the time Christopher Columbus arrived in Puerto Rico in 1493, between 30,000 and 60,000 Tainos were living there. Remains found in the island indicate that the earliest indigenous people lived in settlements which seem to have been established near mangrove swamps and beaches protected by rocks and reefs. This first group stayed occupied with fishing, hunting, and the gathering of wild fruits. Between 200 B.C and 600 A.D. the Igneri arrived, introduced and developed the art of pottery, worked in agriculture, and also worked with rocks and snails. When Columbus arrived, the Taínos living in the island called it Boriken “the great land of the valiant and noble Lord”. At the time, the Tainos were in conflict with the Carib Indians (Rouse, 1993, pp. 155).

Columbus named the island San Juan Bautista to honor Saint John the Baptist. It took Spain fifteen years to begin the colonization process. In 1508, Juan Ponce de León founded the first settlement, Caparra (Picó, 1990, p. 44-45). He was not satisfied with the settlement so he went to La Hispaniola to renegotiate the terms of the colonization with Nicolás de Ovando, governor of the neighboring island at the time and who acted as representative of the Spanish crown in the area (Picó, 1990, p. 45). Ponce de León returned to San Juan Bautista and eventually became the first governor of the island.

Soon after settling in San Juan Bautista, the Spanish colonists found rich deposits of gold and forced the Tainos to work on them. They established the “encomienda” system in the island, which consisted of distributing the Tainos to Spanish officials who, in turn, used them as slaves not only in the gold mines but also in agriculture. Between 1508 and 1520 the island provided Spain with great amounts of gold. Soon, news spread about the riches found in San Juan Bautista and other Spaniards became involved in the colonization enterprise. The Tainos did such an extreme amount of work and under such harsh conditions that soon their population decreased due to illness and violence (Picó, 1990, p. 46).

The decrease in Taino manpower caused a problem for the colonists since they needed manual labor for their mining and fort-building operations. It is important to mention the role played, regarding this issue, by Friars Bartolomé de las Casas and Antonio de Montesinos, who had arrived in the West Indies with Ponce de León, and had been so outraged after witnessing the way the Spaniards treated the Taínos that they took it upon themselves to denounce the situation and free the Tainos. De Montesinos used the pulpit of his church in the Dominican Republic to call attention to the plight of the Tainos. He even took his protests to the Spanish Courts. Bartolomé de las Casas eventually did the same. The Spanish colonists had protested arguing that they needed manpower in order to have success in their enterprises. To appease their protests, Bartolomé de las Casas then had suggested that they imported African slaves to be used as manpower. The first African people to arrive to Puerto Rico had been free men accompanying the invading Spanish colonists. According to historian Ricardo Alegria, the first free African man to arrive on San Juan Bautista was Juan Garrido, who came with Juan Ponce de León and fought under his command during the 1511 revolt (1971). In 1517, the Spanish Crown gave permission to the colonists to import twelve slaves each, thus marking the beginning of the slave trade in the Spanish colonies (Diaz Soler, 2000, p. 32-38).

Even though there was a period during the mid-1500s where the Spanish colonists imported African slaves, the island's economy remained one based on subsistence, one that Scarano refers to as a "peasant society" (1984, p. 5). It remained that way until the late 1700s. According to Rodriguez-Silva (2012), by 1530 colonial administrators had problems retaining their Spanish population since many of them had decided to seek fortune in Peru and Mexico where it was believed many riches had been found. At the time, the African slaves and the Tainos outnumbered the colonists; according to Governor Francisco Manuel de Lando's census of 1530, there were 2,281 African slaves, 1,545 Tainos, and only 327 colonizers. The slave population reached 15,000 in 1565 but by the end of the century it had dropped to between 5,000 and 6,000 (p. 21). By 1530 colonial administrators had problems retaining their Spanish population since many of them had decided to seek fortune in Peru and Mexico where it was believed many riches had been found (p. 21).

San Juan Bautista was renamed Puerto Rico during the 1520s; its capital was named San Juan. The island did not become a successful slave sugar society until the 1800s. During the 1600s the island did not have a large population, due to diseases and natural disasters, and its economy was basically based on sustainable agriculture and cattle. The budding plantation economy of neighboring islands led to a smuggling economy of commodities and people in Puerto Rico; authorities were not pleased about this and wanted to turn the island into a military bastion. According to Scarano, the main reason for the lack of a significant slave population, was that Spain itself could not support this extension of its overseas empire: it did maintain the consumer power to sustain a successful export economy without the financial support of other foreign nation, and yet Puerto Rico was restricted from trading with other regions. In addition, the island lacked an indigenous labor supply to support agricultural expansion since a majority of the natives had been wiped-out during the first century of Spanish colonization. Instead of continuing to promote economic expansion through agricultural means, the capital of San Juan was converted into a Spanish military post in the mid-seventeenth century and remained the only developed part of the island for many years (1984, as cited by Bowman, 2002, p. 3).

According to Rodríguez-Silva, the small slave population does not take away from the fact that the slaves' work was very important. Owning slaves was synonymous with prestige and it could play a very significant role in the success or failure of those pursuing this enterprise.

> Nevertheless, slavery in this small-scale mixed economy differed from intense plantation slavery, allowing slaves more physical mobility. Because of the lack of effective surveillance from authorities, some slaves engaged in independent economic activities. And many free blacks and mulattos worked in profitable enterprises—given the lucrative informal economy—and became well-known figures in island society (2012, p. 22).

The evolution to a sugar economy required a constant supply of workers but it had to be cost effective. According to Robert A. Martinez's article "African Aspects of the Puerto Rican Personality", the Spanish colonists discovered that one black slave did the work of four Tainos; meanwhile, English colonists in other Caribbean islands realized that they could buy an African slave for life with the money used to buy the services of a white indentured servant for ten years. Africa had inexhaustible human resources which made the use of slaves even more logical (2007). In the mid-1700s, agricultural production increased in Puerto Rico, due to the reorganization of the Spanish Empire; this increase required more workers. 88% of the slaves imported to Puerto Rico during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 77% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1826 and 1850. The following table shows the estimated amount of African slaves imported to Puerto Rico.

Table 13: Slaves imported from Africa to Puerto Rico

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1751-1775	3,239	2,822
1801-1825	245	233
1826-1850	11,599	10,253
Totals	15,083	13,308

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

Note: The Database estimates that recorded voyages probably represent 80% or less of the true total.

There are multiple and differing accounts as to where the slaves that were imported to Puerto Rico came from. According to Martinez, most slaves came from West Africa, specifically from the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Dahomey, or the region known as the area of Guineas, the Slave Coast. He states that the Yoruba culture seems to have had the biggest impact on the Puerto Rican culture. The Yorubas came from an area known as Eastern Guinea, located in the south of Nigeria. Another group that made an impact on Puerto Rican culture was the Bantus who included people from the Jelofe, Mandingo, Dahomey, lbo, Baules, Fantes, and Mende tribes, mostly of whom came from West

Africa (2007). According to data compiled in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database most slaves were brought from the Sierra Leone and the Bight of Biafra regions. The following table shows the number of slaves brought from each place and when they were imported.

Table 14: Embarking areas for slaves taken to Puerto Rico

	Sierra Leone	Bright of Biafra	Totals
1700s	0	2,822	2,822
1800s	6,149	4,337	10,486
Totals	6,149	7,159	13,308

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

79% of the total number of slaves imported to Puerto Rico during the slave trade era arrived during the 1800s. The slaves arrived from the Sierra Leone (46%) and the Bight of Biafra (54%) regions.

The Spaniards used all the arriving slaves in the gold mines and in the fields in the island's ginger and sugar industry since they had lost most Taino workers due to illness and abuse. They lived with their families on their master's land, where they received a small piece of land so they could grow vegetables and fruits for their own consumption. Africans slaves had few or no opportunities to get a better life and they had to deal on a daily basis with discrimination and harsh treatment at the hands of the Spaniards (Martinez, 2007).

According to Diaz Soler, the Spaniards preferred the African slaves because they assimilated into their culture, despite being subjected to harsh treatment, unlike the Taínos who resisted their attempts every step of the way. He argues that this may had happened because both the Spaniards and the slaves saw indigenous people as an enemy in common. When Carib Indians or pirates attacked the island the slaves protected their owners and their properties. This behavior pleased the Spaniards and prompted them to import more Africans (2000, p. 47-48).

Assimilation to the Spaniards' culture meant converting to Christianity and learning the Spanish language; the slaves were baptized by the Catholic Church and assumed the surnames of their owners. Their owners taught Spanish to them and they, in turn, taught it to their own children. Despite discrimination and prejudice towards the Africans, many colonists and farmers, who had arrived without women, intermarried with them or the Tainos. This mixture formed the basis of the early Puerto Rican population (Martinez, 2007).

In 1570 the island's gold mines were declared depleted by the Spanish crown. As a result, the Spaniards moved the western shipping routes to the north bypassing the island; afterwards, Puerto Rico became primarily a garrison for those ships that would pass on their way to or from richer colonies (Baralt, 2007, p. 5-6). This situation prompted many colonists to leave the island so the Spanish crown, searching for ways to attract workers, issued in 1664 a royal decree offering freedom and land to African people from non-Spanish colonies, such as Jamaica and Haiti, who migrated to Puerto Rico, embraced Catholicism, and pledged fidelity to the king. The arrival of these people caused an increase in the group of emancipated people while the number of slaves remained the same. Most of these people settled in the western and southern parts of Puerto Rico where they soon adopted the ways and customs of the Spaniards. Some of the men joined the local militia fighting against the British forces in their multiple attempts to invade the island (Diaz Soler, 2000, p. 83).

In 1784, a royal decree abolished the practice of hot branding the slaves' forehead. In addition, the slaves were permitted to obtain their freedom under certain circumstances: in a church, before a judge, by testament or letter (in the presence of their master), against their master's will by denouncing a rape, by discovering disloyalty against the king, by denouncing a crime committed by their master, by receiving part of their master's estate in their master's will, if they were left as guardians to their master's children, and, finally, an entire family gained their freedom if the parents had ten children (Marley, 1985).

The Spanish Crown issued in 1789 a Royal Decree of Graces ("Real Cedula de Gracia"), that set new rules regarding the sale and purchase of slaves and added restrictions that invalidated the 1784 decree and made it almost impossible for slaves to gain their freedom. The decree granted its subjects complete liberty to do business with slaves. That same year a new slave code, also known as "El Código Negro" (The Black Code), was approved. This code stated that a slave could buy his/her freedom by paying the price sought, if his/her owner agreed. Slaves were allowed to save money from work done during their spare time and they could buy their freedom by making their payments in installments (Diaz Soler, 2000, p. 95-97).

Another Royal Decree of Graces was issued by the Spanish Crown in 1815 to encourage agricultural, industrial, and commercial activity in Puerto Rico and to encourage foreigners to settle in the island. The decree encouraged the use of slaves in agriculture and allowed settlers to visit neighboring colonies in order to buy cheap labor, in exchange for cash or products. The decree also granted free land to any Spanish citizen willing to relocate to the island, and to foreigners that swore their loyalty to Spain, along with no taxes during their first ten years of residence. Free black people and mulattos received incentives too but only half of what the white settlers received (Diaz Soler, 2000, p. 107). The Royal Decree of Graces of 1815 can be credited for increasing the slave population in Puerto Rico. The island's dependence on slave-labor was short-lived. The British colonies in the Caribbean depended mostly on slave-labor for over 150 years before emancipation while in Puerto Rico the dependence on slave labor lasted only a few decades prior to the abolition of slavery. Slaves had been present in the island for centuries but it was not until the 1800s that the largest number of slaves arrived to the island due to the large-scale development of the sugar industry (Bowman, 2002, p. 10). Between 1812 and 1820 the total slave population increased from 4,194 to 21,730. The 1830 Royal census of Puerto Rico established that the island's population had reached 323, 838 people: 11% of the population were slaves, 35% were free blacks and mulattos, and 54% were white. It is believed that the slave population reached its highest point in 1845 with 51,265 slaves (Diaz Soler, 2000, p. 111-112).

In his book *Sugar, Slavery, and Freedom in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico* (2005), Luis A. Figueroa explains that by the mid-1800s, a group of prominent Puerto Ricans who were against slavery formed a committee of abolitionists; Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances, Segundo Ruiz Belvis, José Julián Acosta, and Francisco Mariano Quiñones were members of this committee. These men were also part of the "Overseas Information Committee" formed in 1865 to study 'the feasibility of adopting legislation to grant special political status to Puerto Rico and Cuba and to reform their colonial relationship with Spain' (Figueroa, 2005, p. 108). They studied the political, economic, and social situation in both islands the situation in Puerto Rico and Cuba. The committee later met in Madrid, Spain where Ruis Belvis, Acosta, and Quiñones presented the argument for the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico; they 'called for immediate emancipation, opposed any labor restrictions on former slaves, and called for the payment of indemnities to slaveholders in the amount of 12 million pesos, paid in equal shares by the Spanish and Puerto Rican governments' p. 108).

In 1870 a "preparatory law" for the abolition of slavery, which became known as the "Moret Law", was approved setting in motion the process for the official emancipation of slaves in Puerto Rico and Cuba (p. 113). An official proposal for that matter was presented on November 19, 1872 and finally approved on March 22, 1873. The Moret Law granted freedom to slaves that were over 60 years old and children born to slaves after the law's publication in Puerto Rico and Cuba (p. 114). Figueroa explains that

> these slave children as well as those born between the beginning of the 1868 Spanish Revolution and the publication of the Moret Law were classified not as fully freed but restricted to what the law called a *patronato*, a form of tutelage under their mothers' owners. The dispositions on the *patronato* implied that in practice, these half-slave, half-freed children would be held as virtual slaves by those who would otherwise have become their masters anyway. According to the law the *patrono* (the mother's owner) acquired "all the rights of a tutor," providing the *patrocinado* with room and board and in exchange benefiting "from the work of [the *patrocinado*] without any remuneration until the age of

> eighteen." Moreover, from age eighteenth to twenty-two, the *patrocinados* would still be restricted to earning just half of the regular wage paid to a free laborer for the same job. Furthermore, the law retained another vestige of slavery by establishing that the *patrocinados* could be the subject of property transactions as virtual chattel slaves (Figueroa, 2005, p. 114).

The abolition of slavery, in 1873, did not bring immediate freedom to enslaved workers. 'Plantation labor was extended: contracts called 'libertos' were enforced for the next three years essentially requiring workers and ex-slaves alike to remain on the land and stay 'loyal' to the planters' (Bowman, 2002, p. 9).

In terms of the possible development of a creole language among the African slaves in Puerto Rico, John Lipski has studied the issue extensively and has come to the conclusion, as expressed in his article "From Bozal to Boricua: Implications of Afro-Puerto Rican Language in Literature" (2001), that there is no real evidence of signs of creolization in the island, only that the slaves learned and adopted Spanish as a second language. He discusses the presence of other Afro-Caribbean creole languages brought to Puerto Rico, for example Papiamento from Curacao, which he believes may have contributed creole-like traits to Afro-Puerto Rican literary texts although not enough for a creole language to emerge (p. 850).

According to Lipski, the Puerto Rican text which shows the greatest evidence of a systematically reconstructed Afro-Hispanic language is the play *La Juega de Gallos o El Negro Bozal* by Ramon Caballero, which was originally published in 1852, and rediscovered by Alvarez Nazario in 1974 who in turn brought it to the attention of linguists. The only known information about the author of this play is that he was born in

Venezuela and eventually moved to Ponce where the play was published (p. 852). Lipski (2008) explains that the play makes use of the construction:

(12) ¿Po que tú no *ta* queré a mí? `Why don't you love me?'

Siempre ta regalá dinero a mí `[he] always gives me money' (p. 17)

He states that it can be argued that 'spontaneous developments took place like, for example, 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:

(13) Que to mi cuepo me etá temblá `My whole body is trembling' (2008, p. 17).

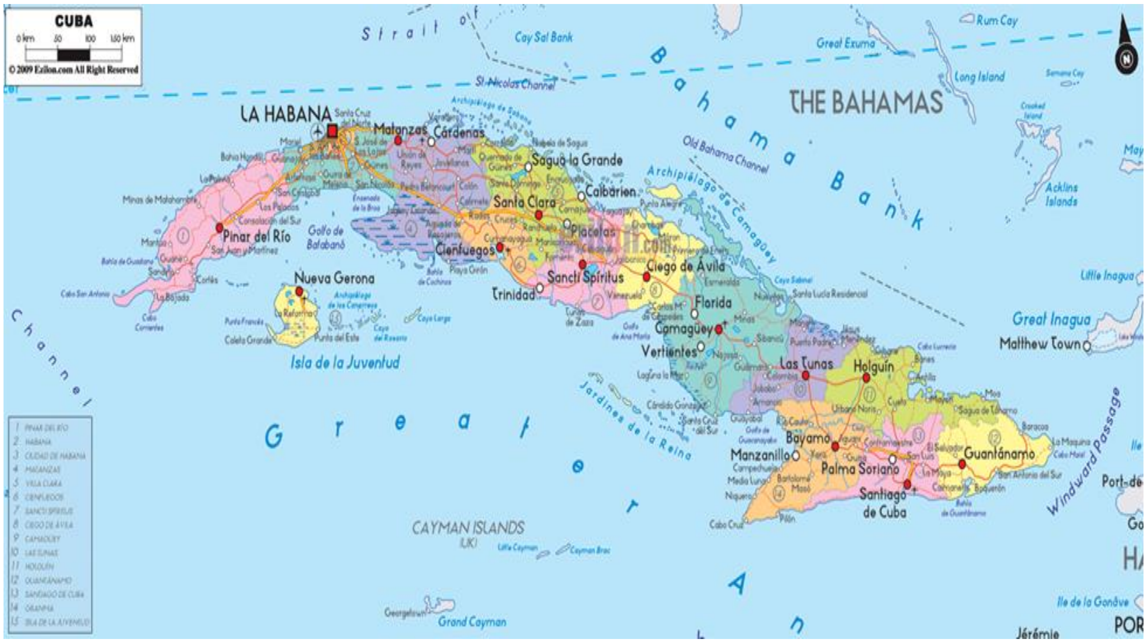
Lipski mentions Papiamentu as showing 'the only other proven example of *ta* + INVARIANT VERB constructions in Afro-Hispanic literature (Lipski 2001)'. He explains that the play also contains other Afro-Caribbean Spanish elements such as, 'the invariant copula *son* (Lipski 1999b), the use of the bare infinitive minus final /r/ as invariant verb, the West African Pidgin English form *yari yari* ("cry"), and intrusive nasalization as in *brángaman* < *válgame* (Lipski 1992)' (p. 19) Lipski argues that 'these forms appear against the backdrop of imperfectly-learned Spanish' such as might be found in any place where a foreign language is learned. He also explains that

According to Alvarez Nazario (1970), the language found in a 19th century Afro-Puerto Rican poem 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* `Curaçao people'was familiar enough to observers in early 19th century Puerto Rico as to require no special introduction or translation (Lipski, 2008, p. 19).

4.2 Cuba

The first people to inhabit Cuba, the largest of the Caribbean islands, were Arawak and Taino Indians who lived there for hundreds of years before Christopher Columbus claimed the island for Spain in 1492 (http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/ projects/ThinkingFromCuba/ index.php?page_id =Cuban History).

Map 10: Cuba


CUBA
0 km 50 100 150 km
© 2009 Ezilon.com All Right Reserved
Strait of
Cay Sal Bank
St. Nicolas Channel
Bahama Bank
THE BAHAMAS
Great Exuma
Rum Cay
Long Island
Old Bahama Channel
Archipiélago de Camagüey
Acklins Islands
Little Inagua
Great Inagua
Matthew Town
LA HABANA
Matanzas
Cárdenas
Sagua la Grande
Caibarién
Santa Clara
Placetas
Cienfuegos
Sancti Spíritus
Ciego de Ávila
Trinidad
Florida
Camagüey
Vertientes
Las Tunas
Holguín
Bayamo
Manzanillo
Palma Soriano
Guantánamo
Santiago de Cuba
Pinar del Río
Golfo de Batabanó
Nueva Gerona
Isla de la Juventud
Jardines de la Reina
Windward Passage
Channel
Great Bahama
CAYMAN ISLANDS (UK)
Grand Cayman
Little Cayman
Cayman Brac
Georgetown
Ile de la Gonâve
Jérémie
Port-de
1 PINAR DEL RIO
2 HABANA
3 CIUDAD DE HABANA
4 MATANZAS
5 VILLA CLARA
6 CIENFUEGOS
7 SANCTI SPIRITUS
8 CIEGO DE ÁVILA
9 CAMAGUEY
10 LAS TUNAS
11 HOLGUIN
12 GUANTÁNAMO
13 SANTIAGO DE CUBA
14 GRANMA
15 ISLA DE LA JUVENTUD

Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/north-america/cuba-maps.html

Spanish colonists started arriving shortly after, attracted by Cuba’s flat land, moist soil, and sub-tropical climate which were considered ideal characteristics for growing sugar; despite this, the island was sidelined for many years due to Spain's early interest in searching for gold in mainland America. The first African slaves arrived between 1511 and 1513, but it was not until the late 1700s that they were imported in large numbers (Aimes, 1907, p. 6; phttp://old.antislavery.org/breakingthesilence/slave_routes/slave_routes_cuba.shtml).

Spain ruled Cuba for the next four hundred years except for a two-year period after Britain invaded the island in 1762. The Spanish colonists acquired great wealth with Cuba by turning it into an international center of commerce and trade. Thus, the seaports of Cuba, particularly Havana, its capital, developed into bustling, highly fortified urban settings (http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/projects/ThinkingFromCuba/index.php?page_ id=CubanHistory).

Following its successful invasion of Cuba, Britain ruled the island for two years. After that period, Spain negotiated with the British a deal in which the Spanish Crown would regain control of Cuba while they would receive Florida. During their brief rule, Britain made two different changes in Cuba: first, they established free trade and, second, they brought more slaves in order to increase agricultural production. Until the British made those changes, Cuba had been a society with slaves but their decisions quickly turned it into a slave society. Slaves had been brought from Hispaniola to work on the sugar plantations and the tobacco fields; despite this, Cuba had not become an agricultural society. John McWhorter (1995) points out that up until the late 1700s, the Cuban economy was mainly focused on tobacco with plantations having an average of 40 to 50 slaves, or less. (McWhorter, 1995, p. 224). Everything changed with the arrival of the British; sugar soon became the number one commodity in the island resulting in the need for a bigger work force. 'Plantations' owners in Cuba 'often created sugar plantations by converting erstwhile coffee plantations; in fact, by 1860 almost all former coffee plantations had been so converted' (p. 224).

By the late 1700s, black people (both free and slaves) constituted almost half of Cuba's population. According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database around 600,000 African slaves arrived in Cuba during the years of the slave trade.

Table 15: Slaves imported from Africa to Cuba

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1651-1675	434	336
1751-1775	330	295
1776-1800	3,265	2,975
1801-1825	144,701	131,793
1826-1850	340,502	300,654
1851-1875	195,989	163,947
Totals	685,221	600,000

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

86% of the slaves imported to Cuba during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 77% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1826 and 1875. Most of the slaves came from regions such as: Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and West Central Africa and the Indian Ocean islands. Their compiled data covers the years 1600s-1800s as shown in the following table.

Table 16: Embarking areas for slaves taken to Cuba

	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bright of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	South-East Africa and Indian Ocean Islands	Totals
1600s	0	0	0	0	336	0	0	336
1700s	0	0	0	0	2,214	0	1,056	3,270
1800s	11,239	61,861	6,832	5,678	230,733	218,726	61,325	596,394
Totals	11,239	61,861	6,832	5,678	233,283	218,726	62,381	600,000

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

99% of the total number of slaves imported to Cuba during the slave trade era arrived during the 1800s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from the Bight of Benin and Bight of Biafra (39%), West Central Africa and St. Helena (36%), and the South-East Africa and Indian Ocean Islands (10%) and Sierra Leone (10%) regions.

The increase in the slave population coupled with the success of the slave rebellion in Haiti increased the fear of slave rebellions in Cuba. In the beginning, all Cuban inhabitants, despite their social status and race, could own small sugar mills but when the mills' size increased so did the hierarchy within the classes and races. Cuba had originally planned to abolished slavery by the 1860s (due to pressure from the U.S., Spain, and Britain, who had already done so) but it did not happen until 1886 when the conditions were more profitable to do so (Scott, 1984, pp. 86-87; http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/projects/ThinkingFromCuba/index.php?page_id=Cuban History).

It is important to discuss the events leading up to the abolition of slavery. According to Scott (1984), by 1860, Cuba had become the largest producer of cane sugar in the world; there were around 1,400 sugar mills in the island, the majority of them operating by steam power. There were approximately 370,000 slaves living in Cuba at the time; most of them worked in the sugar industry. Sugar production increased quickly during the 1800s but that did not stop problems from arising. The slave trade had been deemed illegal since 1817 due to a treaty between Spain and England but that did not stop a contraband industry from flourishing during that time. Despite this situation, by the 1860s, pressure from Britain and the U.S. finally put a stop to the trade. The slave work force declined during those years due to the fact that they were not reproducing themselves so Spain resort to other measures to ensure enough laborers; indentured Chinese were imported but this did not last for long due to a treaty between Spain and China in the 1870s that put a stop to this practice. The Spanish also resorted to establish what they referred to as a "good treatment" policy to encourage slave reproduction but, even though there was an increase in slave reproduction, it was not enough to maintain the amount of slaves needed (Scott, 1984, p. 85).

By the second half of the 19th century, colonies all over the Americas started to fight for independence from Spain. In Cuba, part of the population wanted to maintain the status quo, that is, continue as a Spanish colony, others wanted to become a part of the United States, and, finally, there were those that wanted Cuba to become independent. During the 1850s, the U.S. had tried to buy Cuba from Spain, with no success. Throughout the latter part of the century, up until 1898, rebel forces unsuccessfully tried on various occasions to turn Cuba into an independent country. During the period of 1868-1878 (The 10 Years War), many U.S. companies arrived in Cuba with the intention of modernizing the island and establishing heavy economic interest there. By 1894, U.S. companies owned the majority of the sugar mills in Cuba which posed a problem since these companies ‘imported most of the sugar to the US creating the tragedy of a one-crop economy predominantly supported by one country’ (Aimes, 1907, pp. 162-1995; Scott, 1984, p. 86; http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/projects/ThinkingFromCuba/ index.php?page_id=CubanHistory). African resistance to slavery grew and became increasingly woven into the struggle for Cuban independence. The final slave ships arrived in Cuba in 1867 (Aimes, 1907, pp. 218-219; http://old.antislavery.org/

breakingthesilence/slave_routes/slave_routes_cuba.shtml). In 1898, after the bombing of the USS Maine at Havana's harbor, the US joined Cuba's fight for independence; they won the Spanish-American War and occupied the island until 1902 (http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/projects/ThinkingFromCuba/index.php?page_id=Cuban History).

In terms of language acquisition, Cuba presents a situation similar to that of other Spanish colonies in the Caribbean: no creole took hold there. As John McWhorter (1995) explains, by the time the Cuban economy turned into one focused on sugar there were many poor workers on the island’s plantations who already spoke Spanish. Their living conditions probably gave them the opportunity to acquire Spanish beyond a pidginized level. He hypothesizes that

> by the time slaves began being imported to Cuba in the large numbers that usually herald the birth of a pidgin, a large number of older slaves would already have had the opportunity to acquire a relatively full register of Spanish. As a result, these slaves would have served as crucial linguistic models for new arrivals on the new sugar plantations (McWhorter, 1995, p. 224).

John Lipski (2008) talks about the attention received by the “Afro-Caribbean Bozal Spanish”, which he sees as ‘a cover term encompassing a full gamut of second-language approximations to Spanish as used by African slaves (and perhaps their immediate descendants), particularly during the 19th century and extending into the first decades of the 20th century’. He explains that this language first appearance dates back to the 15th century in Portugal with the first written record coming from Spain in the 16th century continuing through the mid-1700s (p. 9).

Bozal Spanish appeared in Latin America for the first time around the mid 1600's, in poems and songs attributed to the African slaves living in the area. According to Lipski (2008) there is evidence of the existence of Bozal Spanish in Peru, Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia, and Guatemala but just a small amount of evidence has been found from the 1700s in Mexico and Cuba. More evidence appeared during the 1800s perhaps due to an increase in the slave trade caused by the success of the sugar economy and by the increased urbanization of coastal areas (Lipski, 2008, p. 10). According to Castellanos (1990) in Cuba this bozal speech possessed numerous creole characteristics, although a long standing, stable creole did not take hold in the island. The data gives the picture of a code in constant process of flux and with considerable internal variation, due to an advanced process of decreolization and shift toward Spanish (p. 59). Lipski (2008) states that there are a few linguistic features in Afro-Cuban bozal texts, such as the exaggerated use of subject pronouns and the elimination of common prepositions, which have been pointed out as evidence of a past condition as a creole, but linguists have explained that they are the result of an imperfect case of second language acquisition under conditions of extreme duress. Other features that have been attributed to prior creolization, such as the non-inverted questions "*¿Qué tú quieres?*" ("What do you want?"), are in reality common to all ethnic groups and are the result of imperfect acquisition or regional variation (p. 11-12). Lipski points out that the case that seems to be:

> […]the most consistent and ultimately convincing case involves the verbal system, where the emergence of an innovative paradigm involving tense/mood/aspect particles followed by an invariant verb stem (normally derived from the Spanish infinitive) are found in sometexts. The majority of bozal texts,

> including those from the Caribbean, show only thetypical range of subject-verb agreement errors found among novice speakers of Spanish (Lipski, 2008, p. 12).

The following are examples of this occurrence:

(14) *yo empeña mi ropa* `I pawned my clothes' (Fernando Ortiz, Los bailes y el teatro de los negros en el folklore de Cuba)

(15) *Yo sabe lavá, planchá, jasé dulse y cosiná* `I know how to wash, iron, prepare sweets, and cook' (Anon. Cuban villancico) (p. 12).

Lipski also points out that another feature that was frequently found in Afro Cuban bozal was 'the bare infinitive used as invariant verb, a strategy sometimes used by second-language learners of Spanish'. The following are examples of what he pointed out:

(16) *La vieja Asunción nunca jablá* `Old Asunción never speaks' (Armanda Ruíz García, Másallá de la nada)

(17) *yo también me calentá ... y cuando cuchá campana, yo me va pa la Tamisa* `I'm warmingup too ... and when I hear the bell, I'm going to Artemisa' (Miguel Cabrera Paz)

(18) *No, siñó, yo no matá ninguno, yo sentá atrá quitrín pa yegá prisa, prisa, na panadería* `No sir, I didn't kill anyone; I was sitting in the back of the carriage to get to the bakery fast' (Ildefonso Estrada y Zenea, El quitrín) (p. 13).

Lipski argues that to say that these putative particles are evidence of a prior creolization is complicated since in 'most spontaneously developed second-language varieties of Spanish, as well as in emergent Spanish child language, gravitation toward the third person singular form as invariant verb is common' (p. 14).

Lipski explains that ‘the construction *ta* + INVARIANT VERB is the only one that cannot be naturally derived from second-language Spanish characteristics’ (Ex. *yo (es)tá hablando* `I am speaking,’ *nosotros (es)tá trabajando* `we are working’) but its occurrence is rarely found in Afro-Cuban literary, folkloric, and anthropological texts, and no similarity can be found in Afro-Hispanic texts from Spain and other Latin American countries, comprising a period of nearly five hundred years. ‘If Afro-Caribbean Spanish had indeed creolized for more than a brief moment in isolated plantations or maroon villages, one would expect a more consistent creole grammar to appear in literary depictions’ (Lipski, 2008, p. 15).

Lipski states that the presence of Papiamentu in Cuba and Puerto Rico during the 1800s, due to the fact that slaves were brought from other islands in the area to work as sugar cane cutters during the sugar plantation boom, can serve as an explanation for the presence of some instances of *ta* in both islands. In Cuba the demand for workers exceeded the supply; in order to solve the problem, the Spanish government resorted to bring laborers from all over the Caribbean. For almost two hundred years Curaçao (legally and illegally) supplied slaves to Cuba, and in a much smaller scale, to Puerto Rico. This exchange between Curaçao and Cuba added Papiamentu, which was already a well-established creole, to the milieu of languages in Cuba (p. 18). According to Lipski

> both demographic and textual evidence suggests that of all the languages spoken in the 19th century Caribbean, Papiamentu made the greatest impact on Afro-Hispanic language in Cuba and possibly also Puerto Rico (Granda 1973; Lipski 1993; Alvarez Nazario 1970, 1972, 1974; Vicente Rosalía 1992)’. The appearance of possibly Papiamentu elements in Afro-Cuban and Afro-Puerto Rican literature

> does not occur until the 1830s, and most elements appear in the second half of the 19th century, thus coinciding with the most intensive phase of the last wave of slave and free labor importation (p. 18-19).

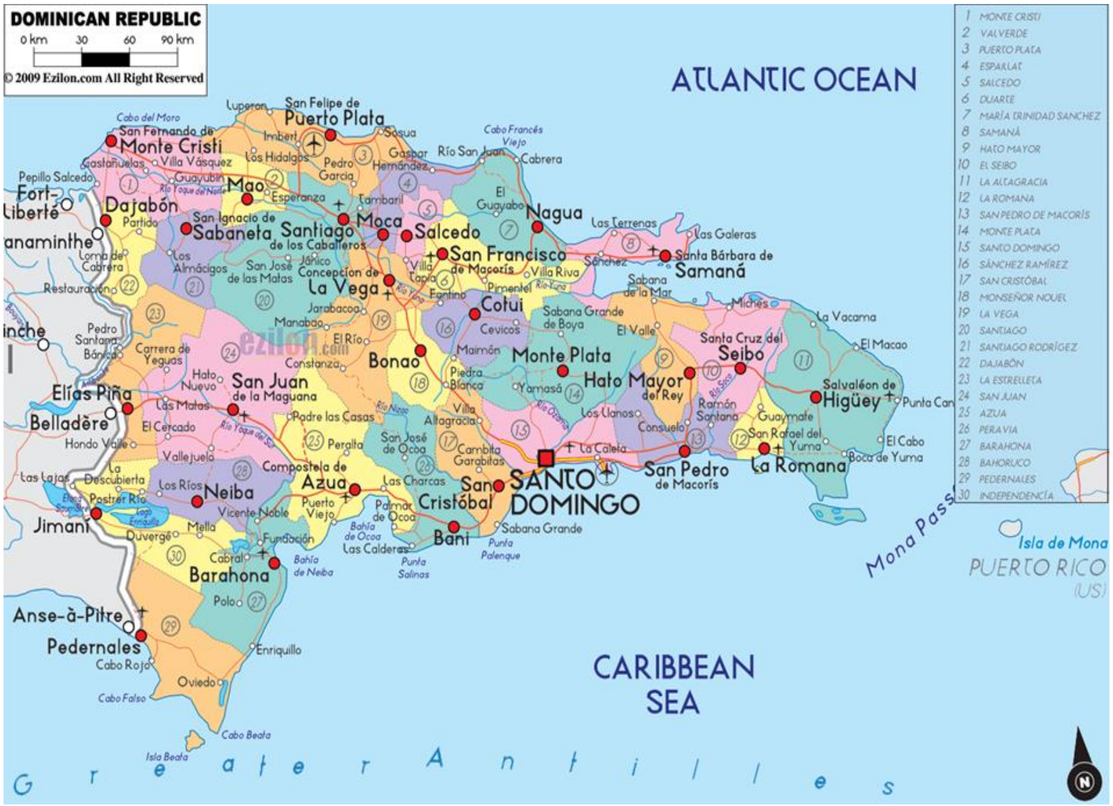
Lipski argues that the reason for the presence of creole-like features in Afro-Caribbean Spanish is the influence of already established creole languages, such as Papiamentu; no matter their linguistic background these creoles shared many similarities ‘due both to universal aspects of creolization, and to commonly recurring patterns in key groups of West African and European languages’. He states that there is no evidence that Caribbean bozal Spanish was ever a creole.

> 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. In other words, there is no evidence that Caribbean bozal Spanish was ever a stable creole—neither derived from Afro-Portuguese progenitors nor spontaneously arising in the Antilles—but rather a constantly replenished gamut of second language approximations to Spanish. In a few instances creole- like features not likely to have arisen from imperfect acquisition of Spanish have been cited, but given the facts accumulated to date, contact with Papiamentu and other already established creole languages introduced into the Spanish Caribbean during the 19th century is the most likely source (Lipski, 2008, p. 22-23).

4.3 Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is located in the eastern part of the island Hispaniola (Little Spain); it shares the island with Haiti.

Map 11: Dominican Republic


DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
0 km 30 60 90 km
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ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
Greater Antilles
Mona Passage
Isla de Mona
PUERTO RICO (US)
Puerto Plata
Monte Cristi
Dajabón
Mao
Sabaneta
Santiago
Moca
Salcedo
Nagua
San Francisco de Macorís
Samaná
La Vega
Cotui
Bonao
Monte Plata
Hato Mayor
Seibo
Higüey
San Juan
Elías Piña
Neiba
Azua
San Cristóbal
Baní
SANTO DOMINGO
San Pedro de Macorís
La Romana
Jimaní
Barahona
Pedernales
1 MONTE CRISTI
2 VALVERDE
3 PUERTO PLATA
4 ESPAILLAT
5 SALCEDO
6 DUARTE
7 MARÍA TRINIDAD SANCHEZ
8 SAMANÁ
9 HATO MAYOR
10 EL SEIBO
11 LA ALTAGRACIA
12 LA ROMANA
13 SAN PEDRO DE MACORÍS
14 MONTE PLATA
15 SANTO DOMINGO
16 SÁNCHEZ RAMÍREZ
17 SAN CRISTÓBAL
18 MONSEÑOR NOUEL
19 LA VEGA
20 SANTIAGO
21 SANTIAGO RODRÍGEZ
22 DAJABÓN
23 LA ESTRELLETA
24 SAN JUAN
25 AZUA
26 PERAVIA
27 BARAHONA
28 BAHORUCO
29 PEDERNALES
30 INDEPENDENCÍA

Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/north-america/dominican-republic-maps.html

There are different accounts as to where the original inhabitants of Hispaniola came from. According to data compiled in the World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, the first inhabitants of the island of Hispaniola were the Taínos, Arawak-speaking people who arrived from the Belize and the Yucatan peninsula approximately between the years 6000 and 4000 B.C. (http://www.refworld.org/docid/4954ce1923.html). According to the book *Historia Dominicana: desde los Aborígenes* *hasta la Guerra de Abril*, the first people to populate the island were indeed the Arawaks but in this case they arrived from Puerto Rico around the year 600 A.D. (Sención, 2010, p. 14). Despite these different accounts, it is widely known that the original indigenous names for the island was Quisqueya (or Kiskeya). It was renamed La Isla Española (The Spanish Island) by Christopher Columbus when he first arrived in 1492. This later evolved into the name Hispaniola.

The existence of gold mines and the presence of indigenous Tainos in the area led Spain to establish a small settlement in what they named 'Isabella' on the north coast of the island, in 1493. The Spaniards already had slaves (most of them from North Africa) whom they brought to the Dominican Republic but most of them escaped to the mountains and the settlement was abandoned. The Spaniards then established, in 1496, what became known as the first European colony in the Western Hemisphere; the city of Santo Domingo became the Spanish administrative capital of the Americas and the earliest site of the royal treasury. The first settlers there enslaved many of the indigenous Taino people and put them to work in the gold mines; the Spaniards treated the Tainos with great brutality and they brought diseases that together with the abuse helped to wipe out a population of around one million in a period of 50 years. As a result, there was a shortage of laborers which led Governor Nicolás de Ovando to order the first importation of African slaves into the Americas in 1501. African slaves were essential in building Santo Domingo. They built the Americas oldest Cathedral, its first nunnery, first hospital and the Alcazar ('Columbus Palace', built by his son Diego). They also built a wall in the 1540s to defend the city from pirates (Andujar, 2012, n.p.).

In 1510, the first sizeable shipment of slaves, 250 Black “Ladinos” (who were born in Spain and were converted to Christianity), arrived from Spain. This was followed by the arrival of approximately 5000 African slaves in 1511. Sugar cane was introduced from the Canary Islands, and the first sugar mill in the New World was established on Hispaniola in 1516. The start of a sugar economy led to a sharp increase in the importation of Africans. The Spaniards treated the African slaves with the same kind of brutality they used with the Tainos (Andujar, 2012; http://old.antislavery.org/breaking thesilence/slave_routes/slave_ routes_dominicanrepublic.shtml).

During its first 20 years of operation (1516-1536), around 10,000 Africans slaves arrived in the port of Santo Domingo. European conquerors and explorers also passed through that port; Hernan Cortes set off sail from there in a mission to invade and conquer Mexico in 1519 where he eventually discovered gold and silver. Beginning in the 1520s, the Spanish settlers started to leave the island due to the gold rush prompted by his discovery. This exodus left only a few thousands settlers who used their slaves to raise livestock and supply passing ships. It can be said that the Spanish exodus was sped up by several instances of rebellion among the slave population. The first of these rebellions took place in 1521 when 20 slaves staged a revolt on a sugar plantation 100 kms North West of Santo Domingo. The slave population continued to rebel against their oppressed state by staging many uprisings (Sención, 2010, p. 52; http://old.antislavery. org/breakingthe silence/slave_routes/slave_routes_dominicanrepublic.shtml).

After the massive Spanish exodus from Santo Domingo to Mexico, the city of Havana in Cuba took over as the main port in the Caribbean. The situation in Santo Domingo got worse due to the lack of ships to transfer its perishable cargoes of sugar which hurt the sugar industry immensely; slavery did not increase either. Buccaneers started to invade the western part of the island (what is now Haiti) and they were soon followed by French colonists, which eventually forced Spain to turn control of the area to France in 1697. Under French control, the renamed Saint Domingue, became the world’s largest producer of sugar, while the area controlled by Spain (what is now the Dominican Republic) continued to stagnate. France and Spain treated their colonies very differently. France saw Saint Domingue as an essential part of the country’s economy; consequently, African slaves were worked to exhaustion in order to fulfill the demand for sugar. On the other hand, Spain did not consider Santo Domingo important for their economy to the extent that Spanish law allowed slaves to purchase their own freedom, and very often that of their families', for a relatively small sum of money; therefore, the amount of freed men in Spanish colonies was higher than in colonies controlled by other countries. The number was particularly high in the Dominican Republic since the island never became a plantation society. The differences between the Dominican Republic and what is known today as Haiti left a legacy that still affects the population in both countries. (Sención, 2010, pp. 53-75; http://old. antislavery.org/breakingthesilence/slave_routes/slave_ routes_dominicanrepublic.shtml).

Bn 1790, the Domincan Republic had a population of 125,000, with 40,000 white settlers, 25,000 black freemen, and 60,000 slaves, while in St. Domingue African slaves constituted 80% of the total population. The sugar industry grew during the 1700s, but by the time of the slave revolt in Saint Domingue in 1791, it was almost finished for good. Haitian settlers invaded the Dominican Republic in 1801, liberated approximately 40,000 slaves; as a result, most of the slave owners left the island and established in Cuba and

Puerto Rico. The Spaniards regained control of the island in 1809 and re-established slavery. They also started to send expeditions to Haiti which had just gained its independence. In 1821, the Haitians invaded again, liberating all the slaves; the Dominican Republic finally became independent in 1844 (Sención, 2010, pp. 89-124; http:// old.antislavery.org/breakingthesilence/slave_routes/slave_routes_dominican republic.shtml).

According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database the total number of African slaves imported by Spain to the Dominican Republic during the 1600s was approximately 9,404. There are no numbers available in the database after that time period.

Table 17: Slaves imported from Africa to the Dominican Republic

Years	Embarked	Disembarked
1601-1625	7,932	5,552
1626-1650	4,210	2,985
1651-1675	1,156	867
Totals	13,705	9,404

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

67% of the slaves imported to the Dominican Republic during the Slave trade era disembarked in the island. 59% of the total number of slaves that disembarked arrived between 1600 and 1625. The database shows that most African slaves were imported from regions such as: Senegambia, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, West-Central Africa and St. Helena, and Southeast Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands. The following table shows the number of people imported from each African area.

Table 18: Embarking areas for slaves taken to the Dominican Republic

	Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin/ Bright of Biafra	West Central Africa and St. Helena	South-East Africa and Indian Ocean Islands	Totals
1600s	2,234	2	345	6,812	11	9,404
Totals	2,234	2	345	6,812	11	9,404

Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

9,404 slaves arrived to Puerto Rico during the 1600s. The largest quantities of slaves arrived from West Central Africa and St. Helena (72%) and Senegambia and Off-shore Atlantic (24%).

There is not a lot of information available regarding languages other than Spanish in the Dominican Republic. What is known with a considerable amount of certainty is that no creole language developed there. As in Puerto Rico and Cuba, there are indigenous and African influences in the Spanish language spoken there but nothing that could even be remotely related to a creole. John McWhorter (2000) hypothesizes that there was probably a ‘pidginized register of Spanish’ in the Dominican Republic during the 1500s but it never achieved creole status, disappearing completely. He explains that:

> […]there were 40 sugar plantations there, each making use of a hundred or more slaves brought from Africa (Pattee 1967:46). However, these were mostly shut down as the Spanish restricted their market in favor of sugar from the continent and the Canary Islands; the few that remained only supplied the island itself. Any trace of the Spanish-based pidgin which probably emerged from this interaction has since vanished completely. Only in 1875 was there a rebirth of the sugar

> plantation system; but by this time, the Spanish had ceased importing African slaves, and the plantations were worked by rural peasants (Bell 1981:304-305) (p. 224-225).

According to Lipski (2008), despite what certain literary and folkloric texts may indicate, ‘there is little likelihood that Spanish ever creolized across a wide territorial expanse in the Caribbean’ (p. 556). A more plausible explanation for the presence of creole-like characteristics in ‘early Afro-Caribbean Spanish, as well as contemporary vernacular varieties’, is the influence of already established creole languages, which in some way or another helped form the ‘linguistic backbone’ of the Caribbean (p. 556).

Chapter 5: Data Analysis, Conclusions, and Final Commentary

5.1 Data Analysis

In the previous chapters of this dissertation, I have covered an array of topics related to the Atlantic Slave Trade era in order to shed some light on the claim that no Spanish-lexifier creole languages emerged in the countries of the Greater Caribbean dominated by Spain during that period in contrast to countries dominated by England where English-lexifier creole languages developed and are still in use to this day. The main purpose of this study is to show that this contrast is closely related to the socioeconomic factors present at the time in each of the territories considered. Apart from the Atlantic Slave Trade era, other issues explored were: the plantation era and its precursor, the *sociétés d'habitation* era, and the socioeconomic factors that may have had an influence in the development of creole languages in the Caribbean.

At the onset of Chapter 1 of this dissertation, I laid out the historical-comparative research methodology to be used for my study; it involved an analysis of the historical background and data concerning the slave trade on the British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, Suriname, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic in order to uncover the reasons why creoles developed in colonies once controlled by England, yet not in those controlled by Spain. I discussed what creole languages are, how they are categorized, as well as their history and evolution. I also discussed the historical background of the Greater Caribbean in order to shed some light on how the slave trade developed in the area and how it influenced the linguistic makeup of the countries selected for analysis in this dissertation.

In Chapter 2, I addressed existing theories of language contact and those concerning the lack of Spanish Creoles in the Caribbean islands. I specifically focused in on the work done by linguists Sarah G. Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, John McWhorter, and John M. Lipski as well as those theories concerning the possible existence of Spanish-lexifier creoles in the Greater Caribbean, namely the cases of Palenquero, Yungueño, and on the research done by John McWhorter on Choco (Colombia), Chota (Ecuador), and Veracruz (Mexico).

In Chapter 3, the socio-historical background of the British Leeward islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname was presented, where creole languages developed during the time of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Special emphasis was given to the situation in each of those countries before and after the arrival of the English colonists who introduced the slave trade there. Some of the topics that I covered were: the slave trade and its economic consequences, the ethnic background of the slaves brought to each island, the conditions in which they lived, and how they were treated by their owners and society in general. I also discussed the birth of creole languages in each territory and how they developed.

In Chapter 4, I included in my analysis the socio-historical background of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic where it seems clear that no creole languages developed during the time of the Atlantic Slave Trade. I discussed the situation in each of the countries before and after the arrival of the Spanish colonists who brought the slave trade there. Among the topics covered were: the slave trade, its economic consequences, the ethnic background of the slaves brought to each island, the conditions in which they lived, and how their owners and society, in general, treated them.

From the very beginning of this dissertation, I have posited a series of questions regarding the Atlantic Slave Trade and its influence on the presence or absence of creole languages in the Caribbean. Those questions were as follows:

1. What role did the socioeconomic factors present in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era have in the emergence or absence of creole languages in the colonies dominated by Britain (the British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname) and those dominated by Spain (Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic)?
2. Did the sociolinguistic background of the slaves brought to the British and Spanish colonies influence whether a creole developed or not?
3. Did Spanish-lexifier creoles exist in the area during the Atlantic Slave Trade era?
4. Did Spanish-lexifier creoles develop in other areas of the Greater Caribbean and Latin America?

As I have explained in the first chapter of this study, I have been following a historical comparative research approach which focuses “either on one or more cases over time (the historical part) or on more than one nation or society at one point in time (the comparative part)” (Esterberg, 2002, p. 129). In this type of research, a small number of cases (British and Spanish colonies during the Atlantic Slave Trade era, for the purpose of this study) is compared as the objective is to “understand the cases in depth, as well as compare their similarities and differences” (p. 129). Important research work carried out by Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007) regarding the conditions necessary for Creoles to develop is presented. These authors argue that the “social and economic factors which constituted key parts of the matrix within which power relations were realized in the colonies (that is, the political economy of each colonial regime) played a significant role in Creole genesis" (p. 227). They examine how the differences in the political economies of the European colonial powers present in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era, influenced the linguistic outcome in their colonies. They specifically discuss the difference between the Spanish colonial system and the systems imposed by England, The Netherlands, France, and Portugal in their respective colonies in order to prove their hypothesis regarding how the political economy is closely related to the fact that "Spanish-lexifier Creoles are understood as being relatively rare in the America" (p. 227). To explain their analysis they have develop a typology of colonization and creolization, covering a wide array of political, economic, and ideological/ cultural/ linguistic parameters; this model is part of what they have called the "Afro-Caribbean Creolization Matrix" which, following a model first proposed by Alleyne (1971), can be used to "describe the Afro-Caribbean Creolization Space that typifies a particular Caribbean island society at a particular time in its history," as, for example, during the Atlantic Slave Trade era. I will make references to this model throughout my analysis.

Our initial concern in this chapter is that which addresses the role played by the socioeconomic factors present in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era in the emergence or absence of creole languages in the colonies dominated by Britain (the British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname) and those dominated by Spain (Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic). These socioeconomic factors are: (1) the plantation society vs. its precursor, the "habitation" society, (2) sugar vs. other crops or mining, (3) proportion of African slaves, African-descended slaves, freed slaves, among others, in the total population, (4) where slaves outnumbered Europeans, when this occurred, (5) amount of contact slaves had with the European colonists, (6) European powers' attitudes toward their colonies, (7) whether slaves were loaned to other islands, (8) living conditions of the slaves and how they were treated by their owners, (9) slaves' conversion to Christianity and (10) whether or not they were taught a European language by their owners. My hypothesis is that these are the social factors critical to whether or not creole languages developed in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era.

In order to examine evidence for my hypothesis, I will start by discussing the situation in the Caribbean during the "habitation" society vs. the plantation society. According to Marta Viada Bellido de Luna and Nicholas Faraclas (2012), these "habitation" societies or *société d'habitation*, were characterized by 'homesteads' (small holdings with Indigenous and/or African slaves) (p. 87) in which the slave owner, his family, and their slaves lived under the same roof or in close proximity and in which it was highly plausible that the slaves would have had sufficient access to speakers of the lexifier language such that they would have acquired a second-language version of it (Singler, 2008, p. 334). The plantation society, or *société de plantation,* was characterized by an increase in the number of African slaves vs. a decrease in the number of Europeans and a decrease in the amount of contact between the Africans and the Europeans; slaves did not live in the household anymore since they had their own quarters and lived their lives apart from the Europeans. Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz's research supports the argument that in Spanish colonies there was more interaction between the African slaves and other members of the society than in English colonies; their research showsthat African influences were “dispersed but broad” compared to English colonies where they were “concentrated but narrow.” Also, they have found that, in Spanish colonies, creolization of the entire culture took place while in English colonies creoles developed as “markers of difference/resistance” (Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz, 2007, p. 235).

In some Caribbean colonies the “habitation” society started after Columbus’s arrival; depending on the country, this period extended until the end of the 1700s and it was ‘typified by intimate contact between Indigenous, African, and European peoples, resulting in “racial and cultural mixing” (Viada Bellido de Luna and Faraclas, 2012, p. 27). This fact has been confirmed by Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007, p. 235); their typology of colonization and creolization shows that interracial contact was very common in Spanish colonies while in the English colonies there was a “strong tendency to avoid interracial contact.” They point out that most slaves in the English colonies worked as field hands on large plantations, while in the Spanish colonies most slaves were domestic workers or craftspeople (p. 236); those who worked in the fields often did so alongside their owners (p. 240).

During the course of this study, I have found that the “habitation” period varied from colony to colony. In the case of the British Leeward Islands, the English settlers first arrived in St. Kitts and Nevis in 1624 and 1628, respectively. Upon their arrival, they cleared the land and established small farms, which they worked with their families and indentured servants that they had brought for that purpose (see Chapter 3). During this “habitation” period the English settlers produced tobacco, ginger, indigo, and most of their own food (Dyde, 2006). Things changed around 1640 when they started to grow sugar which became their most successful enterprise thanks to St. Kitts and Nevis' fertile soils and tropical climate. By 1655 sugar was the most important export crop for both islands. During this plantation era, wealthy landowners bought small farms that they merged and turned into large plantations (Dyde, 2006). Due to the success of sugar production, the English settlers were in need of greater manpower in order to work the plantations; consequently, they imported African slaves for that purpose.

In Chapter 3 of this study, I stated that Montserrat does not have a very well documented early history. We do know that in 1632, Irish indentured servants were imported to establish a settlement on the island. In the beginning, these workers grew tobacco and indigo, followed later by cotton and sugar. As the sugar production increased leading to the establishment of bigger holdings and, consequently, the need for more workers, the "habitation" society turned into a plantation society. During the 1660s, the English settlers began importing large numbers of African slaves to work on the plantations; in 1684, sugar became, for the first time, the most exported crop in Montserrat (see Chapter 3). Tobacco was produced until the end of the 1600s; by the early 1700s, the transformation into a sugar economy was complete.

The case of Anguilla is different from the rest of the Leeward Islands since the sugar industry in Anguilla started in 1725 (much later than in the rest of the islands), it only lasted for fifty years, and there was no "habitation" period and the plantation era was not successful. English settlers arrived from St Kitts in 1650 and immediately established plantations. Despite attacks from France, they remained in control of the island. They imported African slaves to work on the plantations. For a long time, the settlers tried to grow a variety of crops that included sugar, cotton, indigo, fustic, and mahogany. They were not successful since the dry conditions of the island made the plantation economy difficult to sustain (Dyde, 2006).

Antigua and Barbuda were the last of the British Leeward Islands to become involved in the slave trade. Antigua was the first to be colonized by Britain and the only one used for the production of agricultural exports. The first crops produced were tobacco, indigo, and ginger. This “habitation” period ended in 1684 with the arrival of Sir Christopher Codrington who established the first sugar plantation. Just four years later, half of Antigua's population consisted of slaves imported from Africa to work on the plantations (Kras, 2008, pp. 24-25). Antigua became one of the most profitable of Britain's colonies in the Caribbean with approximately 175 large sugar plantations by the mid 1700’s.

Barbados shares a similarity with St. Kitts and Nevis and Montserrat since the first workers the English settlers imported to work on the island were European indentured servants. During this “habitation” period that started in 1627 the settlers grew tobacco and cotton; by the 1640s, they started growing sugar. The evolution to a plantation society based on sugar production opened the door for large sugar plantations to establish on the island and dominate the economy.

Jamaica has remained different from the rest of the British Caribbean since it was first colonized by Spain, and England subsequently gained control of the island in 1655. The English settlers rapidly established themselves in Jamaica and started to grow tobacco, indigo, and cocoa; this “habitation” period was short-lived since the settlers soon began to grow sugar. By 1662 there were 70 sugar plantations in Jamaica and by the 1770s the number had increased to 680. By the early 1800s the island became the world's leading producer of sugar. During this plantation era many slaves were imported to the island where they became an essential part of the sugar industry.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Suriname is different from the other Caribbean colonies mentioned in this study because despite being considered as part of the Greater Caribbean, it is located in South America and because even though it was first colonized by England, it ended up being a Dutch colony. In 1651, English emigrants settled in the country (Emmer, 2006); most of these settlers had been indentured servants that were looking for land to establish their own plantations (Holm, 1994, p. 434). During this “habitation” period Indigenous and African slaves worked on approximately fifty small sugar plantations. This period came to an end in 1667 when the Dutch gained control of Suriname and turned it into a plantation society. This proved to be so successful that it became the main destination for the Dutch slave trade.

In the Spanish Caribbean the plantation economy started much later than that of the British Caribbean. During their first decades in Puerto Rico, Spanish colonists used Indigenous people, the “Tainos”, to work in the gold mines they had discovered upon their arrival in the 1500s; the Spaniards also used the Tainos in agriculture. The economy during this “habitation” period was basically based on mining, sustainable agriculture, and cattle. This period extended until the late 1700s when the island started producing sugar. The Spaniards had imported African slaves during the “habitation” period but the evolution to a sugar economy required a constant supply of workers; this plantation society depended on the importation of slaves to be used as manpower (Bowman, 2002, p. 2). By the 1800s Puerto Rico had become a successful slave sugar society.

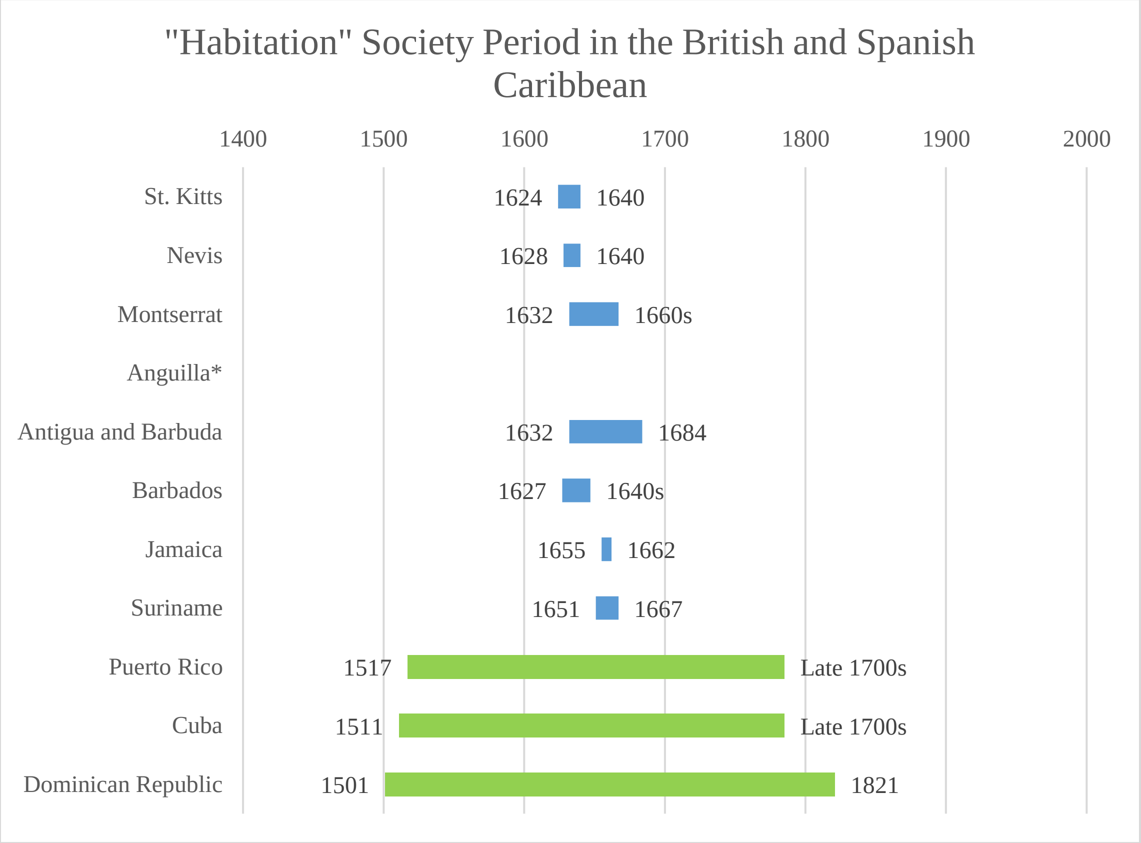
The case of Cuba is different from that of Puerto Rico, for it did not become an agricultural society until the late 1700s. Spanish colonists arrived in the early 1500s and brought slaves to work on the tobacco, coffee, and sugar fields but never in large quantities. During this “habitation” period the Cuban economy was mainly focused on tobacco with plantations having an average of 40 to 50 slaves, or fewer. (McWhorter, 1995, p. 224). England took control of the island for two years (1762-1764); during that time, the colonists brought more slaves in order to increase agricultural production. As a result, Cuba turned into a plantation society, and sugar became the number one crop produced in the island resulting in the need for a bigger work force. By 1860, following the Haitian Revolution, Cuba had become the largest producer of sugar in the world.

The case of the Dominican Republic is different from that of Puerto Rico and Cuba since it never became a plantation society. The Spanish settlers (who arrived there around 1500) enslaved many of the Indigenous Taino people and put them to work in the gold mines. During this “habitation” period, they imported African slaves whom they used in construction. In 1516 they introduced sugar but, despite importing slaves to increase the work force, the industry failed. The discovery of gold and silver in Mexico, which led many settlers to leave the island, made matters worse. This exodus left only a few thousands settlers who used their slaves to raise livestock and supply passing ships. During the 1700s the Spaniards attempted to introduce sugar again in the island with little success. The Dominican Republic never transitioned from the “habitation” period into a plantation society.

The model of typology of colonization and creolization proposed by Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007) confirms that in the colonies controlled by

Spain, big sugar production was established just before the 19th century but never in the same scope as in the colonies controlled by England where big sugar production started well before the 18th century. The model also shows that in the Spanish colonies, plantations were smaller, the agriculture was less labor-intensive and less capital-intensive, and the switch to corporate financing happened much later than in the English colonies.

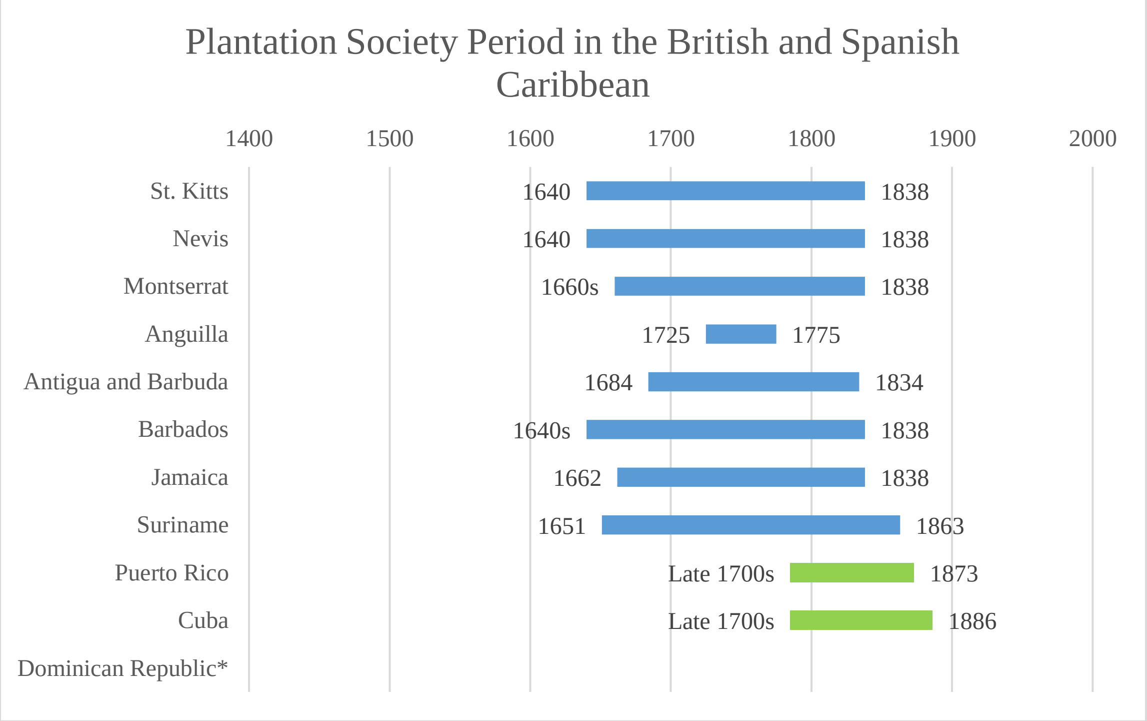
Figure 2: “Habitation” Society Period



*Note: Anguilla did not go through a “habitation” period

Figures 2 and 3 show that the “habitation” period in the British Caribbean lasted for no more than fifty-two years whereas in the Spanish Caribbean it lasted for over two centuries. The charts also show that in the British colonies the plantation period started approximately a hundred years before the Spanish colonies and it extended for nearly two hundred years whereas in the Spanish colonies the plantation era lasted approximately a hundred years.

Figure 3: Plantation Society Period



*Note: The Dominican Republic never became a plantation society

The second socioeconomic factor regarding the Caribbean colonies that concerns our discussion is the production of sugar vs. other crops or mining. Both the British and the Spanish colonies produced sugar in varying degrees but, with the exception of Suriname, they also grew other crops. In the case of the British colonies, the British Leeward Islands (except for Anguilla which turned out to be problematic due to its dry climate) grew tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic, and mahogany; Barbados grew tobacco and cotton; and Jamaica grew tobacco, indigo, and cocoa. Regarding mining, and according to data compiled for this study, only Cuba and Puerto Rico had gold deposits that prompted their European settlers to get involved in that enterprise. As pointed out by

Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007), the British and the Spanish settlers gave different degrees of importance to sugar production. The British favored large-scale sugar production that required private corporate financing (usually based in the metropolis) and relied heavily on slave labor while the Spanish discouraged large-scale sugar production in favor of "more settler- and smallholder-based' productions and in favor of 'more appealing and immediately profitable economic activities such as mining and farming" (Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007, p. 240). The data also shows that in most of the colonies the settlers started using African slaves prior to getting involved in the sugar industry, but the number of slaves imported increased considerably after the transition to said economy. According to data found on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, the number of African slaves imported to the British and Spanish Caribbean colonies during the years of the Atlantic Slave Trade era was approximately 2,566,236. The following table shows that in the British colonies the largest number of slaves arrived during the 1600s and the 1700s while in the Spanish colonies the largest number arrived during the 1800s.

Table 19: Slaves imported to the British and Spanish Caribbean during the Slave Trade era

Years	St. Kitts	Montserrat	Antigua	Barbados	Jamaica	Suriname	Puerto Rico	Cuba	Dominican Republic	Totals
1600s	1,958	21,979	5,985	117,675	88,784	34,009	0	336	9,404	280,130
1700s	124,642	24,309	117,429	273,660	838,129	214,489	2,822	3,270	0	1,598,750
1800s	2,678	450	1,550	6,369	67,611	1,818	10,486	596,394	0	687,356
Totals	129,278	46,739	124,964	457,704	994,525	250,316	13,308	600,000	9,404	2,566,236

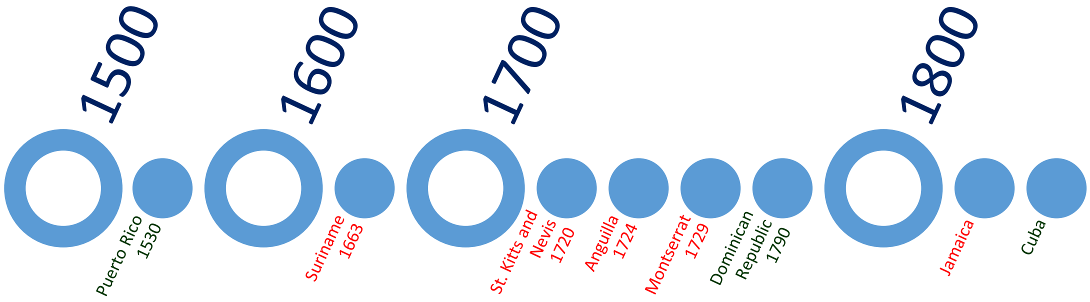
Source: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

The third socioeconomic factor to be considered is the proportion of African slaves, African-descended slaves, freed slaves, and European settlers in the total population and how did that proportion changed over the course of the Atlantic Slave Trade era. Unfortunately, as noted above, a full account of these demographics are not available for every country included in this study. First, we will take a look at the British Caribbean. For the British Leeward Islands there are records for St. Kitts, Montserrat, and Anguilla only. By 1680, St. Kitts was inhabited by around 1,500 English settlers and an equal number of African slaves. By 1720, these numbers had grown to 2,740 English settlers and 7,321 slaves. From the 1730s there was no increase in the English population; by 1780, there were 3,000 English settlers and about 35,000 slaves (Holm, 1994, p. 451). In the case of Montserrat, by 1678 its population was 992 Africans and people of African descent and 2,682 Europeans and people of European descent. By I729, there were 5,855 Africans and 1,143 Europeans. The number of Africans and people of African descent had almost tripled, while the European population had declined by almost 40 percent. In Anguilla by 1724, there were 360 whites and 900 slaves (Mitchell, 2009, p. 3). In Barbados, according to Rickford and Handler, at some point the African slaves outnumbered the Europeans, and there were 70,000 slaves compared to 17,000 settlers, with new slaves were constantly arriving. By the beginning of the 1800s, the number of African slaves and their descendants living in Jamaica exceeded the number of English settlers; there were around 320,000 slaves and 19,000 whites (Lalla and D’Costa, 1990, p. 22). In the case of Suriname, by 1663 there were 3,000 African slaves and 1,500 Europeans and people of European descent living on the country (Emmer, 2006, pp. 100-113).

Regarding the Spanish Caribbean, according to Rodriguez-Silva (2012), by 1530 the African slaves and the Tainos outnumbered the colonists in Puerto Rico; according to a 1530 census, there were 2,281 African slaves, 1,545 Tainos, and only 327 colonizers. The slave population had reached 15,000 in 1565, but by the end of the century, it dropped to between 5,000 and 6,000 (p. 21). It was not until the 1800s that the slave population showed a considerable increase although it did not surpass the number of Spanish settlers. Between 1812 and 1820 the total slave population increased from 4,194 to 21,730. The 1830 Royal census of Puerto Rico established that the island's population had reached 323, 838 people: 11% of the population were slaves, 35% were free blacks and mulattos, and 54% were white. It is believed that the slave population reached its highest point in 1845 with 51,265 slaves (Díaz Soler, 2000, p. 111-112). In Cuba there were 370,000 slaves by 1860 (Scott, 1984, p. 85). In the case of the Dominican Republic, by 1790, there were 40,000 white settlers, 25,000 black freemen, and 60,000 slaves living on the island.

The fourth socioeconomic factor is closely related to the previous one: in the colonies where slaves outnumbered Europeans, when did this occur? Regarding the British Caribbean, in St. Kitts the African slaves outnumbered the European settlers by 1720; in Montserrat by 1729; in Anguilla by 1724; in Jamaica by the beginning of the 1800's; and in Suriname by 1663. For Barbados and Antigua and Barbuda there is no specific date available. Regarding the Spanish Caribbean, in Puerto Rico the slaves outnumbered the Spanish settlers during the early months of 1530; however, from that point forward, the slave population declined and it never again surpassed the settlers' population. In the case of Cuba, the slave population outnumbered the Spanish population in the 1800’s and in the case of the Dominican Republic, the date was 1790. The following timeline shows the order in which the African slaves outnumbered the European settlers in the aforementioned colonies. The British colonies are identified in red and the Spanish colonies are identified in green.

Figure 4: Years when slaves outnumbered the European settlers in the Caribbean colonies



The fifth socioeconomic factor that I will consider deals with the amount of contact slaves had with the European colonists. With regard to the British Caribbean, a survey of research conducted by historians and linguists such as Galarza (2011), Cassidy (1980, 1982), Holm (1994), Handler and Lange (1978) and Rickford and Handler (1994), and presented in Chapter 3 of this study, supports the conclusion that after the colonies controlled by England became plantation societies, slaves were kept segregated from their owners and other settlers. These slaves lived on plantations in close-knit slave communities; consequently, they had almost no contact with English native speakers. This is further confirmed by Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz, whose model of typology of colonization and creolization show “owners remote or absentee” and, as I mentioned earlier, a “strong tendency to avoid interracial contact” (2007, p. 235).

Regarding the Spanish Caribbean, evidence from historians and linguists such as Díaz Soler (2000), Andújar (2012), Sención (2010), Martínez (2007), and McWhorter (1995), and presented at the beginning of this chapter, has shown that most slaves lived with their families, or other slaves, on their master's land, where they received a small piece of land so they could grow crops for their own consumption. No evidence could be found showing that slaves were kept segregated from their owners and other settlers. Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz indicate that Spanish owners maintained personal relations with their slaves (they even worked side by side in the fields) and interracial contact was common (2007, p. 235).

The sixth socioeconomic factor is the European powers’ attitudes toward their colonies. It is safe to say that both England and Spain colonized the Caribbean for financial reasons. According to Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz, for England colonization was basically a “capitalist economic enterprise” while for Spain colonization did not only have economic purposes but it was also a “civilizing” mission in which the settlers wanted to “integrate the peoples whom they conquered into Spanish and Catholic ‘civilization’” (p. 242). Contrary to Spain, England did not show great interest in spreading its language, culture, and religion to the people in their colonies, especially at the beginning of the Atlantic Slave Trade era (p. 243). In the British Caribbean the settlers established small holdings that, in most cases, were converted into big plantations as sugar production turned out to be a successful enterprise. Most of the colonies were used for agricultural purposes and, due to the scale of sugar production, a large workforce was needed so African slaves were imported for those purposes (Dyde, 2006).

The evidence outlined above shows that attitudes regarding race and slavery were significantly different between the British and the Spanish colonists. When Spain became involved in the Atlantic Slave Trade, Spaniards were already familiar with African people, their civilizations, and slavery, since African people had ruled most of the Iberian Peninsula. The Spanish arrived in the Caribbean carrying with them a set of ideologies and attitudes regarding race and slavery that were deeply rooted in their own experiences as Mediterranean people. The variety of physical features that characterized the Spanish and the fact that most of them had enslaved other people or had been enslaved themselves made racial categorization a more flexible process. Since the Spanish had become familiar with slavery and pre-capitalist modes of production in the years leading up to the Atlantic Slave trade era, their ideas regarding slavery “were not bound to a particular mode of production, a particular ‘level’ of civilization/humanity, or a particular race of people” (Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz, 2007, p. 244).

Contrary to Spain, England had almost no prior knowledge of African people, civilizations, and slavery. The capitalist sugar production enterprise the British carried out in the Caribbean required “a type of slavery which was unprecedented in history in terms of its rigidity, lack of possibility of manumission, association with a particular ‘level’ of civilization/ humanity, and dependence on a binary, inflexible, and precise determination of race” (p. 244). Aside from marriage and birth to a European or Euro-Caribbean father, in the Spanish colonies there were other ways by which slaves could obtain a great degree of freedom contrary to the situation in the British colonies where slavery was very restrictive (p. 244).

The seventh socioeconomic factor is that which is related to whether the slaves in both the British and Spanish Caribbean were loaned to other islands. The data gathered for the purpose of this study shows that only in Anguilla were the slaves loaned to other colonies. According to Mitchell, this was done so the slaves could earn "their keep and to produce income for their impoverished white and colored Anguillian masters." After their service ended, they returned to Anguilla with enough money to buy their freedom and, sometimes, that of their families. Many slaves were able to buy plantations and estates that belonged to their previous owners for very little money since they had lost their value due to the lack of slaves to work the land (2009, pp. 26-27).

The living conditions of the slaves and how they were treated by their owners constitute the eighth socioeconomic factor. A review of the data gathered shows that in the British colonies, slavery was a brutal and violent system in which the African slaves had few or no opportunities to achieve a better life and they had to deal with discrimination and harsh treatment at the hands of their enslavers on a daily basis. They resisted this system by working slowly, breaking machinery, stealing anything they could in order to stay alive, and by taking part in uprisings. Their punishment included whippings, severing of limbs, and even death by various means of torture. Consequently, the mortality rate among the slave population was inordinately high, resulting in a continuous influx of new slaves (Arends, 2002, pp. 115–116). Regarding the British Caribbean, the situation did not improve after slavery was abolished in 1834; the English population owned all the land, controlled all employment, and controlled the government so the emancipated slaves were subjected to their rule and power (Mitchell, 2009, p. 3). This situation is confirmed by Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007) citing evidence that slaves in the British colonies had lower life expectancy and birth rates compared to those of slaves in Spanish colonies.

In the Spanish Caribbean, the living conditions and the treatment received by the slaves at the hands of the Spanish settlers were similar to that experienced in the British colonies, with the big difference that the slaves had more viable opportunities to obtain their freedom. In fact, in the case of Puerto Rico, the Spanish crown enacted laws that gave some protection to the slaves. A royal decree from 1784 abolished certain practices and established that the slaves were permitted to obtain their freedom under certain circumstances (see Chapter 4).

The last two socioeconomic factors are those related to whether or not the slaves converted to Christianity and whether or not they were taught a European language by their owners. Following careful perusal of the data gathered for this study, my findings show no evidence that slaves in the British Caribbean were forced to convert to Christianity or that they were taught English by their owners. In the case of the Spanish Caribbean, the only information found regarding this matter (Martinez, 2007) establishes that in Puerto Rico, slaves converted to Christianity and even adopted their owners' last name and that they learned Spanish thanks to their owners who took it upon themselves to teach them (see chapter 4).

Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007) hypothesize that the difference in the way England and Spain conducted business in their respective colonies is closely related to "the Protestant-Catholic divide among them" (p. 242). The Spanish, with their integrationist "civilization" ideology, "fall squarely on the Catholic side" while the British, with their "segregationist capitalist ideology of wealth as a blessing of God upon a divinely designated elect/ elite group, fall clearly on the Protestant side" (p. 242).

The second research question outlined above that I will discuss is the one regarding the sociolinguistic background of the slaves brought to the British and Spanish colonies during the slave-trade era and whether or not that background influenced the linguistic outcome in the area. According to Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007), in the British colonies language and power was seen as something controlled by the cultural and political elites; in contrast, in the Spanish colonies, the African community was able to retain a sense of personal and community control over their language and their lives (p. 253).

Regarding the question of whether the sociolinguistic background of the slaves brought to the Caribbean played an essential role in whether or not creole languages developed in the British and Spanish colonies during the Atlantic Slave Trade era, the evidence does not support such a hypothesis. According to data compiled in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, both England and Spain brought slaves from primarily from West Africa in the areas of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward Coast, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands, West Central Africa and St. Helena.

In the Senegambia region important ethnic groups are the Bambara and Wolof people. Significant ethnic groups in Sierra Leone featured in the database maps are the Biafada, Baga, Susu, Temne, Mende and Fulani people. On the Windward coast speakers of Kru and Kwa languages predominate. Significant ethnic groups include the Vai, Gouro and Dan people. Important ethnic groups in the Gold Coast region are the Baule, Asante and Fante. In the Bight of Benin area are Fon, Yoruba and Hausa speakers. Significant ethnic groups on the Slave Voyages maps in the Bight of Biafra area are the Igbo, Ibibio, Duala, Fang and Mpongwe.   In West Central Africa significant ethnic groups on the database maps are the Vili (also known as Loango), one of many Koongo-speaking subgroups which include the Yombe, Kakongo, Nsundi, Bembe, and Kenge, among others (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Warner-Lewis 2003:15, Albuyeh 2017, forthcoming).

Each Caribbean colony in the voyages database reflects variation in which embarkation areas were more important sources of Africans. For example, in the specific case of Suriname, most slaves were taken from those parts of Africa where Bantu and Gbe languages were spoken. Bantu languages were spoken around the former West African Kingdom of Loango, from what is present-day Cameroon extending to Kenya. Gbe languages are spoken in southeastern Ghana, southern Togo and Benin and southwestern Nigeria. (http://www.journalofwestafricanlanguages.org).

However, it is necessary to point out that recent research by Price (2007) has suggested that the linguistic background of imported slaves may have been more heterogeneous than has been recently believed. This is because, even though much of the demographic input to the colony in its early history came from ships departing from only a few coastal areas of Africa, there is evidence that the “catchment” areas for those slaves were fairly large, encompassing not only linguistic groups in close proximity to the relevant ports but also some that were relatively distant from them (Good 2009).

The third question I will address is the one regarding whether or not Spanish-lexifier creoles existed in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era. My hypothesis is that no Spanish-lexifier creole developed in the Caribbean during that period. Examining the research of linguists such as John McWhorter and John Lipski, among others, it is hard not to conclude that there is not enough evidence to support the presence of a Spanish-lexifier creole in Puerto Rico, Cuba or the Dominican Republic during the Slave Trade era. Lipski (2008) particularly talks about the attention received by the "Afro-Caribbean Bozal Spanish," which he sees as "a cover term encompassing a full gamut of second-language approximations to Spanish as used by African slaves (and perhaps their immediate descendants), particularly during the 19th century and extending into the first decades of the 20th century." Bozal Spanish appeared in Latin America for the first time around the mid-1600s, in poems and songs attributed to the African slaves living in the area. Lipski (2008) states that there are a few linguistic features in Afro-Cuban bozal texts, such as the exaggerated use of subject pronouns and the elimination of common prepositions, which have been pointed out as evidence of a past condition as a creole, but linguists have convincingly claimed that these features are the result of an imperfect case of second language acquisition under conditions of extreme duress. Other features that may point to prior creolization, such as the non-inverted questions "¿Qué tú quieres?" ("What do you want?") are in reality common to all ethnic groups and are the result of imperfect acquisition or regional variation (p. 11-12). Lipski maintains that there is no evidence that Caribbean bozal Spanish was ever a creole.

Lipski has also studied the possible impact of Papiamentu on Afro-Hispanic language in Cuba and also Puerto Rico (Granda 1973; Lipski 1993; Alvarez Nazario

1970, 1972, 1974; Vicente Rosalía 1992). Lipski states that the presence of Papiamentu, which was already a well-established creole in Cuba and Puerto Rico during the 1800s, was due to the fact that slaves were brought from other islands in the area to work as sugar cane cutters during the sugar plantation boom. A review of the data shows an absence of Papiamentu features in the Spanish spoken in Cuba; this is further evidence of the lack of a creole on that island.

McWhorter argues that only second language approximations to Spanish and some influences from already established creoles such as Papiamentu existed in the Spanish dominated Caribbean. He also discusses the case of bozal Spanish, which he sees as “merely a transient second-language register of Spanish, something we would expect of African-born learners” (p. 21). McWhorter points out that the morphosyntactic transfer from West African languages, which is a key feature expected in plantation creoles, is not found in bozal Spanish. Plantation creoles used serial verbs extensively but in bozal Spanish they are not found where they would be expected. Another difference between creoles and bozal Spanish is that bozal Spanish used conjunctions between verbs to show sequential action contrary to creoles that used parataxis. These facts lead him to the conclusion that bozal Spanish is not a Spanish-lexifier creole.

McWhorter proposes three reasons for the absence of Spanish-based creole languages in the Caribbean. First, Spain did not start cultivating sugar until after a hundred years of cultivating crops that did not require big plantations; this situation extended the length of time slaves were exposed to the Spanish language resulting in a more effective acquisition of the language. Second, “in two locations where Spanish would certainly have been pidginized under other conditions, the former hegemony of the

Portuguese effected a gradual relexification of a pre-existing creole by Spanish instead, a process spurred partly by the genetic closeness of Spanish and Portuguese" (McWhorter, 1995, p. 237). Third, Spain did not have trade settlements in West Africa (England did, however), which could have prompted the emergence of Spanish-lexifier creoles that would have been brought to the Caribbean plantations by the slaves imported to work on them (pp. 237-238). McWhorter proposes the "Afrogenesis Hypothesis" which states that the pidgins spoken by slaves on the plantations did not develop in the Caribbean; instead, they emerged in West Africa as a result of the interaction between European colonists and Africans working in the trade settlements there. McWhorter believes that these pidgins were imported to early Caribbean colonies by slaves. Afterwards, the pidgins "took their place as vernaculars expressive of black identity and expanded into creoles" that were, then "distributed to subsequently settled colonies via intercolonial traffic" (McWhorter, 2000, pp. 198-199).

John Lipski argues against the hypothesis proposed by McWhorter, maintaining that the absence of Spanish-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean is due to other factors. Lipski argues that the demographic conditions that prevailed in the Spanish colonies were not optimal for "the formation and long-term survival of Spanish-based creoles" (p. 588). Lipski concedes that Spanish-related creoles are "indeed scarce in the Caribbean" but he does not believe it is for the reasons theorized by McWhorter. He agrees there is not enough evidence to support their existence in the Caribbean although he does not rule it out, envisioning the possibility that future research may yield further evidence in support of their present or past existence (pp. 558-559).

The final question that should be addressed is the one regarding whether or not there are Spanish-lexifier Creoles in other countries of the Greater Caribbean and Latin America. My hypothesis is that no Spanish-lexifier creoles exist in that area. Holm, Lipski, and McWhorter, among others, have done research on possible cases such as: Palenquero, Yungueño, Chocó (Colombia), Chota (Ecuador), and Veracruz (Mexico), as well as varieties spoken in Peru, and Venezuela. Holm has studied the possibility that Palenquero is a Spanish-lexifier creole that was once spoken throughout the Spanish Caribbean and Latin America but now only survives in El Palenque de San Basilio. Following extensive research, he has come to the conclusion that it is not a Spanish-lexifier creole. He found that it descends from the language used by the slaves that worked during the late 16th century and early 17th century in building the fortifications of the Cartagena area and that it has many characteristics from Portuguese. Holm explains that in 1627, Sandoval wrote that the language spoken by the slaves at the time “may well have been based on the restructured Portuguese of the Gulf of Guinea islands.” He also explains that, in 1982, William W. Megenney “pointed out Palenquero’s lexical remnants from Portuguese despite its centuries of contact with local Spanish” (Holm, 1994, p. 310).

John Lipski, who has also studied Palenquero extensively, agrees with Holm; in his 2008 article “Spanish-based Creoles in the Caribbean,” he explains that Palenquero’s closest apparent relatives are the Portuguese-related creoles spoken on São Tomé and Príncipe and Annobón (Lipski, 2008, pp. 547-548). Other linguists have confirmed Holm and Lipski’s findings; Germán de Granda, who was the first to study Palenquero (in 1968) concluded that it was a creole based upon Portuguese and African languages

(Pousada 2007) while John McWhorter (2000) traced Palenquero's origin back to Portuguese and explains that Spanish influence came later.

In recent years, Lipski has been examining a language spoken in Bolivia which he believes may be a Spanish-lexifier creole: Yungueño. Descendants of African slaves who live in communities in the regions of Nor Yungas and Sud Yungas in the Department of La Paz have been able to preserve some part of their culture and what he characterizes as a "fully intact restructured Afro-Hispanic language" (Lipski, 2006, pp. 179-180). Due to the social and geographic isolation in which they live, the residents of the Yungas communities still exhibit cultural and linguistic traits that cannot be found in other regions of the country. Lipski comes to the conclusion that Yungueño is a dialect of Spanish that bears many striking similarities with a Portuguese-lexifier creole spoken in Brazil (Lipski, 2007, p. 31).

McWhorter has been studying mainland Spanish settlements in Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico, where the economies were based on slavery but where, despite the favorable environment, no creole languages developed. For example, in the Chocó region in Colombia the population was comprised of no less than 5,800 African slaves and only 175 whites by 1778. Contact between blacks and whites was almost non-existent. The slaves worked in small groups that were supervised by white overseers but directed by black foremen. Also, they were not allowed to communicate with freed slaves which eliminated the possibility of their Spanish input (McWhorter, 2000, pp. 7-8). Contrary to the situation in English and French Caribbean colonies, African slaves in these Spanish settlements did not work alongside whites, instead, they worked with indigenous people who were second-language Spanish speakers. Nowadays, the Spanish spoken by the

Chocó people “is essentially a typical Latin American dialect of Spanish, easily comprehensible to speakers of standard Spanish varieties” (McWhorter, 2000, p. 9).

McWhorter has found a similar occurrence in the Chota Valley of Ecuador where there was no creole genesis despite the favorable environment for it. As in the Chocó region, blacks did not work alongside whites. Indigenous people were supposed to be used initially but a large number of African slaves were imported from the beginning. Today, despite being mostly isolated throughout its history, the Chota black population speaks what McWhorter refers to as “a dialect only marginally distinct from the local standard” (pp. 10-11).

Another example McWhorter has studied is the one found in isolated Afro-Mexican communities in Veracruz, Mexico. Just as in Colombia and Ecuador, the Spanish colonists in Mexico established extensive plantation operations that needed large numbers of slaves; due to this situation, the black population soon outnumbered whites, which resulted in almost no contact between the two. Just as in the cases of the Chocó region of Colombia and the Chota Valley in Ecuador, the environment was propitious for creole genesis, but it did not happen. By the 1950s, “the local speech in these Afro-Mexican enclaves was little different from vernacular dialects elsewhere in Mexico” (p. 11).

McWhorter also discusses the cases of Peru and Venezuela where a similar situation to the ones in the Chocó region, the Chota Valley, and Veracruz prevailed: no creole genesis took place. Some Afro-Peruvian communities have kept their African cultural heritage alive although they do not speak a creole (p. 12). In the case of Venezuela, a large number of African slaves were imported to work in mines and plantations. Just as in the other places discussed above, this resulted in a strong African influence still present today in Venezuelan culture. No creole language can be found in Venezuela, only “unremarkable phonological quirks and African lexical items” (McWhorter, 2000, p. 12).

5.2 Conclusions

My analysis of the question regarding the role played by the socioeconomic factors present in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era, along with the emergence or absence of creole languages in the colonies dominated by Britain (British Leeward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Suriname) and those dominated by Spain (Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic) has led me to the following conclusions:

1. The most significant factor examined is the fact that the plantation era was introduced in the Spanish Caribbean much later than in the British Caribbean. In the British colonies the plantation era (Figure 2) started in the second half of the 1600s, with the exception of Anguilla where it started in 1725 although it only lasted fifty years. In the Spanish colonies the plantation era began in the late 1700s, with the exception of the Dominican Republic, which never transitioned from a “habitation” society into a plantation society. This means that the “habitation” period (Figure 3) was longer in the Spanish Caribbean than in the English Caribbean; therefore, the slaves that were imported to the colonies during that time spent more time living in the same households or in close proximity with the Spanish settlers, and consequently, were exposed to speakers of the lexifier language during a lengthy period of time.

2. The second most significant factor is the fact that after the British colonies became plantation societies, slaves were kept segregated from their owners and other settlers. The slaves lived on plantations in close-knit slave communities; consequently, their contact with native speakers of English was almost non-existent. Hence, their exposition to the lexifier language was minimal, a situation that proved crucial in the development of creole languages in those colonies. The situation was different in the Spanish colonies where most slaves lived on their masters` property where they would receive a small piece of land so they could grow and consume their own crops. There is no evidence that they were ever segregated from their owners and other settlers; in fact, the evidence presented in this study supports the notion that there was a high level of interaction between the Spanish settlers and the slave community. Due to this situation, African slaves were exposed to the settlers' lexifier language on a daily basis and for a lengthy period of time; as a result, no creole languages developed in the Spanish colonies during the Atlantic Slave Trade era.
3. A related highly significant factor is the fact that in most of the British colonies where slaves outnumbered Europeans this demographic ratio occurred during the late 1600s and early 1700s while in the Spanish colonies the slave population outnumbered the European population during the late 1700s and the 1800s. In the British colonies, slaves outnumbered the British population early in the colonization process which, coupled with the fact that the slaves had limited contact with them helped in the creolization process. In the Spanish colonies, the African slaves outnumbered the Spanish population late in the colonization

process, which means that the Spanish settlers were a majority for a long period of time; hence, the slaves were exposed to Spanish culture and language far longer than those in the British colonies were, respectively.

4. The fact that slaves in the Spanish Caribbean were allowed to earn a salary and could eventually buy their own freedom and that of their families appears to also be a significant factor regarding their adoption of the Spanish language. The Spanish enacted laws protecting these aspects of the slaves' lives. There is no data indicating the same occurrence in the British Caribbean. The evidence presented in this study leads me to the conclusion that the living conditions of the slaves in the Spanish colonies helped them to assimilate, to some extent, the Spanish culture and language while the restrictive system in which the British colonies' slaves lived led them to develop ways to resist their oppressors, which may have included the development of creole languages.

Thus, socioeconomic factors, significantly those outlined above, indeed played a decisive role in whether or not creole languages developed in the Greater Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave trade era. Regarding the question as to whether or not the sociolinguistic background of the slaves imported from Africa had a considerable influence on the emergence of creoles in the Caribbean colonies, the possibility that the sociolinguistic background of the slaves brought to the Caribbean played an essential role in whether or not creole languages developed in the British and Spanish colonies during the Atlantic Slave Trade era was not supported by the data examined in this study. Thus, although specific African languages and linguistic features shared by African language families have obviously been crucial to how each creole language evolved, these African languages appear to not be significant factors with regard to whether creoles developed in the first place.

The development of creoles occurred as a result of the socioeconomic factors present in the British and Spanish Caribbean at the time. The fact that the contact between the British colonists and the African slaves was minimal, and that the slaves were kept segregated from the European population, made it easier for creole languages to emerge and develop in the colonies controlled by England. In the case of the Spanish colonies, where slavery started much later than in the British colonies, the level of interaction between the Spaniards and the African slaves was greater. This situation made it easier for the slave population to adopt the language and culture of the Spanish colonists; consequently, no creole languages developed in those colonies. The difference in the socioeconomic conditions of slavery in the British and Spanish Caribbean led to very different linguistic outcomes: the emergence of English-lexifier creole languages in the British colonies vs. no creoles in the Spanish colonies.

Regarding the question as to whether or not Spanish-lexifier creoles existed in the Caribbean during the Atlantic Slave Trade era, my hypothesis was that no Spanish-lexifier creole developed in the Caribbean during that period. I have reviewed the research done on this subject by linguists John McWhorter and John Lipski, among others. At present there is insufficient evidence to prove the presence of a Spanish-lexifier creole in Puerto Rico, Cuba or the Dominican Republic during the Atlantic Slave Trade era.

As to whether or not Spanish-lexifier Creoles developed in other countries of the Greater Caribbean and Latin America, the data presented in Chapter 2 including research done by linguists Holm, Lipski, and McWhorter on Palenquero, Yungueño, Chocó (Colombia), Chota (Ecuador), Veracruz (Mexico), Peru, and Venezuela), I conclude that to date, there is no conclusive evidence that can prove, beyond any doubt, the existence of Spanish-lexifier creoles in other countries of the Greater Caribbean.

5.3 Final Commentary

Despite the fact that Sarah G. Thomason, Terrence Kaufman, John McWhorter, John M. Lipski, John Holm, among others, have done extensive research on this subject, I feel that the issues surrounding the development of creoles in the British colonies and not in the Spanish colonies have not received the attention this deserves in the field of Linguistics. It is my hope that the work done for the purpose of this dissertation will inspire others to carry out further research which seeks to uncover the reasons why creole languages developed in the territories dominated by England but not in those dominated by Spain during the Atlantic Slave Trade era. Hopefully, this study will contribute in some way to bring this issue to the forefront of Creole Studies and Linguistics in general.

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