# Chapter 5

## *'Our Way Is Like This'*

### Understanding the Internal Logic of the Dominican Racial System

As I conducted interviews in Santo Domingo, a participant commented, regarding external critique of the Dominican racial system, 'Understand, before reviling, before describing, before judging. To understand [the system] is to understand the internal logic' ("*Comprender, antes de denostar, antes que calificar, antes que juzgar. Comprender es entender la lógica interna,*" SDQ_INT1). The objective of this chapter thus, as with the entire dissertation, is to outline and analyze a complex system of racial categorization, with the objective of promoting understanding. To this end, the chapter analyzes interview data from participants located in Santiago, Santo Domingo, and Dajabón, Dominican Republic (Participant demographic information appears in Appendix 4) and comprises four sections. The first analyzes how participants racialize self using categories from the Dominican racial system. The second section explores how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting. The third section discusses how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in Dominican racial categories; and the final section discusses the racialization of region.

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[21] 'The principle that Dominicans do not know what there is outside. No, they know what is said outside, but here it is said like this. Our [way] is like this' (SDQ_INT1).

## A. *'I am Dominican First': How Participants Racialize Self*

This first section analyzes interview data regarding how participants describe themselves

using racial terms. The first part of this section analyzes how the *cédula* describes skin

color; the second part discusses how participants describe their own race and skin color; and

the third section explores counter-consensus affirmations of blackness. Table 48 contains

*cédula* descriptions and self descriptions for the study's 23 interview participants.[22]

Table 48. Interview Participant Description (Cédula, Self)

|  | *cédula* | Self |  | *cédula* | Self |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| STI_INT3 | -- | *trigueñita* | SDQ_INT5 | -- | *jabá* |
| STI_INT4 | *indio, mulato* | *indiecito claro* | SDQ_INT6 | -- | *trigueño* |
| STI_INT5 | *indio* | *morena, trigueña* | SDQ_INT7 | -- | *blanca* |
| STI_INT6 | *india* | *mulata, india* | SDQ_INT8 | *india* | *negra* |
| STI_INT7 | *blanca, B* | -- | DAJ_INT1 | -- | *amarillo, medio jabao* |
| STI_INT8 | *indio* | *india clara* | DAJ_INT2 | -- | *indio, trigueño* |
| STI_INT9 | *indio* | *moreno* | DAJ_INT3 | *indio* | -- |
| SDQ_INT1 | -- | *negro* | DAJ_INT4 | *india* | *india* |
| SDQ_INT2 | -- | *No muy europeo* | DAJ_INT5 | *india* | -- |
| SDQ_INT3 | -- | 1. *blanco* 2. *india* | DAJ_INT6 | *indio claro* | *negro* |
| SDQ_INT4 | *negro, N* | *negro* | DAJ_INT7 | *india* | -- |

The *cédula de identidad y electoral*, the Dominican national identity document, contains

a description of the bearer's skin color. This description is assigned by the government

employee that processes the *cédula* and is generally not chosen by the bearer (STI_INT6).

Thirteen of the interview participants supply information regarding their *cédula* description,

and the results are fairly consistent. The *cédula* describes 11 of the 13 participants using

forms of *indio* (lit. 'Indian') and describes the remaining two participants as *blanca*

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[22] The interview designated as SDQ_INT3 contains responses from two participants—
one male, one female. In the "Self" column of Table 48, the first description is of the male
participant, and the second is of the female participant.

(≈'white') and *negro* (≈'black').[23]

When participants describe themselves, however, there is much more variety in the terms used. Two participants identify as *trigueño*; two participants describe themselves as *indio* and two as *indio claro*; one participant describes himself as *moreno* and four describe themselves as *negro*; two participants describe themselves as *blanco*; one participant identifies as *jabá*; four participants describe themselves using overlapping categories— *morena* and *trigueña*, *mulata* and *india*, *amarillo* and *medio jabao*, *indio* and *trigueño*; one participant describes himself as 'not very European'; and four participants do not provide a self description. The specific physical and social meaning of all of these terms is discussed in Section C, but this initial contrast between *cédula* descriptions and self descriptions highlights several important considerations. First, a description of racial demographics in a particular setting can vary according to the source of the information. On government documents, for those reported, nearly everyone is *indio*; whereas, *indio* is one of ten descriptors that participants use when they describe themselves. Second, all race and skin color categories are not mutually exclusive. Participants specifically contemplate overlap across several categories. As she navigates the self description, the *cédula* description, and the way she is described by others, a participant in Santo Domingo emphasizes that, no matter her classification, she is Dominican first ('*Ahora, soy negra, morena, india, como sea. Yo soy dominicana antes que el rasgo de la piel, o de la raza,*' SDQ_INT8).

As participants describe themselves, several individuals affirm blackness with respect to

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[23] As mentioned in Chapter 3, since the early 20th century, forms of *indio* have been used to describe skin color, in the face of much internal and external criticism. Section C of this chapter further discusses the physical and social meaning of *indio*.

physical appearance or with respect to race. I set these responses against the backdrop of the conversation with which Chapter 1 of this dissertation opens. In that conversation between a Dominican official and a U.S. academic, when asked who would be considered *negro* in the Dominican Republic, the official responds, "I think nobody's *negro* here ... Dominicans are in complete denial of who they are." Participant responses across research sites problematize this sweeping generalization. A professor in Santiago describes how her husband, whom she describes as *blanco*, married a *negra*, 'which is me' ('*Se casó con una negra, que soy yo,*' STI_INT3). Another professor in Santiago describes blackness and race in professional and personal contexts. He states, 'I, [with] much pride, am *negro*' ('*Yo, a mucho orgullo, soy negro,*' STI_INT4). He goes on to describe how, when he makes this statement in his classes, his students, who would describe him as *indiecito claro*, ask incredulously, 'Professor, you're *negro*?' ('*Profe, ¿usted es negro?*' STI_INT4). He points to his nose, lips, and hair texture as markers of this identity. The professor then turns to the racial dynamics in his home. He has two daughters, and his wife is my color (*morena*). He describes how one of his daughters describes herself as *indiecita clara* and describes her sister as *indiecita oscura*. 'Careful,' he recounts telling her, 'here we are *negros* and [with] much honor' ('*Cuidado, aquí somos negros y a mucha honra,*' STI_INT4). Another participant in Santiago, a pharmaceutical salesman who describes himself as *moreno* simply states, 'The best color in the world is *negro*' ('*El mejor color del mundo es el negro,*' STI_INT9).

Participants in Santo Domingo also affirm the *negro* category. A participant who describes himself as *negro* addresses the tension between this self description and descriptions by others, 'One can call himself *negro*. I call myself *negro*. But that does not mean that [others] call him *negro*' ('*Uno se puede auto llamar negro. Yo me llamo negro.*

*Pero no quiere decir que los demás lo llamen negro*,' SDQ_INT1). Another participant, a student, describes how some people see blackness as the most undesirable thing. When I ask him how he describes his color, he responds, 'I am *negro*' ('*Yo soy negro*,' SDQ_INT4). When asked whether others would also describe him as *negro*, he responds that others call him *negro* or *morenito*. In light of his statement that *negro* can be viewed negatively, I ask whether *negro* is negative for him, to which he responds, 'For me, no. I feel proud of being a Dominican *negro*' ('*Para mí, no. Me siento orgulloso de ser un negro dominicano*,' SDQ_INT4). A female student in Santo Domingo also describes herself as *negra* (SDQ_INT8). Finally, a government employee that describes his physical appearance as *trigueño* identifies his race as *negro* and explains why:

> Yes, yes, it has to do [with provenance]. Although my family supposedly comes from France. That type of thing. My grandmother was *blanca*. They tell me that she [had fine features] and [all] that. But everyone that is born here, there is a saying – that they have *negro* behind their ear.

> ('*Sí, sí, tiene que ver. Aunque mi familia supuestamente viene de Francia. Ese tipo de cosas. Mi abuela era blanca. Me dicen que era fina y eso. Pero todos los que nacemos aquí, hay un dicho – que tienen el negro detrás de la oreja*,' SDQ_INT6).

Participants in Dajabón also position themselves with respect to *negro*. A local businessman states, 'Well, my description, because of [my] hair, then I am *trigueño*. I have *negro* there, but I also have other things. *Trigueño* means like [a] hodgepodge of various races' ('*Bueno, la descripción mía, por los cabellos, entonces yo soy trigueño. Tengo el negro allí, pero también tengo otras cosas. Trigueño quiere decir como me'colanza de varias razas*,' DAJ_INT2). A local folklorist confirms that his race is *negro* (DAJ_INT6). While these participants identify as *negro*, the director of a non-profit organization states that this is not the case for everyone, 'They do not want to accept a reality, that is that we are a country of *negros*, of *negros* and *mulatos*. This is a country of *negros* and *mulatos*' ('*No*

*quieren aceptar una realidad, que es que nosotros somos un país de negros, de negros y mulatos. Éste es un país de negros y mulatos*,' DAJ_INT5).

**B.** ***Things Are Changing: Participants Characterize the Dominican Racial Setting***

This second section explores how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting—the nature of the system, its juxtaposition to other racial systems, how the notion of race is understood, race- and color- based discrimination, the notion of 'refining the race', how the system treats mixture, and the character of racial categories.

1. Nature of the System

Participants describe the Dominican racial system in terms of its breadth and demographics, its innovation, the persistent legacy of dictatorship, and the way in which the Dominican system racializes other nationalities. Overall, participants classify the Dominican racial system as broad, encompassing 'a bit of everything' ('*Un poco de todo*,' SDQ_INT1), ranging from *prieto* to *blanco* (SDQ_INT7). A participant in Santiago states, 'It is that we have, from *albinos* to very *morenos*, very aquiline nose, wide [nose], every type of color' ('*Es que tenemos, desde albinos hasta muy morenos, nariz muy perfilada, ancha, todo tipo de color*,' STI_INT5). While this breadth contemplates significant contemporary physical diversity, participants address the demographics of historical racial groups, 'There was almost the [complete] disappearance of the indigenous [population]' ('*Casi hubo la desaparición de los indígenas*,' STI_INT6). A participant in Santo Domingo comments on the relationship between physical appearance and descent when it comes to categorization in the Dominican racial system. For this participant, appearance and descent can play different roles depending on whether the descent at issue is Haitian descent. She states:

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It can be both. Because [of] what I'm telling you. Like I am telling you that the case of Haitians. Usually, *negros*. But there are white Haitians, green eyes. So, that, in some way or another. A white person, but the father is Haitian. Now that matters, in the discriminatory aspect, right?

'*Pueden ser los dos. Porque lo que te digo. Como te digo que el caso de los haitianos. Usualmente, negros. Pero hay haitianos blancos, ojos verdes. Entonces, eso, de alguna manera u otra. Una gente blanca, pero el papá es haitiano. Ya eso importa, en el aspecto discriminatorio, ¿verdad?*' SDQ_INT7).

Whereas, when a person is born to two Dominican parents that have different physical descriptions, the characteristics of the parents do not have to affect the description of the child. I ask the participant, 'If a person, [is] like you, mother *blanca*, father *indio*, they are not going to call you *india*?' 'No,' the participant responds, 'Appearance itself influences more' ('(EW) *Si una persona,* [es] *como usted, madre blanca, padre indio, ¿no le van a decir india?* (SDQ7) *No, influye más la apariencia en sí,*' SDQ_INT7).

A participant in Santo Domingo characterizes the Dominican racial system as one of innovation—new terms and new uses. When asked whether this system of neologisms is problematic or whether it results in confusion, the participant responds that it is not and does not (SDQ_INT1). For all of the system's innovations, for some participants, it continues to bear the legacy of the Trujillo dictatorship. A participant in Santiago states, 'Yes, it has to do with education and school … Before, all of the characters were *blancos*. All *blancos*. [In the] Spanish book. That has [started] changing … that people understand. African descent. Mixture of three races' ('*Sí, tiene que ver con la educación y la escuela … Antes, todos los personajes eran blancos. Blancos todos. Libro de español. Eso ha ido cambiando … que la gente entiende. Herencia africana. Mezcla de tres razas,*' STI_INT6).

Finally, participants describe the categories at the perimeter of the Dominican racial system—the poles, *negro* and *blanco*—and how individuals with these physical descriptions

may find their Dominicanness in question. A participant in Santo Domingo describes how

this process works, highlighting the importance of language:

> A person that does not seem physically Dominican, that is so white that we call him American, we can only recognize him as Dominican when he speaks. And [one] that is so black that we call him Haitian, we only recognize him as Dominican when he speaks. If he does not speak, well he is Haitian and he is American. [He] is outside of the system.
>
> ('*Una persona que no parece físicamente dominicano. Que sea tan blanco que lo llamamos americano. Sólo podemos reconocerlo como dominicano cuando habla. Y que sea tan negro que lo llamamos haitiano. Sólo lo reconocemos como dominicano cuando habla. Si no habla, pues es haitiano y es americano. Está fuera del sistema,*' SDQ_INT1).

Other participants confirm that *blanco* is associated with foreigners, particularly from

the U.S., and *negro* is frequently associated with Haitians (SDQ_INT5, SDQ_INT8,

DAJ_INT3, DAJ_INT7). At times, these two perceptions directly interact. A participant in

Dajabón relates an anecdote about an African-American Peace Corps volunteer who comes

to the Dominican Republic. While he is there, a forest fire breaks out, and the police round

up everyone in the area to go put out the fire. When the police see the volunteer they grab

him and tell him, 'Hey, get over there!' The volunteer states, 'I am American,' but the police

respond, 'What American! The American is *blanco*, not *negro* like you!' Then, the police

carry him to put out the fire. The participant states, '[The officer] had the perception that

every American was *blanco*' ('*Tenía la percepción que todo el americano era blanco,*'

DAJ_INT3). The participant continues to explain that nationality is frequently racialized. As

in the case where someone asks, 'Who is that girl marrying?' and the response is, 'An

American.' 'That is racial,' states the participant ('*'¿Con quién se casa esa muchacha?' 'Ay,*

*con un estadounidense.' Eso es racial,*' DAJ_INT3). For a participant in Santo Domingo

that describes himself as *negro* and very proudly Dominican, this racialization of nationality

means that his own Dominicanness is sometimes called into question (SDQ_INT4).

Finally, some participants address this connection between race and nationality by positioning me with respect to the Dominican racial system. First, a participant in Dajabón describes his wife as dark, the color of my (black) digital recorder, with hair like mine (coarse) and tall like me. He says that she would be profiled as Haitian. 'Not you,' he continues, 'You are Dominican.' 'Me?' I ask. 'Yes,' he responds, 'You are *mestiza*. When I saw you I thought that you were Dominican. Because that color identifies you. Mainly to Dominicans' ('(DAJ5) *Por ejemplo, la mujer mía parece haitiana. Del color así.* (EW) *¿De la grabadora?* (DAJ5) *Del cabello tuyo así. Del tamaño tuyo así. Para ella sería haitiana. Tú no. Tú eres dominicana.* (EW) *¿Yo?* (DAJ5) *Sí … Tú eres mestiza. Yo cuando te vi pensaba que eras dominicana. Porque ese color te identifica. Mayormente a dominicanos*,' DAJ_INT5). Another participant in Dajabón explains how this intersection of race and nationality plays out specifically in a border city setting, 'You can be here illegally, and look how far it goes. Because of your color, not one guard is going to stop you. Although your profile is different. But they stop a Haitian over there' ('*Tú puedes estar ilegal aquí y mira hasta donde llega. Por tu color, ni un guardia te va a parar a ti. Aunque el perfil tuyo es diferente. Pero a un haitiano lo para por allí*,' DAJ_INT7). I later had the opportunity to confirm this practice firsthand.

2. Juxtaposition to Other Racial Settings

Participants also describe their experience with other racial systems and juxtapose their knowledge of these settings with the Dominican racial setting. Participants specifically discuss this juxtaposition with respect to Spain, Haiti, and the United States, and also discuss external systems of classification in general. A participant in Santiago frames the difference

between the Dominican system of racial classification and the Spanish system by telling a joke relating to the 1996 Dominican presidential election between Leonel Fernández and José Francisco Peña Gómez (pictured in Figure 28). The jokes develops like this, 'When they find out in Spain that Leonel won, the [Spanish] president looks at a photo of Leonel.' Confused, the president delivers the punch line, 'But you told me that the *moreno* lost.' The participant continues, 'Here, the *moreno* is Peña Gómez, not Leonel. In Spain, [*moreno*] has a lot to do with Arab[s]' ('*Cuando sabe en España que ganó Leonel, ve el president la foto de Leonel. "Pero tú me dijiste que el moreno perdió." Aquí el moreno es Peña Gómez, no Leonel. En España* [*moreno*] *tiene mucho que ver con árabe*,' STI_INT7).



**Figure 28: 1996 Dominican Presidential Candidates - L. Fernández (L) and J.F. Peña Gómez (R)**

Some participants juxtapose blackness and solidarity in the Haitian and U.S. racial settings with a lack of the same in the Dominican setting, and other participants juxtapose the Dominican racial setting to the U.S. racial past. A participant from Dajabón states:

> I could be a poor *negro* in Haiti, and you a rich *negra*, but we are both *negros*. At some moment, we face a common enemy. Here that does not happen. Here you find that there is a Dominican *negro* ready to kill Haitians because of racial hatred. You are not going to find a *negro* from the United States ready to kill other *negros*.

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('*Yo podría ser un negro pobre en Haití, y tú una negra rica, pero los dos somos negros. En algún momento enfrentamos un enemigo común. Aquí no pasa eso. Aquí tú encuentras que hay un negro dominicano dispuesto a matar a los haitianos por odio racial. Tú no vas a encontrar a un negro de los Estado Unidos dispuesto a matar a otros negros,*' DAJ_INT2).

Another participant juxtaposes the U.S. and Dominican racial settings as a critique of the moral position of the United States, given its own racial past. The participant states:

They say that in my country [people] discriminate a lot, but I believe that the nucleus of discrimination comes from the United States. But it comes from outside. How is it possible that a certain while ago [people] of color, as they say there—*negros, prietos*, those that were not *blancos*, used to have a separate bathroom? You see, here, in spite of [the fact] that we have our small differences, they are very minimal.

('*Ellos dicen que en mi país discriminan mucho, pero creo que el núcleo de la discriminación viene de los Estados Unidos. Pero viene de afuera. Que ¿cómo es posible que hace cierto tiempo los de color, como dicen allá, los negros, los prietos, los que no eran blancos, entre ellos tenían su baño aparte? Tú ves, aquí, a pesar de que tengamos nuestras pequeñas diferencias, son muy mínimas,*' SDQ_INT8).

Finally, participants across research sites address racial epistemologies—who has the position of authority when the Dominican system and external systems of classification are in conflict? One participant in Dajabón frames the dilemma in terms of the recent Constitutional Court decision that nullified the Dominican citizenship of thousands of individuals of Haitian descent whose families had immigrated to the country as early as 1929. The participant describes one of his neighbors, 'She does not consider herself *negra*, but if she goes to another country she is not considered *blanca*. So, she is like the sentence of the Constitutional Court. Listen, they are not Haitians, because they were born here. And they are not Dominicans. So, they are screwed' ('*Ella no se considera negra, pero si va a otro país no se considera blanca. Entonces, ella es como la sentencia del tribunal constitucional. Oye, no son haitianos, porque nacieron aquí. Y no son dominicanos. Entonces, están fritos,*' DAJ_INT2). Meanwhile, a participant in Santo Domingo asserts the

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sovereignty of the Dominican classification system *within* the Dominican setting. The

participant responds to critiques that Dominicans do not know who they are:

> 'When [one] understands the system, [one] can understand its logic. It does not come
> from an ignorance of what is known outside. They are not ignorant of [the fact] that
> they are designated in another way outside. I mean, everyone that accuses the
> Dominican of ignoring himself. The principle that Dominicans do not know what
> there is outside. No, they know what is said outside, but here it is said like this. Our
> [way] is like this. Local innovation. That is the big [thing].' (SDQ_INT1)

> ('*Cuando entiende el sistema, puede entender su lógica. No viene de una ignorancia
> de lo que se sabe fuera. No son ignorantes de que afuera se designan de otra forma.
> O sea todos los que acusan al dominicano de ignorarse. El principio que los
> dominicanos no saben lo que hay fuera. No, ellos conocen lo que se dice fuera, pero
> aquí se dice así. Lo propio es así. La neología local. Ésa es la grande.*'

The participant continues, addressing those who criticize this internal system of

designation, 'That the outside [system] should predominate here, and it is not true. There is

no problem. It works and it does not imply discrimination. What there is is an internal

designation' ('*Que debe predominar lo de afuera aquí, y no es verdad. No hay ningún*

*problema. Funciona y no implica la discriminación. Lo que hay es una designación,*

*interna,*' SDQ_INT1).

3. Notion of Race

Participants also specifically describe how the notion of 'race' is conceptualized in the

Dominican Republic. While some participants take the Anthropological position that there is

one race—the human race (STI_INT4, DAJ_INT3), others describe how race is socially and

culturally understood. For a participant in Santo Domingo, race has to do with provenance, a

person's nature and physical build, where a person comes from ('*La raza tiene que ver con,*

*de tu procedencia, de que, cuál es tu naturaleza, tu contextura física, de dónde tú provienes.*

*Eso,*' SDQ_INT6). For participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo, Dominicans do not

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have a specific notion of race. A participant in Santiago broaches this theme in the context

of color and features:

> We do not have the notion of race as a whole. A person can have [the] characteristics
> of [a] *negro*, but the color *blanco* … no one calls him *negro*. Some colors [are] only
> with skin color, not features.
>
> ('*No tenemos la noción de raza como un todo. Una persona puede tener
> características de negro, pero el color blanco … nadie le dice negro. Algunos
> colores solo con color de la piel, no rasgos*,' STI_INT5).

A participant in Santo Domingo concurs, 'We do not have a racial specification. Nor do we

have a cultural specification. Because we are Dominicans, like *mestizos*. Of all the countries.

Here there are different types' ('*Nosotros no tenemos una especificación de raza. Ni*

*tenemos una especificación de cultura. Porque somos los dominicanos, como mestizos. De*

*todos los países. Aquí hay de diferente tipo*,' SDQ_INT3). Another participant in Santo

Domingo emphasizes that racial differences in the Dominican racial setting do not

correspond to cultural differences, as in Cuba or the United States:

> '(SDQ1) It is something that you describe people with white appearance and they are
> *negros*. They are not really *negros*. Nor do they have black culture. Nor do they
> have, they do not have an emotional bond with Africa. (EW) What are they? (SDQ1)
> They are Dominicans … the cultural *negro* disappeared from the country'
>
> ('(SDQ1) *Es algo que tú describes a personas con el físico blanco y son negros. No
> son realmente negros. Ni tienen cultura negra. Ni tienen, no tienen vínculo
> emocional con África. (EW) ¿Qué son? (SDQ1) Son dominicanos … el negro
> cultural se desapareció del país*,' SDQ_INT1).

Finally, a participant in Dajabón describes how the notion of race can be, and has been,

shaped, by political interests. He describes a conservative class of nationalists that want to

impose a Hispanicizing culture that ignores African culture ('*Hay grupos nacionalistas que*

*tienen un concepto … Sobre todo, esta clase conservadora ha querido imponer una cultura*

*hispanizante, sin la cultura africana*,' DAJ_INT6). The participant goes on to state that

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official versions of Dominican history were written from the perspective of these groups, but that it is being accepted that Dominicans have an African culture ('*La historia dominicana se escribió muchas veces desde una perspectiva de estos grupos. Ya se está aceptando que tenemos una cultura africana*,' DAJ_INT6).

4.  Race-, Ethnicity-, and Color-based Discrimination

Despite participant characterizations of a broad notion of race that has no specification, participants also address persistent racial hierarchies and race-, ethnicity-, and color-based discrimination within the Dominican racial setting. There are some participants that, because they do not personally hold discriminatory attitudes, state that there is no race or color discrimination in the setting (DAJ_INT4, DAJ_INT7). Other participants, however, specifically address these issues. One participant, a student in Santo Domingo characterizes the Dominican Republic as having a very 'big' racism, and goes on to explain that this discrimination is inflected with considerations of color and language and can lead to feelings of isolation ('*Aquí en República Dominicana tenemos un racismo muy grande. Ya que hay sectores, por su color, por su forma de hablar, esas personas se sienten aisladas*,' SDQ_INT4). Another participant in Santo Domingo links discrimination to social perceptions, 'People discriminate a lot. If a person is *blanca*, she has money. If she is *negra*, still today that is seen. That difference, so marked like that' ('*La gente se discrimina mucho. Si es una persona blanca, tiene dinero. Si es negra, todavía hoy en día se ve eso. Esa diferencia, tan marcada así*,' SDQ_INT7). The participant goes on to describe the racial descriptions as a two-edged sword, 'In one sense they help. But there is that discriminatory part. It should not be like that' ('*En un sentido ayudan. Pero hay esa parte discriminatoria. No debería de ser así*,' SDQ_INT7).

In light of these characteristics of the racial setting, participants also describe pressure to 'refine' the race. A participant in Santo Domingo that describes himself as *negro* explains:

'In my case, they tell me, "You have to refine." I cannot look for a black woman. I have to look for a woman lighter than me. Finer, [nice] hair. Simple. Primarily in the man they say, "You have to refine." Because the woman's last name changes. So, imagine [that] I, that I get with a *negra*, big, [with her] hair. What are they going to say? "Damn, and look, what happened?" Here, you always have to refine the race. I [have no preference]. As long as they value me and respect me, there is no problem'

('*En mi caso, me dicen 'Tienes que refinar.' No puedo buscar una mujer negra. Tengo que buscar una mujer más clara que yo. Más fina, cabellito. Sencillita. Mayormente en el hombre le dicen, 'Tienes que refinar.' Porque a la mujer se le cambia el apellido. Entonces, imagínate yo, que me meto con una negra, grande, cabellito. ¿Qué van a decir? 'Diablo, y mira, ¿y qué fue entonces?' Aquí, siempre hay que refinar la raza. Estoy sin bandera. Siempre y cuando me valoren y me respeten, no hay problema,*' SDQ_INT4).

For a participant in Dajabón, marrying a *negra* would lead to family rejection, a fact that he links to anti-Haitian sentiment ('*Si me caso con una negra, mi familia me rechaza. Se enterizó mucho el antihaitianismo,*' DAJ_INT3). Another participant in Dajabón adds to the pressure to 'refine' the race, the pressure to 'maintain' the race that is fostered among the Dominican elite:

'Because the conservative people in the Dominican Republic. Listen to this. They do not even permit that their daughters marry *negros*. Nor their sons [marry] *negras*. And look, those sons of those *blanquitos* love *negras* … Because there is a Hispanic vision. That concept is maintained. That is why the schools, dominated by them, continue with that idea, that our enemy is not the *negro negro*, but rather the Haitian *negro*.' (DAJ_INT5).

('*Porque las personas conservadoras en República Dominicana. Oye esta vaina. Ni siquiera permiten que sus hijas se casen con negros. Ni sus hijos con negras. Y mira a los hijos de esos blanquitos les encantan las negras … Porque hay una visión hispánica. Ese concepto se mantiene. Por eso las escuelas, dominadas por ellos, siguen con esa idea, de que el enemigo nuestro no es el negro negro, sino el negro haitiano*').

In addition to discrimination that may occur based on race, participants describe specific color-based attitudes. With respect to color, a participant in Dajabón describes how the color

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hierarchy influenced a famous Dominican figure to significantly lighten his skin:

'That, that situation brought about that one of our baseball players, Sammy Sosa, practically bleached himself to the level of Michael Jackson. He was bleaching himself. He did it with a whitening cream. (EW) So, before Sammy Sosa was-, (DAJ5) The color of your shirt. (EW) Ah, black. (DAJ5) Because Sammy Sosa is [a] descendent of the *negros cocolos*.' (DAJ_INT5)

('*Eso, esa situación conllevó a que uno de los peloteros nuestros, Sammy Sosa, prácticamente se oxigenó al nivel de Michael Jackson. Fue oxigenándose. Lo hizo con una crema blanqueadora. (EW) Entonces, antes Sammy Sosa era- (DAJ5) Del color del polocher tuyo. (EW) Ah, negro. (DAJ5) Porque Sammy Sosa es descendiente de los negros cocolos*').

Another participant in Dajabón explains how color has played into employment and the international framing of a Dominican racial identity. In terms of employment, all media personalities used to be *blanco*, with very few *negros*, but things are beginning to change ('*Los mismos medios de comunicación, eran todos de color blanco. Las mujeres, todas las mujeres tienen un color claro blanco. Hay muy pocas de color negro ... Ha empezado ya una apertura,*' DAJ_INT6). The same participant discusses how, historically, the Dominican Republic's diplomatic representatives have all been *blancos*, with the exception of Rubén Silié. According to the participant, practices like this are not random, but rather can be traced back to the Trujillo dictatorship. '[T]hey sell it as if we are *blancos*,' the participant states. 'Little by little, that is changing' ('*No porque se ha hecho al azar. Viene de la época de Trujillo. Si hicimos un análisis del color de los cónsul, son de color blanco. Rubén Silié – el más negro que hemos tenido. Lo mandan a Haití, a Trinidad. Entonces, es como decir, los embajadores y cónsules, y otros representantes diplomáticos lo venden como si somos blancos. Poco a poco, esto va cambiando,*' DAJ_INT6).

Finally, participants describe discrimination in the system that is based on ethnicity. A participant in Dajabón speaks about the level of prejudice against Haitians in the region, a

prejudice that the participant describes as hypocritical:

> Here there is a very high level of prejudice. That I did not know. Now, it is a hypocritical prejudice. Why? Because the men that you see speaking against the Haitians, live and have relationships with *negras*. Later you see them in public finishing off Haitians. [He] seems like the slave owner. I mean the same point of view as the slave owner. Likewise the woman. Dominican [women], that do not want anything to do with the *negro* from the mouth outward, have Haitian lovers. It is a phenomenon that happens a lot here. But in terms of the public [sphere], people have a very high level of prejudice.

> ('*Aquí hay un nivel de prejuicio altísimo. Que yo no sabía. Ahora, es un prejuicio hipócrita. ¿Por qué? Porque los hombres que tú ves hablando en contra de los haitianos, viven y tiene relaciones con las negras. Después tú lo ves en público acabando con los haitianos. Se parece al esclavista. O sea el mismo punto de vista del esclavista. Igualmente la mujer. Dominicanas, que no quieren saber del negro de la boca pa' fuera, tienen amantes haitianos. Es un fenómeno que se da mucho aquí. Pero en términos de lo público, la gente tiene un nivel de prejuicio muy alto*,' DAJ_INT5).

The participant clarifies that his interchangeable use of *negro* and *haitiano* is intentional, 'The color. There is no color that has more demand than black. Black as [an] article of clothing has a one hundred percent demand. So, when prejudice against the *negro* is seen, it is not against *negro* itself; it is against the Haitian' ('*El color. No hay color que tiene más demanda que el negro. El negro como artículo de vestir tiene un cien por ciento de demanda. Entonces, cuando se ve el prejuicio al negro, no es al negro mismo; es al haitiano*,' DAJ_INT5).

5. How the System Accommodates Mixture

Participants also characterize the Dominican racial setting as a system of mixture, describing mixture as a defining characteristic of the Dominican racial system. A participant in Santiago states, 'The mixture is very strong' ('*La mezcla es muy fuerte*,' STI_INT6). When asked whether many racial terms describe mixture, a participant in Dajabón responds, 'Yes, everything means mixture' ('*Sí, todo significa la mezcla*,' DAJ_INT1). Another

participant in Santiago states, 'We have the mixture and it is going to [show up] anywhere' ('*Tenemos la mezcla y va a salir por cualquier lugar*,' STI_INT5).

Some participants frame the mixture of the Dominican racial setting in specific racial terms. A participant in Santiago states, 'We are aware that we are the only *mulato* nation in the world', alluding to a mixture between black and white ('*Somos conscientes de que somos el único pueblo mulato del mundo*,' STI_INT4). Other participants frame the mixture in terms of African, Spanish, and indigenous heritage (DAJ_INT6, SDQ_INT5, SDQ_INT2). A participant in Santo Domingo describes the unique characteristics of a system defined by mixture, 'In a country with so many mixtures, [there are] many *blancos* that allow a black past to be seen – vice versa. *Negros* appear with features of [a] *blanco – negro fino, indio fino*. It would be the opposite' ('*En un país con tantas mezclas, muchos blancos que dejan ver un antepasado negro – vice versa. Aparecen negros con rasgos de blanco – negro fino, indio fino. Sería el contrario*,' SDQ_INT1). In a system with such a diversity of racial aspects, a participant in Santo Domingo emphasizes that only two races are in play – *blanco* and *negro* – and that everything else is a shade attributable to this mixture ('*Dos razas principales – blanco, negro – los matices debido a la mezcla*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Santiago confirms that people frequently use these racial nuances ('*Nosotros usamos mucho los matices. Usamos el azul y le ponemos un apellido. Eso es lo que hacemos con esto*,' STI_INT5).

When a system is characterized by its mixture, the whole identity is not divisible into its individual parts. A participant in Santo Domingo describes this notion by analogy to the popular dessert *arroz con leche* ('rice pudding,' lit. 'rice with milk'):

Here in America we cannot say that there is a particular race. Three different races came, or two races. The Africans came, brought by the Spanish, French, the Portuguese, mixed here with the Taíno. Look, here there is a dessert that is called 'rice pudding.' Very good. You have the rice and you have the milk. You cannot make 'rice pudding' if you do not have sugar, if you do not have vanilla, if you do not have lemon. Yes. You throw in a lemon peel to give it a different touch. So all of that is mixed. You cannot say, 'Oh, I only have-, you only use milk to make the rice,' no. It is a dessert; it is 'rice pudding'. It is in the condition of a dessert. So, that is what happens to us. We are a mix. We are like a dessert. A combination of various things, where fortunately some come out with different shades. Others, totally, and others come out with, I mean they seem Spanish, being Dominicans.

'*Aquí en América no podemos decir que hay una raza determinada. Vinieron tres razas diferentes, o dos razas. Vinieron los africanos, traídos por los españoles, franceses, los portugués, mezclados aquí con el taíno. Mira, aquí hay un postre que se llama arroz con leche. Muy bueno. Tienes el arroz, y tienes la leche. No puedes hacer arroz con leche si no tienes azúcar, si no tienes vainilla, si no tienes limón. Sí. Se le echa una cascarita de limón para que le dé un toque diferente. Entonces todo eso es mezclao. Tú no puedes decir, 'O, solamente tengo-, solamente utilizas leche para hacer el arroz,' no. Es un postre; es arroz con leche. Está en la condición de un postre. Entonces, eso es lo que pasa a nosotros. Somos una mezcla. Somos como un postre. Una combinación de varias cosas, donde afortunadamente unos salen con matices diferentes. Otros, totalmente, y otros salen con, o sea parecen españoles, siendo dominicanos*' (SDQ_INT8).

While participants contemplate African, Spanish and, to varying degrees, indigenous heritage to be part of the mixture, some participants discuss how Asian immigrant communities have historically not participated in the mixture, a fact which, according to participants, is beginning to change. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses mixture with respect to the Chinese population in the Dominican Republic:

The mixture that really did not occur much was from the Chinese. They did not mix with Latinos. Here in the Dominican Republic [that] has changed. Here there is [a] Chinese [woman] with [a] Dominican [man]. There is [a] Chinese [man] with [a] Dominican [woman]. You also see the mixture of Haiti with [a] Dominican.

('*La mezcla que casi no se daba mucho era el de los chinos. No tenían mezcla con los latinos. Aquí en República Dominicana ha cambiado. Aquí hay china con dominicano. Hay chino con dominicana. Tú ves también la mezcla de Haití con dominicano*,' SDQ_INT3).

A participant in Dajabón describes a Japanese colony brought by Trujillo to the border

region in the 1940s and 1950s to 'cleanse' the border region of *negros*. According to the

participant, this group allows itself to mix sometimes, but that this mixture is rare and

inflected by gender:

> That this type of ethnicity, here in the Dominican Republic they are not very given to mixing with another. Above all in that which has to do with the women. Chinese or Japanese women are not very given to mixing with the Dominican *negro*. The Chinese man, the Japanese man, is not like this. They mix with Dominican [women]. They have Dominican [wives]. It seems that there is, like the culture weighs more on the women than on the men. Here there is a Chinese [man] that is crazy about Haitian [women]. One day you are going to see many little Chinese Haitians.

> ('*Que este tipo de etnia, aquí en la República Dominicana no son muy dadas a mezclarse con otra. Sobre todo en lo que tiene que ver con las mujeres. Las mujeres chinas o japonesas no son muy dadas a mezclarse con el negro dominicano. No es así el hombre chino, el hombre japonés. Se mezclan con las dominicanas. Tienen mujeres dominicanas. Parece que hay, como que la cultura pesa más en las mujeres que en los hombres. Aquí hay un chino que está loco con las haitianas. Un día tú vas a ver muchos chinitos haitianos,*' DAJ_INT5).

6.  The Nature of Racial Categories

Against the backdrop of the Dominican racial system and its juxtaposition to external

systems, the notion of race, aspects of discrimination, and the role of mixture in the

Dominican racial setting, participants also characterize the nature of Dominican racial

categories. For participants, racial terms are a combination of hair, skin color, and physique

('*Combinación de pelo, color, y también la fisionomía,*' STI_INT6), and, while these terms

describe physical features, they do not generally correspond to fixed social categories ('*El*

*sistema es descriptivo. No tiene sentido de – categoría social. Es descriptivo,*' SDQ_INT1).

Within this system, racial terms may be relative. For example, in a family where the mother

and father are *blancos*, if one child is a little darker than the others, the child will be

nicknamed *negro* or *negra* (STI_INT9). Categories are also fluid, such that a single

individual may be described using several different descriptors, depending on the situation.

A participant in Dajabón explains:

> I am a little yellow. Regularly, at the level of my documents, I come out *indio*. For others I am *blanco*, because I have light eyes. The description changes a bit, according to the person. Others say that I am *negro*, of the black race, because of my features, my nose. I am a mixture.

> ('*Soy un poco amarillo. Regularmente, a nivel de mis documentos, salgo indio. Para otros soy blanco, porque tengo los ojos claros. Cambia un poco la descripción, según la persona. Otros dicen que soy negro, de la raza negra, por mis rasgos, mi nariz. Yo soy una mezcla,*' DAJ_INT1).

The fluidity of these categories also allows mixed individuals to choose, in a sense, the term

they want to use to describe themselves. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses this

point:

> If you want to say that you are *indio*, you are *indio*. If you say that you are *moreno*, you are *moreno*. Notice that I did not describe myself as a person-, I described myself as a *jabá* … Everyone has. Some darker, some lighter, but everyone is *mulato*.

> ('*Si usted quiere decir que usted es indio, usted es indio. Si usted dice que es moreno, es moreno. Fíjate que yo no me describí como una persona-, yo me describí como una persona jabá … Todos tienen. Unos más oscuros, unos más claros, pero todos son mulatos,*' SDQ_INT5).

For a final participant in Santo Domingo, the navigation of racial categories is a cultural

byproduct of more than 500 years of inculcation that began with the Spanish colonization in

the 15th century. For this participant, it is difficult to change perceptions that have been

firmly rooted in a system for that long:

> '*Y que lo tanto que eso es cultural. O sea, ya no, inculcado desde años atrás. que no, que solamente – yo soy morena; aquel es prieto, digo negro. Tú eres more-, tú eres jabao, india; tú eres mulata; tú eres mestiza. Pero no, y eso mismo lo exploraron los españoles. Pero hemos arrastrado eso, desde tiempo, y es muy difícil cuando tienes más de cinco mil años, o quinientos años así, cambiar una percepción,*'
> SDQ_INT8).

> ('And therefore that is cultural. That is, not now, instilled from years ago, that no, that only – "I am *morena*; that [guy] is *prieto*, I mean *negro*. You are *more-*, you are *jabao, india*; you are *mulata*; you are *mestiza*." But no, and that same [thing] the

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Spaniards explored it. But we have dragged that [out]. For a while, and it is very difficult when you have more than five thousand years, or five hundred years, to change a perception').

When participants characterize the Dominican racial setting, they speak about its breadth and accommodation of mixture. With background knowledge of other racial systems, participants speak about the Dominican notion of race, racial and ethnic discrimination, and the nature of racial categories. The next section turns to a specific examination of the physical and social information embedded in Dominican racial terms.

**C.** *Navigating Physical and Social Meaning in Dominican Racial Categories*

The third section of this chapter discusses how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in the racial terms *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo, colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio, mulato, moreno, negro,* and *prieto*. Because, as in other systems of racial classification, each term is not freestanding but exists in relationship to the other terms, this section of the analysis organizes the terms into groups pursuant to Guzmán (1974): *Raza Blanca* (*rubio, blanco, pelirrojo*), *Raza Mulata* (*colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio*), and *Raza Negra* (*mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*).

a. *Raza Blanca* (*rubio, blanco, pelirrojo*)

The terms that Guzmán (1974)  assigns to *la raza blanca—rubio, blanco, pelirrojo—* have traditionally corresponded to notions of whiteness in the Dominican Republic. Of the three, *blanco* has the broadest application, given that *blanco* can describe both *raza* and *matiz racial*. The three categories describe overlapping physical characteristics, and, when asked which images could be described using each term, participants position some images within two or more categories. Moreover, while the three terms contemplate overlap in the

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realm of physical meaning, participants identify unique ways in which each term is inflected with social meaning. This section discusses terms related to *la raza blanca* in the following order: *rubio, blanco, pelirrojo*.

**rubio/a**

Participants at all three research sites confirm that forms of *rubio* are very commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. These initial evaluations of frequency reveal an awareness of two broad subcategories that fall within the *rubio* description: those who are born *rubio* and those who choose to become *rubio*. Regarding the ratio of natural *rubios* to elective *rubios*, one participant comments, '*Son más los que se hacen que los que nacen*' ('There are more that make themselves [*rubio*] than those that are born [*rubio*], SDQ_INT7).

Physical Meaning: *Rubio*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el rubio*, they invoke four primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) eye color, and (4) hair texture. The prototypical *rubio* conforms to the description for all four characteristics. In certain circumstances, however, based on only one or two of these characteristics, or another characteristic entirely, participants may also describe individuals as *rubio*. From sixteen participants who explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *rubio*, the following prototype emerges: (1) light hair (blonde, yellow), (2) white / light skin, (3) light eyes (blue, green, grey, honey, etc.), (4) straight hair ('good hair'). A person who fits this physical description is undeniably *rubio* in the Dominican Republic.

| (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) EYE COLOR | (4) HAIR TEXTURE |
|---|---|---|---|
| *rubio / amarillo claro* | *blanca / clara* | *claros* | *lacio / bueno* |

Participants emphasize that hair color is generally a determinative factor in whether someone will be described as *rubio*. Hair color is so determinative, in fact, that the act of dyeing one's hair blonde is enough to qualify as *rubio*. A participant in Santiago states that you can have *rubias prietas*, solely on the basis of hair color. That is, people who have a skin color or features that would place them in a different category can be described as *rubio/a* if they dye their hair blonde. Participants at all three research sites echo this understanding (Table 49). A participant in Santiago, who describes herself as *trigueña* or *morena*, recounts how a neighbor in her building began calling her *rubia* when she put highlights in her hair (STI_INT5). A participant in Dajabón mentions a neighbor who did not have blonde hair, but who after dyeing her hair is now *rubia*. A participant in Santo Domingo summarizes this phenomenon in the following way, 'If they see you as *rubia*, you are *rubia*. It does not matter how you became *rubia*' (SDQ_INT7).

Table 49. Interview Participants on 'Becoming *Rubio*'

| STI_INT5 | *Si te pones los* highlights*, te van a decir rubia.*<br>'If you get highlights, they are going to call you *rubia*'<br><br>*Una señora en mi edificio que me dice rubia.*<br>'A lady in my building that calls me *rubia*.'<br><br>*¿Rubia yo? Quiero disimular las canas.*<br>'I['m] *rubia*? I want to hide my greys.'<br><br>*Sólo por eso, porque me puse los* highlights*, me dice rubia.*<br>'Just because of that, because I got highlights, she calls me *rubia*.' |
|---|---|
| SDQ_INT7 | *Si te ven rubia, ya eres rubia. No importa cómo volviste rubia.*<br>'If they see you [as] *rubia*, you are *rubia*. It does not matter how you became *rubia*.' |
| DAJ_INT3 | *Por mi casa hay una muchacha que no tenía el pelo rubio.*<br>'By my house there is a girl that did not used to have blonde hair.<br><br>*Ahora se ha teñido el pelo rubio y es rubia.*<br>Now she has dyed her hair blonde and she is *rubia*.' |

Although elective *rubios* will generally still be described as *rubio*, participants are not

confused about whether an individual is a natural or an elective *rubio*. In fact, many

participants mention an expression that is used specifically for elective *rubios—rubio /*

*rubia de farmacia* ('pharmacy blonde'). The notion of *rubio / rubia de farmacia* is similar to

the term 'bottle blonde' in English, and refers to someone who has artificially lightened his

or her hair. This notion also appears as *rubio artificial* ('artificial blonde')*, rubio del salon*

('salon blonde')*,* and *rubio falso* ('false blonde') (STI_INT9, SDQ_INT1). A gendered

dimension emerges when participants talk about *rubios de farmacia*, as participants more

frequently use the feminine form *rubia de farmacia*. When asked whether there are *rubios*

*de farmacia* as well, a participant in Santo Domingo responds, 'No, for men it is not

common. They call them *rubitos*' ('*No, para los hombres no es común. Los llaman rubitos,*'

SDQ_INT6).

Although hair color may stand alone as a determinative factor for the *rubio* description,

eye color also emerges as a salient variable. According to participants, in some cases, an

individual may be described as *rubio* even if he or she does not have blonde or light hair, if

he or she has light-colored eyes. As an example of this, a participant in Santiago points to

MALE_1, 'He is *blanco*. They are going to call him *rubio* all the time … light eyes' ("*Ése*

*es un blanco. Le van a decir rubio todo el tiempo … ojos claros,*" STI_INT7). That light

eyes may position someone as *rubio* is not an unqualified statement. That MALE_1 is the

example in this case is instructive. For MALE_1, three of the four prototypical features of

the *rubio* are present: skin color, hair texture, and eye color. MALE_1 is *blanco*, with

straight hair, and greenish-blue eyes.

When speaking in terms of prototype, participants draw a distinction between *blanco* and

*rubio*. For many participants, the main difference is hair color. Someone who is *rubio* has

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light hair and light eyes, and someone who is *blanco* may have dark hair and dark eyes
(SDQ_INT7, DAJ_INT7). Describing FEMALE_16, one participant highlights the
importance of hair color for the *rubio* description, '*Ella es blanca, pero no es rubia. No tiene
el pelo amarillo*' ('She is *blanca*, but she is not *rubia*. She does not have yellow hair,'
SDQ_INT6). While hair color is a salient feature of the *rubio-blanco* distinction,
participants also indicate that there is a skin color difference between an individual who is
*rubio* and one who is *blanco*. A person who is *blanco* will have a pink or reddish tone, while
someone who is *rubio* will have a yellow tone ('*El blanco tiene algo rosado, rojo. El rubio
tiene más amarillo,*' SDQ_INT8). Nevertheless, while this distinction exists in theory,
participants state that the line between *rubio* and *blanco* is at times too thin to trace. For one
participant in Dajabón, *blanco* and *rubio* are almost synonyms ('*El blanco y el rubio son
casi sinónimos. Ese blanco, ese rubio. Casi es lo mismo,*' DAJ_INT1). For another
participant in Santiago, on occasion, to be *blanco* is to be *rubio* ('*En ocasiones, el hecho de
ser blanco es rubio,*' STI_INT4). This plays out for a participant in Santo Domingo in the
way that she is described. She states that people call her *blanca* and *rubia*, and she is unsure
why people call her *rubia* because she does not have light hair (SDQ_INT7). Later in the
interview, she surmises that this might occur because she is *blanca* ('*Sí, no sé si lo dicen por
lo blanco,*' SDQ_INT7). A Santiago participant summarizes, 'The *rubio* does not have to be
completely *rubio*. [As long as] he has quite light, or white, skin, as we say. *Rubio*, even
though the hair is not completely yellow' ("*El rubio no tiene que ser completamente rubio.
Que tenga la tez bastante clara, o blanca, como decimos nosotros. Rubio, aunque el pelo no
sea completamente amarillo,*' STI_INT3).

In some circumstances, *rubio* can depart from the physical prototype completely. A

participant in Santiago states, '[Rubio] has nothing to do with hair color sometimes'

('[*Rubio*] *no tiene que ver con color de pelo a veces*,' STI_INT7). She explains that she has

a friend from Argentina who has black hair and an *indio* skin tone, and that in the

Dominican Republic people call him *rubio*. As an example, she states that while her friend is

walking down the street, a vendor will say to him, 'Hey *rubio*, do you want [to buy] an

orange?' ("*En la calle … un vendedor le dice, 'Ey, rubio, ¿tú quieres una naranja?',*"

STI_INT7). For this participant, *rubio* may also be understood as *extranjero* ('foreigner').

Social Meaning and Functions: *Rubio*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *rubio*, participants

articulate the ways in which *rubio* may be deployed in discourse. In addition to their

descriptive function, forms of *rubio* may be used as nicknames or as direct forms of address.

One participant describes a friend who is known as "*el rubio del figureo*" (SDQ_INT1).

Another participant describes her brother as very white with light hair and states that people

call him *rubio* (DAJ_INT7). The use of *rubio* as a form of direct address is not limited to

individuals with a preexisting relationship, however. It is common for people to use *rubio* as

a form of address if they do not know someone's name (STI_INT4). A participant in

Santiago gives the example of someone who is standing up at a concert when he should be

seated, and thus blocking her view. In such a case, the participant would say, "*Mira, rubio,*

*siéntate, por favor*" ('Look, *rubio*, sit down, please,' STI_INT3). Forms of *rubio* may also

be used in greetings, as in "*Ey, ¡rubio!*" or "*Dímelo, rubia*" (SDQ_INT1).

Some female participants address how *rubia* may be deployed in *piropos* ('pick-up

lines'). One example is "*Mira, rubia, mami, ven. Tú sí 'tá buena*" ('Look, *rubia, mami*,

come [here]. You look good,' STI_INT8). Another example is "*Oye, rubia, ¡qué bien te*

*ves*!" ('Listen, *rubia*, you look good!' DAJ_INT7). In some cases, *rubio* is used as a term of endearment. A participant in Santiago explains, 'It should be understood [that] the expressions *rubio* and *morena* are terms of affection as well. A man calls a woman *morena*. That is not about skin color. It is the same with *rubia*' ("*Debe entenderse, las expresiones de rubio y morena son expresiones de afecto también. Un hombre le dice morena a una mujer. No es de color de piel. Lo mismo de rubia*, STI_INT4).

Participants additionally comment on the fact that other terms, such as *blanco*, are not generally used in the same way as *rubio* (i.e., as forms of address). Participants agree that it would be strange to hear, for example, '¡*Mira, blanco*!' (STI_INT3, STI_INT8, SDQ_INT7). Although *rubio* generally has positive connotations, it may be used in a pejorative way if combined with words such as *maldito* ('damn / cursed'). An example of this usage would be, "¡*Mira, maldita rubia!*" ('Look, [you] damn *rubia*!' STI_INT8). Another strategy that participants identify for addressing someone who is *rubio* in a pejorative way is not to use forms of *rubio* at all, but rather expressions that communicate lack of, or dull, color— such as *desteñido/a, tallota* (STI_INT3).

Finally, a participant in Santo Domingo addresses ironic usages of *rubio*. The participant states that it is not common, but that an ironic usage of *rubio* can be employed for someone who is very dark ('*No es tan común. Generalmente, se emplea eso para alguien muy negro*,' SDQ_INT1). In such a case, someone might say, "*Oye, rubio, ven acá*" ('Listen, *rubio*, come here').

Visual Representations of *Rubio*

Participants identify five images that could be described as *rubio/a* in the Dominican Republic: FEMALE_1, MALE_1, FEMALE_3, FEMALE_6, and MALE_10. Five

participants describe FEMALE_1 as *rubia*. For one participant, FEMALE_1 is *rubia*

because she has blonde hair ('*pelo rubio*,' STI_INT5). For another participant, hair color

and eye color both come into play. 'Everything is light,' the participant states ('*Todo es*

*claro*,' STI_INT6). For two other participants, FEMALE_1 is not *rubia* but rather *media*

*rubia* (lit. 'half blonde'; also 'blonde-ish,' SDQ_INT3). Two additional participants address

the fact that FEMALE_1 appears to have dyed her hair blonde. For one of these participants,

FEMALE_1 would still conform to the *rubia* profile because she has 'light eyes' ('*ojos*

*claros*'). The participant goes on to say that FEMALE_1 is a '*rubia de farmacia*'

('pharmacy blonde'), and that although people know that FEMALE_1 is not a natural

blonde they will still call her *rubia* ('*Sabemos que no es rubia, pero le decimos rubia*,'

STI_INT7). For the other participant, the fact that FEMALE_1 is a 'false blonde' ('*falsa*

*rubia*,' SDQ_INT1) removes her from the *rubia* category.

Four participants describe MALE_1 as *rubio*. For one participant, MALE_1 is a *típico*

*rubio* ('typical blonde', SDQ_INT8). A participant in Santiago remarks that a Dominican

would describe MALE_1 as *rubio* even though he does not have *pelo claro* ('light hair').

When asked why, the participant responds, 'We only look at color' ('*Sólo miramos el color*,'

STI_INT5). Another participant states that, although MALE_1 is *blanco*, people are going to

call him *rubio* all the time because he has light eyes ('*Ése es un blanco. Le van a decir rubio*

*todo el tiempo ... Todavía más reforzado con los ojos claros*,' STI_INT7).

One participant describes FEMALE_3 as *rubia*. The participant first qualifies the

description by saying that in her opinion FEMALE_3 is *pelirroja*, but that people would

dare to describe her as *rubia* because of the color [of her hair] and the freckles ('*En mi*

*opinión es pelirroja ... la gente no lo dice. Se atreve a decir rubia, por el color y las pintas*,'

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STI_INT6). The participant goes on to position FEMALE_3 within a number of different

categories: *blanca, rubia. morena*, and *jabá* (STI_INT6).

One participant describes FEMALE_6 as *rubia*. The participant identifies FEMALE_6

along with FEMALE_1 and MALE_1 as examples of *rubio/a* (STI_INT5).

One participant also describes MALE_10 as passing for *rubio* ('*Bueno, quizás él, puede*

*pasar por rubio,'* SDQ_INT8).

**blanco/a**

Participants at all three research sites confirm that forms of *blanco* are also very

commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. The relative frequency of *blanco* is

described as less frequent than *indio* and more frequent than *rubio* (DAJ_INT4,

SDQ_INT7).

Physical Meaning: *Blanco*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el blanco*, they invoke varying

combinations of six primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) eye color, (4) hair

texture, (5) features of the face, and (6) features of the body. While *blanco* does not have a

single prototype as in the case of *rubio*, participants are able to articulate which

characteristics are most salient for the *blanco* profile. In some cases, a single characteristic

can be the deciding factor in determining whether someone will be described using *blanco*

or another term. From eighteen participants who explicitly describe the physical

characteristics of the Dominican *blanco,* the following prototype emerges: (1) hair of any

color, (2) white / light skin, (3) light (blue, green) or brown eyes, (4) straight hair (also

'good hair,' 'smooth hair'), (5) fine facial features, and (6) no curves. This broad description

allows the use of *blanco* for many different physical profiles.

| (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) EYE COLOR | (4) HAIR TEXTURE | (5) FEATURES (FACE) | (6) FEATURES (BODY) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *castaño claro marrón negro rojo rubio* | *blanca clara lavadita* | *azul claro marrón verde* | *bueno entre bueno y malo lacio liso rizo suave* | *Rasgos finos / Facciones finas Nariz alargada / aguileña / perfilada Labios finos Cara alargada / Rostro perfilado Orejas grandes Dientes amarillos* | *Sin caderas / Sin curvas Piernas gordas / Piernas delgadas Pocas nalgas* |

The most salient characteristic for someone who will be described as *blanco* is skin color. For some participants in Santiago, *blanco* does not depend on hair color or features at all. For one participant, a person may be considered *blanco* if he or she has white / light skin and straight hair ('*Blanco solo por el color de piel y su pelo lacio,*' STI_INT9). For another participant, whether someone will be described as *blanco* is determined by skin color and eye color, irrespective of facial features ('*Nada tiene que ver con los rasgos. Es el color y la tintura de los ojos,*' STI_INT4). Although the prototypical *blanco* has white skin, there is room for a variety of skin tones within the *blanco* profile. These skin tones range from what one participant describes as 'completely clean, white' ('*Piel completamente limpia, blanca,*' STI_INT8), or 'pallid' and 'without life' ('*El blanco es una persona sin vida. Su color es como pálido,*' SDQ_INT8), to someone whose color is darker because of time in the sun ('*Él aquí se le llama blanco… aunque tenga su color. Puede caer con un poquito de sol,*' SDQ_INT3).

Although participant responses create space for a broad range of hair colors within the *blanco* profile (e.g., *black, blonde, brown, light, red*), participants also express opinions regarding the relationship of hair color to the profile. A participant in Santiago states that, while someone that is *blanco* can have black or blonde hair, 'the true hair [color] of the *blanco* is blonde' ('*El verdadero pelo del blanco es rubio,* STI_INT8). For two other

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participants, hair color is not important to the profile. The Santiago participant states, 'It does not matter that [the person] has hair of any color ('*No importa que tenga el pelo de cualquier color,*' STI_INT9). The Santo Domingo participant concurs, 'the [hair] color does not matter ('*No importa el color* [*de pelo*],' SDQ_INT3). Hair color becomes a more salient characteristic in spaces of category overlap. For example, a person that has the characteristics of the *blanco* profile and has blonde hair, will be called *rubio*. While no one will deny that the individual is white, other Dominicans will call the person *rubio* because blonde hair color is the most salient element of the *rubio* profile. The same is true for *pelirrojo*. If someone has red hair, and meets all of the other characteristics of whiteness, that individual is more likely to be described as *pelirrojo* than as *blanco*.

Another salient characteristic for the *blanco* profile is hair texture. When speaking in terms of prototype, participants understand the *blanco* profile to have 'straight hair' (*pelo lacio*). This presumption is reinforced as a participant in Santiago identifies images of people that could be described as *blanco*, 'He is *blanco*. Smooth hair' ('*Él es blanco. Pelo liso,*' STI_INT6). Other participants suggest, however, that straight hair is not essential to the *blanco* profile ('*Puede incluso no tener el pelo lacio,*' STI_INT6). For a participant in Dajabón, individuals in the *blanco* profile may even have curly hair ('*Casi siempre pelo rizo,*' DAJ_INT3). Although the profile accommodates curly hair, participants concur that it would be strange for a person that is *blanco* to have coarse hair ('*Es raro ver una persona blanca con el pelo malo,*' DAJ_INT7; '*Es raro ver una persona blanca con pelo crespo,*' DAJ_INT3). This phenomenon, where a person whose appearance otherwise conforms to the *blanco* profile has coarse hair, invokes the category of *jabao* ('*Si tiene el pelo malo, es jabao,*' DAJ_INT7).

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In some cases, participants describe the *blanco* profile in a way that departs from color and texture and encompasses broader physical characteristics of the body. For participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo, these physical characteristics are gender specific. A woman that is *blanca* is expected to have a certain body type. One participant explains that, in the Dominican racial system, a white woman cannot have prominent hips because that feature is associated with African heritage. A woman that would otherwise be *blanca* but that has hips will be reclassified from *blanca* to *indiecita clara* (*'La mujer blanca no puede tener caderas ... herencia africana ... indiecita clara,'* STI_INT4). The participant points to an example from popular music that echoes this point, 'Does a *blanca* with [an] ass exist? No, that belongs to [the] *negra*' (*'Aparece una blanca con culo? No, eso es de negra,'* STI_INT4). A participant in Santo Domingo comments on the physique more generally and states that it is rare for someone who is *blanco* to have shapely legs, unless they play sports (*'A menos que hagan deportes, es raro que tengan piernas,'* SDQ_INT8). She continues, echoing the participant from Santiago, 'It is rare to see a white woman with curves. If she has [curves], she has a little bit of *negra* (*'Es raro ver una mujer blanca con curvas. Si tiene, tiene pizca negra,'* SDQ_INT8).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Blanco*

For some participants, the term *blanco* does not reference physical appearance at all, but rather socioeconomic status. In this case, the person that is described need not have the physical characteristics of the prototypical *blanco*, and must instead have a certain level of economic resources. A participant in Santo Domingo explains, 'Here, [someone] that is *blanco blanco* is the one that [drives a nice car] and has [a] business' ("*…aquí, el que es blanco blanco es el que anda bien montado y tiene empresa,*" SDQ_INT3). A participant

from Dajabón concurs. She states that, while financial resources are not required in order for someone to be considered *blanco* ('*Se entiende como blanca aunque sea humilde,*'), financial resources can position a person as *blanco* even though the individual has no physical characteristics of whiteness ('*Aunque de forma refranera se dice, 'Ésa es una mujer blanca,' aunque tenga mi color, tu color*,' DAJ_INT7). In this usage, *blanco* may be used to emphasize social distance, 'It seems that money also influences [things], 'Oh, no, you are *blanquito*. You are *blanca*' ('*Parece que el dinero también influye, 'Ah, no, tú eres blanquito.' 'Tú eres blanca'*,' SDQ_INT8).

Although *blanco* is an integral term in the Dominican racial system, the profile may also come with a presumption of outsider status. A participant in Dajabón states, 'Here we believe that all *blancos* come from [the] United States' ('*Aquí creemos que todos los blancos vienen de Estados Unidos*,' DAJ_INT3). A participant in Santo Domingo uses her nephews as an example of the presumption of outsider status, 'Like my nephews, they do not seem Dominican because they are too white' ('*Como mis sobrinos, no parecen dominicanos porque son demasiado blancos*,' SDQ_INT5). In the Dominican racial system, a person from the U.S. or Europe is *blanco* ('*Para nosotros, un estadounidense y un europeo son blancos*,' SDQ_INT8). There is also a distinction between a white American, a white European, and *un blanco dominicano* ('*Un blanco no viene siendo igual que el blanco español, el blanco europeo. Como el cappuccino. El blanco europeo, no tiene como vida*' SDQ_INT8).

Unlike *rubio*, which is frequently used as a nickname or form of address, *blanco*'s function is primarily descriptive. Participants are divided on whether *blanco* may be used as a nickname. For a participant in Santiago, while *rubio* can be used as a nickname, *blanco*

cannot (STI_INT8). Meanwhile, participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón opine that it is possible for *blanco* to function as a nickname (SDQ_INT1, DAJ_INT7). The participant in Santo Domingo states, 'Yes, it can [be used as a nickname]. There are many [people] here that are called *Blanco*' ('*Sí, se puede. Hay muchos aquí que se llaman Blanco,*' SDQ_INT1).

For another participant, whether *blanco* may be used as a nickname depends on its form. Initially, the participant answers no, that *blanco* cannot be used as a nickname. As she thinks, she modifies her answer and states that the diminutive form *blanquito* could be used as a nickname ('*No, bueno, en diminutivo, se puede usar 'El blanquito … Ese blanquito,*' SDQ_INT7). The participant continues to say that when *blanquito* and *blanquita* are used they may refer to persons of a certain economic level. To say 'That is the *blanquito* of the group' is to communicate that the individual has money and a certain status ('*Sí, inclusive esos dos* [*blanquito, blanquita*] *hacen referencia a personas de cierto nivel económico. 'Ése es el blanquito del grupo.' El que tiene dinero. Tiene cierto estatus,*' SDQ_INT7). In such a case, the person would have to have socioeconomic status and also have the physical characteristics of the *blanco* profile.

Participants across research sites concur that it would be uncommon to hear *blanco* used as a form of address (e.g., STI_INT4, STI_INT7, SDQ_INT1, SDQ_INT6, SDQ_INT7). In circumstances where *blanco* might otherwise be used, speakers employ several strategies for accomplishing the task, including substitution, culture-specific usage, and omission. Overall, participants describe situations in which *blanco* is substituted with *rubio* for direct address (row 1, Table 50). A participant in Dajabón describes the specific circumstances in which *blanco* is used as a direct form of address (row 2). For him, *blanco* is used as a form of address in Haiti and by Haitian immigrants in Dajabón. Finally, in some circumstances,

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speakers do not describe color at all (row 3). When a speaker gives a command or directive, he or she will generally not use *blanco*. Instead, the speaker may give the directive and omit the descriptor entirely or use a generic expression like *joven* ('young person') or *señor / señora* ('sir / ma'am'). A participant in Dajabón explains, 'Conversely, they do not say, 'Hey, *blanco*, get out of there.' Just 'Get out of there' or 'Sir / Ma'am, get out of there'' (DAJ_INT7). A participant in Santiago describes circumstances in which *rubio* cannot be substituted for *blanco* and speakers may thus omit the descriptor altogether. The participant states, 'If a person is white and does not have blonde hair, you are not going to call [the person] *rubio*. White, black hair – 'Look, *joven*, sit down.' I would not say, '*Blanco*, sit down,' no,' STI_INT3).

Table 50. *Blanco* in Direct Address

| 1. *Rubio* for Direct Address | '*Mira, rubio,*' pero no '*Mira, blanco.*' *Sería extraño.* (STI_INT3) <br><br> '*Mira, rubio, ven acá*' (STI_INT7) <br><br> '*Mira, rubia, mami, ven. Tú sí 'tá buena*' (STI_INT8) |
|---|---|
| 2. *Blanco* for Direct Address | (D1) *No es tan común.* <br> *Se usa más en Haití, 'Blanco, ven acá. Blanc!'* <br><br> (EW) *Los inmigrantes haitianos lo dicen aquí? Hasta en español?* <br><br> (D1) *Sí, 'Blanc, blanc!'* <br> *Si vas a Juana Mendes y tú eres blanca te dicen blanco* (DAJ_INT1) |
| 3. *Blanco* - Omission | *Al contrario, no dicen,* <br> *'Mira, tú, blanco, quítate de allí.'* <br> *Sólo 'Quítate de allí,' o* <br> *'Señor / Señora, quítate de allí'* (DAJ_INT7) <br><br> *Si una persona es blanca y no tiene pelo rubio, no le vas a decir rubio. Blanco, pelo negro – 'Mira, joven, siéntate.' No diría, 'Blanco, siéntate, no'* (STI_INT3). |

In addition to other social understandings of *blanco*, participants share some common (and less common) sayings that reveal additional aspects of social meaning in the

Dominican setting (Table 51). Participants explain that sayings such as '*Ser blanco es una profesión*' ('Being *blanco* is a profession') and '*Al blanco todo le pega*' ('Everything sticks to the *blanco*') communicate that someone who is *blanco* in Dominican society will have a good life (STI_INT3, SDQ_INT1). Participants explain that *blanco* can also refer to power, as in '*Ellos son blancos y se entienden*' ('They are *blancos* and they understand each other') and '*Esos son cosas de blancos*' ('Those things belong to *blancos*') (SDQ_INT1, DAJ_INT3). For the saying '*Son blancos y se entienden*,' a participant in Santo Domingo gives an example of when the term may be used:

> If there is a dispute between [a] manager and co-manager, the assistants say, 'They are *blancos* and they understand each other.' They are from the same group and they are going to understand each other. It is not to talk about race. People that occupy the same power.
>
> (*Si hay discusión entre jefe y subjefe, los ayudantes dicen,* "*Ellos son blancos y se entienden*." *Son del mismo grupo y se van a entender. No es decir de raza. Personas que ocupan el mismo poder*,' SDQ_INT1)

To clarify whether this expression can indeed be used irrespective of the race of the referent(s), I ask whether the expression may still be used, 'If they are not white, but have the power?' The participant responds, 'It can be used' ('(EW) ¿*Si no son blancos, pero tienen el poder?* (SDQ1) *Se puede usar*,' SDQ_INT1).

Table 51. Refranes Relating to *Blanco*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Ser blanco es una profesión.* | STI_INT3, SDQ_INT1 |
| 2. | *Si un blanco y un negro estàn sentados juntos en una mesa, o le debe el blanco al negro o es del negro la comida.* | STI_INT3 |
| 3. | *Ellos son blancos y se entienden.* | SDQ_INT1 |
| 4. | *Al blanco todo le pega.* | STI_INT3 |
| 5. | *Esos son cosas de blancos.* | DAJ_INT3 |
| 6. | *Algún día ahorcan blancos.* | DAJ_INT3 |
| 7. | *Yo no soy racista. A mí me da igual un blanco que un maldito negro.* | DAJ_INT7 |

Other participants share expressions that allude to *blancos* taking advantage of others. A participant in Santiago mentions a saying that she characterizes as being from her grandparents' generation, '*Si un blanco y un negro están sentados juntos en una mesa, o le debe el blanco al negro o es del negro la comida*' ('If a *blanco* and a *negro* are seated together at a table, either the *blanco* owes the *negro* or the food belongs to the *negro*,' STI_INT3). A participant in Dajabón mentions the saying, '*Algún día, se ahorcan blancos*' ('Someday, *blancos* will be hanged,' DAJ_INT3). The participant explains the circumstances in which the expression would be used:

> That when *blancos* lower [or degrade a person], all that is left to say [is], 'Someday *blancos* will be hanged; someday *blancos* will be eliminated.'
>
> ('*Que cuando los blancos hacen bellacada, nada más le queda decir, "Algún día ahorcan blancos; algún día se eliminan blancos,"*' DAJ_INT3).

Lastly, a participant in Dajabón shares an expression that has come to represent the irony of some professed racial attitudes, '*Yo no soy racista. A mí me da igual un blanco que un maldito negro*' ('I am not racist. To me it makes no difference [if someone is] a *blanco* or a damn *negro*,' DAJ_INT7).

Visual Representations of *Blanco*

Participants identify nineteen images that could be described as *blanco/a* in the Dominican Republic. A look at the range of images confirms that the category of *blanco* is framed broadly. The images that participants most frequently identify as *blanco/a* are also the images that participants most frequently identify as *rubio/a*: MALE_1 (7 participants) and FEMALE_1 (5 participants). That MALE_1 is most frequently described as *blanco* is unsurprising given that his physical appearance most approximates that of the *blanco* prototype. Participants highlight MALE_1's 'smooth hair' and 'light eyes' (STI_INT6,

STI_INT7). Participants point to FEMALE_1's skin color (STI_INT6, SDQ_INT3).

MALE_2 (5 participants) and FEMALE_6 (5 participants) are also frequently described as

*blanco/a*. Participants describe FEMALE_6 as *blanca pálida* ('pallid white,' SDQ_INT3),

overlapping with *jabao* (STI_INT6), and as *blanca achinada* because of the form of her eyes

(STI_INT7). Four participants describe MALE_10 as *blanco*, and three participants describe

FEMALE_2 as *blanca*. Two participants describe FEMALE_16 and FEMALE_22 as

*blanca*, and one participant each describes the remaining images as *blanco/a*: FEMALE_4,

FEMALE_12, FEMALE_9, MALE_17, FEMALE_18, MALE_14, FEMALE_5,

FEMALE_24, FEMALE_21, MALE_3, and FEMALE_3.

### pelirrojo/a

The final term characterized as within *la raza blanca* is pelirrojo. Although participants

at all three research sites understand and use forms of *pelirrojo*, there is some regional

variation in the number of *pelirrojos* that participants believe to be in the country. As with

*rubio*, participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo draw a distinction between natural and

elective *pelirrojos*. Participants at both sites agree that natural *pelirrojos* are not common,

but that there are substantial numbers of elective *pelirrojos* (STI_INT7, SDQ_INT7,

SDQ_INT8).

Physical Meaning: *Pelirrojo*

A participant in Dajabón describes the *pelirrojo* profile as somewhere between *blanca*

and *colorao*, sharing some features such as skin color, hair color and texture with *blanco* and

hair color and facial features with *colorao* ('*Entre blanca y colorao*,' DAJ_INT3). When

participants describe the Dominican conception of the *pelirrojo / pelirroja*, they invoke four

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primary variables (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) features of the face. The prototypical *pelirrojo* conforms to the description for all four characteristics. In some additional cases, a single characteristic may invoke a description of *pelirrojo*. From ten participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *pelirrojo*, the following prototype emerges: (1) red / reddish hair, (2) white skin, (3) straight hair (also 'good hair'), and (4) freckles. A person that fits this physical description is undeniably *pelirrojo* in the Dominican Republic.

| (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) HAIR TEXTURE | (4) FEATURES (FACE) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *rojo / rojizo* | *blanco* | *bueno* | *pintas* |

Participants emphasize that hair color can be a determinative factor in whether someone is described as *pelirrojo*. As in the case of *rubio*, because hair color is such a central component of the *pelirrojo* profile, the act of dyeing one's hair red is sufficient to qualify as *pelirrojo*. A participant in Santiago explains that women may dye their hair with Kool-Aid or a liquid for cleaning shoes (STI_INT7). Although others would regard these women as elective *pelirrojas*, they could still meet the *pelirrojo* description. A participant in Santo Domingo describes an exchange that might occur after women dye their hair red, 'Here we call women that [dye their hair] *pelirrojas*. We say to them, 'You changed from *morena* or *blanca* to *pelirroja* now?'' ('*Aquí les decimos pelirrojas a esas mujeres que se ponen un tinte. Les decimos, 'cambiaste de morena o blanca a pelirroja ahora*?',' SDQ_INT4).

Three participants state that there is substantial overlap between the categories of *pelirrojo* and *colorao* to the extent that one participant considers *pelirrojo* and *colorao* to be like synonyms ('*Es un nombre muy, como sinónimos, más o menos. Se puede usar para la misma persona*,' DAJ_INT1). Participants also identify overlap between *pelirrojo* and *jabao*

('*También a los pelirrojos es que decimos jabao*, STI_INT5).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Pelirrojo*

A Santiago participant states that the decision to use *pelirrojo* versus *colorao* to describe a person that could fall into both categories depends on the education level of the speaker ('*Depende del nivel educativo, social*,' STI_INT3). The assumption is that speakers with a higher level of education will use *pelirrojo*. For some participants, *pelirrojo* is also a more flattering term. A participant in Santo Domingo states that *pelirrojo* is 'something exotic,' so that when someone is described as *pelirrojo* the speaker is attributing to them good attributes (SDQ_INT6). The same participant positions *pelirrojo* as a more desirable description than *colorao*, because saying 'Wow, *la pelirroja*' is not the same as 'this *colorá*' ('*Sí, porque cuando se le llama pelirrojo es como si fuera un atributo bonito, 'Guau, la pelirroja,' no 'La colorá esta'*, SDQ_INT6). Additionally, as with *blanco*, participants do not view *pelirrojo* as a term used in direct address.

Visual Representations of *Pelirrojo*

Participants identify one image that could be described as *pelirrojo/a* in the Dominican Republic: FEMALE_3. A participant in Santiago points to FEMALE_3's freckles as part of the *pelirroja* description (STI_INT5). Another Santiago participant describes FEMALE_3 as *pelirroja* and highlights hair color and freckles (STI_INT6). A participant in Santo Domingo also describes FEMALE_3 as *pelirroja*. The participant also points to FEMALE_3's freckles and comments that FEMALE_3 does not appear to be Dominican (SDQ_INT3).

b.  *Raza Mulata* (*colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio*)

The terms that Guzmán (1974)  assigns to *la raza mulata—indio, jabao, trigueño—*have

traditionally corresponded to notions of mixedness in the Dominican Republic, although not

always specifically to the mixture between black and white. The term *colorao,* while not

explored by Guzmán, represents a profile that can be viewed as white or mixed. Of the four

categories, *indio* is by far the term with the broadest application. It is precisely this broad

application for which the term *indio* has garnered substantial scrutiny. Participants juxtapose

the terms in the *Raza Mulata* category and describe overlap between *colorao* and *jabao*, and

between *trigueño* and *indio*. Moreover, for these terms, participants talk about mixture,

contrast, origin, and social meaning. This section discusses terms related to *la raza mulata* in

the following order: *colorao, jabao, trigueño, indio*.

**colorao**

Participants across research sites confirm that *colorao* is not among the most frequent

descriptors in the Dominican Republic. For participants in Santiago, *colorao* 'is not very

common' ('*No es muy común,*' STI_INT6) and is less frequent than *pelirrojo* and *jabao*

(STI_INT5). In Santo Domingo, a participant summarizes, '[*Coloraos*] are [an] exceptional

case. They are [the] exception. The people that appear *coloradas* are very few. There are

almost none,' ('*Son caso excepcional. Son excepción. Son muy pocas las personas que*

*aparecen coloradas. Casimente no hay*,' SDQ_INT2). Participants in Dajabón further

confirm this theme. One participant states, '*Colorao* is not used so much. Here *jabao* is used

more than *colorao*,' ('*Colorao no se usa tanto. Más jabao que colorao se usa aquí,*'

DAJ_INT2).

Physical Meaning: *Colorao*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el colorao*, they invoke three

primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, and (3) hair texture. The interview data

indicate that there are three images of the *colorao* that participants conceptualize as

prototypical. One is determined by skin color, and the others are determined by hair color.

*Colorao* is also a category with significant overlap, particularly in the case of *pelirrojo* and

*jabao*. From sixteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the

*colorao*, three profiles emerge. The first, profile a, is determined by skin color and

characterized by (1) hair of any color, (2) red / reddish / pink skin, and (3) smooth / straight

hair. A person that meets this description may also be described as *blanco*. Profile b is

primarily determined by hair color as it interacts with hair texture: (1) red / reddish / brick-

colored hair, (2) light skin, (3) coarse / 'hard' hair. A person that meets this description may

also be described as *jabao*. Profile c is also primarily determined by hair color and its

interaction with hair texture: (1) red / reddish hair, (2) white skin, (3) smooth / straight hair.

A person that meets this description may also be described as *pelirrojo*.

|  | (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) HAIR TEXTURE | OVERLAP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | *cualquier color* | *rojo / rojizo / rosadito* | *bueno / liso / lacio* | *blanco* |
| b. | *rojo / rojizo / ladrillo* | *claro* | *malo / duro* | *jabao* |
| c. | *rojo / rojizo* | blanco | *bueno / liso / lacio* | *pelirrojo* |

For participants for whom skin color is the determinative factor in the *colorao* profile, a

reddish hue is important. Some participants paint this red vividly, like the color of a tomato:

'The *colorao* is always like a tomato. He has the pinkish color of a child. In the sun he is

burning' ('*El colorao siempre está como un tomate. Tiene el color rosadito como un niño.

En el sol se está quemando,*' SDQ_INT4); '[*Coloraos*] always look red like a tomato'

('*Siempre se ven como rojos como un tomate,*' SDQ_INT8). Within this category, *colorao*

can be a constant hue or a temporary condition. A participant in Santo Domingo explains,

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'Okay, there are people that have white skin. They [spend time in the] sun; their skin changes. A reddish color. 'Shit, but you are colorá, partner'' ('*Bueno, hay personas que son de tez blanca. Cogen sol; su piel va cambiando. Un color rojizo. 'Mierda, pero tú sí está' colorá, socio*',' SDQ_INT4). For participants that view skin color as the determinative factor, hair color does not factor in (SDQ_INT4).

For some participants, *colorao* is primarily a temporary skin color manifestation. Two participants in Santo Domingo cast the *colorao* as a white person that spends a lot of time in the sun (SDQ_INT3). I was conducting the interview outside around midday. As he was describing this category, one of the participants, a man described as *blanco* and *jabao*, pointed to himself as an example: '[In a little while] you are going to see me' (SDQ_INT3). A participant in Dajabón describes *colorao* as the physical result of an emotional state. For this participant, when a white person experiences emotion and turns red, that person is *colorao*. When asked whether this state was only the result of anger or other emotion, the respondent answered, 'Yes' (DAJ_INT1).

For participants for whom hair color is the determinative factor, the reddish hue is also important. For a participant in Santo Domingo, this reddish hue manifests in the same shade as for the *pelirrojo*, such that the two terms can be synonyms ('*Sinónimo de rojo… Exactamente, el colorao se le diría lo que en tu país tal vez sería pelirrojo, o la pelirroja*,' SDQ_INT6). For a participant in Santiago, this hair color is more orange-red—the 'color of fire' ('*Pelo, color de fuego*,' STI_INT4). A participant in Dajabón describes what she understands to be the origin of a person that is described as *colorao*: 'Here there are some children. For me they are *blancos*. Both parents are *blancos*. The children come out even more *blancos*, with brown, reddish hair. A strange color. That is the mix of two *blancos*'

('*Aquí hay unos niños. Para mí son blancos. Los dos padres son blancos. Los niños salen aún más blancos, con pelo marrón, rojizo. Un color raro. Que es la mezcla de dos blancos,*' DAJ_INT4).

*Colorao* is a category with a lot of overlap, particularly with respect to the categories of *pelirrojo* and *jabao*. For a participant in Dajabón, *colorao* and *pelirrojo* are more or less synonyms that can be used to describe the same person ('*Parecido al pelirrojo. Es un nombre muy, como sinónimos, más o menos. Se puede usar para la misma persona,*' DAJ_INT1). For a participant in Santo Domingo, *colorao* has darker, redder skin than the *pelirrojo*, and the *colorao*'s hair is a different texture—not as straight:

> (SDQ7) '*El colorao se me confunde un poquito con el pelirrojo. Pero entiendo que el colorado, el colorao tiene … como que la piel un poquito más oscura, como medio rojita así… El* [cabello] *del pelirrojo tiende a ser un cabello bueno.* (EW) *El* [cabello del] *colorado?* (SDQ7) *No así tan lacio tan bueno.* (SDQ_INT7)

For a participant in Dajabón, *colorao* and *jabao* represent the same physical category ('*Es el mismo jabao,*' DAJ_INT7). A participant in Santo Domingo states that *colorao* and *jabao* are similar, but that the *colorao* is a bit darker and does not have blonde hair ('*Es como el jabao, lo único es que tiene un poquito más quemadito, y el pelo no es rubio,*' SDQ_INT8).

<u>Social Meaning and Functions: *Colorao*</u>

In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *colorao* may be used as nicknames, direct forms of address, and pejorative descriptions. For participants in Santo Domingo, although *colorao* may be used as a nickname or form of direct address, it is not common ('*Podría ser* [apodo], *pero no creo que se utilice mucho. Pero podría usarse, claro,*' SDQ_INT6; '*Se usa, pero no tanto,*' SDQ_INT7). For one participant in Santiago, *colorao* can be used as a form of direct address (STI_INT3), and, for another, *colorao* can be used as

a nickname, as in, '*Colorao,* come here!' ('*Sí, hay gente que dice, 'Colorao, ¡ven acá!*','

STI_INT8). For another participant in Santiago, *colorao* is less of a category and more of a

nickname ('*Colorao más bien es un apodo*,' STI_INT5). *Colorao* may also be used in

pejorative contexts by invoking the category overlap between *colorao* and *pelirrojo*, for

example. A participant in Santo Domingo explains that, while *pelirrojo* is regarded as a

more refined term, *colorao* can be used in pejorative contexts ('*En términos un poquito*

*despectivos, si se quiere, llamarle así 'Colorao e'te*',' SDQ_INT6).

Visual Representations of *Colorao*

Participants identify two images that could be described as *colorao* in the Dominican

Republic: MALE_11 and MALE_3. These two images invoke the skin-color determined

understanding of *colorao*. MALE_11's skin has a pink hue, and MALE_3's skin has a

reddish hue.

**jabao/a**

Participants across research sites confirm that *jabao* is not among the most frequently

used terms. Participants in Santiago state that the term is not very common (STI_INT4,

STI_INT8), although it is more common than *colorao* (STI_INT5, DAJ_INT2). Participants

in Santo Domingo opine that the *jabao* profile might be more common in other regions of

the country. One participant states, 'Yes, you see it a lot in [rural areas]' ('*Sí, se ve mucho en*

*los campos*,' SDQ_INT7). Another participant states, 'I think it is used more in the zone of

the Cibao, which is where I come from … Not so much [in the capital]. In the Cibao, I have

heard it more' ('*Yo pienso que se usa más en la zona del Cibao, que es de donde yo vengo …*

*No tanto* [*en la Capital*]. *En el Cibao, lo he escuchado más*,' SDQ_INT5). This participant's

statement about the frequency of *jabao* in the Cibao appears to contrast the evaluations of

the participants in Santiago (i.e., that *jabao* is not very common). However, the participant from Santo Domingo describes herself as *jabá* and many of her family members as *jabao*. This could thus influence her perception of the frequency of the *jabao* profile.

Physical Meaning: *Jabao*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el jabao*, they invoke four primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) features of the face. The interview data indicate that there are three images of the *jabao* that participants conceptualize as prototypical. *Jabao* is also a category with significant overlap, particularly in the case of *colorao, pelirrojo, rubio,* and *blanco*. From nineteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *jabao*, three profiles emerge for the category of *jabao*. The first, profile a, is characterized by (1) red / reddish hair, (2) light skin, (3) coarse hair, and (4) freckles. A person that meets this description may also be described as *colorao* or *pelirrojo*. Profile b is primarily determined by (1) yellow / blonde hair, (2) white / yellowish skin, (3) coarse / 'hard' hair, and, optionally, (4) freckles. A person that meets this description may also be described as *rubio*. Profile c is characterized by (2) white skin, (3) coarse hair, and, optionally, (4) freckles. A person that meets this description may also be described as *blanco*.

| | (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) HAIR TEXTURE | (4) FEATURES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | *rojo / rojizo* | *claro* | *crespo* | *pecas / pintas* |
| b. | *amarillo / rubio* | *blanco / amarillento* | *crespo / duro* | (*pecas / pintas*) |
| c. | | *blanco* | *crespo* | (pecas / pintas) (*rasgos ordinarios*) |

Participants at all three research sites frame *jabao* as a category that is characterized by mixture. Specifically, *jabao* evokes for participants a strange combination of *blanco* and

*negro*. In Santiago, participants describe this mixture in a variety of ways. One participant describes it simply as *mezcla* ('mixture'): 'Mix of *negro* and *blanco*' ('*Mezcla de negro y blanco*,' STI_INT3). While describing an image as *jabao*, another participant states, 'You see that she has a lot of mixture. A very strong *blanco*, a German. But she has *negro* as well' ('*Se ve que tiene mucha mezcla. Un blanco muy fuerte, un alemán. Pero también tiene negro*,' STI_INT7). The participant then explains the specific physical characteristics that she is referencing. From the combination of a strong *blanco* and a strong *negro* comes a person that has white skin, coarse hair, freckles, and thick lips ('*Blanco fuerte, negro fuerte. Sale blanco, pelo crespo, pecas. Sus facciones, labios gruesos, piel clara. Tiene el africano*,' STI_INT7). For a third participant in Santiago, *jabao* is a strange mixture that can result from two *negros*, a *negro* and a *blanco*, or another combination. A *jabao* will have coarse hair that is red or yellow and yellowish skin. The *jabao* will have 'rustic' features, with a thick nose and thick lips:

> *Un ser que nació de una mezcla extraña de personas. Pueden ser dos negros, un negro y un blanco, otra combinación. Tiene el pelo malo pero rojo o amarillo. Piel amarillento o rubión …* [*Rasgos*] *rústicos, nariz gruesa, labios gruesos, carnosos.* (STI_INT9)

In Santo Domingo, the theme of the *jabao* as a strange mixture emerges as well. One participant states, 'It is strange because the *jabao* is not *blanco*, nor is he *rubio*, nor *colorao*. It is like a strange combination' ('*Es raro porque el jabao no es blanco, ni es rubio, ni colorao. Es como una combinación rara*,' SDQ_INT8). Another participant in Santo Domingo describes what he understands to be the typical, classic *jabao*:

> 'A *rubio* with [the] physical [appearance] of [a] *negro*. That is *jabao*. The typical, classic *jabao*. People with white skin, with [coarse] hair, [like] *negros*. They have features of *negros*, so [now] they do not qualify as *blancos*'

('*Un rubio con físico de negro. Ése es jabao. El jabao típico, clásico. Personas de piel blanca, con el pelo duro, de negros. Tienen rasgos de negros, entonces ya no califican como blancos,*' SDQ_INT1).

In Dajabón, one participant opines that *jabao* is an ethnic category invented by Dominicans that has features of the *negro* profile and features of the *blanco* profile without conforming to either ('*El jabao es un color étnico inventado por los dominicanos, que queda entre el color tuyo y el blanco. No llega a blanco, tampoco llega al negro. Tiene rasgos de negro, pero tiene rasgos de blanco,*' DAJ_INT5). For another participant in Dajabón, *jabao* has a mixture of *negro* and other colors ('*Tiene como una mezcla de negro. El jabao es como una mezcla de colores,*' DAJ_INT1). As I interviewed a third participant in Dajabón, she called over a co-worker to demonstrate her understanding of the *jabao* category. The participant is identified as "D4," and the co-worker is identified as "CW" in Table 52 below.

Table 52. Characterizing the *Jabao*

| | |
|---|---|
| (D4) *Es un blanco, pero un blanco raro.*<br>*No es blanco, blanco.* | \<To interviewer\> |
| *¿Tu mamá es oscura, o tu papá?* | \<To co-worker\> |
| (CW) *No, mi mamá* | |
| (D4) *La mezcla de un color oscuro claro con un blanco blanco* | \<To interviewer\> |
| (CW) *Mi mamá es como el color tuyo.*<br>*Mi papá es así.* | \<To interviewer\> |
| (D4) *Porque si uno de tus padres fuera negro,*<br>*tú saldrías indio.*                (DAJ_INT4) | \<To co-worker\> |

The participant points to her co-worker and addresses the interviewer, 'He is *blanco*, but a strange *blanco*. He is not *blanco, blanco*.' She then addresses the co-worker, 'Is your mom dark, or your dad?' The co-worker answers, 'No, my mom.' The participant turns back to the interviewer: 'The mixture of a light dark color with a *blanco blanco*.' The co-worker

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points toward the interviewer and states, 'My mom is like your color. My dad is like this.'

He points to an object. The participant chimes in again, building on her co-worker's

statement that his mother is about the interviewer's color (*morena*), 'Because if one of your

parents were *negro*, you would come out *indio*.' For this participant's definition of *jabao*,

mixture is tempered by degree. One parent need not only be *blanco* but the emphatic *blanco*

*blanco*. The other parent must be darker than the first, but lighter than *negro*.

Skin color is the feature to which participants most frequently point as they build the

*jabao* profile. For some participants, the *jabao*'s skin color is light but not white ('*Claro,*

*pero no es blanco,*' STI_INT3) or yellowish ('*Un color medio amarillento. Pelo crespo,*'

STI_INT6). For others, skin color is viewed in conjunction with features such as freckles

('*Es como un amarillo con pintas,*' DAJ_INT1; '*El jabao tiene la piel llena de pintitas,*'

STI_INT4). A participant in Dajabón asserts that people with freckles are described as *jabao*

because of an association with a type of speckled snake known as the *culebra jabá* ('*Eso se*

*ha transferido de, aquí hay diferentes culebras. Hay una que le dicen la culebra jabá,*'

DAJ_INT1). The same participant confirms, however, that skin color is the most important

factor ('*Lo que se fija más al color de la piel,*' DAJ_INT1). One participant in Santiago

agrees that skin color is the primary determinant in the *jabao* profile but sees the role of skin

color in a way that is distinct from the other descriptions. For her, the *jabao* profile is about

contrasting skin tones: *morenos* with white patches on their skin, *indios* with white patches,

*blancos* with black patches ('*Personas morenas con manchas blancas. Igual que una*

*persona india, con manchas blancas. Personas blancas con manchas negras—también*

*jabao,*' STI_INT8).

Although participants view skin color as determinative, it can also be relative. A

participant in Santo Domingo explains:

> 'In a family of eight siblings, with parents from two distinct racial groups—He is *negro*; she is *blanca*—the children will turn out in one way or another. One comes out that is more *blanco* than everyone, *jabao*.'

> ('*En una familia de ocho hermanos, con padres de dos grupos raciales diferentes— Él es negro; ella es blanca—Los hijos saldrán de un modo u otro. Sale uno que es más blanco que todos, jabao*,' SDQ_INT1).

This participant does not mention hair color or texture or specific facial features. Rather, the determinative factor in this case is the skin color of the child in relation to his or her siblings.

Nevertheless, for some participants, hair, not skin color, is determinative for the *jabao* profile. Hair color and hair texture are key elements of this profile. A participant in Santiago describes the hair color of the *jabao* as 'from yellow to white' and continues that the profile is 'not necessarily the skin' ('*Pelo de amarillo a blanco. No necesariamente la piel*,' STI_INT4). For a participant in Santo Domingo, *rojizo* is the determinative color, and a person that is *jabao* will even have eyelashes and eyebrows that are the same reddish color as the individual's hair ('*…hasta las pestañas y las cejas son como rojizas*,' SDQ_INT6). For other participants, the description includes a combination of hair color and hair texture. One participant in Santiago describes this combination as 'Blonde-ish hair. Coarse hair with curls' ('*Pelo medio arubiao. Pelo crespo con rizos*,' STI_INT3). Finally, some participants highlight hair texture without mentioning color. A participant in Santo Domingo, while describing her grandmother, states that her grandmother was a strange *jabá* because she did not have '*pelo malo*' but rather smooth, curly hair ('*Mi abuela era jabá, pero una jabá rara porque no tenía el pelo malo. El pelo rizo y bueno*' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón speaks about how hair texture can be the determining factor for a description of *jabao* versus a description of *blanco*. She states, 'It is rare to see a white person with bad hair. If [the

person] has bad hair, [the person] is *jabao*. [The person] is not pure *blanco*' ('*Es raro ver una persona blanca con el pelo malo. Si tiene el pelo malo, es jabao. No es blanco puro*,' DAJ_INT7).

Because of its physical characteristics, *jabao* is a category with a lot of overlap, particularly with respect to *colorao, pelirrojo, blanco* and *rubio*. In Santiago, participants reference an overlap between *jabao* and *pelirrojo* and between *jabao, blanco,* and *indio lavado*. One participant states, 'We also call *pelirrojos jabao*' ('*También a los pelirrojos es que decimos jabao*,' STI_INT5). Another participant, while describing FEMALE_2, states, 'She can be *blanca* or *india lavada. Jabá* too, because of [her] freckles' ('*Puede ser blanca o india lavada. Jabá también, por pecas*,' STI_INT7). In Santo Domingo, participants describe the positioning of *jabao* between *blanco* and *indio* and the difference between *jabao* and *rubio*. One participant states, 'The *jabao* is quite a light person, more *amarillo* than *blanco* and more *blanco* than *indio*' ('*El jabao viene siendo una persona bastante clara, más amarillo que blanco y más blanco que indio*,' SDQ_INT4). Another participant highlights hair texture as the difference between the categories of *jabao* and *rubio*, 'The only [thing] is that the *jabao* is not like the hair of the *rubio*. The *jabao* has bad hair, even though it is blonde. A rougher hair, coarser. Basically, that is the difference' ('*Lo único es que el jabao no es como el cabello del rubio. El jabao tiene el pelo malo, aunque sea rubio. Un cabello más áspero, más crespo. Basicamente, ésa es la diferencia*,' SDQ_INT7). In Dajabón, a participant describes the overlap between the categories of *jabao* and *colorao*. For this participant, *jabao* is a type of *colorao* ('*Jabao viene siendo una variedad de colorao*,' DAJ_INT2). While describing his grandmother's physical profile, the participant treats *jabao* and *colorao* as overlapping categories, 'My grandmother was *colorá* as they

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say, or *jabá*' ('*Mi abuela era colorá como dicen, o jabá*,' DAJ_INT2).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Jabao*

In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *jabao* may be used as nicknames or as direct forms of address. A participant in Santiago confirms, 'Here there are people that use it as a nickname' ('*Aquí hay gente que lo usa de apodo*,' STI_INT8). While participants generally agree that *jabao may* be used as a form of direct address, there is some difference of opinion about the frequency of its use for this function. For one participant in Santo Domingo, *jabao* may be used as a form of direct address because it is descriptive and not pejorative ('*Sí, el jabao no es peyorativo. Es descriptivo*,' SDQ_INT1). For another participant, *jabao* may be used in direct address, but it is not common because *jabao* is a race ('*Sí, menos común, porque es una raza. Sí, se puede decir así, menos común*,' SDQ_INT6). For a third participant, *jabao* is very frequent as a form of direct address, 'And it is used to call [someone] also, '*Jabao*, look at that *jabao*.' It is very common' ('*Y se usa para llamar también, 'Jabao, mira ese jabao.' Es muy común*,' SDQ_INT7). Finally, a participant in Dajabón states that *jabao* is not usually used in this way ('*Usualmente, no se usa jabao para identificar*,' DAJ_INT2).

Although *jabao* is generally descriptive and not pejorative, *jabao* may be used in a pejorative way in certain contexts. A participant in Santiago describes such circumstances. When asked whether *jabao* could be used as an insult, the participant put the term in context, ''Look, [you] damn *jabao*!' When they speak like that, they are insults' (''*Mira, ¡maldito jabao*!' *Cuando hablan así, son insultos*,' STI_INT8). A participant in Santiago addresses social perceptions of the *jabao*. He states that people say, '*Jabaos* are dangerous. Hard to get along with' ('*Los jabao son peligrosos ... Malos de tratar*,' STI_INT4). For a

participant in Dajabón, there are also societal prejudices against *jabaos* because of their

undefined profile, 'There are prejudices against *jabaos* – as they do not have a defined

pigmentation. [He] has a discolored color. It is an element also of feature[s] of prejudice'

('*Hay prejuicios en contra de los jabaos, porque el jabao – como no tienen una*

*pigmentación definida. Tiene un color desteñido. Es un elemento también de rasgo de*

*prejuicio*,' DAJ_INT5).

Visual Representations of *Jabao*

Participants identify eight images that could be described as *jabao* in the Dominican

Republic: FEMALE_3, MALE_6, MALE_3, FEMALE_6, FEMALE_2, FEMALE_1,

FEMALE_9, FEMALE_25. Six participants describe FEMALE_3 as *jabao / jabá*. For two

participants, FEMALE_3 is *jabá* because she has freckles (STI_INT5, STI_INT7). A

participant in Santiago describes FEMALE_3, MALE_6, and FEMALE_2 as *jabaos*. For

this participant, FEMALE_3 and FEMALE_2 are *jabá* because of their freckles, and

MALE_6, although he does not have freckles like the other two, is *jabao* because his image

presents a great contrast. He has 'white skin' but facial features that would not typically be

associated with whiteness (STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago describes

FEMALE_6 as jabá because of her skin color and hair texture: 'Maybe someone might say

*blanca*. A yellowish color. Coarse hair' ('*Quizás alguien diga blanca. Un color medio*

*amarillento. Pelo crespo*,' (STI_INT6). A participant in Santo Domingo describes

FEMALE_9 as '*jabá*-ish' and FEMALE_1 as *jabá* but does not explain why ('*Ella es media*

*jabá*,' SDQ_INT8). The Santiago participant that describes MALE_3 and FEMALE_25 as

*jabao* does not explain which features prompt this description (STI_INT3).

**trigueño/a**

In general, participants agree that forms of *trigueño* are not very frequently used

descriptors in the Dominican Republic. For some participants, this evaluation is unqualified,

'Almost no one uses *trigueño*,' ('*Casi nadie usa trigueño*,' STI_INT6). A participant in

Santiago contrasts the frequency of the term *trigueño* with the frequency of *mulato*. The

participant states that, while *mulato* is not common and requires a certain educational level,

*trigueño* is a word used in rural spaces ('*No, tiene que ser una persona de cierto nivel*

*académico. La persona del pueblo no lo va a decir … Se usaría indio, moreno. Trigueño es*

*una palabra del pueblo*,' STI_INT7). For a participant in Santo Domingo that self identifies

as *trigueño*, the *trigueño* profile is actually the most common ('*Sí, creo que es el más*

*común*,' SDQ_INT6).

Physical Meaning: *Trigueño*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el trigueño*, they invoke four

primary variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) facial features. The

prototypical *trigueño* conforms to the description for all four characteristics. Based on the

descriptions that participants give and the images they identify, another *trigueño* profile

emerges that reveals the persistent legacy of a historical distinction between *trigueño claro*

and *trigueño oscuro* (Guzmán, 1974). *Trigueño* is also a category with significant category

overlap, particularly with gradations of *indio*. From sixteen participants that explicitly

describe the physical characteristics of the *trigueño*, the following prototype emerges: (1)

dark hair, (2) light skin (but not white), (3) straight hair, (4) fine features. A person that fits

this physical description is *trigueño* in the Dominican Republic. A second profile that can

represent the *trigueño*, profile b, also emerges from participant responses. For this

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description, an individual must have (1) dark hair, (2) darker skin, and may have (3) straight

or coarse hair.

|   | (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) HAIR TEXTURE | (4) FEATURES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | *pelo oscuro* | *clara* | *lacio / bueno* | (*facciones finas*) |
| b. | *pelo oscuro* | *oscurita / tostada / oscura* | *lacio / crespo* | |

Participants at all three research sites frame *trigueño* as a category that is characterized

by mixture. Specifically, *trigueño* frequently evokes a combination of *blanco* and *indígena*.

In Santiago, *trigueño* is an intermediate term—'Darker than *blanco*; lighter than *negro*'

('*Más oscura que el blanco; más clara que el negro*,' STI_INT8). At the popular level,

*trigueño* is the union of *blanco* with *indígena / europeo* with *indígena* ('*Nivel popular –*

*unión de blanco con indígena … mezcla de europeos con indígenas*,' STI_INT6). One

participant in Santiago specifically relates *trigueño* to the notion of *mestizaje*. He states:

> '*Trigueño* comes with a combination of *mestizaje*. The combination with *aborigen*, not *negro*. A skin tone that is neither *blanca* nor *negra*. It is the one that is *mestizo*. Neither *blanco* nor *oscuro*'

> ('*Trigueño viene con una combinación de mestizaje. La combinación con aborigen, no negro. Una tintura de piel que no es blanca ni negra. Es aquel que es mestizo. Ni blanco, ni oscuro*,' STI_INT4).

In Santo Domingo, a participant describes *trigueño* as the mix between *indio, blanco* and

*morenito* ('*El trigueño es como una mezcla – entre indio, blanco, morenito*,' SDQ_INT7). In

Dajabón, participants conceptualize the mixture of *trigueño* in a slightly broader way. For

one participant, *trigueño* is the mixture of various races ('*Trigueño quiere decir como*

*me'colanza de varias razas*,' DAJ_INT2). For two additional participants, *trigueño*

contemplates a mixture that includes the country's three principal historical ethnic groups:

black, white, and indigenous. One participant states, 'The *trigueño* is as if it were of three.

White, black, and indigenous race. Tri-, three' ('*El trigueño es como si fuera de tres. Raza*

*blanca y negra e indígena. Tri-tres*,' DAJ_INT6). The second participant incorporates

historical perspective and frames *trigueño* as an undefined mixture of three groups:

> *Trigueño*, in fact, the very composition, tri, n*egro, blanco* and *indio*. It can be the
> very same *mestizo* color. *Mestizaje* was initially seen between Europeans with
> Taínos, Europeans with Africans, Africans with Taínos. That hybridity originated
> that *trigueño* color. That is, the *trigueño* is like the national flag. That is, you cannot
> place it. It does not make sense. In terms of lineage, it would be *blanco*, which is the
> smallest population, *negro*, which is the largest population, and *mestizo*.'

> ('*Trigueño de hecho la misma composición, tri, negro, blanco e indio. Puede ser el
> mismo color mestizo. Mestizaje se vio inicialmente entre europeos con taínos,
> europeos con africanos, africanos con taínos. Esa hibridad originó ese color
> trigueño. O sea el trigueño es como la bandera nacional. O sea tú no puedes
> ubicarlo No tiene sentido. En términos de linaje, sería blanco, que es la población
> menor, el negro que es la población mayor, y mestizo*' DAJ_INT5).

In terms of the specific physical characteristics of the *trigueño* profile, skin color is the

feature to which participants most frequently refer. For one profile, the *trigueño* is

characterized by light, not white, skin. A participant in Santiago describes these features as

'Light skin with dark hair' ('*Piel clara con pelo oscuro*,' STI_INT7). A participant in Santo

Domingo describes the skin tone in terms of its relationship to *blanco,* 'Light skin. And a

little [heading] toward *blanco*, but not necessarily *blanco*. It is a path toward *blanco*' ('*Piel*

*clara. Y un poco tirando a blanco, pero no necesariamente blanco. Es un camino hacia el*

*blanco*,' SDQ_INT1). Moreover, for this participant, skin color is the determining factor in

the *trigueño* profile. The *trigueño* that he describes conforms to the *blanco* profile in all

other respects (e.g., hair color and texture, facial features) but has slightly darker skin ('*Son*

*blancos de físico, pero la piel no es tan blanca. Ése es el trigueño*,' SDQ_INT1). A Second

profile of the *trigueño* is characterized by darker skin. A participant in Santiago describes

this profile as overlapping with the category *indio oscuro*. This participant identifies two

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images as *trigueñas*—FEMALE_7 and FEMALE_8. The participant points to the images

and describes their skin color as 'a little more toasted' ('*piel un poco más tostada,*'

STI_INT5)*.* After the description, she concludes, 'Tonality determines the typification'

('*Tonalidad determina la tipificación,*' STI_INT5).

Because *trigueño* is a category characterized by mixture, the profile is also characterized

by significant category overlap. For many participants, *trigueño* overlaps with the category

*indio*. A participant in Santiago states, 'Almost no one uses *trigueño*. That is what they call

*indio* – the *indio claro*' ('*Casi nadie usa el trigueño. A eso es lo que llaman indio – el indio

claro,*' STI_INT6). Another Santiago participant, when describing FEMALE_5, positions

the image as conforming to the profiles for both *trigueña* and *india lavada* ('STI_INT7). A

participant in Santo Domingo states that people will call the *trigueño indio* ('*Las personas la

llaman indio,*' SDQ_INT6). A participant in Dajabón states that a *trigueño* is like an *indio*,

but with coarse hair ('*Es como un indio, pero con los cabellos crespos,*' DAJ_INT2).

For other participants, *trigueño* may also overlap with the categories of *moreno, mulato*,

and *negro*. A participant in Santiago compares the profiles of *trigueño* and *moreno*. For this

participant, if a person has light skin and straight hair, he or she is *trigueño/a*. However, if

the person has light skin and coarse hair, than he or she will continue to be *moreno/a* ('*Si es

de tez un poco claro-pelo crespo—sigue siendo moreno,*' STI_INT9). For a participant in

Dajabón, *trigueño* is very similar to *mulato*, and the two terms are synonyms ('*Un trigueño

es casi muy parecido a lo que viene siendo el mulato. Creo que son sinónimos,*' DAJ_INT1).

For another participant in Dajabón, the *trigueño* 'is practically *negro*, not with the rough

features of the *negro*. [The *trigueño*] is lighter than the *negro*' ('*Es practicamente negro, no

con las facciones ásperas del negro. Es un poco más claro que el negro,*' DAJ_INT7).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Trigueño*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *trigueño*, participants articulate the ways in which *trigueño* may be deployed in discourse. According to participants, the primary function of *trigueño* is descriptive. In addition to the descriptive function, forms of *trigueño* may sometimes be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. For a participant in Santiago, *trigueño*, like *blanco*, is commonly used for description but would be strange for direct address. She gives an example, '*Esa trigueñita que va allí*' ('That *trigueñita* that is going there,' STI_INT3). For a participant in Santo Domingo, *trigueño* may not be used as a nickname (SDQ_INT1), but for a participant in Santiago, it may, 'Look, *mami, trigueñita*' ('*Mira, mami, trigueñita*,' STI_INT8). Participants also discuss whether *trigueño* may be used as a form of address more generally. A participant in Santiago gives an example from a poem by Arturo Pellerano, 'I would like to be a pack mule, that searches for water, where you, my *trigueñita*, bathe' ('*Quisiera ser un burro de cargo, que busca el agua, donde tú, mi trigueña, te bañas*,' STI_INT7). For a participant in Santo Domingo, however, *trigueño* is only used to describe and not as a form of direct address. He gives as an example, '*Sí, es un poco trigueña*' ('Yes, [she] is a little *trigueña*,' SDQ_INT1). Another participant in Santo Domingo expounds. For him, because *trigueños* are a minority of the population, people do not often use *trigueño* as a form of address. *Trigueño* can be used, however, to describe someone, as in, '*El trigueñito que estaba parado*' ('The *trigueñito* that was standing there') or '*Sí, la chica aquella, la trigueña,*' ('Yes, that girl, the *trigueña*,' SDQ_INT6).

For some participants, *trigueño* also performs ideological functions. A participant in Dajabón states that *trigueño* is not offensive and that people generally accept the description

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('*Si lo dice, no se ofende. Si lo usa, la gente lo acepta*,' DAJ_INT7). For a participant in

Santo Domingo, *trigueño* brings a note of elegance ('*Porque el trigueño le da una nota de*

*elegancia*,' SDQ_INT6). For a second participant in Dajabón, *trigueño* has a more sinister

function, 'The *trigueño* is also a form of hiding our color … to not say *negro*, they say

*trigueño*' ('*El trigueño es también una forma de esconder el color de nosotros … Para no*

*decir negro, le dicen trigueño*, DAJ_INT6).

<u>Visual Representations of *Trigueño*</u>

Participants identify ten images that could be described as *trigueño* in the Dominican

Republic: FEMALE_4, FEMALE_5, MALE_14, MALE_19, FEMALE_2, FEMALE_7,

MALE_7, FEMALE_8, MALE_13, MALE_21.  Participants identify each of the images as

*trigueño/a* one time. What emerges from these images, however, is a historical distinction

within the category: *trigueño claro* and *trigueño oscuro*. Although participants no longer use

the modifiers *claro* and *oscuro*, the images that participants identify reveal the persistence of

this distinction. FEMALE_4, FEMALE_5, MALE_14, MALE_19 and FEMALE_2 evoke

*trigueño claro*, while FEMALE_7, MALE_7, FEMALE_8, MALE_13, and MALE_21

evoke *trigueño oscuro*. Participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo conceive *trigueño* as

*trigueño claro*. Regarding FEMALE_4, a participant in Santiago states, 'She is what I call

*trigueña*' ('*Ella es lo que yo llamo trigueña*,' STI_INT6). Another participant in Santiago

describes FEMALE_5 as *trigueña* or *india lavada* because of her dark hair and light skin

(STI_INT7). A participant in Santo Domingo states that MALE_14 *could* be *trigueño*

('*Podría ser él también*,' SDQ_INT1). When asked whether MALE_14 qualifies despite

having curly hair, the participant states, 'That hair is not curly; it is a permanent' ('*Ese pelo*

*no es rizado; es un permanente*,' SDQ_INT1). The same participant identifies MALE_19 as

*trigueño* and states that what really matters for the profile is having straight hair ('*Lo que importa es el pelo lacio*,' SDQ_INT1). When this same participant evaluates FEMALE_2, he concludes, 'She is very *morenita* to be *trigueña*' ('*Está muy morenita para ser trigueño*,' SDQ_INT1).

Participants in Santiago and Santo Domingo also conceive of *trigueño* as *trigueño oscuro*. One participant in Santiago identifies FEMALE_7 and FEMALE_8 as *trigueña*. Another participant in Santiago states, regarding MALE_7, 'For me, he is *trigueño*' ('*Para mí es trigueño*,' STI_INT6). Participants in Santo Domingo describe MALE_13 as on the border between *indio claro* and *trigueño*. During the interview, one participant describes MALE_13 as *indio claro*, and the other participant chimes in that he is entering or bordering *trigueñito* (SDQ_INT3). A participant in Santiago describes MALE_21 as on the border of *moreno* and *trigueño*, 'He is *moreno*, but they would not call him *moreno. Trigueño*' ('*Él es moreno, pero a él no lo llamarían  moreno. Trigueño*,' STI_INT3).

Although participants generally identify images that fit either the *claro* or *oscuro* part of the *trigueño* profile, the two are not always mutually exclusive. As an example, a participant in Santiago identifies both FEMALE_4 and MALE_7 as *trigueños*, where FEMALE_4 represents the lighter end of the profile and MALE_7 the darker end.

### indio/a

More than for other terms, origin narratives emerge as important components of the *indio* profile. For some participants, the proliferation of *indio* as a skin color term is a direct legacy of the Trujillo dictatorship. On this point, a participant in Santiago states, 'The concept of [the] color *indio* came from Trujillo. A way to deny the *mulato* … Trujillo did

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not want *mulato, negro*' ('*El concepto de color indio vino de Trujillo. Una manera de negar el mulato … Trujillo no quería mulato, negro,*' STI_INT4). A second participant confirms that Trujillo instituted the use of *indio* as a skin color descriptor on the *cédula* because he did not want any *cédula* to say *negro* ('*Tiene que ver con Trujillo. No quería que ninguna cédula dijera 'negro',*' STI_INT5). For a third participant, *indio* is an ideological legacy of the Trujillo regime ('*Es ideológico, Trujillo,*' STI_INT6).

Other participants point to the nation's indigenous past as a lens for contemporary *indio* usage. In these narratives, the modern *indio* profile in the Dominican Republic is set against the historical backdrop. Participants look at factors such as skin color and hair texture to connect the contemporary *indio* to the historical *indio*. A participant in Santo Domingo, when asked why the term *indio* is used, responds, 'Because the skin color [of the Taínos] was more or less like that, but with straighter hair' ('*Porque el color de la piel* [*de los taínos*] *era más o menos así, pero con el pelo más lacio…*' SDQ_INT2). A participant in Santiago echoes this point, '[One] always saw the drawings of the aboriginal Taínos. Cinnamon color, because of their skin color. *Pelo chino* – thick but straight. Indigenous hair. *Indio* comes from that' ('*Siempre vio los dibujos de los aborígenes taínos. Color canela, por su color de piel. Pelo chino – grueso pero lacio. Pelo indígena. De eso viene indio,*' STI_INT9).

As a participant in Dajabón states that people regularly call him *indio,* he explains why, 'Regularly, they call me *indio*. Because initially, *indios* inhabited [the island]. Before becoming the Dominican Republic. They had skin similar to yours and mine' ('*Por lo regular me dicen indio. Porque inicialmente, habitaban indios. Antes de ser República Dominicana … Tenían la piel parecida a la tuya y a la mía,*' DAJ_INT5). The indigenous

population is always framed as a part of the past. A participant in Dajabón states that *indio*

derives from the indigenous population that the island used to have ('*De los mismos*

*indígenas que teníamos aquí,*' DAJ_INT1). He continues that Dominicans are a diverse mix

and that is where *indio* comes from. Having stated this, the participant also invokes the

Trujillo ideology and states that *indio* is used to avoid saying *negro* ('*Aquí en la República*

*Dominicana somos una mezcla bastante diversa. La palabra india viene de por allí, para no*

*decir que somos negros,*' DAJ_INT1). For this participant, *indio* is about mixture, 'You are

neither *blanco* nor *negro*. You are a mix' ('*Tú no eres ni blanco ni negro. Tú eres una*

*mezcla,*' DAJ_INT1).

While participants attribute the use of *indio* to the nation's indigenous past, they also

generally state that the historical *indio*, the indigenous *indio* disappeared a long time ago.

For a participant in Santiago, *indio* is [the] purest race … [the] original race. [The] *indio*

disappeared a long time ago' ('*Indio – raza más pura ... raza original. Indio desapareció*

*hace mucho tiempo,*' STI_INT7). Perhaps the indigenous past is so far removed, that some

participants do not find a connection between contemporary *indio* and historical *indio*. On

this point, a participant in Santo Domingo states:

> 'No, I do not think that [*indio*] has to do with the indigenous [population]. Because
> the indigenous [population], they all died. I do not think that it has to do with the
> indigenous [population], that it has something from the indigenous [population]. I do
> not know where it came from. I do not know where the word came from'
>
> ('*No, no creo que tenga que ver con el aborigen, Porque el aborigen, se murieron*
> *todos. No creo que tenga que ver con el aborigen, que tenga algo del aborigen. No*
> *sé de dónde salió. No sé de dónde salió la palabra,*' SDQ_INT5).

Participants across research sites confirm that forms of *indio* are among the most

commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. Participants highlight that *indio* is

an accessible term that may be used by speakers regardless of educational background

(STI_INT7). This presents a contrast with terms such as *mulato* (to be discussed in the next section), which participants state are generally only used by individuals with a higher level of education. In this sense, *indio* is used more frequently than *mulato* (DAJ_INT1). For some participants, the *indio* profile is also more frequent than *blanco* and *negro* ('*Sí, los indios son muy communes. Las personas del color indio abundan más que los blancos, negros,*' DAJ_INT4).

Physical Meaning: *Indio*

The concept of *indio* is broad in the Dominican Republic, and it is precisely because of this breadth that so many forms of *indio* exist. A participant in Santo Domingo estimates that 70 percent of the country could fall within the category of *indio* ('*Es muy amplio. Allí hay que caber un 70 por ciento del país,*' SDQ_INT1). The participant continues by stating that *indio* is broad and general, making it the easiest way to describe someone ('*Es amplia y muy generalizada. La categoría indio es la forma más fácil de describir*, SDQ_INT1). The physical description represented by *indio* crosses many categorical boundaries, and participants comment on this overlap. A participant in Santo Domingo holds a list with racial terms during the interview. She motions towards terms on the list—*indio, moreno, prieto*—and says, 'It is that, for me, the word *india* is like, it is the same as all of these' ('*Es que para mí la palabra india es como que, es lo mismo, que ya todos estos,*' SDQ_INT5). The inherent challenge in describing *indio*, then, is tackling its breadth.

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *indio*, they invoke four variables: (1) hair color, (2) skin color, (3) hair texture, and (4) features. *Indio* is a category that is very much defined by its relationship to other categories, thus, while some participants describe *indio* on its own terms, others construct meaning for the category by

juxtaposing it to other categories. To begin to investigate the question of prototype, I first divide the *indio* category into the commonly used subcategories: *indio, indio claro*, and *indio oscuro*. From nineteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the Dominican *indio*, the following prototypes emerge. For *indio*, (1) black hair, (2) intermediate skin tone, and (3) straight hair. For *indio claro*, (1) black hair, (2) light (not white) skin, and (3) straight hair. For *indio oscuro*, (1) black hair, (2) dark skin, (3) straight (sometimes coarse) hair, and (4) fine or rough features. These broad descriptions allow the use of *indio* for many different physical profiles.

|  | (1) HAIR COLOR | (2) SKIN COLOR | (3) HAIR TEXTURE | (4) FEATURES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Indio* | *negro* | *tono intermedio* | *lacio* |  |
| *Indio claro* | *negro* | *claro* | *lacio* |  |
| *Indio oscuro* | *negro* | *oscuro* | *lacio* (*crespo*) | *finas / ásperas* |

Participants at all research sites frame *indio* as a category that is characterized by mixture. Specifically, *indio* evokes for participants an intermediate space between *blanco* and *negro.* In Santo Domingo, participants comment on this mixture in a variety of ways. For one Santo Domingo participant, *indio* can be used to describe anyone that is neither *blanco* nor *negro* because *indio* is specifically understood as a space between *blanco* and *negro* ('*Todo el que no es ni blanco ni negro. Es todo un espacio entendido entre blanco y negro,*' SDQ_INT1). He continues, 'Exact definition [of *indio*] – neither *blanco* nor *negro*. Later modifiers [are used] to [describe grade]' ('*Definición exacta – ni blanco, ni negro. Luego moduladores para gradar,*' SDQ_INT1). Another participant describes *indio* as a variety of *mulato*—understood as the mixture between *blanco* and *negro* ('*El indio es como una combinación de mulato,*' SDQ_INT8). A third participant, designated as "SDQ4," uses the metaphor of *café con leche* (lit. 'coffee with milk') to describe the category of *indio*.

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When asked to describe the Dominican conception of *indio*, SDQ4 responds that it is 'like a *café con leche*.' He continues, 'And coffee, what is it?' '*Negro*,' I answer. 'And milk?' SDQ4 asks. '*Blanca*,' I respond. 'What color does that give you?' SDQ4 asks. I answer, '*Café con leche*' ('(SDQ4) *Como un café con leche. Y café, ¿qué es?* (EW) *Negro.* (SDQ4) *¿Y la leche?* (EW) *Blanca.* (SDQ4) *¿Qué color te da?* (EW) *Café con leche*,' SDQ_INT4).

Participants in Dajabón also frame *indio* as a category defined by mixture. For one participant, *indio* is an ambivalent category wherein someone is not *blanco* and not *negro*. A person that is described as *indio* may be any color up to *negro*, but not *blanco*. Because the range of skin tones that fall within *indio* can go all the way up to *negro*, *indio* is also a compromise category used to avoid calling someone *negro* ('*Es un ambivalente. No eres blanco y no eres [negro] … El indio puede ser hasta negro, pero no blanco. Es como un intermedio, para no decirte negro*,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant in Dajabón, despite stating that '*indio* does not exist,' also states that Dominicans will use forms of *indio* to describe someone that is mixed ('*No existe indio, sino-, existe en persona, mezcladita como tú – le dicen india. A mí también me dicen indio. Donde eso no es possible*,' DAJ_INT3). A final participant in Dajabón confirms *indio* as mixture between *negro* and *blanco*. She states, 'It is a mix between *negra* and *blanca*, with finer features. Not as fine as the [features] of the *blanco*. Not as rough as the features of the *negro*' ('*Es una mezcla, entre negra y blanca, con facciones más finas. No tan finas como las del blanco. No tan ásperas como el negro*,' DAJ_INT7).

With respect to the physical parameters of the category, the most salient characteristic is skin color. For a participant in Santiago, a description of *indio* is no longer a racial matter but one of skin color, as used on the *cédula* ('*Está en la cédula de identidad. Ya no es un*

*asunto racial*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, this skin color is brown ('*Un color indio es un color marrón*,' STI_INT6). For another, it is an intermediate tone, neither light nor dark ('*Tono intermedio. Ni claro, ni oscuro*,' STI_INT7). For another, it is a cinnamon color ('*Un color canela*,' STI_INT9). Participants in Santo Domingo agree that forms of *indio* primarily describe skin color. When asked directly whether *indio* implies contemporary indigeneity, a participant responds, 'No, [it is a] skin color specification' ('*No, especificación de la piel*,' SDQ_INT4). For this participant, this specification is not very dark and not very light. It is a simple, attractive tone. To demonstrate the correlation with attractiveness, the participant gives an example of a compliment that he would give a woman meeting the *india* description, 'Look, what a pretty *india*' ('*Un colorcito ni muy oscuro ni muy claro. La definición. No muy negro, ni muy blanco. Un tono allí, sencillo, atractivo, 'Mira, que india más linda*,'' SDQ_INT4). Another participant describes the *indio* skin tone as a different type of tan ('*Tiene como si fuese un bronceado diferente*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant that has trouble articulating exactly what *indio* is, chooses to define *indio* by what it is not—*blanco* ('*No sé ni cómo explicarte … un color que no es, una persona que no es blanca*,' SDQ_INT5). A final participant in Santo Domingo positions skin color as an important factor in determining the modifier that will be used with *indio*. He states, '[It is] how your skin looks. It denotes, if you are an *indio lavaíto*, or an *indio claro, oscuro*. It is the tone, the intensity' ('*Como luce tu piel. Denota, si tú eres un indio lavaíto, o un indio claro, oscuro. Ya es el tono, la intensidad*,' SDQ_INT6).

While participants generally concur that skin color can be determinative for the *indio* profile, some participants emphasize that hair texture may be a salient factor as well. For a participant in Santiago, '*indio* has a lot to do with the form of the hair. His dark color. It

does not matter if very dark or a little. If he is dark and has straight hair, he is *indio'* ('*El indio tiene que ver mucho con la forma del pelo. Su color oscuro. No importa si muy oscuro o poco. Si es oscuro y tiene el pelo lacio, es indio,*' STI_INT9). For a participant in Santo Domingo, hair texture is important because it can distinguish an *indio* from a *moreno* ('*Cabellito un poco más lacio que el moreno,*' SDQ_INT4). For another Santo Domingo participant, an *indio* should have 'good' / straight black hair, that is generally abundant. These features evoke the profile of the historical *indio* ('*Salvo que el indio debe tener el pelo negro y bueno, generalmente abundante. Como que esas facciones te hacen ver el indígena,*' SDQ_INT6). For a participant in Dajabón, someone that is *indio* must have straight hair, because 'an *indio* does not have coarse hair' ('*El cabello totalmente lacio. Un indio no tiene cabello crespo,*' DAJ_INT5).

Descriptions of skin color change somewhat when participants describe the subcategory of *indio claro*. For a participant in Dajabón, a person that is *indio claro* has more of a tendency toward *blanco* ('*Más tendencia hacia el blanco,*' DAJ_INT1). In Santo Domingo, a participant describes *indio claro* as between *blanco* and *indio* ('Between *blanco* and *indio,*' SDQ_INT3). For a participant in Santiago, a person that is *indio claro* is 'a little lighter than the *trigueño*. [He] has better hair. A little straighter, less curly' ('*Un poco más claro que el trigueño. Tiene el pelo mejor. Un poquito más lacio, menos rizado,*' STI_INT9). Another participant in Santiago frames the subcategory *indiecito claro* in relation to *indio claro*. For this participant, *indiecito claro* is:

> A tiny bit [darker] than the *blanquito*. Sub classifications. Not as light as the *blanquito*, but not as dark as the *indio claro*. They do not take nose, ears, or anything into consideration. A different tint of the skin.

('*Un poquiningo menos claro que el blanquito. Subclasificaciones. No tan clara como el blanquito, pero no tan oscuro como el indio claro. No toman en consideración ni nariz ni orejas ni nada. Una tintura diferente de la piel,*' STI_INT4).

Participants in Santiago and Dajabón comment on the subcategory *indio lavado*. When asked to describe the *indio lavado*, the participant in Santiago first jokes, '*Los que se bañaron*' ('The ones that bathed'). '*Mentira, mentira,*' he continues ('Lie[s], lie[s]'). He then explains that *indio lavado* is a dark color ('*Indio lavado, colorcito oscuro,*' STI_INT9). The participant in Dajabón states that there is a racist connotation inherent in the term, a connotation that negates blackness ('*Hay una connotación racista con esa palabra. El indio con sus varias, una palabra racista, con la negación del negro,*' DAJ_INT1).

Participants describe the subcategory of *indio oscuro* as a contrast between dark skin and straight hair. This is precisely how a participant in Santiago describes the *indio oscuro* profile ('*Pelo lacio, piel oscura,*' STI_INT9). The participant goes on to emphasize that skin color and hair texture are primary determinants, because facial features can vary ('[Facciones] *pueden ser más finas, o un poco más rústicas o bruscas,*' STI_INT9). Another participant in Santiago describes how individuals deploy the category *indio oscuro* in discourse. For example, people might assert membership in the category of *indio oscuro* to eschew another category, such as Haitian. According to the participant, 'Many [people] say, 'I am not Haitian; I am *indio oscuro*' ('*Este, muchos dicen, 'Yo no soy haitiano; yo soy un indio oscuro,*' (STI_INT6). For this participant the *indio oscuro* profile also includes dark skin and straight hair ('*Piel más oscura, pero el pelo más lacio,* STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, the difference between the categories *indio oscuro* and *indio lavado* is that, with *indio oscuro*, African descent is more salient ('*Se nota África,*' STI_INT7). A participant in Dajabón concurs. *Indio oscuro* has a tendency toward *negro* ('*Hacia el negro,*'

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DAJ_INT1).

Some participants in Santo Domingo and Dajabón describe the physical appearance of the *indio* in terms of perfection. A participant in Santo Domingo states regarding the *indio*, 'A totally incredible physique, like almost perfect' ('*Un físico totalmente increíble, como casi perfecto*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón concurs, stating that the *indio* is like the *rubio* in that he/she generally has straight hair, which the participant associates with perfection ('*Es igual que el rubio. El rubio generalmente tiene el pelo lacio. Más, más la perfección*,' DAJ_INT1).

For other participants, contemporary *indio* identity is a paradox. Participants frame this dilemma in terms of how *indio* can be used as a descriptive category when the historical *indio* disappeared centuries ago. The question of existence is key to the expression of this paradox, as is the distinction between indigenous *indio* and skin color *indio*. A participant in Santiago states that *indio oscuro* and *indio claro* simply do not exist ('*No existen indio oscuro / claro*,' STI_INT7). Participants in Santo Domingo share the opinion that the skin color *indio* does not exist. One participant states, 'People call it *indio*. But the *indio* does not exist, because *indio* is a race,' a race that has disappeared ('Las *personas la llaman indio. Pero que el indio no existe, porque el indio es una raza*,' SDQ_INT6). Having established that, the participant confirms that people use the term *indio* frequently as a skin color term. He opines that they might use it because of confusion ('*Pero también la gente lo usa mucho, quizás por confusión*, SDQ_INT6). Another participant in Santo Domingo alludes to the paradox of the *indio* category as she describes her *cédula*. The participant's *cédula* describes her skin color as *india*. The participant, however, does not accept this description, choosing to identify instead as *negra*. She states, 'According to the perception that I have of *indio*, I

am not *india*' ('*Según la percepción que yo tengo de indio, no soy india,*' (SDQ_INT8). For

this participant, *indio* should only describe the indigenous *Taínos* that inhabited the island

prior to the arrival of Columbus ('*Indios solamente los taínos que estaban en el país …*'

SDQ_INT8). Participants in Dajabón also confront this dilemma. A participant in Dajabón

describes how government documents, such as birth certificates, also include a skin color

designation of *indio* and yet insists that the color *indio* does not exist ('*En el acta de*

*nacimiento ponen 'color indio,' pero el indio no es un color*,' DAJ_INT2). As the

participant makes his point, he asks me directly, 'Is *indio* a color?' ('*¿El indio es un color*?

DAJ_INT2). When I respond that *indio* is a color in the Dominican Republic, the participant

refuses to accept that justification. 'The color does not exist. It is something from here from

the Dominican Republic' ('*El color no existe. Es algo de aquí de RD,*' DAJ_INT2). A

second participant argues that *indio* cannot be used as a racialized color because such a

usage is not found within the ambit of Anthropology, and that *indio* was instituted to avoid

saying *mulato* or *negro* ('*Indio no es un color de raza. Indio era para no decirle ni mulato ni*

*negro. Por ejemplo, me dicen indio. Indio no está dentro del patrón de la antropología. No*

*está*,' DAJ_INT3).

Because of the breadth of space covered by *indio*, it is a term with significant category

overlap. For some participants, *indio claro* overlaps with the category *blanco*. A participant

in Santiago, while describing FEMALE_4, states, 'This is a *blanca*.' She pauses. 'She could

be an *india lavada*. Processed hair' ('*Ésta es una blanca. Podría ser una india lavada. Pelo*

*procesado*,' STI_INT7). The same participant speaks about the overlap between *indio* and

*mulato*. She explains that facial features such as the nose and mouth are key for determining

whether someone is *indio* or *mulato*. The distinction is not one of racial difference, as an

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*indio* and a *mulato* can be siblings with the same parents. If a person has a 'wider nose' and a 'big mouth,' he or she is *mulato* ('*Nariz, boca, muy determinante. Pueden ser del mismo padre y madre. Si sale con nariz más ancha, boca grande – mulato,*' STI_INT7).

Participants also speak about the difference between the categories of *indio* and *trigueño*. In Santiago, participants frame the distinction between the two categories in terms of skin tone. A person that is *indio* will generally have a darker skin tone than someone that is *trigueño*, and participants describe both sides of this comparison: *Indio* is 'darker than the *trigueño*' ('*Más oscuro que el trigueño,*' STI_INT8), and '*Trigueño* is much lighter' than *indio* ('*El trigueño es mucho más claro,*' STI_INT9). Still, participants find similarity across the two categories. A participant in Santo Domingo states that the two profiles have something in common in terms of skin color, but that hair texture can distinguish the two categories ('*Tiene algo en común en el tono de la piel. Salvo que el indio debe tener el pelo negro y bueno,*' SDQ_INT6). Even though the skin tone is similar, the participant states that the *trigueño* is lighter than the *indio* ('*Porque los trigueños son más claros que el indio,*' SDQ_INT6). Although both categories are defined by mixture, another participant in Santo Domingo states that the *indio* is a person that is more defined than the *trigueño* ('*Una persona más definida que el trigueño,*' SDQ_INT7).

Finally, participants comment on the overlap between *indio* and categories such as *moreno* and *negro*. For one participant in Santo Domingo, this juxtaposition is not common. When asked whether there can be overlap between *moreno* and *indio* and *negro* and *indio*, the participant answers, 'No, [it is] very difficult' ('*No, muy difícil,*' SDQ_INT4). For other participants, however, the overlap is very much possible. A participant in Santo Domingo defines the category of *indio* by explicitly invoking the profile of *moreno*. She explains, 'An

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*indio* here is a *moreno*, a *moreno claro* with good and straight hair ('*Un indio aquí es un moreno, un moreno claro con el pelo bueno y lacio*,' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón echoes the importance of both skin color and hair texture to this profile. As he describes the *indio* profile, the participant uses my physical appearance as an example of the overlap and distinction between *indio* and *moreno*, 'My color, your color. But your hair does not allow [you] to enter *indio* … coarse. So you have a quality of *morena*. [The] *indio*'s hair is straighter' ('*El color mío, el color tuyo. Pero el cabello tuyo no deja entrar en indio … crespo. Entonces tú tienes una calidad de morena. Cabello de indio más lacio*,' DAJ_INT2). When discussing the *indio* profile, another Dajabón participant also confirms the importance of hair texture as a distinguishing feature between *indio* and *negro* or *moreno*. She states that if someone has the skin tone of the *indio* profile but has coarse hair, people will call him *negro*, or *moreno* to avoid calling him *negro* ('*Le dicen negro. Moreno. Para no decirle negro, también le dicen moreno*,' DAJ_INT4).

When participants talk about the *indio* category, they frequently invoke external narratives that challenge contemporary *indio* identity in the Dominican Republic. The deference that participants afford to these external evaluations of Dominican racial categories broaches the question of epistemologies. A participant in Santiago relates an anecdote about a Dominican man that went to study in Spain. She describes the man as *indio* with coarse hair, *indio oscuro*. One day, a Spanish guy tells him, 'You are *mulato*, not *indio*.' The Dominican man says that it was very revealing to have that experience in another country (STI_INT7).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Indio*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *indio*, participants

comment on the ways in which forms of *indio* may be deployed in the social sphere. In general, forms of *indio* are descriptive and not offensive. In addition to the descriptive function, forms of *indio* may also be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. Participants additionally comment on the ideological functions of the term *indio*. For participants in Santo Domingo, *indio* may be used as a nickname. One participant gives the example '*la india ciboney*' (SDQ_INT1). A second participant gives the example '*indiecita*' ('*Sí, indiecita, sí,*' SDQ_INT7). For a participant in Dajabón, the use of *indio* as a nickname would be strange (DAJ_INT7).

Participants are divided regarding the frequency with which *indio* is used as a form of direct address. For one participant in Santiago, this usage is not common ('*No, no es tan común,*' STI_INT7). For another Santiago participant, *indio* may be used as a form of direct address and, in *piropos*, may also be used as an indirect direct form of address, as in, '*Mira ese indiecito que está bueno,*' ('Look at that *indiecito* that [looks good],' STI_INT8). In Santo Domingo, one participant states that *indio* can be used as a form of direct address. As an example, he calls out, '¡*Indio*!'. Then he follows up with a confirmation, 'Yes, in another country it would be an insult; not here' ('¡*Indio*! *Sí. En otro país sería un insulto, aquí no,*' SDQ_INT1). For a second Santiago participant, *indio* is not a common form of address in its standard form but may be employed in the diminutive ('*No es tan común. En disminutivo, sí, 'Mira ese indiecito,*' SDQ_INT7).

Finally, participants at all three research sites comment on the ideological functions of *indio*. For a participant in Dajabón, although *indio* is generally not offensive, it may be deployed with the meaning of 'idiot,' a practice that Dominicans trace back to initial interactions between the island's indigenous population and Spanish colonizers ('*A veces se*

*da con el sentido de idiota*,' DAJ_INT3). Other participants understand *indio* as a term used

to hide African ancestry. A participant in Santiago states, 'In my opinion, it is that we want

to hide the *negro*. We know that we are not *blancos*. Indian race' ('*En mi opinión, es que*

*nosotros queremos esconder el negro. Sabemos que no somos blancos. Raza india.*,'

STI_INT6). For another Santiago participant, *indio* is a euphemism to avoid saying *mulato*

('*Un eufemismo para no decir mulato*,' STI_INT7). Participants in Dajabón echo this theme.

'*Indio* is for me, it is an invented color to not say that someone was *negro*. For me it is a

denial of *negro* ('*El indio es para mí, es un color inventado para no decir que uno era*

*negro. Para mí es una negación del negro*,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant concurs,

'*Indio*, that is an anti-black, anti-Haitian expression, so you do not say that you are black'

('*El indio, ésa es una expresión anti-negra, anti-haitiana, para tú no decir que eres negro*,'

DAJ_INT2). For other Dajabón participants, *indio* is used instead of *mulato, negro,* and

*mestizo* ('*Indio era para no decirle ni mulato ni negro*,' DAJ_INT3; '*Para no decirle*

*mestizo*,' DAJ_INT5). One participant in Santo Domingo contests this function. He states,

'The description of '*indio*' is no a rejection of *negro*, 'The Dominican does not accept

himself.' [The Dominican] has created a system of neology, to describe racial mixtures ('*La*

*descripción de 'indio' no es un rechazo del negro. 'El dominicano no acepta a si mismo.'*

*Ha creado un sistema neológico, para describir las mezclas raciales*,' SDQ_INT1).

Visual Representations of *Indio*

Participants identify 31 images that can be described as *indio* in the Dominican

Republic. These results confirm that *indio* is a broad category. Participants most frequently

describe FEMALE_5 as *india*. Six participants describe FEMALE_5 as *india, india clara,*

and *india lavada*. A participant that describes FEMALE_5 as *india clara* states that it is

because she has dark hair and light, not necessarily white, skin ('*Pelo oscuro. Piel clara, no necesariamente blanca,*' STI_INT7). Five participants describe FEMALE_2 and MALE_5 as *indio/a*. For participants, FEMALE_2 is *india, india clara,* and *india lavada*. A participant in Santiago states, 'That [girl] is *india clara*. Black hair' ('*Ésa es india clara. Pelo negro,*' STI_INT6). MALE_5 is *indio* (4) and *indio claro* (1). A participant in Santiago describes MALE_5 as *indio* because of his 'intermediate tone' ('*Tono intermedio,*' STI_INT7). Four participants describe FEMALE_4 and MALE_4 as *indio*. FEMALE_4 is *india clara* and *india lavada*, and MALE_4 is *indio claro* and *indio charlatán*.

Three participants describe as *indio* MALE_3, MALE_6, MALE_7, FEMALE_7, FEMALE_8, FEMALE_10, and FEMALE_15. MALE_3 is *indio* and *indio lavao*; MALE_6 is *indio* and *indio claro*; MALE_7 is *indio* and *indio oscuro*; FEMALE_7 is *india* and *india trigueña*; FEMALE_8 is *india* and *india morenita*; FEMALE_10 is *india*; and FEMALE_15 is *india* and *india oscura*. Two participants describe the following images as *indio*: FEMALE_9, FEMALE_16, FEMALE_17, FEMALE_19, FEMALE_20, MALE_15, MALE_18, MALE_19, and MALE_20. For these participants, FEMALE_9 is *india clara*; FEMALE_16 is *india* and *indiecita / blanca*; FEMALE_19 is *india clara*; and FEMALE_20 is *india clara*. FEMALE_17 is *india oscura*. One participant gives the reason for this classification, 'She is *india oscura*. [She] is a *negra*, but not *negra negra* ('*Ella es india oscura. Es una negra, pero no negra negra,*' SDQ_INT1). MALE_15 and MALE_18 are *indio*; and MALE_19 and MALE_20 are *indio claro*. One participant describes each of the remaining images as *indio*: MALE_1, MALE_2, FEMALE_3, FEMALE_6, FEMALE_11, MALE_11, MALE_13, FEMALE_14, MALE_21).

c. *Raza Negra* (*mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*)

The terms that Guzmán (1974) assigns to *la raza negra—mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*—have traditionally corresponded to notions of an African past in the Dominican Republic. Of the four categories, *mulato* and *negro* can refer to both *raza* and *matiz racial*. As it relates to physical description, *negro* is actually a fairly narrow category, much narrower than those represented by cognate forms in other settings. As such, *moreno* has a much broader application for physical description. Participants juxtapose the terms in the *Raza Negra* category and describe substantial overlap among *moreno, negro*, and *prieto*, overlap that can be traced back to the colonial period. When participants talk about social meaning, they discuss the weight of each term as an insult, a term of endearment, or form of address. This section discusses terms related to *la raza negra* in the following order: *mulato, moreno, negro, prieto*.

**mulato/a**

Participants across research sites confirm that forms of *mulato* are not commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. For a participant in Santiago, the use of *mulato* has to do with an individual's level of education, '…[It] has to be a person of [a] certain academic level. [A] person from the [country] is not going to say it' ('…*tiene que ser una persona de cierto nivel académico. La persona del pueblo no lo va a decir*,' STI_INT7). More widely accessible terms would be *indio, moreno* and *trigueño* (STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago adds a temporal dimension to the frequency of *mulato*, stating that *mulato* is not used very much anymore 'in these times' ('*No es muy usado ya en estos tiempos*,' STI_INT9). In Santo Domingo, a participant explains, 'The word *mulato* does not

have an abundant usage among us. Another, different system of description predominates'
('*La palabra mulato no tiene un uso abundante entre nosotros. Predomina otro sistema de
descripción diferente*,' SDQ_INT1). Here, the participant alludes to the usage of other terms
such as *indio* for describing racial mixture. A participant in Dajabón makes a similar
observation. This participant also links the frequencies of the terms *mulato* and *indio*. He
states, 'Here, regularly the word *mulata* is not used much. The word *india* is used more'
DAJ_INT1). A second participant in Dajabón clarifies that *mulato*'s less frequent usage is
not because of a lack of familiarity. 'We know [the terms],' she states. 'But it is not used
much' ('*Los conocemos, pero no se usa tanto*,' DAJ_INT7).

Physical Meaning: *Mulato*

When participants describe the Dominican concept of *el mulato*, they invoke four
primary variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, (3) facial features, and (4) bodily features.
From sixteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *mulato*,
the following prototype emerges: (1) brown / dark skin, (2) coarse or curly hair, (3) fine or
prominent features, and (4) strong / muscular (male), voluptuous / curvy (female). A person
that fits this physical description is *mulato* in the Dominican Republic and may also overlap
the categories of *moreno* and *negro*.

| (1) SKIN COLOR | (2) HAIR TEXTURE | (3) FEATURES (FACE) | (4) FEATURES (BODY) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *moreno, oscuro* | *crespo / malo, rizo* | *mezcla* | *musculoso / fuerte, voluptuosa* |

Participants frame *mulato* as a term that, at its core, is about mixture. In Santiago,
participants describe *indio* and *mulato* as a mixture of *negro* and *blanco*. One participant
explains how this understanding relates to the *cédula*. Previously, the *cédula* classified
everyone as *color indio*, but later, people began to educate themselves that the combination

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of *blanco* and *negro* is *mulato* ('*Antes en la identificación de nosotros (la cédula), todo el mundo que tuviera color era indio. Luego las personas fueron educándose, que la combinación de blanco con negro es un mulato*,' STI_INT3). A second participant mentions the overlap between the concepts of *indio* and *mulato* and explains the gendered inflection inherent in the term *mulato*. He explains that the literal concept of *mulato* is 'a white man with a black [woman]' ('*Concepto literal – un blanco varón con una negra*,' STI_INT4). He continues that with the Trujillo dictatorship what used to be *mulato* became *indio* ('*… lo que era un mulato se convirtió en indio*,' STI_INT4). Another participant in Santiago that identifies as *mulata* also describes *mulato* as a mixture of *blanco* and *negro* ('*Yo soy mulata – una mezcla de negra con blanca*,' STI_INT6). This participant's description also invokes a historical element, as she characterizes *mulato* as the mixture of *blancos* with *africanos* ('*Mezcla de blancos con africanos*,' STI_INT6). A final participant in Santiago views *mulato* as a slightly broader category, as the offspring of parents from different races, although not specifically *blanco* and *negro* ('*Mulato – padres de diferentes razas*,' STI_INT7).

In Santo Domingo, a participant describes the *mulato* mixture as *café con leche, negro* with *blanco* ('*Como una mezcla, café con leche, negro con blanco*,' SDQ_INT8). For this participant, *mulataje* can manifest as straight or curly hair. She states that it is very rare to see a *mulata* with very coarse hair. If a *mulata* does have coarse hair, then the strand is fine and long. The nose is normal, neither flat nor big ('*Mulataje puede salir con el pelo lacio, o rizo. Es muy raro ver una mulata con pelo muy crespo. Si tiene pelo crespo, la hebra es fina; no es gorda, y largo. La nariz normal, ni muy achatada, ni muy grande*,' SDQ_INT8). For this participant, *mulato* may also imply a small indigenous element ('*Un pequeñito*

*rasgo de lo indígeno*,' SDQ_INT8).

A participant in Dajabón states that *mulato* is about mixture but is unsure of the exact mix, whether it is between *indio* and *negro* or *blanco* ('*El mulato que es una mezcla entre el indio, y el negro, o el blanco. No recuerdo*,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant invokes the gendered and temporal dimensions of the term. He explains that *mulato* is the mixture of *negro* and *blanco*, 'but never, never of *blanco-*, never of *negro* with *blanca*. Nowadays, [it] has changed. There are many *negros* that marry *blancas*' ('*Es mulata – de negro y blanco. Pero nunca, nunca de blanco – nunca de negro con blanca. En actualidad ha cambiado. Hay muchos negros que casan con blancas*,' DAJ_INT3). A third participant in Dajabón describes the *mulato* as the offspring of two *indios* and describes the resulting color as the color of the interviewer ('*El mulato es de dos indios. Allí es que sale la mulata, como tú. Tienes el color mulato ...*' DAJ_INT4).

Participants emphasize that body type may be a determinative factor for the *mulato* profile. A participant in Santiago, when describing the *mulata* mentions features that tend toward 'fine,'  a little lighter skin, with many dangerous curves ('*Facciones inclinan más a fino, piel un poco más clara. Corpulento, muchas curvas peligrosas*,' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo echoes this sentiment, 'The *mulata* is like a *morenita*, generally a voluptuous *morenita*' ('*La mulata viene siendo como una morenita, una morenita generalmente voluptuosa*,' SDQ_INT6). He continues, 'Yes, robust, with nice curves. Exactly. Generally [with a] prominent behind and darker skin. [A woman like] this is recognized as *mulata*' ('*Sí, corpulenta, con buenas curvas. Exacto. Generalmente de pompis prominentes y de tez un poco oscura. Así se les reconoce como la mulata*,' SDQ_INT6). Another participant in Santo Domingo describes the *mulata* as having lighter skin and black

hair, an ordinary person. She then states that it is rare to see a *mulata* with no curves; she will either have a few curves or a lot of curves ('*Tiene la piel más o menos clara, el pelo negro. Una persona común y corriente. Es muy raro ver a una mulata sin curvas. O tiene chin curva o mucha curva*,' SDQ_INT8). For a participant in Dajabón, physical size is important to the *mulato* profile. A *mulato* is '*moreno*, bad hair, and strong, above all strong … yes, not fat, strong ('*Moreno, pelo malo, y fuerte, sobre todo fuerte … sí, no gordo, fuerte*,' DAJ_INT7).

For participants across research sites, *mulato* may overlap with categories such as *negro, indio, moreno,* and *trigueño*. The m*ulato* is more *negro* than the *indio*, with darker skin, *pelo malo*, dark eyes ('*Mulato – más negro que el indio. Mulato – piel más oscura, pelo malo, ojos oscuros*,' STI_INT8). The *mulato* is also a bit lighter than the *moreno* and very similar to the *trigueño*, but with a body ('*Un poquito más claro que el moreno. Muy parecido al trigueño, pero con cuerpo*,' STI_INT9). The *mulato* profile shares features with neighboring categories. One participant states that the *mulata* has the body of a *negra* with the face and profile of the *trigueña* … a lot of thigh, a lot of chest, like a big drumstick ('*La mujer mulata, cuerpo de negra, cara y perfil, física de trigueña … mucho muslo, mucha pechuga, como un picapollo grande*,' STI_INT9). The *mulato* is also defined by his body type. A *mulato* man is muscular. If not, he will be described as *moreno* or *negro* ('*El hombre mulato, musculoso. Si no, es moreno o negro*,' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo frames *mulato* as overlapping the category of *negro* and associates the profile with Haiti, '*Mulatos* are almost of Haitian descent. They are *negro, negro, negro, negro*' ('*Los mulatos casimente son de descendencia haitiana. Son negro, negro, negro, negro*,' SDQ_INT2). Another participant in Santo Domingo describes the *mulato* as between *rubio* and *indio* ('*Ni*

*rubio ni indio, diría yo,'* SDQ_INT4). In Dajabón, a participant states, 'It is clear that the

*mulato* is *negro* ... [he] is a *negro*, after [having] features of [the] *negro'* (*'Está claro que el*

*mulato es negro ... es un negro, después de ser negro de facciones,'* DAJ_INT2).

For a participant in Santo Domingo, *mulato* is a primarily external evaluation of the

Dominican racial setting. He states, '[It] has to with how others see us, people from outside,

how they see Dominicans. People understand that it is a form of mixture' (*'Tiene que ver*

*con cómo nos ven los otros, gente de afuera, cómo ven los dominicanos. La gente entiende*

*que es una forma de mezcla,'* SDQ_INT1).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Mulato*

To understand the functions for which *mulato* is deployed, it is useful to first establish

how people are conceptualizing the term. A participant in Santo Domingo, when asked

whether *mulato* is primarily used as a descriptor of physical appearance or as a racial

designation, states that *mulato* is better understood as a racial designation (*'Designación*

*racial. Hay tantas variaciones,'* SDQ_INT1). For this reason, forms such as *mulato claro* or

*mulato oscuro* do not exist, he concurs, just *mulato* (SDQ_INT1). For another participant in

Santo Domingo, *mulato* is a neutral term, without negative connotations. *Mulato* may

additionally have positive connotations, as when a man is describing a woman, 'It can also

be positive, 'O, the *mulata*, you know, that voluptuous girl … that was kind of, you know,

pow!' (*'También puede ser positivo. 'O la mulata, tú sabes, esa muchacha voluptuosa ...*

*que estaba media, tú sabes, pah!'* SDQ_INT6).

Although *mulato* is used to describe, it is not frequently deployed as a form of direct

address. This is true for participants across research sites. In Santiago, a participant states, 'I

have not heard it [used that way] … it would not be like a nickname' (*'No lo he oído … no*

*sería como un apodo*,' STI_INT8). A participant in Santo Domingo concurs, 'It is used more as a qualifying adjective – the *mulato*, the *mulata*. But it is almost never used [to call someone]' ('*Se utiliza más también como un adjetivo calificativo- el mulato, la mulata. Pero casi nunca se usa como llamado*,' SDQ_INT6). When asked whether *mulato* could be used as a nickname, a participant in Dajabón responds that the term is not used much ('*Tampoco es un término que se usa mucho*,' DAJ_INT7). One participant states, however, that *mulata* was used as a form of direct address in the past when a man was picking up a woman, 'That *mulata* looks good' ('*Sí, para enamorar a las mujeres. No es muy usado ya en estos tiempos. 5, 6 años atrás, 'Esa mulata sí está buena'*,' STI_INT9).

Visual Representations of *Mulato*

Participants identify eight images that could be described as *mulato*/a in the Dominican Republic: MALE_7, MALE_5, MALE_2, FEMALE_5, MALE_6, FEMALE_8, MALE_8, FEMALE_10. For a participant in Santiago, *mulato* and *negro* are overlapping categories, and she identifies the same images for both: FEMALE_7, MALE_7, and MALE_8. Two other participants also describe MALE_7 as overlapping *mulato* and another category. For one participant in Santiago, MALE_7 is *mulato*, but people might describe him as *moreno* ('*La gente puede decir es un moreno. En mi opinión es un mulato*,' (STI_INT6). Another Santiago participant describes MALE_7 as *mulato* and also *indio oscuro* (STI_INT7). Two participants describe MALE_5 as *mulato*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_2 as *mulato*. A participant that describes FEMALE_5 as *mulata* explains, 'A *mulata* is more or less like this. She can be a *mulata* … [She] has more or less light skin, black hair' ('*Una mulata es más o menos así. Ella puede ser una mulata … Tiene la piel más o menos clara. El pelo negro*,' SDQ_INT8). One participant describes MALE_6 as *mulato*. A participant in

Santo Domingo describes FEMALE_10 using the categories *india* and *mulata*. The

participant first describes FEMALE_10 as *india*. She then changes the description to *mulata*

('Better stated, *mulata*') because of the form of FEMALE_10's hair and nose (SDQ_INT8).

**moreno/a**

Forms of *moreno* are very commonly used descriptors in the Dominican Republic. The

prevalence of usage of *moreno* is often attributed to its ability to perform certain functions

that other terms cannot. For a participant in Santiago, 'Almost no one says *negro*; you say

*moreno*' ('*Casi nadie dice negro; se dice moreno*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in

Santiago, *moreno* is also used more frequently than *mulato*, because it is accessible to

people of various educational backgrounds ('*Se usaría indio, moreno*,' STI_INT7).

Participants in Santo Domingo confirm the relative frequency of *moreno*. *Moreno* and

*negro*, for example, are used more frequently than *prieto* ('*El prieto ya-, se usa más moreno

y negro*,' SDQ_INT4). *Morena* is also used frequently in the realm of *piropos* ('[*Morena*] *se

escucha mucho en el ámbito de los piropos…*,' SDQ_INT4).

Physical Meaning: *Moreno*

When participants describe the Dominican concept of *el moreno*, they primarily invoke

three variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, and (3) facial features. From eighteen

participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *moreno*, the following

prototype emerges: (1) dark skin (but a little lighter than the *negro*), (2) coarse hair, and (3)

features that tend toward the *negro* (but a little more *fino*). A person that fits this physical

description will be *moreno* in the Dominican Republic, but may also be described as *negro*

or *prieto* depending on the speaker and the circumstances.

| (1) SKIN COLOR | (2) HAIR TEXTURE | (3) FEATURES |
|---|---|---|
| *oscuro* | *crespo* | *ordinarios* |

In addition to the prototypical image of the *moreno*, participants view some diversity

within the *moreno* profile. A participant in Santo Domingo describes the physical

characteristics of different *moreno* profiles. She explains, 'Among the [very] same *morenos*,

there is a mix.' There are *morenos* with long, curly hair; straight hair; and very coarse hair.

When the participant describes the coarse hair, she mentions that people in the Dominican

Republic refer to the coarse hair texture as *moño malo* (lit. 'bad hair'). She then states, 'I

would say that there is no bad hair because God made everything good, and what comes out

of someone is not bad. Different hair types.'

> *Entre los mismos morenos, hay una mezcla. No hay un solo perfil. Hay varios perfil. Hay morenos que te salen con totalmente el pelo rizo y largo. Hay morenos que te salen con el pelo lambío. O sea lacio, que parece chino. Hay otros con el pelo muy crespo. Lo que dicen es moño malo. Yo diría que no hay ningún moño malo porque Dios hizo todo bueno, y lo que le sale de uno no es malo. Diferentes tipos de cabello* (SDQ_INT8).

Other participants focus their descriptions on features other than hair. For example, a

participant in Santiago highlights the centrality of the dark skin tone to the *moreno* profile.

She describes dark skin that evokes African ancestry ('*Piel oscura, muy africano*,'

STI_INT7). She continues, 'Yes, [a] dark tone. *Negro* or [a] dark tone' ('*Sí, tono oscuro.*

*Negro o tono oscuro*,' STI_INT7). For another participant, the dark tone of the *moreno*

profile, hair texture and features evokes the image that she has of Haitians. For this

participant, the *moreno* has 'completely black skin' and 'very bad hair' ('*Piel*

*completamente negra. Pelo – malísimo*,' STI_INT8). At this point, the participant switches

from a description of *moreno* to a description of *negro*. She continues, 'The *negro* always

has the wide nose, flat, big, ugly. *Chembuse*, big mouth. As if they were of [those] Haitian

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people' ('*El negro siempre tiene la nariz ancha, aplastada, grande, fea. Chembuse, boca grande. Como si fueran de esa gente haitiana*,' STI_INT8).

A participant in Santo Domingo describes the skin tone of the *moreno* profile and how it relates to other categories, 'Notice one thing. The *moreno*, his color gets a little darker' ('*Fíjate una cosa. El moreno, su color va oscureciéndose un poco*,' SDQ_INT6). When asked whether the tone is darker than that of the *indio*, the participant confirms that it is and highlights additional features that distinguish the two profiles, 'Yes, it can be the same tone, but the features vary. The hair is coarse. [The person] perhaps a bit more ordinary' ('*Sí, puede ser el mismo tono, pero varían ya las facciones. El cabello es crespo. Quizás un poquito más ordinario*,' SDQ_INT6). The participant continues by describing the physique that he associates with the *moreno* profile and positions the *moreno* with respect to the *negro*, 'People [with] black skin are physically more developed. Their muscles are stronger. It is like the person is walking toward *negro*' ('*Personas de tez negra son físicamente o sea más desarolladas. Sus músculos, son más fuertes. Es como que la persona va caminando hacia el negro*,' SDQ_INT6).

Participants additionally describe *moreno* as a relative term. In certain circumstances, a person may be described as *moreno* even if he or she does not conform to the prototype or any of the other physical varieties of the *moreno* profile. A participant in Santiago describes how this relativity operates within families, 'In a house, they will affectionately call the darkest person *moreno* or *negro*' ('*En una casa, al más oscuro le van a decir en casa de cariño moreno o negro*,' STI_INT7). This is true even when the individual does not have the physical characteristics of the *moreno* or *negro* profile, and simply because he or she is the darkest in the group ('*Sí, porque en el grupo es el más oscuro*,' STI_INT7). A participant in

Dajabón describes a specific example of this phenomenon, 'My wife's family is totally white. A girl was born, lighter than you, straight hair. And they call her *morena*, because she is a little darker …' ('*La familia de la esposa mía es totalmente blanca. Una muchacha nació, más clara que tú, pelo lacio. Y le dicen morena, porque es un poco más oscura…* ,' DAJ_INT3).

Participants also describe the characteristics of the *moreno* in relation to other profiles. Frequently, these descriptions invoke the overlap between *moreno* and categories such as *negro* and *prieto*. A participant in Santo Domingo describes *moreno* as it relates to *negro*. A *moreno* has features that are a little more fine; he is a little lighter, with a narrower nose and smaller eyes ('*Un poco más fino. Un chin más clarito. Nariz un poco más estrecha. Los ojos un poco más pequeños*,' SDQ_INT4). With respect to social attitudes regarding the two profiles, *moreno* is 'More passable. A bit more tolerable' ('*Más pasable. Una persona un chin más tolerable*,' SDQ_INT4). The participant then gives examples of how someone might describe the *morena*. A *morena* is lighter, *lavaíta*, and someone might say 'Look, what a *morenita lavaíta*' or 'Look how cute that *morena* looks' ('*Morena más lavaíta que otra, 'Mira, qué morenita más lavaíta,' 'Mira qué linda se ve esa morena'* ,' SDQ_INT4).

Another participant describes *moreno* with respect to *indio*, 'Because the *moreno* is a darker person than the *indio*' ('*Porque el moreno es una persona más oscura que el indio*,' SDQ_INT7). The same participant describes *moreno* with respect to *negro*, '*Negro* – persons of more ordinary features … very dark skin. While the *moreno* can have a more or less fine skin color, right?' ('*Negro – personas así de facciones más ordinarias … la tez de la piel bien oscura. Mientras que el moreno puede tener medio fino el color de piel, verdad?*' SDQ_INT7).

A third participant in Santiago navigates the *moreno* and *negro* profiles by explaining

how others describe her. Other Dominicans describe her as *morena*. The participant

describes why, 'I am not so dark, I am not burned, as they say here.' She continues that the

*morena* has black hair and skin that is a bit light. The lighter skin is what distinguishes the

*moreno* from the *negro*, according to what people say (SDQ_INT8). When considering

facial and body features of the *moreno*, the participant describes substantial diversity. There

are *morenos* that are flat with no curves and may have a very aquiline nose or a well

structured mouth. Then, there are *morenos* that do have curves and may have a large, flat

nose and a big mouth. The final feature that can distinguish the *moreno* and *negro* profiles,

according to this participant, is hair texture. The participant states that because she has curly

hair people call her *morena*. If she were to have coarse, dry hair, like an afro, then people

would call her *negra*. This is because people relate the afro more with the *negro* than with

the *moreno*.

| SDQ_INT8 | Skin Color: *Pero según otras personas, me describirían como morena. No soy tan oscura, no soy quemada, como le dicen acá. Sino que bueno, una morena tienes el pelo negro; tu color de piel es un poco claro. Eso te diferencia de un negro, según se dice.* |
|---|---|
| | Features: *Allí es muy diferente. Hay morenos que son planos totalmente, no tienen curvas, pero tienen por ejemplo su nariz muy perfilada, o una boca muy bien estructurada ... pero hay morenos que pueden tener curvas, muy bien. Pero entonces tienen la nariz muy grande y achatada, boca grande ...'* |
| | Hair Texture: *Tengo mi pelo rizo, me dicen morena. Si hubiese sido crespo y reseco, estilo afro, me hubiesen dicho que yo soy negra. El afro lo relacionan más con el negro y el pelo rizado con el moreno.* |

For participants in Dajabón, the physical profiles of *moreno, negro* and *prieto* are

overlapping synonyms. For one participant, the categories can all be used to describe the

same physical appearance, but the different terms represent differing ideologies:

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'Look, for me, they are the same. What happens? The problem is that the *moreno* is like denial. You are a *moreno* and they tell you here that you are Haitian. For me these three are synonyms … *Moreno* is the same but it smooths [it for] you.'

('*Mira, para mí, que son lo mismo. Qué lo que pasa? El problema es que el moreno es como la negación. Tú eres un moreno y te dicen aquí que eres haitiano. Para mí esos tres son sinónimos … Moreno es lo mismo pero te suaviza,*' DAJ_INT1).

The participant continues that people do not want to say that you are *negro*, something they have against the black race ('*No quieren decir que tú eres negro. Lo que tenemos en contra de la raza negra,*' (DAJ_INT1). Another participant in Dajabón concurs, 'These are synonyms, *moreno* and *prieto*; *moreno, prieto, negro* … the skin is very dark. There are other *negros* that do not have very dark skin, like you and me. We fit in with the *morenos*' ('*Estos son sinónimos, moreno y prieto; moreno, prieto, negro … La tez muy oscura. Hay otros negros que no tenemos la tez muy oscura, como tú y yo. Cabemos dentro de los morenos,*' DAJ_INT3). For another participant, *negro* is the darkest of the three, and *moreno* and *prieto* represent the same physical profile. That is, a skin tone almost the same as the *indio* but a little darker ('*El negro es el más oscuro. Moreno y prieto vienen siendo el mismo. Tez casi igual que el indio, más oscuro que el indio,*' DAJ_INT4). A final participant in Dajabón states that *moreno, negro,* and *prieto* all mean the same thing. At their root, they are all *negros*, and the *moreno* is a little lighter than the other two ('*Moreno, negro, prieto son palabras que significan el mismo. En el fondo son negros … el moreno es un poco más claro,*' DAJ_INT6).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Moreno*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *moreno*, participants articulate the ways in which *moreno* may be deployed in discourse. In addition to their descriptive function, forms of *moreno* may be used as nicknames and forms of direct

address. *Moreno* also performs various social and ideological functions. For a participant in

Santiago, the connotation of *moreno* is dependent on context. *Moreno* can be used as a term

of endearment or as an insult, depending on the tone and movements with which the speaker

deploys it ('*Morena, afecto o menospreciando. Tonalidad y momentos determinan*

*significado*, STI_INT4). A participant in Santo Domingo concurs, 'It depends on the tone

and the way in which it is said ('*Depende del tono y la forma cómo que se le diga,*'

SDQ_INT6). For other participants, the use of *moreno* is not offensive. When asked whether

it is offensive to describe someone as *moreno*, a participant in Santo Domingo states, 'No'

(SDQ_INT1). A participant in Santiago describes the endearing function of *moreno*,

'*Moreno* is endearing here. *Moreno* is said with delicateness. People do not want to be

*negra.* So they say *morena … morena* can be friendly' ('*Moreno aquí es cariñoso. Moreno*

*se dice con delicadeza. Gente no quiere ser negra. Entonces le dice morena … morena*

*puede ser amistosa,*' STI_INT7).

For participants across research sites, *moreno* is a term that may be frequently used as a

nickname. A participant in Santo Domingo describes why this usage is so common:

> 'Yes, here it is common. Because here in this country, people tend to put a lot of
> nicknames. And they do it in physical terms, or of origin. If, for ex-, *morena*. They
> say to you, '*Morena*, how are you?' The same happens with *la rubia.*'
>
> ('*Sí, aquí es común. Porque aquí en este país, la gente tiende a poner muchos*
> *sobrenombres. Y lo hace en términos físicos – o de proscendencia. Si por es –*
> *morena. Te dicen, 'Morena, cómo tú 'tá'?' Lo mismo pasa con la rubia,*'
> SDQ_INT6).

Although nicknames based on physical appearance are common, the participant states that

all terms are not employed with equal frequency, 'It is used more at the extremes. Because

of that, it happens more with the *morenos*, that they say, '¡*Moreno, Morena, Rubio, Rubia*!'

('*Lo usa más en los extremos. Por eso sucede más con los morenos, que dicen, '¡Moreno,*

*Morena, Rubio, Rubia*,' SDQ_INT6). A participant describes addressing someone as *moreno*, '¡Look, *moreno*!' ('¡*Mira, moreno*!' STI_INT8). A participant in Santo Domingo speaks about how the *moreno* description manifests in popular music. 'Yes, it is very common,' he states. 'It is also funny sometimes … There is a song that talks about *morenos*' ('*Sí, es muy común. También es a veces gracioso … Hay una canción que habla de los morenos*,' SDQ_INT1). The participant looks up the song using the computer in his office. 'The song is by *Los Ilegales*. It speaks about *la morena*. They talk about the attractive aspect of *la morena*. [It] has its charge also' ('*De Los Ilegales es la canción. Habla de la morena. Dicen el aspecto atractivo de la morena. Tiene también su carga*,' SDQ_INT1). Participants additionally have a sense of the connotation of *moreno* in relation to *negro*. A participant in Santo Domingo states, 'The [connotation] of *moreno* is more neutral. *Negro* is more marked' ('*La de moreno es más neutral. Negro es más marcado*,' SDQ_INT7). A participant in Dajabón emphasizes that the *moreno* nickname is not offensive, 'There are even people that have the nickname *Moreno* and it is not offensive. It is not offensive, is what I want to say to you. The term is not offensive' ('*Inclusive, hay personas que tienen de apodo Moreno y no es ofensivo. No es ofensivo, es lo que te quiero decir. El término no es ofensivo*,' DAJ_INT7).

 *Moreno* is also a term that may be used in direct address, even if there is no previous relationship between two individuals. A Santiago participant discusses this phenomenon in the ambit of *piropos*. During the interview, the participant says to me, 'I don't know if you have heard your pick-up lines' ('*No sé si tú has escuchado tus piropos?*' STI_INT6). I respond that people generally called me *morena*. The participant then explains that people call her *morena* as well, and that it has to do with color and frame. For her, *negra* is less

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common. Men almost never say it in pick-up lines, but it may be used affectionately between spouses ('*A mí me dicen morena también. Color. Contextura física. Casi nunca dicen negra. De afecto entre esposos*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, *moreno* may be used to replace *negro*, or may be used in the same circumstances as the diminutive form of *negro* – *negrito*. 'You are going to say *morenito*. 'Excuse me, *morenito*, come here,' '*Negrito*, come here' ('*Tú le vas a decir morenito. 'Discúlpame, morenito, ven acá,' 'Negrito, ven acá'*,' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo opines that *moreno* is one of the most frequent terms used to address people, 'I think that it is one of the most common. And as [a] nickname – *moreno*, *morenita*. Diminutive. One of the most common [terms] that are used to call people' ('*Creo que es uno de los más comunes. Y de apodo – moreno, morenita. Disminutivo. Uno de los más comunes que se usa para llamar a personas*,' SDQ_INT7). Finally, a participant in Dajabón talks about the particular position of *moreno* with respect to the realm of beauty, 'A beautiful *morena*. [You] do not say 'beautiful *prieto*' or 'beautiful *prieta*.' It is not used much, but yes it is known what *prieto* is. *Moreno* enters more into the [realm of] beauty' ('*Una morena bella. No dice prieto bello, ni bella prieta. No se usa tanto, pero sí se sabe qué es prieto. Moreno se inscribe más en lo bello*,' DAJ_INT2).

For some Dominicans, there may be a correlation between the *moreno* description and socioeconomic status. A participant considers the terms *moreno, negro,* and *prieto*, '*La morena* is the most acceptable. *La morena* – a more careful expression. *La morena* – if she is middle class, she is *morena*. If she is low class, she is *prieta*' ('*La morena es la más acceptable. La morena – una expresión más cuidada. La morena – si es clase media, es morena. Si es clase baja, es prieta*,' STI_INT4). This relationship between socioeconomic

status and physical description reveals that the term *moreno* is not solely determined by physical characteristics, but rather is also inflected with social information.

For other participants, the *moreno* profile may also be associated with outsider status. While describing features of the *moreno*, a participant in Dajabón describes the features of the *moreno* as not so negroide. He continues, 'It is, in Haiti, you find many people like this' ('*Las facciones no pueden ser tan negroides. Es, en Haití, tú encuentras muchas personas así,*' DAJ_INT2).

For participants, *moreno* also serves several ideological functions. The choice to use *moreno* versus *negro*, for example, may relate to whether the person being described is Dominican or Haitian. A participant in Dajabón states, '*Negro* is used more for Haitians. There are dark skinned Dominicans' ('*Negro, se usa más para haitianos. Hay dominicanos de piel oscura* (DAJ_INT1). For some other participants, *moreno* can replace *negro* or be used to hide one's *negritud*. A participant in Santiago states that *moreno* is 'a form of not calling a person *negro*' ('*Una forma de no decirle negro a una persona,*' STI_INT7). A participant in Dajabón concurs, stating, 'At the core they are *negros*. It is to hide *negritud*. *Moreno* and *prieto* are to hide *negritud*' ('*Al fondo son negros. Es para esconder la negritud. El moreno y el prieto son para esconder la negritud,*' DAJ_INT6). According to this participant, *moreno* and *negro* soften the stigma. He continues that intellectuals created the typology and that, in other countries, there do not exist as many colors as in the Dominican Republic ('*Entonces, lo suavizan. Que fueron intelectuales que formaron esta tipología. En otros países no existen tantos colores como en República Dominicana,*' DAJ_INT6).

Visual Representations of *Moreno*

Participants identify 18 images that can be described as *moreno/a* in the Dominican Republic. Five participants describe FEMALE_8 as *morena*. A participant in Santiago positions FEMALE_8 as *morena* and *india*. For the participant, FEMALE_8 is *morena* but may also be considered *india*, depending on her hair ('*Morena, aquí sería india. Depende del pelo*,' STI_INT6). Another participant describes FEMALE_8 as *morena* or *negra* ('*Muchacha morena o negra*,' STI_INT7). Two participants in Santo Domingo consider whether FEMALE_8 is *india* or *morena*. They conclude that she is *india*, approximating *morenita* (SDQ_INT3). Four participants describe MALE_7 as *moreno*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_7 *moreno* and *mulato* (STI_INT6). Another participant describes MALE_7 as *moreno* and *indio oscuro* (STI_INT7). Three participants describe MALE_8 and FEMALE_7 as *moreno*. MALE_8 is *moreno* and *negro*. Regarding MALE_8's appearance, a participant in Santiago states, 'Notice that here someone might say he is Haitian. He could simply be a Dominican *moreno*. Haitian – if [someone] does not hear him speak' ('*Fíjate que aquí quizás alguien diga él es haitiano. Podría ser simplemente un dominicano moreno. Haitiano – si no lo escucha hablar*,' STI_INT6). FEMALE_7 is *morena*.

Two participants describe FEMALE_3, FEMALE_10, MALE_13, and MALE_21 as *morenos*. FEMALE_3 is described as *morena*, and one participant also describes FEMALE_3 as potentially overlapping four categories: *blanca, rubia, morena,* and *jabá* (STI_INT6). FEMALE_10 is *morena* and *morena chula*. MALE_13 is *morenito*, *moreno*, and *negro*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_13 as a cute *morenito* because of his smile ('*Es un morenito lindo, por su sonrisa*,' STI_INT8). Another participant describes

MALE_13 as *negro* and *moreno* (SDQ_INT1). MALE_21 is *moreno* and *trigueño*. A participant in Santiago describes MALE_21 using the categories *moreno* and *trigueño*. The participant states, 'He is *moreno*, but they would not call him *moreno*. *Trigueño*,' (STI_INT3).

The remaining images are identified as *moreno* or *morena* by one participant each. MALE_3, MALE_6 and MALE_20 are *moreno*. FEMALE_5, FEMALE_11, FEMALE_15, FEMALE_18, FEMALE_20, and FEMALE_25 are *morena*. FEMALE_17 is *morena* and *india oscura* (SDQ_INT1).

**negro/a**

Participants draw a distinction between whether the *negro* profile appears and whether people use the term *negro* to describe the profile. For a participant in Santiago, 'Almost no one says *negro*; they say *moreno*' ('*Casi nadie dice negro; se dice moreno*,' STI_INT6). For this participant, people will almost never say, 'He is *negro*' ('*La gente casi nunca dice, 'Él es negro'*,' STI_INT6). For another participant in Santiago, the use of *negro* is becoming more frequent, as a result of television ('*Eso está en proceso. Programas de televisión*,' STI_INT7). The relative frequency of *negro* is described as less frequent than *moreno*, more frequent than *prieto*, and about as frequent as *mulato* (STI_INT6, SDQ_INT4, SDQ_INT1).

Physical Meaning: *Negro*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el negro*, they invoke three primary variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, and (3) facial features. The prototypical *negro* conforms to the description for all three characteristics. From seventeen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *negro*, the following prototype

emerges: (1) very dark skin (darker than *moreno*), (2) hard / rough / coarse hair, (3) 'ordinary' features (e.g., full lips, flat nose), not as 'rugged' as *el prieto*. A person who fits this description is undeniably *negro* in the Dominican Republic, but may also overlap the categories of *moreno* and *prieto*.

| (1) SKIN COLOR | (2) HAIR TEXTURE | (3) FEATURES |
|---|---|---|
| (*muy*) *oscura* | *crespo / duro / malo* | *ordinarias / ásperas / bruscas* |

Participants describe the features of the *negro* profile using different combinations of skin color, hair texture, and facial features. These specific physical understandings of the *negro* profile are important, because *negro* is generally deployed so that the audience understands the physical characteristics of the person described. A participant in Dajabón makes this point, 'The *negro*. When they say, '[He] is a *negro*,' it is so that you understand his features ('*El negro. Cuando dicen, 'Es un negro,' es para que entiendas sus facciones*,' DAJ_INT2). For a participant in Santiago, *negro* represents one end of the continuum, '*Negro, negro* is the last [one]. The skin shines. It becomes like ashy. Very different from other skin [types]. Hair, bad. Also, the person [is] very ordinary' ('*Negro, negro ya viene siendo el último. Brilla la piel. Se pone como cenizo. Muy diferente a las demás pieles. Pelo, malo. También la persona muy ordinaria*,' STI_INT8). For another participant in Santo Domingo the distinctive physical features of the *negro* are viewed negatively in the country, 'The *negro* has tangled hair. [He] has to [have a big nose] … Bad hair. Big nose. Big eyes. Big mouth. Problematic. *Negro* is the most negative [thing] that can exist in this country' ('*El negro tiene el cabellito enredado. Tiene que ser narizón ... Cabello malo. Nariz grande. Ojo grande. Bocón. Problemático. El negro es lo más negative que puede existir en este país*,' SDQ_INT4).

Other participants in Santo Domingo also weigh in. For one participant, the *negro* profile is defined by complexion and facial features, '*Negro* – people [with] more ordinary features. People. The complexion of the skin [is] very dark' ('*Negro – personas así de facciones más ordinarias. Gente. La tez de piel bien oscura*,' SDQ_INT7). Another participant in Santo Domingo points to several physical attributes of the *negro* profile and explains what kinds of features are less commonly associated with the profile. She begins by describing skin color and hair texture, 'The *negro* is a dark person, with coarse or bad hair…' ('*El negro es una persona oscura, con el pelo crespo o malo…*' SDQ_INT8). The participant then describes facial features, '…and the face is not very aquiline, full lips, a flat nose' ('*… y la cara no muy perfilada, labios carnosos. Nariz un poco achatada*,' SDQ_INT8). On the point of facial features, the participant emphasizes that there may be some variability because there are sometimes *negros* that have a more aquiline profile ('*A pesar de que hay negros que a veces tienen su perfil más perfilado, su nariz finita ... sus ojos negros*,' SDQ_INT8).

One participant in Dajabón addresses how *negro* may be used as a racial descriptor, even when someone has a lighter physical profile, 'Others say that I am *negro*, of the black race. Because of my features, my nose. I am a mixture' ('*Otros dicen que soy negro, de la raza negra. Por mis rasgos, mi nariz. Yo soy una mezcla*,' DAJ_INT1). Another participant in Dajabón emphasizes hair texture and facial features, 'When they call you *negro* here, you enter into another [category]. You are talking about a *negra*, [with] hard hair and [with] features that can be thick lips' ('*Cuando aquí te dicen negro aquí, ya tú entras en otro. Estás hablando de una negra, de cabellos duro', y de facciones que pueden ser labios frondosos*,' DAJ_INT2). A third participant in Dajabón talks about the notion of a 'pure *negro*' and addresses how skin and hair texture factor into this description. 'Because when you are

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*negro negro*, you are really shiny. They say, 'That [guy] is [a] pure *negro*.' 'Why?'

'Because he [secretes] oil through his pores' ('*Porque cuando tú eres negro negro, eres*

*brillosísimo. Le dicen, 'Ése es negro puro.' ¿Por qué?' 'Porque tira aceite por los poros',*'

DAJ_INT5). The participant also talks about the different terms for coarse hair and shares a

refrain regarding hair:

> 'Because *cabello malo,* as they say, the hair of the *negro* is tangled. And besides that,
> the treatment is difficult … A refrain toward *cabello malo*, toward *los negros*. They
> say, 'He that wants pretty hair,' that is, like mine, 'tolerates pulls / yanks'
>
> ('*Porque el cabello malo, como se dice, el cabello de negro es liado. Y además de
> eso, es difícil el tratamiento … Un refrán hacia el cabello malo, hacia los negros.
> Dicen, 'El que quiere cabello bonito,' o sea, como el mío, 'aguanta jalones',*'
> DAJ_INT5).

Here, the participant refers to hair straightening procedures from beauty salons. The

participant continues to talk about the specific lexicon regarding hair texture, 'For example,

the real name of your hair is coarse hair. The real [name] of my hair is straight hair. The

common [way], good hair, bad hair, pepper hair, smooth hair' ('*Por ejemplo, el nombre real*

*del pelo tuyo es cabello crespo. El real del cabello mío es cabello lacio. El común, pelo*

*bueno, pelo malo, cabello de tipo pimienta, cabello suave*,' DAJ_INT5). Hair texture is

additionally a characteristic that people may look to when considering how to 'refine' the

race of their offspring:

> That also has an attraction, in terms that there are people that want to refine.
> Example: I am in [a good] economic [position]. You fall in love with me. Apart from
> the [economic] position, you see the possibility of refining.
>
> ('*Eso también tiene una atracción, en términos de que hay personas que quieren
> refinar. Ejemplo: Estoy en condiciones económicas. Tú te aficias de mí. Aparte de la
> posición, ves la posibilidad de refinar*,' DAJ_INT5).

While acknowledging prototypical characteristics of the *negro* profile, participants also

address physical diversity within the profile. A participant in Santo Domingo states that

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there are many different types of *negros* and that they are not all the same ('*Los negros no son una sola raza. Hay muchos negros diferentes*,' SDQ_INT1). Two additional participants in Santo Domingo discuss the variety of *negros*. For these participants, the *negro* profile may be subdivided into two groups – light and emphatically dark. One participant proposes that there are two types of *negros*. When I ask him what those types are, the participant responds 'the light *negro*,' and the second interview participant adds 'the *negro negro*.' The first participant confirms this designation, 'And the *negro negro*, that is a color like blue' (SDQ_INT3). I ask how people would describe this individual, the darker *negro*, and the participants confirm that an individual meeting the description would be described as '*negro azulito*' (SDQ_INT3).

In some cases, a person that is described as *negro* may vary from the physical profile that participants describe. In such cases, however, people may search for justifications for the atypical characteristic. A participant in Santo Domingo addresses how straight hair texture interacts with the *negro* profile. According to this participant, people find it strange when a person that is *negro* has straight or fine, curly hair. When people encounter a '*negro* with *pelo bueno*,' they look for some relative to which to attribute the hair texture:

> *Cuando tú ves un negro que tiene el pelo como le dicen natural, dicen que su cabello si es lacio o es rizo, que se puede manejar, que es fino-que es la palabra correcta, dicen que allí hay algo raro. Salió así por parte de la mamá, o del papá. Dicen, 'O tú eres un negro con pelo bueno.' Así le dicen. 'Ah, ¿pero eso fue por tu mamá, tu papá?' Buscan un familiar. Para buscar cómo saliste con el pelo así* (SDQ_INT8).

The same happens when a person that is *negro* has very aquiline features. The participant explains, 'And if you see, for example, a very fine, aquiline face, you say, 'No, you have that descent because of someone else, someone from your family' ('*Y si ves, por ejemplo, el rostro muy fino, perfilado, usted dice, 'No, tú tienes esa ascendencia por alguien*

*más, alguien de tu familia,*' SDQ_INT8). A participant in Dajabón also addresses differing

hair types within the *negro* profile. For this participant, although there are some exceptions,

'rough' hair is the norm ('*Tienen algunas excepciones, como una mezcla genética, pero casi*

*siempre salen los hijos con el pelo áspero,*' DAJ_INT4).

Participants also describe the characteristics of the *negro* in relation to other profiles.

Frequently, these descriptions invoke the overlap between *negro* and categories such as

*moreno* and *prieto*. A participant in Santo Domingo describes *negro* as it relates to *prieto*,

'*Negro* is more refined' ('*Negro ya viene siendo más refinado,*' SDQ_INT2). A participant

in Santiago describes *negro* in relation to *moreno*, '*Negro* – complexion of the skin is

darker. Features [are] a little rougher' ('*Negro – tez de la piel es más oscura. Facciones un*

*poco más bruscas,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo also describes the *negro* in

relation to *moreno*:

> 'The *negro* is much darker than the *moreno*. And the *negro*, the vast majority, do not
> have good hair, as they say, but rather bad hair. In men, they have it like [in] little
> rolls, but very dry, and coarse. And short'
>
> ('*El negro es mucho más oscuro que el moreno. Y el negro la gran mayoría no*
> *tienen el pelo bueno, como dicen, sino lo tienen malo. En los hombres, lo tienen*
> *como rolito, pero muy reseco, y crespo. Y corto,*' SDQ_INT8).

The participant lingers on hair texture and explains how hair texture would adjust her

classification, 'I have my curly hair; they call me *morena*. It if had been coarse and dry,

Afro style, they would have told me that I am *negra*' ('*Tengo mi pelo rizo; me dicen*

*morena. Si hubiese sido crespo y reseco, estilo afro, me hubiesen dicho que soy negra,*'

SDQ_INT8).

For some participants, descriptors used for profiles at the darker end of the spectrum are

synonyms or near synonyms. A participant in Dajabón states that *moreno, negro* and *prieto*

are all synonyms that describe a person with a very dark complexion (‘*Estos son sinónimos,*

*moreno y prieto, moreno, prieto, negro. La tez muy oscura*,’ DAJ_INT3). A participant in

Santiago does not make a distinction between *negro* and *prieto*, although she uses *negro*

more frequently (‘No *hago distinction – negro y prieto. Uso más negro*,’ STI_INT5). Other

participants define the terms in relation to each other. For a participant in Dajabón, among

*moreno, negro,* and *prieto*, *negro* is the darkest (‘*El negro es el más oscuro*,’ DAJ_INT4).

For another participant, *prieto* is darker than *moreno*, and at their core the two are both

*negro* (‘*El prieto es más negro que el moreno. En el fondo, los otros dos son negros*,’

DAJ_INT6). When describing the overlap between *negro* and *prieto*, a participant in Santo

Domingo states that the difference between *negro* and *prieto* may be social rather than

physical, ‘*Negro* is more refined. ‘Look at this *prieto*.’ <harsh tone> One sees in the like

heavier tone. But it is the same. The same police officer with a different club’ (‘*Negro viene*

*siendo ya más refinado. ‘Mira este prieto’* <harsh tone> *Se ve en el tono como más pesado.*

*Pero es el mismo. El mismo policía con diferente macana*,’ SDQ_INT2).

Social Meaning and Functions: *Negro*

In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *negro*, participants

articulate that forms of *negro* may be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. *Negro*

also performs various social and ideological functions. For a participant in Santo Domingo,

*negro* does not necessarily have to be offensive. It is like *mulato* in that it is used but not as

frequently as other forms (‘*No tiene que ser ofensivo. Es como un mulato – se usa pero no*

*tanto como los otros*,’ SDQ_INT1). While forms of *negro* are not always offensive, they are

also not neutral. A participant in Santo Domingo states:

'Unfortunately, it is not neutral. It is used in a manner [that is] a bit pejorative, 'That *negro, negro…*' Although there are people as well that take on a nickname like that. It does not have to be bad, but usually, a bit pejorative.'

('*Lamentablemente, no es neutral. Se usa de una manera un poco despectivo. 'Ese negro, negro …' Aunque hay personas también que se ponen a apodar así. No tiene que ser malo, pero usualmente, un poco despectivo*,' SDQ_INT7).

A participant in Dajabón opines that *negro* is the form that is used most pejoratively ('*El negro es que se usa más como despectivo*,' DAJ_INT7). The participant goes on to explain that, in the border region, *haitiano* is less offensive than *negro* ('*A pesar de que vivimos en la frontera, quizás por eso,* [*haitiano*] *es menos ofensivo que el mismo negro, porque es nacionalidad*,' DAJ_INT7). For another participant in Dajabón, forms of *negro* can have sexual connotations that are viewed positively.

'*Negro* does not necessarily have a personal connotation, but rather even [a] sexual [one]. For example, they say, 'That man has it [like a] *negro*.' In the United States, it is said like that also. That is the only positive part. It is an element'

('*El negro no necesariamente tiene una connotación personal, sino hasta sexual. Por ejemplo, dicen, 'Ese hombre lo tiene de negro.' En EEUU, se dice así también. Ésa es la única parte positiva. Es un elemento*,' DAJ_INT5).

In addition to its use to describe others, *negro* may be used as a form of self identification. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses this function and expresses that it is a use that comes from exterior. 'They can call themselves *negros*. Descriptions from the exterior. Television. [A person] knows Denzel Washington, and [he] calls himself *negro* at the end' ('*Se pueden llamar negros. Descripciones del exterior. Televisión. Conoce a Denzel Washington. Y se dice negro para el fin*,' SDQ_INT1). The use of *negro* as a nickname, however, is a very common practice in the Dominican Republic. During an interview in Santiago, a participant positions me with respect to usage of *negro*, 'You, if you were Dominican and had a husband, 'Look, *negra*.' Affection. Nickname' ('*Tú misma, si fueras*

*dominicana y tuvieras un esposo, 'Mira, negra.' Afecto. Apodo*,' STI_INT8). According to

another participant, not only can *negro* be used as a nickname, but it may also be used as a

given name, 'Yes, there are people that their nickname is *Negro. Cédula* – Negro Gonzales.

As a given name. *Morena del Carmen. Negra de los Santos*' ('*Sí, hay personas que su*

*apodo es Negro. Cédula – Negro Gonzales. Como nombre propio. Morena del Carmen.*

*Negra de los Santos*,' STI_INT9). When asked whether people with the given name *Negro*

will also have that physical description, the participant responds, 'Regularly, yes.

Descriptive names' ('*Regularmente sí. Nombres descriptivos*,' STI_INT9). The same is not

true for the use of forms of *negro* as nicknames, however. The participant explains that he

has a friend whose physical description is that of a *trigueña*. She has curly hair, and her skin

is not so dark. Everyone knows her as *Negra*, and they call her *Negra* as a nickname.

('*Amiga – persona trigueña, pelo rizado, tez no tan oscura … Todo el mundo la conoce por*

*'Negra'. No tiene tez oscura, pelo rizo. Le dicen "Negra" de apodo*,' STI_INT9). In Santo

Domingo, another participant confirms the relationship between physical appearance and the

nickname *negro*. For this participant, forms of *negro* are used as nicknames very frequently,

and within families someone may be called *negro* even if he is *blanco* ('*Muchísimo. Para*

*una familia, alguien de la familia – negro. Aunque siendo blanco*,' SDQ_INT1).

In addition to its function as a nickname, participants discuss whether *negro* may be used

as a form of direct address. For a participant in Santiago, *moreno* would be substituted for

this function, although *negro* could still be used between two people with a close

relationship, ''Look, *moreno*!' I call a friend '*Negrito*!' because he is very dark' ('*¡Mira,*

*moreno!' A un amigo le digo '¡Negrito!' porque es bien prietico*,' STI_INT8). Another

participant in Santiago echoes this point. *Negro*, when used with someone that a speaker

does not know well, is pejorative. Therefore, speakers will substitute *negro* with forms of *moreno*, or diminutive forms such as *morenito* or *negrito* to soften the impact. 'No, it is pejorative. There then you are going to call him *morenito*. 'Excuse me. *Morenito*, come here.' '*Negrito*, come here.' … A diminutive for a person that you do not know' ('*No, es despectivo. Allí entonces, tú le vas a decir morenito. 'Discúlpame. Morenito, ven acá,' 'Negrito, ven acá' … Un disminutivo, para una persona que no conoces,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo addresses the two main ways that *negro* is used in direct address – (1) as a term of endearment, and (2) as a pejorative term. For this participant, *negro* is not neutral. The participant states, 'Well, the term *negro*, here not so much. To, at least, to call. If it is on a level of familiarity – *mi negro, mi negra* – it is used more.' The participant continues, 'Or in pejorative terms. They also say, 'That *negro*,' or 'It had to be [a] *negro*.' It is not used to call – hardly ever. Unless it is affectionate, or pejorative' (SDQ_INT6):

> *Bueno, el término negro, aquí no tanto. Para, por lo menos, para llamar. Si es a nivel de confianza – mi negra, mi negro, se utiliza más. O en términos despectivos. También dicen, 'El negro ese,' p 'Tenía que ser negro.' No se usa como un llamado – casi nunca. Salvo que sea de cariño, o despectivo* (SDQ_INT6).

For a participant in Dajabón, whether *negro* is used as a form of direct address among strangers depends on the context of the situation. According to this participant, blackness is highlighted in negative situations (while whiteness is minimized), and blackness is minimized in positive situations (while whiteness is highlighted):

> 'Yes, even the *negro* does not like it. People make it pejorative. 'Look, you, *negro*, get out of there.' Conversely, they do not say, 'Look, you, *blanco*, get out of there.' Just 'Get out of there,' or 'Sir, Ma'am, get out of there''

> ('*Sí, al propio negro no le gusta. La gente lo pone peyorativo, 'Mira, tú, negro, quítate de allí.' Al contrario, no dicen, 'Mira, tú, blanco, quítate de allí.' Sólo 'Quítate de allí,' o 'Señor, Señora, quítate de allí,'* DAJ_INT7).

When it comes to flirting, the opposite occurs, 'Conversely as well, if [one] wants to fall in love, you do not say to a woman, 'Hey, *negra*, you look good!' or to a *blanca* like this, 'Oh, *rubia*, you look cute'' ('*Contrario también, si quiere enamorar, a una mujer no le dices, 'Oye, negra, ¡qué bien tú te ves!' O a una blanca así, 'O, rubia, qué linda tú te ves'*,' DAJ_INT7). The participant summarizes the rules:

> 'The term *negro*, when it is to fall in love they do not say it … They say the pick-up line without referencing the color. But if I dye my hair, they [will] say to me, 'Hey, *rubia*, you look good!' And it is pleasing'

> ('*El término negro, cuando es para enamorar no la dicen … Dicen el piropo sin hacerle referencia al color. Pero si yo me tiño el pelo, me dicen, 'Oye, rubia, ¡qué bien te ves!' Y es agradable*,' DAJ_INT7).

For participants across research sites, forms of *negro* may be specifically used to communicate affect, even when a person does not have the physical characteristics of the *negro* profile. In Santiago, one participant opines that people do not frequently use *negra* but that it is used affectionately between spouses ('*Casi nunca dicen negra. De afecto entre esposos*,' STI_INT6). Another participant in Santiago states that the terms *negro, moreno* and *more* are very frequently used to communicate affection ('*Se usa mucho moreno, more, negro*,' STI_INT7). Some participants specifically address affectionate uses of *negro* that do not match a person's physical description. For example, a participant in Santiago addresses this use, after first describing the two faces of *negro*, 'Affectionately – *negrito*, a cute *negrito*. If it is a *negro* [that is] not very well loved, '*Negro de la Joya*,' a very bad neighborhood in Santo Domingo' (STI_INT9). The term *mi negro*, however, always communicates positive affect. '[*Mi negro is*] what wives say to their husbands, even [with] both being *rubios*. Term of endearment. [A] couple of people with light complexion, '*Negro*, pass me the towel,' '*Negra*, such and such.' Affection, pleasing' (STI_INT9).

> *De cariño – negrito, un negrito lindo. Si es un negro no muy bien querido, 'Negro de la Joya.' Un barrio muy malo en Santo Domingo … [Mi negro] Así le dicen las esposas a los esposos, hasta siendo rubios los dos. Palabra de cariño. Pareja de personas de tez clara, 'Negro, pásame la toalla,' 'Negra, tal cosa.' Halago, agrado* (STI_INT9).

With respect to the forms *mi negro* or *mi negra*, a participant in Santo Domingo states that the terms may be used for someone that does not fall within the *negro* profile. In this context, *mi negro* is more about communicating affect than it is about physical description. 'Very affectionate. '*Mi negrito,*' '*Morena.*' When one says 'my' [that] is affect' (SDQ_INT1).

Another participant in Santo Domingo confirms this point, 'Including the term *negro*, there is – like affection. There are couples that call each other '*mi negro,*' '*mi negra,*' and it is a nice aspect. They do not do it [in a] pejorative way' ('*Incluyendo el término negro, hay – como cariño. Hay parejas que se dicen 'Mi negro,' 'Mi negra,' y es un aspecto chulo. No lo hacen de forma despectiva,*' SDQ_INT6). When asked whether people that are affectionately described as *negro* must have dark skin, the participant replies, 'Not necessarily' ('*No necesariamente,*' SDQ_INT6). I then ask whether this usage of *negro* is a term of endearment, and the participant replies, 'Yes, of familiarity' (SDQ_INT6).

Although participants do conceptualize *negro* as within the Dominican racial system, some participants address how the *negro* profile is frequently associated with outsider status. According to a participant in Santiago, there is a perception that every true *negro* is Haitian ('*Todavía aquí se piensa que todo negro negro es haitiano,*' STI_INT4). The participant then ties in the role of language and states that a *negra* that does not speak Spanish will be perceived as Haitian ('*Una negra que no habla español es haitiana,*' STI_INT4). Another participant in Santiago confirms that 'A *negro* can be associated with a Haitian' ('*Un negro,*

*puede ser relacionado con un haitiano*,' STI_INT7). When asked whether the *negro* profile

is less frequently associated with Dominicanness, the participant replies that a person with

very dark skin has an undefined origin ('*Persona de piel muy oscura, origen indefinido,*'

STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago describes residents of her sector as *negro negro*

*negro* but foreigners, 'They are not from here. They come here, but they are from there'

('*Son negro negro negros, pero extranjeros. No son de aquí. Vienen aquí, pero son de allá,*'

STI_INT8). Participants frequently use emphatic forms of *negro* when describing the

physical profile of the Haitian. While describing the *mulato* profile, a participant in Santo

Domingo invokes the relationship between blackness and Haitianness, '*Mulatos* are almost

of Haitian descent. They are *negro negro negro negro*' ('*Los mulatos casimente son de*

*descendencia haitiana. Son negro negro negro negro,*' SDQ_INT2). A participant in

Dajabón opines that Haitians are *negro negro* and relates how people described Dominican

presidential hopeful José Francisco Peña Gómez as *azul* because of his dark tone ('*Cuando*

*usted es negro negro, como por ejemplo son el caso de los haitianos. Acá había un líder de*

*PRD, Peña Gómez. ¿Sabes cómo le decían? Azul,*' DAJ_INT5). A participant in Santo

Domingo explains how black Americans may also fall outside of the Dominican racial

system. The participant uses the example of actor Sidney Poitier, 'There is another type of

American *negro* that does not fit. Sidney Poitier. They are going to say, 'That [man] is

Haitian' … he does not enter within the system' ('*Hay otro tipo de negro americano que no*

*cabe. Sidney Poitier. Van a decir, 'Ése es haitiano' … no entra dentro del sistema,*'

SDQ_INT1).

A participant in Dajabón addresses the social perceptions that are associated with the

*negro* profile and how these perceptions are inflected with considerations of nationality. The

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participant begins by contrasting two groups within the country – *negros cocolos* and *negros haitianos*. *Negros cocolos* are the black laborers brought from the British Antilles to work in the Dominican sugar cane industry, and *negros haitianos* are immigrants from the neighboring country of Haiti. The participant asserts that *negro cocolos* are not considered the same as *negros haitianos*, although they both proceed from the same place of origin— Africa. 'But listen to the difference,' the participant states, 'So that you see the extreme to which it goes, the prejudice against the Haitian.' The participant continues, 'Because the prejudice is not against the *negro*; it is against the Haitian *negro*.' I state the accompanying presumption that the prejudice is not against the Haitian *blanco*, and the participant confirms that the prejudice is also not against the black American. As an example, the participant states, 'Because Michael Jordan goes out and they even open the door for him.' I mention that people open the door for me, and the participant replies, 'Yes, but you have a different color. Michael Jordan passes more as Haitian. But or another player, Lebron James. He is very black, a Haitian, Lebron James. People even identify him, 'Look at that Haitian, so big the Haitian.' They are going to say, 'Oh, Lebron James! Excuse me, Lebron James!'

| DAJ_INT5 | (DAJ5) *Ese tipo de negro,*<br>*los negros cocolos no son los mismos que los negros haitianos*<br>*y proceden ambos del mismo lugar de origen – de África.*<br>*Pero oye la diferencia.*<br>*Para tú ver hasta dónde llega la extremación,*<br>*el prejuicio en contra del haitiano.*<br>*Porque el prejuicio no es contra el negro; es contra el negro haitiano.*<br><br>(EW) *No es contra el blanco haitiano.*<br><br>(DAJ5) *O el negro norteamericano. Porque sale Michael Jordan y le abren hasta la puerta* |
|---|---|
|  | (DAJ5) *Sí, pero tú tienes un color distinto.*<br>*Michael Jordan pasa más como haitiano.*<br>*Pero u otro jugador. Lebron James.*<br>*Es negrísimo, un haitiano Lebron James.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *La gente hasta lo identifica,*<br>*'Mira ese haitiano, tan grande el haitiano.'*<br>*Le van a decir, 'Ah, ¡Lebron James! ¡Excúsame, Lebron James!'* |

In addition to other social understandings of *negro*, participants share some common (and less common) sayings that reveal additional aspects of social meaning in the Dominican setting (Table 53). Participants explain that these sayings can have positive and negative connotations. Sayings 1, 2, and 5 are examples of sayings that communicate positive affect toward *negro*. Sayings 3 and 4 bring in connotations of the *negro* as a lover. Sayings 6 and 7 are examples of how blackness is associated with negative characteristics even when not used in racial terms. Sayings 8 and 9 relate to ideologies such as 'refining the race' and communicate that *negro* is not a welcome mixture in some families. Sayings 10-14 communicate low estimations of value, and some (such as saying 11) trace back to the Trujillo dictatorship. Finally, saying 15 (as discussed in the section regarding *blanco*) communicates the inherent irony in stated racial attitudes.

Table 53. Sayings Relating to *Negro*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *El negro pega con todo*<br>'*Negro* goes with everything' | STI_INT9,<br>SDQ_INT4 |
| 2 | *Donde hay un negro la cosa se pone buena*<br>'Where there is a *negro* things get good' | STI_INT9 |
| 3 | *Si te enamoró un negro, no te toca un blanco*<br>'If you fell in love with a *negro*, a *blanco* does not touch you' | STI_INT9 |
| 4 | *Donde entró un negro no hay cabida para ningún blanquito*<br>'Where a *negro* entered, there is no room for any *blanquito*' | STI_INT9 |
| 5 | *Negrura con sabrosura*<br>'Black with flavor' | SDQ_INT7 |
| 6 | *Qué maldito día negro*<br>'What a cursed black day' | SDQ_INT4 |
| 7 | *La oveja negra de la casa*<br>'The black sheep of the house' | SDQ_INT4 |
| 8 | *Negro en mi casa nada más el caldero /*<br>*En mi casa, sólo negro el fondo de la paila*<br>'In my house, only the pot [is] *negro*' | SDQ_INT4,<br>DAJ_INT3 |

| 9 | *Negro solamente el trasero*<br>'Only the behind is *negro*' | DAJ_INT3 |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | *Tenía que ser negro*<br>'It had to be [a] *negro*' | SDQ_INT6 |
| 11 | *El negro, cuando no lo hace a la entrada, lo hace a la salida*<br>'The *negro*, when he does not do it coming, he does it going' | DAJ_INT3,<br>DAJ_INT5,<br>DAJ_INT6 |
| 12 | *El negro no se puede tener confianza*<br>'You cannot trust the *negro*' | DAJ_INT6 |
| 13 | *El negro es comida de cerdo /*<br>*El negro es comida de puerco*<br>'The *negro* is pig's food' | DAJ_INT3,<br>DAJ_INT6 |
| 14 | *El que cree en negro, no cree en nadie*<br>'He that believes in [a] *negro*, believes in no one' | DAJ_INT3 |
| 15 | *Yo no soy racista; a mí me da igual un blanco que un maldito*<br>*negro* 'I am not racist; to me a *blanco* and a damn *negro* are the same' | DAJ_INT7 |

Visual Representations of *Negro*

Participants identify seven images that could be described as *negro* in the Dominican

Republic (in order of frequency): MALE_8, MALE_7, FEMALE_8, MALE_23,

FEMALE_7, MALE_13, and FEMALE_15.

**prieto/a**

While forms of *prieto* are used across research sites, participants opine that the relative

frequency of *prieto*, with respect to categories such as *moreno* and *negro*, is low. A

participant in Santiago states, '*Prieto* is not a word from my vocabulary' ('*Prieto no es una*

*palabra de mi vocabulario,*' STI_INT5). A participant in Santo Domingo comments on the

relative frequency of *prieto*, '*Prieto* now, *moreno* and *negro* are used more' ('*El prieto ya,*

*se usa más moreno y negro,*' SDQ_INT4). The participant additionally comments on the

gendered dimension of frequency. When asked specifically about the frequency of the

feminine form *prieta*, the participant responds that it is used 'Very little. In the sphere of

women, *negra* is used more' ('*Muy poco. En el ámbito de las mujeres, se usa más negra,*'

SDQ_INT4).

Physical Meaning: *Prieto*

When participants describe the Dominican conception of *el prieto*, they invoke three primary variables: (1) skin color, (2) hair texture, and (3) facial features. The prototypical *prieto* conforms to the description for all three characteristics. From fifteen participants that explicitly describe the physical characteristics of the *prieto*, the following prototype emerges: (1) dark / black skin, (2) coarse / bad hair, (3) ordinary features. A person who fits this description is undeniably *prieto* in the Dominican Republic, but may also overlap the categories of *moreno* and *negro*.

| (1) SKIN COLOR | (2) HAIR TEXTURE | (3) FEATURES |
|---|---|---|
| *oscura / negra* | *crespo / malo* | *muy ordinarias* (*chemba grande, nariz achatada*) |

Participants primarily define the *prieto* profile in terms of skin color. At the most basic level, *prieto* describes a person that has dark skin. According to a participant in Santo Domingo, *prieto* is 'someone with dark skin,' and the term 'is not affectionate' ('*Prieto – alguien con la piel oscura. No es afectivo,*' SDQ_INT1). Another participant in Santo Domingo confirms, 'It is understood that the word *prieto* is used for dark complexion' ('*Se entiende que la palabra prieto se usa para tez oscura,*' SDQ_INT4). A third participant confirms, '[He/she] is going to have a very dark complexion, coarse hair … large mouth' ('*Va a tener la tez bien oscura, pelo crespo … de chemba grande,*' SDQ_INT6). A fourth participant states that *prieto* is 'A black person, of darker complexion. Very ordinary' ('*Una persona negra, de tez más oscura. Muy ordinaria,*' SDQ_INT7).

To communicate the degree of darkness in the complexion of the *prieto*, participants employ creative language and comparisons. A participant in Santiago emphatically

expresses this color in the following way:

> Clearly, the *prieto prieto* is *prieto*. A person [that is] *negra negra*, inside and out. They are so *prietos* that they even have a purple hand. Nothing of color. There is nothing light there.
>
> ('*Claro, el prieto prieto es prieto. Una gente negra negra, por dentro y por fuera. Son tan prietos que tienen hasta la mano morá. Nada de color. No hay nada claro allí.*' STI_INT8)

A participant in Santo Domingo compares the complexion of the *prieto* to the darkness

of night and the darkness of coal.

> 'The *prieto*, ay yay yay yay yay. Well, the *prieto* already is a person of very dark complexion, very dark. I have known people that are very dark, like the night. Like, like like coal. So, they call that type of person *prieto*'.
>
> ('*El prieto, ay yay yay yay yay. Bueno, el prieto ya es una persona de tez bien oscura, bien oscura. Yo he conocido a personas, que son bien oscuras, como la noche. Como, como como el carbón. Entonces, a ese tipo de persona le llaman prieto*. SDQ_INT6).

Another participant in Santo Domingo compares the complexion of the *prieto* to that of a

Haitian or a black color pencil. She states, 'Here, I am going to say it in raw terms, a *prieto*

like this is a Haitian. In the sense that he is *negro negro*. He is almost the same color as the

color pencil. Like if you take a pencil to paint *negro*. And it is like that, very *prieto*, very

burned, very very dark' (SDQ_INT8). She continues, 'That even, sometimes, *prietos* often

have whiter teeth. And lips, the lip line, they have it pinker, more prominent, but *negro*

*negro negro negro*. And the hair [is] *prieto prieto prieto*. And the hair is bad, or bad in the

sense [of] very coarse and short, dry, mistreated, that the wind hits it and it does not move'

(SDQ_INT8). She describes additional features and relates them to perceptions of

Haitianness and Africanness, 'Flat nose. It is from an African. It can be from a Haitian or

from an African' (SDQ_INT8):

> ('*Aquí, lo voy a decir en términos crudos, un prieto así es un haitiano. En ese sentido*

*de que es negro negro. Es casi el mismo color como el lápiz de color. Como si tú coges un lápiz para pintar negro. Y es así. Muy prieto, muy quemado, muy muy oscuro.*

*Que incluso, a veces, los prietos suelen tener la dentadura más blanca. Y los labios, la línea labial, la tienen más rosadita, más destacada. Pero negro negro negro negro. Y el cabello prieto prieto prieto. Y el cabello es malo, o sea malo en el sentido muy crespo y cortico, reseco, maltratado, que le da la brisa y no se mueve. La nariz achatada, Es de un africano. Puede ser de un haitiano o de un africano.'* SDQ_INT8)

For one participant in Santiago, *prieto* may be a temporary condition, such as when one tans after spending time in the sun, '*Prieto* is a *negro,* [a] person of dark skin … It is used with the beach as well. 'I got *prieta*'' ('*Prieto – es un negro, persona de piel oscura … Se usa con la playa también. 'Me puse prieta'*,' STI_INT7).

Participants additionally describe *prieto* as it relates to other categories such as *moreno* and *negro*. In Santiago, a person that is *prieto* has the same features as the *negro*, but the *prieto* is darker ('*La palabra prieto/a, personas que tienen los mismos rasgos que el negro,*' STI_INT9; '*Prieto más oscuro,*' STI_INT3). In Santo Domingo, participants also conceptualize the *prieto* as darker than the *negro*, 'Yes, the *negro*, the *prieto* goes beyond the *negro*' ('*Sí, el negro, el prieto va más allá del negro,*' SDQ_INT7). In Dajabón, participants discuss overlap. For one participant, *prieto* is the same as *negro* ('*Prieto es lo mismo. Negra, así negra,*' DAJ_INT2). For another participant, *prieto* is the same as *moreno* ('*Moreno y prieto vienen siendo lo mismo,*' DAJ_INT4). A third participant explains that, while *moreno, negro* and *prieto* essentially mean the same thing, there are differences in skin tone. '*Moreno, negro, prieto* are words that mean the same [thing]. At the bottom they are black. The *prieto* is a black person as well. The *moreno* is a little lighter. The *prieto* is more *negro*' ('*Moreno, negro, prieto son palabras que significan el mismo. En el fondo son negros. El prieto es una persona negra también. El moreno es un poco más claro. El prieto*

*es más negro*,' DAJ_INT6).

    Social Meaning and Functions: *Prieto*

    In addition to the physical information embedded in the term *prieto*, participants articulate the ways in which *prieto* may be deployed in discourse. Besides their descriptive function, forms of *prieto* may be used as nicknames and forms of direct address. *Prieto* also performs various social and ideological functions. For a participant in Santiago, '*Prieto* [is] the lowest on the scale. It is not the same to be *morena* as *prieta* ('*Prieto – más bajo de la escala. No es lo mismo ser morena que prieta*,' STI_INT4). When asked whether *prieto* is an insult, another participant in Santiago responds, 'People that are ignorant. 'Look, what [a] damn *negro*,' and they feel offended, angry' ('*Personas que son ignorantes. 'Mira, qué maldito negro' y ellos se sienten ofendidos, enfadados*,' STI_INT8). A third participant in Santiago confirms that *prieto* can be pejorative and imply ignorance, among other negative characteristics. 'Normally for people that are not very educated. No elegance, they are not very clean. It is used more as something pejorative' ('*Regularmente para personas que no son muy educadas. No elegancia, no son muy limpios. Se utiliza más como algo despectivo*,' STI_INT9). The participant summarizes, 'The reality is that *prieto* is pejorative' ('*La realidad es que prieto es despectivo*,' STI_INT9).

    Although *prieto* may be associated with negrative connotations, it is not always pejorative. A participant in Santo Domingo explains. When asked whether *prieto* is pejorative, the participant responds, 'Not necessarily. But 'Damn *prieto*' … a way of separating onseself' ('*No necesariamente. Pero 'maldito prieto' … una forma de despegarse*,' SDQ_INT1). On this point, I ask whether someone could use the form '*mi maldito prieto*,' to which the participant responds, 'Never' ('*Jamás*,' SDQ_INT1). For

another participant in Santo Domingo, *prieto* is not pejorative, but rather normal ('*No, no, aquí es normal*,' SDQ_INT3). A third participant in Santo Domingo opines that *prieto* is completely pejorative, 'That [one] yes is pejorative. No affection or anything. That [one] is completely pejorative. 'Look at that *prieto*,' 'Such [an] ugly *prieto*' ('*Ése sí es despectivo. Ni afecto ni nada. Ésa es despectiva entera. 'Mira ese prieto,' 'Prieto tan feo'*,' SDQ_INT7). Another participant in Santo Domingo addresses how context may change the connotation of *prieto*:

> But as in everything, when it is used, it can be used in a positive way, pretty. 'Oh, my *prieto*, caramba.' The tone changes … 'Oh my *prieto*,' 'I adore my *prieta*.' Things like that. And it is nice.
>
> ('*Pero como en todo, cuando se utiliza, se puede utilizar de forma positiva, bonita. 'Ay, mi prieto, caramba.' Varía el tono … 'Ay mi prieta,' 'Yo adoro a mi prieta.' Cosas así. Y es bonito*,' SDQ_INT6).

For participants in Dajabón, *prieto* takes more of a negative connotation. One participant states, 'When they say *prieto*, it is already more pejorative. 'Look, old *prieto* … Look, *prieto*! Like it is now a little more. [You] see another connotation' ('*Cuando dicen prieto, ya es más despectivo. 'Mira, prieto viejo … ¡Mira, prieto!' Como ya un poquito más. Ve otra connotación*,' DAJ_INT1). For another participant, *prieto* is the form that is most used in a pejorative way, 'The *prieto* is the [one] that is most used [in a] pejorative way. A beautiful *morena*. [One] does not say 'Beautiful *prieto*' or 'Beautiful *prieta*'' ('*El prieto es el que más se usa de manera despectiva. Una morena bella. No dice 'prieto bello', ni 'bella prieta*,' DAJ_INT2). A third participant weighs in, '[*Prieto*] is also pejorative, perhaps not as much as the *negro*, but it is also pejorative. 'That *prieto* man.' It is like brutish, it is like, he is stubborn, dense. 'Leave him alone, [because] he is *prieto*' ('*[Prieto] es también despectivo, quizás no tanto como el negro, pero es también despectivo. 'Ese hombre prieto.' Es como*

*bruto, es como que, es terco, es burro. 'Déjalo tranquilo, que él es prieto','* (DAJ_INT7). In this sense, the participant alludes to a direct link between color terms and social implications.

According to participants, forms of *prieto* may be used as nicknames. A participant in Santiago states, 'There are people that say *prieto* [as a] nickname. *Prietico*' ('*Hay personas que dicen prieto de apodo. Prietico*,' STI_INT8). Another participant discusses the role of additional adjectives when *prieto* is used as a nickname, ''My *prieto*,' 'My beautiful *prietica*' … You have to put adjectives, 'My precious *prietica*'' (''*Mi prieto,' 'Mi prietica bella' ... Tienes que ponerle adjetivos, 'Mi prietica preciosa'*,' STI_INT9). Although *prieto* may be used as a nickname, it cannot be used in the same broad way as *negro / negra*. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses the parameters of this use. When asked whether '*mi prieto*' may be used as a term of endearment for someone that does not have dark skin, the participant responds:

> 'Eh, I have not heard it in those terms. At least as *negro* is used. It is used more at [a] level of familiarity, 'my *prieto*, 'my *prieta*,' or in pejorative terms, 'That *beep prieto*' … or 'It had to be that *beep prieto*.'

> ('*Eh, yo no lo he escuchado en términos así. Al menos como se utiliza el negro. Se utiliza más a nivel de confianza, 'mi prieto,' 'mi prieta,' o en términos despectivos. 'Ese beep prieto' ... o 'Tenía que ser ese beep prieto*',' SDQ_INT6).

In addition to its use as a nickname, *prieto* may also be used as a form of direct address, although this use may be to specifically cause offense. In an interview in Santo Domingo, two participants discuss the use of *prieto* as a form of direct address. For the first participant, *prieto* may be used to describe all kinds of things. He continues, 'Now, when you are going to make a difference with [it], you are going to say, 'Look, *morenita*.' But that [one] that is *prieto prieto*, 'Look, *azulito*' or 'Look, *prieto*' (SDQ_INT3). The second participant

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suggests that *moreno* may also be used. The first participant agrees and repeats that

everything can be called *prieto*.

| SDQ_INT3 | (SDQ3a) *Aquí el prieto, se la llama prieto a todo*<br>(EW) *Okey*<br><br>(SDQ3a) *Ahora, cuando tú vas a hacer una diferencia con ella, vas a decir, 'Mira, morenita.'*<br>*Pero aquel que es prieto prieto,*<br>*'Mira, azulito,'*<br>*O 'Mira prieto.'*<br><br>(SDQ3b) *O moreno*<br>(SDQ3a) *O moreno*<br><br>(SDQ3a) *Pero se le llama prieto a todo* |
|---|---|

Another participant in Santo Domingo states that *prieto* is primarily used to describe,

rather than to call, 'Yes, to describe. Also, 'Look, damn *prieto*' … *Prieto* is mainly used for

that' ('*Sí, para describir. También, 'mira, maldito prieto' ... Mayormente para eso se usa la*

*palabra prieto*,' SDQ_INT4).

For some participants, *prieto* additionally serves ideological functions. According to a

participant in Dajabón, *moreno* and *prieto* are used to hide blackness, and they soften the

stigma of the term *negro* ('*El moreno y el prieto son para esconder la negritud. Entonces, lo*

*suavizan*,' DAJ_INT6).

As with *negro*, although participants do conceptualize *prieto* as within the Dominican

racial system, some participants address how the *prieto* profile is frequently associated with

outsider status. A participant in Santo Domingo discusses the ways in which *haitiano* and

*prieto* may be deployed toward Dominicans with darker skin tones:

> The term Haitian is because they come from Haiti. But unfortunately, in my country,
> there are people that say to a person, 'Well you are Haitian,' being Dominican. Or,
> or, 'damn *prieto*,' 'Cooking pot *prieto*' … burned, like that.

('*El término haitiano es porque vienen de Haití. Pero lamentablemente, en mi país, hay personas que le dicen a una persona, 'Pues tú eres haitiano,' siendo dominicano. O, o, 'prieto del diache,' 'prieto del caldero' … quemado, así,'* SDQ_INT8).

In addition to other social understandings of *prieto*, participants share some common (and less common) sayings that reveal additional aspects of social meaning in the Dominican setting. The four sayings shared by interview participants uniformly communicate negative affect. Sayings 1 and 2 assert that the *prieto* brings bad luck and always messes things up. Saying 3 communicates negative personal or societal expectations for the *prieto*. Finally, saying 4 communicates the *prieto* does not have any value, in the same way that pigs eat scraps and slop that has no value.

Table 54. Sayings Relating to *Prieto*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *El prieto siempre la daña /*<br>*Donde hay un prieto, la cosa siempre se daña*<br>'The *prieto* always messes it up.' /<br>'Where there is a *prieto*, thing[s] always get messed up.' | STI_INT9 |
| 2 | *El prieto trae mala suerte*<br>'The *prieto* brings bad luck.' | STI_INT9 |
| 3 | *Tenía que ser ese \*beep\* prieto*<br>'It had to be that \*beep\* *prieto*.' | SDQ_INT6 |
| 4 | *El prieto es comida de puerco*<br>'The *prieto* is pig's food.' | DAJ_INT7 |

Visual

Participants do not identify any images that may be associated with the *prieto* profile.

**D.  *Racialization of Region***

Within the Dominican Republic, residents have expectations for regional racial demographics that can be traced to historical and political events. As such, racial terms carry expectations of a person's region of origin, and, likewise, regional origin corresponds to expectations of race. For each of the study's focal terms, participants consider the relationship between race and region in the Dominican Republic and explain how each

region has been racialized. Table 55 contains a summary of these data. The sections that

follow discuss racialization of the north, south, east and border regions.

Table 55. Racialization of Region by Term

| Matiz Racial | Region | City |
|---|---|---|
| rubio | North<br>NOT South | Constanza<br>San José de las Matas<br>Jánico<br>Jarabacoa<br>La Placeta<br>Rincón de Piedra<br>Moca |
| blanco | Cibao<br>*Cordillera Central* | Constanza<br>Jánico<br>Jarabacoa<br>La Vega<br>Moca<br>Ocoa<br>San José de las Matas<br>Santiago |
| pelirrojo | --- | --- |
| colorao | Cibao | Jarabacoa<br>Constanza |
| jabao | North / Cibao<br>No Specific Region | --- |
| trigueño | Cibao | Santiago<br>La Vega<br>Moca<br>San Francisco de Macorís |
| indio | No specific place | --- |
| mulato | South | Barahona<br>San Cristóbal |
| moreno | South<br><br>East<br><br><br><br><br>Dominican-Haitian Border | Ázua<br>Barahona<br>Villa Mella<br>San Pedro de Macorís<br>La Romana<br>Higuey<br>Santo Domingo<br>Dajabón<br>Jimaní |
| negro | South<br>East<br><br><br><br>Dominican-Haitian Border | San Cristóbal<br>Santo Domingo<br>Villa Mella<br>San Pedro de Macorís<br>Samaná<br>Jimaní |

| *Matiz Racial* | Region | City |
|---|---|---|
| | | Dajabón |
| | | Pedernales |
| *prieto* | --- | --- |

1. Racialization of the North: Lighter Profiles

For interview participants, the northern region of the country is characterized by lighter profiles such as *rubio, blanco, colorao, jabao,* and *trigueño*.

RUBIO

When asked which regions of the country are associated with *rubios*, participants readily identify broad regions, specific cities, and even neighborhoods. For one participant, 'there is no specific region' where rubios may be found, but the northern region of the country is perceived to be lighter than the southern region ('*No hay región específico. El norte es más claro que el sur. Habrá más gente en el norte con esos rasgos,*' SDQ_INT1). This same participant continues, although there may be *rubios* in any region of the country, it is strange for someone from the deep south (e.g., Barahona) to be *rubio* ('*Puede ser cualquier sitio. Es muy raro que alguien que sea del sur profundo sea rubio. Barahona,*' SDQ_INT1). While participants would be surprised to see *rubios* in southern cities such as Barahona, several participants list specific cities that have the reputation for *rubios*: Constanza, San José de las Matas, Jánico, Jarabacoa, La Placeta, Rincón de Piedra, Moca (STI_INT3, STI_INT8, SDQ_INT8). When asked about these regions, participants describe them as mountain settings, with cooler climates, or concentrations of European immigration. Finally, one participant discusses how regional distribution plays out within a single city, in this case, Santo Domingo. He states, ' In Santo Domingo, there is a bit of everything. Here there is a bit [of] a summary of the country' ('*En Santo Domingo, hay un poco de todo. Aquí está un poco un resumen del país,*' SDQ_INT1). He goes on to say that frequency of *rubios* in Santo

Domingo varies according to the neighborhood. For example, there are more *rubios* in Naco (a more affluent neighborhood) than in Villa Juana (a less affluent neighborhood).

BLANCO

While, as one participant acknowledges, *blancos* may be found throughout the country ('*En todo el país un poco*,' SDQ_INT1), participants most frequently associate the *blanco* profile with the northern region, and the Cibao Valley specifically. Some participants indicate that *blancos* are most frequently found in mountainous regions such as the *cordillera central*. One participant comments that people in these mountain communities have characteristics of Spaniards because they remained in that area for a long time without mixing ('*Permanecieron mucho tiempo sin mezclar. Características de españoles*,' STI_INT7). With respect to specific cities, participants identify Constanza, Jánico, Jarabacoa, La Vega, Moca, Ocoa, San José de las Matas, and Santiago as cities with large populations of *blancos*. Constanza is the most frequently identified city, and participants attribute the physical characteristics of the city's inhabitants to the region's cool climate (SDQ_INT2, SDQ_INT8). Perhaps not surprisingly, the region and cities that participants associate with *blancos* overlap with the cities that participants associate with *rubios*.

PELIRROJO

Participants did not associate the *pelirrojo* profile with a particular region of the country.

COLORAO

When asked about regions of the country that might be associated with *coloraos*, participants primarily identify the Cibao Valley (e.g., '*La norte es la zona más colorada*,' SDQ_INT1). A participant in Santiago specifically identifies the cities of Jarabacoa and Constanza, identifying them as 'cold places' (STI_INT8). A participant in Dajabón

comments on the regional distribution of the term: '[*Colorao*] is the very same *jabao*, but here they are not called *colorao*. In other places. [but] here in Dajabón, no' ('[*Colorao*] *es el mismo jabao. Pero aquí no se les llama colorao. En otras zonas,* [*pero*] *aquí en Dajabón, no,*' DAJ_INT7).

JABAO

Participants in Santiago concur that there is no specific region associated with the *jabao* profile: 'I do no think [so]' (*No creo,*' STI_INT3); 'No, really, it came out like that. There is no pattern' ('*No, realmente, salió así. No hay un patrón,*' STI_INT7); 'There is no specific place' ('*No hay un sitio específico,*' STI_INT8). Interestingly, however, participants in Santo Domingo associate the *jabao* profile with the northern region where Santiago is located. One participant states, 'In the Cibao they use the word *jabao, colorao, prieto* a lot' ('*En el Cibao usan mucho la palabra jabao, colorao, prieto,*' SDQ_INT5). Another participant opines, 'I think that where there are [the] most *jabao* is in the northern zone' ('*Creo que donde hay más jabao es en la zona norte,*' SDQ_INT6).

TRIGUEÑO

Participants have differing opinions on which regions of the country may be associated with *trigueños*. For a participant in Santiago, the *trigueño* profile, much like *indio*, has no specific place because they are the most noticeable groups (STI_INT4). For other participants, the *trigueño* profile is more common in the northern Cibao region—in Santiago, La Vega, Moca, and San Francisco de Macorís. One participant states, 'In Santiago there are many, La Vega, Moca' ('*En Santiago hay muchos, La Vega, Moca,*' STI_INT7). Another participant states that the most *trigueños* that he has seen in the country was in San Francisco de Macorís ('*San Francisco de Macorís – más trigueños que he visto*

*en el país,*' STI_INT9). For still other participants, the *trigueño* profile extends beyond the

Cibao region. For a participant in Santo Domingo, *trigueños* may be found in La Vega,

Santiago, and the entire northern region, but also in San Juan in the south and in Baní ('*Sí,*

*La Vega, Santiago, en todo el norte …También en San Juan en la parte del sur, en Baní. Es*

*una denominación corriente,*' SDQ_INT1). For another participant, the *trigueño* profile is

frequent in the east and in the south, although it abounds throughout the country ('*En el este*

*se ve mucho. En el sur también. Pero abunde en todo el país,*' SDQ_INT6).

2. Racialization ot the South, East, and Border Region: Darker Profiles

For interview participants, the southern, eastern, and border regions of the country are

characterized by darker profiles such as *mulato, moreno,* and *negro*. In some cases, in cities

like San Pedro de Macorís and Samaná, region may outweigh physical characteristics for the

classification of race.

MULATO

One participant comments on the regions of the country that she associates with the

*mulato* profile. This participant opines that *mulatos* may be found in the southern region of

the country, in cities such as Barahona and San Cristóbal (STI_INT8)

MORENO

Although the *moreno* profile is found throughout the country, participants readily

identify regions and specific cities that they associate with *morenos*. Some participants

associate the *moreno* profile with the south, specifically cities such as Ázua and Barahona.

For a participant in Santiago, the *moreno* profile is prevalent in the south and the east

(STI_INT7). For a participant in Santo Domingo, although the *moreno* profile may exist

anywhere, there are more *morenos* in Ázua and Barahona ('*Sur – Ázua, Barahona, son más morenos … Puede ser cualquier sitios*,' SDQ_INT1). The participant continues that the south is the zone most characterized by the *moreno* ('*El sur está comenzando desde Ázua. Es la zona más morena*,' SDQ_INT1). While the *moreno* profile may be found in the northern Cibao region along with *trigueño* and *negro*, a participant in Santiago states that the profile is more prevalent along the Dominican-Haitian border in cities like Dajabón and Jimaní ('*¿Tiene que ser en la República Dominicana? Dajabón, Jimaní, en la frontera*,' STI_INT8). For other participants, the *moreno* profile is prevalent in the east. A participant in Santiago mentions the city of Villa Mella near Santo Domingo. She states that if Dominicans see a man that is very dark and strong, they might say. 'You look like a *moreno* from Villa Mella' ('*Villa Mella – Hombre muy negro, fuerte, 'Tú pareces un moreno de Villa Mella*,' STI_INT7). Another participant in Santiago mentions additional cities in the eastern region where the *moreno* profile abounds: San Pedro de Macorís, La Romana, Higuey, and Santo Domingo (STI_INT9). A participant in Santo Domingo concurs regarding the prevalence of the *moreno* profile in the eastern region ('*Por el este, la mezcla de los morenos con la trigueña, la blanca*,' SDQ_INT6).

NEGRO

When asked which regions of the country are associated with *negros*, participants are able to identify broad regions and specific cities. Overall, participants most frequently associate the *negro* profile with the southern and eastern regions of the country and with the area along the Dominican-Haitian border (STI_INT7). A participant in Santiago comments that in the south there are more *negros*, and near the border as well ('*Sur – más negros, cerca de la frontera también*,' STI_INT3). A participant in Dajabón describes the racial

demographics in a specific southern city, 'San Cristóbal. In San Cristóbal, the people are almost always dark, of very dark skin. They are not Haitians, but they have very dark skin. They are Dominicans' ('*San Cristóbal. En San Cristóbal, la gente casi siempre son oscura, de piel como muy oscura. No son haitianos, pero son de piel muy oscura. Son dominicanos,*' DAJ_INT4). This same participant describes other communities with persistent black populations, 'And in other communities, there are people [that are] *negras*, very *negras*, that although they marry people [that are] *blancas* they remain *negras*' ('*Y en otras comunidades, hay personas negras, muy negras, que aunque se casan con personas blancas se quedan negras,*' DAJ_INT4). For other participants in Santiago, the southern and eastern region have a higher concentration of *negros* because these zones had larger populations of enslaved Africans (STI_INT7). One participant states regarding Santo Domingo:

> Santo Domingo – the African impact is felt more. Sugar plantations. Businesses …
> In Santo Domingo, there are very strong communities. Villa Mella. Tall, big, strong
> … A man very *negro* and strong, 'You seem like a *moreno* from Villa Mella.'
>
> ('*Santo Domingo – se siente más el impacto africano. Ingenios. Negocios ... En
> Santo Domingo hay comunidades muy fuertes. Villa Mella. Altos, grandotes, fuertes
> … Hombre muy negro, fuerte, 'Tú pareces un moreno de Villa Mella',*' STI_INT7).

Another participant states:

> It also has to do with the settlement of the Africans. Samaná – another type of
> cultures. *Mulatos, negros* from Philadelphia. The zone that is supposedly the whitest
> – El Cibao. The south, the east – more African descendants. Santo Domingo is in the
> south.
>
> ('*También tiene que ver con el asentamiento de los africanos. Samaná – otro tipo de
> culturas. Mulatos / negros de Filadelfia. Zona – supuestamente más blanca – El
> Cibao. El Sur, El Este – más descendientes africanos. Santo Domingo está en el sur,*'
> STI_INT6).

Another participant in Santiago speaks about the particularities of race in cities like Samaná and San Pedro de Macorís. The participant is describing Dominican baseball player Sammy

Sosa. He states:

> San Pedro de Macorís – he is *negro*. It is understood that *guloyas* are from San Pedro de Macorís, or from Samaná. Brought from Louisiana. From Los Minas. From Villa Mella. Even if [a person] has features toward *blanco*, if he is from San Pedro de Macorís, Samaná, he is *negro*.

> ('*San Pedro de Macorís – es negro. Se entiende que guloyas son de San Pedro de Macorís, o de Samaná. Traídos de Luisiana. De Los Minas. De Villa Mella. Aún si tiene características hacia el blanco, si es de San Pedro de Macorís, Samaná, es negro, guloya,*' STI_INT4).

In this sense, in very particular cases, region can outweigh physical features for the determination of a person's description. This reveals the persistence of these notions of *ascendencia* ('lineage').

For several participants, the *negro* profile is also associated with the Dominican-Haitian border region. For one participant in Santiago, this profile is present in the cities of Jimaní and Dajabón, and it is very rare to see a *blanquito* in the region ('*Jimaní, Dajabón, la frontera específicamente ... Allí es muy raro ver un blanquito,*' STI_INT8). For another participant, the profile is also prevalent in these border cities, 'Border zones – Dajabón, Pedernales … people with very dark skin, rustic' ('*Zonas fronterizas – Dajabón, Pedernales ... personas de tez muy oscura, rústica,*' STI_INT9). A participant in Dajabón speaks about the racial expectations that people have when they come to Dajabón, 'People think that when they come to Dajabón, they are going to arrive to a city full of Haitians everywhere. And others come maybe because they want to see all *negros*' ('*Personas piensan que cuando vienen a Dajabón, van a llegar a una ciudad llena de haitianos por todos lados. Y otros vienen quizás porque quieren ver todos negros,*' DAJ_INT2).

PRIETO

Participants do not associate *prieto* with a specific region. This may be because of the

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social, rather than physical, differences between *prieto* and categories such as *moreno* and *negro*. Because of the overlap in physical referent, a *prieto* could conceivably be found wherever a *moreno* or a *negro* is found. Participants do not specifically comment on this point, however.

3. *Indio* as a 'Regionless' Profile

Unlike other racial terms, participants do not associate the *indio* profile with any specific region of the country. Rather, participants position *indio* as a profile that appears throughout the country. On this point, one participant in Santiago states that *indios* do not come from one specific place (STI_INT4). Another Santiago participant echoes this opinion, '*Mayormente, en todas partes hay personas indias*' ('Mainly, there are *personas indias* everywhere,' STI_INT8). When asked the question of region, a participant in Santo Domingo replies, '*De todas. No hay una especifidad*' ('From all [regions]. There is no specificity,' SDQ_INT1).

To summarize, participants associate the northern region of the country with racial terms that describe lighter profiles such as *rubio, blanco, colorao, jabao,* and *trigueño*. Darker profiles, such as *mulato, moreno,* and *negro* correspond to the southern, eastern, and border regions; and the *indio* profile may be found throughout the country.

**E.  *Chapter Summary***

This chapter has outlined an analyzed a complex system of racial categorization with the objective of reaching an understanding of the internal logic of the Dominican racial system. To this end, the first section analyzed how participants racialize self using categories from

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the Dominican racial system, noting that many participants positively affirm blackness in contrast to prevailing narratives. The second section explored how participants characterize the Dominican racial setting, its nature, its categories, prejudices and discrimination, and the notion of race. The third section discussed how participants navigate the physical and social meaning embedded in each racial category in groups relating to *la raza negra, la raza, mulata,* and *la raza blanca*. The analysis in these groups allowed for an exploration of similarities and differences across related categories. The final section discussed the racialization of region.

These results indicate that the Dominican racial system has a high tolerance for mixture, category overlap, and linguistic innovation. Mixture is, in fact, a central notion of racial identity, such that participants do not separate a mixed identity into the sum of its parts (as with the dessert *arroz con leche*). Rather, they are comfortable navigating mixture. Moreover, many categories have overlapping boundaries, such that a single individual may be described using different terms depending on the person and context of the interaction. Participants accept this fluidity and understand the circumstances that may inflect a change from one category to another. Furthermore, participants describe the Dominican racial system as one of linguistic innovation, wherein some existing categories have broadened, some have narrowed, and some new ones have been invented. As categories change, and as rules for navigating these categories change, participants learn, adapt, and challenge uses with which they do not agree.