

RECONSTRUCTING THE LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF *PALENQUES* ON THE NATURE AND RELEVANCE OF COLONIAL DOCUMENTS

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This article aims to examine the origin and history of two maroon communities —(1) Palenque (Colombia) and (2) the *Maniel de Neyba* (Dominican Republic)— through the study of historical texts. Section 1 presents methodological and philological problems concerning the study of colonial documents, while Section 2 focuses on the so-called *palenques*: after briefly explaining the history of this term, I then point to similarities and differences in the histories of the two aforementioned communities, describing their ethnolinguistic composition, social structure, contacts with the outside world, and language used within them. In toto, the data and arguments presented in Section 2 aim to contribute to the ongoing debate about creolization as a cultural and linguistic process.

Key words: Creolization, Haitian Creole, historical documents, maroonage, Maniel de Neiba, Neiva, Palenque, Palenquero

1. Colonial documents: their relevance, and methodological problems with their study¹

Official documents written during the Spanish colonial era by Spaniards or Hispanic *creoles* (descendants of Spaniards born in the Americas) may turn out to be pertinent for resolving key questions surrounding Afro-Hispanic language contacts. Among these questions are: did L2 varieties of black slaves (pidginized or not) vary substantially from one person to another, or did their L2 quickly stabilize and eventually pass on as a more or less fixed speech form to the next generations? And to what (if any) extent did *bozal* Spanish and/or Afro-Hispanic Creoles influence vernacular varieties of Spanish, especially those located in areas (e.g., the Caribbean) where slaves were unusually abundant?

¹ I would like to thank Armin Schwegler and two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and careful reading of a former version of this paper. I am grateful to Mary Krupka for patiently correcting my non-native English.

We must agree with the Colombian anthropologist Friedemann (1984) that the “invisibility” of blacks was the result of an official strategy adopted through time and space to legitimize (at least, tacitly so) the slave trade. This strategy is known to have had its roots in colonial times, a period when official documentation about the lives of blacks is supposed to have been scarce. As Vila Vilar (1987: 176; my translation)² correctly points out, “the maintenance of slavery with its juridical status during three centuries silenced blacks’ voice to the point that it is difficult to encounter them mentioned in official documents that do not [directly] refer to the slave trade or to public disturbances and rebellions”. Because of this testimonial “silence”, one might suspect —falsely so, as I hope to show in this paper— that there may simply be too few historical documents that could answer some or all of the foregoing questions.

As is well known, in Hispanic documents, whites and Amerindians were far more present than blacks. Nevertheless, colonial documents about the actual slave trade and related public disturbances and rebellions (including maroonage) by Blacks are quite abundant. Black uprisings became a matter of serious concern to the Spanish authorities, which in turn produced a large corpus of legal documents containing city ordinances, royal edicts, and legal pronouncements such as those included in the so-called *Leyes de Indias* (1681). These same uprisings also produced hundreds of proceedings and court orders against blacks and mulattoes (including many trials led by the Spanish Inquisition).

To linguists, these documents are potentially useful for at least four reasons:

- (1) They allow us to understand the sociohistorical events that conditioned external language history, including contacts and/or conflicts between black and whites.
- (2) Occasional direct oral court testimony and private letters written by white creoles provide insights into the internal history of Spanish, including vernacular New World varieties that black slaves presumably sought to approximate.³
- (3) If read carefully, these documents may hint at the linguistic awareness of white scribes of *bozal* and creole varieties.
- (4) They may contain genuine (or close to genuine) fragments of colonial Black Spanish.

² “El mantenimiento del estatuto jurídico esclavista en la raza negra durante tres siglos ha silenciado sus voces, hasta el punto que es difícil encontrarlos mencionados en documentos oficiales que no se refieren a *la trata o desórdenes públicos y levantamientos*” (my italics).

³ See Koch & Oesterreicher (2012 [1985], 2011[1990]) and Oesterreicher (1994, 2005) about the presence of the so-called *language of immediacy* in written texts (German: “mündlich geprägte Schreibkompetenz” / Spanish: “competencia escrita de impronta oral”). See also Gutiérrez Maté (2013: 9-22) about the particular case of Spanish Colonial documents.

Scholars have long acknowledged the important role that historical documents can play in the reconstruction of the formative period of multilingual societies. Consequently, linguists have usually paid special attention to research by historians working on the basis of official documents. For instance, Navarrete's (2008) in-depth investigations into the history of San Basilio de Palenque (Colombia) has brought to light important new facts about the early sociolinguistic history of 16th and 17th century *palenques* located in the hinterland of Cartagena de Indias, Latin America's principal slaving port of that period (Schwegler 2014). In bringing together a series of relevant historical documents from the colonial period, she aptly shows that the origins of Palenque are more complex than scholars had originally assumed, in that the village arose from a more or less gradual coming together of multiple *palenques*, all located in the nearby Sierra de María and/or the neighboring region opposite to the shores of the Magdalena river. Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, some of these maroons were born free, and as such were creoles who may have had native command of regional (dialectal) Spanish, a lexically Spanish-based creole, as well as one or several sub-Saharan African languages.

While these documents are useful, they are also potentially problematic in that they are often ambiguous (or downright silent) about specific linguistic phenomena that are of primary interest to historical linguists. Patiño Rosselli, when trying to reconstruct the history of Palenquero, highlights the "usual silence of the colonial documents" [*mutismo usual de los documentos coloniales*] (2002: 24). Zimmermann (1993: 89-111), who investigates the language of the Afro-Hispanic population in colonial Mexico, attends to a wide spectrum of text types and appears to be more optimistic regarding the use of documents. However, he does point to their apparent scarcity: for instance, he could only find testimonies of blacks in indirect—but not in direct—speech. This situation encourages him to appreciate the usefulness of literary texts⁴.

It is the scarcity of direct speech testimonies that has usually justified the primacy of literary texts over documentary records as an empirical source for the analysis of linguistic contact phenomena: "Before the nineteenth-century, purportedly objective observations of Afro-Hispanic speech can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and the total amount of texts amounts to a paragraph at best"

⁴ 'Although we cannot exclude the possibility that scattered original testimonies will come to light, we must not adopt an overly critical stance—right from the beginning—towards other texts that seem less reliable or less significant from a linguistic point of view' [Zwar ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass vereinzelte Originalzeugnisse ans Tageslicht gefördert werden, aber man darf deshalb von Anfang an auch sprachwissenschaftlich weniger zuverlässige und aussagekräftige Zeugnisse nicht verschmähen] (Zimmermann 1993: 92, my translation).

(Lipski 2005: 8)⁵. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that several such testimonies may still await discovery in archives. I am not only referring to the documents in well-known Archivo General de Indias in Seville, but also, for example, to the numerous records about blacks and slaves that are housed in the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá and in similar Latin American archives⁶. Historians and linguists alike would do well to probe them for clues about the early history of Afro-Hispanic societies.

A major problem for linguists intent on studying historical records of Afro-Hispanic language concerns the question whether reported Black speech samples are in any way realistic representations of earlier Afro-Hispanic speech varieties. Direct (black) speech recreated by white scribes usually attempts to recreate the content rather than the form of a given enunciation. The following excerpt of a text I located in the Colombian Archivo General de la Nación may serve as example: here a late judicial testimony (given on May 19, 1796) of a *bozal* female (María Gervasia Guillén, born in Guinea [= Black Africa⁷] and free at the time of this declaration) is rendered in a speech form that in all likelihood has undergone considerable filtering by the scribe:

- (1) *dijo ser falso el que les huviera ofrecido cosa alguna y lo que sí sucedio fue que, haviéndole cogido el catabre a un muchacho que lo trahía [...] se fue para ellos y [...] les dijo ‘demen Vds⁸ el catabre, que es mío’ y diciéndole que no, les contextó la misma declarante ‘pues tomen Vds también quanto llevo en la faldriguera y quanto llevo ensima de mi cuerpo’ [Cartagena 1796, f 3v⁹]*

‘she said that she had not offered them anything and what did happen was that, after they took the gourd from a boy who was bringing it [...] she went to them and said to them: ‘give me the gourd, because it is mine’ and, after having answered that they were not going to do that, she said ‘thus, take also what I have in the pouch and all I have on my body!’

⁵ It is not a coincidence that the anthologies of Afro-Iberian texts (Granda *et al.* 1996; Appendix to Lipski 2005; Santos Morillo 2010, vol. 2) tend to consist almost entirely of literary texts.

⁶ Regarding the volume of documents written during the colonial era, the archive located in Seville (the administrative center of the Hispanic colonies) is much larger than the national archives in Latin America.

⁷ As is well known, the term “Guinea” served as general designation for “Black Africa”.

⁸ My philological interpretation of this abbreviation, when it occurs in direct speech testimonies, corresponds to the pronoun *ustedes* (or a phonetically similar form) and no longer to the Noun Phrase *vuestras mercedes*. See Gutiérrez Maté (2013: 237-253) for an explanation of the coexistence of the form *vuestra merced* and *usted* as a case of divergence (Hopper 1991); consult García Godoy (2012: 111-152) for a description and interpretation of the abbreviations *vm./vmd./vd.* in Spanish during the 18th century.

⁹ When offering an example from an unedited text, I will provide the original source and exact page numbers. My transcriptions will always respect the original graphic symbols; accentuation and punctuation (mainly colons) will be added to facilitate the reading of the texts; most abbreviated words will be spelled out in full.

In the above text, M. G. Guillén's speech hardly differs from that which could have been uttered by a contemporary native speaker of Spanish. As such it contains no linguistic "errors" (concerning the use of articles, verb forms, agreement markers, and so forth) or other tell-tale signs of the L2 speech of a *bozal* speaker. What we find instead is simply a more or less faithful representation of an orally rendered testimony whose hallmarks are occasional discourse markers such as *pues*¹⁰ and some vernacular or diastatically marked features (e.g., use of verbal ending /n/ after the enclitic pronoun, as in *demen* instead of *denme*; Boyd-Bowman 1960: 166-167; Kany 1951: 112-114).¹¹ Expressed differently, this text essentially corresponds to vernacular "white" speech, amply documented in the evolution of rural and/or illiterate Spanish. Evidence to that effect is, for instance, found in the form *faldriquera* — with its two sonorizations absent in the standard form *faltriquera*¹². This articulation was surely socially marked, and was intentionally used by the scribe, who otherwise rendered a document virtually free of phonetic and other linguistic errors. Even as regards the correspondences between graphemes and sounds, the text seems very well written. For instance, the scribe correctly distinguishes between *c/z* and *s*, even though he must have pronounced /s/ in all cases¹³; under these circumstances, writing *ensima* with its *s*, as in the example above, should be interpreted as a case of "eye dialect" (Lipski 2005: 61).

Even when linguists find more reliable imitations of Black speech within the analyzed samples of documents, a further challenge may concern reliability of editions itself. Not all historians offer palaeographic transcriptions, so it is often impossible to judge the accuracy of printed texts. The transcription of the often-cited text in Arrázola (1970: 152) and a comparison with the original docu-

¹⁰ This was a common technique to imitate and/or signal direct speech in many Spanish colonial documents, as well as in proceedings from the Spanish Inquisition (Gutiérrez Maté & Fernández Bernaldo de Quirós 2010).

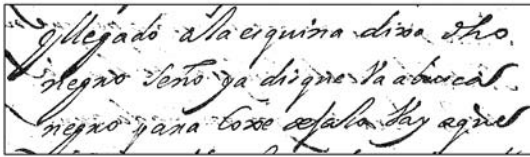
¹¹ The traditional explanation for the enclitic *-n/* points to the opacity of imperative forms like *denme*, morphologically composed of the verb stem (*de*), the 3rd-person plural morpheme (*-n*) and the dative pronoun (*me*). Since grammatical person tends to be verb final, speakers repeated the corresponding morpheme *-n/* after the clitic pronoun (a further evolution *denmen* > *demen* is implicit). Kany (1994 [1945]: 145) states that in Latin America the phenomenon has a wider acceptance than in Spain, having become quite usual in realistic literature at the turn of the 20th century. My interpretation of this phenomenon is, however, that it has not yet (and never had) become a standard form anywhere in Latin America or in Spain.

¹² The word *faltriquera* is originally of Mozarabic origin. It had the variant (*faldriquera*), which may have been the result of an analogy with *falda* 'dress'. *Faldriquera* is well attested during the 16th and 17th centuries, but it was always less common than *faltriquera*. The variant attested in example 1 has no occurrence in the Real Academia Española's CORDE (<http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>), nor in my corpus of documents.

¹³ See Cock Hincapié's philological study about the chronology of seseo in colonial Colombian Spanish.

ment (see Facsimile 2 in this article) serves as illustrative example: the historian mistakenly skips the transcription of the second line, apparently because it begins with the same word as the one on the third line. In doing so, he substantially alters the meaning of the sentence, thus distorting the testimony of the black slave whose court order (written in Cartagena in 1694) it was intended to represent:

(2) Facsimile¹⁴, Palaeographic Transcription, Critical Edition (and transcription by Arrázola)



My palaeographic transcription of the above text:

y llegado a la esquina dixo dho
negro Señó ya disque Va a busca
negro para Coxe dejalo Vay¹⁵

y llegado a la esquina dixo dicho negro:
‘señó, ya disque va a buscá negro para coxé ¿dejalo vay?’ (Critical Edition)

Arrázola’s (1970: 152) erroneous rendering:

y llegando a la esquina dixo dicho negro: ‘para coxé esa lo voy’

The (actual) fragment in direct speech consists of three parts: a phatic signal, i.e. the nominal address (of a black slave to a free mulatto, whom he is following in the street), the assertive part, where he expresses his fear because of the rumors of an imminent persecution of all blacks living in the city of Cartagena (self-understood is the unmentioned connection between Cartagenero Blacks and maroons; cp. Sánchez López 2006), and finally a rhetorical question hinting reproach: how can this free mulatto (someone who is supposed to have the opportunity to act as an intermediate with the whites) ignore the problems of the black slaves?

Everything stated here by the black individual may sound quite Spanish-like, with the striking exception of the last word, i.e. “vay”. In my view, the segment in question could also be rendered as follows, where the interpretation of the statement differs substantially from that offered by Arrázola:

¹⁴ The facsimile shows that the ink of the other side of the paper bled into the page transcribed here. Such bleeding is a frequent problem in this and many other documents. I have corrected the text here to offer the best possible transcription.

¹⁵ The text reads as follows: “a que le respondió este confesante calla la boca [...]” (Gutiérrez Maté 2013: 464).

<i>Señó</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>disque</i>	<i>va – a – buscá</i>	<i>negro</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>coxé</i>
Sir	ASP Adv	EVID ¹⁶	go – to – search ¹⁷	blacks ¹⁸	for (final)	take
<i>deja – lo</i>		<i>vay</i>				
let– 3PL.CL.ACC		go				

A non-literal translation into English may thus be: “Sir, the Whites are purportedly going to look for blacks in order to capture them. Are you letting them go?”¹⁹

My main reason for presenting Arrázola’s fragment is not to suggest a definitive linguistic analysis, but rather to demonstrate the need for consulting reliable editions that, whenever possible, allow readers to verify the transcription against the original manuscript. The same methodological problem I have highlighted here is also germane to the reconstruction of vernacular varieties of Spanish that constituted the target input for *bozal* slaves and their descendents. A fascinating document written in the Hispanic part of Hispaniola (today’s Dominican Republic) in 1756 —“discovered” by me in Seville in 2006 and transcribed in Gutiérrez Maté (2013: 490-495)— shall serve as an example. The document in question is a long letter of complaint addressed to the Spanish king by “neighbors” (therefore, probably, Hispanic creoles²⁰) of the town of Azua. Judging from the script,

¹⁶ *Dizque* (originally, *dice/diz + que* ‘says that’ > ‘it is said that’/‘apparently’) is commonly used in many Spanish dialects, mainly but not exclusively in Latin America (Kany 1944). In modern Colombian Spanish, it is commonly categorized as an evidential marker. For details, see Travis (2006), Méndez Vallejo (2012: 122-126), Oesterreicher (1994: 175; 2005: 736, fn.36) and Gutiérrez Maté (2013: 75). Since the expression is found in Palenquero (*dike ~ ike*), it must have been present in the speech of black slaves and maroons.

¹⁷ The loss of final /t/ is quite common, mostly in verbs, in the literary texts analyzed by Lipski (2005: 140, 178, 187, 189, 191), and is present in other testimonies of blacks in Cartagena (Gutiérrez Maté 2013: 61-65).

¹⁸ Despite its appearance, the meaning of this nominal use is clearly a plural one. We cannot know if the form *negro* shows merely a phonetic alteration (loss of final /s/) or a grammatical change (overgeneralization of a singular form for a plural meaning).

¹⁹ In Gutiérrez Maté (2012) I offer a slightly different interpretation. The complete text can be found in Gutiérrez Maté (2013: 464). According to my earlier interpretation, *lo* is the singular pronoun (instead of plural *los* with loss of /s/), and *vai* is a full verb meaning ‘to go/leave’ (and, in being like this, it constitutes a word different, in form and meaning, from the auxiliary verb *va*, which is derived from the Spanish periphrastic future and often appears in other Afro-Hispanic texts, as well as in the Black statement analyzed here). Thus, the last part of the fragment might be interpreted as “Are you leaving now, allowing it?”.

²⁰ Citizenship, i.e. the status of “neighbor” was not conceded to all inhabitants of a colonial village. On the contrary, to become a neighbor, one had to, for instance, possess property in the village, while also having been a local resident for a certain number of years. Black slaves were never allowed to obtain citizenship, and even mulattoes were excluded (it should be noted, however, that mulattos reached higher social status in Santo Domingo than in other colonies: cp. section 2.3 of this article). Since many regions of the Dominican

the syntactic structures, and other features in this text, these neighbors (*besinos*) and/or the scribe who writes on behalf of all the others were seemingly anything but “well versed in letters”. For example, forms like *caracole* (caracoles), *irla* (isla), *rasos* (razón [s.]), *Carme* (Carmen), *mudadad* (mudadas [pl.]) or *siuda* (ciudad)—all indicative of a weak articulation or total loss of implosive /s/, /n/, /r/ and /d/ (in some cases, there are no corresponding letters; in other cases, they are graphically replaced by the wrong letter)— suggest that the individuals in question spoke a type of “popular” Spanish typically associated with rural and uneducated classes, the same classes that in the Dominican Republic included most Blacks and mulattoes.

Crucial to the argument presented here are forms like *tiera* ‘tierra’, *paroco* ‘párroco’, *araisen* ‘arraicen’²¹, etc., which are recurrent and, therefore, seemingly regular forms in the text. From these one could logically conclude that the document offers unequivocal evidence for the neutralization of /r/ and /r/ in southwestern Hispaniola (18th century). This conclusion may seem surprising insofar as such dephonologization of /r/ and /r/ has been attested for some enclaves where language contact has been intense historically. Included among these are Equatorial Guinea, the Philippines, the Guaranitic area around Corrientes, Argentina (*NGLE* §6.10t) and Palenque, Colombia (Schwegler 2011: 464)²². According to Granda (1978: 11-79), neutralization of /r/ and /r/—unlike uvularization of /r/— is better explained as a contact-induced change, even though it is possible because of a natural (internal) tendency to reduce non- (or barely-) productive phonologic oppositions (like /r/ vs. /r/ in Spanish)²³. Thus, one could even be inclined to accept any linguistic contact—*bozal* Spanish, Af-

Republic needed to be repopulated with families from the Canary Islands during the 18th century, some of these neighbors may themselves have been Canarians (called *isleños* at that time) or descendants of Canarians (Deive 1991). One of them even had the surname (or, more accurately, nickname) of Juan *Canario*.

²¹ This verb, *arraizar*, stems—as well as the standard form *enraizar*— from the noun *raíz* (‘root’), although it can also be seen as a combination of two standard Spanish verbs: *enraizar* and *arraigar* (both meaning ‘to take root’).

²² The result of the neutralization of /r/ and /r/ tends to be /r/, but /r/ is also possible: “failure to maintain the /r/-/r/ distinction is characteristic of Africanized Spanish of all times and places. Although the single flap [r] is the most usual manifestation, observation of Spanish spoken non-natively in Equatorial Guinea shows that hypercorrect use of the trill [rr] is also a frequent event” (Lipski 2005: 241). Other possible phonetic results of this neutralization are /l/, as attested in some Afro-Hispanic texts (Lipski 2005: 148) and Palenquero (Schwegler 2011: 448), or even /d/ (Lipski 2005: 192).

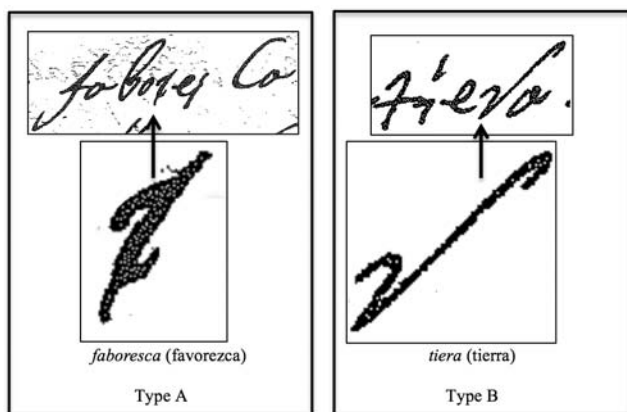
²³ However, natural phonology does not explain on its own why linguistic changes take place. For instance, in Honduran Spanish simplification of /r/ into /r/ is well documented but remains uncommon: this variant is found in only around 2% of cases (Hernández Torres 2010: 133).

rican languages, or even Haitian Creole— as the main cause for having triggered the feature in question (cp. Gutiérrez Maté, 2015).

As it turns out, a close examination of the script in the document under inspection reveals, contrary to expectations, that the text offers no evidence at all for the neutralization of /r/ and /r/. In other words, even the most vernacular Caribbean Spanish, with which the Afro-Hispanic population was in contact (and/or was trying to acquire), distinguished between both phonemes, so neutralization cannot be considered, at least not in this area, a vernacular outcome of Spanish. The following paragraphs clarify this point, and offer a palaeographic explanation for my reasoning.

As shown in (3), the scribe employed two different graphs for *r*, corresponding respectively to /r/ and /r/:

(3) Two types of <r> in [*Azua* 1756]:



The *r* in *tiera* in Type B (also found in *paroco*, *araisen*, etc.) is a free variant of the traditional grapheme “*r recta*” (‘straight *r*’), here graphically more open than expected, and consisting of a single stroke (without lifting of hand) that was performed with two movements of the hand (the second stroke is longer than normal). The *r* of *faboresca* (and also *esperamos*, *fuieron*, etc.) in Type A is an unskilled variant of the *r* that is characteristic of 18th-century court orders. Much like the grapheme for the letter “*x*”, the “*r*” in Type A adds a downward stroke after the last movement.

In 18th-century Dominican official documents these two graphemes are virtually interchangeable, and partially conditioned by the antecedent and following letter, as well as by the preferences of the scribe. In any case, they must be con-

sidered allographs of a single grapheme, i.e. <r>. Evidence for this allography can be found, for instance, in a document written in 1720 in the city of Santo Domingo (example 4).

(4) Variants of <r> in [*Santo Domingo* 1720b]



para
Type A

para
Type B

In this 1720 Dominican document, following a technique amply consolidated since the Middle Ages, the phoneme /r/ is represented by the duplication of the grapheme <r>, becoming now a digraph <rr>, which indeed was the only possible representation of /r/ at that time, with the occasional exception of a capital <R>, which had a completely different scribal morphology.²⁴

In the case of the aforementioned Azua document, what we see is the ‘graphematization’ of two allographs, made possible thanks to visibly different morphology of both graphs in this text (illiterates, as well as children, give preference to non-continuous scripts, i.e. they write letters separated from each other, as seen in the Azua document).

These palaeographic minutiae highlight the importance of linguists’ access to original documents or their facsimile. In today’s online world (where a facsimile can easily be posted), this has become a realistic goal and we trust that scholars will increasingly turn their attention to original texts in order to reach sound philological conclusions.

2. The relevance of documents to the study of maroon communities

This section concentrates on the formation of maroon communities (the so-called *palenques*), and how colonial documents are pertinent to reconstructing their histories. To illustrate the validity of my claims, I will focus on two *palenques* (or groups of *palenques*), separated both geographically and chronologically: (1) the 17th-century *palenques* of Sierra de María (Northern Colombia), and (2) the 18th-

²⁴ The use of the capital letter *R* to represent /r/ was common at the end of the Middle Ages but can also be found elsewhere in the Hispanic Paleography (Millares Carlo & Mantecón 1955).

century maroon settlements of Sierra de Bahoruco (southwestern Hispaniola). In doing so I will highlight similarities and differences between these two *palenques* regarding (a) their histories, as well as their place or treatment in the colonial documents, (b) the origins of their inhabitants, (c) their social structure, (d) their contacts with the surrounding regions, and, finally, (e) their local languages. This discussion will be preceded by a brief history of the term *palenque*.

The bulk of the information to be presented was obtained during my visits to the colonial archive in Seville in 2006 to 2016. In some instances, my findings needed to be complemented by the texts presented in Arrázola (1970) and Deive (1985: 103-199).

2.1. *Brief history of the term palenque*

Before pointing to several medieval texts containing the word *palenque*, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726) defines it as follows:

(5) *valla o estacada que se hace para cerrar algún terreno en que ha de haber lid, torneo u otra fiesta pública*

‘fence or stockade made to enclose some piece of land where a battle, tournament or public feast will take place’

The term is originally a loanword from Occitan that was introduced to Spanish (maybe via Catalan) during the Late Middle Ages (Corominas / Pascual 1985: s.v. *palo*). The stem *pal-*, like Spanish *palo* ‘stick’, was common to several Romance languages—including Spanish—but the suffix (*-enc*) was not Castilian, as will become clear below.

According to Corominas & Pascual (1985: s.v. *palo*), in the New World the term must have been adapted, without losing its basic meaning, to new realities which included fortified villages of Indians (well attested during the 16th century) and fortified (Black) maroon communities.²⁵ In the 17th century, the term had circulated sufficiently so as to no longer warrant special explanation or paraphrasing. The following 1655 document written by (or in the name of) the king of Spain is the last known official source in which *palenque* ‘fortified village’ is explained:

(6) *junta de ellos [negros] a modo de fortaleza que llaman palenque* (Arrázola 1970: 71)
‘gathering of them [blacks] in the style of a fortress, which is called *palenque*’

²⁵ From *palenque* derived the verb *apalencar(se)*, whose related forms (e.g., *apalencamiento* or *apalencado*) are well attested in colonial documents. Blacks living in the *palenques* were normally called *negros apalencados* and not *negros palenqueros*.

Nonetheless, *palenque* was not the only term used to refer to maroon communities. Other words with a similar meaning included *maniel*, an Amerindian term derived (via phonetic adaptation) from Taíno *maniey* (cp. Gutiérrez Maté, forthcoming). “Maniel” was mainly used in documents within La Española; however, when addressing readers in the mother country, Dominican creoles used to explain this term, either defining it explicitly (see 7) or paraphrasing it, for example, by adding the most “standard” term in Colonial Spanish, i.e., *palenque* (see example 8):

(7) *maniel, palabra que nos significa una congregación nefanda compuesta de individuos agrestes e irreligiosos* (apud Lienhard 2008: 83)

‘*maniel*, word meaning an abominable gathering of savage and non-believers’

(8) *Señor: La reducción de los negros bárbaros atrincherados en el Maniel o Palenque de las montañas de Neiba en esta isla [...]*²⁶

‘Sir, the annihilation of these wild blacks entrenched in the *maniel* or *palenque* on the mountains of Neiba in this island [...]

2.2. Brief history of the two palenques (or groups of palenques) studied

The formation of Colombian *palenques* and the subsequent attempts of annihilation by the Hispanic authorities were a constant throughout the 17th century, and especially during its last twenty years: after having destroyed the *palenques* closest to Cartagena (including the palenque called Tabacal), Hispanic *militias* during the last decade of the 17th century turned their attention to runaway slaves’ fortifications located in the Sierra de María (e.g., Arrázola 1970, Borrego Plá 1973, and Navarrete 2008), i.e., the area where modern San Basilio de Palenque²⁷ is located.

The *palenques* in the Sierra de Bahoruco of southwestern Hispaniola (today’s Dominican Republic) are simultaneously less well-known and less studied (but see Deive 1985 and Lienhard 2008). The most important of these palenques was the so-called *Maniel de Neiba* (located relatively near to the town of Neiba, situated close to the eastern shores of Lake Enriquillo). Early in the 18th century, palenque near *Neiba* served as a refuge for slaves fleeing French slaveholders of

²⁶ Example 7 stems from a text written in 1790 by the governor of Santo Domingo to the king. The fragment under 8 comes from a text written in 1785 by the archbishop of Santo Domingo to the king.

²⁷ Also known as El Palenque de San Basilio, or simply (El) Palenque.

Haiti, whose border was some 50 kilometers from Neiva²⁸. Nevertheless, it was not until the last third of the 18th century that the Spanish authorities, under pressure from the French Crown, decided to address the mounting problem caused by existence of Neiva's maroon community.

From an archivist point of view, locating the relevant documents in the colonial archive of Seville is relatively easy: most of them can be found in the bundles (*legajos*) Santa Fe 212, Santa Fe 213 and Santo Domingo 1.102. As regards the diplomatic (and textual) typology of these documents, one predominantly finds "official" and "particular" letters (Heredia Herrera 1985; Carrera de la Red 2006), exchanged between the different public offices and priests or military personnel who were somehow involved in these matters. Many of these letters were copied within court orders, and these often also contained other kinds of documents, including witnesses statements. On occasion, I also encountered other interesting texts in these files, including a diary written in 1785 by the Lieutenant of Infantry Lorenzo Núñez, who recounts a journey he undertook from Neiba to the nearby *palenque*²⁹.

As is well known, maroonage was a common phenomenon all over Latin America, but its intensity varied significantly depending on the different regions and centuries. In or around Santo Domingo, for instance, there are very few documented cases of maroonage, while the opposite was true for Cartagena (Colombia). The reasons for this striking difference are several: Santo Domingo did not receive (at least, not through legal trade) new slaves coming from Africa after the mid-17th century (the decrease in the slave trade occurred in all Hispanic colonies, but in Santo Domingo it was particularly pronounced; cp. Lipski 2004: 537). Also, the terrain in and around Santo Domingo was less rugged and/or dense than that of Cartagena, where the Montes de María with their at the time thickly forested hillsides afforded relative protection from Spanish militias.

Furthermore, while it is true that people of African descent appear to have been numerically predominant over the white population in both Cartagena and Santo Domingo (vid. 9), in the latter there was some room for mulattos' socioeconomic ascent (vid. 10). A primary consequence of this situation was that in Span-

²⁸ The western part of the Island of Hispaniola belonged to the French Crown since the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) until the independence of Haiti (1804).

²⁹ The complete title of this document is: *Relación y Diario del reconocimiento que pudo ser practicable en las Montañas de Bauruco al S. de la Villa de neiva que sirven de guarida a los Negros esclavos fugitivos de ambas Coronas*. For the paleographic transcription of this text, readers may contact the author of this article. See also Deive (1985: 161-170).

ish-speaking *Hispaniola*—contrary to its French-controlled counterpart—“autonomous maroonage” was a rather limited phenomenon.

- (9) *como esclavos y libres de este jaez [‘mulatos’] y los negros, que son la mayor parte de los moradores de esta ysla, están tan avilantados que no tienen respecto a la Real Justicia* [Santo Domingo 1720a, f 1r]

‘they, as slaves and freemen of that sort [mulattos], and blacks, which [together] constitute the bulk of the inhabitants of this island, are so vile that they have no respect for Royal Justice’

- (10) *Esta ciudad está habitada por negros libres, mulatos, caribes y por una mezcla de todas estas especies; hay allí muy pocas familias enteramente blancas. Varias hasta de las que ocupan el primero rango [...]* (Daniel Lescallier 1764 -*apud* Rodríguez Demorizi 1970: 127)

‘This city is inhabited by free blacks, mulattos, Caribs and by a mix of all these races; there are very few entirely white families. Some of them [of the non-white families] even occupy the highest social rank’

In Colombia and Santo Domingo, the historic circumstances that led the authorities to fight the *palenques* differed substantially from each other, but they also exhibited some similarities: For instance, in both countries, territories close to *palenques* were deemed “unsafe”, due to more or less occasional raids by maroons on nearby villages³⁰. Secondly, the mere existence of *palenques* was perceived by white authorities as a potentially dangerous precedent as it could incite others to fight for their freedom. Third, given the rivalry among European nations in the Caribbean, *negros apalencados* were perceived as potentially dangerous because of their natural propensity to switch sides in any conflict between the French and the Spanish Crowns. Blacks opposed to the dominant regime were also suspected as serving as guides for European seafaring powers intent on attacking fortified cities such as Cartagena (it was still widely remembered that maroons from the region of Panama had assisted the pirate Drake, who plundered Cartagena in 1572 [Borrego Plá 1973: 25; Tardieu 2009: 19-20]).

In the case of the Colombian *palenques*, the viability of a peaceful resolution was discussed among the different Spanish authorities: the proposal had to include the concession of freedom to all black creoles (but not to *bozales*) in exchange for their resettlement (Borrego Plá 1973: 32-34). The negotiations failed when

³⁰ One of the most naturalistic descriptions of these pillagings, including blacks killing white and Indian women and children, are found in a letter written by the Captain Juan de Polo (April 26, 1693) [*Cartagena* 1693a].

the maroons killed one of the white emissaries, Sergeant Luis del Castillo y Artajona³¹. In response, military campaigns against the *palenques* began during the last decade of the 17th century. While some of these succeeded, others did not, which in 1713 led the signing of a peace treaty with representatives of the population of San Basilio de Palenque (Navarrete 2008).

In the case of the Dominican *palenques*, military pressure was applied first (most forcefully so in 1768), which, if unsuccessful, was then followed by negotiations. Under the auspices of governor Azlor, the palenque *Maniel Viejo de Neiba* ('old/former palenque of Neiba') was destroyed by force. Its inhabitants regrouped soon thereafter, forming the aptly named *Maniel Nuevo de Neiba* ('new palenque of Neiba'). Slaves from the neighboring Saint-Domingue joined the village, and thereafter peaceful negotiation convinced these maroons to resettle in some fertile fields close to the city of Neiba (the exact location was a matter of negotiation). Numerous documents provide details about these negotiations, while also offering some insights into the linguistic problems they had to communicate with others.

Finally, it is worth noting that historical documents related to military campaigns against *palenques* are prone to considerable exaggeration (from today's perspective) about the stealth and physical capabilities of maroons. This is especially true of Colombian texts (*vid.* 11). At times, maroons' exceptional ability to hide is exaggerated, even to the point of mocking the Hispanic militias (*vid.* 12):

- (11) *y murió uno que aseguro a Vuestra Señoría el aber peleado con tanto extremo que, de no haver lebantado la bos a que le matassen, ubiera echo estrago en los nuestros, pues haviéndome encontrado con él y partidole la lanza por el medio de un alfanxazo, se retiró por detrás de un bujío y sacó otra enbistiendo con denuedo osado a una esquadra de ocho hombres [...] a quienes se les dijo le mataran, y con tres heridas mortales, no fue posible reducirle asta que espiró* [Cartagena 1694a, f 4r-v]

'and a black one died who, I assure Your Honor, fought with so much excess that, if I would not have raised the voice ordering to kill him, would have devastated our troops, because, after having faced him and broken his lance in the middle with my saber, he went behind a hut and got out another lance. He daringly charged at a squad with eight men [...] who were told to kill him and, after having been mortally wounded three times, it was not possible to overwhelm him, until he finally expired'

- (12) *como la experiencia lo ha hecho demostrable con las repetidas e infructuosas expediciones contra dichos levantados [...] con la particularidad de hacer burla de nues-*

³¹ This event is often mentioned in the documents as the "desgracia de Artajona" [the misfortune of Artajona] [Cartagena 1694b, f 18r]: the maroons killed Artajona and sent his testicles wrapped in a cloth to the city of Cartagena.

*tras tropas a menos distancia de un tiro de pistola, solo oídos y no vistos (apud Deive 1985: 128)*³²

‘experience has shown that the repeated campaigns against these fugitives were fruitless [...]; in particular, they made fun of our troops, being heard, but not seen, closer than the shot of a pistol’

2.3. *Social composition and structure of the palenques*

Both the *palenques* of the Sierra de María (Colombia) and the Sierra del Bahoruco (Dominican Republic) were composed of African (or *bozal*) and locally born creole blacks. Creoles came from cities or *haciendas*, and they typically fled to the mountains at an adolescent or adult age. Creoles born in *palenques* were invariably descendants of former slaves³³. The exact proportion of *bozales* and creoles cannot be known, but it can be partially deduced from contemporary reports. For example, a priest called Zapata, and another named Miguel de Toro (who had frequently visited the Colombian *palenques*) noted that there were “62 fugitive blacks whose captain was Pedro Mina” (Borrego Plá 1972: 77, my translation), amounting to a third of the total population of 186 blacks. Since *Mina*³⁴ was one of the most common groups or *castas* of African-born slaves, it is possible that these fugitives commanded by a *Mina* black were *Minas* and probably *bozales* as well.

In the case of *Maniel de Neiba*, the documents are in disagreement as to the social history of its residents (Lienhard 2008: 92-93). Nevertheless, it seems likely that over 50% of the population in 1785 had come to this *palenque* after having fled from Saint-Domingue. According to a bilingual document signed by the Spanish and French commissioners, 16 or 17 females and 30 males had come from Saint-

³² We can find similar descriptions in some French sources; in them, there seems to be less room for exaggeration. In 1761, French militias tried to capture on their own black slaves hidden in *palenques* in the Spanish part of the island. According to a French source (i.e. Moreau de Saint-Méry’s *Description de la partie française de l’isle Saint-Domingue*, 1797), blacks used cunning and irreverence to trick enemies into hidden lethal traps: “positioned behind a ledge, the blacks challenged their enemies by dancing in front of them. These, furious, fell into a hole full of sharp branches of pine covered up with lianas and other herbaceous plants” [“Apostados detrás de un rellano, los negros desafiaban bailando a sus adversarios. Éstos, furiosos, se arrojaron a unos hoyos cuyo fondo estaba lleno de puntas de madera de pino, recubiertas de lianas y yerbas rastreras”] (Lienhard 2008: 85).

³³ In a few cases, documents refer to the *negros criollos nacidos en el monte* (‘creole blacks born in the woods’) (Arrázola 1970: 83).

³⁴ *Mina* makes reference to the slave castle of Elmina, located in today’s Ghana, which was controlled first by Portuguese (1482-1637) and later by Dutch slave traders (1637-1872). Note, however, that a maroon with a name like *Mina* was not necessarily *bozal*: For instance, if a slave was creole and remembered that his parents had come from Elmina, he/she could then also simply adopt that name once freedom was obtained.

Domingue, as opposed to 20-21 females and only 9 males who were born *in situ*. Although it is not explicitly stated in the documents, the so-called *vozales* or *estampados* ('*bozales* or branded slaves') mentioned [*Santo Domingo* 1790, f 15v] seem to correspond to the slaves who had fled from Saint-Domingue.³⁵

Children represented an important portion of the population of both *palenques*: 26,8% (50/186) in the *palenque* of the Sierra de María (Borrego Plá 1973: 77), and 40,9% (54/132) in *Maniel de Neiba* (Lienhard 2008: 91).

A cliché found consistently in the Hispanic documents is the attribution of failed negotiations to the refusal by *bozales* (rather than creoles) to abandon their *palenques*. Poignant examples thereof are, for instance, found in letters written by the Dominican commissioner Lorenzo Núñez:

- (13) últimamente dixo Felipe que por él condescendía a nuestra propuesta, pero que los vosales dificultava lo hiciesen, porque estaban poseídos de una grande desconfianza [*Santo Domingo* 1790, f 2r]

'finally, Felipe [leader of the Creoles] said that he would accept our proposal, but he judged it would be difficult that the Bozales would do the same, because they possessed great distrust'

- (14) *en una palabra, Señor, yo conosco en los negros bella dispocición, quando están separados los partidos de criollos y vozales y lexos del maniel, pero la junta en éste de todos nunca ha producido otra cosa que errores* [*Santo Domingo* 1790, f 25r]

'in one word, Sir, I recognize a good disposition of the blacks if the group of Creoles and Bozales are separated from one another and are far away from the *palenque*, but the gathering of all blacks in the latter has produced nothing but problems'

In reality, documents such these in all likelihood distort the sociopolitical reality in which *palenques* composed of creoles and *bozales* operated. Following the opinion of Lienhard (2008: 110), it is logical to conclude that blacks, represented "officially" by their creole (rather than *bozal*) leaders, simply sought to "excuse" their refusal to abandon their strongholds by claiming that their African-born (*bozal*) brethren could not be brought to trust Spanish officials. Operating under this pretext, creole and *bozal* maroons could thus safeguard both their freedom and their brotherhood. As Borrego Plá astutely notes, "los criollos no querían aceptar ninguna promesa de libertad que excluyese a algunos hermanos de raza" (1973: 105) ('creoles did not want to accept any proposal of freedom that excluded their brothers of race'; my translation).

³⁵ We do not know if these escaped slaves were really *bozales* (Africans) or just 'blacks born outside the Hispanic colonies'; however, we can be quite sure that (real) *bozales* came exclusively from the French part of the island.

Although the *palenques* were mostly composed of *bozales* and creoles, occasionally an individual of a different racial background joined the community. In the case of the Colombian *palenques*, we know that Indians, mulattoes and mestizos made these *palenques* their home (Navarrete 2001: 96), even though this may have constituted the exception rather than the rule (Noguera, Schwegler & Gusmão *et al.* 2014).³⁶ In the Dominican *Maniel de Neiba* there was a “man of indianized color” (‘hombre de color aindiado’) (= *mestizo*?) living in the community. On rarer occasions, whites too became community members. In Colombia, this included kidnapped women (Borrego Plá 1973: 81). In *Maniel de Neiba*, a white man, supposedly an “isleño” from the Canary Islands resided in the *palenque* [*Santo Domingo* 1790, f 32r]. Documents fail to clarify the duration of his residency in *Maniel*, though they do make clear that ethnicity alone was not the deciding factor leading to community membership.

2.4. *Contacts with the outside world and language used within the palenques*

The presence of all the aforementioned “exceptional” inhabitants of the *palenques* suggest their inhabitants were well aware of the surrounding reality. Expressed differently, they were not as isolated as has been commonly assumed. Their connection to the outside world was an early feature of their societies, though these contacts may well have been negotiated by only relatively few members of their community. In the case of San Basilio de Palenque, this situation lasted well into the second half of the 20th century, when linguists and anthropologists first arrived on the scene starting in the early 1950s with Escalante, and then by the 1970 and 1980s with de Granda, Bickerton, Friedemann, Patiño, Schwegler (others followed in the 1990s and beyond). As reported by Schwegler & Morton “although it is true that until 1970 the Palenqueros lived in almost total isolation (Montes Giraldo 1962: 446), tradition holds that Palenquero males (usually adults between 20-50 years of age) traveled to Cartagena (at the time a 3-4 day mule trip) or nearby local markets (Sincerín, Arjona) with a certain regularity (nearby markets were normally visited by adolescent and adult women rather than men)” (2003: 104). These contacts, it seems, have existed for centuries, and may explain in part why Caucasian outsiders like Schwegler were so readily invited into the Palenquero community at a time when no other white settler had ever lived there for any prolonged period of time (Schwegler, personal communication).

The Dominican *palenques*, for their part, were in close contact with the so-called Pititrud (from the French *Petit-Trou*), a settlement that extended along a series of

³⁶ The Amerindian genetic component for Colombia’s San Basilio de Palenque has been shown to be less than 3% (Noguera, Schwegler & Gusmão *et al.* 2014).

beaches on the southwestern Dominican coast. It often escaped the control of the Dominican authorities, thereby serving as gathering ground for adventurers, foreign smugglers and others from all over the Spanish colonies who were involved in wood cutting and its trade (Deive 1985: 89-97; Lienhard 2008: 96-100). During their negotiations with white officials, the residents of these *palenques* at times made explicit reference to these outside visitors:

- (15) *Dicen los negros del maniel que no necessitan la población que se les ofrece, porque los extrangeros les proveen de lo necesario por la costa* [Santo Domingo 1790, f 36v]

‘The blacks of the *palenque* say that they do not need [to accept] the settlement terms offered to them, because the foreigners provide them with all they need’

The Colombian and the Dominican documents differ in one respect: while no information or references about the language used in the Colombian *palenques* can be found during peace negotiations³⁷, in the Dominican *palenque* we do find metalinguistic judgments that seek to characterize the indigenous Black vernacular of the Dominican *palenque*:

- (16) *según lo que he podido ratrear [sic] del negro Santiago, que habla español, y de Felipe, que habla un jargón francés bastante inteligible; los demás que han venido le hablan poco inteligible* [Santo Domingo 1785, f 4r]

‘as far as I was able to determine from the black Santiago, who speaks Spanish, and from Felipe, who speaks a quite understandable French jargon; all the others who have come speak in a way that is hardly comprehensible’

- (17) *el jargón de francés y guineo en el que se comunican* (letter from the Archbishop to the King, 1794 -*apud*. Deive 1985: 71-)

‘the jargon of French and African in which they communicate

There are at least two main reasons for this (prosaic) metalinguistic description: first, as noted earlier, there exists voluminous documentation about officials’ attempts to negotiate (verbally) with the maroons so that they would abandon their mountainous abode. The second reason relates to the fact that the residents of this

³⁷ The first metalinguistic assessment about the creole language spoken in San Basilio de Palenque refers to “un particular idioma en que a sus solas instruyen a sus muchachos” (‘a special language that they themselves teach to their children’) (Gutiérrez Azopardo 1980: 34). Published in 1772, this assessment was made long after the campaigns by the Hispanic militias, and even after the peace treaty (see above in this article, and Schwegler 2001).

palenque needed interpreters since their French creole vernacular was impenetrable to Spanish speakers.³⁸

Among the primary documents I have studied in Seville, I have found only a few fragments of realistic direct speech attributed to Cartagenero blacks that were presumed to have had direct contact with maroons. To the best of my knowledge, speech fragments of this nature have never been located for the Dominican *palenque*, nor have I been able to unearth any during my archival research. Relevant fragments are all in indirect speech (*vid.* 18) or, when they use direct speech, they deliberately avoid real-life rendition (*vid.* 19, where the utterance represented in ‘perfect Spanish’ was actually from a *bozal* coming from Saint-Domingue who, according to other documents, did not speak Spanish at all):

- (18) *a lo que respondieron [los negros] que venían en nombre de todos los negros que hay en el maniel, a decirle que ninguno passaba a la parte francesa, en cuió estado le dijo a el declarante el dicho señor cura “hágame Vm favor de passar en cassa del escribano y decirle que me haga el honor de llegarmesse aquí a mi casa” [Santo Domingo 1786a, f 5v]*

‘these blacks answered that they came on behalf of all blacks living in the *palenque* to inform [the Hispanic commissioners] that none of them would go back to the French part. Then, the above-mentioned priest said to the deponent: “be so kind as to go to scribe’s house and tell him to make me the honor of coming to my home”]

- (19) *Uno de los negros franceses llamado La Fortuna les dijo a los comisionados “Ya vinimos para ver lo que Vms. determinan para, si no somos admitidos en España, tomar nuestras providencias” (letter from Bobadilla to the Archbishop, 1785 –apud Deive 1985: 132-)*

‘One of the French blacks called “La Fortuna” said to the commissioners: ‘We have come here to find out what decision you will make, in order to make our own decisions, in case we were not accepted in Spain”’

6. Conclusion

This paper has highlighted the importance of documents for reconstructing the history of language contacts in colonial Black America (and the Spanish Caribbean in particular). To that end, I have employed a philological approach that attends to palaeographic and discursive aspects of texts. I trust that the preceding

³⁸ See Gutiérrez Maté (forthcoming), for a more thorough analysis of some of the Dominican documents and their metalinguistic descriptions, as well as for the evident connection between the expression *jargón francés* and its French counterpart *jargon français*, used for approximative varieties of French—and probably for French-based Creoles—since the late 17th century. See also Bollée & Neumann-Holzschuh (2002).

pages serve to raise our awareness of how white colonial scribes mediated testimonials about *palenques*, and how and why the available editions need to be double-checked against the original document(s).

This study also paid special attention to the formation and structure of *palenques* during the colonial era. I have pointed out important historic correspondences among them. By highlighting these similarities I did not intend to question findings by Lienhard (2008: 109), Navarrete (2012) and other scholars who have stressed the idiosyncratic character of individual maroon communities. My study does, however, bring to the fore the following conclusions: first, creoles and *bozales* jointly contributed to the formation of *palenques*; second, creoles were neither the majority nor necessarily the leaders of the new communities; quite the contrary, solidarity among all blacks is widely attested, and one can never know who will turn out to have been the main actors in a given maroon society; third, there existed continuous contacts between *palenques* and the outside world, a situation which probably obtained from the very beginning of their existence. The *linguistic* interpretation of all these facts—both within the debate of creolization as a cultural and linguistic process (Müller & Ueckmann 2013) and within the context of the long-term bilingualism identified in some creole societies (cp. Schwegler 1996; Schwegler & Morton 2003)—remains open for subsequent inquiry.

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- [Cartagena 1693a] = *Carta informe al gobernador sobre la entrada violenta de los negros en el pueblo cercano de Piojón* (April 26, 1693). Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santa Fe 213, fs. 297v-299v.
- [Cartagena 1693b] = *Carta del gobernador de Cartagena desde Timiriguaco al gobernador de de Santa Marta* (April 29, 1693). Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santa Fe 213, fs. 295-296.
- [Cartagena 1694a] = *Información del capitán general de Toribio de la Torre y Caso sobre la acción contra los palenques*. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santa Fe 212.
- [Cartagena 1694b] = *Autos criminales contra el mulato Francisco de Vera*. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santa Fe 212.
- [Cartagena 1796] = *María Gervasia Guillén, negra bozal de Cartagena, causa que se le siguió por poseer géneros de contrabando*. Archivo General de la Nación (Bogotá), Colonia (Negros y Esclavos), Bolívar 163.
- [Santo Domingo 1700] = *Carta-relación al rey del presidente de la audiencia Don Severino de Manzaneda sobre diversos aspectos de la isla*. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santo Domingo, 68, ramo 1, núm. 9/ 1.

- [*Santo Domingo 1720a*] = *Carta del alcalde de Santiago de los Caballeros sobre el prendimiento de un mulato*. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santo Domingo 295.
- [*Santo Domingo 1720b*] = *Autos del alcalde de Santiago de los Caballeros sobre haber prendido a un mulato con machete* (copy of the Audiencia de Santo Domingo). Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santo Domingo 295.
- [*Santo Domingo 1785*] = *Lista de los negros que se contienen en el maniel de Neiba en la montaña del Baoruco, parte española al este*. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), Santo Domingo 1.102.
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