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Mapping the psycholinguistic boundaries between Spanish and Palenquero

Mapeando as fronteiras psicolinguísticas entre o espanhol e o palenquero

John M. Lipski
The Pennsylvania State University , U. S. A
jlipski@psu.edu

Abstract: The Palenquero creole language (spoken together with Spanish in San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia) exhibits a number of key grammatical features found in no variety of Spanish. Linguists who have studied Palenquero have noted the introduction of Spanish elements, ranging from conjugated verbs and preverbal clitics to more complex morphosyntactic constructions. The apparent mixing has variously been attributed to decreolization, language attrition, code-switching, interference from Spanish, performance errors, and the possibility that such configurations have been an integral part of Palenquero since its origins. Given the major morphosyntactic differences that separate Palenquero from Spanish it is a priori reasonable to assume that Palenqueros psycholinguistically partition Spanish and Palenquero, that they are able to identify given configurations as belonging to one language or the other, and that utterances containing both quintessentially Palenquero and uniquely Spanish structures will be acknowledged as mixed. The present study reports the preliminary results of experiments conducted in San Basilio de Palenque, using stimuli extracted from natural speech as well as synthesized samples, to probe bilingual speakers' implicit partitioning of Spanish and Palenquero. The results demonstrate an asymmetry between perception and production: "grammars" and "languages" are not psycholinguistically coterminous for Palenquero-Spanish bilinguals. The analysis proposes that Spanish-like incursions are not all feasibly characterized as code-switching, and do not meet the criteria for decreolization.

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Resumo: A língua crioula palenquero, falada ao lado do espanhol em *San Basilio de Palenque*, Colômbia, apresenta um número de traços gramaticais sem paralelos no espanhol. Linguistas que estudaram o palenquero,contudo, observaram a introdução de elementos do espanhol desde a conjugação verbal e uso de proclíticos às mais complexas construções morfossintáticas. A aparente mistura têm sido atribuída de forma variada à descrioulização, ao atrito entre as línguas, ao code-switching, à interferência do espanhol, a erros de performance, e à possibilidade de tais construções fazerem parte do palenquero desde sempre. Dadas as grandes diferenças morfossintáticas que separam o palenquero do espanhol, é razoável, *a priori*, assumir que psicologicamente os falantes de palenquero dividem o espanhol de sua língua e são capazes de identificar as estruturas como pertencentes a uma língua ou à outra e que os enunciados contendo quintessencialmente palenquero ou exclusivamente elementos do espanhol serão reconhecidos como misturados. O presente estudo relata os resultados preliminares de experimentos conduzidos em *San Basilio de Palenque*, empregando estímulos extraídos de fala natural, bem como de excertos sintetizados, com os quais é possível provar que os falantes implicitamente separam o palenquero do espanhol. Os resultados demonstram uma assimetria entre a percepção e a produção: "gramáticas" e "línguas" não são para os falantes bilíngues palenquero-espanhol psicolinguisticamente co-extensivas. A análise propõe que as incursões aparentadas ao espanhol não são necessariamente caracterizadas como code-swithing, e nem satisfazem os critérios de descrioulização.

Palavras-chave: Palenquero; code-swithing; descrioulização.

1 Introduction

The Afro-Colombian creole language known to linguists as Palenquero and to its speakers as *Lengua* (*ri Palengue*) 'the language (of Palenque)' (henceforth LP) is in contact with local vernacular Spanish in the village of San Basilio de Palenque. According to most scholars this bilingualism has characterized the community at least since the latter part of the 18$^{\text{th}}$ century, and possibly since the founding of the village by escaped slaves, probably in the second half of the 17$^{\text{th}}$ century. This conclusion derives from a document

dated 1772 that indicates that residents of the village speak with one another "un particular idioma en que á sus solas instruyen á los muchachos sinembargo de que cortan con mucha expedición el castellano de que generalmente usan" ["a particular language that by themselves they teach to their children, as well as Spanish which they speak fluently"] (Urueta 1890: 329). The first mention of this document appears to be Escalante (1954: 229-230); Bickerton and Escalante (1970: 255) and Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli (1983: 45) also cite this document as referring to the same bilingualism as currently found in San Basilio de Palenque[1]. Schwegler (1996: t. 1, 26) also cites this quote as evidence of Spanish-LP bilingualism by the end of the 18th century, although much of his study is devoted to demonstrating the vitality of one or more Central African languages during the formative period of LP. Morton (2005: 36) also regards this document as demonstrating Spanish-LP bilingualism in the 18th century, although he cautions that the *particular idioma* could have been anything from a restructured Afro-Hispanic vernacular to a fully formed creole language. Although Schwegler (1996) postulates the use of African languages in Palenque at least until the 18th century, apparently no one has proposed that the bilingualism alluded to in the 1772 document might in fact have been an African language in contact with a partially restructured Afro-Hispanic vernacular that later evolved to become LP.

Related to the purported Spanish-LP bilingualism in San Basilio de Palenque is the question of whether contemporary LP is partially decreolized with respect to earlier varieties, and whether the contemporary situation can be characterized by ongoing decreolization and some sort of a post-creole continuum. Megenney (1986) refers to LP as a "post-creole" language, an assertion soundly rejected by Schwegler (1996: t. 1, 25-26), and later softened by Megenney himself (1994: 27). Although it may never be possible to determine the characteristics of LP (or Palenquero Spanish) prior to the 20th century, it should in principle be possible to test for evidence for or against more recent decreolization. Most remarks on possible earlier stages of LP have been derived from ethnographic interviews with the community's oldest informants, but such testimony is notoriously unreliable. Palenqueros middle-aged and older acknowledge that prior to a decade or two ago, scorn and prejudice accompanied all use of LP outside of the community, and many families chose not to pass LP on to their children, and discouraged the use of

[1] These authors also cite comments by Arcos (1914: t. IV, p. 19) to the effect that Palenqueros in the early 20th century were effectively bilingual, using Spanish and a "guttural dialect" that could have been some sort of African language.

LP within San Basilio de Palenque. The sociolinguistic situation in San Basilio de Palenque has changed considerably over the past decade. UNESCO has declared Palenque to be a masterpiece of humanity, the Colombian government has given Palenque a similar status, the town receives daily visits from domestic and foreign tourists, and a popular ethnoeducation program has resulted in LP language classes, now spanning pre-school through high school. Students interview elderly LP speakers as part of class projects and a renewed sense of pride is attached to LP proficiency and verbal eloquence. As a result of the unexpected prestige accorded to LP and its traditional speakers, older Palenqueros who may once have avoided speaking LP may now "remember" a more felicitous sociolinguistic environment than may have actually existed, particularly as regards the extent to which "pure" LP was spoken in the community in previous generations. Whereas anecdotal comments about language usage in San Basilio de Palenque in generations now lost cannot be completely dismissed, any scientifically plausible inquiry into the status of LP-Spanish hybrid combinations can only be obtained—if at all—from probing the linguistic behavior of a cross-section of currently available LP speakers. The present study presents preliminary results from a series of controlled inquiries designed to determine how Palenqueros themselves partition their two languages.

2 Grammatical differences between *Lengua ri Palengue* and Spanish

LP is a Spanish-lexified creole language, with a few words apparently derived from (possibly creolized) Portuguese, as well as a number of lexical items of African origin, most identifiable as Kikongo (Schwegler 1996, 2002). At the macro-syntactic level Spanish and LP share many similarities, including SVO word order, post-nominal adjective placement, head-first subordinate clauses, and prepositional phrases. At the same time there are numerous morphosyntactic differences that under almost any typological classification place Spanish and LP in the category of separate languages, rather than way-stations on a dialectal cline. LP has been extensively described by both Palenquero scholars (Cásseres Estrada 2005) Pérez Tejedor 2004, Simarra Obeso *et al.* 2008, Simarra Reyes and Triviño-Doval 2008) and researchers from outside of the community (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983, Megenney 1986, Schwegler 1996, among others). Although varying in their description and analysis of many grammatical structures, all of the aforementioned studies clearly delimit what are implicitly portrayed as "core" LP traits and explicitly differentiate these features from Spanish, although in some instances

Spanish-LP mixing is acknowledged. All coincide on at least the following LP grammatical structures that differ substantially from Spanish: (1) Absence of grammatical gender in LP; (2) Nominal plural marking in LP is effected with the prenominal particle *ma*, only when plurality is distinctive; (3) LP verbs are not inflected for person and number; (4) LP marks tense, mood, and aspect with preverbal particles, including *ta* (imperfective/progressive), *tan* (future), *a* (past/imperfective), and *asé* (habitual)[2]; (5) In LP the negative marker *nu* is placed clause-finally. Double negation (preverbal *no* + clause-final *nu*) also occurs occasionally (Dieck 2000), especially in imperatives. Exclusively preverbal *no* is not characteristic of normal LP usage; (6) LP uses a single set of personal pronouns in subject and object positions; object pronouns are always placed in immediate post-verbal position and carry a high pitch accent; (7) LP has no definite articles; (8) In LP nominal possession is expressed by postposing the possessor to the possessed object: *posá suto* 'our house', *moná mi* 'my child', *ngombe Raú* 'Raul's cow(s)'. Most of the morphosyntactic differences between LP and Spanish are categorical and binary: a verb is either inflected for person or number or it is not; feminine gender concord is either present or absent; negation is either preverbal or clause-final; nominal plural is either marked with DP-initial *ma* or the multiply-agreeing suffix /-s/; direct and indirect objects are expressed either by preverbal clitics or by postverbal free-standing subject pronouns, possessive pronominals are either preposed or postposed. Given such apparently striking grammatical dichotomies it is not unreasonable to assume as working hypotheses that (1) Palenqueros psycholinguistically partition Spanish and LP according to such parameters; (2) they are able to identify given grammatical configurations as belonging to either Spanish of LP; (3) utterances containing both quintessentially LP and Spanish structures will be acknowledged as mixed by bilingual Palenqueros.

[2]The one LP exception is the imperfect suffix *–ba*, which attaches to the LP verb stem just as in Spanish. In Spanish, however, *-ba* only attaches to verbs with theme vowel /a/ (e.g. *habl-a-ba* 'he, she, I spoke') while verbs with /e/ or /i/ as theme vowel take the suffix *-ía* (com-*ía* 'he, she, I ate'; *viv-ía* 'he, she, I lived'). In LP *–ba* attaches to verb stems related to Spanish verbs in *–er* and *–ir*: *tene-ba* 'have-IMP', *sali-ba* 'leave-IMP'.

3 Previous observations of Spanish-LP mixing

Despite historical and contemporary testimony verifying the existence of two separate languages in the community, patrimonial Spanish elements can often be observed in LP discourse (LP elements almost never appear in Spanish discourse), a phenomenon which has been variously characterized as code-switching (Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983: 185; Schwegler 1996: t1, 37; Schwegler and Morton 2003: 121), decreolization (Megenney 1986), and interference (Bickerton and Escalante 1970: 264-265; Lewis 1970: 180-181; Friedemann and Patiño Rosselli 1983: 186). Difficult to extract are Palenqueros' implicit and explicit notions of "canonical" LP as well as their awareness of putative deviations from any widely accepted loci of inter-speaker acceptance. Anecdotal comments by Palenqueros have not been particularly helpful; Morton (2005: 162) recounts that when queried about Spanish-LP code-switching "a speaker dismissed it as simply throwing it [the other language] in'." Schwegler and Morton (2003: 121) state than when questioned about their reasons for code-switching, Palenqueros respond that they do so in order to make their speech unintelligible to outsiders, an assertion that the authors find to be at odds with the fact that putative code-switching among Palenqueros occurs more frequently in the absence of outsiders. The present author has witnessed numerous conversations among Palenqueros in which the participants were implicitly assumed to be speaking only LP, and often made this assertion explicitly. Many of the conversations contained elements that do not conform to descriptions of "canonical" LP but which appear to be morphosyntactic intrusions from Spanish: conjugated verbs with subject-verb agreement, preverbal object clitics instead of LP postverbal disjunctive pronouns, preverbal negation with (low-tone) *no* instead of LP clause-final (high pitch-accented) *nu*, occasional definite articles (nonexistent in LP), feminine gender concord (also nonexistent in LP), and prenominal possessive determiners, especially *mi* 'my' instead of LP postnominal nominal and pronominal possessives (e.g. Spanish *mi hermano* 'my brother' – LP *numano mi*). Also found in nominally all-LP discourse are utterances with monotonic code-switches, i.e., beginning in one language and switching midway to the other, with no return to the first language. The speakers who produced the utterances in question were not "mixing it up" or trying to confound outsiders, and nothing in the environment in which the conversations occurred suggested that the speakers were aware of having mixed LP and Spanish.

4 Empirical evidence: Palenqueros' reactions to mixed language: the first experiments

Obtaining accurate acceptability judgments of putatively mixed utterances is particularly difficult, since such speech may be stigmatized and respondents may be reluctant to acknowledge as acceptable or even possible utterances felt to violate sociolinguistic strictures. San Basilio de Palenque presents a bilingual interface different from those studied in most previous research, in that Spanish and LP share many common lexical items and putatively mixed utterances do not provide the stark contrasts produced when the two languages share almost no lexical similarities, e.g., Spanish and English. Despite the apparently major grammatical differences separating Spanish and LP, it is not axiomatic that linguists' analyses and intuitions coincide with those of native speakers. Pienemann *et al.* (2005: 148) caution that "Whereas L1-L2 contrasts are transparent to the linguist, the question remains regarding how the learner recognizes these differences." Similarly, Bresnan (2007: 75) observes that "linguistic intuitions of grammaticality are deeply flawed, because (1) they seriously underestimate the space of grammatical possibility by ignoring the effects of multiple conflicting formal, semantic, and contextual constraints, and (2) they may reflect probability instead of grammaticality." These warnings will be amply justified upon considering the data collected in San Basilio de Palenque.

In an attempt to delimit apparent Spanish-LP mixing in an empirically replicable manner, a series of experimental protocols was administered to a cross-section of Palenqueros. The experimental stimuli used both naturalistic data and artificially created utterances, in "canonical" LP, Spanish, and various combinations of the two languages. To date a total of 78 Palenqueros have participated, including elderly traditional speakers, young speakers who have received LP language classes in school, and all current or former LP language teachers. The initial results point to a set of bilingual interactions more complex and nuanced than has been previously assumed. In particular the notion that frequently occurring Spanish-LP combinations are in fact code-switching—conscious or unconscious—is not supported by the results of the experiments. Nor do the preliminary conclusions indicate that such hybrid combinations are long-standing components of "traditional" LP.

In order to determine how bilingual Palenqueros regard putatively mixed utterances, two preliminary experiments were conducted using samples of naturalistic speech extracted from previously recorded conversations. Some of the utterances were indisputably in LP as described in the all available studies, some were entirely in (local vernacular) Spanish, and the majority contained at least some mixture of LP and Spanish, again according to

accepted grammatical descriptions of LP. Since all utterances were originally produced by residents of San Basilio de Palenque, a small and tightly-knit community where virtually everyone knows everyone else, the recordings were digitally modified using PRAAT software (Boersma and Weenink 1999-2005), so that respondents would not be distracted by associating stimuli with specific speakers, and also to avoid possible misunderstanding and resentment by the original speakers. Fundamental frequencies (F0) were altered and the relative duration of individual segments was also manipulated in order to partially disguise the identities of the speakers. The modified stimuli were randomized and uploaded to a laptop computer. Respondents listened to the stimuli over headphones and their responses were delivered into a head-mounted microphone. The stimuli and the responses were recorded on separate channels of a digital recorder. For each utterance were asked to state whether the utterance was entirely in Spanish, entirely in LP, or mixed. In the case of mixed utterances they were asked to specify the mixed element(s). Not all responses were equally useful; since for all respondents this was an unaccustomed experience, there were some extraneous responses, straying off-task, and inevitable interruptions in a community where no doors are closed and where children and adults (as well as dogs, chickens, pigs, and even goats) freely enter all dwellings. Some speakers pronounced judgment after hearing the first few words of an utterance, despite being instructed to wait until the entire utterance was presented. In the case of putatively mixed combinations this sometimes resulted in respondents' overlooking a language switch. Whenever a respondent gave a premature response the utterance was repeated, with a request to listen to the entire combination before answering. This procedure frequently produced an amended response. When responses were modified upon a second presentation of a stimulus, the modifications invariably involved a change from an original assertion of single-language status (Spanish or more frequently LP) to an acknowledgement of mixed status. There were no instances in which an original declaration of mixed status was subsequently amended to single-language status, but there were numerous occasions during which repetition of a stimulus elicited the same response.

In the first experiment, 70 test utterances, each consisting of a single utterance of varying length, were presented to 24 Palenqueros, all fluent in LP and Spanish. Fifteen were traditional older speakers (ages 40+ to around 80), and nine were young adults (ages 18-21), who had taken LP language classes in the local school, and were judged by their teachers to be fluent in LP. Of the traditional speakers, three were LP language teachers in the local schools and one was a respected community member widely regarded as having the most extensive repertoire of LP in the entire village, and who is frequently consulted

as an authority on matters of "pure" LP. In the second experiment, 47 additional stimuli were presented to 21. A total of nine respondents participated in both experiments. In the aggregate, 2667 responses were obtained; while most were usable some ultimately were downgraded or excluded from the analysis. Four traditional speakers (from the first experiment) declared all utterances to be entirely in LP even when instructed that the researcher believed some to be in Spanish or mixed Spanish-LP, apparently because they knew that all had been produced by Palenqueros.

All respondents correctly identified nominally all-Spanish and all-LP utterances with very high rates of consistency. For stimuli that could in principle be construed as being entirely in Spanish, Palenquero respondents (with the exception of the four who identified all stimuli as LP) overwhelmingly identified them as Spanish-only. Younger speakers as a group were a bit more reluctant to accept all of the putatively Spanish utterances as Spanish-only, but could give no specific reasons. Older speakers exhibited variable responses to one stimulus utterance (entirely in Spanish) that contained the lexical item *mojana* 'a river spirit', which while used in the local Spanish dialect is associated with traditional Palenquero culture. Another all-Spanish utterance including reference to *Tío Conejo* 'Uncle Rabbit', a fragment from one of the traditional animal tales known in the community, also provoked a few "mixed" responses. These findings confirm that Palenqueros can consistently identify Spanish when they hear it and differentiate Spanish from LP. Although the overall psycholinguistic perimeter of Spanish is relatively well delimited, some fuzziness is introduced by the presence of lexical items specific to Palenquero language and culture. For some listeners, use of the highly distinctive Palenquero intonational patterns (Hualde and Schwegler 2008) in vernacular Spanish can confound language identification in the direction of LP. Table 1 gives the results for nominally Spanish-only stimuli.

Tab. 1: Responses to (13) nominally all-Spanish stimuli; $\chi 2 = 32.06$ (df = 4); $p < .000001$.

	All	Older non-teacher	Teachers	Young
#Spanish responses	213	75	55	83
%Spanish responses	74.0	67.6	91.7	70.9
# LP responses	35	26	0	9
% LP responses	12.2	23.4	0	7.7
# mixed responses	40	10	5	25
% mixed responses	13.9	9.0	8.3	21.4

As with the Spanish-only stimuli, the nominally LP-only stimuli were overwhelmingly identified as such. No LP stimulus was identified as Spanish

by any respondent, and in those instances where an utterance was declared to be mixed LP-Spanish, a single lexical item not felt to be "traditional" LP was at stake, reflecting the recent introduction of LP language classes and the teachers' insistence on the restoration of archaic lexical items felt to be more authentic (Lipski 2012). Table 2 contains results for those stimuli that did not involve lexical items objected to by young speakers and LP language teachers.

Tab. 2: Responses to (32) nominally all-LP stimuli, with lexical objections removed; $\chi 2 = 10.31$ (df = 4); $p < .04$.

	All	Older non-teacher	Teachers	Young
# LP responses	669	298	119	252
% LP responses	90.2	94.0	86.9	87.5
# Spanish responses	7	3	1	3
% Spanish responses	0.9	0.9	0.7	1.0
# mixed responses	66	16	17	33
% mixed responses	8.9	5.0	12.4	11.5

In the case of stimuli that objectively could be construed as containing constructions unique to Spanish as well as constructions unique to LP, all respondents demonstrated highly variable and complex reactions. Among the test items were 53 stimuli derived from conversations purportedly conducted entirely in LP but which appeared to contain Spanish morphosyntactic incursions. LP language teachers identified mixed utterances at more than twice the rate exhibited by older community members although still identifying nearly one third of nominally mixed utterances as LP-only, while young LP speakers who have taken LP language classes fall in between. Table 3 gives the results for a broad cross-section of putatively mixed LP-Spanish utterances.

Given the typological diversity of apparent LP-Spanish admixtures, a few representative cases will illustrate the range of responses.

First-person plural verbs in *–mo*. Canonical LP shows no subject-verb agreement morphology. This apparent contrast with Spanish notwithstanding, in conversations putatively held entirely in LP it is not uncommon for verbs with Spanish agreement morphology to appear. The most common occurrence is the first person plural suffix *–mo* (in Spanish *–mos*, with the final /-s/ elided in conformity with local Colombian varieties of Spanish). In all of the examples collected by the author in which verbs in *–mo* are inserted into LP discourse the uniquely LP subject pronoun *suto* 'we' invariably accompanies the verb. Among the stimuli presented for language identification, eight contained instances of a first-person plural conjugated verb in *–mo* (always accompanied by *suto* 'we'). Respondents accepted the utterances as all-LP at the 63%

Tab. 3: Responses to (53) nominally mixed (LP + Spanish); $\chi 2 = 104.342$ (df = 4); p < 1 E-21.

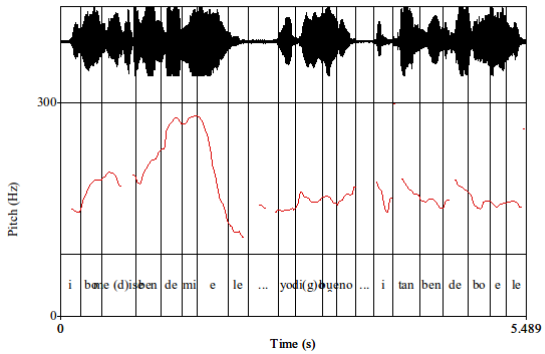
	All	Older non-teacher	Teachers	Young
# mixed responses	552	151	170	231
% mixed responses	44.7	30.9	68.0	46.7
# LP responses	660	334	73	253
% LP responses	53.5	68.3	29.2	51.1
# Spanish responses	22	4	7	11
% Spanish responses	1.8	0.8	2.8	2.2

rate. LP language teachers had the highest rate of "mixed" responses (50%), followed by young speakers (37.5%), and older traditional speakers (25%), but these differences for this small sample fall below statistical significance ($\chi 2 = 8.766$; df = 4; p < .07). The presence of other non-LP elements, such as preverbal object clitics *te* (2s) and *lo* (3s), may deflect attention away from an inflected verb, while the presence of a verb with *–mo* in a very short phrase is evidently more noticeable. Identification of the entire sentence as LP is especially enhanced when *suto* + conjugated verb follows one or more LP verbs in the same sentence. The further along a verb in *–mo* appears in otherwise LP discourse the more likely it is to be accepted as LP, with the possible exception of phrase-final position. Several traditional LP speakers, including three teachers, when queried about specific examples explicitly stated that verbs with *–mo* are acceptable in LP, although these same individuals never produced such combinations.

Conjugated first-person singular verbs. Spanish first-person singular conjugated verbs occasionally appear in nominally all-LP discourse, often but not always accompanied by the Spanish subject pronoun *yo* 'I'. Although such combinations are often tacitly accepted as LP in spontaneous conversations, Palenqueros' reactions to stimuli containing Spanish first-person singular conjugated verbs are more nuanced than responses to 1st person plural-marked verbs, although overall levels of acceptance are lower. When the subject pronoun *yo* 'I' accompanies the conjugated verb, it is almost always realized with a low tone (no pitch accent), which evidently contributes to the fact that these combinations are frequently overlooked. The following example illustrates the juxtaposition of high-pitch LP subject pronouns and low-pitch *yo* (and Spanish object clitic *me*). Spanish elements are in italics.

(1) **i bo me dice bendé-me-éle**
and you 1S say-3S sell-1S-3S
'and you say to me "sell it to me"'

(2) **yo digo bueno i tan bendé-bo-éle**
I say-1S good I FUT sell-2S-3S
'I say "ok, I'll sell it to you"'



Conjugated 1st person singular verb forms inserted into LP discourse are more frequently ignored in embedded clauses, especially when the embedded clause comes after one or more LP verbs in the same sentence or immediately preceding discourse. The test stimuli included 15 examples of first-person singular conjugated verbs, of which 13 ended in the canonical ending –o together with two instances of the irregular first-person singular Spanish verb *voy* 'I go'. Ten of the examples included the Spanish subject pronoun *yo* 'I'. Utterances containing *yo* + CONJUGATED VERB were classified as mixed at the same rate as stimuli containing first-person singular conjugated verbs without a subject pronoun. Overall "mixed" responses were at the 38% level, with the lowest "mixed" responses among older traditional speakers (28%) closely followed by young speakers (36%); teachers regarded the same utterances as mixed at the significantly higher rate of 62% ($\chi 2 = 22.64$; df = 4; $p < .0002$).

Preverbal object clitics. Spanish preverbal object clitics—nonexistent in "canonical" LP—frequently occur in nominally LP-only discourse. Spanish object clitics are pronounced without pitch accents, whereas LP postverbal pronominal objects are normally realized with a high pitch accent (Lipski 2010). Preverbal object clitics are almost always followed by a conjugated Spanish-like verb, not an invariant LP verb, in effect forming Spanish islands. Combinations

of PREVERBAL OBJECT CLITIC + CONJUGATED VERB are especially tolerated when inserted into the middle of a sentence, as in *te cuento* 'I tell you', *yo lo digo* 'I say it', *lo compramo* 'we (will) buy it', *lo recibo* 'I (will) accept it', etc. They are prosodically not prominent and slide right by many listeners. Since all instances of Spanish-like preverbal clitics in the test stimuli occurred in combination with Spanish-like conjugated verbs, separate rates of acceptance for clitics cannot be tabulated.

Reactions to monotonic intrasentential language shifts. Speakers who engage in intrasentential switching usually produce at least some utterances with monotonic switches, which begin in one language and end in the other. Nominally Spanish elements observed in LP discourse have been described as rapid and frequent code-switching, and the preceding sections have demonstrated that many Palenqueros accept some putatively "code-switched" utterances as legitimate LP, so it is interesting to observe Palenqueros' reactions to monotonic mid-sentence language shifts. In most of the mixed test stimuli, LP can be considered the matrix language (in the sense of Myers-Scotton 1992), with Spanish "islands" or momentary incursions that do not disrupt the basic LP syntactic structures. The stimuli include 12 utterances with unmistakably monotonic language switches, of which 10 were of the form SPANISH >> LP and two (extracted from interviews with the same speaker) were LP >> SPANISH. Palenqueros overwhelmingly acknowledged such utterances to be mixed, and when queried could usually pinpoint the position of the language shift. Older speakers rated such utterances as mixed at the lowest rate (54%), while LP language teachers almost categorically acknowledged language mixing (96%) followed closely by school-trained younger speakers (80%); $\chi 2 = 43.408$; 4 df = 4; $p < 1$ E-8. Reactions to sentences that start in one language and end in the other, when acknowledged as mixed, almost always included both disapproval and surprise. Monotonic language switching, the most frequent type of code-switching in many fluently bilingual speech communities, is considered unusual in San Basilio de Palenque (irrespective of whether such combinations really are uncommon). The assertion that other instances of nominally Spanish elements inserted into LP discourse represent rapid code-switching is not supported by Palenqueros' reactions to quintessential code-switching.

5 Rapid shadowing: Palenqueros talk back

In order to provide an independent verification of Palenqueros' compartmentalization of Spanish and LP, a rapid-shadowing experiment was conducted. Elicited repetition has been used experimentally in the study of bilingual speech—including code-switching—e.g. by Azuma and Meier (1997), Clyne (1972), and Meijer and Fox Tree (2003), Treisman (1965), among others. Rapid shadowing is a limiting case, in which participants repeat stimuli before they have been fully received. The rationale of such tasks is that "when listeners hear a sentence that exceeds the capacity of their short-term memory, they will pass it through their own grammar before repeating it" (Gullberg, Indefrey, and Muysken 2009: 34). In the case of bilingual stimuli, speech shadowing potentially increases the cognitive load to the point where more subtle aspects of bilingual competence may be revealed. Previous work, e.g. by Miller and Isard (1963), Marlsen-Wilson (1985), and studies reviewed in Vinther (2002), has shown that in sentence repetition tasks, respondents' errors frequently reflect their own grammars, i.e. what they WOULD HAVE SAID instead of what was actually said. For stimuli containing nominally Spanish and LP elements, it was hypothesized that respondents would more accurately shadow combinations that they themselves might produce, while stimuli containing configurations felt to be unnatural or unacceptable to respondents would result in "correction" in the direction of the respondents' preferred structures, as well as omission of elements implicitly regarded as unacceptable. The same 21 Palenqueros who had participated in the second language-identification experiment performed rapid-shadowing tasks (seven older speakers, five LP teachers, nine young speakers). Stereo recordings were made, with the stimuli on one channel and participants' responses on the other. The stimuli consisted of a subset of 48 utterances taken from the previous language-identification experiments. Participants were instructed to repeat the stimulus utterances exactly, irrespective of whether they were in Spanish, LP, or some combination of the two. They were also told to begin shadowing as soon as possible after the beginning of each stimulus, and not to wait until the stimulus had finished. Despite considerable variation in the performance of the respondents, there were areas of convergence. There were no instances in which LP elements were introduced into "pure" Spanish stimuli. Similarly, Spanish elements were never introduced into the repetition of stimuli that met the criteria for canonical "pure" LP. Even though some responses to Spanish-only and LP-only contained omitted or transposed elements and other dysfluencies, a nominally monolingual stimulus never triggered a bilingual response.

Intimately related to the skills required for successful simultaneous interpretation (Tommola and Hyona 1990), shadowing ability varies widely

across individuals, and such was the case in San Basilio de Palenque. Some respondents rapidly and effortlessly shadowed with the skill of professional interpreters, while others stumbled and failed to give complete responses to all stimuli. Although participants were instructed to shadow, i.e. to begin repeating each utterance before it had finished, some responses came only after the utterance had been completed. Metalinguistic comments were occasionally inserted, particularly when respondents encountered an unacceptable combination. One participant glibly translated all stimuli into Spanish instead of shadowing them exactly, despite repeated requests not to do so. Participants were allowed to request that stimuli be replayed, since attempted responses to all stimuli were desired. Participants were given no prior training in shadowing, unlike in previous laboratory studies, since the goal of the present study was to observe spontaneous responses that potentially reveal listeners' processing of Spanish-LP discourse. Initial response latencies were measured, as well as latencies at putative language switch points. Given the leniency with which participants were permitted to respond, the results effectively include examples of both shadowing and listening + repetition, similar to the simultaneous-successive interpretation dichotomy.

Some shadowed/repeated responses contained omissions, particularly in the case of very long utterances combined with large response latencies. There were several instances of the omission of Spanish mini-clauses or combinations of Spanish SUBJECT PRONOUN + CONJUGATED VERB, pronounced with no intonational peaks and inserted parenthetically as in example (1). These are the same configurations that often resulted in LP-only judgments in the previous language-identification experiments, and which some Palenqueros recognized as mixed only after hearing stimuli several times or in response to explicit queries about these combinations. In other instances of putatively LP-Spanish mixed utterances, respondents stopped upon reaching the Spanish insertion, and repeated the utterance again from the beginning or trailed off into mumbling.

All 21 of the participants introduced at least some spontaneous language shifts in their attempts to accurately shadow the recorded stimuli. A total of 117 partial language shifts were produced; the number of shifts per respondent ranged from one to sixteen, with a mean of 5.9. Rates of spontaneous shifting were close for all three groups: average 4.6 for older traditional speakers, 5.2 for LP teachers, and 5 for younger speakers. Of the spontaneous shifts, 107 (91.4%) were from Spanish to LP, and 10 (8.5%) represented putative LP >> Spanish shifts. All twenty-one respondents produced at least one Spanish >> LP shift; only seven also produced LP >> Spanish shifts. All of the spontaneous language shifts produced during the shadowing experiment had the effect of creating longer strings in a single language, and in many cases

embedded language islands were eliminated altogether, resulting in utterances couched in a single language. Most of the language shifts involved verb phrases, or the combination of SUBJECT PRONOUN + VERB. The stimulus that produced the greatest number of spontaneous shifts (15 Spanish >> LP and one LP >> Spanish) was 1; nominally Spanish incursions are in italics:

(3) **ma chikito tan pelé lengua pero suto ma bieho**
PL kid FUT lose language but we PL old
nu, suto no lo dehamo poke suto kombesamo
NEG we NEG 3S let-1PL because we speak-1PL
lengua suto andi sea
language 1PL where be-3s-SUBJ
'The kids are losing the language but we old folks don't drop it because we speak our language anywhere.'

Despite the fact that in the two language-tagging experiments conjugated verbs with the first-person plural suffix *–mo* passed muster as legitimate LP, in this shadowed phrase 14 out of 21 respondents changed the Spanish-conjugated verb *kombesamo* 'we speak' to some form of LP verb: *suto kombesá* (3), *suto asé kombesá* (4), *suto ta kombesá* (4), *suto ase ablá* (2), and *suto sabe kombesá* (1). Other "corrections" that appeared during shadowing included replacement of Spanish subject pronouns by the corresponding LP pronouns, elimination of Spanish preverbal object clitics and replacement of Spanish preverbal negation *no* with LP phrase-final *nu*.

6 Language identification and evaluation revisited: artificial stimuli

The experiments described up to this point were based on stimuli extracted from naturalistic speech, which presents inherent limitations on the ability to tease apart the effects of various linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. The fact that the stimuli contained actual recognizable Palenquero voices—albeit slightly modified to impede identification of individual speakers—could conceivably influence responses based on community loyalty and the implicit notion that a genuine Palenquero would not produce unacceptable utterances. At the same time many of the stimuli utterances contained more than one deviation from canonically described LP grammar, while some putative deviations were present in only one or two stimuli, making determination of their effects statistically questionable. In an attempt to address these issues a set of two experiments was performed using artificially-produced

stimuli, in which grammatical elements could be individually manipulated. There are no programs designed to synthesize LP voices, but there are a number of available Spanish-language text-to-speech programs whose output can be modified to create reasonable approximations to LP phonotactics. Several programs were pilot-tested, including AT&T Natural Voices® (www2.research.att.com/~ttsweb/tts/demo.php), Balabolka® (www.cross-plus-a.com), and Cepstral Swift Talker® (www.cepstral.com). Each program includes both male and female "Spanish" voices; the male voices tended to drift off into unmanipulable phrase-final creak, while the female voices varied in quality depending on the individual stimuli. After many tests a single female voice from Cepstral Swift Talker was chosen. Each stimulus was individually modified with PRAAT software to produce utterances that while recognizably non-Palenquero were not so alien-sounding as to impede intelligibility.

The finished stimuli were loaded onto a portable sound-playing device; as in the previous experiments Palenqueros listened to the stimuli over noise-canceling headphones; the stimuli and the responses were recorded on separate tracks of a stereo recorder. In this final iteration 56 Palenquero respondents participated, including eight LP language teachers or acknowledged LP language consultants, 27 traditional LP speakers, and 21 young (post-adolescent) LP speakers. All eight of the teachers/experts had participated in previous experiments, as had six of the traditional LP speakers and three of the younger speakers. Seven of the remaining traditional LP speakers had produced utterances that had been included in previous experiments. Participants were told that they would hear a synthetic voice that did not belong to anyone from San Basilio de Palenque, and in fact had not been produced by a human being (although Swift Talker is based on sampled human voices). Before beginning these experiments the author had serious misgivings about the feasibility of this project, imagining responses ranging from hilarity to incomprehension and outright rejection of the entire attempt. Gratifyingly, the results were strikingly positive. Despite constant reminders of the fact that the voice had been created by a computer program, several respondents repeatedly commented on this "woman"'s ability to learn LP, albeit with a strange accent, and directed their comments at improving this "woman"'s progress. Many other Palenqueros expressed wonder and satisfaction at the possibility to produce LP-like voices from a computer and smiled happily throughout the experiments. Only two respondents initially complained about the strangeness of the voices, but this evidently did not affect the quality of their responses.

The first experiment performed with synthetic stimuli partially replicated the earlier language-identifying experiments. Respondents listened to 70 artificially synthesized stimuli, most of which had been used in the previous

two language-identifying experiments, and rapidly classified each stimulus as all-LP, all-Spanish, or mixed. This produced a total of 3920 responses plus assorted comments. In general the results were qualitatively similar to the experiments based on naturalistic speech. Older traditional speakers showed the highest rate of acceptance of putatively mixed stimuli as all-LP, LP language teachers had the lowest rate of acceptance of mixed stimuli as all-LP, and younger speakers' results fell in between. In particular, utterances with monotonic intrasentential language shifts were strongly rejected by LP language teachers and younger speakers, while tolerated to a greater extent by traditional LP speakers.

Of the 70 stimuli, according to canonical accounts of LP grammar 21 (30%) are pure LP, 6 (8.6%) are pure Spanish (some with LP cultural items like *mojana* or *Tío Conejo*), and the remaining 43 (61.4%) contain some LP-Spanish grammatical mixing. Traditional LP speakers identified 71.2% of the stimuli as LP; younger speakers rated 50.1% of the stimuli as all-LP, while LP language teachers rated 42.7% of the stimuli as all-LP; for all 56 respondents the average LP-only response rate was 59.2%. At the individual respondent level, all-LP responses for the seventy stimuli ranged from a low of 17.1% (a young speaker) to 100% (two older speakers). These figures show that much putative grammatical mixing is passing "under the radar" of many speakers, although all of the putatively mixed utterances were identified as such by at least some respondents. Particularly subject to being overlooked were parenthetical narrative devices such as *te cuento* and *le digo* 'I'm telling you', *me dice* '(s)he tells me'; and preverbal object clitics. Some of the putatively mixed stimulus utterances had originally produced a few years ago in nominally all-LP discourse by speakers who now participated in the last experiment. None recognized these stimuli as having been previously produced, and in several cases respondents identified as mixed combinations that they themselves had proffered as LP in previous conversations.

In the second experiment involving synthesized voices, participants listened to a total of 103 stimulus LP utterances, in which at most one grammatical element had been manipulated to fit the Spanish pattern. This gave a total of 7210 responses plus assorted comments and digressions. Some of the utterances were derived from previously recorded conversations while others were developed specifically for this experiment. The experimental protocol combined aspects of speeded-grammatical judgment tasks (e.g. Bader and Meng 1999, Felser et al. 2009) and speech shadowing. For each stimulus respondents were asked to determine whether the utterance was fully acceptable in LP and to quickly respond "yes" or "no," then to repeat the stimulus sentence exactly, whether or not they had found it to be grammatically acceptable. The repetition following the grammaticality judgment response increases the

cognitive load by requiring that the utterance be held in working memory; as with rapid-shadowing tasks, this increases the potential for spontaneous grammatical correction. Although some respondents strayed off task (e.g. spent too long before responding, repeated the stimulus before giving the grammaticality judgment, gave extraneous or irrelevant responses), most of the responses were usable. Among the elements of *Lengua ri Palengue* vs. Spanish that were individually manipulated in the stimuli are: (1) first-person plural subject pronouns: *suto* (LP) vs. *nosotro* (Sp.); (2) third-person plural pronouns: *ané* (LP) vs. *ello* (Sp.); (3) presence or absence of feminine gender concord on indefinite articles and adjectives (e.g. *abieto* 'open', *ngolo* 'fat', *sabroso* 'tasty', *blanco* 'white', *colorao* 'Caucasian')' (4) preverbal negation with *no* vs. phrase-final negation with *nu*; (5) first-person plural conjugated verbs in *–mo*; (6) first-person singular conjugated verbs; (7) third-person singular conjugated verb instead of LP verb derived from the Spanish infinitive; (8) Second- and third-person Spanish-conjugated preterite verbs instead of LP preverbal particle + invariant verb stem; (9) Spanish preverbal object clitics vs. LP postverbal object clitics; (10) Spanish perfective ending *–ía* (e.g. *tenía* 'had', *conseguía* 'got') vs. LP *–ba*: *teneba*, *conseguiba*, etc.; (11) a few LP lexical items with the /r/ > [l] shift: *tierra–tiela* 'land', *sembrá–semblá* 'plant', *queremo-quelemo* 'we want'.

Taking the most conservative approach to "canonical" LP grammar, of the 103 stimuli only 30 (29.1%) were presumed to be un-mixed LP. Among the respondents, however, the 27 traditional speakers gave acceptable responses 71.1% of the time, the 21 young speakers responded "yes" 58.4% of the time, and the eight LP teachers/consultants gave 44.2% favorable responses. The rate of acceptable responses among traditional speakers ranged from 33% (2 speakers) to 100% (two speakers); the rate of acceptable judgments among young LP speakers ranged from 11.7% to 100%, while the range for LP teachers/consultants was 25.2% to 65%.[3] Even discounting possible confounding factors, the apparent rate of acceptance of Spanish-LP mixtures within the framework of LP grammar seems unusually high. Consideration of

[3]The apparent rate of acceptable responses was inflated by several factors. Several young speakers objected to lexical items felt to be more Spanish than LP such as *casa* 'house', *mujé* 'woman', and *trabajo* 'work', while some traditional speakers objected to *changaína* 'woman' and *guarumá* 'foreigner'. The Spanish subject pronoun *ello* 'they' was sometimes misheard as *ele* 'he, she' as indicated by the repetition task; similarly, first-person plural conjugated verbs in *–mo* were sometimes misheard as ending in the LP imperfective suffix *–ba*: *quelemo* 'we want' was heard as *queleba* 'wanted'.

the elicited repetitions, however, reveals numerous spontaneous "corrections" in the direction of canonical LP structures.

For example the Spanish pronoun *nosotro* 'we' was "repeated" as LP *suto* by several respondents who judged the corresponding mixed stimuli as acceptable LP; Spanish *ello* 'they' was similarly "repeated" as LP *ané*. Spanish preverbal object clitics were often "repeated" as LP postverbal pronouns: *ané me conocé nu* 'they don't know me' was spontaneously rendered as LP *ané conocé mi nu*. Spanish preverbal negation with *no* was similarly replaced by LP phrase-final *nu* even while responding that the Spanish-like combination was acceptable within LP: *ané no conocé mi* 'they don't know me' was rendered *as ané conocé mi nu* by several respondents who accepted the original stimulus as proper LP. Conjugated first-person plural verbs in *-mo* were spontaneously corrected by several respondents who accepted the original stimuli: *suto quelemo comblá pecao nu* 'we don't want to buy fish' was "repeated" as *suto (a) quelé comblá pecao nu*. Spanish *tierra* 'land' was often "repeated" as LP *tiela: Palengue a ten [tierra> tiela] bueno pa suto semblá* 'Palenque has good land for us to plant'. These results confirm the speech-shadowing data in revealing that many Palenqueros spontaneously process putatively mixed LP-Spanish utterances according to LP grammatical patterns. The fact that many respondents in the synthesized stimuli experiment explicitly accepted mixed utterances as LP all the while spontaneously "correcting" the Spanish incursions during repetition indicates that Spanish-LP bilingualism is so all-pervasive that language mixing sometimes passes unnoticed. This in turn provides a mechanism for language change, since Palenqueros who insert Spanish elements into LP discourse will not stand out. This includes both older adult speakers who shifted to Spanish as their dominant language as well as younger speakers with less competence in LP.

The synthetic voice experiments do reveal one area of significant divergence between traditional LP speakers and younger Spanish-dominant LP speakers, namely the presence of feminine gender concord. LP shows no inflection for grammatical gender; determiners and adjectives that in Spanish are capable of showing gender inflection take the (Spanish) masculine form. Older traditional LP speakers rarely deviate from this pattern, while LP students in school frequently introduce feminine gender marking in both oral and written production, as mentioned previously. Both experiments with synthesized stimuli included examples of feminine gender-marking, and the results indicate a clear division between traditional LP speakers and younger Spanish-dominant speakers. In the language identification experiment with synthesized stimuli, the sentence *i ablaba* ***una*** *palabra* ***mala*** *nunca nu* 'I never spoke a bad word' with two instances of feminine gender concord (on the indefinite article *una* and the adjective *mala* 'bad') was accepted as all-LP

by 57.1% of young LP speakers but by only 45.7% of older speakers (and by only 25% of LP teachers/consultants).[4] There were instances where young LP speakers "repeated" utterances with feminine gender concord not present in the original stimuli: *mujé blanco*'white woman' became *mujé* ***blanca****, tiela bueno* 'good land' was "repeated" as *tiela* ***buena***, *ese plata* 'that money' became ***esa*** *plata*, etc. These data coincide with previous observations, which suggest that Spanish-dominant Palenqueros are not always able to "turn off" feminine gender concord when speaking LP.

The rate at which non-LP utterances are identified as such is substantially same across the four language identification and grammatical judgment experiments, as shown in Table 4.

Tab. 4: Percentage of "mixed" or "reject" ratings for putatively mixed LP-Spanish stimuli.

	Lang. ID #1-2 (N = 53)	Synthetic language ID (N = 43)	Synthetic gram. (N = 75)
Older trad.	43.4%	36.8%	35.8%
LP teachers	68.0%	63.8%	68%
Young	46.7%	57.8%	47.7%

These figures show that across a broad cross-section of young and traditional LP speakers and a wide range of grammatical configurations, rates of acceptance of putatively mixed Spanish-LP combinations as pure LP remain relatively constant. This does not necessarily represent fundamental differences in grammatical competence between older traditional speakers and LP language teachers; the former produce relatively few Spanish-LP hybrid combinations in their speech, but many are not readily able to concentrate on input utterances in search of deviations from canonical LP grammar. This generalization does not hold for all traditional speakers; there are several elderly Palenqueros with no formal schooling who accurately and consistently pinpoint deviations from

[4]In the acceptability judgment task with synthesized voices, the sentence *ma hende asá quelaba cu boca abieta* 'people remained open-mouthed' with feminine gender concord on *abieta* 'open', 95.2% of young speakers accepted the sentence while only 81.5% of older speakers found the sentence acceptable. Some older speakers indignantly corrected *abieta* to LP *abieto*. In the sentence *awé i a ten que asá mucha cusa* 'today I have to do many things' with feminine gender concord on *mucha* 'many', 90.5% of younger speakers found the sentence acceptable as opposed to 71.4% for older speakers (and 62.5% for LP teachers/consultants).

LP grammar in presented stimuli, but such metacommentary is not part of the usual behavior in San Basilio de Palenque. The fact that between one third and two-thirds of nominally mixed Spanish-LP utterances are perceived as "pure" LP even under explicitly controlled conditions and even by speakers who themselves do not mix Spanish and LP reflects the linguistic history of San Basilio de Palenque itself.

7 Discussion of shadowing/repetition responses: what is and is not *Lengua ri Palengue*

First-person plural verbs (-*mo*): despite frequent acceptance as LP in language-identification tasks, first-person plural verbs in *–mo* were routinely replaced by LP verb phrases during shadowing, this being the most frequent spontaneous "correction" in the rapid-shadowing experiment.

Spanish islands: Sentences containing Spanish islands surrounded by LP discourse, often passed unnoticed even by expert LP speakers, due at least in part to their lack of prosodic prominence, but when explicitly queried about these insertions the LP experts usually rejected them as Spanish, and sometimes seemed surprised not to have noticed these items the first time. Research by Grosjean and Gee (1987) and the references therein has demonstrated that prosodically non-prominent strings, such as typify function words and parenthetical asides, do not trigger immediate lexical access. Parenthetical asides such as *le digo* and *te cuento* 'I'm telling you' (in LP: *i tan ablá bó* with high pitch on *bó* 'you') superficially appear to pass muster in conversational LP (possibly regarded implicitly as quoting devices), but these Spanish clause-internal islands are explicitly rejected when noticed, and may trigger language shifting as a repair strategy during shadowing.

Spanish functional categories: object clitics. negation, other conjugated verbs: Spanish-only functional elements such as the preverbal negator *no* and preverbal object clitics, together with occasional conjugated verbs such as *tiene* 'have (3s)' (LP tené/ten), *pasa* 'undergo (3s)' (LP pasá), and *puede* 'can (3s)' (LP *polé*) sometimes escape notice when embedded in conversational speech without prosodic prominence, but are not accepted by most Palenqueros when explicitly confronted with these items. The shadowing task revealed that these items can trigger language shifts of the entire clause in which they appear.

Monotonic intrasentential language shifts. Although all of the stimuli containing complete language shifts (Spanish to LP and LP to Spanish) were extracted from spontaneous conversational data, most Palenqueros do not usually produce such combinations. Many of the participants in the language-identification and rapid-shadowing tasks expressed surprise or disapproval, all of which suggests that the code alternation so frequent in many bilingual communities is not regarded as a common denominator in San Basilio de Palenque.

8 Spanish-LP mixing is not characteristic of all Palenqueros

Despite the considerable attention devoted to putative LP-Spanish mixing—including possible code-switching, interference, and decreolization—Spanish morphosyntactic incursions into LP discourse and intrasentential monotonic language shifts are produced only by a subset of Palenqueros. The author has extensive LP recordings of more than 120 Palenqueros of all ages, and has overheard and participated in conversations with at least as many more community residents, and most of these speakers rarely or never produce mixed utterances of the sort used in the experiments, although they often insert Spanish-specific lexical items. The use of Spanish morphosyntactic incursions into LP is found only in a subset of fluent LP speakers, while the absence of LP-Spanish mixing has a bimodal distribution. The oldest traditional speakers rarely if ever produce LP-Spanish combinations of the sort described in this study, although these same speakers accept many of the utterances as LP when asked for judgments. The small group of LP language teachers, all striving to achieve the greatest linguistic distance from Spanish, have never been observed to produce LP-Spanish intrasentential mixing, even in the most informal situations. Young speakers who have studied LP in the village schools follow the teachers' patterns and do not produce spontaneous intrasentential mixing, although some of the least fluent students slip in and out of Spanish when their knowledge of LP is not adequate to the task at hand. All of the putatively mixed examples were produced by a relatively small group of mostly middle-aged Palenqueros, some of whom have produced dozens of examples during conversations nominally held entirely in LP. Because these speakers are well-known and well-respected in the community, their frequent verbal exchanges with large numbers of interlocutors make their speech patterns familiar to most residents. These same speakers and others like them have been observed by successive generations of scholars, and their idiolects may be at least partially responsible for assertions of frequent code-switching in San Basilio de Palenque, an assertion which upon closer examination turns out to represent only a relatively limited cross-section of adult Palenqueros.

9 Why do some people mix Spanish and LP?

The distribution of speakers who do and do not produce spontaneous Spanish morphosyntactic incursions when nominally speaking only LP can be correlated with the recent history of San Basilio de Palenque and the use of the Palenquero language. Traditionally, residents of San Basilio de Palenque have been consciously aware of the existence of two languages in their community, Spanish—as spoken throughout the region—and their own special

or Palenquero language. At the time of the 1772 document that affirmed Palenqueros' ability to speak Spanish, literacy levels in the entire region were near zero, and the *castellano* 'Castilian' spoken by Palenqueros—and by most of their likely interlocutors—would have differed considerably from sociolects found among the growing urban elite. This vernacular Spanish was probably learned by Palenqueros well into the 20th century, but once schools were founded in the community (in the 1970's), the differences between local Palenquero Spanish and the Spanish taught in school (until very recently only by teachers from outside of the region) were brought into even sharper focus. Many teachers implicitly or explicitly criticized Palenquero Spanish as much as *Lengua ri Palengue* itself , and many Palenquero residents came to regard as "Spanish" only the supra-regional prescriptive speech taught in school, which consequently blurred somewhat the sociolinguistic boundaries between local Palenquero Spanish and *Lengua ri Palengue*. The result was not incipient decreolization, or even a "post-creole continuum," since there is no indication that despite considerable lexical borrowing from Spanish core LP grammatical structures have eroded in favor of more Spanish-like constructions. Regardless of the mechanisms by which the traditional Lengua ri Palengue was taught to children, by the middle of the 20th century Palenqueros were painfully aware of the scorn and mockery heaped upon them and their way of speaking by *ma hende di ajuela* 'people from outside'. It was during this time period—and probably for the first time in the history of San Basilio de Palenque—that adult speakers of LP made the conscious decision not to teach the language to their children, and as much as possible to avoid speaking LP outside of the community (Hernández Cassiani *et al.* 2008: 95)

The type of mixing described in this study appears to correlate with language revitalization in San Basilio de Palenque as a result of profound attitudinal changes over the past two decades. Palenqueros who had given up speaking LP due to prejudice and scorn heaped on them by outsiders are now eagerly speaking a language they had once been led to believe was simply "bad speech," some form of corrupted Spanish. And since these same individuals had no formal schooling in any language, their awareness of the precise linguistic boundaries between Spanish and LP was not always sufficient to prevent inadvertent incursions of Spanish when speaking LP. Most of the Spanish-LP intrasentential language mixing described in the present study was produced by individuals from the "lost generation" of Palenqueros who spent a considerable portion of their childhood and adult life in an environment where public scorn of LP was frequent and many Palenqueros were discouraged from speaking their ancestral language and chose not to pass it on to younger generations. Although these same speakers had acquired LP natively and presumably in a reasonably canonical form, they largely abandoned LP in favor of Spanish for

years, even decades. With the previously unexpected interest in LP by outside scholars coupled with newly established ethnolinguistic education programs and a significant upsurge in tourism to San Basilio de Palenque, middle-aged and older Palenqueros who had once avoided speaking LP sought to reclaim their linguistic roots, and in so doing often unconsciously mixed in Spanish to varying degrees. These same patterns of language mixture sometimes percolated into the speech of the Palenqueros of the same generation who had steadfastly clung to LP in the face of sociolinguistic adversity, especially among speakers who had spent most of their working life outside the community in contact with Spanish speakers: women in the traditional role of selling candy and other Palenquero delicacies and men working on the sugar plantations.

10 Explaining the acceptance of LP-Spanish mixtures as "authentic" Lengua ri Palengue

As noted by Schwegler and Morton (2003: 119), Palenqueros do not consciously code-switch, but rather produce utterances in what they believe to be either Spanish or LP. Upon reflection, most Palenqueros are quite able to recognize and acknowledge language mixing. Although most previous observations of Spanish elements co-occurring with LP discourse have described such combinations as either code-switching or interference, the results of the experiments described above demonstrate that Palenqueros themselves do not view matters in this fashion. Many instances of patently Spanish insertions into LP discourse pass unnoticed and are even explicitly acknowledged as acceptable within LP, while complete shifting from one language to the other meets with disapproval and is considered somewhat abnormal. However, despite the fact that Palenqueros sometimes critique and even criticize each other's use of LP in the presence of researchers, there remains a very strong sense of community solidarity which ensures that the linguistic integrity of solid Palenquero citizens is not easily impugned. The fact that respondents knew that the utterances had been produced by legitimate Palenqueros together with the fact that intrasentential language mixing is not consciously acknowledged on a community-wide basis may have increased the rates of acceptance as LP of utterances with Spanish incursions, although it must be conceded that even artificially created stimuli explicitly described as belonging to no Palenquero yielded similar rates of acceptance.

The highest rates of acceptance of nominally mixed LP-Spanish combinations as all-LP are found among the oldest traditional speakers, despite the fact that these same speakers produce few or no similar mixtures. When metalinguistic commentaries accompanied judgments of utterances as "mixed,"

respondents frequently offered the incorrect viewpoint that the phrases were produced by young inexperienced learners (in fact all utterances came from the speech of older native LP speakers). These traditional speakers produced spontaneous Spanish >> LP "corrections" to mixed LP-stimuli during the rapid-shadowing experiment, at rates equal to or higher than the most exacting LP language teachers, providing additional evidence that LP-Spanish admixture is not a fundamental component of these speakers' grammars. Traditional LP speakers are the most likely to passively accept LP-Spanish morphosyntactic mixing, since this phenomenon partially overlaps with the generation representing the oldest LP speakers. This is the generation in which awareness of public scorn began to actively inhibit use of LP within the community, and to interfere with the transmission of the ancestral language to children.

11 Has LP-Spanish mixing been present in San Basilio de Palenque from the outset?

In interpreting the 1772 document that apparently documents bilingualism in San Basilio de Palenque, Morton (2005: 36) suggests that "the author may also be referring to the introduction of Spanish segments or phrases (i.e., code switching, mixing or borrowing from Spanish) into what is now known as Lengua [...]" The observations and experimental results reported in the present study indicate that most Palenqueros distinguish a Spanish-free LP grammar; this fact, combined with the observation that Spanish incursions into LP are rare in the speech of the oldest Palenqueros and that fluent LP speakers spontaneously "correct" Spanish incursions into LP during rapid shadowing, suggests that Spanish-LP morphosyntactic admixture has not characterized traditional LP in previous generations. This conclusion does not exclude the possibility of other manifestations of bilingualism in the late 18^{th} century, for example discourse- or interlocutor-triggered inter-sentential language switching, but it is difficult to imagine a situation in which configurations that have been common use for more than two centuries would still provoke psycholinguistic reactions indicative of unexpected language mixture.

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12 Is LP-Spanish mixing a sign of decreolization?

Schwegler (1996: t. 1, 25-26) disputes the notion that contemporary data can be used to support the claim that LP has undergone partial decreolization in contact with Spanish. Decreolization, understood broadly as the gradual approximation to the lexifier language (acrolect), is not implicitly assumed to an inevitable consequence of bilingualism involving a creole language and its historical lexifier.

In nearly all analyses of putative decreolization, there is a postulated urge to avoid sociolinguistically stigmatized (basilectal) variants and/or to emulate more prestigious (acrolectal) forms. Thus Labov (1971:450) refers to "subordinate" and "superordinate" dialects, Holm (2000:50) speaks of "[...] social motivation for creole speakers to acquire the standard," and Washabaugh (1977:334) describes "[...] pressure to avoid the basilect." The known history of San Basilio de Palenque is not consistent with a sociolinguistic motivation to abandon the traditional *Lengua ri Palengue* or to emulate Spanish speakers who were perceived as embodying a more prestigious language variety. If the 1772 document and Arcos' early-20th century comment, as well as Palenqueros' own recollections are accurate, then Spanish and *Lengua ri Palengue* were always regarded as separate languages, and the latter was deliberately maintained against all odds in the midst of a monolingually Spanish country. Moreover, there is no indication that Spanish—when it was actively used within the community—was regarded as more prestigious, more desirable, or more "standard" than LP. To the extent that Palenqueros have truly maintained bilingualism for many generations, this situation differs from the usual scenarios postulated for decreolization, in which essentially monolingual speakers of a basilectal variety gradually accrete acrolectal features while shedding more stigmatized basilectal traits. When prejudice and scorn heaped on public use of LP outside of the community began to affect Palenqueros' linguistic behavior, they had no need to strive for an immediately unattainable goal (competence in "acrolectal" Spanish) by adding or subtracting features from their traditional vernacular. Being already at least passively bilingual, Palenqueros who for whatever reason felt that using LP was undesirable could simply choose to speak only Spanish, a language they already knew. This proposed set of circumstances is supported by the observation (e.g. Schwegler and Morton 2003, Morton 2005) that the Spanish spoken by Palenqueros rarely shows any traces of LP, although many other non-canonical traits may be present. The conclusion that the linguistic situation in San Basilio de Palenque is not a case of decreolization coincides with the preliminary observations of Bickerton and Escalante (1970) made more than forty years ago.

13 LP-Spanish mixing as "interference"?

The data reported in the preceding sections have led to the conclusion that the sort of Spanish morphosyntactic incursions found in some contemporary manifestations of *Lengua ri Palengue* have in all probability not been part of the Palenquero language for many generations, is not feasibly characterized as code-switching, and does not meet the criteria for decreolization. Among contemporary Palenqueros who qualify as native speakers of LP and who introduce Spanish incursions such as those presented in this study, the aforementioned Spanish admixtures are evidently both unconscious and involuntary. In the domain of language acquisition research, such behavior is generally classified under the general rubric of "interference." The present study has linked Spanish morphosyntactic incursions in LP to middle-aged and older Palenqueros who are now actively using *Lengua ri Palengue* with other Palenqueros and with visitors to the community, after having spent a considerable portion of their lives avoiding use of LP and speaking only Spanish. Since it is not possible to return in time to observe the original acquisition of LP by these "lost generation" speakers, the possibility of initially incomplete acquisition cannot be totally excluded. However, unlike "semi-speakers," who are defined among other criteria by incomplete grammatical paradigms, the Palenqueros who have been observed to produce Spanish morphosyntactic incursions also produce the full range of "canonical" LP structures, so it is unlikely that these speakers never fully acquired the distinction between Spanish and LP. Their introduction of Spanish elements is evidently a residual effect of a return to the active use of a language that had lain effectively dormant for many years. These speakers show no evidence of an incomplete grammar of LP, in the technical sense of the inability to generate all potentially possible LP utterances. They differ from bilingual Palenqueros who do not introduce Spanish morphosyntactic incursions in LP in that the psycholinguistic boundaries between Spanish and LP have become partially blurred, resulting in configurations that properly belong only to Spanish grammar being produced and accepted as LP alongside traditional LP constructions. The same blurring does not affect these speakers' production of Spanish, which is free of LP incursions. This differs from the usual postulates of decreolization both in the directionality of the boundary blurring (affecting the creole language but not the lexifier/superstrate) and in the absence of a drive to emulate the superstrate language (Spanish). San Basilio de Palenque is currently the scene of a hitherto unusual phenomenon, namely the active revitalization of a creole language that had previously been on the road to decline and extinction. Since the traditional *Lengua ri Palengue* is being restored by fluent native speakers of Spanish, this accounts for the asymmetry.

14 Whence *Lengua ri Palengue*?

Predicting the linguistic future of San Basilio de Palenque is a risky endeavor; the current situation of language revitalization could not have been foreseen even a decade or two ago. In particular, the fate of *Lengua ri Palengue* learned as a second language by young Palenqueros remains in doubt; despite the enthusiasm with which LP classes are received, there is little convincing evidence that students raised in non LP-speaking households ever achieve a high degree of competence in LP, or that they use LP in more than occasional emblematic exchanges once they have left the school environment. Therefore the future of LP as a natively spoken community language in San Basilio de Palenque is also uncertain. It appears clear that Palenqueros have irreversibly adopted a positive attitude toward LP, and that knowledge of LP will continue to be transmitted to future generations, but there may not be a large enough critical mass of young native or near-native LP speakers to ensure the natural transmission of LP to young children. Regardless of the ultimate survival of LP as a spontaneously spoken community language, the data analyzed in the present study provide no evidence of decreolization or voluntary intrasentential code-switching. Judging from the pilot data collected for the present study, the addition of "field psycholinguistic" techniques to already established ethnographic and sociolinguistic approaches shows promise in the domain of creole language studies. While not sufficient in themselves to resolve the complex human interactions and language mixing that characterize all multilingual speech communities, experimental methods diminish reliance on speakers' intuitions and self-asserted behavior and provide the potential for replicable multi-speaker and multi-community comparisons.

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