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Miguel Gutiérrez Maté

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Palenquero Creole: the syntax of second person pronouns and the pragmatics of address switching

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Abstract

The aim of this chapter is to examine the structural and contextual distribution of address pronouns in Palenquero (henceforth PAL), a Spanish-based Creole spoken in Colombia. Following up on seminal studies by Schwegler (1993, 2002) and using Lambrecht's (1994) Information Structure theory, it brings to the fore previously overlooked syntactic features of PAL second person pronouns. The fascinating data examined show that the alternation between address pronouns *bo* and *uté* are linked to special discursive parameters, since address switching (as well as the maintenance of a given address pronoun throughout an entire part of the conversation) plays an important role in conversation structure. The chapter describes the origins and the sociolinguistic situation of PAL and the (morpho)syntactic properties of PAL pronouns of address. It addresses to what extent (if any) the syntactic and discursive distribution of address pronouns resembles that found in Palenquero's lexifier or *superstrate*, i.e., vernacular Caribbean Spanish as spoken during the 17th century. It concludes that only the phonetic form of Palenquero second person pronouns is related to Spanish, whereas the syntactic and discursive properties of these pronouns have been taken from the lexifier. The role of linguistic universals and, most importantly, the influence of Palenquero's *substrate* (the Bantu language Kikongo) account for the different patterns of address use between the Creole and its lexifier.

Key words

subject pronouns, address switching, substrates, Palenquero Creole, Colonial Caribbean Spanish.

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the structural and contextual distribution of address pronouns *bo* and *uté* and their variants in Palenquero (henceforth PAL). This language is the only Spanish-based Creole that has been found in the Americas so far (Papiamentu's European element has been proven to be at least as much Portuguese as Spanish: Kramer 2004: 122-138). In this introductory section, I outline the sociolinguistic profile of PAL and present an up-to-date overview of the main findings of the research on this Creole, followed by the structure of the chapter.

PAL is spoken alongside Spanish by the inhabitants of African descent living in Palenque de San Basilio, a small village in the Department of Bolívar, Colombia, located around 40 miles southeast from Cartagena de Indias. PAL's origins have been traced back to the 17th century (Borrego Plá 1973; Gutiérrez Maté 2012; Navarrete 2008; Schwegler 1998), but it still remains unclear whether creolization took place in the *palenque* or maroon community itself or in the *haciendas* surrounding Cartagena de Indias (see Gutiérrez Maté 2016: 215-216 for a history of the term *palenque* in Spanish). We lack precise knowledge about PAL's linguistic history, even though the first genuine (or close to genuine) fragments of (Creole-like) 'Black Spanish' as spoken in Northern Colombia have been found in court orders written around 1690 (Gutiérrez Maté 2012). One thing appears to be certain, however: PAL's substrate is mainly (or exclusively) the Bantu language Kikongo (de Granda 1978; Schwegler 2012, forthcoming). This hypothesis is supported not only by linguistic evidence (Moñino 2002; Schwegler 1999, 2000, 2013), but also by anthropological and genetic (DNA) evidence (Ansari-Pour & Moñino 2016; Schwegler 1992, 2006, 2016b).

Nowadays, all PAL speakers are also Spanish native speakers. Moreover, they seem to have had command of Spanish as early as the 18th century, according to the description of the bishop of Cartagena, Diego de Peredo, who visited the village in 1772 (Peredo 1919[1772]: 450-480; also see Gutiérrez Azopardo 1980: 33-34; Gutiérrez Maté 2016: 222-224; Lipski 2012: 22; Lipski 2016: 154-155; Schwegler 1998: 236-237). Prior to the 20th century, this bilingualism is supposed to have been *non-subtractive* (Moreno Fernández 2005: 214), so Spanish and PAL may have coexisted and influenced each other for centuries. In the 20th century, however, as the Palenquero community slowly opened up to the outside world, the preponderance of Spanish began to seriously threaten the survival of the Creole. Even though there is no evidence of grammatical restructuring (in the direction of Spanish), i.e. *debasilectalization* (Mufwene 2015) or *decreolization* – as it is usually understood in Creole studies (Bickerton & Escalante 1970: 264-266; Schwegler 2001) – language shift began to take place in the second half of the 20th century, so much so that some scholars predicted PAL's demise within a couple of generations (Friedemann & Patiño Roselli 1983: 191).

Fortunately, these predictions turned out to be wrong, particularly after UNESCO declared Palenque a "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity" in 2005. An *ethnoeducation* program, which includes Palenquero teaching at the local school, also started after 2005. Using Creole as an act of identity has been present since then, but middle-aged *Palenqueros* are mostly passive bilinguals and the younger generations acquire it only as a second language (L2). Even though revitalization of PAL is real today, it is not exactly the variety (or varieties) older generations speak: imperfect learning and a sort of "hyper-africanization," as a result of the aversion to everything that sounds close to Spanish, have also played a role in the formation of this 'New Palenquero' (Lipski 2012, 2014).

On the basis of the former considerations about the history of PAL, it is self-evident that investigating PAL grammar demands an extensive knowledge of both the major substrate (Kikongo) and the major superstrate or lexifier (Spanish) at the time of Creole formation (Schwegler 2016b).

Our knowledge of former stages of Kikongo is limited to a few *doculects* (Bostoen/Schryver 2015; DeKind *et al*. 2015), amongst these, a bilingual (Portuguese-Kikongo) catechism written in 1624 (Thornton 1998: 8) and a *Kongo Grammar* written by the Capuchin Hyacinth Brusciotto in 1659 (Zwartjes 2011: 214-220). Even though these texts cannot answer all the questions posed by modern linguistics and need to be complemented by data from current vernacular Kikongo, they provide some clues about the history of this language.

As regards the superstrate, we can rely on more empirical knowledge. This is thanks to previous work in historical archives which has yielded extensive transcriptions of documents (up to 300,000 words) written by Hispanic Creoles in Cartagena de Indias' colonial government during the 17th and 18th centuries (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a). This corpus of texts consists mostly of private letters and direct testimonies in court orders, so they reflect – more accurately than literary texts – the Spanish vernacular as spoken in colonial Cartagena. I have used these texts before – alongside a corpus of Dominican documents – to reconstruct the partial grammaticalization of subject personal pronouns in Caribbean Spanish (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a), A brief anthology of these texts (around 10% of the corpus) has already been published as an appendix (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 443-474; see 431-442 for a complete list of archival references).

This chapter is not a study about creolization itself. I therefore deliberately adopt an eclectic point of view and follow Neumann-Holzschuh & Schneider (2000: 1) who state that:

> [S]ubstrates, superstrates and universals interact in creole formation; substrates and superstrates appear to offer structural possibilities from which elements of emerging

structures are selected on the basis of universal preferences, typological affiliation or formal similarities.

Consequently, there would be no valid reason to dismiss the influence of Kikongo on PAL. Furthermore, in "two-language Creoles" (Thomason 2013: 160-161), which may arguably include PAL (even though other Bantu languages and Portuguese may have contributed a few words to this Creole), the role of the substrate is seemingly more significant, or at least, it is certainly easier to identify (Thomason 2013: 182-183).

The corpus of PAL data for this chapter consists of the transcriptions presented by Friedemann & Patiño (1983) (henceforth F&P) and about 20 hours of PAL recordings made *in situ* by Armin Schwegler between 1985 and 1988. Many interviews were conducted by a member of the community and, in all cases, conversations were free or "semi-free". This corpus of "Traditional Palenquero" has already been used for other grammatical studies (Gutiérrez Maté 2017). The main reason to focus on PAL as spoken in the 1980s is to avoid any kind of interference of "New Palenquero" on the data regarding the alternation between address pronouns.[1]

In what follows I describe the structural and contextual distribution of address pronouns in Traditional Palenquero. In the first part, I follow the seminal studies by Schwegler concerning PAL

[1] We know, for instance, that in New Palenquero (plural) *utere* (< Sp. *ustedes*) is currently being replaced by *enú* (Lipski 2014: 195), which is perceived as more genuine and 'African' by younger generations of Palenqueros. In this case, it is actually true that this pronoun is derived from Kikongo (Schwegler 2002: 310), but the most important issue for New Palenquero speakers seems to be getting away from those words that sound 'too Spanish-like.' For example, in Schwegler's oldest recordings, *enú* occurred only very sporadically and was considered highly archaic. Thus, it can be expected that the current alternation between the two PAL second person pronouns – *bo* and *uté*, the latter sounding identical to the Caribbean pronunciation of the Sp. second person pronoun *usted* – would be affected in some way by such perceptions and linguistic ideologies. On the other hand, the influence of Spanish on PAL on a subconscious level is actually much greater in New Palenquero than in traditional PAL, so we could expect the pragmatic distribution of PAL *uté* – to the extent that it is not fully avoided by New Palenquero speakers – to be currently replicating that of Sp. *usted*.

subject pronouns (Schwegler 1993, 2002) and I bring to the fore new aspects of the syntactic constructions involving second person pronouns, which are discussed within the theoretical framework of Information Structure (Lambrecht 1994). In addition, the alternation between PAL pronouns of address is related to conversational parameters. The second part determines to what extent the syntactic and discursive distribution of PAL address pronouns differs from what we can find in colonial Caribbean Spanish. As will be shown, it is only the phonetic form of these pronouns that is related to Spanish, whereas their syntactic properties, as well as their usage in a communicative and social context, are not reminiscent of the lexifier.

In this chapter I adopt the classic distinction between pronouns of intimacy (T) and formality (V), determined situationally according to the parameters of *solidarity* and *power* (Brown & Gilman 1960). Even though finer distinctions would be desirable, the basic T-V dichotomy enables us to easily compare languages with one other and to account for possible linguistic changes. Furthermore, the objects of research are those pronouns referring to the hearer him/herself, i.e., the addressee of the speaker's utterances. Consequently, the (non-referential) generic interpretation of second person pronouns, which is well attested in many world languages (including both Spanish[2] and PAL[3]), is not taken into consideration for the second part of chapter about the pragmatic distribution of both pronouns.

2. The syntax of second person pronouns in PAL

[2] In Spanish, some variation occurs as to which second person pronoun (T or V) is preferred for a generic interpretation. Some Colombian varieties seem to prefer *usted* over *tú* (Hurtado 2005), whereas the same is not true in Caribbean Spanish (Morales 1999: 86). Interestingly, the generic meaning may favor the explicit usage of subject pronouns in Spanish (Flores-Ferrán 2007).

[3] The PAL pronoun *bo* fits well with this generic meaning, whereas it is unclear whether *uté* can carry it (F&P: 204). The generic interpretation can also be conveyed in PAL by means of the noun phrase *(ma) hende* (<Sp. *gente*), in those cases in which it does not function as a first person plural pronoun (Schwegler 1993: 152-153; Gutiérrez Maté 2012: 95-96).

Palenquero has two series of subject personal pronouns: (1) clitic (bound) or 'weak' pronouns, and (2) free (unbound) or 'strong' pronouns Schwegler (1993, 2002). They are listed in Table 1.

Person	SINGULAR		PLURAL
			No distinction is made between strong and weak forms
	Strong	Weak	
First person	*yo*	*yo* [marginally] *i ~ y'* [commonly]	*suto ~ uto*
Second person	*bo* *uté ~ té*	*bo ~ o* *uté ~ te*	*utere ~ utée* *enú* [revitalized in New Palenquero]
Third person	*ele ~ eli* *el'* (before vowel)	*ele ~ el' ~ e*	*ané* *ele ~ eli* [archaic]

Note: The symbol "~" means 'alternates with'

Table 1: Subject personal pronouns in Palenquero (adapted from Schwegler 2002: 279).

Schwegler (2002) suggests that the strong variants are etymologically related to the Spanish subject pronouns, while the weak singular forms have a Kikongo origin (plural forms do not distinguish formally between two series of pronouns). This is especially clear in the case of the first person pronouns: *yo* ['jo]~['ʤo] clearly comes from Spanish but *i* [i] seems to descend from the first person subject prefix (=subject agreement) in Kikongo. As regards the second person pronouns, I assume that the strong form *bo* is derived from Spanish *vos* (rather than from Afro-Portuguese *bo*: see Gutiérrez Maté 2012), whereas the weak form *o* could result from both a natural phonetic change ['bo] > ['βo] > [o] and a "convergent African influence" (Schwegler 2002: 298), since the second person agreement prefix in Kikongo is the homophone form [o]~[u].

Be that as it may, the existence of two kinds of pronouns (strong and weak) allows for the possibility of combining both when the subject is topicalized or somehow highlighted (Schwegler 2002: 280-282). In these cases, the weak variant always follows the strong one, as in *yo i tan* 'I go' (lit. 'me, I go'). This combination of pronouns partially resembles what we find in Romance topicalizations, such as French (*TOI, TU paies toujours*) and vernacular Brazilian Portuguese (*VOCÊ,*

CÊ paga sempre) 'as for you, you always pay' (cf. Barme 2002: 169-223). However, PAL free-standing pronouns can also be topicalizing (or even focalizing) on their own, with no need for pronominal reduplication (*yo miná* 'I look at/I see').

In the rest of this section, I draw attention to contraction – a basic morphophonological rule in PAL, and then describe the syntactic distribution of the two pronominal series. This will often be related to basic information structuring notions like topicalization, which, for the sake of clarity, I will consider to be the same as topic marking throughout the chapter, and focalization or focus marking. Without going into theoretical details, I will embrace commonly accepted definitions of both underlying concepts. A referent is interpreted as a *topic* of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e., as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent (Lambrecht 1994: 131). In the most obvious case, the proposition consists of two parts and has to be read 'as for X, X makes something/something happens to X.'

Focus, on the other hand, "indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (Krifka 2007: 18). The resulting proposition is interpreted as 'it is X that makes something / it is to X that something happened.' Syntactically, focus is usually more related to the verb and its sentence domain than topics, which may be located on a more external projection (see Rizzi 1997 for further details). According to the general purpose of this chapter, I focus on second person pronouns and most especially on the alternation *bo*/*o*, but my conclusions can to a great extent be extrapolated to the case of first and third person pronouns.

The basic difference is that *o* can be used in a subject position but not in any other syntactic role. In these cases, *bo* turns out to be mandatory, as shown in examples (1) to (4).

(1) Direct Object:

Suto	*a-tá*	*kombirá*	***bo***	*é*	*pokke*
1PPL	PROG	invite	2P	is[4]	because
bo	*a*	*tené*	*plata*		
2P	CMPL	have	money		

'we invite you just because you have money'

(2) Indirect Object:

I tan	*nda*	***bo***	*un*	*puño*	*ku*	*manu*	*ikiedda*	
I	FUT	give	2P	a	punch	with	hand	left

'I'm gonna give you a punch with the left hand'

(3) Double object constructions (object 'controlling' the subject of the embedded sentence):

kí[e]n[e]	*inseñá*	***bo***	*a*	*miní*	*po' akí?*
who	teach	2P	to	come	over here

'who told you to come here?'

(4) Complement after preposition:

bo	*ta*	*miní*	*a*	*bukká*	*ganansia*	***pa***	***bo***
2P	PROG	come	to	search	benefit	for	2P

'you come [here] looking for your own benefit (*lit*. a benefit for you)'

[4] This PAL construction parallels the well-known *focalizing "to be"* (*ser focalizador*) in Colombian and Caribbean Spanish (see Gutiérrez Maté 2017, about the possible genetic connection between this construction and its PAL counterpart).

suto	*bae*	*a*	*kandá*	***ku***	***bo***	*ma*	*nu*
1PPL	go	to	sing	with	2P	more	not

'we are not going to sing with you any longer'

It is only in subject position that we find both variants. *Bo* is the only one used to set (or reset) the topic of discourse and the only one able to carry informative or contrastive focus. In these cases, we cannot always decide whether *bo* is doubled by *o* or not, since the lengthening of the vowel (*bo o* > *bo:*) is not always perceptible. We can only report that the sequence **bo bo* is not possible, i.e., it has never been attested and is considered ungrammatical by Palenqueros. On the other hand, *o* is common in *topical chains*, i.e., when it maintains the same informative topic that was introduced in the preceding discourse. In these contexts, however, a null pronoun would also be possible – even though we consider PAL a *non-pro-drop* language (Lipski 1999) – and so would *bo*. In other words, second person subjects representing "topic continuity" (Givón 1983) actually consist of a *syntactic variable* with three variants: *bo*~*o*~Ø. Examples (5) to (7) are selected to show only the alternation *bo*/*o*. *Bo* is introduced in the opening clauses and then *o* is used in the subsequent ones.

(5) ***bo*** *a-tá* *mu* *lejo* *ri* *Palenge*
2P PROG very far from Palenque
p' ***o*** *miní* *aki* *Palenge*
for 2P come here Palenque
'you are too far away from Palenque to come back to Palenque again'

(6) ***bo*** *sabé* *onde* ***o*** *tan* *meté* *<kun* *é>* (F&P: 271)[5]
2P know where 2P FUT do <with 3P>
'you know where you are going to go with him'

(7) *si* ***bo*** *pelé* ***bo*** *<berá a be> pa onde* ***o*** *tan kojé*
if 2P lose 2P <see (3PSG, FUT)> to see to where 2P FUT take
'if you get lost, you will see where you have to go (lit. where you have to take [the way back])'

The second instance of *bo* in example (7) (*bo berá*) carries the sentence focus (meaning 'you will find out by yourself where you have to go'), which makes the usage of *o* impossible. Actually, *o* is not compatible with any kind of focus (see Hartmann & Zimmermann 2007 for a comprehensive typology of focus), which seems consistent with its status as a clitic or bound morpheme (Schwegler 2002).

As a general rule, PAL subjects tend to be overtly expressed and have to be placed preverbally both in declarative and interrogative sentences. However, as regards the preverbal position, we find another difference regarding the relative ordering of *bo* and *o*, which follows from the syntactic behavior of *o* as a 'clitic' pronoun. Whereas *bo* accepts the insertion of the preverbal negation particle *nu*/*no* as in example (8), which displays the NEG1-pattern according to Schwegler's typology of PAL negation (Schwegler 2016a), *o* has to be placed in the immediately preverbal position (i.e., before the verb or its tense, mood and aspects (TMA) markers).

[5] In the original example there is a *tilde* on *o* with a diacritic function: F&P's transcription distinguishes between 2P *ó* ('you') and disjunctive *o* ('or').

(8) ***bo*** ***no*** ***ta*** ***ablá*** *Pura*
2P not PROG tell Pura
'you are not going to tell Pura'

In addition, *bo* is the only variant that can (occasionally) be placed in the postverbal position, which is usually restricted to non-subjects. In such cases, *bo* again carries informative or contrastive focus.

We find postverbal subjects in two contexts. The first is in imperatives, which are formally characterized by the lack of TMA-markers. Imperatives generally omit their subjects because of the discursive 'salience' of the subject's referent, i.e., the addressee, who is directly affected by the speaker's speech act. Nevertheless, when subjects receive special emphasis and/or when they trigger a contrastive interpretation, 'overt' (and generally postverbal) subjects are possible (Schwegler 2002: 279).

The second context in which postverbal subjects are possible is when they are modified by *focus-sensitive operators* (FSO) (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2008; Manfredi & Tosco 2014: 233; *APiCS*-feature 106) or *focus words* (Augustin 2012) like *solo* ('only' / 'just') (< Sp. *solo*) or *memo* ('same' / 'oneself') (<Sp. *mesmo* [=standard Spanish *mismo*]). Semantically, these operators produce an extensive meaning (one of the quintessential characteristics of focus: Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009: 699-700). Cross-linguistically, they may include a heterogeneous group of words that belong to diverse 'parts of speech' (see *NGLE* §40.9 about Sp. *solo* and §13.11d-e about Sp. *mismo*), but they have something in common: they can be used to introduce a restrictive semantic reading of a noun (or pronoun) located in their narrow scope and, by doing so, the modified nominal adopts a focal reading:

(9) *dejá* *mí* *tá* *<tía>,* *pa* *ké*
let 1P-OBJ be VOC for what
bo *nu* *bae* ***bo*** ***memo****?*
2P-SUB NEG go 2P-SUB FSO
'let me stay, you (lit. 'aunt'), why don't you go yourself?'

(10) ***bo*** *<ba* *a>* *miní* ***bo*** ***solo****?*
2P-SUB <go [3 PSG, Presens] to> come 2P-SUB FSO
'are you going to come by yourself?'

As can be seen in examples (9) and (10), preverbal subjects belonging to the 'de-focalized' sentence material cannot be omitted. The only exception to this rule consists of imperatives: *andá bó solo!* ('go by yourself'). In all other cases, the operators *solo*/*memo* give rise to the construction *(b)o* + V + *bo solo/memo.* This, in a more general fashion, can be reformulated as SP (weak/strong) + V + SP (strong) + *solo*/*memo* (where SP = 'subject pronoun'). As a matter of fact, not only *bo* but all subject pronouns fit into the same syntactic pattern, as shown in examples (11) and (12).

(11) *si* *bo* *<no* *me>* *despachá* ***i*** *tan*
if 2P-SUB <not me> attend 1P-SUB(weak) FUT
despachá ***yo memo***[6]
attend 1P-SUB(strong) FSO
'if you [=the customer] don't attend to me, I am going to serve myself'

(12) ***uté*** *tan* ***uté*** ***solo****?*
2P-SUB go 2P-SUB FSO
'are you going by yourself!?'

The first subject pronoun functions as the subject agreement marker and therefore cannot be omitted. The second subject pronoun, which always adopts the strong/unbound form, is an optional, doubling subject that, when overtly expressed, triggers a focal reading. Configurationally, it is co-indexed with the first subject pronoun, with which it forms one 'discontinuous subject'.[7]

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[6] Semantic contrast, which should be understood as a prototypical characteristic of *foci* (Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009: 699-700), is especially obvious in this example, where (*i*…)*yo memo* contrasts with *bo*. Alternatively, the reflexive interpretation of *yo memo* is possible in other contexts (cf. Schwegler & Morton 2003: 118).

[7] The same focal construction is attested in other *non-pro-drop* languages like French: *TU ne peux le faire TOI SEUL* ("tu…toi seul") or *VOUS l'avez dit VOUS-MÊME* ("vous…vous-même"), whereas it turns out to be ungrammatical in *pro-drop* Romance languages like European Portuguese (Cunha & Cintra 2010: 300) or Spanish (*TÚ MISMO lo has dicho*/*lo has dicho TÚ MISMO*, but **TÚ lo has dicho TÚ MISMO*). Interestingly, no prosodic pause is made between the verb and the postverbal subject,

In addition, *tambié* (‘also / too’) – adapted from Spanish *también*, which is considered a focalizing adverb in this language (*NGLE* §40.5b) – adopts the role of a focus-sensitive operator when it modifies an adjacent nominal (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2008). Accordingly, it can also give rise to the syntactic pattern described above (example 13):

(13)	*¡ahh…! ke*	***bo***	*tan*	*semb[l]á*	***bo***	***tambié***
	INTERJ that	2P-SUB	FUT	sow	2P-SUB	too
	‘ah! so you too are going to sow it’					

To sum up, the variant *o* is much more constrained than the unbound *bo*, whose usage is well attested in all syntactic contexts and is mandatory in others, such as topicalization and focalization.

A final remark about second person pronoun *uté* is necessary. This pronoun displays two different variants, *uté* and *té*, but the alternation between them seems to be conditioned by style, speech speed, and phonetic environment. *Te* is common after a word ending in vowel, whereas *uté* is more frequent after consonants. In other words, the variation *uté*/*te* cannot be explained in the same fashion as the alternation between *bo* and *o*, since the latter depends on syntactic criteria but the former does not. The syntactic constraints of the variable second person *bo*/*o* clearly resemble those accounting for the variable first person *yo*/*i*, whereas the alternation *uté~té* resembles other phonetic alternations found in the pronominal system of PAL. Moreover, the ‘short’ (rather than ‘weak’/‘bound’) variant *te* can even be stressed and lengthened in emphatic contexts, which would have been impossible in the case of *o* (example (14)).

(14)	*i*	*tan*	*pelé…*	*epperá*	*mi*	***té:***
	1P-SUB	FUT	lose…	wait	me	2P-SUB
	‘I’m going to get lost… wait for me YOU!’					

3. Switching between *bo* and *uté*

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which supports the claim that the phrase “SP(strong) + *solo*/*memo*” is not dislocated, but a sentence constituent.

As we have seen, Palenquero has two second person pronouns: *bo* and *uté*. The Spanish T pronoun *tú*, which is general in Caribbean Spanish, including the area of Palenque, is not attested in PAL. The other T pronoun used in Colonial Spanish, *vos* (the source of PAL *bo*), is no longer found in Caribbean Spanish. In addition, all over the Caribbean basin we find *usted* (the source of PAL *uté*) used as a V pronoun, as almost everywhere else in the Hispanic world: it is important to emphasize that the so-called *ustedeo* i.e., the overgeneralization of *usted* for both V and T, is not one of the characteristics of the Colombian Caribbean, even though it is well attested in other regions of Colombia (Uber 2011).

Despite its formal resemblance with Sp. *usted*, pronounced [u'te] in Caribbean Spanish, there are no linguistic facts pointing to the Hispanic nature of *uté* when it is used within a PAL sentence. On the contrary,

> the considerable frequency of *uté* and especially the virtual absence of suprasegmental and grammatical features that typically accompany code-switched elements […] strongly favor Megenney and Lewis' view that *uté* has been sufficiently integrated into PAL to be considered an integral component of the creole P/N system rather than a case of occasional borrowing from Spanish (Schwegler 1993: 151)

Not surprisingly, *uté* is not used in PAL in the same fashion as it is in Caribbean Spanish.

The existing literature about PAL address pronouns is limited to a few passing references to PAL subject pronouns (Schwegler 1993, 2002) but it already provides a first insight into some idiosyncrasies of PAL. For instance, the speaker referred to in the following citation from Schwegler (1993) uses *uté* to show respect (V), but the notion of 'respect' is culturally determined and can work in different ways.

> To give just one example of the complexity of second-person singular pronoun selection, let me cite the case of a family in which the father always addresses seven of his sons and daughters with *bo,* while consistently reserving *uté* for the third-born. This last family member has never enjoyed special status or respect, but, as an interview with his father has revealed, is nonetheless addressed with *uté* rather than the 'normal' *bo* because "by doing so everybody pays special respect to the father's brother, after whom the child was named". (Schwegler 1993:159, fn.18)

So, in this particular case, deference is not even addressed to the hearer himself, but to an older family member to whom he owes his name. Here, the boundaries between 'direct' and 'indirect' forms of address (=Sp. *alocución* 'talking to' vs. *delocución* 'speaking of') are blurred, which offers a fascinating case for further research and comparison with other languages and cultures. Obviously, the usage of *uté* by the father is not reminiscent of Spanish. In the Hispanic world, 'asymmetric' address forms within the same family can mostly be related to gender and age, as in the relatively widespread case of children addressing their parents with *usted*, while receiving *tú* in exchange (*NGLE* §16.15.r-t).

In most cases, however, we find no clear-cut explanation for pronoun selection, which seems instead to be motivated "by a host of complex factors (including speaker age, degree of bilingualism, social distance, the name of an addressee, etc.)" (Schwegler 1993: 151). The dichotomy intimacy vs. formality is not helpful in depicting how *bo* and *uté* are actually used in PAL and the switching between both pronouns.

Speakers can even switch between *bo* and *uté* when addressing the same hearer during the same conversation. Consequently, the best way to summarize the alternation *bo – uté* is simply to say, as suggested by Schwegler (2013, feature 18) in the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Languages Structures*, that "this alternation seems free, and has no semantic consequences. That is, *bo* and *uté* can both be formal and/or informal". Thus, if pronoun selection does not depend primarily on semantic and social factors, an alternative explanation must be sought. As will be shown, some principles from pragmatics and especially from conversation structure account for the distribution of the two pronouns, at least partially.

It seems that, whereas *bo* can be found in all contexts, *uté* is more frequent in interrogatives and imperatives than in declaratives. The alternation between both pronouns must actually be understood within the flow of the conversation. In example (15), *uté* is first selected for a typical question (in pragmatic terms, a directive speech act that asks for information relevant to the speaker) but, shortly after, *bo* is preferred for the final direct request.

(15)

A: y'asé asé-lo	A: I do it
B: masamola maí totao?	B: "mazamorra" with toasted corn?
A: tu[d]o eso	A: yeah, everything
*B: ¿**uté** ase-lo <o nu>?*	B: you (know how to) do it or not?
A: yo… <que toy akí>	A: yes I do! (lit. 'I, who am here')

address switching

*B: ¿¡**bo** ase-lo?!*	B: then you do it!?
*A: <bamo aselo mañana>… si **bo** a kelé, <mañana lo asemo>*	A: let's do it tomorrow… if you want to, we do it tomorrow […]
[…]	

However, address switching does not always reflect any significant change in the speaker's communicative intention (speech act). After analyzing the structure of around twenty conversations, some of them with multiple interlocutors, two aspects of address switching in PAL have become clear:

(a) address switching itself may play an important role in signaling the different parts of the conversation or when some participant joins or leaves the conversation (conversation structuring role);
(b) once a given pronoun of address has been introduced, it tends to be used during the subsequent part of the conversation, as well as by other participants (persistence phenomena).

Scholars working on address forms would do well to keep these two principles in mind, in order to determine to what extent these linguistic strategies can be found in other languages. Both are intrinsically related to each other, and are illustrated in example (15). The interlocutors, who had just been talking about typical foods from Palenque like *masamola* (< Sp. *mazamorra* 'maize or banana pudding'), start to discuss how and when exactly to prepare this food. The transition between the two conversational blocks is speaker B's request, in which she switches from *uté* to *bo*. Address switching here therefore contributes to setting the topic and starting a new sub-section of the conversation.

We can also illustrate the two principles with the dialogue in example (16), in which two old women are planning to go to the market in Cartagena and what to do in this city. One woman is trying to persuade the other to take her to the market. In this case, address switching starts a secondary or parenthetical topic of the conversation about how speaker B could manage to move around in Cartagena by herself (within the context of this part of the conversation, this parenthetical serves A to actually refuse B's request).

(16)

*B: yebá mi **té** mujé <kun uté>!…tan dejá mi yo solo!?... i si y'a pelé por aí*	B: take me with you! you are going to leave me alone!? what if I get lost over there?
A: i sabé r[i] eso nu	A: it doesn't matter to me
*B: ¡nu dejá mi **té** nu!*	B: don't leave me alone!
*A: si **bo** pelé/*	A: if you get lost/
*B: ¡yebá mí **té!***	B: take me with you!
*A: si **bo** pelé **bo** <berá a bé> pa'onde o tan kojé*	A: if you get lost, you will see (by yourself) where you have to go
B: yo i tan	B: I'm going!
*A: ma moná **si** <te sale a buká>*	A: your children will pick you up
*B: i tan buká majaná mí… p'ané yebá mí pokke a sabé ke **bó** tan dejá mí…*	B: I will search for my children there, so they take me there, because they know that you are going to leave me
A: yo sí pokke si/	A: I will, because if…
*B: ¿¡**bo** tan dejá ma[ha]nasito … <a mí me yeba[n]>?!*	B: you are going to let my children … take me there!?

(u)té → bo
transition / overlapping

Finally, another persistence effect should be mentioned. In those cases where a *Palenquero* speaker recorded the conversations between other members of the community – by asking questions and offering several topics of discussion – the pronoun that the interviewer selects to address a given speaker is subsequently adopted by this speaker to interact with the other speakers. This is regardless

of whether they had been using the other pronoun to address each other before the interruption.[8] The following example (17) takes place shortly after the excerpt transcribed in example (16).

(17)

*B: ¡ah! ke **bo** tan dejá mí*	B: ah! so you are going to leave me here!
A: lo ke nu sabé nu <ke no baya>… yo sí	A: people who don't know [how to get around in Cartagena] don't go, but I will
B: suto <a sío> kompañero… suto <a sío> kompañero… pu'antonse.. i tan kombirá majaná nu	B: we have been friends! but now, I am not going to invite your children
address switching	
*Interv.: ké ría **uté** tando?*	Interviewer: what day are you going?
A&B: ¿yo?	A&B: me?
B: ete … ¿kuá ría jue?	B: ah … what day is it (today)?
A: mañana nu	A: not tomorrow
B: matte	B: Tuesday
A: matte	A: Tuesday
B: sí:	B: yes
A: e juebe i tan kamino mi <por allá>	A: on Thursday I am going to go there
B: ah e juebe	B: ah! on Thursday
A: e juebe	A: on Thursday
*B: p'antonse i tan anda á ku majaná Niebe… **uté** andá ku majaná mí… p'ané <baya> ku yo pokke i a sabé ke **uté** tan dejá mi aí mitá kamino*	B: then I will go there with Nieves' children… you are going to be with my children there!? then they are coming with me because I know that you are going to leave me halfway

[8] However, it still remains unclear when and why the interviewer himself often switches between *uté* and *bo* in consecutive questions or even in the same question.

Further research might bring to the fore pragmatic rules accounting for pronoun selection, but for now, no direct correlation between address pronouns and speech acts (exhortations, requests, reprovals, polite/impolite questions, for example) has been proven. It has been impossible to recognize any correlation between address pronouns and specific changes in speakers' mental states (Anipa 2001). Both *bo* and *uté* seem to be used in almost any context. That said, the usage of *uté* is much less frequent in the corpus used for this chapter (Friedemann & Patiño 1983 and Schwegler's oldest tape recordings) and therefore likely to be somewhat 'marked' (by the way, this also seems to be true for Lipski's corpus – cf. Lipski 2016: 169 – but factors favoring the use of *uté* might be different in New Palenquero). Since most conversations took place in the presence of an interviewer (himself a member of the community, in some cases), we cannot know whether the distribution of both pronouns would have been the same under different circumstances. In other words, it is possible that the public or private character of the conversation has an impact on pronoun selection. Sociolinguistic variables (gender, age, degree of bilingualism) might also be of significance, but even so, the usage of address pronouns looks extremely variable.

However, address switching seems to be related to conversation structure. If the alternation between pronouns does not play any semantic or social role, speakers could take some advantage of the alternation itself in order to signal a shift in their communicative purposes and attitudes and/or to set (or redirect) the conversational topic. In fact, topic selection and speaker's attitudes have generally been considered to be interconnected.

> In addressing conversational topic, we are not simply looking at what it is that interlocutors talk about. Topic must not be viewed as a superficial, categorical construct independent of the conversation. The fundamental importance of topic is that it *situates* a speaker. First of all, speakers have cognitive and/or affective relationships to particular topics. […] Second, topic situates the speakers *within the interaction*, that is, vis-à-vis the interlocutor. In other words, it can shape one's conversational role. (Zuengler 1993:184)

Finally, it has to be noted that many intra-sentential code-switching instances might enable us to identify correlates between PAL and Spanish: whereas *bo* usually matches *tú*, the equivalence

PAL *uté* and Sp. *usted* remains very uncertain.[9] That said, these equivalences do not explain when and why PAL speakers select one pronoun or the other nor why they can change so often from one to the other. Nevertheless, an answer to the latter question has already been proposed here: at least in PAL (but possibly also in local Spanish), address switching can play a conversation structuring role.

4. Relationship between PAL and Spanish address pronouns

4.1. The phonetic form

PAL *bo* is one of the last remnants of Caribbean Spanish *vos*, which was widely used during the colonial era. The usage of this pronoun has been extensively studied within the tradition of Hispanic historical linguistics. In a nutshell, *vos*, which had been the V pronoun until the late Middle Ages, became a T pronoun during the 16th century, both in European Spanish and in the New World varieties. Yet, it preserved its formal value in some textual traditions like dispositions written by the king to the regional governors, during that century and far beyond (Bentivoglio 2003; Carrera de la Red & Álvarez Muro 2004; Eberenz 1994; Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 236-237).

The old Spanish T pronoun (*tú*) seemed to successfully resist this invasion of its functional space by *vos*. Both coexisted for centuries, and in some parts of the Hispanic world to this day (cf. Fontanella de Weinberg 1999). Fontanella de Weinberg (1989: 115) and Gutiérrez Maté (2013a: 235-236) have found several testimonies in colonial documents written during the 17th century that mention the act of indiscriminately "addressing with *vos* and *tú*" ("hablar de *tú* y *vos*"). This suggests that both pronouns could be used in more or less the same way, i.e., as T pronouns, as opposed to the new V form, *vuestra merced ~ usted*.

However, there actually were some differences between *vos* and *tú* as regards their meaning, their social scope, and their stylistic characterization (Anipa 2001: 207). Furthermore, these differences varied from one region to the other. In the particular case of the Hispanic Caribbean during the 17th and 18th centuries, using *vos* was appropriate for solidarity and/or comradeship, especially among lower status speakers, such as soldiers, *mulatos*, and probably black slaves as

[9] The local Spanish itself occasionally displays address-switching without apparent reason (Schwegler 1993: 151). In my opinion, it is the influence of the Creole that favours the emergence of this feature in the Spanish vernacular.

well[10] (Gutiérrez Maté 2013: 232-237). At some point during the late colonial era or shortly thereafter, *vos* succumbed to the overgeneralization of *tú* all around the Caribbean basin. That said, *vos* seems to partially survive today in some isolated regions, such as the rural areas of Central-Eastern Cuba, where it is still marked for comradeship (Blanco Botta 1982; Hummel 2010).

Turning now to the Spanish pronoun *usted*, the study of its origins and sociolinguistic history represents a linguistic challenge even today, although the interest of scholars during the last decade or so has partially offset the repeated clichés written during the previous century. From the late Middle Ages and especially during the 16th century, a new series of address formulae consisting of the possessive determiner *vuestro/a* and an abstract noun became more and more common. Depending on the social rank and/or occupation of the addressee, forms such as *vuestra excelencia* ('your excellency'), *vuestra magestad* ('your majesty'), *vuestra merced* ('your mercy') developed. One of these formulas, *vuestra merced*, which during the 15th century had mainly been used to address much higher dignities or even the king (Iglesias Recuero 2008), became the general form of address for showing respect to any addressee and/or for any formal situation. In other words, it became the canonical V form and came to fill the 'functional gap' that the former V form *vos* had left.

Koch (2008) accurately explains that the linguistic change that affected *vuestra merced* consisted of two simultaneous processes: first, its overgeneralization across different speech styles and types of texts;[11] secondly, its grammaticalization or, more specifically, pronominalization. As a consequence of grammaticalization, it also underwent phonetic erosion (cp. Hopper & Traugott 2003: 55; Heine & Dunham 2010: 32). A series of phonetic changes (*vuestra merced* > *vuesa merced*

[10] See Navarrete (1994) and Gutiérrez Azopardo (1980) for a general view of the different occupations of *mulatos* and free blacks in colonial Cartagena. Black slaves worked in the *haciendas* or in mining and construction work.

[11] In German, this process is called *Idiomatisierung* (lit. 'idiomaticization') and accounts for the overgeneralization of a given linguistic expression across diastratic and diaphasic varieties when it gets rid of its original discursive/textual constraints. This concept has to be understood within the theoretical framework of German *Varietätenlinguistik*. One of the very few publications in English that explains the main concepts of this framework is Koch & Oesterreicher (2012), which actually consists of the translation of a famous paper published first in German in 1985.

> *vuesasted* > *vusted* > *usted*) is then supposed to have taken place (Plá Cárceles 1923). However, we do not really know a great deal about these phonetic changes, which may have been slightly different in each Spanish-speaking region, nor has it been explained why it was *usted* that became the most prestigious variant. In addition, *vuestra merced* did not disappear immediately; as in a typical case of 'divergence' (Hopper 1991), it survived side by side with the new pronoun during, at least, the 17th and 18th centuries. It was actually *vuestra merced* that fitted best into formal speech styles and was considered 'more elegant' when compared to the colloquial *usted* (Gutiérrez Maté 2012, 2013a; García Godoy 2012). In the case of European Spanish, it has been shown that *usted* was no longer stigmatized at the beginning of the 18th century (Lapesa 2000: 320), but its social acceptance had surely begun some decades before.

The first instances of *usted* date back to the mid-17th century (García Godoy 2012: 128-129), and, in the case of the New World varieties, specifically to 1661 (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 245). As regards colonial Cartagena, the earliest instances of *usted* have been found in court-order testimonies made in 1694. Before that date, in 1674, the variant *oste(d)* is also attested, but, in this particular case, the witnesses called to testify did not actually come from the region of Cartagena but from Southern Spain (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 247). In these documents, *usted* is the most common variant, but *usté* and *uted* are also attested. All these variants seem to be mutually interchangeable; as an illustration, in example (18) *usté* is attested twice, as is *usted*, whereas *uted* is attested only once:

(18) Testimony of the *mulato* Pacho de Vera in the civil action against him; Cartagena de Indias, 1694 (orthography has been partially adapted to modern Spanish)

Só Françisco, ya yo sé a que viene ***uted*** *[…]. Créame que es verdad que le dixe aora a unas mugeres lo que le abrá dicho a* ***usted*** *un pardito que estava hallí, que yo si lo dixe fue con animo de que ese sujeto se lo contase a* ***usted*** *y aberiguase el quento […]. Si* ***usté*** *fuere hallá a la aberiguaçión, no diga, por amor de Dios, que lo a savido de mí, ni me miente, porque no quiero ruidos con el prior.* ***Usté*** *diga que lo a savido por otra parte* (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 466)

'Mr. Francisco, I know well why you came here […]. Trust me that it is true that I have just told some women what a *mulato* who was also there may already have told you. If I said it, it was just because I actually wanted this man to tell it to you, so you could find out by yourself what exactly the rumor is […]. If you really go there to find out, please don't say that you know it from me; you'd better not mention me at all, because I don't want any trouble with the Prior. You'd better say that you have found it out from someone else.'

Whereas the variant lacking final *d* (*usté*) is relatively common, the variant lacking syllable-final *s* (*uted*) is very unusual in the corpus. The only additional testimony (written also in 1694) renders the speech of a black slave, as shown in example (19).

(19) *servir a **uted**, señor, ya blanco ya queré cavá negro*[12]
'At your service, Sir! [as salutation] White people want to kill black people.'

It seems unlikely that this orthographic variant was pronounced /u'ted/, since final /d/ is cross-dialectally much more unstable than final /s/, especially when the latter sound is in a word-internal position. In other words, it is hard to imagine a variety of Spanish lacking syllable-final /s/ but keeping word-final /d/ intact. For the scribe who wrote down the testimony in example (19), one deviant feature (probably the most striking one, i.e., the lack of *s*) was enough to depict ethnolectal markedness. In addition, it should be noted that the loss of final *s* was extremely unusual in the documents at that time, whereas other features of vernacular Caribbean Spanish did leave some 'graphic traces' behind (e.g., loss of final *d*, alternation of syllable-final *r*/*l*, use of *y* instead of *ll*, etc.) (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 473-474). That being said, it is likely that the aspiration/loss of final /s/ in Caribbean Spanish had already started in the 17th century and, therefore, the variant /u'te/ may have been usual in some varieties, both socially low and not low, since example (18) represents the speech of a monk. If this is true, it was only the linguistic perception of white notaries that made this variant look stereotypically 'Black Spanish'. Today, the pronunciation [uˈte] has been considered "the quintessential Andalusian/Caribbean realization" (Lipski 2005: 251).

To sum up, both *bo* and *uté* were borrowed from Caribbean Spanish as spoken during the 17th century. They certainly underwent phonetic adaptation to the canonical Creole syllable pattern (C)V (Sp. *vos* → PAL *bo*; Sp. *usted* → PAL *uté*), even though the loss of syllable-final /s/ may also have its roots in vernacular Caribbean Spanish. In the particular case of the Spanish pronoun *usted*, it is unclear whether this variant was actually 'standard' at that time, either in the Caribbean region, where the consolidation of *uté* might be as old as that of *usted* in other Spanish-speaking areas, or in

[12] See Gutiérrez Maté (2012: 93, 96-98; 2016: 208-212) for a linguistic analysis of this and other fragments in 'Black Spanish'.

other parts of Colombia, where *vusté* and other variants have also been attested since the 17th century.[13]

4.2. Syntactic distribution

In the previous section, we have highlighted the link between PAL Creole and Colonial Caribbean Spanish as regards the phonetic form of pronouns of address. As will be clear in this and the subsequent section, this link is mostly lost as regards the syntactic and the pragmatic distribution of PAL address pronouns. This turns out to be especially clear in the case of the pronoun *uté*.

The syntactic behavior of PAL *uté* is not reminiscent of that of Sp. *usted*. The latter has been considered an 'anomaly' in the Spanish pronominal system (Sánchez Lopez 1993:259-284) for two reasons. Firstly, when it adopts the syntactic role of subject, it is overtly realized much more often than any other subject pronoun in the Spanish language, which is a "consistent *pro-drop* language" (Barbosa 2009). In other words, subject pronouns are not overtly expressed, unless their informative role is marked for topicalization or focalization. Secondly, *usted* is placed postverbally more often than any other pronoun. Interestingly, the syntactic behavior of *usted* stands out not only when compared to first and third person pronouns but when compared to other pronouns of address, a linguistic problem that has also been discussed in sociolinguistic research (Hurtado 2005). Most of these idiosyncrasies of *usted* were also found in its first attestations in 17th century Caribbean Spanish. At that time, the overt realization of the subject pronoun *usted* was extremely high (51%), whereas the other subject pronouns were much less frequent (1P *yo*: 16.7%; 2P *vos*: 12.5%; 2P *tú*: 10.6%; 3P *él~ella*: 5.3%) (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 339). In PAL, however, there are no clear syntactic differences between *uté* and *bo*.

If we now consider all forms of address used in 17th century Caribbean Spanish – Palenquero's actual superstrate – including not only *tú*, *vos* and *usted* but also NPs such as *vuestra señoría*, *vuestra excelencia*, *vuestra merced*, the average frequency of overt subjects rises to 55.6%.

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[13] For example, I have found *vusté* in a testimony included in the civil action against José Flores de Acuña (AGI, Seville, Escribanía 772B, page 16v), which was written in Bogotá in 1669. Furthermore, we cannot neglect the possibility that *vusté* was also common in the Caribbean, since the 2P pronoun *boste* has been attested in the first texts written in Papiamentu in the 18th century (Jacobs 2012: 89-90).

This would support the fact of a higher realization of second person subjects in at least some *pro-drop* languages. For Caribbean Spanish, this has been noted in the case of both current and colonial varieties (Otheguy & Zentella 2007; Gutiérrez Maté 2013a).

In addition, it would be interesting to check how often second person subjects are expressed postverbally when compared to first and third person subjects. At first glance, the percentage of postverbal subjects in 17th century Colombian Spanish does not look particularly high (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 273) (Table 2).

Table 2: Expression / omission of second person subjects (17th century Caribbean Spanish)

tú, *vos*, *usted* and nominal address		
null	preverbal	postverbal
44.4%	33.6%	22%

However, the relatively low rate of postverbal address forms (22%) turns out to be relatively high when compared with the frequency of postverbal first and third person pronouns (1.3% and 6.1%, respectively) (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 340).

Palenquero Creole radically departs from the special behavior of second person subjects in Spanish. In PAL there is no syntactic difference between second person pronouns and other personal pronouns, nor between the different pronouns of address. PAL subject pronouns are realized overtly and placed preverbally, no matter which grammatical person they are. They can only be dropped in a few special contexts (Lipski 1999) and can only be postverbal in two contexts: after imperatives (second person plural pronouns thus even merge with the verb; Schwegler 2002) or when accompanied by focus-sensitive operators (examples (9) to (13)).

It is true that several varieties of today's Caribbean Spanish are close to becoming *non-pro-drop* (Morales 1999) and, in so doing, they somehow parallel PAL. However, it should be noted that even though the beginning of the grammaticalization of subject pronouns in Caribbean Spanish can be traced back to colonial times (Gutiérrez Maté 2013a: 333-394, 2013b), this syntactic change was far from complete at the time PAL probably evolved. Consequently, the syntactic properties of PAL subject pronouns, as regards their 'overtness' and their mandatory preverbal placement, are not Hispanic.

Finally, other syntactic properties of PAL subject pronouns, like the existence of two different series of subject pronouns (bound and free), and pronominal chains with pre- and postverbal subjects cannot be traced back to Spanish. The question of whether such syntactic features

arose in PAL because of internal grammaticalization processes or because of substratal influence remains open for discussion,[14] but it does not affect my claim here: the syntactic behavior of PAL subject pronouns is clearly different from that of Colonial Caribbean Spanish.

4.3. Neutralization of T and V and address switching

As previously stated, the use of *bo* and *uté* in PAL does seem to not depend primarily on semantic and social factors, nor is it determined by pragmatic reasons. Even though PAL has taken two different second person pronouns from Colonial Caribbean Spanish, these do not convey a politeness distinction in the Creole, as they did in the lexifier. Thus, we could accurately speak of the 'neutralization' of the politeness distinction. In this section, I examine the role of the superstrate, the substrate, and linguistic universals in the neutralization of T and V. In my view, it is the combination of the latter two out of the materials offered by the former that accounts for the origin of PAL address system.

The alternation between pronouns of address conveyed a politeness distinction in vernacular Caribbean Spanish at the time that PAL was formed. Basically, *vos*/*tú* as T forms vs. *usted*(/*vuestra merced*) as V form. Even though *usted* was used in a wide spectrum of social contexts and, therefore, may have seemed a *passe-partout*, Spanish was at that time far away from the overgeneralization of

[14] PAL bound pronouns seem to be a material copy of Kikongo subject verbal prefixes (Schwegler 1993, 2002). As for the pronominal chains (*bo tan bo solo*), the substratal influence is not obvious but not totally impossible either. In Spanish, the postverbal placement of focal subjects is possible, as in *pago yo* 'it is me who pays' (Dufter 2009: 92), but it is much less constrained (syntactically and informatively) than it is in PAL (see also Adli 2011; Zubizarreta 1998: 76). No systematic study of the informative role of Kikongo subject pronouns has yet been undertaken, but general Bantu linguistics has brought to light two linguistic features that might be of significance for a better understanding of the syntactic pattern shown by examples (9) to (13). Firstly, some Bantu languages can naturally host focus in the Immediate After Verb (IAV) position (Bearth 1999; Marten 2007); and, secondly, some other languages always place the subjects that are highlighted by focus-sensitive operators in a postverbal position (Buell 2015: 1648).

usted for both formality and intimacy, as attested today in the Colombian highlands (Uber 2011) and in some other Spanish-speaking areas (*NGLE* §16.15t).[15] There was no 'neutralization' at all, although *usted* could be considered somewhat 'unmarked' when compared to the other forms of address: according to my own description of Colonial Caribbean Spanish, (1) *vos*, used for comradeship, (2) *tú*, used for children and slaves, or as an insult, and (3) *vuestra merced* (very formal and only possible in a few text types) (Gutiérrez Maté 2014: 461-482).

In Kikongo, on the other hand, there is only one second person pronoun or, more precisely, one unbound second person pronoun and one second person subject verbal prefix with several allomorphs, a distinction not related to politeness. This is also consistent with the information of the historical sources about this language in the 17th century. Brusciotto (1882[1659]) did not point to any differentiation between pronouns of address, and no grammarian has ever done so subsequently (Bentley 1895, Laman 1912, De Clercq 1921, etc.). Some of these authors wrote in French, so, if there had been two (or more) pronouns of address with different meanings, they could have easily compared them with Fr. *tu* and *vous*, (DeClerq 1921: 25-26; Derau 1955: 26-27, 78-85). Laman, who wrote his *Grammar of the Congo Language* (1912) in English, clearly states that "*Ngeye* [=unbound second person pronoun] is always used in addressing one person, without regard to the age, rank or importance" (1912: 121). He is also the first to explain how politeness works in Kikongo:

> If one wishes to show respect in addressing an older or more prominent person, this is done, not by using a different word of address, but by falling on the knees, clapping the hands or by adding some one of the words *mfumu*, *mwe*, *na*, *ya*, *tata*, *yaya*, *mama*, *se*, *ngwa nkazi*, etc." (1912: 262)

These 'words' are described somewhere else as nominal *prefixes* that add "the idea of reverence" (Laman 1912: 53-55). In fact, they are nouns (or phonetically reduced variants of

[15] Notice, however, that Uber also points to the fact that *tú* actually exists and fills the functional gap between the formal *usted* and the solidary *usted*. The overgeneralization of *usted* also takes place in Costa Rican Spanish (Moser 2010), Venezuelan Andean Spanish (Álvarez Muro & Carrera de la Red 2005) and probably in other regions. However, I am not aware of the total elimination of *tú* and *vos* (under the pressure of *usted*) anywhere in the Hispanic world.

nouns[16]) whose appositional use before other nouns became the norm. In addition, they always carry the semantic trait [+person]. Actually, most words listed by Laman refer to family members: *ngwa nkasi* 'maternal uncle', *se* 'paternal uncle', *yaya* 'elder sister'. (Laman 1964[1936]). We can probably understand better why Brosciutto (1882[1659]: 108), who devoted a prominent chapter of his grammar to family names in Kikongo, stated that "the names of different degrees of consanguinity or affinity is of no little importance". This very strategy may have persisted in PAL: as a matter of fact, PAL *cho*/*cha*, from Spanish *tío/tía* 'uncle/aunt', are used before person names for showing both affection and respect, as in *Cho-Juan*, *Cha-María* (Schwegler 1994: 13-16).

As it turns out, politeness in Kikongo is mostly conveyed by nominals and/or by non-verbal communication (Laman 1912). There may be other pragmatic strategies for politeness, but in no case can we find an alternation between different pronouns of address. Actually, most Niger-Congo languages do not make use of second person pronouns for politeness distinctions, with some remarkable exceptions such as Yoruba or Luvale (Helmbrecht 2003: 158). Even so, we cannot dismiss the possibility that some African languages developed politeness distinctions in the pronominal system due to the influence of European languages during the colonial and, perhaps most importantly, post-colonial era (Helmbrecht 2003: 197). Consequently, it is easy to imagine a scenario in which the slaves who spoke approximative varieties of Spanish, which to a great extent replicated communicative strategies from their L1, naturally erased the semantic and social distinctions conveyed by second person pronouns in the target language.

In addition, we cannot ignore the convergent effect of linguistic universals. According to the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (feature 45A), only 32% of the world languages express the politeness distinction in second person pronouns,[17] so newly created languages might be more likely not to develop such a distinction but just follow the most common pattern worldwide. As a matter of fact, Creoles behave as expected: according to the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (feature 18), the politeness distinction is conveyed by second person pronouns in only 28 out of 74 existing Creoles, that is, in 38% of the cases, a rate that fits well with the overall realization of such a distinction in natural languages worldwide (see also Velupillai 2015: 509-512, for the specific case of pidgins and expanded pidgins). Once again, as has been repeatedly proven in Creole studies, Creoles turn out not to be 'simpler' than other natural languages (Michaelis, forthcoming).

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16 For example, *mwe* is just the short variant of *mwene* 'gentleman/lady' (Laman 1912).

17 136 languages with no politeness distinction, 49 with binary politeness distinction and 15 with multiple politeness distinctions.

It is not possible to predict how pronouns of address change during creolization, especially if we try to investigate this from the perspective of the superstrates. Many Creoles neutralize the politeness distinction displayed by the superstrate by selecting only the original V pronoun, as in Haitian Creole *ou* (< Fr. *vous*), whereas other Creoles maintain the distinction in the superstrate, such as French-based Guyanese Creole, which distinguishes between *to* (T) and *ou* (V) (notice that both languages also have closely related substrates, i.e., languages belonging to the Kwa group, which mostly lack the politeness distinction in second person pronouns). Finally, in some Creoles the distinction between pronouns of address is attested but one of them has actually emerged at a later stage of the Creole's internal history (see Maurer 1995: 61, Lorenzino 1998: 145 about Portuguese-based Angolar Creole).

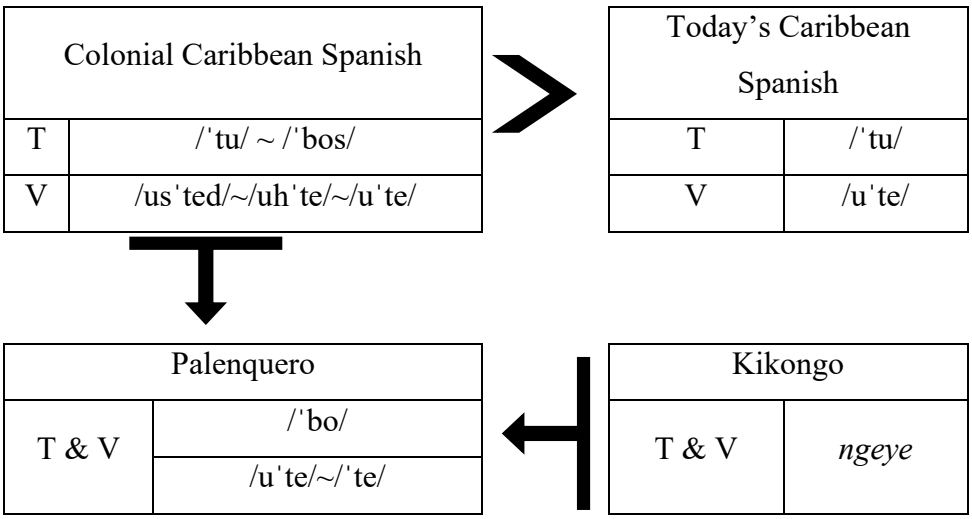
Ultimately, we cannot determine why PAL does not distinguish between T and V, but we know with certainty that Creolization alone did not impose the neutralization. It is likely that the action of the substrate and linguistic universals together account for the fact that *bo*/*uté* alternate freely in PAL, whereas the alternation *vos*/*usted* was pragmatically motivated in Spanish. Moreover, although we cannot know what the referential address system looked like immediately after Creole formation, PAL has surely undergone several linguistic changes since its formation in the 17th century, including contact-induced adjustments because of long-term bilingualism between Spanish and PAL.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has described and explained the grammatical relations and the conversational use of PAL pronouns of address. Section 2 identified the syntactic constraints that account for the alternation between the variants *o* and *bo*, most especially in a subject position. This seems to be connected with information structure: *o* is commonly used for topic continuity, whereas *bo* can be used in any context and is the only possible form in a focus position. This seems to be consistent with the fact that *bo* is the only clearly stressed form. More research is needed as regards the prosodic status of both pronouns. Section 3 determined the discursive role of *bo* and *uté*. Since their use does not depend primarily on semantic and sociolinguistic criteria, they are, to a great extent, mutually interchangeable and therefore 'free' to adopt a special role within the conversation. That is why they often signal a new conversational block. This property also goes along with *address switching* in other languages, as opposed to *address mixing*, where the shift from one pronoun to the other can be much faster and has no effect on conversation structure (Anipa 2001).

Special attention has been paid to Caribbean Spanish and to Kikongo as spoken at the time of PAL formation (i.e., at some point during the 17th century), in order to determine what the two main contributing languages looked like at the time. As Section 4 has shown, only the phonetic form of both pronouns is clearly related to Spanish, while it is the action of the substrate and/or the Creolization process itself that accounts for their syntactic distribution and their discursive role. Long-term Spanish-PAL bilingualism and linguistic changes in PAL may have contributed to shaping the use of *bo* and *uté*. The foregoing considerations about phonetic form and use of *bo* and *uté* are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Synoptic view of the main changes in PAL second person singular, free pronouns



This chapter has made a linguistic comparison between Caribbean Spanish as spoken during the colonial era and Palenquero Creole as spoken thirty years ago, that is, long before the beginning of the *ethnoeducation* programs. Further research should clarify the extent to which this description is different from what we find today in 'New Palenquero'.

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