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LENGUA PALENQUERA AND SPANISH: WHAT KEEPS THEM APART? WHICH
SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF LANGUAGE STRUCTURE INFLUENCE A BILINGUAL'S
PERCEPTION OF CODE-SWITCHING?

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ABSTRACT

Lengua Palenquera, which literally means 'Language from Palenque' in Spanish, is a creole language spoken in San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia that is thought to originate from *kikongo,* a Bantu language from Central Africa. Although Lengua Palenquera has a completely unique grammar structure, it shares most of its vocabulary with Spanish. Despite their linguistic similarities, the people of San Basilio de Palenque, referred to as *Palenqueros,* consider these languages to be completely distinct and refer to themselves as bilinguals. In an effort to bring greater understanding of Lengua Palenquera, this thesis presents two studies, conducted over the course of three years, in which the boundaries between Spanish and Lengua Palenquera were explored. The first study, based on historical accounts of social ostracization and subsequent language revitalization, hypothesized that older members of the community would identify the components of code-switched sentences more accurately than their younger counterparts. The study established that, in fact, younger members of the community who had participated in the language revitalization program complete the task more accurately than the older members of the community that had been speaking Lengua Palenquera since birth. After assessing the weaknesses of this pilot experiment and exploring the unforeseen variables that influenced its results, the second experiment was designed to better understand whether Spanish-Lengua Palenquera speakers assign a language to code-mixed sentences based on certain *quantities* of linguistic clues or on certain *types* of language structures presented in an utterance. Although the results from this second study were mixed, the quantity analysis indicated a preference for utterances with more Spanish, and the quality analysis suggested a preference for stimuli that switch at or after a preposition. In addition to the results and the implications of these studies for

the African diaspora, this thesis also concludes with personal notes and observations about

working outside of a laboratory setting in such a unique and historically charged community.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The history of San Basilio de Palenque

Although its linguistic trajectory is not very thoroughly documented, it is thought that San Basilio de Palenque was founded by slaves escaped from the port of Cartagena in the second half of the 17th century (Morton, 2006, pg. 4). Located 70 kilometers outside of Cartagena, this village is home to a mere 4,000 inhabitants, all of whom speak Spanish natively, and another language to varying degrees of fluency. The other language in Palenque is a creole language, which essentially means that it is the result of incomplete transmission of a language in a multilingual contact situation. This creole is called Lengua Palenquera, literally "Language from Palenque," and is shown to have some lexical items from a Central African Bantu language called *Kikongo.* As a result of decades of contact with Spanish, Lengua Palenquera has a largely Hispanic vocabulary, and speakers of these languages tend to code-switch between them with ease.

Although the linguistic trajectory of Lengua Palenquera is not very thoroughly documented, it is known that "all Palenqueros middle-aged and older acknowledge that prior to a decade or two ago, scorn and mockery accompanied use of (Lengua Palenquera) outside of the community," stigmatization that discouraged individuals from passing Lengua Palenquera on to their children as a native language for decades (Lipski, 2016, pg. 44). Palenque was first recognized by the world in the early 1970's when Palenque native Antonio Cervantes, nicknamed *Kid Pambelé*, became a world boxing champion. His stardom directed the spotlight to his home village, its culture, and, most importantly, to its Afro-Colombian language. The global attention received by anthropologists, linguists, and the media provided Palenqueros with the

first opportunity to express and publicize pride for their ethnic origins "en una oportunidad insólita dentro de la situación de discriminación socio-racial y lingüística que los palenqueros han experimentado durante tantos años dentro y fuera de las murallas de Cartagena de Indias" (in an extraordinary opportunity, given the situation of socio-racial and linguistic discrimination that Palenqueros had experienced for so many years inside and outside of the walls of Cartagena de Indias) (Schwegler, 2011, pg. 32).

Academic interest in Lengua Palenquera had already been sparked, however, by the year 1970, since renowned linguists and anthropologists like Derek Bickerton and Aquiles Escalante had begun investigating it in universities outside of Colombia (Schwegler, 2011, pg. 40). As a result of this scholarly interest, Carlos Patino Rosselli started a university program in 1994 dedicated to teaching the history of African and Afro-American cultures. This academic interest combined with laws passed in the 1990's protecting the rights of Afro-Hispanic communities reinforced the newfound respect for and interest in Lengua Palenquera and Palenquero culture. Since then, Lengua Palenquera has been recognized by UNESCO and by the Colombian government as a cultural masterpiece, a status that has attracted tourists and researchers from all around the world to this little village (Lipski, 2009, pg. 44).

"An ethno-education program" has also been instituted in Palenquero schools that provides younger individuals with Lengua language classes from preschool to high school (Lipski, 2009, pg. 45). From lectures to projects in and outside of the classroom, children and adolescents have been encouraged to be proud of their ethnic origins and to make an effort to study them. As a result of this language revitalization program, Palenque finds itself divided between older, Spanish-Lengua bilinguals who have been speaking both languages since birth, and younger, Spanish-speaking individuals who have learned Lengua recently and more

systematically. Since younger individuals, however, have received a language education that is the result of 'de-hispanizising' Lengua to make it more distinct from Spanish than ever before, it is difficult to compare the relative fluency of one age group to the other (Lipski, 2009, pg. 47).

1.2 Lengua Palenquera and Spanish

The borders between Spanish and Lengua, however, are blurred, both for the bilinguals that live in the community and for the linguists conducting research. Although differing in many grammatical structures, it is difficult to determine where one language ends and the other begins principally because the languages are *cognate,* they share many vocabulary words (Lipski, 2016, pg. 45). As a result, "instances of linguistic convergence with Lengua occur in Palenquero Spanish in camouflaged form," and thus largely go unidentified (Morton, 2005, pg. ix). For example, Lengua-Spanish bilinguals could use the word *mohana* ("river demon") in a Spanish phrase, which is the Lengua word that does not exist in Spanish, without recognizing that they are code-switching. Moreover, this can happen in reverse when they use words like *aqui* ("here") and *muchacha* ("little girl") in a Lengua sentence, wherein Spanish-Lengua bilinguals will identify these words as being exclusively Lengua, although they exist in Spanish as well.

With these lexical similarities in mind, it is important to emphasize that, even when the word itself remains the same in both languages, Lengua's syntactic structures will heavily indicate which language is being spoken. For example, the word for "house" in Spanish, *casa,* is the same as it is in Lengua. In this case, the listener would need to hear the rest of the phrase to identify whether *casa* ("house") were a Spanish or Lengua word in that context. This is where the key differences between these two languages manifest themselves.

The first, and possibly the most distinct Lengua characteristic is the lack of grammatical gender marking. In Spanish, nouns are either feminine or masculine, referred to with either the definite articles *la* or *el* (respectively feminine and masculine forms of the definite article "the"), ending with certain corresponding affixes, and followed by adjectives that agree in gender. For example, "the pretty house" would be *la casa bonita* in Spanish, which employs the feminine *la* and **-a** ending on *bonita.* In Lengua, however, gender agreement between nouns and adjectives does not exist. Using the same example, "the pretty house," which is *casa bonito* in Lengua, one can see that although the word *casa* remains the same, the adjective for "pretty" does not agree with it, since it has the ending **-o**. Note also that there are no definite articles in Lengua, so *la* ("the") in the above example was dropped in the Lengua translation. In the examples given below, the noun-adjective agreement, and lack thereof in Lengua Palenquera, is bolded.

1. Ma muje ri palenge a ta **jarocho.**

   Las mujeres de Palenque están **felices.**

   The women from Palenque are **happy.**

2. **Ma kusa ta** bueno.

   Las cosas están **buenas.**

   Things are **good**.

Other distinct differences between Lengua and Spanish are the ways in which plurality and negation are indicated. In Spanish, a noun becomes plural when it is referred to with a corresponding plural article, and *-as* or *-os* is added to the end of the noun. In Lengua, however, *ma* ("the" plural) is employed, which replaces *los/las* ("the" plural in Spanish)*,* leaving the noun itself unchanged. For example, "the houses" would be *las casas* in Spanish and *ma casa* in Lengua Palenquera.

Negation is another instance in which Spanish and Lengua Palenquera differ grammatically. In Spanish, negating a phrase is as simple as adding *no* before the verb.

3. No trabajaré.

    Not work-I (future first person suffix).

    I will not work.

To contrast this, Lengua speakers negate their phrases using *nu* after the verb.

4. í tan trabajá **nu**.

    I will work **not.**

    I will not work.

The above examples also incarnate two more differences between Lengua and Spanish. The first of which is the lack of person and number indicated by conjugated verbs in Lengua. In Spanish, the first person singular 'I' is indicated by the corresponding conjugation of the verb *trabajar* ("to work") in the future, *trabajaré* ("I will work"). On the other hand, *trabajá* ("work" in Lengua) does not provide such information through its morphology. The second difference exemplified above is the use of certain markers to indicate tense before the word in Lengua. In í *tan trabajá, tan* is the indicator of the future tense ("will"). There exist other such tense markers, such as *ta* (imperfect/progressive, i.e. "working"), *a* (past/imperfect, i.e. "worked"), and *asé* (habitual, "works") in Lengua Palenquera, which do not exist in Spanish (Lipski 2016, pg. 45).

Another characteristic of Lengua that is distinct from Spanish is the expression of possession after the noun in question. *Mi casa* ("my house") in Spanish would be *casa mi* ("house my") in Lengua. Although the possessive pronoun in this case is the same, they change according to person; *casa suto* ("our/their house"), *casa si* ("your house"), etc.

Theoretically, grammatical features of Lengua that are shared with Spanish could determine what structures 'trigger' Spanish-Lengua bilinguals and cause them to identify a code-switch and could help a speaker in identifying one language over another when the borders between the two are blurred. The goal of the studies described later in this thesis was to identify which specific elements, like certain grammar or lexical structures, cause a speaker to assign Lengua or Spanish as a base language in code-switching tasks.

1.3 Code-switching

Before exploring the present research studies, the relationship between language contact and code-switching must first be explained. The term *code-switching* is used to describe the alternation between two or more languages in the same expansive discourse. Although there is no question as to whether speakers of two or more languages are capable of changing languages, it is debated whether code-switching is done in a subconsciously systematic manner, and what effect this has on the bilingual brain and the languages that are being used. Carol Myers-Scotton broaches these topics in her book *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes,* citing that "most linguistic research is done on one language at a time," which leaves much mystery surrounding bilingualism and language contact (Meyers-Scotton, 2002, pg. 1).

For example, European colonization resulted in linguistic and cultural contact all over the world. Situations in which people who did not share language had to interact to conduct business or make deals gave way to the formation of *pidgins,* which are communication systems characterized by a simplified grammar structure, a contextually limited vocabulary, and a lack of native speakers (Schwegler, 2011, pg. VIII). *Creole languages* often come from pidgins, developing a relatively complex structure and a wider vocabulary (Schwegler, 2011, pg. XIV).

The processes of *pidginization* and *creolization* are highly influenced by the historical contexts in which they appear. For example, creole languages will often adopt the grammar structures of the socially inferior language, or the *substrate language,* and the lexical elements found in multiple *superstrate languages.*

Instances wherein two or more languages are spoken in a community could result in *code-switching*, or language switching, which is when multilingual speakers switch between languages fluidly throughout a discourse. Although code-switching may take place seemingly effortlessly, it is usually employed when the topic of conversation has changed, for example, or simply when one language better indicates "(the) varying degrees of speaker involvement in the message" (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, pg. 66). Although it is commonly thought that code-switching is as simple as inserting a foreign word into an otherwise monolingual sentence, code-switching can manifest itself in a variety of ways. For example, a bilingual can speak one language using idiomatic phrases directly translated from the other language. These are called *calques* and, although the speaker never 'switches' languages, this is a type of code-switch because they are directly translating from another language (Gardner-Chloros, 2009, pg. 67). Code-switching is a strong indication that languages in contact inevitably have long term effects on one another. Although some of the traces that languages leave on each other, such as a borrowed word, may seem obvious, Meyers-Scotton asserts that bilingual speakers "are not even aware of the overt evidence of contact" in some cases of code-switching (Meyer-Scotton, 2002, pg. 2). This observation raises many questions about the bilingual brain and how it organizes linguistic information. For example, if code-switching bilinguals recognize some 'overt' indications of linguistic borrowing, but not others, what causes them to make this distinction? Are there certain grammatical structures that cause them to favor one language over another?

Myers-Scotton answers this question by proposing that bilinguals assign one base language to their speech that "...determines the overall structure into which constituents from the other language are inserted…" (Meyers Scotton, 2002, pg. 303). Dubbed The Matrix Language Frame Theory, this principle describes an instance in which a code-switching bilingual will base the framework of their speech on one language over the other, effectively assigning *one* language to a code-switched sentence. This "abstract morphosyntactic frame of bilingual utterances" will almost serve as the source of the speaker's lexicon and grammar, in which second and third languages can participate (Myers-Scotton, 2002, pg. 8).

Keeping Muysken's criteria in mind, the research for this thesis used stimuli from each of his proposed categories. Therefore, they were characterized by the "insertion" of words from other languages, or the "alternation" into another language for longer stretches of speech, or the "congruent lexicalisation of a shared language structure with words from different languages" (Muysken, 2007, pg. 299). Congruent lexicalisation, wherein "the grammatical structure is shared by languages A and B, and words from both languages a and b are inserted more or less randomly," was the code-switching pattern most used when designing the stimuli, which were phrases mixed between Spanish and Lengua (Muysken, 2007, pg 304). These stimuli were later further divided according to directionality, or switches that changed from Spanish to Lengua, and from Lengua to Spanish. In the design process, the stimuli were divided according to three categorizations in order to gauge any trend in participant preference. The following figures feature examples of these stimuli with elements of Lengua Palenquera bolded:

5. *Alternation:* **Uto moná a kaí awé poqué** este patio de recreo es muy peligroso.

> **Another child (past tense 'a') fell yesterday** because this playground is very dangerous.

> **Another child fell yesterday because** this playground is very dangerous.

6. *Insertion:* **Tiela mi** es muy seco, no hay **apú**.

> **Land my (possession)** is very dry, no (pre-verbal negation) there is **water.**

> **My land** is very dry, there is no **water**.

7. *Congruent Lexicalization:* Mi hermano **tá arrecho** con nuestra madre pokke ele **a ablá** que no puede asistir la fiesta.

> My brother **is angry** with our mother **because she (past tense 'a') said** that he no (pre-verbal negation) could attend the party.

> My brother **is angry** with our mother **because she said** that he cannot go to the party.

Another set of categorizations were original to the research project, consisting of noun insertion, verb insertion, noun and verb insertion, and clause boundary code-switches.

8. *Noun insertion:* Vamos a preguntar **ma hende ri sentro ri salú** para ver si pueden comprarnos medicamentos para cuando **kuepo tá rigutao.**

> We go to ask **the people from the center of health** to see if they can buy-us (indirect object pronoun) medicine for when **body is broken.**
> We will ask **the health center officials** if they can buy us medication for when everybody is **sick**.

Verb insertion: **i tan ablá bo** algo porque mi madre me dice que no debo guardar secretos.

> **I will tell you** something because my mother me (preverbal indirect object pronoun) tells that no should-I keep secrets.

> **I am going to tell you** something because my mother tells me that I should not keep secrets.

Noun and verb insertion: **Mbulo mí a sabé** que voy a matarlo.

> **Donkey my (post-nominal possessive) (pre-verbal 'a' habitual) know** that I-go to kill-it.

> **My donkey knows** that I am going to kill it.

Clause boundary: **I a bae a Malagana a komblá keso** y traer ron para mis padres.

> **I ('a' habitual) go to Malagana to buy cheese** and bring rum for my parents.

> **I go to Malagana to buy cheese** and bring rum for my parents.

Chapter 2: Proposing a generational difference in code-switch identification task

2.1 Research Questions and Hypothesis

The goal of this research endeavor was to analyze how Lengua-Spanish bilinguals identify key elements that permit the differentiation between Lengua Palenquera and Spanish. This is to say, what kind of linguistics clues (and how many) are necessary for bilinguals in this community to acknowledge that a switch between languages has occurred.

In order to ascertain how speakers of Spanish and Lengua rely on to differentiate between two cognate languages, it is necessary to establish what linguistics elements 'trigger' certain identifications. Triggering elements are stimuli that provoke a speaker to switch languages in a code-switching environment. Although these triggering elements may be evident in languages that are not very similar, it is difficult to identify them in Spanish and Lengua because the lexicons are so similar. For example, the word *casa* could refer to a house in either Spanish or Lengua. A listener would either need to hear *casa mi* or *mi casa* to determine that Lengua or Spanish is being spoken, respectively. This is one example of the "key grammatical features found in no variety of Spanish…" that characterize Lengua and differentiate it from other creoles (Lipski, 2015, pg. 44). The goal of this first experiment was to identify which specific elements, like certain grammar or lexical structures, would cause a speaker to assign Lengua or Spanish as a base language in a code-switch recognition task.

Another question posed in this study concerns the type of linguistic cues that listeners need to identify the language being spoken. Throughout this experiment, various linguistic elements commonly associated with either Spanish or Lengua were used to see if they prompted listeners to identify and use one language over the other. These "triggers" included preverbal

linguistic particles, pre-nasalized stops, and *nu* negation commonly used in Lengua and not in Spanish. Control elements like the minimal pair between r and l (and sometimes d) were also used to gauge how aware listeners are of changes between Lengua and Spanish. In the following examples, these triggering elements are presented in both Lengua Palenquera and Spanish in order to highlight that they are notably different. For instance, the preverbal particles in Lengua Palenquera, or the words preceding the verb that indicate tense that are bolded in 9a., do not exist at all in Spanish. Instead, Spanish verbs indicate tense, mood, and aspect through the morphology of the verb itself, in the form of the suffix bolded in 9b.

9. Preverbal particles:

    a. Ele **tan** kume kanne.

    b. El/ella com**erá** carne.

    c. He/She will eat meat.

Another potential clue as to the presence of Lengua Palenquera in a phrase is a pre-nasalized stop, or a phonetic sequence of nasal and non-nasal consonants. Figure 10 shows such a stop consonant in the Palenquero word for 'donkey.'

10. Pre-nasalized stop:

    a. **Mb**ulo mi a kaí awe.

    b. Mi **burro** se cayó ayer.

    c. My **donkey** fell yesterday.

Finally, Lengua Palenquera has clause-final negation, or negation words that follow what is being negated. In example 11, the negation word is bolded in a, b, c to show that they come before the verb in Spanish and English, but after the verb in Lengua Palenquera.

11. Clause-final negation:

a. Mbulo mi a kaí awé **nu**.

b. Mi burro **no** se cayó ayer.

c. My donkey did **not** fall yesterday.

Originally, it was hypothesized that older Palenquero individuals, who are fluent in Lengua Palenquera and in Spanish, would be more capable of registering code-switches and correctly identifying where the utterances switched languages, whereas younger individuals would be overly cautious and would identify more sentences as Lengua than Spanish in a language recognition task. It was also theorized that younger individuals would correctly identify code-switches that involved more words emblematic to Lengua Palenquera. These would include any vocabulary items that are completely distinct from Spanish and that are commonly used while representing Palenquero culture e.g. *changaína* ("girl"), or *kombilesa* ("friend"). For the sake of this experiment, participants between 16 and 25 years were considered 'younger,' and individuals of 26 years and older were considered 'adults.'

2.2 Experiment and Coding Methodology

Before beginning the experiment, participants completed an oral survey in which they were asked to assess their level of fluency in Spanish and in Lengua Palenquera, describe the language environment in the home, and explain their vocation and level of education.

Participants were then told that they would be listening to code-switched sentences, and that they were expected to first repeat the phrase exactly as they had heard it, and subsequently to identify where they believe the code-switch to have occurred, including which specific elements caused them to believe so. Subsequently, they listened to 65 code-switched sentences between Spanish and Lengua. Their responses were recorded using a hand-held voice recorder, and they

were allowed to hear the stimuli twice if they so chose to. These responses effectively gauged

each participant's working memory capacity, ability to self correct, and which elements

prompted their identification of Spanish and Lengua Palenquera.

The initial rubric for 'correct' code-switch identifications consisted of the following:

identification only, partial identification, correct identification, mistaken identification, and

missed. In order to best showcase what these categories mean, and which participant responses

were placed in them, below are examples of different participant responses to the same stimulus.

12. El perro es **nimáo ri posá y asé dekansá** en la casa por la noche.

The dog is a **housepet** and **he rests** in the house during the night.

Identification only: "Sí, hubo un cambio de código."

"Yes, there was a code-switch (in this sentence)."

Although this participant did not specify where or why they perceived a code-switch in

the phrase, their recognition of a language change was still noted, as it could be a clue as to how

systematically code-switching occurs between Spanish and Lengua Palenquera.

13. *Partial identification:* "'El perro' está en español y el resto de la frase en Lengua
     Palenquera."

"'The dog' is in Spanish and the rest of the phrase is in Lengua
Palenquera."

Evidently, this participant was a little more specific in picking out one word that he/she

recognized to be in Spanish. These responses were, however, thought to be the result of

inattentiveness, fatigue, or of simply having forgotten the rest of a phrase that was too long.

14. *Correct identification*: "El comienzo de la frase donde dice 'el perro es' está en
     español, y después cuando dice 'nimáo mi ri posá y ase dekansá' está hablando
     nuestra Lengua Palenquera. Al final, la frase culmina en español cuando dice 'en la
     casa por la noche.'"

> "The beginning of the phrase where he says 'the dog is' is in Spanish, and then after when he says 'my housepet and he rests in the house' he's speaking our Lengua Palenquera. At the end, the phrase culminates in Spanish when he says 'in the house at night.'"

This participant, a young woman who has studied in the language revitalization program, gave a detailed answer, carefully picking apart the different sections of the sentence and correctly identifying the two places in which the phrase switched languages.

15. *Mistaken identification:* "Cuando dice 'pelo ele a ta dekansá en la casa po' la noche' está hablando la Lengua Palenquera."

> "When he says that 'his dog rests in the house at night' he is speaking Lengua Palenquera."

As it can be seen in the response, this participant mistakenly identified parts of the phrase that were in Spanish as Lengua Palenquera. For example, the Spanish word for dog, 'perro,' was mistaken to be the Lengua word, 'pelo.' These responses are still interesting because they provided an example of spontaneous translation, and possibly even of subliminal correction of a phrase they perceived to be unnatural.

16. *Missed:* "No hay ningún cambio en esa frase."

> "There is no change in the that phrase."

Finally, a response was categorized as 'missed' if the participant did not perceive any switch to have occurred within the sentence. The stimuli where this seemed to be a common response were flagged as code-switches too subtle to be parsed apart.

These criteria helped to nuance the idea of a 'correct' answer, seeing as this can be a relative concept in a free response task. After having coded participant responses according to these criteria, the stimuli were then divided according to several categorizations. The first set

were original, consisting of Noun insertion, Verb insertion, Noun and Verb insertion, and Clause Boundary code-switches. The second set of categorizations were Muysken's: Alternation, Insertion, and Congruent Lexicalization. All of these stimuli were also organized for directionality, so they were separated between switches that changed from Spanish to Lengua, and vice versa.

Each participant was evaluated according to a point system, earning a half point with every partially identified stimulus (i.e. picking out one word as being Lengua Palenquera in a series of them), and a full point for every correctly identified stimulus (i.e. carefully and correctly identifying code-mixed segments). In cases of 'Mistaken Identification,' a participant may have perceived code-switch erroneously, in which case a note was taken, but no point was earned. No points were earned for invalid answers under the categorizations 'Identification only,' in which the participant only recognized the presence of the code-switch without qualifying their answer, and 'Missed Identifications,' in which the participant denied any presence of a code-switch. A percentage 'score' was then calculated for every individual according to the number of points earned divided by total possible points and multiplied by 100.

2.3 Results

Initially, participant scores were divided into the 'young' and 'adult' subgroups without taking into account the stimuli subtypes listed above. In this first analysis, no distinct pattern with a correlation to age was found. Using R, the data plots demonstrated in Figure 1 below indicate that, although 'young' individuals (indicated in blue) seemed to have a higher average percentage score than their older counterparts (indicated in pink), this difference was insignificant, and responses seemed to be consistent across the age groups.

Figure 1: "Percentage of correctly identified code-switches by participant type"
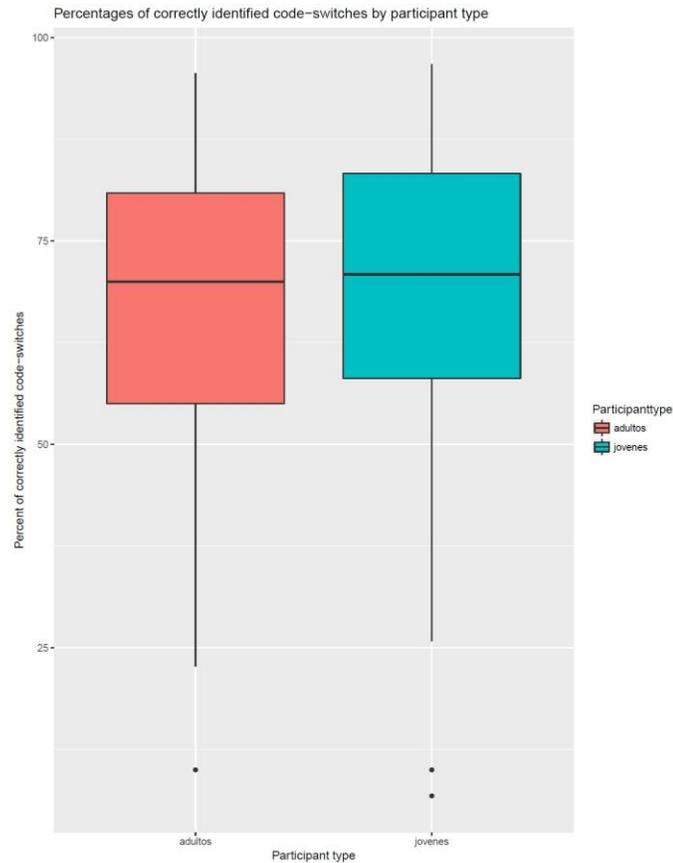
Since no initial trend correlated to age was found, thus began the evaluation of stimuli

and the search for a pattern according to preference for certain stimuli types over others.

Primarily, no trend was detected in the directionality of the code-switched utterances. As can be

seen in figure 2 below, participants were not consistently more or less accurate with changes

from Lengua Palenquera to Spanish (shown in blue, denoted 'p to sp'), nor from Spanish to

Lengua Palenquera (shown in orange, denoted 'sp to p'). They were, however, most accurate in

identifying language changes when they occurred at a clause boundary and in the case of verb

insertion. It is important to note that both clause boundary and verb insertion utterances have the

highest quantity of condensed Lengua Palenquera grammar particles (e.g. tense markers) or the

longest segments of monolingual speech, suggesting that listeners rely most on a large quantity

of linguistic cues, rather than the presence of certain verbs and nouns scattered throughout.

Figure 2: "Average Correct Scores according to initial stimuli categorizations"
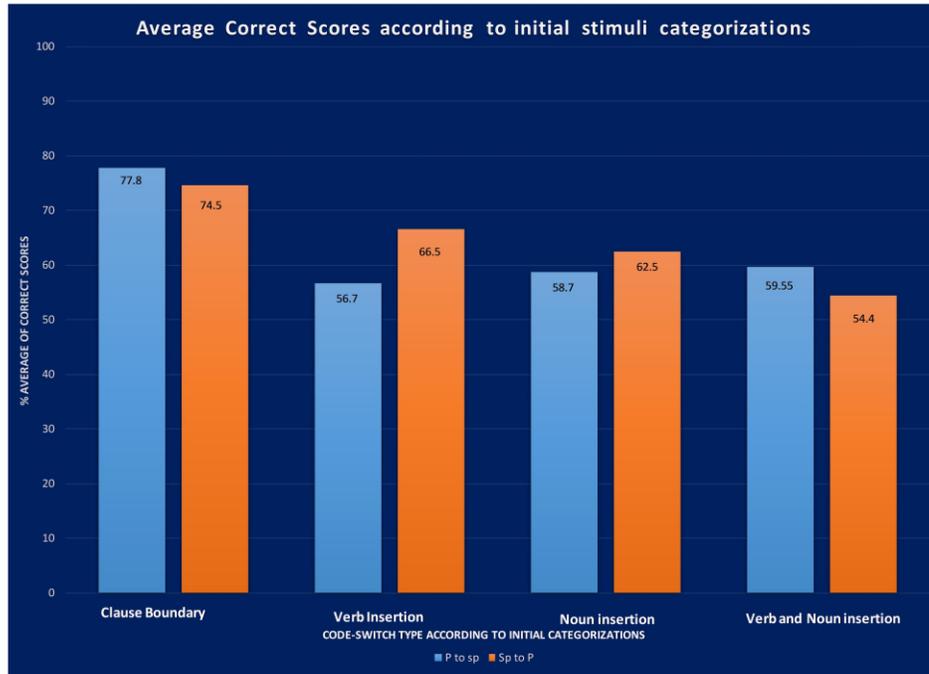
Although it was originally hypothesized that participant performance corresponding to

stimuli categorized as Clause Boundary switches would be most akin to those categorized as

Alternation according to Muysken, the data plotted in figure 3 (below) suggests that participants

consistently correctly identified Congruent Lexicalization utterances throughout the experiment

and across age groups. This observation, however, does support the idea that participants were

listening not for certain grammar structures or vocabulary words, but for a longer segment of

Lengua speech with multiple linguistic cues. Once again, directionality did not seem to play a

large role in the participants' ability to accurately identify code-switches.

Figure 3: "Average Correct Scores according to Muysken's categorizations"
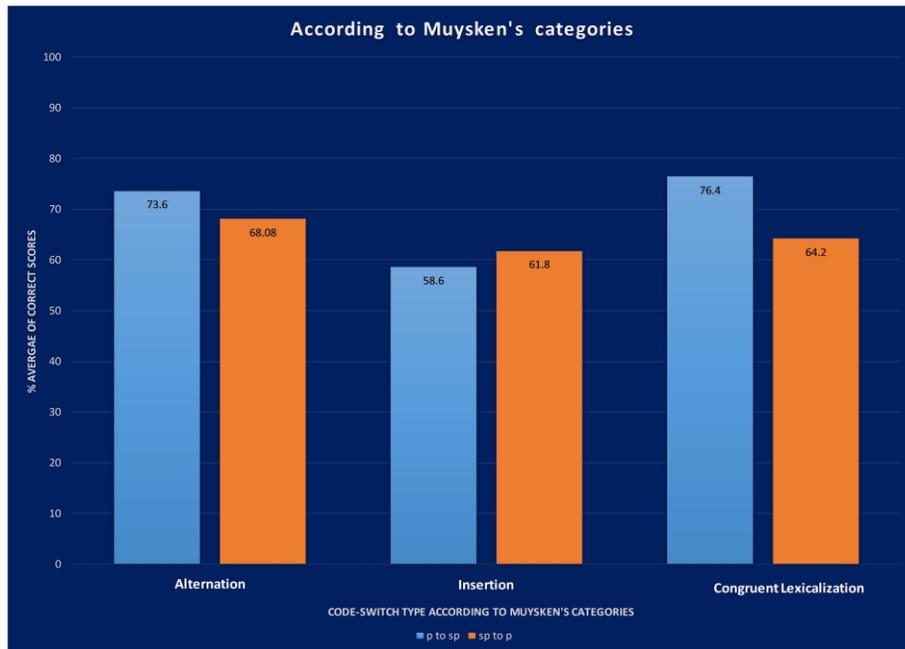
The final round of analysis involved the sociolinguistic data collected through the pre-experiment interviews, during which participants answered questions about their experiences speaking Lengua Palenquera and Spanish in and out of the home, their vocational endeavors, and their family life. With the analysis of this sociolinguistic data came an interesting discovery: participants with the highest scores identifying on the Clause Boundary criteria were all either 'cultural entrepreneurs' for Lengua Palenquera, individuals with a college education, experienced participants in linguistic research from previous years, or some combination of these traits. Since participants most consistently identified the stimuli that presented them with the most numerous and salient cues of Lengua Palenquera, namely either heavily Congruently Lexicalized code-switches, or switches at a Clause Boundary, it is suggested that these individuals rely on the quantity of linguistic cues present to distinguish between these two languages.

2.4 Discussion

      The characteristics of the top scorers mentioned above indicate that this experiment was an evaluation of metalinguistic awareness rather than relative fluency and keen perception of Lengua Palenquera. The high scorers, who were of varying chronological ages, had all been exposed to some level of language training, whether that be in school or through exposure to linguistic experiments. In addition to this, most of these people are involved in promoting Lengua as a cultural gem, so they have both the 'study skills' and the objective knowledge of Lengua Palenquera to easily distinguish it more easily from Spanish. On the other hand, the analysis of the individuals who did poorly on this task indicates that certain 'adult' Palenqueros who have been speaking Lengua from childhood, and are very fluent, may be at a disadvantage in this task because they were not necessarily involved in the recent language revitalization efforts that have renovated Lengua to be a very distinct language. Instead, they may have grown up speaking varieties that have greater similarity with Spanish which, in turn, would have negatively affected their performance on this task.

      Another unforeseen contributor to this metalinguistic awareness was that certain individuals had participated in many linguistic experiments in the past. This suggests that their performance was not influenced by age, nor by particular fluency in Lengua, but principally because they were experienced in completing tasks like this.

      As was mentioned before, it has become evident that this experiment is an indirect measure of language awareness rather than an accurate assessment of language fluency and bilingual perception. If the experimental techniques used during this excursion were to be revised, they would need to focus on a certain aspects of the methodology and research. The participant pool, for example, should have been larger and should have included a wider, more balanced range of chronological ages to account for as many levels of fluency and education in

Lengua Palenquera as possible. A methodological revision could have also included a systematized measurement of reaction time in order to better gauge *spontaneous* code-switch identifications that are more indicative of psycholinguistic perception in real time.

Finally, a revised study would call for a more in-depth look at the generational relationships in this community, and the historical variables that have contributed to differences in Lengua fluency. More specifically, this would have to do with assessing not *two* generations, but several, starting with much older individuals who spoke Lengua Palenquera in an oppressive social atmosphere, and then another age group of individuals raised with little to no exposure to Lengua Palenquera due to the social stigmatization and discouragement, and culminating in the recent generations who are the first to learn Lengua Palenquera in a classroom setting with a written form. Perhaps these sociolinguistic variables would have nuanced the analysis of generational differences and shown a correlation between age and the ability to distinguish Lengua Palenquera from Spanish.

The immediate benefit of interpreting the data from this experiment is that it provides a tangible measure of how well the language revitalization efforts in Palenque are teaching younger individuals. Since the palenqueros that have taught and been taught Lengua Palenquera seem to have a higher metalinguistic awareness of the language, the results from this pilot study serve to validate the efforts of linguists and teachers to keep this creole language alive.

Chapter 3: How do Lengua-Spanish bilinguals assign a language to a code-switched utterance?

3.1 Research Questions and Hypothesis

Similar to the first experiment, the second study was also an effort to identify which key linguistic structures cue listeners in as to which language they are hearing. Keeping in mind the factors that affected the results of the pilot experiment, the guiding research question of this study was the following: do Spanish-Lengua Palenquera bilinguals rely on the mere density of linguistic clues in an utterance, or on the presence of certain linguistic structures to register a code-switch between cognate languages? In other words, this study sought to find out whether listeners are triggered by the *quantity* or the *quality* of linguistic clues to distinguish between Spanish and Lengua Palenquera, and to what extent it is acceptable to 'mix' these two languages in certain utterances. By analyzing participant responses in a two-alternative forced choice acceptability judgement task, any systematic pattern of identification or preference for certain code-switched phrases could shed light on how bilinguals cognitively differentiate cognate languages.

During the two-alternative forced choice acceptability judgement task, participants were presented with two code-switched utterances at a time. Stimuli were written in two blocks of four variations. In other words, every sentence had eight variations, in which the code-switched occurred in different places. Four of these permutations changed from Spanish to Lengua Palenquera, which counterbalanced the other four that changed from Lengua Palenquera to Spanish. Every test stimulus that participants heard were pairs taken randomly from a block with the same language directionality. Therefore, for each block of four test sentences, there were a total of six permutations. As can be seen in examples 17 and 18 below, these sentences were either identical or very similar in semantic content and in syntactic structure, the only difference

between them being where the code-switch occurred within the sentence. The participants were told to select the phrase that seemed most *natural* to them. It is important to note that participants were not asked to select the phrase that seemed most *grammatical*, simply which one they could imagine being spontaneously produced. This task was chosen for the experiment because it can provide a glimpse into the internal grammatical representations of bilinguals in this community, since it is specifically designed to study participant reactions to utterances that may not spontaneously occur, or that may not be very common. The choices that participants make would be known as paired judgements, which are more indicative of subliminal linguistic perception than a simple judgement task in which participants would have to say 'Yes' or 'No' to one phrase at a time (Stadthagen-Gonzalez, 2017, pg. 5).

Originally, it was hypothesized that individuals would be more likely to choose sentences with rich Lengua lexical item content. In this case, the "richness" of Lengua lexical items were defined as vocabulary words that are not used in Spanish in any given context, such as *kombilesa* (friend, "amigo"), or *changaina* (girl, "chica"). It was also supposed that Lengua Palenquera speakers would favor phrases with higher quantities of linguistic clues rather than certain grammar structures in a grammaticality judgment task.

For the two-alternative forced choice task, the stimuli were code-switched between Spanish and Lengua in such a way that responses would indicate whether listeners favored specific grammar structures or a high quantity of emblematic keywords to identify the language of an utterance.

The stimuli were constructed in blocks of eight sentences that were extremely similar in semantic content and in basic syntactic structure. For the purposes of both the "quantity" and "quality" analyses, stimuli were written in sets of eight sentences, four of which would switch

from Spanish to Lengua Palenquera, and four from Lengua Palenquera to Spanish. The directionality of the sentence was manipulated to discern whether participants showed consistent preference for sentences that began or ended in one language over another. Such a pattern could suggest, for example, that individuals were not basing acceptability judgements of code-switches on the linguistic content of the sentence but were perhaps not paying attention or selecting at random.

For the quantity analysis, categories were established based on how many words belonging uniquely to one language were present within a sentence. In other words, lexical items that could be either Spanish or Lengua Palenquera were considered ambiguous and mostly avoided. For example, the following sentences, which have the elements of Lengua Palenquera bolded, demonstrate how a change in a phrase would move within a subgroup.

17. "People who come to the village know that there are snakes in the river"

    A. La gente que viene al pueblo sabe que **a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

       The people that come to (the) village know that **(there) are snakes in (the) river.**

    B. La gente que viene al pueblo **a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

       The people that come to (the) village **know that (there) are snakes in (the) river.**

    C. La gente que viene **pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

       The people that come **to (the) village know that (there) are snakes in (the) river.**

    D. La gente **ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

       The people **that come to (the) village know that (there) are snakes in (the) river.**

In the course of the analysis, the above categories were labeled "C" because they begin in what is known as "Castellano," or 'Castilian' Spanish in Colombia, and end in Lengua

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Palenquera. Below is the accompanying set of four permutations labeled "P" because they start in Lengua Palenquera, with varying amounts of Spanish.

18. "P"

A. **Ma jende ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené** serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to (the) village know that (there) are snakes in the river.

B. **Ma jende ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé** que hay serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to (the) village know that there are snakes in the river.

C. **Ma jende ke mini** al pueblo sabe que hay serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to the village know that there are snakes in the river.

E**. Ma jende** que viene al pueblo sabe que hay serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to the village know that there are snakes in the river.

For the "quality" analysis, the same stimuli were used and classified into different categories according to the grammatical place in which the switch would occur in the sentence. More specifically, category A included all stimuli in which the code-switch occurred between the subject and the predicate. In category B stimuli the languages switched at a subordinate clause boundary. Category C was reserved for all switches before a preposition or between a preposition and its object. Finally, stimuli in category D demonstrated a language change between verb and object, irrespective of being in a main or subordinate clause. Below are the same phrases that were previously shown, recategorized according to these criteria.

19. "C"

A. La gente **ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

The people **that come to (the) village know that (there) are snakes in (the) river.**

B. La gente que viene al pueblo sabe que **a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

The people that come to (the) village know that **(there) are snakes in (the) river.**

C. La gente que viene **pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

The people that come **to (the) village know that (there) are snakes in (the) river.**

D. La gente que viene al pueblo **a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**

The people that come to (the) village **know that (there) are snakes in (the) river.**

"P"

A. **Ma jende** que viene al pueblo sabe que hay serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to the village know that there are snakes in the river.

B. **Ma jende ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé** que hay serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to (the) village know that there are snakes in the river.

C. **Ma jende ke mini** al pueblo sabe que hay serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to the village know that there are snakes in the river.

D. **Ma jende ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené** serpientes en el arroyo.

The people that come to (the) village know that (there) are snakes in the river.

Seventeen sets of eight stimuli were created for both the purposes of the quality and the

quantity analysis, and each were separated into A, B, C, and D categories as shown above.

3.2 Experiment and Coding Methodology

During the experiment, participants listened to 66 trials of spoken utterances, each round

presenting two of the six permutations of a given language-specific block. This experiment was

designed using the Psychology Experiment Building Language (PEBL), an open-source software

system that controls the presentation of the stimulus permutations and the recording of data

(Mueller, 2013, pg. 250). The program was designed to present one utterance, then the second a

few second afterwards. Participants listened using headphones, and they were asked to indicate which sentences they preferred by pushing one of two buttons on a keyboard.

Responses were analyzed using Thurstone's Law of Comparative Judgement, in which each option is juxtaposed to one another in terms of how often they were chosen by participants in any given paired trial. After completing the steps explained below, the Thurstone's values for each stimuli permutation were calculated. These numbers represent a relative average frequency with which they were selected compared to the other stimuli. In other words, these numbers allow for comparison between the four permutations of each block, at which point the acceptability of one stimuli type relative to another can be ranked. Therefore, the value of lowest acceptability would be zero. This does not necessarily mean that no participants preferred a given stimuli, simply that that utterance received the lowest ranking out of the whole ensemble (Stadthagen-Gonzalez, 2017, pg. 18).

Calculating Thurstone's values is a six-step process. To begin, stimuli were divided into categories A, B, C, and D, and the number of times each option was chosen in contrast with another was determined by using a table like Table 1 pictured below. In the row across the top are "winning" stimuli that received one point for every time they were chosen over the stimuli in the "losing" column. Each table is labeled either "C" to indicate that the stimuli changed from Spanish to Lengua Palenquera, or "P" for vice versa. For the purpose of this explanation, the raw tally of participant responses for the quantity analysis are shown below.

Table 1: Raw tally of participant preferences between given stimuli permutation pairs

"C"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	223	262	210
B	84	X	252	214
C	48	62	X	232
D	48	52	73	X

"P"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	143	170	160
B	175	X	164	148
C	141	156	X	134
D	111	114	82	X

Next, the proportion of times each category "won" over another was calculated by dividing the numbers above by the total number of data points. Since 51 participants made 66 decisions, each number was divided by 3,366.

Table 2: Proportion of times each category "won" over another

"C"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	.066251	.077837	.062389
B	.024955	X	.074866	.063577
C	.01426	.018419	X	.068925
D	.01426	.015449	.021687	X

"P"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	.042484	.050505	.047534
B	.05199	X	.048723	.043969
C	.041889	.046346	X	.03981
D	.032977	.033868	.024361	X

Each of these entries were then transformed into Z scores in Excel using the formula "Inverse of

the standard normal cumulative distribution" (NORM.S.INV).[1]

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[1] Z-scores being defined as a multiple of popular standard deviation, a value that indicates how far away a certain score is from the mean (average) of the data collected. This value can be either positive or negative, depending on whether the given score is above or below the average (Sedgwick, 2014, pg. 2).

Table 3: Standard deviation of proportions exhibited above

"C"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	-1.50431	-1.41977	-1.53503
B	-1.96073	X	-1.44048	-1.52542
C	-2.19005	-2.08754	X	-1.48385
D	-2.19005	-2.15839	-2.02008	X

"P"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	-1.72256	-1.63998	-1.66925
B	-1.62585	X	-1.65737	-1.70638
C	-1.72917	-1.68137	X	-1.7529
D	-1.83874	-1.82676	-1.97101	X

Each of these Z scores were then multiplied by the square root of two.

Table 4: Standard deviations multiplied by the square root of two

"C"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	-2.12742	-2.00786	-2.17086
B	-2.77289	X	-2.03714	-2.15727
C	-3.0972	-2.95223	X	-2.09848
D	-3.0972	-3.05243	-2.85683	X

"P"	winners			
losers	A	B	C	D
A	X	-2.43607	-2.31928	-2.36067
B	-2.2993	X	-2.34387	-2.41318
C	-2.44541	-2.37781	X	-2.47897
D	-2.60037	-2.58343	-2.78743	X

The average of each row in the matrices were taken.

Table 5: Averages for each row

"C"	Average
A	-2.10204
B	-2.95463
C	-2.71597
D	-3.00215

"P"	average
A	-2.37201
B	-2.35212
C	-2.43407
D	-2.65708

Finally, a linear transformation was applied to make these numbers positive.

Table 6: Positive averages for each row

"C"	average
A	.900109
B	.047524
C	.286182
D	0

"P"	average
A	.285068
B	.304957
C	.22301
D	0

The resulting numbers are the Thurstone's scores for each of the stimuli. Within these matrices, "unacceptability" would have a numerical value of zero and would therefore. As was

explained earlier in this section, the lowest score is made zero to represent relative unacceptability for that code-switch type, not to indicate that no participants chose that option. Two of the above analyses were conducted, one for "quality" of linguistic cues, and another for "quantity." The results for both analyses will be discussed in the next sections.

3.3 Results

In the quantity analysis, participants preferred category A (=0.9) in sentences that started in Spanish. These sentences would have had the highest content of Spanish, with a language switch towards the end of the phrase. Second to category A, participants preferred C (=0.28), and then B (=0.04).

Considering the "P" divisions, it seems that category B was most preferred (=0.30), although the difference with category A (=0.285) may be considered insignificant. Finally, category C (=0.22) was lower than both A and B.

In both the "C" and "P" categories above, the category marked "D" was the lowest rank. This score suggests that participants showed very little or no preference for sentences with language changes in the beginning of the utterance, no matter the directionality of the switch.

The Thurstone's scores in the "quality" analysis were more varied. In switches from Spanish to Lengua Palenquera, participants tended towards category A (=1.171), which was classified as a switch between a subject and a predicate. The second highest score was earned by category B (=0.531), which were switches at a subordinate clause boundary. Finally, switches between verbs and their objects in category D (=0.081) were marked third in the ranking. The switches at or after a prepositional phrase in category C received a score of zero.

For code-switches from Lengua Palenquera to Spanish, category B (=1.523) was favored before category C (=1.10). Category A (=0.573) was thus ranked third, and category D received a zero.

3.4 Discussion

To review, the hypothesis for this experiment were that participants would prefer sentences with higher "quantities" of linguistic clues that are unique to either Lengua Palenquera or Spanish. In order to interpret the results presented in the last section, this analysis will investigate a variety of explanations for participant responses to each stimulus.

For the stimuli that switched from Spanish to Lengua Palenquera in the quantity analysis, category A was most preferred by participants. To reiterate, stimuli in this category presented a sentence in Spanish, with a language switch in the beginning or towards the middle of the phrase. The directionality of the language switch did not affect this preference, seeing as the most preferred categories were B and A respectively, with only a difference of .02 between the two, in stimuli that switched from Lengua Palenquera to Spanish.

In the quantity analysis, category D received the lowest score, regardless of the direction of the language change. There are several possible explanations for this. First, this could suggest that the stimuli contained too much material in one language to plausibly switch to another, and thus the code-switch seemed dissonant and unnatural. It could also be that these sentences were perceived to be purely Spanish or purely Lengua Palenquera. Therefore, if no language change was detected, participants were less likely to accept these phrases, possibly because they were listening for a code-switch. Given that there were 66 very similar pairs, participant fatigue is a factor that may have affected the results.

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Since category D was deemed 'ungrammatical,' or unacceptable in this case, according to the Thurstone's scores, the quantity analysis suggests that the hypothesis was not supported. According to the original speculations, participants should have preferred sentences with the highest quantities of either Lengua Palenquera or Spanish linguistic structures, which would have been category D. It seems, however, that participants prefer code-switched sentences that are more balanced in the amount of material from each language.

Since Lengua Palenquera distinguishes itself most from Spanish through certain lexical items and distinct grammar structures, it was also hypothesized that the "quality" stimuli with the highest proportion of uniquely Lengua Palenquera elements would be preferred by participants. Therefore, it would make sense that stimuli that started in Lengua Palenquera, preferably those with a switch between subject and predicate (category A) and between verb and object (category D) would be chosen most often, since these would be the most likely to present unique nouns and verbs in Lengua Palenquera.

Contrary to the hypothesis, no distinct trend in directionality was found. For example, amongst sentences that started in Spanish and ended in Lengua Palenquera, category C was deemed less acceptable, whereas category D received the lowest score in the other direction. In the stimuli that started in Spanish and ended in Lengua Palenquera, category A was preferred, which could suggest that inserting Spanish nouns into otherwise Lengua Palenquera sentences is acceptable. Although this does not confirm the proposed hypotheses, they propose a further affirmation of the cognate nature of these two languages, and of the ease with which Lengua-Spanish bilinguals use these vocabularies interchangeably.

Among stimuli that switched from Lengua Palenquera to Spanish, switches before or after a preposition (category C) were preferred, a trend that was not foreseen, but which could be

explained by the unique forms of Lengua Palenquera prepositions such as *pandi* (to/toward) or *ri* (from).

Although the results yielded in this experiment do not clearly confirm nor disconfirm the proposed hypotheses, it is still important to explore a variety of potential causes for the preference trends that were found. Despite uncontrollable factors that may have affected participants judgement, such as fatigue or inattentiveness, their acceptability judgements can still provide clues as to how bilinguals systematically mix language structures in code-switched sentences and, more specifically, how they differentiate between cognate languages.

Chapter 4: Field experience and Linguistic Ecology

If this thesis is going to give an authentic impression of San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia, it is necessary to approach it from more than the psycholinguistic perspective. Thus far, it has been established that Lengua Palenquera is one of the most uniquely preserved Spanish creoles in the world, a language that comes dangerously close to being forgotten. It is equally important, however, to talk about the socio-cultural dynamics of this community from a personal perspective, and the role of these variables in keeping Lengua Palenquera alive. Therefore, I will be using my observations and experiences in the field in order to describe the context in which Lengua Palenquera exists and evolves today, a socio-cultural backdrop that could also be referred to as the *linguistic ecology* of this language.

For the purpose of this chapter, linguistic ecology will be considered as "a human rights perspective on language ecology" (Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson, 2013, pg. 2). Referring to the *context* or the *environment* in which a language is used, within the language ecosystem "speakers of… majority languages and dominant languages have access to most language-related human rights," whereas those who speak a substrate language are more likely to be dominated or ostracized (pg. 4). In this context, it is suggested that speakers of a lesser-known language can claim *language rights* in two ways; first, *expressively,* in which speakers of the language revive "the expressive interest in language as a marker of identity," and second, *instrumentally,* in which the language is used for "the meaningful participation in public institutions and democratic process, and (for) the enjoyment of social and economic opportunities that require linguistic skills" (pg. 4).

As it was established in Chapter One of this thesis, the Palenquero people suffered social marginalization and ridicule for many years that discouraged them from speaking and passing on

Lengua Palenquera to the next generation. This historical trajectory makes them a perfectly eligible example for the model proposed by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, and I would like to explore the ways in which the Palenquero people are claiming the rights to their language and their heritage in everyday life. This chapter is therefore dedicated to the members of the San Basilio de Palenque community, whom I thank for letting me partake in their lives and learn from their contagious enthusiasm for both new and traditional experiences.

During both of my stays in Palenque, my research team (consisting of my professor, Dr. John Lipski, and three other researchers) and I stayed with a host family, two free-range house turtles, a hungry cat, and an itchy dog named *Fede* (short for Federico). Living here, I was afforded the opportunity to see how our host-mother and her sons interacted with the neighbors who came and went, either to participate in our research or just to chat in a rapid-fire blend of Spanish and Lengua Palenquera.

Amongst many interesting social tendencies that I observed, I was particularly impressed by the level of intimacy that binds this 4,000-member community together. This closeness was always evident as we walked through the streets of the town, seeing as almost every inhabitant of every house would come out onto their porch to see who passed, to wave, and to call out *¿Kumo bo a tá?* ("How are you?"). This affection only grew stronger in times of hardship, which unfortunately befell certain individuals during my time there. Most notably, during my first excursion in 2017, an older member of the community sadly passed away. We were immediately made aware of this by a young boy (perhaps a relative of the deceased, or perhaps not) who ran barefoot to every house to share the bad news. The loud cries of our neighbors, which had started early that morning and lasted all day, were soon joined by a low hum, almost just a buzz in the background at first, that grew into a chorus of funeral hymns sung in Lengua Palenquera by the

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relatives, neighbors, and strangers who had gathered outside of the house across the street. As these people gathered and stayed, standing and singing, throughout the night, I was deeply moved by the manifestation of respect and communal support that I was witnessing. At first, when I was invited to pay my respects, I felt fear that I would seem disrespectful, that I would be seen as an outsider intruding on an intimate moment. It quickly became apparent, however, that death, much like birth, is seen as a confounding, but necessary change, one in which the entire community, including visitors, participates in.

What I witnessed is could be a remnant of *Lumbalú,* a funeral ritual with Western African origins in which "family friends engage in a ritual of singing and dancing around the dead body followed by her/his burial and nine days and nights of mourning" (Camargo and Lawo-Sukam, 2015, pg. 27). Although I did not bear witness to the nine subsequent days, this experience allowed me to observe the use of Lengua Palenquera in a traditional, collective celebration of life, death, and, perhaps above all, heritage. Without practice and without plans, all these individuals came together and sang African eulogies that they have heard and cherished for their whole lives, which is perhaps the most evident way in which Palenqueros reclaim their language rights *expressively* to celebrate their origins and their history.

Music is used in other contexts to revive the collective Afro-Hispanic identity of San Basilio de Palenque because "it is intrinsically linked to every cultural practice and celebration in the community… combining African, Caribbean, and indigenous rhythms" (Camargo y Lawo-Sukam, 2015, pg. 4). On another night, a fellow researcher and I were invited to see a practice session of the music group *Kombilesa mi* ("my friends")*,* which has gained worldwide notoriety for its unique take on the rap genre that blends Spanish and Lengua Palenquera with high-energy drumbeats and powerful singing voices. In this case as well, I was was taken aback by the sheer

passion with which these young musicians sang about striving for freedom, fostering love, and about the eternal return to Africa.

Although I could recount many more stories about how enthusiastically Palenqueros celebrate their origins and their collective memories, an enthusiasm that could be best summarized by a photo of the figure of San Basilio, the town's patron saint, wearing the championship boxing medals of *Kid Pambelé,* I will conclude that the Palenqueros have thoroughly recovered their *expressive* language rights, as they are defined in the aforementioned article. This, however, leaves the question as to whether they have gained their *instrumental* language rights to Lengua Palenquera. In other words, has Lengua Palenquera gained enough recognition and respect to be used to attract more government interest, and therefore more socioeconomic stability for the Palenqueros? This question will be explored in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 5: Relevance to global African diaspora

After having discussed and investigated the origins and the current use of Lengua Palenquera, it must be discussed whether these studies have or will contribute to a community that is not my own. Therefore, the final chapter of this thesis will be dedicated to explaining how this research could be of help to both the community of San Basilio de Palenque and to African diaspora around the world. After establishing exactly who is being addressed with the term 'African diaspora,' the questions having to do with instrumental language rights and empowering the Palenquero people that were posed in Chapter 5 will be addressed.

Despite the frequent use of the word, *diaspora* is relatively flexibly defined. The term can be regarded more inclusively rather than generally referring to "expatriate minority communities" (Safran, 1991, pg. 7). Most generally, members of a diaspora, or their ancestors, are those who "have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign, regions… (and) retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements." In addition to a history of displacement, members of such a community must "retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements… (and) continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship" (Safran, 1991, pg. 12). There is, however, debate as to whether Safran puts too much emphasis on the idealization of the homeland and on the perceived hostility of a host society from which diaspora members "feel partly alienated and insulated" (pg. 12). For example, relative 'diasporism' can fluctuate, especially under circumstances of social oppression or persecution, but also when members of a community choose to assimilate themselves, either

entirely or partly, into their host society (Clifford, 1994, pg. 303). According to Clifford, "decentered, lateral connections may be as important as those formed around a teleology of origin/return… and a shared, ongoing history of displacement, suffering, adaptation, or resistance may be as important as the projection of a specific origin" (pg. 304). In other words, the term *diaspora* does not necessarily need to be charged with the romantic notion of an eternal return to the homeland, nor with the rejection of a superstrate society. For the purpose of this thesis, a diaspora will be referred to neutrally as a community of displaced, or historically displaced, people who share a common heritage and choose to retain all or certain aspects of this collective memory amid a majority society that does not share the same past.

In order to address the *African* diaspora, it must also be noted how dynamic and widespread this community truly is. African communities can be found in many "non-traditional points of migration such as Israel, Japan, Taiwan, New Zealand and Australia," each of which with its own guidelines for retainment of cultural tradition, adoption of the host society, and contact with the mother continent (Akyeampong, 2000, pg. 183). Therefore, it must be established that the dedication of this chapter to the African diaspora is by no means an effort to homogenize the innumerable communities that celebrate African heritage and speak African languages around the world, but rather an homage to "the African spirit" that resides within them, and an appreciation for human survival and adaptation (Akyeampong, 2000, pg. 184).

The fundamental research questions of the studies conducted for this thesis have to do with where the borders between Lengua Palenquera and Spanish lie. Considering the long history of close contact with Spanish, it is difficult to ascertain whether Lengua Palenquera has ever been or will ever be completely 'de-Hispanicized.' However, given the recent language revitalization program's emphasis on elements of Lengua Palenquera that most differ from

Spanish, as well as a Palenquero-specific orthography, the language could be becoming less cognate with Spanish. This unique set of circumstances could suggest that Lengua Palenquera is evolving in real time, and that it could be possibly result in the full revival of an African tongue. Although this prediction is not evidence-based, it can be explored from the perspective of the Palenquero people and their *instrumental* language rights as they were defined in Chapter 4. A step in the survival process of a language is promoting its value as a tool for social and legal mobility and gaining instrumental language rights, all of which would be key to "to (preventing) discrimination on grounds of language… (and) to protecting individuals or groups from violations of those rights" (Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson, 2013, pg. 5). In other words, promoting the revitalization and the renovation of Lengua Palenquera could be an important step towards gaining more government and global recognition, and, in turn, developing more infrastructure and improving the quality of life in this village.

The studies that I have conducted in San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia have not only taught me fundamental lessons about working outside of a linguistics laboratory, but they have given me a sense of personal growth from having contributed to another community. Being one of the relatively few researchers who has been able to travel and live there, I feel that I have played my role, however small, in encouraging speakers of Lengua Palenquera to have pride in their heritage and to pass on their language to their children. Moreover, by finding that younger speakers of Lengua Palenquera do have an increased metalinguistic awareness, my experiments have served to validate the existing language revitalization program and to encourage its continuation. Not only will these research efforts help to keep a cultural masterpiece alive, but they will also add another chapter to the Afro-hispanic history of this region.

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Appendix A: List of code-switched stimuli for experiment 1

Spanish to Palenquero

Clause boundary switch
- ¿Me dices **que bó nú tá miná ke bieha á taba mueto?**
  - You tell me **that you did not know that the old woman was dead?**
- Sus hijos asisten esta escuela **poqué ané é kuagriya ku má moná mi.**
  - Her children go to this school **because they are in class with my children.**
- Cuando mis padres se murieron, **í á bae pa Kartagena**.
  - When my parents died, **I went to Cartagena**.
- Pedimos dos cajas para la comida **pa tre lo pa kasa suto.**
  - We ordered two boxes for the food **to take it to their house.**

Noun insertion
- **El perro es nimáo ri posá y ase dekansá** en la casa por la noche.
  - The dog is **a house pet and he rests** in the house at night.
- Te compré un sueter para la Navidad **y numano mi á mandá bó ele**.
  - I bought you a sweater for Christmas and **my brother sent it to you.**
- El tomó **apu** en el restaurante de su primo.
  - He drank **water** in her cousin's restaurant.
- Siempre encuentro **hende lo ke nguta tropé en mi vida.**
  - I always find **people who like to mess up my life.**
- La vida en el campo consiste en **kusa lo ke suto sé asé ka rato**.
  - Life in the countryside consists of **things that one must do all the time.**
- Cada cena viene con un platito **de planda ku aló**.
  - Each dinner comes with a plate **of plantains and rice.**
- No dejo **má nimáo mi sali ri posá pokke ma nimao ri bosque** lo van a comer.
  - I don't let **my animals go out of the house because the forest animals** will eat them.
- Venden **má chepa rí changaina** muy barato **andi** esta tienda.
  - They sell **girl's clothes** very cheaply in that store.
- Vamos a la iglesia a rezar, lleva **kumina epesiá** como regalo pa **Rioso.**
  - We are going to church to pray, bring **special food** as a gift to **God.**
- El gallo me despierta cada día **p'í sabé que uto ría ta comenzá**.
  - The rooster wakes me every day **so I know that another day has started.**
- Mi casa fue completamente rodeada por **ma hende que keleba ver al dotó**.
  - My house was surrounded by **people who wanted to see the doctor.**

Verb insertion
- Me voy **manaa pa Kartajena a komblá Konejo.**
  - I am **going tomorrow to Cartagena to buy rabbit.**
- Me preguntó donde estaba mi madre y le dije que ella **taba labá rropa.**

- o He asked me where my mother was and I told him that **she was washing clothes.**
- La película triste me hizo **yula.**
  - o The sad film made me **cry.**
- Los hombres peligrosos se escaparon de la carcel y **ané a robá burú ri ma muhé.**
  - o The dangerous men escaped from jail and **robbed money from the women.**
- El chico que toca la guitarra muy bien **á tá andi posá mi ku mae ele.**
  - o The boy that plays the guitar well **is in his home with his mother**.

Double switch
- Vamos a preguntar ma jende ri centro di salud para ver si pueden comprarnos medicamentos para kuandi kuepo ta rigutao.
  - o We are going to ask **the people at the health center** to see if we can buy medicine for when we **are sick.**
- Fui andi chiquero para cerrar la puerta y encontré que ma piangulí se escaparon.
  - o I went **to the pen** to close the door and I found that **the pigs** escaped.
- Voy a Malagana a komblá keso y traer ñeke para mis padres.
  - o I am going to Malagana **to buy cheese** and to bring **rum** to my parents.
- Compré un pastel para la fiesta, pero ané á kumelo, entonces tenemos que comprar otro.
  - o I bought a cake for the party**, but they ate it,** so we have to buy another.
- Ella ase come kanne nu porque es vegetariana, pero a ella le gusta má nduse lo ke suto asé akí Palenge.
  - o She **cannot eat meat** because she's vegetarian, but she likes **the sweets made here in Palenque.**

Palenquero to Spanish

Clause boundary switch
- Uto moná a kaí awé poqué este patio de recreo es muy peligroso.
  - o **Another child fell yesterday** because this playground is very dangerous.
- Suto polé decansá poqué el arroz no crece durante el verano.
  - o **They can rest because** rice (crop) does not grow during the summer.
- i tan ablá bo aggo(un kusa) porque mi madre me dice que no debo guardar secretos.
  - o **I will tell you something** because my mother tells me that I shouldn't keep secrets.
- Mbulo mí a sabé que voy a matarlo.
  - o **My donkey knows** that I am going to kill it.
- Tó ma hende a kelé ma kusa mi, pero nunca les daré ni mis burros ni mis perros.
  - o **Everybody wants my things**, but I won't give them my donkeys nor my dogs.
- Utere necesitá burú nu porque ustedes son ricos.
  - o **You all don't need money** because you all are rich.
- Muhé mi ta embolatao después de haber comido mis fríjoles.
  - o **My wife is bloated** after having eating too many beans.
- Él á bañá ándi posá mi porque no tiene agua caliente en su pueblo.
  - o **He bathed in my house** because he doesn't have hot water in his village.
- Bó a kribí mi nú kuando yo estaba en Europa.
  - o **You didn't write to me when** I was in Europe.

- I ta ndale muñeco si ella se comporta bien.
  - **I will give her a doll** if she behaves.
- Él á lompé epejo poqué lo pegó con el puño.
  - **He broke the mirror because** he hit it with his fist.
- Ané a yebá famía mi pa Kartagena en un coche.
  - **They took my family to Cartagena** in a car.
- Numano mi tá arrecho con nuestra madre poqué ele a ablá que no puede asistir la fiesta.
  - **My brother is angry with our mother because she told him** that he can't go to the party.
- Kuandi bo ke ten aggú loló, visita un medico para que te de un remedio.
  - **When you have pain**, go to the doctor for a remedy.
- Akí Palenge ma hende kelé ablá lengua nú poqué se escucha mal en otros pueblos.
  - **Here in Palenque people don't want to speak Lengua** because it is not respected in other villages.
- Ante, kuandí taba chikito, mi madre me llevaba a Malagana.
  - **Before**, **when I was small**, my mother took me to Malagana.
- Kuandi suto a salí a peká po loyo, vimos que hacía mal tiempo y volvimos a casa.
  - **When they left to fish at the river,** we saw that the weather was bad and we returned home.
- El profesor era muy estricto, antonse suto teneba ke kelá kayao.
  - The profesor was very strict, **so they needed to stay quiet**.

Noun insertion
- Suto poleba ablá ná nú sobre la fiesta porque era una sorpresa.
  - **He was no table to speak** about the party because it was a surprise.
- Kuchamí, suto á tá en tu casa.
  - **Listen to me, he is** in your house.
- Moto mi a ta maluco a causa del accidente que tuve hace dos meses.
  - **My motorcycle is broken** because of the accident that I had two months ago.
- Ma mujé bonito siempre tienen pelo largo.
  - **Pretty women** always have long hair.
- Ele tan kombla una botella de ñeque.
  - **They will buy** a bottle of **rum**.
- Í á selá puerta poqué tenía frío.
  - **I closed the door** because I was cold.
- Ma jende ri juela dice que Cartagena es una ciudad muy buena.
  - **Outsiders** say that Cartagena is a beautiful city.
- **Tiela mi** es muy seco, no hay **apu.**
  - **My land** is very dry, there is no **water.**
- **Majaná pelo cho fele** siempre bailan con chicas jovenes.
  - **Wild kids** always dance with young women.
- Ya que cada joven en ese pueblo tiene su propio teléfono, hemos visto una generación de **monsasito/mahaná lo ke kelé repetá ma jende ngande nú.**
  - Now that every young person in this village has their own telephone, we have seen a generation of **kids that do not want to respect older people.**
- Ma jende ri juela me enojan cuando son ignorantes sobre la cultura Colombiana.

- o **Outsiders** make me angry when they're ignorant about Colombian culture.

Verb insertion

- **Kuandi suto a yega akí,** ya estaba lloviendo y tuvimos que regresar a casa.
    - o **When you arrived here,** it was already raining and we needed to go home.
- **I tan nda bo** un regalo para tu cumpleaños.
    - o **I will give you** a gift for you birthday.
- **Ané poléba camina andi** las calles cuando el pueblo era más seguro.
    - o **They were able to walk** the streets when the village was safer.
- **Moná a caí lendro loyo ri Palenge** haciendo **kusa lo ke suto ten ke asé pa porriá chepa.**
    - o **Children fell into Palenque's river** whilst doing **things that one does while cleaning clothes.**
- **I tan saká** buenas notas en mi universidad porque mis profesores me ayudan mucho.
    - o **I will get** good grades at my university because my professors help me a lot.
- **Suto se jablá** castellano y lengua palenquera.
    - o **He speaks** Spanish and Lengua Palenquera.
- **Kuando mujé ke yegá andi casa mi,** le voy a pedir **p'e yulá mí**
    - o **When the woman arrives at my house**, I will ask her **to help me.**

Double switch
- **E ma kusa ri kusina** son demasiado complicadas para cocinar **kumina epesiá.**
    - o **The things in this kitchen** are too complicated to cook **special food**.
- **E mujé** tiene dos hijos que asisten **ekuela poqué famía ane tiene burú.**
    - o **The woman** has two children that attend **school because their family has money.**
- **Intenté salurá numana mi**, pero no se dio cuenta.
    - o **I tried to wave to my sister**, but she didn't realize.
- Mandaron a su hijo a la universidad para estudiar arquitectura porque pueden ver que **é hwe embelekera.**
    - o They sent their child to the university to study architecture because they can see **that he is smart.**
- **Ma nimáo ri monde** siempre están comiendo **má beddura** del jardín.
    - o **The wild animals** are always eating **vegetables** from the garden.
- Su **motiao** nuevo no es apropiado para **kuando ta andi ekuela**.
    - o Her new **haircut** is not appropriate for **when she is at school.**

Appendix B: List of code-switched stimuli for experiment 2

1. The day that my mother died, everything changed.

"C"	"P"
El dia que se murió mi madre todo **cambiá.**	**E ria ke** mi madre se murió todo cambió.
El dia que se murió mi madre **to a cambiá**	**E ría ke mae mi** se murio todo cambió
El dia que mi madre **a lungá to a cambiá**	**E ria ke mae mi a lungá** todo cambió.
El día que **mae mi a lungá to a cambiá**	**E ría ke mae mi a lungá to a** cambió.

2. My donkey already ate the pig's food, but I won't cry.

"C"	"P"
Mi burro ya comió la comida de los cerdos**, í tan yola nu.**	**Mbulo mi** comió la comida de los cerdos, pero yo no lloraré.
Mi burro ya comió la comida **ri ma pianguli, í tan yola nu.**	**Mbulo mi a kumé** la comida de los cerdos, pero yo no lloraré.
Mi burro ya comió **ma kumina ri ma pianguli, í tan yola nu.**	**Mbulo mi a kumé ma kumina ri** los cerdos, pero yo no lloraré.
Mi burro **a kumé ma kumina ri ma pianguli, í tan yola nu.**	**Mbulo mi a kumé ma kumina ri ma pianguli,** pero yo no lloraré.

3. Her stomach hurts because she ate many plantains.

"C"	"P"
A ella le duele el estomago porque comió mucha **planda.**	**Balic'ele dolé** porque ella comió muchos plátanos.
A ella le duele el estomago porque comió **un chochá planda.**	**Balic'ele dolé pokke** ella comió muchos plátanos.
A ella le duele el estomago **pokke ele a kumé un chochá planda.**	**Balic'ele dolé pokke ele** comió muchos plátanos.
Ella **a ta embolatao pokke ele a kumé un chochá planda.**	**Balic'ele dolé pokke ele a kumé** muchos plátanos.

4. She has girl's clothes in her home for her daughter.

"C"	"P"
Ella tiene ropa para chicas **andi pos'ele pa mon'ele.**	**Ele** tiene ropa para chicas en su casa para su hija.
Ella tiene ropa **pa' ri changaina andi pos'ele pa mon'ele.**	**Ele a tené** ropa para chicas en su casa para su hija.
Ella tiene **chepa ri changaina andi pos'ele pa mon'ele.**	**Ele a tené chepa** para chicas en su casa para su hija.
Ella **a tene chepa ri changaina andi pos'ele pa mon'ele.**	**Ele a tené chepa ri changaina** en su casa para su hija.

5. My cow is walking slowly because his foot is hurt.

"C"	"P"
Mi vaca está caminando muy lentamente porque **a tené pata mocho.**	**Ngombe mi** está caminando lentamente porque tiene la pata lastimada.
Mi vaca está caminando muy **leita pokke a tené pata mocho.**	**Ngombe mi ta caminá** lentamente porque tiene la pata lastimada.
Mi vaca está **caminá leita pokke a tené pata mocho.**	**Ngombe mi ta caminá leita pokke** tiene la pata lastimada.
Mi vaca **a ta caminá leita pokke a tené pata mocho.**	**Ngombe mi ta caminá leita pokke a tené** la pata lastimada.

6. You came here to speak with them.

"C"	"P"
Tú viniste aquí para hablar con **ané.**	**Bo viniste** aquí para hablar con ellos.
Tú viniste aquí para hablar **ku ané.**	**Bo a mini aki** para hablar con ellos.
Tú viniste aquí **pa chitiá ku ané.**	**Bo a mini aki pa chitiá** con ellos.
Tú **a mini aquí pa chitiá ku ané**.	**Bo a mini aki pa chitiá ku** ellos.

7. The people that come to the village know that there are snakes in the river.

"C"	"P"
La gente que viene al pueblo sabe que **a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**	**Ma jende** que viene al pueblo sabe que hay serpientes en el arroyo.
La gente que viene al pueblo **a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**	**Ma jende ke mini** al pueblo sabe que hay serpientes en el arroyo.
La gente que viene **pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**	**Ma jende ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé** que hay serpientes en el arroyo.
La gente **ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra andi loyo.**	**Ma jende ke mini pandi pueblo a sabé que a tené ma kulebra** en el arroyo.

8. His father is a professor, but he goes fishing with his son every day, even though he has to teach.

"C"	"P"
Su padre es profesor, pero sale a pescar con su hijo cada día, **manke tené ke enseñá.**	**Tat'ele es profesor,** pero el sale a pescar con su hijo cada día, aunque tenga que enseñar.
Su padre es profesor, pero sale a pescar **ku moná ele karía, manke tené ke enseñá.**	**Tat'ele a sendá piache,** pero el sale a pescar con su hijo cada día, aunque tenga que enseñar.
Su padre es profesor, pero **ele ase peká ku moná ele karía, manke tené ke enseñá.**	**Tat'ele a sendá piache, pero ele asé peká ku** su hijo cada día, aunque tenga que enseñar.
Su padre **a sendá piache, pero ele a seba peká ku moná ele karía, manke tené ke enseñá.**	**Tat'ele a sendá piache, pero ele asé peká ku moná ele karía,** aunque tenga que enseñar.

9. All of the children left running to our house to get the sweets that are made here in Palenque.

"C"	"P"
Todos los niños salieron corriendo hasta nuestra casa para buscar los dulces **ke suto se asé aki Palenge.**	**Majana** salieron corriendo hasta nuestra casa para buscar los dulces que se hacen aquí en Palenque.
Todos los niños salieron corriendo hasta nuestra casa **pa buscá ma nduce ke suto se asé aki Palenge.**	**Majana a salí kolendo andi posá suto** para buscar los dulces que se hacen aquí en Palenque.
Todos los niños salieron corriendo **andi posá suto pa buscá ma nduce ke suto asé aki Palenge.**	**Majana a salí kolendo andi posá suto pa buscá** los dulces que se hacen aquí en Palenque.
Todos los niños **a salí kolendo andi posá suto pa buscá ma nduce ke suto asé aki Palenge.**	**Majana salieron kolendo andi posá suto pa buscá ma nduce ke suto** hacen aquí en Palenque.

10. There were two boys who went to collect firewood in the woods.

"C"	"P"
Había dos chicos que fueron a buscar leña **lendro monde.**	**Teneba** dos chicos que fueron a buscar leña en el monte.
Había dos chicos que fueron a buscar **charamuka lendro monde.**	**Teneba ndo moná** que fueron a buscar leña en el monte.
Había dos chicos **ke a bae buká charamuka lendro monde.**	**Teneba ndo moná ke a bae buká** leña en el monte.
Había **ndo monasito ke a bae buká charamuka lendro monde.**	**Teneba ndo moná ke a bae buká charamuka** en el monte.

11. My brother was speaking to his friend when they began to fight over the love of a girl.

"C"	"P"
Mi hermano estaba conversando con su amigo cuando ellos empezaron a pelear por el amor **ri un changaina.**	**Numano mi taba chitiá** con su amigo cuando empezaron a pelear por el amor de una chica.
Mi hermano estaba conversando con su amigo cuando ellos **a empesá tropiá po' amo' ri un changaina.**	**Numano mi taba chitiá con kombiles'ele** cuando empezaron a pelear por el amor de una chica.
Mi hermano estaba conversando con su amigo	**Numano mi taba chitiá ku kombiles'ele**

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kuandi ané a empesá tropiá po' amo' ri un changaina.	**kuandi ané a empesá** a pelear por el amor de una chica.
Mi hermano **taba chitiá ku kombiles'ele kuandi ané a empesá trompiá po' amo' ri un changaina.**	**Numano mi taba chitiá ku kombiles'ele kuandi ané a empesá trompiá** por el amor de una chica.

12. She lived alone when she was studying in the university, but she says that she is happy with the friends that she has.

"C"	"P"
Ella vivía solo cuando estaba estudiando en la universidad, pero ella dice que está feliz **ku ma kombilesa ke ele a tené.**	**Ele aseba bibí** solo cuando estaba estudiando en la universidad, pero ella dice que está feliz con los amigos que tiene.
Ella vivía solo cuando estaba estudiando en la universidad, pero ella dice que **ele a ta jarocho ku ma kombilesa ke ele a tené.**	**Ele aseba bibí solo kuandi taba estudiá aí universidá,** pero ella dice que está feliz con los amigos que tiene.
Ella vivía sola cuando estaba estudiando en la universidad, pero **ele ablá que a ta jarocho ku ma kombilesa ke ele a tené.**	**Ele aseba bibí solo kuandi taba eturiá aí universidá, pero ele ablá** que está feliz con los amigos que tiene.
Ella vivía sola **kuandi taba eturiá aí universidá, pero ele ablá que ele a ta jarocho ku ma kombilesa ke ele a tené.**	**Ele aseba bibí solo kuandi taba eturiá aí universidá, pero ele ablá que ele a ta jarocho** con los amigos que tiene.

13. One time I went to get my house dog and I discovered that he had died.

"C"	"P"
Una vez yo fui a buscar el perro de mi casa, y descubrí **ke ele á lungá.**	**Asenda** una vez yo fui a buscar el perro de mi casa y descubrí que se murió.
Una vez fui a buscar el perro de mi casa, y **í a encontrá ba ke ele á lungá.**	**Asenda un vega** yo fui a buscar el perro de mi casa y descubrí que se murió.
Una vez fui a buscar **pelo ri posá mi y í a encontrá ke ele á lungá.**	**Asenda un vega í a bai a buká** el perro de mi casa y descubrí que se murió.
Una vez **í a bai a buka pelo ri posá mi y í a encontrá ke ele á lungá.**	**Asenda un vega í a bai a buká pelo ri posá mi** y descubrí que se murió.

14. She wanted to send food to the boy who didn't feel well, but my brother was the one who sent it.

"C"	"P"
Ella quería mandarle comida al niño que se sentía mal, pero mi hermano **a mandá lo.**	**Ele** quería llevar comida al niño que estaba enfermo, pero mi hermano se la mandó.
Ella quería mandarle comida al niño que se sentía mal, pero **numano mi a mandá lo.**	**Ele queleba llevá** comida al niño que estaba enfermo, pero mi hermano se la mandó.
Ella quería mandarle la comida **a monasito ke taba enfemmo, pero numano mi a mandá lo.**	**Ele queleba llevá kumina** al niño que estaba enfermo, pero mi hermano se la mandó.
Ella quería **llevá kumina a monasito lo ke taba enfemmo, pero numano mi a mandá lo.**	**Ele queleba llevá kumina a monasito lo ke taba enfemmo,** pero mi hermano se la mandó.

15. I felt very lost until my brother came to console me.

"C"	"P"
Me sentí muy perdida hasta que mi hermano vino a **kosolámí.**	**I** estaba triste hasta que mi hermano vino a consolarme.
Me sentí muy perdida hasta que mi hermano **a mini kosolámí.**	**I a taba tritte** hasta que mi hermano vino a consolarme.
Me sentí muy perdida hasta que **numano mi a mini kosolámí.**	**I a taba tritte ata que numano mi** vino a consolarme.
Me sentí **tritte ata que numano mi a mini kosolámí.**	**I a taba trite ata que numano mi a mini** consolarme.

16. She offered her house to us so we could stay here in Palenque.

"C"	"P"
Ella ofreció su casa para nosotros quedar **akí Palenge**	**El'a ofresé posa ele pa suto kelá aquí** en Palenque
Ella ofreció su casa para nosotros **kelá akí Palenge**	**El'a ofrecio posa ele pa suto** quedar aquí en Palenque
Ella ofreció su casa para **suto kelá akí Palenge**	**El'a ofrecio posa ele pa** nosotros quedar aquí en Palenque
Ella ofreció **posa ele pa suto kelá akí Palenge**	**El'a ofresé** su casa para nosotros quedar aquí en Palenque

17. You ate the stew that my mother cooked?

"C"	"P"
¿Tú comiste la mazamorra que mi madre **a kosiná?**	¿**Bo a kumé bitibiti lo ke mae mi** cocinó?
¿Tú comiste la mazamorra que **mae mi a kosiná?**	¿**Bo a kumé bitibiti** lo ke mi madre cocinó?
¿Tú comiste **bitibiti lo ke mae mi a kosiná?**	¿**Bo a kumé** la mazamorra que mi madre cocinó?
¿Tú **a kumé bitibiti lo ke mae mi a kosiná?**	¿**Bo** comiste la mazamorra que mi madre cocinó?

Academic Vita

Rebecca Anne Barnes
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Education:

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania
- Schreyer Honors College student in Letters, Arts, and Sciences
- B.A. in Letters, Arts, and Sciences (May 2019)
- B.A. in Spanish (May 2019)
- B.A. in French and Francophone studies (May 2019)
- Thesis: Lengua Palenquera and Spanish: What keeps them apart? Which specific elements of language structure influence a bilingual's perception of code-switching?

Study Abroad:
- Summer 2015: Franklin University, Lugano, Switzerland
  - 2-month course in microeconomics (June and July 2015)
- Spring 2017: University of Granada, Granada, Spain
  - College semester comprised of a 6-course workload, five of which were entirely in Spanish and one a French literature course taught at the University of Granada (La facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Granada). (January to May 2017)
- Fall 2018: La Sorbonne (Paris IV), Paris, France
  - College semester involving a 5-course workload taught entirely in French (September to December 2018)

Research experience

Summer 2016: University of Granada, Granada, Spain
- PIRE fellowship (Partners for International Research and Education and the Centers for Language Science)
- Research focusing on how Spanish-English bilinguals process language changes (code-switches) in a sentence. Funded under the auspices of a National Science Foundation (NSF) funded grant to conduct linguistics research abroad for 2 months in Spain. (May and June 2016)

Summer 2017: University of Antioquia, Medellin, Colombia
- PIRE II fellowship

- Excursion to San Basilio de Palenque and to Medellin Colombia to conduct research on Lengua Palenquera. This research was also funded by an NSF grant. (June and July 2017)

Summer 2018: Continuation of linguistics research in Palenque, Colombia
- Erickson Discovery Grant (funded by the Schreyer Honors College)
- Another excursion to San Basilio de Palenque, Colombia to continue research on Lengua Palenquera. (June 2018)

Honors

- Partners for International Research and Education (PIRE) (Summer of 2016)
- The Mr. and Mrs. Paterno Award for academic merit (Fall 2016)
- Richard Zimler Undergraduate research Award in Portuguese (Spring of 2017)
- Partners for International Research and Education II (PIRE II) (Summer of 2017)
- Member of the National Society of Collegiate Scholars (Fall 2017)
- Schreyer travel grant to present at the Second Annual Canadian Linguistics Symposium at Mcgill University (Spring 2018)
- Schreyer travel grant to present at the Undergraduate Linguistics Symposium at East Stroudsburg University (Spring 2018)
- Erickson Discovery Grant (Summer of 2018)
- The Kroll Undergraduate Research Award (Summer of 2018)
- Student Engagement Network (SEN) award for undergraduate research (Summer 2018)
- The Mr. and Mrs. Berry award for undergraduate research (Summer 2018)

Activities

- Leadership: Global Engagement and Leadership Experience
  - Oct. 14-16th, 2016
  - Two and a half day conference involving several all-day leadership activities, interaction with international students.
  - My responsibilities involved showcasing aspects of my culture and participating in activities involving those of others
- Philanthropy: Supply Logistics Chair for Project Paws
  - March 1st-April 28th, 2016
  - A student-run fundraiser for a Centre County animal shelter
- Community Service: ESL tutor for an adult learner in the Center County Community
  - Sept.-Dec., 2016
  - Lina Jung and I work together for approximately four hours a week, reading and writing English to help improve her skills.
- Conferences:

- ○ Penn State Undergraduate Exhibition in Linguistics (PSUxling3)
    - ■ October 14th, 2016
    - ■ Presenting preliminary research results to graduate students for initial peer review
- ○ Centers for Language Science undergraduate conference
    - ■ November 11th, 2016
    - ■ Presenting my research findings from the aforementioned PIRE fellowship to the Centers for Language Science
    - ■ Post and brief summarization of my findings to members of the Center for Language Science as well as professors and students from other universities
- ○ PSUxling4
    - ■ October 13th, 2017
    - ■ Poster session to present preliminary research results from second PIRE grant to go to Palenque, Colombia
- ○ Student Engagement EXPO
    - ■ November 6th, 2017
    - ■ Presented the same preliminary research results at an event hosted by the Schreyer Honors College
- ○ CLS undergraduate conference
    - ■ December 8th, 2017
    - ■ Presented final research results from second PIRE grant
- ○ 2nd Annual Modern Languages Student Conference at East Stroudsburg University
    - ■ April 7th, 2018
    - ■ I presented a paper about my research experiences and results in Palenque, Colombia from the Summer of 2017
- ○ The 2nd Canadian Linguistics Annual Symposium (CLAUSE) at Mcgill University
    - ■ March 23rd, 2018
- ○ GSOLT conference at Temple University
    - ■ April 12th, 2019
    - ■ I will be presenting my thesis research at Temple University.

Language skills

- Native speaker of English
- Proficient speaking, reading, and writing skills in Spanish
- Proficient speaking, reading, and writing skills in French

Certification

- Volunteer tutor for the Lit. Corps. Program
    - Certification date: September 2016

Website

https://rebeccannebarnes.weebly.com/