

The Ibero-Romance Creole Palenquero.
An account of its copular paradigm

Palenquero (henceforth PL) is a Spanish-based Creole spoken in the remote village of San Basilio de Palenque (Colombia); although much descriptive work has been accomplished (Friedemann & Patiño 1983; Schwegler 2013; Lipski 2020) its copula system and the predication strategies haven't still been covered by a detailed study.

PL has a complex copula system. The oppositional couple *ta/é* (and its allomorphs *era* and *jue*) works with adjectival predicates, and it coincides with the distribution of the Sp. *estar/ser*, being semantically motivated (1): *ta* is used with stage-level adjectival predicates and with locatives; *é* is used with individual-level adjectival predicates (Friedemann & Patiño 1983). *É*, *jue* and *era* also combine with nominal predicates (2).

Nevertheless, the distribution and the origin of the third and most innovative copula *sendá* (< Sp. *sentar(se)* 'to sit') hasn't still been clarified (3).

(1) (Friedemann & Patiño 1983: 130)

Kuando maní ta pario é mu sabroso,

When peanut COP_{SL-pred} ripe COP_{IL-pred}. very tasteful

pae.

buddy

'When peanuts are ripe, they are very tasty, buddy.'

(2) (ibid.)

Bo é mama mi nu.

2SG COP mother POSS NEG

'You are not my mother.'

(3) (ivi, p. 131)

a. Í tan sendá dotó.

1SG FUT COP doctor

'I will be a doctor.'

The aim of the paper is twofold: *i*) to offer a first preliminary analysis of the semantic-syntactic distribution of *sendá ~ é/jue/era* carried out with a corpus of interviews conducted with native PL speakers; *ii*) to enquire whether the presence of *sendá* must be regarded to as the outcome of an internal diachronic change or a constructional calque on the substratal Kikongo model (Schwegler 2006). In fact, besides a cross-linguistic overview of languages featured by a copula arisen through a stance verb, the paper will provide an account of the Kikongo copular paradigm, along with a comparison of the syntactic distribution of Pal. *sendá* 'to be' (< Pal. *sendá* 'to sit' < Sp. *sentarse* 'to sit') and Kik. *-kala* 'to be' (< Kik. *-kala-* 'to sit' < Proto-Bantu *-YIKAD- 'to sit' (see Botne 1991)) in equative (both attributive and identificational) copular clauses.

References

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