

On the origins of the *Lengua ri Palenge* (Palenquero) relativizer *lo ke*: the pathways of (re-)grammaticalization

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Abstract: Creole morphosyntax has sometimes been regarded as “simpler” than corresponding structures in the lexifier language. It is rare for the range of functional elements found in the lexifier language to be expanded in the respective creole language. One exceptional case is found in the Afro-Colombian creole language Palenquero, where the Spanish-derived complementizer/relativizer *ke* introducing restrictive relative clauses has been supplemented with *lo ke*. Spanish restrictive relative clauses can only be formed with *que*; Palenquero *lo ke* seems to be morphosyntactically more complex than its Spanish counterpart. At first glance Palenquero *lo ke* appears to be derived from the Spanish bimorphemic relative pronouns *lo que* ‘that which’ or *los que* ‘those which’ (or possibly Portuguese *o que* ‘that which’), but the syntagmatic occurrences of Palenquero *lo ke* are different enough from the Spanish relative pronouns that supplementary or alternative patterns of evolution need to be sought.

Keywords: Palenquero; relative clause; relativizers; grammaticalization

1. Introduction: the complementizer *lo ke* in Palenquero (*Lengua ri Palenge*)

To the extent that creole languages exhibit functional categories such as determiners and nominal and verbal inflection markers, they usually represent a proper subset of the functional categories found in the lexifier language. For example, functional categories such as complementizers found in the lexifier language do not always appear in the corresponding creole language. In this sense, creole morphosyntax has sometimes been regarded as “simpler” than in the respective lexifier languages. It is rare for the range of functional elements found in the lexifier language to be expanded in the corresponding creole language. One exceptional case is found in the Afro-Colombian creole language Palenquero, spoken in the village of San Basilio de Palenque, some 70 km. to the south of Cartagena de Indias on Colombia’s Caribbean coast. The traditional language, known as Palenquero by linguists and simply as

lengua ‘(the) language’ or *Lengua ri Palenge* ‘[the] language of Palenque’ (henceforth LP) by community residents, is a highly restructured Afro-Iberian contact language, influenced by the central African language Kikongo and bearing some Portuguese elements as well as a lexicon substantially derived from Spanish.¹ Considered an endangered language as recently as two decades ago, *Lengua ri Palenge* has experienced a remarkable renovation through community activism and educational programs, and most Palenqueros now regard their ancestral language with pride (Lipski 2012a, Moñino 2012, Schwegler 2011b).

In *Lengua ri Palenge*² subordinate clauses take the same general form as in Spanish, and are typically introduced by the complementizer *ke*³ (from the homophonous Spanish complementizer *que*),⁴ the same as in Spanish:⁵

¹ At the macro-syntactic level Spanish and LP share many similarities, including strongly predominant SVO word order, post-nominal adjective placement, head-first subordinate clauses, and similarly structured prepositional phrases. At the same time there are numerous morphosyntactic differences that under almost any typological classification place Spanish and LP in the category of separate languages, rather than way-stations on a dialectal cline. The most striking morphosyntactic differences separating LP from Spanish include: absence of grammatical gender, marking of nominal plural with the preposed particle *ma* rather than the (multiply-agreeing) suffix *-s/-*, invariant verbs with preverbal tense-mood-aspect particles, negation by clause-final *nu*, absence of definite articles, a single set of obligatorily overt pronouns (all different from Spanish), marking possession by postposing the possessor.

² The basic bibliography for Palenquero grammar includes Escalante (1954) Megenney (1986), Patiño Rosselli (1983), Pérez Tejedor (2004), Schwegler (1996, 1998, 2013a, 2013b), Schwegler and Green (2007), and more recently Cásseres Estrada (2005), Moñino (2002, 2003, 2007), Morton (2005), Simarro Obeso et al. (2008), and Simarra Reyes and Triviño Doval (2008).

³ The earliest descriptions of LP used Spanish spellings for cognate words; more recent treatises avoid many Spanish spellings such as *que* for [ke]. In the following sections Spanish spellings will be avoided except when quoting published examples.

⁴ Another LP complementizer is *pa* (Sp. *para* ‘for’), used to introduce subordinate clauses expressing desire or causality: *i a tené un kasa Barranquiya pa mahaná mi bibí* ‘I have a house in Barranquilla for my children to live in’; *mahaná mi keleba p’i [pa i] miní nu* ‘my kids did not want me to come’. In patrimonial Spanish the corresponding sentences would contain the complementizer *para que* ‘in order that’ followed by a verb in the subjunctive mood. However in Caribbean Spanish (including the Spanish spoken in and around San Basilio de Palenque) as well as some other varieties, alternative combinations involving *para* + infinitive are possible. Such combinations appear to have provided the model for LP.

⁵ Unless otherwise indicated all examples come from field recordings made by the author in San Basilio de Palenque between 2008 and 2014. Except for the explicitly designated student samples, all examples come from fluent native speakers of LP over the age of 40, all of whom were raised speaking LP and who continue to use the language on a daily basis. Standard morpheme abbreviations are used throughout: ASP = aspectual marker, COMP = complementizer, NEG = negative element, FUT = future marker.

- (1) a. *Ma hende kwendá ke andi karro ele a mete droga*
 PL people tell COMP where car 3s ASP put drug
 ‘people say that they put drugs in his car’
- b. *i a sabé ke a teneba ndo amigo*
 1s ASP know COMP ASP have-ASP two friend
 ‘I know that there were two friends’

Also as in Spanish LP restrictive relative clauses are introduced by *ke*:

- (2) a. *suto é tre ke ten intrumento nu*
 1pl be three COMP have instrument NEG
 ‘there are three of us who have no instruments’
- b. *a tené hende ke nguta-lo tambó nu*
 ASP have people COMP like-3s drum NEG
 ‘there are people who don’t like drums’

LP non-restrictive relative clauses are also introduced by *ke*, once more following the Spanish pattern:⁶

- (3) a. *repué ri mamá mi morí, ke a rehá mi ku ocho*
 after mother 1s die COMPASP leave 1s with eight
año i a kelá ku ma tío mi
 year 1s ASP stay with PL uncle 1s

⁶ In LP, subordinate clauses are rarely used as complements of prepositions. LP lacks the gender- and number-inflected relative pronouns that are found in Spanish, particularly following preposition: *el cual, la cual, los cuales, las cuales*, and the neuter *lo cual*. In headless relative constructions the corresponding Spanish pronouns are *el que, la que, los que, and las que*, as well as the neuter *lo que* ‘that which.’

‘after my mother died, who left me at the age of eight, I stayed with my aunt and uncle’

b. *ese loto asé ñamá aí, ke é pikante*

that plant ASP call pepper COMP be hot

‘that plant is called pepper, which is hot’

c. *a tené un ma grupo ri champeta tambié k’é*

ASP have one PL group of champeta also COMP-be

hende ri akí asé bibí Katahena

people of here ASP live Cartagena

‘there is a *champeta* [musical] group also, who are people from here who live in Cartagena’

d. *ma mango i tan yebe-lo pa mahaná mi, ke a*

PL mango 1s FUT take-3s for children 1s COMP ASP

ten ambre

have hunger

‘the mangoes I am taking to my children, who are hungry’

In a net addition to the structures derived from Spanish *que*, LP frequently employs *lo ke* to introduce restrictive relative clauses (providing essential information identifying the modified noun). In LP *lo*, presumably derived from the Spanish masculine direct object clitics *lo* (3s.) and *los* (3pl.) is frequently used as a postverbal direct object clitic as in (2b, 3d), although many traditional LP speakers prefer the LP disjunctive (subject) pronouns *ele* (3s.) and *ané* (3pl.) to express pronominal direct objects. The use of *lo ke* to introduce restrictive relative clauses in LP represents a radical break with Spanish, whose equivalent constructions can only take the simple complementizer *que*. Previously published examples of LP *lo ke* in restrictive relative clauses include:

- (4) a. *ese é ma piangulí lo ke hende tan bendé maána*
 that be PL pig COMP people FUT sell tomorrow
 ‘these are the pigs that people will sell tomorrow’ (Simarra Reyes and Triviño Doval 2008: 117-19)
- b. *i a miná moná lo ke ngutá mi*
 1s ASP look child COMP please 1s
 ‘I saw the child that I like’ (Simarra Reyes and Triviño Doval 2008: 117-19)
- c. *bo a kuchá pelo lo ke ma hende nda mi*
 2s ASP listen dog COMP PL people give 1s
 ‘You heard the dog that people gave me’ (Patiño Rosselli 1983: 176)
- d. *es'é un muhé lo ke sé bibí-ba po ayá*
 that-be ART woman COMP ASP live-ASP by there
 ‘that was a woman who lived there’ (Patiño Rosselli 1983: 176)
- e. *da-le plata lo ke maílo sí nda bo*
 give-3s money COMP husband 2s give 2s
 ‘give him the money that your husband gives you’ (Patiño Rosselli 1983: 176)
- f. *á sendá un mujé loke se ñamaba Catalina Loango*
 COP ART woman COMP name-IMP Catalina Loango
loke teneba moná nu
 COMP have-IMP child NEG
 ‘There was a woman named Catalina Loango who had no children’ (Maglia & Moñino 2014: 52)

- g. *í tán kondá ún kusa loke pasá po akí*
 I FUT tell ART thing COMP happen for here
 ‘I will tell you something that happened around here’ (Maglia & Moñino 2014: 75)
- h. *Bó loke t’andi siudá*
 you COMP be-LOC city
 ‘you who are in the city’ (Maglia & Moñino 2014: 89)
- i. *suto loke nasé andi ese tiempo*
 we COMP born LOC that time
 ‘We who were born at that time’ (Maglia & Moñino 2014: 112)

Although the use of *lo ke* to introduce restrictive relative clauses appears to be an innovation in LP since it is not found in Spanish (or Portuguese), it is currently well integrated into the language, and is used by speakers of all ages and levels of fluency. Examples from fluent older native speakers collected by the present author include:

- (5) a. *i asé-ba interesando andi lengwa lo ke ané asé-ba*
 1s do-ASP interesting LOC language COMP 3pl do-ASP
ta kombesá
 ASP speak
 ‘I became interested in the language that they were speaking’
- b. *kwando i lebantá akí ese pueblo lo ke suto ta*
 when 1s raise here DEM village COMP 1pl be
 ‘when I grew up in this village where we are’
- c. *i a sankochá ese yuka lo ke ta akí*
 1s ASP boil DEM cassava COMPbe here

‘I cooked that cassava here’

- d. *ma muhé Palenge a ten un kando pa kandá*
PL woman Palenque ASP have ART song for sing
andi belorio lo ke tene-ba
LOC wake COMP have-ASP

‘women in Palenque have a song to sing at the wakes that used to occur’

- e. *ese seteto a fundá año treinta po un ma*
DEM sextet ASP found year 30 by ART PL
kompañero lo ke ta-ba ayá la sona bananera
companion COMP be-ASP there ART zone banana

‘that sextet was founded in 1930 by some companions who were in the banana-producing zone’

- f. *po eso seteto asé ñamá seteto poke é sei, sei*
therefore sextet ASP call sextet because be six, six
hende lo ke ta usá instrumento
people COMP ASP use instrument

‘that’s why it’s called a sextet because there are six, six people who play instruments’

- g. *yo ablá ku to ané to ma profesó lo ke ta-ba*
1s speak with all 3pl all PL teacher COMP be-ASP
ái i to ma alunna lo ke ta-ba aí
there and all PL student(f.) COMP be-ASP there

‘I talked to everyone, all the teachers who were there and all the students who were there’

- h. *ese kasa era ri ma kwatro moná lo ke i*
DEM house was of PL four child COMP 1s
tene-ba ku 'né
have-ASP with-3s.
'that house belonged to the four children I had with him'
- i. *ma hende lo ke ta akí toro asé sé memo trabaho*
PL people COMP be here all ASP do same work
'the people who are here all do the same work'
- j. *poke yo lo ke ta akí i kriá asina nu*
because 1s COMP be here 1s raise thus NEG
'I who am here wasn't raised that way'

From adolescents who have learned the basics of LP in school (Lipski 2012a, 2014) come examples like:

- (6) a. *e posá lo ke ta akí hwe mía*
DEM house COMP be here be mine(f.)
'this house is mine'
- b. *ese changáina lo ke ta ayá ta bonita*
DEM girl COMP be there be pretty(f.)
'that girl there is pretty'
- c. *ese kaye lo ke ta ayá ta angoto*
DEM street COMP be there be narrow
'that street is narrow'

- d. *e lo ke ta akí a sendá posá mi nu*
DEM COMP be here ASP be house 1s NEG
'this is not my house'

Examples from written assignments prepared by local high school students include (These transcribed exactly from written homework assignments, complete with spelling and grammatical errors):

- (7) a. *a sendá un ñato lo ke pa semana santa asé-ba*
ASP be ART harelip COMP forHoly Week do-ASP
bae pa monde a kusina
go for forest to cook
'there was a harelip who during Holy Week went to the forest to cook'
- b. *ma kusa lo ke ata guta ami nu*
PL thing COMP ASP be like 1s NEG
'I don't like those things'
- c. *mini pa suto ase un apueta lo ke cole ma*
come for 1pl make ART bet COMP run more
'come so we can bet on who can run the fastest'

In addition to the use of *lo ke* in restrictive relative clauses instead of the Spanish-derived complementizer *ke*, another construction is found in LP, principally among younger speakers (although Schwegler, p.c. reports instances among traditional speakers as well). In disjunctive contexts, including topicalized structures and following prepositions, *yo* is used as subject pronoun, as in the following examples obtained from traditional LP speakers:

- (8) a. *yo de kateyano i sabé nu*

1s of Spanish 1s know NEG

‘I don’t know anything about Spanish’

b. *yo sí a ten miero*

1s yes ASP have fear

‘I am really afraid’

c. *foratero ke ta akí hundo ku yo sabé ké*

outsider COMP be here with 1s know what

hw’i ta ablá nu

be+1s ASP speak NEG

‘outsiders who are here with me don’t know what I am saying’

d. *yo ku bo-ba kwando i sé bae-ba pa la Bonga*

1s with 2s-ba when 1s ASP go-ASP for La Bonga

‘You and I, when I went to La Bonga ...’

Instead of disjunctive *yo*, many young LP speakers employ the circumlocution *i lo ke ta akí* ‘I the one who is here,’ in a usage which while occasionally found among traditional speakers is encouraged by at least one of the LP language teachers (Lipski 2012a). The replacement of *i* by the noun phrase *i lo ke ta akí* is apparently due to the fact that *i* is an unstressable subject clitic, while *yo* is considered “too Spanish” for LP activists involved in language revitalization efforts.⁷ Examples from young speakers’ LP include:

(9) a. *ele a miní ku i lo ke ta akí*

3s ASP come with 1s COMP be here

⁷ Some less fluent young speakers of LP do use *i* as disjunctive pronoun, in combinations that are not accepted by fluent native speakers: *posá ri i* (Pal. *posá mi*) ‘my house,’ *ablá cu i* (Pal. *ablá mi/ablá cu yo*) ‘speak to me,’ *e ma posá i* (Pal. *posá mi*) ‘my house,’ *ele ta chitiá cu i* (Pal. *chitiá mi/cu yo*) ‘he is talking to me,’ *ele a teng ma ngombe que i* (Pal. *que yo*) ‘he has more cows than I have.’

‘He came with me’

b. *bo ta miná i lo ke ta akí*

2s ASP look 1s COMP be here

‘you are looking at me’

c. *i lo ke ta akí kriá asina nu*

1s COMP be here raise thus NEG

‘I wasn’t raised that way’

An occasional alternative produced by young LP speakers is *lu i* (possibly metathesis embodying *lu* from the Spanish and sometimes LP 3s object clitic *lo*), as in the following examples:

(10) a. *bo a konosé lu i ta akí*

2s ASP know *lu* 1s be here

‘you know me’

b. *lu i ten to kusa ri Palenge*

lu 1s have all thing of Palenque

‘I have all things in Palenque’

c. *lu i ten kwento*

lu 1s have story

‘I have stories’

2. The origins of *lo ke* relativizers: the nature of the dilemma

Immediately evident from these examples is the invariant nature of LP *lo ke* constructions; antecedents can be singular or plural, or derived from words that in Spanish would be marked for masculine or feminine gender. A first

guess as to the source of LP *lo ke* constructions might be the Spanish neuter relative pronoun *lo que* ‘that which,’ used in Spanish only for clausal antecedents (explicit or implied) of headless relative clauses:⁸

- (11) a. *Lo que me dijiste me parece muy raro*
 ‘That which you told me seems strange to me’
- b. *Juan no ha llegado todavía, lo que/lo cual es poco usual*
 ‘John hasn’t arrived yet, which is unusual’

LP does exhibit *lo ke* headless relative constructions, as in the following examples; (12h) includes both *lo ke* in a headless relative clause and *lo ke* as relativizer of a restrictive relative clause:

- (12) a. *lo ke pasá eso ri Palenge ya kabá*
 REL pass that of Palenque now finish
 ‘that which occurred in Palenque is over now’
- b. *bo a ten plata pa komblá lo ke i ta bendé?*
 2s ASP have money for buy REL 1s ASP sell
 ‘do you have the money to buy what I am selling?’
- c. *ané ta kuchá lo ke telebisó ta ablá*
 3pl ASP listen REL television ASP say
 ‘they are listening to what the television is saying’
- d. *eso hwe lo ke i ta asé*
 that be REL 1s ASP do
 ‘that is what I am doing’

⁸ Schwegler (p. c.) suggests that Portuguese *o que* ‘that which’ may have provide a source for LP *lo ke*, particularly in view of other apparent Portuguese elements in LP such as the verb *bae* ‘to go’ from Portuguese *vai*, ‘the third-person singular form of *ir* ‘to go.’

- e. *miná te lo ke i ablá te*
 look 2s REL 1s speak 2s
 ‘look at what I am telling you [polite form]’
- f. *ané ta entendé lo ke suto ta chitiá nu*
 3pl ASP understand REL 1pl ASP speak NEG
 ‘they don’t understand what we are saying’
- g. *ané kelé pagá-mi lo ke kotá nu*
 3pl want pay-me REL cost NEG
 ‘they don’t want to pay me what it costs’
- h. *ma hende lo ke ta en ese pueblo sabe-ba ké*
 PL people COMP be in DEM village know-ASP what
hwe-ba lo ke pasá Palenge
 be-ASP REL pass Palenque
 ‘the people who are in that town knew what was happening in Palenque’

In LP headless relative clauses *lo ke* is obligatory and, as in Spanish, is a stressable element. Instances of *lo ke* introducing restrictive relative clauses alternate with simple *ke*, and do not carry the high pitch accent typical of LP stressed morphemes (Hualde and Schwegler 2008, Lipski 2010). On the other hand, when *lo ke* initiates a headless relative clause, *lo* does typically carry a pitch accent. Although not in themselves sufficient to verify the differing status of *lo ke* in headless relative and restrictive relative constructions, the intonational data demonstrate the existence of unstressed *lo ke* in contexts where the corresponding Spanish form would be unstressed *que*.

3. Previous suggestions as to the origin of LP *lo ke*

In an attempt to trace the origin of LP *lo ke* in headless relative clauses, Patiño Rosselli (1983: 176) hints at the Spanish masculine plural compound relative pronoun *los que* ‘those who,’ which can occur as the subject of (usually non-restrictive) relative clauses, as the source of LP *lo ke* “con ampliación de función” [with broadened functions], since all traces of Spanish coda /-s/, whether serving as a plural marker or purely lexical, are not present in LP or in the local Spanish vernacular. In (13), *lo ke* appears to operate as a plural relative pronoun; in fact the presence of the pluralizer *ma* in *ma eso* ‘all those [people]’ is the locus of plural reference:

- (13) *asina kumo ma eso, lo ke miní akí ola memo*
 so as PL DEM REL come here now just
 ‘so those [people], those who came here right now’ (Patiño
 Rosselli 1983: 176)

Example (14), recorded by the author, also presents *lo ke* with apparent plural reference (which is unequivocally marked by the LP plural marker *ma*):

- (14) *Entonse lo ke kelá hwe ma nuevo*
 then REL remain be PL new
 ‘so then the ones who remain are the new ones’

In LP clauses such as (13)-(14) it is possible that Spanish *los que* served as a model in the distant past, since (non-plural) *lo ke* combinations are currently used by even the oldest LP speakers. In contemporary LP, however, the unmarked value for the antecedent of *lo ke* is singular, so that the pluralizer *ma* must be added in order for *lo ke* to mean ‘the ones who’ as in the following examples; example (15f) contains *lo ke* in a headless relative clauses in contrast with *ma lo ke* with plural reference:

- (15) a. *ma lo ke ta akí é prima mi*
 PL REL be here be cousin(f.) 1s
 ‘the [women] here are my cousins’
 b. *suto ma lo ke ta akí suto asé kombesá lengwa palenkera*

1pl PL REL be here 1pl ASP speak Palenquero

‘we, those who are here speak the Palenquero language’

c. *ma hende a tené-ba un tambó ngande pa kwando*

PL people ASP have-ASP ART drum big for when

hende ke lungá-ba pa lo bisá ma lo ke ta-ba

people COMP die-ASP for 3 tell PL REL be-ASP

fwera ri Palenge

outside of Palenque

‘people had a big drum for when people died to inform those who were outside of Palenque’

d. *i akoddá ri ma nombre ri to ma lo ke asé miní*

1s remember of PL name of all PL REL ASP come

kasa mi nu

house 1s NEG

‘I don’t remember the names of all those who have come to my house’

e. *aora ma lo ke ta miní sí ta enrasá ku palenkera*

now PL REL ASP come yes be link with palenquero(f)

‘now those [men] who come do marry Palenquero women’

f. *bo asé miná lo ke bo sabé ke hwe ma lo ke*

2s ASP look REL 2s know COMP be PL REL

tene-ba aí nu

have-ASP there NEG

‘you look at what you know that were [the things] that didn’t exist there’

In LP restrictive relative clauses with an expressed antecedent, the presence of a two-word relativizer such as *lo ke* cannot be easily derived from Spanish models, since in Spanish only the simple complementizer *que* would be used. The replacement of Spanish *que* by *lo ke* in LP restrictive relative clauses represents an apparent increase in structural complexity that is not consistent with the overall correspondences between the grammars of Spanish and LP. Simply deriving *lo ke* from the Spanish compound relatives *los que* (plural) or *lo que* (neuter) does not account for the use of LP *lo ke* as complementizer in restrictive relative clauses, in which Spanish uses only *que* and never an accompanying pronominal element.

In order to search for additional sources of LP *lo ke*, attention will be directed first to an exemplary case from Andean Spanish, where the Spanish simple complementizer *que* is sometimes replaced by non-agreeing *lo que*, just as in LP. Although there is no historical connection with Palenque the Andean Spanish data illustrate the feasibility of re-grammaticalization involving *lo que*. Following an account of the development of Andean *lo que* constructions, attention will be directed at instances of non-argument (intrusive or pleonastic) *lo* in earlier Afro-Hispanic language, specifically as attributed to African-born second-language speakers of Spanish (known as *bozales*). It will be suggested that pleonastic *lo* in *bozal* Spanish portrayals was often functioning as a de facto subject clitic, reflecting the presence of several African substrate languages with obligatory subject clitics instantiating subject-verb agreement, and also a consequence of the unstable verb morphology in Afro-Hispanic pidgins. The demonstrated existence of LP subject clitics will be augmented by examples of pleonastic *lo* constructions in LP that are superficially similar to those found in earlier Afro-Hispanic language and in contemporary Andean Spanish. From this demonstration it will be proposed that pleonastic *lo* originally acting as a generic subject clitic and later losing its definitive grammatical function and evolving to an optional discourse marker contributed to the formation of *lo ke* complementizers in LP restrictive relative clauses.

4. An instructive case: pleonastic *lo* in Andean Spanish

Before turning to a possible analysis of pleonastic *lo* in Afro-Hispanic language (including LP), it is useful to look for comparable cases in language contact environments involving Spanish. The use of non-argument clitics, especially invariant *lo*, is found in some bilingual interlanguage varieties of Spanish in Latin America, reflecting syntactic peculiarities of indigenous languages. In Andean Spanish (in contact with Quechua) there are numerous examples of non-argument *lo*, used with unergative or unaccusative verbs:

- (16) a. *lo ha llegado temprano*
lo have(3s.) arrived early
'he/she arrived early' (Merma Molina 2004: 196)
- b. *lo ha entrado el ratero a mi casa*
lo have(3s.) entered ART burglar LOC my house
'the burglar entered my house' (Merma Molina 2004: 196)
- c. *Lo llegaron a este pueblo*
lo arrived(3pl.) LOC this village
'they arrived at this village' (Cerrón Palomino 2003: 168-170)
- d. *Casi lo he entrado a Bolivia pero no*
almost *lo* have(1s.) entered LOC Bolivia but NEG
lo he entrado
lo have(1s.) entered
'I almost entered Bolivia but I didn't enter' (Fernández Lavaque 1995: 399)

This construction has been documented for Andean Spanish interlanguage beginning with early 17th century texts (Palacios 1998) and probably existed even earlier. There have been suggestions that this "aspectual" use of *lo* is a translation of Quechua aspectual suffixes (e.g. Cerrón Palomino 1976), for example that *lo* is related to the Quechua exhortative/intensifying postverbal

particle /-rku/ sometimes realized as [ʔlo] (Calvo Pérez 2000: 105-106; Cerrón Palomino 1976, 1992; Godenzzi 1986: 197; Muysken 1984; Zavala 1999: 51). Godenzzi (1986) and Palacios (1998) opt for a multi-causal explanation, in which *lo* gradually drifted away from its use as a generic direct object marker to take on locative functions, not always as a calque of specific Quechua particles. Regardless of the underlying cause, they are found only in Quechua-Spanish interlanguage.⁹

Once *lo* becomes “free-floating,” analogical extension to other combinations is a possible outcome. Precisely this has occurred in some Andean dialects in which pleonastic *lo* occurs with intransitive verbs; *lo* also attaches to the complementizer *que* in adjectival subordinate clauses:

- (17) a. *Después ha habido uno lo que en el agua*
 after have(3s.) had one *lo*+COMP in ART water
está, lo que nadan
 be(3s.) *lo*+COMP swim(3pl.)

‘then there was one in the water, swimming’ (Mendoza and Minaya 1975: 73)

- b. *Le ha hecho firmar la libreta a mi*
 3s have(3s.) made sign ART book to my
abuelita por mi mamá lo que todos los días

⁹ In Nahuatl-influenced Spanish, invariant *lo* not only doubles direct objects, but also appears with some intransitive verbs: *No LO saben hablar en castilla* ‘they don’t know how to speak Spanish.’ Clitic doubling with *lo* was once common in indigenous interlanguages in parts of Central America, including Pipil (a variety of Nahuatl) and Lenca in El Salvador and Honduras. Nahuatl- and Pipil-influenced Spanish often uses invariant *lo* for intransitive verbs and locative constructions. In Nahuatl-Spanish interlanguage nearly all documented cases involve verbs in the preterite tense; *lo* accompanies few intransitive verbs in other tenses. In Nahuatl, a frequent morphological indicator of the preterite is the prefix *o-*, placed before the proclitic subject pronoun and the verb stem. This morpheme is invariable, combined with frequent stem changes depending upon the class of verb. The preterite marker *o-* occupies the same relative position as Spanish clitic *lo* (assuming a null subject pronoun in normal Spanish usage), and moreover bears a phonetic similarity with *lo*. Given the relative paucity of Spanish clitics which could be appropriated in representation of Nahuatl clitics, *lo* appears to have been pressed into duty with several distinct functions, corresponding to separate particles in Nahuatl.

grandmother by my mother *lo+COMP* all(m. pl.) ART days

va a su trabajo

go(3s.) to POSS job

‘they made my mother who goes to work every day sign the receipt for my grandmother’ (Mendoza and Minaya 1975: 73)

c. *Yo ya he acabado Coquito lo que leía*

I now have(1s.) finished Coquito *lo+COMP* read-IMP

‘I have finished [the story] Coquito that I was reading’ (Mendoza and Minaya 1975: 73)

d. *Después mi mamá dice al año mi hermanito,*

after my mother say(3s.) to the year my brother

eso lo que tiene dos añitos

DEM *lo+COMP* have(3s.) two year(pl. dim.)

‘then a year later my mother told mi little brother, who is two years old’ (Mendoza and Minaya 1975: 73)

e. *Ha llorado de su chivos lo que se ha*

have(3s.) cried of POSS goats *lo+COMP* REFL have(3s.)

muerto

died

‘He cried over his goats that had died’ (Stark 1970: 11)

f. *No se ha escuchado lo que has tosido*

NEG REFL have(3s.) heard *lo+COMP* have(2s.) coughed

‘We didn’t hear you cough’ (Stark 1970: 11)

From field recordings made by the author in Imbabura province in northern Ecuador, where a substantially different variety of Quichua is spoken (lacking the particle /-rku/), come examples from Quichua-dominant speakers:

- (18) a. *huahuas-tan lo que vivi lijos así*
 child(pl.)-also lo+COMP live(3s.) far thus
 ‘young people who live like that’
- b. *aquí en la casa tingo lo qui hay granito*
 here in ART house have(1s.) lo+COMP be(3s.) grain(dim.)
 ‘here in my house I have grain’
- c. *así muchos razones lo que ponido cuando*
 thus many(m. pl.) reasons lo+COMP put when
era soltero
 be(imp.) single(m.)
 ‘many such reasons when I was single’
- d. *no hay trabajo mi papá antes conversaba lo que*
 NEG be(3s.) work my father before say(3s.imp.) lo+COMP
trabajaba como dice llanatero
 work(3s.-imp.) like say(3s.) field worker
 ‘there is no work; my father used to say that he worked as what they call a field hand’

In the evolution of *lo* from a verb-object agreement marker to a particle accompanying intransitive verbs, eventually *lo* was no longer construed as a calque of an exogenous syntactic structure but simply as an optional particle with no clearly defined function. In Andean Spanish, the evolution of non-argument *lo* can be reconstructed approximately as follows:

- Pleonastic *lo* emerges with intransitive verbs, possibly as a calque of Quechua particles, and aided by the numerous instances of non-agreeing *lo* as redundant direct object marker.
- Pleonastic *lo* no longer represents a spontaneous calque from Quechua but rather becomes an optional concomitant in preverbal position, with at best only a vaguely defined semantic content of its own.
- “Free-floating” *lo* attaches to the complementizer *que* in adjectival clauses, aided by analogy with Spanish compound relative pronouns *el que, los que, la que, las que*.

The latter configuration is identical to the *lo ke* combinations found in LP where, it will be suggested, analogical extension of pleonastic non-argument *lo* is also at stake, albeit by a somewhat different route.

5. Moving closer to home: pleonastic *lo* in portrayals of early Afro-Hispanic language

One feature found in certain purported Afro-Hispanic texts, both early and late, is the pleonastic use of what is superficially the direct object clitic *lo*. In some instances the object clitic is used in conjunction with a transitive verb and an overt direct object NP (although not always exhibiting the correct morphological agreement), thus in effect representing a form of clitic doubling. In other cases *lo* is combined with an intransitive verb, where no question of absorbing an object theta role is at issue. The Spanish Golden Age *bozal* corpus, representing literary imitations of Afro-Hispanic speech written during the 16th and 17th centuries, provides examples of intrusive *lo* (or occasionally *le* or *la*) that cannot be construed as a doubled object clitic. Most of the examples involve intransitive verbs or non-argument *lo* associated with transitive verbs, rather than relative clauses:¹⁰

(19) a. *no lo asamo decir* [...]

NEG *lo* dare(1pl.) say

‘we don’t dare to say’ (Lope de Rueda, *Colloquio de Tymbria*)

¹⁰ Full bibliographical references for all Afro-Hispanic literary examples are found in Lipski (2005).

- b. *Turo me lo conozco, turo me lo entiendes*
all 1s lo know(1s.) all 1s lo understand(2s.)
'everyone knows me, everyone understands me' (Lope de Rueda, *Colloquio de Tymbria*)
- c. *No me lo mientas [...]*
NEG 1s lo lie (2s. imp.)
'Oh my lady don't lie to me' (Lope de Rueda, *Comedia de los engañados*)
- d. *curazone me plinga. Como lo bulle, lo bulle.*
heart 1s burn how lo boil(3s.) lo boil (3s.)
'my heart is burning, how it boils, how it boils'(Quiñones de Benavente, *El borracho*)
- e. *lo manda el señó Retó qui venga cun*
lo order(3s.) ART sir rector COMP come(3s. imp.) with
la tandarte [...]
ART flag
'the rector orders you to come with the flag (Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Villancico)
- f. *lo negro le esá en su tierra.*
ART black le be in POSS land
' blacks are in their own land' (anonymous villancico, 1654)
- g. *nandie estorurar se atreve donde lo negro lo sienta*
nobody sneeze dare where ART black lo sit
'nobody dares to sneeze where black people sit' {anonymous villancico, 1654}

- h. *o la voz me la mente o sa aqueya que yama*
 or ART voice 1s *la* lie or be DEM COMP call
mi señor Pollos.
 my lord chicken
 ‘either the voice deceives me or that is the one called Mr. Chicken’
 (Lope de Rueda, *Comedia de Eufemia*)
- i. *lo salte lo pé*
lo jump ART foot
 ‘our feet are jumping’ (Anon., ‘Teque leque,’ Colombia, 17th c.)

The 19th and early 20th century Afro-Cuban *bozal* corpus, representing several hundred literary and anthropological texts written during the 19th and early 20th centuries, provides more examples of the pleonastic clitic *lo*, among them:

- (20) a. *crupa lo tiene señora porque lo debe gritá*
 blame 3s have lady because *lo* should scream
 ‘the lady is at fault because she should cry out’ (M. Cabrera)
- b. *Ese papé con pintura, se lo va llená barriga?*
 DEM paper with paint 3rfl *lo* go fill belly
 ‘will this painted paper fill your belly?’ (M. Cabrera)
- c. *Negrito má fotuná no lo salí lan Guinea*
 black (dim.) cursed NEG *lo* leave LOC Guinea
bindita hora que branco me lo traé neta tierra
 blessed hour COMP white me *lo* bring in this land
 ‘the unfortunate black man who didn’t leave Guinea, rejoices over the moment when white people brought me to this land’ (Creto Gangá, "Canto de Bodas")

- d. *Y a oté, que lo va ni lo viene [...]*
and to you COMP *lo* go nor *lo* come
‘and you who don’t care one way or the other’ (Mellado, *La casa de Taita Andrés*)
- e. *yo va a piensa como lo quita de la cabeza*
I go to think how *lo* remove from ART head
pensamiento ese [...]
thought DEM
‘I’m going think how to get that thought out of [my] head’
(Mellado, *La casa de Taita Andrés*)
- f. *no lo guanta que moca lo para riba su yo*
NEG *lo* endure COMP fly *lo* stand upon 1s
‘I can’t stand to have flies land on me’ (Creto Gangá, "Canuto Raspadura")
- g. *no lo sale mentra viví lao suya.*
NEG *lo* leave while live side POSS
‘she won’t leave while [I]’m alive at her side’ (Creto Gangá, "Canuto Raspadura")
- h. *uno poquiría que no lo sirive ni pa candela*
ART filth COMP NEG *lo* sirive nor for fire
‘so me piece of junk that isn’t worth burning’ (Creto Gangá, "Canuto Raspadura")

There are also some instances of *lo que* in the Spanish Golden Age and Afro-Cuban *bozal* corpora in which *lo* occurs in apparently superfluous relative constructions, just as in LP:

- (21) a. *Quix dar mi a ti no dexir lo que no oír*
 want(1s-pret) give 1s to 2s NEG say lo+COMP NEG hear
 ‘I gave myself to you and not say that I can’t hear’ (Gaspar Gómez de Toledo, *Tercera parte de la tragicomedia de Celestina*)
- b. *Pa demotrarme lo que tú me quiere*
 for show-me lo+COMP you 1s love
 ‘to show me that you love me’ (Lydia Cabrera, *Francisco y Francisca*)
- c. *ningrito, te lo que da libetá*
 black(dim.) 2s lo+COMP give freedom
 ‘black man you will be freed’
- d. *como son tanto lo que lo abunda nese cosa*
 since be(3pl.) so many lo+COMP lo abound DEM thing
 ‘since there are so many of those things’ (Creto Gangá, fragments of *Canuto Raspadura*)

The above examples all come from literary parodies written by white authors, and in which the approximations to Spanish of presumably African-born speakers are treated mockingly. Despite the inherent unreliability of such racist parodies, the literary corpora from Spain (15th-17th centuries) and Cuba (19th and early 20th centuries) exhibit enough points of internal consistency as well as convergence with attested Afro-Iberian creole languages to warrant additional scrutiny. The use of *lo* in the above examples, scattered across several centuries and two continents, suggests that more than a mindless travesty of learners’ speech was at stake.

6. Pleonastic *lo* in *bozal* Spanish as subject clitic

Non-argument *lo* in the *bozal* texts described previously cannot be traced to a single substrate language, and the type of reanalysis proposed for pleonastic *lo*

in Nahuatl- and Quechua-influenced Spanish (e.g. Lipski 1994: chap. 3) is not at issue. Even the veracity of the texts themselves is in question, as opposed to contemporary indigenous Spanish interlanguages, which can be observed in situ throughout Latin America. Nonetheless, assuming that at least some of the configurations were actually produced in Afro-Hispanic interlanguage, the location of non-argumental *lo*—invariably in immediately preverbal enclitic position—is consistent with the nearly universal western and central African common denominator of SUBJECT clitics, despite the fact that the item in question is derived from a Spanish OBJECT clitic. Although the main African language implicated in the formation of LP is Kikongo and perhaps closely related Central African languages of the Bantu family (Schwegler 2002, 2011a, 2012, in press), the presumed leader of the slave rebellion in Cartagena, Domingo Bioho (“King Benko”) was from northwest Africa, and presumably other African languages were present in the linguistic mix from which LP emerged, wherever and whenever that occurred (and the debate has yet to be fully resolved). While there is no “smoking gun” evidence of the contribution of other, particularly non-Bantu languages to the formation of LP, it is instructive to briefly survey subject clitic behavior in a variety of African language families.

One of the first African language families to interact with Spanish and Portuguese is the Mande group, from the Senegambia, typified by Mende. In this language, there are several sets of closely related subject clitics, as well as a series of emphatic (disjunctive) subject pronouns (Migeod 1908). Use of the subject clitic is obligatory, and when an optional emphatic pronoun is used, it must be followed by the subject clitic: *ngia ngi tewe* ‘I (emph.) cut,’ where *ngia* is the disjunctive pronoun, and *ngi* is the subject clitic. In the sibling language Mandinka the first person singular subject clitic is a velar nasal with a high tone; the first person plural subject clitic is similar, but with a low tone. Rowlands (1959: 56) noted that since Europeans often failed to perceive phonological tone distinctions, “Mandinkas tend to use Emphatic forms in speaking to Europeans in many situations where they would use unemphatic forms among themselves.” This suggests that speakers of African languages with subject clitics might use emphatic pronouns to reinforce subject position when interacting with speakers of other languages—including languages from other parts of Africa—who in turn could overgeneralize the use of disjunctive subject pronouns.

Subject pronouns in Atlantic languages such as Wolof generally exhibit the same disjunctive pronoun/clitic split found among the Mande group, while among non-Bantu Benue-Congo languages, when emphatic

pronouns are used, the clitic is normally absent. Among the Bantu languages, especially Kikongo (Moñino 2012), optional free-standing (and emphatic) pronouns are combined with obligatory preverbal subject clitics. Subject clitics are monosyllabic, and many consist of a single vowel or consonant which is prefixed to the verb (e.g. the survey in Welmers 1973).

Although the emphatic pronoun-subject clitic dichotomy is found in some Afro-Iberian creole languages, e.g. Guinea-Bissau Kriol, no Afro-Hispanic *bozal* texts examined to date contain transparent cases of Ibero-Romance pronouns being used as subject clitics. However, the possibility that *lo* and similar elements derived from Spanish object clitics may have operated as quasi-subject clitics in partially stabilized *bozal* language is worth pursuing. Although literary stereotyping frequently ascribed fanciful speech patterns to marginalized groups, these stereotypes invariably had some basis in true dialectal or interlanguage features. There is no other Spanish linguistic stereotype known to Golden Age and 19th century Caribbean authors that introduces pleonastic object clitics in a fashion consistently different from prevailing Spanish usage. There are, moreover, demographic facts which enhance the plausibility that some varieties of Afro-Hispanic pidgin began to incorporate *lo* into the verb with the morphological value of subject clitic. First, whereas subject clitics are generally required across all major West and Central African language families, the combination of an emphatic subject pronoun or full NP + SUBJECT CLITIC occurs predominantly in the Mande and Atlantic families, and the Bantu languages. The Mande languages represent the first major African language family to interface with Portuguese and Spanish, as witnessed by the frequent use of the ethnic designation *Mandinga* in early Afro-Hispanic texts. Moreover, the presence of speakers of Mande languages remained strong in the Afro-Hispanic mix at least through the end of the 18th century, given the intense Portuguese slave trade in northwest Africa, using the Cape Verde Islands as a transfer station.

Bantu languages first enter the Afro-Hispanic linguistic profile towards the middle of the 17th century, when references to *Congo*, *Manicongo* and *Angola* become frequent in Afro-Hispanic literature. Speakers of these languages were present in Portugal and Spain since the turn of the 16th century, but their numbers were comparatively low at first, increasing rapidly after 1640, when Portugal began exporting slaves from the Portuguese Congo and Angola in large numbers (cf. Schwegler 2014). From the testimony of the Spanish priest Alonso de Sandoval, resident in Cartagena de Indias in the mid-17th century, Congolese and Angolan languages were prominent in the same

linguistic mix from which the eventual founders of LP had escaped (Granda 1970, Sandoval 1647).

In 19th century Cuba, the two most prominent African languages were Yoruba and Kikongo (e. g. Schwegler and Fuentes 2014). The former language does not combine emphatic subject pronouns with subject clitics (cf. Pulleyblank 1986), while the latter language does. Despite the heavy Yoruba presence in Afro-Cuban *santería* culture, this language appears to have had relatively little effect on Afro-Cuban Spanish. Kikongo on the other hand may conceivably have nudged *lo* into incorporating into the verb as a de facto subject clitic.

Since in the West African and Bantu languages which exhibit the emphatic pronoun + subject clitic configuration the subject clitic occupies a position in INFL (essentially the syntactic component responsible for verb-subject agreement), these languages are technically null subject languages, just like Spanish. In this fashion, one would expect to find partially restructured Afro-Hispanic phrases in which *lo* serves as subject clitic both with null subjects and with overt pronominal and nominal subjects. In all the examples shown here, negatives and adverbs all precede *lo*, as befits its clitic status. Indeed, the fact that Spanish preverbal *lo* always occupies the immediately preverbal slot even in clitic clusters increases the likelihood that this prominent item would be reinterpreted as an invariant subject clitic by speakers of developing Afro-Hispanic pidgins.

In the literary examples pleonastic *lo* is always combined with verbs in the third person singular, in immediately preverbal position, which is consistent with the suggestion that *lo* was behaving as a 3-s subject clitic. Many of the Spanish sentences would normally contain an obligatorily null expletive subject, so *lo* is appropriately placed to serve as a subject-verb agreement marker, i.e. a subject clitic. If *lo* sometimes functioned as a subject-verb agreement marker, it is instructive to look for other potential cases where Spanish pronominal clitics appear to express subject-verb agreement rather than the canonical verb-object agreement. A likely candidate is the first-person singular, where *me* or *mi* cannot be attributed to reflexive or “personal dative” constructions. The *bozal* corpus provides the following suggestive examples:

- (22) a. *Yo me ir a porta de ferro*
 I 1s go to gate of iron

‘I am going to the iron gate’ (Rodrigo de Reinosa, Spain, 16th century)

b. *Yo me ir a porta de villa*

I 1s go to gate of town

‘I am going to the town gate’ (Rodrigo de Reinosa, Spain, 16th century):

c. *Yo me la sanare a la lumbre de*

I 1s 3s(f.) heal(1s-fut) LOC ART fire of

mi caras

my face(pl.)

‘I will heal her with the warmth of my face’ (Lope de Rueda, *Colloquio de Tymbria*, Spain, early 16th century)

d. *Yo me a quere extar qui*

I 1s 3s(f.) want be here

‘I want to be here’ (Jaime de Huete, Spain, *Comedia intitulada Tesorina*, 16th century)

e. *yo mi la quieria forcar*

I 1s 3s(f.) want(imp.) hang

‘I wanted to hang her’ (Jaime de Huete, Spain, *Comedia intitulada Tesorina*, 16th century)

f. *yo mi lo lleva de guapo*

I 1s 3s(m.) take of mean

‘I’ll become very angry’ (Manuel Mellado y Montaña, *La casa de Taita Andrés*, Cuba, late 19th century)

The appearance of pleonastic *lo* and *me* in *bozal* imitations is consistent with the notion that these Spanish object clitics may at times have functioned as

subject clitics in the emergent Spanish grammars of speakers of West and Central African languages with obligatory subject clitics. Once the sense of *lo* as a direct calque of a subject clitic was lost, *lo* simply became a potentially optional concomitant of intransitive verbs. This state of affairs is similar to contemporary Andean Spanish speakers who introduce pleonastic *lo* with intransitive verbs not as a conscious calque of any Quechua particle but simply through having acquired this pattern as part of the local vernacular Spanish.

7. A first synthesis: subject clitics and pleonastic *lo* also present in *Lengua ri Palenge*

LP falls in line with other Romance-lexified creoles in requiring overt pronouns for all non-expletive subjects. Schwegler (1993, 2001, 2002) demonstrates the existence of subject clitic pronouns in LP, and even “clitic-doubled” constructions involving a free-standing subject pronoun together with the corresponding subject clitic, reminiscent of Bantu languages (Schwegler 1993: 149):

- (23) a. *Yo i sabé eso nu*
 1s CL know that NEG
 ‘I don’t know that’
- b. *yo i asé a salí a la kwatro*
 1s CL ASP leave at ART four
 ‘I used to leave at 4:00’
- c. *ele e hwe lo ke tam-ba entendé ku abué ele*
 3s CL be COMP be-ASP understand with grandfather 3s
 ‘He was the one who was going to hear from his grandfather’
- d. *Eli e- ta aki nu*
 3s CL be here NEG
 ‘he isn’t here’ (Schwegler 2002: 280)

Some LP speakers use *i* in non-first person singular doubled-subject constructions (usually with full nominal rather than pronominal subjects), as in the following examples recorded by the present author:¹¹

- (24) a. *ma hende asé ablá mi-ndo-ba ke ané i sabé nu*
 PL people ASP speak 1s-ndo-ba COMP 3pl CL know NEG
 ‘people tell me that they do not know’
- b. *awa i asé suto ndaño nu*
 water CL do 1pl harm NEG
 ‘the water doesn’t harm us’
- c. *ma hende i ta ablá asina ke ri onde hwe*
 PL people CL ASP speak thus COMP from where be
 ‘people say like this where are you from?’
- d. *ané i sabé kumo ta repondé bo*
 3pl CL know how ASP answer 2s
 ‘they know how to answer you’
- e. *e ma ndo i ke ta hundo ku suto a*
 DEM PL two CL COMP be with 1pl ASP
sabé ya kumo hwe
 know now how be
 ‘those two who are with us know how it is’

¹¹ Schwegler (p. c.) has suggested that *i* may be a shortened form of *ai* ‘there.’ However in these recordings the realization *i* is free-standing, behaves prosodically as a subject, and does not exhibit fast-speech apocopation.

f. *ma muhé i ta-ba trabahá*

PL woman CL be-ASP work

‘the women were working’

g. *a bese bo i ta aí*

at times 2s CL be there

‘sometimes you are there’

Sometimes *i* appears to function as a complementizer, evidently a reduction of *ri* ‘of’ and a calque from Kikongo (Maglia & Moñino 2014: 42-43).¹² Example (25c) shows *i* used both as an apparent complementizer and as subject clitic:

(25) a. *telebisó i ta aí ba pasá bo korriente*

television CL be there go pass 2s current

‘that television will give you a shock’

b. *ombresito i ta bibí akí ablá mi asina*

man-dim. CL ASP live here speak 1s thus

‘the little man who lives here spoke to me like this’

c. *mahanasito i ta akí i a chitiá ku Tato*

children CL be here CL ASP speak with Tato

‘the kids who are here spoke with Tato’

Given the demonstrable presence of subject clitics in LP, it is natural to search for specimens of pleonastic *lo* similar to those found in earlier Afro-Hispanic portrayals. Field recordings of spontaneous LP speech contain several examples such as the following, in which *lo* combines with intransitive

¹² The use of *i* as subject clitic or possibly reduced complementizer is not new; Escalante (1954: 273) presents the example *miná que jemplá i nacé aquí* which is glossed as ‘mira el ejemplar que nació aquí’ [look at the specimen that was born here].

(unaccusative and unergative) verbs as well as transitive verbs with an overtly expressed direct object.

- (26) a. *ma hende lo gwatiá mi-ndo-ba komo hende lo ke*
 PL people *lo* watch 1s-ndo-ba like people COMP
no gwatiá mi-ndu-ba nu
 NEG watch 1s-ndo-ba NEG
 ‘people are looking at me like people who have never seen me’
- b. *ané lo bae-ba aggún patte*
 3pl *lo* go-ASP some part
 ‘they were going somewhere’
- c. *bo lo kuchá mi-ndo-ba*
 2s *lo* hear 1s-ndo-ba
 ‘you are listening to me’
- d. *i nesesita hende-ba, pa hende lo miní*
 1s need people-ba for people *lo* come
 ‘I need some people to come’
- e. *ma hende ri pelíkula ri produción lo miní i lo*
 PL people of film of production *lo* come and *lo*
kelá akí
 stay here
 ‘the movie production people came and [they] stayed here’
- f. *pa terminá bachiyerato pa lo bae pa unibesirá*
 for finish school for *lo* go for university

‘to finish high school for [him] to go to the university’

g. *akí Palenge kwando hende lo asé lungá*

here Palenque when people *lo* ASP die

‘here in Palenque when people die’

h. *i ta ablá bo-ndo pa si suto lo bae andi Dioso*

1s ASP talk 2s-ndo for if 1pl *lo* go LOC God

‘I’m talking to you so that if we go to meet God’

i. *a ma indio nunca ma hende proibílo pa lo*

to PL Indian never PL people prohibit+3s for *lo*

kitá ma lengwa nu

remove PL language NEG

‘no one prohibited the Indians to take away their language’

j. *si ma uto hende lo ta ‘yá, bo polé bae*

if PL other people *lo* be there 2s able go

pa ‘yá nu

for there NEG

‘if there are other people there, you can’t go there’

k. *ma hende asé nda un papelito pa hende lo bae*

PL people ASP give ART paper for people *lo* go

andi kumpleaño ele

LOC birthday 3s

‘they give out a piece of paper so that people will go to her birthday party’

1. *ma masaná lo gwatiá mi-ndo komo hende lo ke*
 PL child *lo* watch 1s-ndo like people COMP
no gwatiá mi nu
 NEG watch 1s NEG

‘the kids are looking at me as though they had never seen me’

Example (26a and 26-1) show the presence of pleonastic *lo* and *lo ke* in the same utterance, from which it can be seen that *lo* is not simply a reduced variant of *lo ke*. There are even instances of pleonastic *lo* with the complementizer *ke* in adverbial clauses:

- (27) a. *depwé lo ke bo rayá yuka bo a prepara-lo*
 after COMP 2s grate cassava 2s ASP prepare+3s

ku aní

with anise

‘after you grate the cassava you prepare it with anise’

- b. *depué lo ke suto asé rayá koko ten ke pelá*
 after COMP 1pl ASP grate coconut have COMP peel

piña

pineapple

‘after we grate the coconut we have to peel a pineapple’

The presence of pleonastic *lo* constructions in LP reinforces the suggestion that not all literary portrayals of Afro-Hispanic speech were entirely fanciful. As in the *bozal* examples, pleonastic *lo* in LP occurs in the same immediately preverbal position as acknowledged subject clitics, is not co-referential with any object argument, and occurs in conjunction with an overtly expressed nominal subject. Nearly all of the examples found to date involve full nominal subjects, not pronouns, and it may be that *lo* was originally interpreted as a

generic subject clitic, not associated exclusively with a single disjunctive subject pronoun.

The remaining step in the reconstruction is the grammaticalization of *lo ke* combinations using the pleonastic clitic *lo*. In both Andean Spanish and LP it has been proposed that *lo* evolved from a grammatically specific particle to a vaguely construed expression of aspect, and finally to a quasi-lexicalized marker associated with a particular ethnolect but not in itself bearing any demonstrable syntactic or semantic significance. Since completely function-free particles in effect add background noise to the communication process in the form of an un-parseable intrusion, it is not surprising that in both Andean Spanish and LP *lo* gravitated to the complementizer *que/ke*, by analogy with the already existing *lo ke* combination found in headless relative clauses. In LP, this re-attachment of a “floating” particle is consistent with other instances of displaced morphemes which in this speech community set aside certain speakers as “elegant” or “fancy” LP orators.

8. Other examples of re-grammaticalization of *Lengua ri Palenge* particles: *-ba, -ndo, ma*

Fluent native speakers of LP, upon being queried regarding pleonastic *lo* in combinations like *ma hende lo gwatiá-mi* ‘people look at me’ respond that this is *lenguaje rebuscado* ‘fancy talk,’ and several of the speakers who themselves spontaneously use pleonastic *lo* admit to having picked it up through imitation of charismatic speakers from earlier generations. There are at least two other similar re-attachments found among some contemporary LP speakers, in both cases associated with enhanced rhetoric, impassioned oratory, or simply “putting on airs.” Both involve attaching putatively bound verbal suffixes to non-verbal elements, in a fashion that adds no semantic nuances but which many speakers feel lends elegance and a sense of great authenticity to their speech (studied extensively in Lipski 2012b). The first case, already documented in Friedeman and Patiño Rosselli (1973: 125), involves the imperfective suffix *-ba*, which is normally attached to verb stems, but which for many speakers can optionally attach to nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, etc. For a subset of the speakers who employ *-ba* as a detachable marker of “Palenquero” identity, the (probably Spanish-derived) gerund suffix

-ndo also freely re-attaches to LP pronouns *mi* (1s), *bo* (2s), and *ané* (3pl).¹³ A third re-grammaticalization involves the LP plural marker *ma* and its evolution to a number-unmarked definite article in the speech of many young language learners (Lipski 2012a, 2014).

9. Summary: from *ke* to *lo ke* in *Lengua ri Palenge* (Palenquero)

The preceding sections have documented grammaticalization phenomena in LP, together with parallels in Andean Spanish and earlier Afro-Hispanic *bozal* language, all of which impinge on the emergence of *lo ke* as complementizer in *Lengua ri Palenge* (Palenquero) restrictive relative clauses, instead of the Spanish-derived *ke*. The Andean Spanish data were presented as an example of a parallel development in another contact situation, without any suggestion that indigenous languages were involved in the formation of LP, while the *bozal* examples, being mostly literary imitations, are suggestive rather than probative. The line of argumentation as regards *lo ke* as complementizer in *lengua ri Palenge* can be recapitulated as follows:

- LP develops non-object preverbal *lo*, perhaps inherited from earlier Afro-Hispanic interlanguage.
- Initially pleonastic *lo* falls into line with other LP subject clitics, but never becomes fully integrated with the other subject pronouns.
- Retaining its essentially pronominal nature, and aided by analogy with Spanish *lo que* and *los que* (and possibly also LP *lo ke* in headless relative clauses), *lo* attaches to the complementizer *ke* in restrictive relative clauses.
- *Lo* follows a further re-grammaticalization similar to the trajectories of the verbal markers *-ba* and *-ndo* (and possibly of the pronominal element *i*), and recently among young speakers of the plural marker *ma*. *Lo* acquires an additional role as a non-argument ethnolinguistic marker that can be freely placed preverbally to achieve a “deeper” LP discourse.

The linguistic history of LP from the early 17th century to the early 20th century has not been documented, so that the preceding reconstruction has necessarily relied on circumstantial evidence. Each step of the proposed analysis is consistent with independently observed contact-induced

¹³ In some constructions *-ndo* attached to pronouns may actually be a progressive (gerund-derived) suffix displaced from the preceding verb (e.g. Maglia & Moñino 2014: 38), but there are instances in which no verb precedes, e.g. *ané-ndo lo baeba* ‘they went’ (Lipski 2012b).

phenomena—in LP and in Spanish—and the evolution of the complementizer *lo ke* becomes less mysterious when placed against the backdrop of constant grammatical revision that represents the essence of the linguistic chimera that is *Lengua ri Palenge*.

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