On the source of the infinitive in Romance-derived pidgins and creoles

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Introduction

A recent comic strip, resuscitating racial stereotypes which had purportedly disappeared at least a century ago, depicted a dialogue between a Spanish priest and an outrageous parody of an African `native.' The latter begins by addressing the priest as follows:

> Yo estar muy enojado. Yo haber tenido 10 hijos, "todos de color"! Ahora el 11vo. nacer blanco! Ud. ser el único hombre blanco en 200 km. Ud. deber "EXPLICARME." [I am very angry. I've had ten children, "all colored!" Now the 11th one has been born white! You are the only white man within 200 km. You must "explain to me."]

This stereotype is confirmed by independent observations. Ferguson (1971: 143-4) says that `a speaker of Spanish who wishes to communicate with a foreigner who has little or no Spanish will typically use the infinitive of the verb or the third singular rather than the usual inflected forms, and he will use mi `my' for yo `I' and omit the definite and indefinite articles: mi ver soldado `me [to-] see soldier' for yo veo al soldado `I see the soldier.' Such Spanish is felt by native speakers of the language to be the way foreigners talk, and it can most readily be elicited from Spanish-speaking informants by asking them how foreigners speak.' Thompson (1991) presented native speakers of Spanish with options as how to address a newly-hired employee who spoke little Spanish. A large number of respondents preferred sentences with bare infinitives, such as ¿cómo estar familia? `How is [the] family?' and ¿Jugar niños afuera? `[are the] children playing outside?' When asked to `speak like Tarzan,' the same respondents came up with sentences using uninflected infinitives and null subjects: estar comiendo `[we] are eating,' ¿estar plátano bajo tierra? `is [the] banana down [on the] ground?', ¿quién ser hombre? `who is [the] man?' Hinnenkamp (1984) similarly lists the bare infinitive as a typical strategem of foreigner talk, while Corder (1975) believes that foreigner talk, baby talk, interlanguages, and pidgins share the general lack of copulas and functional categories, a single pronominal paradigm, and little or no verbal inflection.

My own replications of the experiments by Ferguson and Thompson, asking my Spanish-speaking students to produce examples of `Tarzan'-like foreigner talk, reveal differences in output depending on fluency and cultural background. Students raised in Spanish-speaking countries typically produced the most bare infinitives:

> No te puede help `[I] can't help you'
> no saber yo `I don't know [the answer]'
> yo no ayudar/no ayuda `I can't help [you]'
> ¿Donde (tú) vivir? `Where do [you] live?'
> no sé ella `I don't know her'
> ¿tener hambre?/¿tú comer? `Are [you] hungry?'
> ¿Cómo tú llamar? `What is your name?'
> ¿Dónde (estar) Roberto?' `Where is Robert?'
> no (hablar) español `[I] don't know Spanish'

Spanish-speaking students from the United States with little cultural literacy in Spanish were more likely to suggest incorrectly conjugated (3 s.) verbs and incorrect gender assignment, although bare infinitives were also used:

No sabe el question `[I] don't know the answer'
¿Donde Roberto?/Roberto donde es? `Where [is] Roberto?'
No se ella `[I] don't know her'
¿Estas hambre? `Are [you] hungry?'
Ud. yo no ayudar puedo `I can't help you'
no c[on]ocer yo `I don't know [her]'
no saber respuesta `[I] don't know [the] answer'
no poder ayudar [I] can't help [you]'

Students from an Anglophone background who had learned Spanish as a second language also produced more realistic approximations to actual L$_2$ Spanish, although tending to eliminate more function words and randomly mixing verb endings.

No sabe/saber/sabo ella `[I] don't know her'
¿Donde tú vivas? `Where do you live?'
No (puedo) ayudar usted/no poder ayudar tú/no puedo te ayuda `I can't help you'
tener hambre? `are [you] hungry?'
Roberto, donde? `Where is Roberto?'
¿Como costar esto? `How much does this cost?'

This suggests the continued existence of foreigner-talk stereotypes among culturally literate members of the world's Spanish-speaking communities, propagated informally by jokes, popular literature, and over the past century, by radio, television, movies, and comic strips.

It is unlikely that any modern reader or speaker has heard Spanish spoken in this fashion, by natives of Africa or elsewhere. Those who struggle to employ Spanish as a weak second language do not combine the bare infinitive with correct vocabulary, compound verb formation, and NP-internal agreement. And yet this model of Spanish `foreigner talk' has been in existence for at least 500 years and probably much longer. Nor are black Africans the only group to be branded with this type of language; at one time or another, similar reductions of Spanish have been attributed to speakers of Arabic, Berber, Chinese languages, Tagalog, Basque, French, German, English, and a variety of Native American languages. In Renaissance Spain this was the language of the *moro* or Moor; today it is the hands-down winner for typecasting the *gringo* or `ugly American.' Moreover, when unsuspecting Spanish speakers throughout the world are asked to imagine how Tarzan or some other `ape-man' might talk, the spontaneous responses are suspiciously similar to the above-mentioned literary parodies. Lest it be thought that such `broken Spanish' is nothing but a fanciful invention, the product of bigotry, previously documented or currently surviving offshoots of Spanish-, Portuguese-, Italian-, and French-based foreigner talk reveal that this type of pidginized language has existed in real speech communities, although today no known second-language learners of Spanish speak in this fashion. What, then, is the relationship between imagined and real `foreigners' Spanish, and how has a reasonably cohesive model of such `almost-Spanish' remained in the Spanish collective unconscious for so long? More specifically, what is the source of the bare infinitive qua invariant verb stem in most Romance-based creoles? Does this configuration reflect actual L$_2$ approximations as proffered by innocent pidgin speakers, or are forces of deliberate manipulation at work? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to examine real examples of reduced Romance, seeking paths of historical evolution, crossovers among languages, and recurring patterns.

(Afro-) Portuguese based pidgins

The first known Portuguese-based pidgins are those attributed to sub-Saharan Africans, and come from the *Cancioneiro geral* of Garcia de Resende published in 1516, contain the bare infinitive:

FERNAM DA SILVEIRA [1455]:
A min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa, lonje muyto terra onde viver nos, andar carabela, tubarão de Lixboa `I am [a] king from Sierra Leone, from from the land where we live, [I] travelled by caravelle/shark to Lisbon'
ANRIQUE DA MOTA [LATE 15TH CENTURY]:
a mym nunca, nunca mym entornar mym andar augoá jardim, a mym nunca ssar rroym, porque bradar? `I never overturned [the wine jug], I was watering the garden, I am never bad, why are [you] angry?'

Bare infinitives were soon replaced by some form of conjugated verb in the early Afro-Portuguese texts; by the time of the first major writer to use such language (Gil Vicente, writing in the early 16th century), `Africanized' Portuguese uses a combination of correctly conjugated verbs and incorrect forms, some of which are inappropriate members of the same paradigm, while others are wild inventions:

Que riabo sempresa! Abre oio turo ria. Mi busca mulato bai, ficar abora, ratinho ... `What a hell of a surprise. [I] have my eyes open every day. I look for a mulatto to to with, to stay awhile'

The earliest (Afro-) Hispanic pidgins

In Spain, Afro-Hispanic pidgin language was first represented in the `Coplas a los negros y negras' by Rodrigo de Reinosa, written at the turn of the 16th century. Most verbs are left in the infinitive; occasional defective attempts at conjugation (e.g. *sabo* `I know') also occur:

A mí llamar Comba de terra Guinea, y en la mi tierra comer buen cangrejo, y allá en Gelofe, do tu terra sea, comer con gran hambre carabaju vejo, cabeza de can, lagarto bermejo, por do tu andar muy muyto fambriento ... `My name is Comba from the land of Guinea, and in my land [we] dine well on crabs, and in Wolof, your land, the starving people eat old beetles, dog's heads, red lizards, and they all go around hungry'

A few other early Afro-Iberian texts also used the bare infinitive:

ANTONIO DE CHIADO, AUTOS DAS REGATEIRAS (CA. 1550)
a mim frugá boso matá, boso sempre bradá `[If] I am lazy you [will] kill [me], you [are] always angry'
DIEGO SÁNCHEZ DE BADAJOZ, FARSA TEOLOGAL (CA. 1525-30)
Fransico estar mi mariro, ya etar casá ... no etar mueto `Fransisco is my husband, [we] are already married ... [he] isn't dead'
LOPE DE RUEDA, COMEDIA LLAMADA EUFEMIA (1538-42)
agora sí me contenta; mas ¿sabe qué querer yo, siñor Pollos `Now I'm happy, but do you know what I want, Mr. Pollos?'

Uninflected infinitives were soon replaced by some semblance of conjugated verbs. Only a decade or two after Reinosa's poems, Lope de Rueda, widely acknowledged to be one of the most careful and accurate imitators of early Afro-Hispanic language, alternated bare infinitives and conjugated verbs in the speech of his African characters. Conjugated verbs--some bizarre, others only slightly deviant--formed the basis for Afro-Hispanic language for several centuries following these early Golden Age writings. Beginning in the late 18th century a new group of texts appears in Latin America, representing newly arrived Africans in the three regions in which

the highest concentrations of *bozales* or African-born L2 speakers of Spanish were to be found: Cuba, coastal Peru, and Buenos Aires/Montevideo. Particularly in the first two regions, conjugated verbs did alternate with bare infinitives, suggesting the rapid acquisition of Spanish by freshly arrived Africans who could not always tap into a previously established Afro-Hispanic community language, and whose contacts with natively spoken Spanish (whether by blacks or by whites) was not always adequate to ensure at least some conjugated verbs.

> La vieja Asunción nunca jablá `Old Asunción never speaks' (Armanda Ruíz García, *Más allá de la nada* (1957) [Cuba])
>
> No, siñó, yo no matá ninguno, yo sentá atrá quitrín pa yegá prisa, prisa, na panadería `No sir, I didn't kill anybody; I was sitting in the back of the carriage, to get to the bakery quickly' (Ildefonso Estrada y Zenea, *El quitrín* (1980) [Cuba, 1880])
>
> Cañón pañó no sebí pa ná. Cañón pañó tira tiro paf y se cayá ... `Spanish cannons are good for nothing.  Spanish cannons go bang and then are silent' (Rosa Hilda Zell,`La sombra del caudillo' (1953) [Cuba])
>
> Yo no faltá a sumesé puque sólo pregoná tamá, tamale. `I didn't let you down, I was only calling out "tamales, tamales"'{Felipe Pardo y Aliaga `El tamalero' (Peru, ca. 1830 (1971: 99-100)}

Ortiz López (1998) travelled to Cuba and interviewed elderly Afro-Cubans, who recalled the time when bozal Spanish was still to be heard. Examples of their recollections include:

> Carajo, yo te va joder ... Yo va sarúa [saludar] al niño Otavio ... ahora yo te va catigá ... yo tumbar caña la colonia ... `Damn, I'm going to screw you ... I'm going to greet the boy Octavio ... Now I'm going to punish you ... I cut sugar cane in the colony'

`Moorish' Spanish pidgin

Another source of the bare infinitive in pidgin Spanish texts is the corpus of `Moorish' Spanish imitations, which populated Spanish Renaissance literature following the expulsion of the last of the Moorish kingdoms from the Iberian Peninsula. Appearing nearly simultaneously with Afro-Hispanic imitations, the speech of the *moro* or *morisco* became a literary stock in trade for Spanish writers during the 16th and 17th centuries (Sloman 1949). Grammatically, the morisco verb is almost always in the infinitive, and some 16th century texts exhibit use of mí as subject pronoun. Non-agreeing null subjects are frequent, articles are often eliminated, and the verb estar, which in 16th century Spanish had fewer purely copular functions than in modern Spanish, became the default copula, used even with predicate nominatives. Early 16th century examples come from Lope de Rueda's *Armelina* (1520's), where infinitives alternate with sometimes incorrectly agreeing finite verbs.

> ¿Quin llamar, quin llamar? ¡Hola! ¿Pinxastex quinxordamox porque traquilitraque? `Who is calling? Did you think that we were deafened by the racket?'
>
> ¿Qué te parexer, xeñor honrado? ¿Tenerlo todo ben entendido? `What do you think, good sir? Have [you] understood everything well?'

Other examples include:

> GIL VICENTE, *CORTES DE JÚPITER* (CA. 1520):
>
> Mi no xaber que exto extar, mi no xaber que exto xer,
>
> mi no xaber onde andar. `I don't know what this is; I don't know where [I] am going'
>
> *FARSA DEL SACRAMENTO LLAMADA LE LOS LENGUAJES* (ANON. 16TH C.):
>
> Que mandar, mi bon zonior? `What do [you] command, my good sir?'
>
> Mi xonior, no estar cristiano `Sir, [I] am not Christian'

Xenpre yo estar ben creado, mi no hurtar, ni matar, ni hazer otro becado. `I am always well-bred; I don't steal nor kill nor sin in other ways'

LUIS DE GÓNGORA (1615):

Aunque entre el mula e il vaquilio nacer en este pajar,

o estrelias mentir, o estar Califa vos, chequetilio. `Although [you] were born among mules and calves in this hay, either the stars lie or you are a Caliph, little child.'

Anglo-Hispanic pidgins

A common element in much 20th century Latin American literature is the representation of pidginized Spanish as used by speakers of English. The typical pidgin speaker hails from the United States, and is often portrayed as the domineering *gringo* or *yanqui* (expatriate travelers, entrepreneurs, and military personnel), but similar linguistic traits have been attributed to natives of England, and to (West Indian) English speakers in Central America. Most of the examples are derisive and macaronic, but occasionally the English speakers are cast in a sympathetic light. Although there is considerable variation among texts, use of the uninflected infinitive is a common denominator, as is use of mí as subject pronoun. The infinitive sometimes alternates with finite verbs, usually in the third person singular. Many texts exhibit no articles and few prepositions, suggesting a phrase structure composed entirely of lexical projections.

JOAQUÍN GUTIÉRREZ (1977), *PUERTO LIMÓN* [COSTA RICA]:

No, mí no pueda llevar. Mí llevar y después joden a Tom. Míster, yo sabe bien. Vos decir nada a la compañía. Vos llegar a Limón y te olvidás ... `No, I can't take [you]. I take you, and then Tom gets screwed. Mister, I know very well. You won't say anything to the company. You will arrive in Limón and you will forget ...'

RAMÓN AMAYA-AMADOR (1957), *PRISIÓN VERDE* [HONDURAS]:

Ser inútil. Juana no aceptar. Decir tiene su marido. Por eso yo decir a mister Jones, si él quiere coger Juana, primero quitar marido `[It's] no use. Juana will not accept. [She will] say [she] has a husband. Therefore I said to Mister Jones, if he wants to seduce Juana, [he should] get rid of the husband first'

JOAQUÍN BELEÑO (1963), *CURUNDÚ* [PANAMA]:

Ella cree que yo ganar mi plata como el policí ... yo tiene que trabajar ... `She thinks that I earn money just like a policeman ... I have to work'

¿quién mandar aquí? si tú no saber, ¿quién sabe? `Who's in charge here? If you don't know, who knows?'

Finally, broken Spanish is used by an extraterrestrial `hombre de otro mundo' in the Cuban novel *Sacchario* (Cossío Woodward 1970:13), interspersed with grammatically correct Spanish: `No dominan el átomo, ni hacen vuelos interplanetarios … bien perdone. Yo comprender' [they don't control the atom nor undertake interplanetary flight; pardon me, I understand]. These examples contrast with more realistic literary representations of English-influenced Spanish, as well as by actual field observations.

Haitian Spanish pidgin

Literary imitations of Haitian canecutters in the Dominican Republic and Cuba, who speak a pidginized Spanish similar to that of English-speaking West Indians, coincides substantially with actual observations of Haitians' Spanish, although early literary attempts were

only crude parodies. In general, finite verb forms are used to instantiate Spanish finite verbs, with a noteworthy preference for the third person singular. Some Haitians occasionally use the Spanish infinitive instead of a conjugated verb, perhaps reflecting the widespread homophony between Haitian Creole verbs and French infinitives, but such examples are not common:

> ORTIZ LÓPEZ (1999) {RECORDED IN CUBA}:
>
> Yo contrao un paisano mía nosotro hablá su lenguaje e nosotro ... yo habla con mi paisano patuá ... bueno, yo no pue negal mi lengua `I find a countryman, we speak [our] language, I speak patois [Haitian Creole] with my countrymen ... I can't deny my own language'
>
> yo hacel mucho trabajal; coltal caña balato; recogel café a sei kilo `I worked hard; I cut sugar cane for little money; I picked coffee for six cents'

Philippine Spanish pidgin

The Spanish language was present in Philippines for more than 350 years, and although only a very small proportion of the Philippine population ever spoke (non- creolized) Spanish either natively or as a strong second language, Spanish contributed heavily to the lexicon of many Philippine languages, while the Spanish as spoken by Filipinos of varying social condition acquired a strong local flavor. In addition to creole and quasi-native Philippine Spanish, several Spanish-based pidgins evolved, particularly as spoken by Chinese residents, but also used by non-fluent Filipinos when addressing Spaniards. The derisive term used by Spaniards was *español de cocina* or `kitchen Spanish'; `bamboo Spanish' was a term used during the American occupation of the Philippines, especially to describe the pidgin used between Filipinos and Japanese immigrants to the Philippines in the early 20th century. `Kitchen Spanish' was a rough pidgin, and contained few if any of the consistent grammatical structures which characterize PCS:  detailed tense/mood/aspect particle system, fixed syntax, hybrid Spanish-Philippine pronominal system, etc.  Most examples of `kitchen Spanish' contained some invariant conjugated verb, usually in the 3rd person singular, or else a preverbal particle (*ta*, *ya*, etc.) followed by the infinitive, but bare invariant infinitives occasionally appeared:

> Usted señor, bajar, y yo apartar animales `You sir, will get down [from the carriage]; I will disperse the animals' (Feced 1888: 24)
>
> Bueno, señor, aquí comer `Well, sir, here [you can] eat' (Feced 1888: 24)
>
> No hay ya, siñol; pudo quedá sin el plasa, porque sisante hace tiempo, cuando aquel cosa del flata ... pero no necesitá `He [doesn't work there] any more, sir; he lost the job, he's been out of work for some time, since the time of the money affair, but [he] doesn't need [it] (Rincón 1896: 16-17)
>
> Siguro ha roto aquel rienda, pero en un poco arreglarlo `Those reins have probably broken, but [I] can fix them in a short time' (Rincón 1896: 27)

Chinese-Spanish pidgins

In the second half of the 19th century, Cuba received at least 150,000 Chinese laborers, while more than 90,000 Chinese workers were imported into coastal Peru. Smaller numbers arrived in Panama, Venezuela, and Central America. The Chinese worked in the sugar plantations and mills as virtual slaves, side by side with Africans and--in Cuba--workers from other Caribbean islands. The linguistic conditions surrounding the lives of Chinese laborers closely parallels that of African bozales, and Chinese workers' acquisition of Spanish followed

similar paths. Moreover, the linguistic model for Chinese workers was frequently the speech of bozales who had already learned some Spanish. So familiar was the habla de chino in these countries that a literary stereotype quickly developed, almost always portraying the Chinese in a somewhat comical but never totally unfavorable light (Lipski 1998, 1999). As adumbrated by the Philippine Chinese examples, the linguistic features of Chinese pidgin Spanish include the massive replacement of /r/ by /l/ in all positions, free use of null subject pronouns even in the absence of subject-verb agreement, and suspension of most subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement. Definite articles were infrequent, and there was some elimination of prepositions, particularly de. Verbs--which almost never agreed with subjects--were sometimes based on the third person singular, sometimes on the infinitive. There were occasional instances of apparent preverbal particles, such as ta + Vinf, possibly due to the fact that most Chinese workers were exported through the Portuguese port of Macau, where they may have picked up the rudiments of Macau Creole Portuguese. Examples involving bare infinitives include:

`LOS CHINOS' (HERNÁNDEZ CATÁ 1967:57):

Mí no importar guardias ... mí tener un machete y mater todos de noche, igual que en matadero ... mí saber bien `I don't care about the guards, I have a machete and I'll kill them all at night, just like in the slaughterhouse, I know how'

`EL PICADOR Y EL CHINO TIFÍ' (FEIJÓO 1981: 153-4) {CUBA}:

Tú tlabaja mucho. Tú tumba mucha caña y ganá mucho dinelo. Pue, tonse, come caña hata sábalo y ven dipué, que yo lipachá comía pa ti. `You work hard. You cut much sugarcane and earn a lot of money. Well, then, eat sugar cane until Saturday and then come here, when I'll sell you food'

ANTONIO ORTEGA, `CHINA OLVIDADO' (BUENO 1959: 54-73) {CUBA}:

Yo no sabel. Chino olvilalo, chino no tenel palientes ... no tenel amigos ... chino estal solo ... `I don't know. Chinese man forgets, Chinese man has no relatives, has no friends ... Chinese man is alone'

TRAZEGNIES GRANDA (1994: 238) {PERU}

Neglo engleído, tu cleel que sólo neglo hacel velso. Pelo pala chino sel palte de su elucació ... `You stuck-up Negro; you think that only Negros can make up verses. But for [us] Chinese, it's part of [our] upbringing'

CHONG RUÍZ (1993: 127-8) {PANAMA}

Cuando inglé vino a la China tlajo opio; ningún homble tenel mucha comila, entonces el inglé dijo: yo tomal la comila y el chino comel opio `When the English came to China they brought opium. Nobody had much food, so the English said: I will take the food and the Chinese will eat opium'

A very curious testimony on the deliberate simplification by Spanish speakers when addressing Chinese, Japanese, and other foreigners, comes from Peru (Benvenutto Murrieta 1936:157-8). Among the strategies listed is the reduction of all verbs to the gerund:

si tú regalando ya no negocio; todo fregado `If you give [merchandise] away, there will be no business, everything will be ruined'

Benvenutto Murrieta (1936:158) speculates on the motive for such simplificaitons, in one of the most eloquent introspections ever attested for foreigner talk:

¿Cuál es el motivo de estas jeringonzas? ¿Provendrán acaso del complejo de considerar al extranjero un inferior, un incapaz? En el caso de los chinos y japoneses la hipótesis sería la más probable ... no valdría lo mismo para los europeos, de los cuales hácese vulgarmente ... por razones de origen una evidente

supervaloración. Las circunstancias llevarían, pues, a pensar más bien en una simple imitación burlesca, o en un deseo de hacerse entender mejor. [What is the motive for these jargons? Could they stem from a feeling that foreigners are inferior and useless? In the case of Chinese and Japonese this is the most probable hypothesis ... it is not the case for europeans, who are commonly overvalued on the basis of their origin. The circumstances lead one to suppose a mere mocking imitation, or a desire to make oneself understood better.]

Amerindian-Spanish pidgins

Throughout the Americas, reduced forms of Spanish are spoken by isolated indigenous populations, with characteristics different from the more fluent Spanish-based interlanguage used, e.g. in the Andean region, Paraguay, and central Mexico. At times the pidgins are used only by indigenous residents when speaking to native Spanish speakers or members of other language groups, while in other cases native Spanish speakers consciously adapt the pidgin when speaking to members of an indigenous community. In almost all instances, when an invariant verb is present, it is based on the Spanish gerund, never the infinitive:

PANARE [VENEZUELA] (RILEY 1952)
yo no sabyendo ke tu disyendo `I don't know what you are talking about'
MARQUITARE [VENEZUELA]; *CANAIMA* (GALLEGOS 1991)
¿Cómo llamándote tú? `What's your name?' [said by Spanish speaker]
Cuando tú yendo allá, Ponchopire enseñándote las cosas `When you go there, Ponchopire
        will show you everything'
GUARAÚNO [VENEZUELA]; *CANAIMA* (GALLEGOS 1991)
Yo dándote chinchorro, tú dándome sal `[if] I give you a fishing net, you will give me
        salt'
CAYAPA [ECUADOR]; *JUYUNGO* (ORTIZ 1976)
Tú, compadre, chiquito, gustándome. Tú, sabiendo números, ¿no? Yo necesitándote aquí
        `I like you, fellow. You know about numbers, don't you? I need you here'
        [spoken by native Spanish speaker]
COLORADO [ECUADOR]; *JUYUNGO* (ORTIZ 1976)
Eso estando bueno, entren en mi casa, yo llamando otra gente `That's good, come into my
        house, I will call some other people
AYMARA-INFLUENCED BOLIVIAN SPANISH (STRATFORD 1989)
¿Qué diciendo nomás te has venido? `Just why have you come?'
OTOMÍ-INFLUENCED SPANISH [MEXICO] (LASTRA 1995)
Tú siguiendo trabajando `You keep on working'

None of the indigenous languages implicated in the gerund-based Spanish pidgins have verb forms which correspond even partially to the Romance gerund, so direct transfer is not at stake. Nor are progressive constructions prominent in early child Spanish. The gerund-based Spanish pidgins probably had their origin in Spanish speakers' heavy use of the progressive construction when speaking with the indigenous populations: *¿qué estás haciendo?* `What are you doing?' Since the auxiliary verb, which also serves as a copula in Spanish, is devoid of semantic content, indigenous interlocutors might well repeat back the gerund in the absence of *estar*, providing a model which could then be reinforced by native Spanish speakers who hit upon this `Indian' fashion of speaking Spanish.

Contemporary Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Portuguese pidgins

In modern Equatorial Guinea, where Spanish is the official language, spoken as a L$_2$ by nearly all the population—albeit with widely varying fluency—there is a gravitation towards the 3rd person singular as a quasi-invariant verb, except among the most fluent speakers. In contemporary Guinean Spanish, there are no attestations of the bare infinitive instead of finite verbs; however during the formative period of this dialect (beginning in the final decades of the 19th century), infinitives occasionally were found. Ferrer Piera (1900: 105-8) reproduces the speech of a Bubi man from Fernando Poo:

> Yo gusta más ir vestido, quitar botas para no caer y andar mejor ... `I prefer to be dressed, to take off my boots so as to not fall and walk more easily'
> Bubís estar en el bosque `[the] Bubis are in the forest'

In contemporary Angolan L$_2$ Portuguese, spoken widely in the *musseques* or working-class neighborhoods of Luanda and other Angolan cities, it is common for the third person singular to instantiate the invariant verb stem, as in Equatorial Guinean Spanish. There are some instances, however, of the bare infinitive among less fluent Portuguese speakers:

> Patrão, Manueli ser maluco. Maluco mesmo! `Boss, Manuel is evil, evil' (Azeredo 1956:101)
> Este mato ter um grande feitiço, patrão. Eu foi saber, patrão. `These woods are bewitched, boss. I know, boss' (Azeredo 1956:102)
> Você estar doenti, sô Caluferri? `Are you sick, Mr. Caluferri?' (Azeredo 1956:111)
> Noiti estar no muito perto `Nightfall is near' (Azeredo 1956:114)
> Peixi andar no muito esperto `The fish are wide awake' (Azeredo 1956:136)
> Branco ter muita corági, diz meu comandanti `White people are very brave, the commandant says' (Azeredo 1956:155)
> Senhor, já ter estado eschola aqui, agora já não estar mais aqui eschola, já eschola n'outra parte `Sir, there was a school here, but there's not longer a school here; the school is somewhere else' (Vidal 1916: 426)
> preto também ser gente ... `blacks are also people' (Kopke 1928: 297)
> Preto velho nao ser mendigo ... preto saber desses poderes mas nao ter inteligência. Deus marcar tudo certo `[this] old black man is not a beggar; [this] black man knows about those powers but is not intelligent. God has marked everything' (Ondina 1965: 42)
> Senhor! Eu saber português `Sir, I speak Portuguese' (Granado 1940: 76)
> Noss Chefe, meu homem estar muito velho, nao poder nada ... mesmo nada ... eu estar casada já passa um ano e eu nao ter filho na barriga! ... meu homem nao poder nada ... eu nao tem filho na barriga! `Our leader, my man is very old, [he] can't do anything, anything at all; I have been married for a year and I still don't have a child in my womb … my man can't do anything … I don't have a child in my womb' (Granado 1940: 208)

Bare infinitives in French-derived pidgins

Due largely to differences in the morphology of verb paradigms, the use of bare infinitives is more common in French-derived pidgins and creoles. A French priest writing from 17th century Martinique (Goodman 1964: 105; Holm 1988: 16) stated that Africans were `attentive observers who rapidly familiarized themselves with the language of the European,

which was purposely corrupted to facilitate its comprehension,' while another French speaker from the same time period observed that `We adjust to their way of talking, which is usually with the infinitive of the verb ... moi prier Dieu, moi aller à l'église, moi point manger ... and by adding a word that indicates the future or the past, they say demain moi manger, hier moi prier Dieu ...' There are many other examples of the use of the infinitive in French-based pidgins, even in areas far removed from the eventual emergence of a creole. For example, a French pidgin once spoken in New Caledonia employed the bare infinitive (Hollyman 1964, Reinecke 1971, Stageberg 1956). French-based pidgins used in colonial Viet Nam and other parts of Indochina also employed the infinitive (Nguyen 1977, Schuchardt 1888). Most scholars who have analyzed the origins of French-based creoles concede that the infinitive--at times accompanied by the past participle--is the basis for most invariant creole French verbal stems (Alleyne 1996: chap. 3; Göbl-Gáldi 1934: 271; Chaudenson 1978: 81; Poyen-Bellisle 1894: 43). Speaking of Vietnamese Pidgin French, Reinecke (1971: 52) states that `the PF [pidgin French:JML] verb is invariable. It regularly derives from and approximates the SF [standard French:JML] infinitive. Since many common indicative and imperfective forms as well as the vast majority of infinitives end in [e], PF speakers `hear' [e ~ ei] as the appropriate ending for some verbs not derived from first conjugation infinitives.' Burundi pidgin French similarly uses the bare infinitive for all verbs, although the copula is occasionally represented by the past participle *été* (Niedzielski 1989). The pidginized French of the Ivory Coast similarly prefers the infinitive, although some conjugated verbs are also used by speakers with greater fluency in French (Duponchel 1979, Makouta-Mboukou 1975, Kokora 1983). In the remainder of nominally Francophone Africa, this degree of consistent pidginization has not been achieved, although in colonial times a reduced French known derisively by French citizens as *petit nègre* was at times deliberately imitated by Europeans, particularly soldiers and housewives (Makouta-Mboukou 1975: 108-9). In at least some instances (e.g. Makouta-Mboukou 1975: 106) this pidginized French used uninflected infinitives, preceded by the particle *yana*, presumably from *(il) y en a*: *Moi yana faire manzé pour toi* `I will fix food for you'. Véronique (1994) gives examples from rudimentary L2 French spoken by Moroccans in France, in which some verbs are identical to the French infinitive or past participle. At other times, however, fragments of conjugated verbs crop up. Ferguson (1971: 145) notes that in simplified versions of languages, `If a language has an inflectional system, this will tend to be replaced in simplified speech such as baby-talk or foreigner-talk by uninflected forms ... infinitive, imperative or third person singular for the verb' (also Ferguson 1975). Chaudenson (1978: 78-9), while not fully opposed to Ferguson's notion that baby-talk is not adult imitation of children's speech, observes that the same traits of simplified adult registers are found in child language. Goodman (1964: 124) states that some features in French-derived creoles appear to stem from deliberate simplification by native French speakers, in particular the fact that verbal stems tend to be derived from the infinitive rather than from finite forms (cf. also McWhorter 1997: 151): `If the French infinitive and past participle are phonologically identical, or if they would become so due to regular phonological developments in Creole ... then it is the form which virtually without exception becomes the invariant Creole verb.' Alleyne (1971: 172) believes that in general that `there is ... strong linguistic evidence that English and French in their full morphological systems were used in the contact situation.' However, Chaudenson (1978: 80) points out the frequent appearance of bare past participles or infinitives in child French, and leaves open the possibility that pidgins may bear a greater than chance resemblance to child speech. The preceding discussion suggests a typological dichotomy between null subject languages such as Spanish, Portuguese and Italian,

where root infinitives do not appear frequently in child language, and non-null subject languages such as French and German, in which bare infinitives are characteristic of child speech.

There is anecdotal evidence from the acquisition of French by speakers of West African languages that suggests that the past participle/infinitive may occasionally replace correctly conjugated finite verbs. For example Adebayo (1995:234) in describing Yoruba speakers' learning of French, notes that the French compound past, which corresponds to the Yoruba aorist or bare verb stem, is often formed with just the participle: *il parlé*, *il mangé*, etc. While these languages are not directly implicated in the formation of the Spanish-based foreigner talk registers under discussion (most of which were formed long before the French language was a significant presence in West Africa), awareness of African's struggles to learn Romance languages permeated the Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula for several centuries, and are not entirely irrelevant to the search for pidgin origins.

Early and modern Italian-based pidgins

Contemporaneous with Mediterranean Lingua Franca came other foreigner-talk varieties of Italian which have sometimes been confused with Lingua Franca by scholars, and which probably constituted a continuum of Italian-derived contact languages in use throughout southern Europe and the Mediterranean. Italian Renaissance literature made reference to *greghesco* `Greek' approximations to Italian, which were similar or identical to specimens identified as Lingua Franca. This term was also applied to other parodies of Middle Easterners' pidginized Italian. Italian madrigals of the 16th century represented the language of German mercenary soldiers and merchants, known as *lanzichenecchi* (< German *Landsknechte*), and their broken Italian was called *todesche* (cf. modern Italian *tedesco* `German'). The madrigal `Matona mia cara' by Orlando di Lasso has often been taken as a specimen of Mediterranean Lingua Franca, but as Coates (1970) demonstrates, the verses parody German speakers' halting attempts at speaking Italian:

Mi follere canzon `I want (?) a song'
Si ti mi foller bene, mi no esser poltron `If you love me, I won't be a boor'

Other *todesche* texts show similar traits, including use of root infinitives and subject mi (Migliorini 1966: 331):

Noi trincare un flasche plene `We drink a full glass'
Mi non biver oter vin `I won't drink more wine'

Pidgin German and German foreigner-talk routinely use the root infinitive, which may have reinforced the use of the infinitive in *todesche* speech. Modern German-based pidgins as used by foreign workers and border communities typically use the German infinitive (Holm 1989: 610-620; but see Meisel 1983 for data suggesting more accurate verbal usage); however, the infinitive is usually identical to the first person plural and the third person plural, the latter also being used in the deferential second-person singular. The infinitive has also been used in most forms of German foreigner-talk and literary imitations of `exotic' $L_2$ German (Mühlhäusler 1984). Thus the text frequency of the German `infinitive' is vastly higher than in Spanish or Portuguese.

Continuing well into the 20th century, reduced forms of Italian have been spoken in North Africa and the former Italian East Africa, particularly Libya, Ethiopia (Eritrea) and Somalia. Migliorini (1963: 696) gives the following examples of pidginized Italian from North Africa:

[Eritrea, 1892] Ma tu berché non dato a me bacscisc? Io venuto senza tu chimato `Why didn't you give me a gift? I came without your calling me'

[Libya 1911-12] Arkù, comprare gallina? `Friend, do [you want] to buy a chicken?'

Iu ma-fish poder dormire, molte bulci `I can't sleep; there are too many fleas'

In contemporary Ethiopia (Eritrea), pidginized Italian continues to be used, between Italians and Eritreans, and among Eritreans who share no mutually intelligible language (Marcos 1976). As with the previous examples, the bare infinitive is used for non-past reference, while the Italian past participle forms the basis for past-tense forms:

non dire ber luy `don't tell him'

tu di doße stare `where are you from?'

adesso loro stare amico `now they are friends'

Simplified Italian in Ethiopia is used between Europeans and Ethiopians in limited social contexts, and also among Ethiopians of different language backgrounds. Italians in Ethiopia assert that they speak no `special' form of Italian to Ethiopians, while an Italian professor at an Ethiopian university claims that some deliberate simplification does occur (Marcos 1976).

The bare infinitive as deliberate simplification

Although present in pidginized varieties of Romance languages, the bare infinitive is not the expected instantiation of an invariant verb paradigm, but rather bespeaks of deliberate simplification by native and quasi-native speakers. Schuchardt (1979: 28-9 [1909]) makes a case for the deliberate choice of the infinitive by speakers of fluent Romance, as opposed to the spontaneous emergence of the infinitive in emerging Arab-Romance pidgin:

But how then does it turn out that the Arab, who does not yet know Italian, selects mangiar as the expressant for mangio, mangi, mangia, etc.? Only after very extensive conversance with Romance would he realize the statistical preponderance and functional generality of the Romance infinitive. Even then, if he realizes that nothing corresponding to this infinitive exists i his language, much less to the 3rd pers. sing., he still does not say mi voler mangiar, for example, but mi vuole me mangia. It is the European who impresses the stamp of general currency on the infinitive, thereby controlling all communicative languages of the first and second degree.

In other work (Schuchardt 1888 [1979: 69-70), speaking of Portuguese as spoken by Angolans, notes that the third person singular forms the invariant verb stem: *eu vae, eu está, nosso queria*, etc. He then states:

This is quite extraordinary, for in creoles generally the infinitive is entrusted with the collective representation of the verb, and it is only in the case of the most frequently used verbs that the third person is employed in the present indicative. In this case it need not everywhere be a matter of an initial phase (of creolization); the infinitive has been extended more and more. Jargon, that is, a germinating creole, very often favors the third person singular ... however, the dominance of the infinitive comes to the fore with the circumscription of tense. At first one says eu fallou, for the preterital significance of -ou remains too obscure, and we get eu já fallou. Then, as -ou has become superfluous, one merely says eu já falla, but such a formation, as everywhere else, appears unnatural, and eu já fallar takes over (with the infinitive).

However, Schuchardt also questions `to what extent the infinitive occurs instead of the finite verb without a preceding temporal marker (eu comer `I eat' or `I ate').' Meijer and Muysken (1977: 34-5) echo the claim that unmarked invariant pidgin verbs, originally based on the third person singular, gravitate towards the infinitive. However, the scenario which emerges from Schuchardt's remarks is difficult to accept given contemporary knowledge of pidgin- and creole-speaking communities. There is no conceivable means by which a speaker of pidgin Spanish or Portuguese could realize that a particular verbal desinence was redundant or required marking by an adverb or particle, unless the internal morphological structure of the verb had been acquired. Given the relative scarcity of the infinitive in spoken Spanish and the only slightly enhanced frequency in Portuguese, emerging pidgin speakers would not be likely to revise their well-attested preference for singular present-tense forms as the basis for an invariant verb.

The data from deliberately simplified foreigner-talk militate against the 3 s. verb as the maximally unmarked or uninflected exponent of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian verb paradigms, from the productive point of view. Regardless of the at times truncated desinences, native speakers regard the 3 s. as fully inflected and therefore subject to the stricture against mismatched agreement. The default status of the 3 s. form is characteristic of emerging language, whether child speech or L2 acquisition, and results from the combined effects of a relatively depleted verb morphology and the high text frequency of 3 s. The dichotomy stems from the fact that fluent speakers have completely internalized the verb morphology, and give highest priority to the exceptionless nature of AGRs. This means that a statistically less frequent form--the infinitive--is the preferred option for an uninflected foreigner-talk form, even though it is in no sense morphologically less `marked' than finite forms. Emerging child or L2 speakers on the other hand have little or no active competence in effecting AGRs due to imperfect mastery of verb morphology. At this stage in language development, frequency is the foremost factor in determining default status, followed by the minimum number of desinences. Coates (1970: 71-2) concurs: `This augmented use of the infinitive [in todesche Italian pidgin] is a prime instance of a simplification introduced by the native speaker. The infinitive may be considered the non-personal verb form par excellence, and thus a natural choice as a replacment for personal verb forms. But to know this requires a native speaker's knowledge of the language. To the foreigner, the infinitive is only one of several verb forms he has heard, and by no means the simplest in its formation; it would never occur to him to pick it for extended use. Only the native speaker, then, can be responsible for extending the use of the infinitive.'

The search for sources: Lingua Franca

In searching for the immediate sources of the bare infinitive in Spanish- and Portuguese-based pidgins—and perhaps, by extension, in French-derived pidgins and creoles—we turn first to the Mediterrean Lingua Franca. Much has been written about this elusively unwritten contact language, whose name is evidently a translation of Arabic *lisân al-faranð* or `language of the Franks', but tangible and trustworthy attestations are as scarce as hens' teeth (Bonaparte 1877; Cifoletti 1978, 1989; Coates 1971; Collier 1976; Cortelazzo 1965, 1972, 1977; Coutelle 1977; Fronzaroli 1955; Grion 1891; Hadel 1969; Harvey and Whinnom 1967; Kahane and Kahane 1976; Lang 1992, 2000; Schuchardt 1909; Vianello 1955; Whinnom 1977; Wood 1971). Only a handful of texts or descriptions of Lingua Franca antedate the 19th century, making reconstruction speculative and venturesome. Surviving texts are suspect as true specimens of a pan-Mediterranean Lingua Franca, rather than local attempts at mimicking broken Romance spoken by foreigners, or derogatory stereotypes of `infidel' Arabs and Turks. The earliest extant

Lingua Franca text, dating from 1353, contains a language obviously based on Italian (Grion 1891). The next attestation of Lingua Franca comes in the mid 16th century farce *La cingana* by Gigio Giancarli (1991), written in the Genoese dialect and containing the speech of a Gypsy who mixes what appears to be Lingua Franca with Arabic (Schuchardt 1909). A *villancico* by the Spanish poet Juan del Encina, dated around 1520, also gives an early example of Middle Eastern Lingua Franca (Harvey et al. 1967). The last known Spanish text containing unambiguous Lingua Franca comes from Diego de Haedo, and was written ca. 1612. It claims to represent Lingua Franca as used in late 16th century Algiers. Examples of Lingua Franca are rare in extant Portuguese texts from the same time period, and the few instances that can be found are questionable, but given active Portuguese participation in Mediterranean trade and exploration, it is reasonable to assume that language similar to that of the preceding examples was also known in Portugal. One tantalizing case is found in the *Visita das fontes*, one of the *Apólogos dialogais* of Francisco Manuel de Melo, published in 1657 (Melo 1959: 206). By the 17th century, authentic Lingua Franca texts in Spain are confused with Moorish *morisco* parodies, also attributed to speakers from the vague area of the `East' and containing the same essential grammatical traits. Indeed, only the lack of patently Italian or Franco-Provençal elements separates morisco texts from Mediterranean Lingua Franca, although if Haedo (1612) is to be believed, the actually occurring Lingua Franca spoken in Algiers in the 16th-17th centuries had shed most of its Italian base to more closely resemble Spanish.

After the examples just cited, no more Lingua Franca texts from the Iberian Peninsula are known, but several come from France and Italy. The most famous is Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* of 1671 (cf. Wood 1971), where a `Turkish' character speaks an Italian-based Lingua Franca.  Carlo Goldoni's play *L'Impresario delle Smirne* (1761) also contains Lingua Franca as spoken by an `Arab' (Goldoni 1827). A number of 19th century French texts also reproduced the Lingua Franca, the best known being an anonymous dictionary written in 1830, which gave a lexicon, dialogues and a descriptive `grammar' of Lingua Franca (Anon. 1830). A number of other 18th and 19th century travellers' accounts document an Italian/Spanish-based pidgin used in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya, especially in the former strongholds of North African pirates and corsairs (Cifoletti 1989).

Leaving aside the issue of single vs. multiple origins, all known Lingua Franca texts employ the infinitive as invariant verb stem to instantiate the entire verb paradigm, although occasional conjugated verbs crop up in some texts:

ANON., ITALY (CA. 1353)
come ti voler parlare? `how do you want to speak?'
non aver di te paura `[I] am not afraid of you'
GIGIO GIANCARLI, *LA CINGANA* (CA. 1550)
mi no saber certa `I am not sure'
mi andar co'l to dinari, ti restar ... `I will go off with your money, you will stay ...'
JUAN DEL ENCINA, `VILLANCICO' (CA 1520):
Per benda   dar dos o tres `For a benda [I will] give [you] two or three [eggs]'
DIEGO DE HAEDO, *TOPOGRAFÍA E HISTORIA GENERAL DE ARGEL* (CA. 1612):
mirar como mi estar barbero bono y saber curar, si estar malato y ahora correr bono
   `Look what a good doctor I am and how I know how to cure [him], if [he] is sick, and
   now [he] runs well'
FRANCISCO MANUEL DE MELO, *VISITA DAS FONTES* (CA. 1657):
Quem pintar senhor cristão? Pintar cristão ou mouro? ... Pois ... bem parecer; porque, se

pintar mouro, pôr mouro a cavalo e mais de trinta Santiagos ao pé! `Who painted the Christian [St. James]? Did a Christian or a Moor paint [him]? ... Well, that's what I thought; because if a Moor had painted [him], [he] would have put the Moor on horseback and more than 30 Santiagos at his feet!'

MOLIÈRE, *LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME* (CA. 1671):

Mi star Mufti; ti qui sar qui? `I am Mufti; who are you?'

CARLO GOLDONI, *L'IMPRESARIO DELLE SMIRNE* (1761):

star omo, o star donna? `Are [you] a man or are [you] a woman?'

DICTIONNAIRE DE LA LANGUE FRANQUE OU PETIT MAURESQUE (CA. 1830)

Comme ti star? Mi star bonou, et ti? Mi star contento mirar per ti. `How are you? I am fine, and you? I am glad to see you.'

[ALGIERS, 1884] (FAIDHERBE 1884):

Moi meskine, toi donner sordi `I am poor; you [will] give me money'

The choice of the infinitive in Lingua Franca is not a natural consequence of the imperfect acquisition of Italian by speakers of Eastern Mediterranean languages, but reflects an originally conscious choice by speakers of Italian and other Romance languages to simplify their verbal system when speaking to foreigners deemed incapable or unworthy of learning a full version of these languages. The same is true for *todesche*, *greghesco*, and other forms of Italian foreigner-talk. Coates (1970: 71) notes that `The use of the infinitive instead of person verb forms involves replacement from the language's own resources, and this *lanzi* could never carry out. No amount of phonetic confusion would ever produce the infinitive as the reduction of the commonly-occurring Italian verb forms; as a least common denominator one might expect *parla*, for instance, not *parlare*.' The use of the infinitive in some Italian imperatives probably buttressed the choice of the infinitive as invariant verb in Lingua Franca.

Additional sources of Lingua Franca-like foreigner talk come from the use of the infinitive in imitations of foreigners' French, at least from the early Middle Ages onward. Thus in the fabliau `Des deux anglois et de l'anel,' dating from the 13th century (Reid 1958:11-13), Englishmen speak broken French introducing subject *mi* and invariant verbs, representing both the infinitive and finite forms:

Mi cuit un poi alegement `I expect[ed] a little relief"

Mi have tote nuit soué `I sweated all night'

The medieval *Roman de Reynart* also has `English-speaking' animals producing broken French, with root infinitives and object pronouns used as subjects (Combarieu du Gres and Subrenat 1981: 348-9):

No saver point ton reson dire `[I] don't know how to speak your language'

Moi fot perdez tot mon gaaing `I [fuck] lost all my grain'

Given the close cultural and linguistic ties linking French and southern Gallo-Romance languages with both Spain and northern Italian city-states, it is impossible to rule out the collateral influence of these French patterns, which can be linked ontogenetically with Lingua Franca.

Extending the search for ultimate sources of the bare infinitive

Although Lingua Franca in its late medieval avatars provided the immediate model for the plethora of deliberately reduced Romance varieties which ballooned forth as the result of European exploration and trade in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, it is clearly not the ultimate source. For centuries, deliberately and naturally pidginized Latin was used throughout Europe

(Cifoletti 1978, 1989), and reduced varieties of Romance languages were used every time sustained contact with other speech communities occurred. Lingua Franca, like insects accidentally caught in a drop of amber, is simply the first reduced Romance variety to be captured for posterity, and as such as valuable for the insights it provides into Romance speakers' foreigner-talk intuitions. The choice of the bare infinitive is a quintessentially Romance choice, and although contrived Spanish, French, Italian, and Portuguese after the 15th century were directly influenced by Lingua Franca, all these languages draw on earlier undocumented but real sources of inspiration. The Italian basis for the original Lingua Franca provides no ready model for the uninflected infinitive, whose roots must be sought in a wider dragnet. In fact, three contributing factors can be identified as having inspired the use of the bare infinitive in Lingua Franca and later congenors: (1) French child language and medieval foreigner talk; (2) German foreigner talk and pidgins; (3) Romance speakers with specific language disorders.

The bare infinitive in Romance child language

        Given the popular equation PIDGIN LANGUAGE = BABY TALK, it is useful to gather data from early Romance child language to judge the liklihood that adult imitations of child Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French lies at the root of some or all Romance-based pidgins. Careful examination of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese child language reveals that, whereas articles may be missing in the earliest stages, the other recurring features of pidgins are not common. In particular, the choice of the bare infinitive is not typical of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese early child language (a search of the child language corpora in the CHILDES data base revealed significant instances of the bare infinitive used instead of finite verbs). Spanish child language, in the early developmental stages (e.g. before about 2,6) exhibits an incompletely developed morphological infrastructure for the verbal system; unlike the other groups (pidgin speakers, foreign language learners, vestigial bilinguals), children acquiring Spanish natively quickly develop the complete verb system. There is a tendency for children acquiring Spanish to use the third person singular instead of the first person singular; this is the most common substitution, although other less predictable errors do occur. Most longitudinal studies of the acquisition of Spanish and Catalan inflection find relatively few errors after about the age of two years. Occasional forms suggesting the infinitive appear (e.g. at 1,10), usually in the guise of inferred imperatives, such as *abochá* (< *a abrochar* `buckle [the shoes]'), *quitá* (< *a quitar*) *e zapato* `take [your] shoe off.' At times the infinitive is used in conjunction with *ir* `go' instantiating the Spanish periphrastic future, even when future reference is absent.  Thus when asked *¿qué has hecho?* `what did you do [this afternoon]?' the child replied a *tudiá, vamo a(s)tudiá* `study, we are going to study.'  By 1,11 some correct imperatives appear: *no quite zapato* `don't take [your] shoe(s) off.' Periphrastic futures based on *ir* are also in place: *voy a esquibí* `I'm going to write,' *vamo a jugá* `let's play'; infinitives are still sometimes used in response to questions: in response to the question *¿qué estás haciendo?* `what are you doing?' one child answered *a timpá* (*a limpiar*) *culito* `[I'm] wiping [my] behind.' By 2,0 the equivalence between *a* + INFINITIVE and imperatives emerges: the child says *a quitá el babero*, followed by *quitá el babero* `take off [my] bib,' although the verb is still homophonous with the infinitive.  The *a* + INFINITIVE construction is also used for immediate present, based on the *ir a* + INFINITIVE periphrastic construction in which *ir* is absent:  *yo a sentá* `I'm [going] to sit down.'
        There is no stage of Spanish child language at which infinitives are used exclusively or even most frequently, although the use of a conjugated form by young children does not necessarily imply the existence of a finite-non finite distinction, or even the existence of INFL.

In Spanish, the finite-non finite distinction is morphologically no more complex than the difference between other members of the verbal paradigm; the infinitive morpheme, consisting of the theme vowel + /r/ takes the place of another suffix. There is no sense in which the infinitive is morphologically simpler or more `basic' than finite forms. Thus it is not accurate to speak of the Spanish infinitive as `uninflected' as opposed to `conjugated' verbs, since all Spanish verb forms consist of at least a stem, a theme vowel, and some other indication of tense, mood, person, and number. The infinitive appears as the dictionary representation of a Spanish verb, and is used as a citation form by native speakers, when discussing verbs in an abstract sense. In terms of frequency of usage, Spanish infinitives are considerably less common than many other members of the verbal paradigm, particularly the present indicative forms. However, Spanish child language does contain what appear to be infinitives where a finite form would be called for. Torrens (1995), López Ornat et al. (1994), Hernández Piña (1984), and other studies of Spanish child language attribute some of these appearances of inappropriate infinitives to periphrastic constructions using a + INFINITIVE, roughly meaning `let's do ...,' which are especially frequent in caregiver talk to small children. This construction is common particularly in Spain, and may have been in use in Peninsular Spanish in previous centuries. This fact notwithstanding, there appears to be no ready source in adult language directed at small children for exclusive use of the infinitive, nor is such usage observed among children acquiring Spanish. Occasionally caregivers deliberately distort their language when speaking to small children; such simplifications may include use of uninflected verb stems (e.g. Chafetz et al. 1992), although there is no documentation of a morphologically distinct infinitive such as in Romance occurring in `parentese.

The situation in Italian child language is similar (Pizzuto and Caselli 1992, Guasti 1993/4). Bare infinitives are almost never used instead of finite verbs, even in the initial stages of language development (although Guasti 1993/4 provides several convincing examples). The same holds for other Ibero-Romance languages, including Catalan and Galician. French child language is quite different, in exhibiting a significant use of the bare infinitive in lieu of finite verbs (Clark 1985, Pierce 1992, Ferdinand 1996). This is despite the fact that in French finite verb paradigms there is always an `elsewhere' form, typically the homophonous cluster 1 s., 2 s., 3 s., 3 pl., (and, using impersonal on, 1 pl.) which frequently replaces the correctly conjugated form in child speech (Ferdinand 1996: chap. 3). German, Dutch, and Scandinavian child language also frequently exhibits root infinitives instead of finite verbs (Harris and Wexler 1996; Wexler 1994, 1998; Rizzi 1993/4; Hoekstra and Hyams 1998; Haegeman 1996). Wexler (1994, 1998) affirms that the optional infinitive (OI) stage is not found in early child speech of languages in which INFL licenses null subjects: Italian and Ibero-Romance. OI does occur in languages where INFL does not fully license null subjects: English and other Germanic languages. It is not coincidental that in the latter languages the infinitive is morphologically indistinct from some members of the finite paradigm; in the terminology of Jaeggli and Safir (1989), only languages with morphologically uniform verb paradigms permit null subjects. Wexler claims that children set parameters very early in the acquisitional stage (before age 2,0), and that observations from, e.g. child French and German show that children recognize the finite-non-finite distinction even when using root infinitives. Thus in child French, root infinitives follow the negative element pas as in adult French infinitives, while finite verbs precede pas. Wexler (1996, 1998) believes that in these cases, child language lacks TNS and possible AGR: `... the OI child treats nonfinite tense as if it can be fixed by context, rather than as being necessarily dependent on a higher TENSE node ... the nonfinite verb depends on context

... rather than on a higher TENSE. It may be that OI children have this one difference from adults: nonfinite tenses have an extra capacity to be dependent on ... context rather than by a higher TENSE ... OI children's special property is that they have an interpretive (actually pragmatic) rather than structural difference from adults. They accept too wide a set of antecedents for nonfinite TENSE' (Wexler 1996: 132).

The bare infinitive in impaired speech

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that reduced Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian could not come directly from L2 learners' spontaneous acquisition of these languages, nor from early child language, although some similarities with the latter can be observed. In Italy and Spain, contact with German (Mühlhäusler 1984) and French dialects, respectively, in which root infinitives occur in child speech and foreigner talk since at least the Middle Ages may well have spurred the use of root infinitives and--in the case of French--disjunctive object pronouns as subjects in contrived foreigner talk. Given the condescending nature of much Romance-based foreigner talk and the negative attitudes extended to the intended recipients, another source of inspiration is likely: the speech of adults with language disorders. Developmental dysphasia, particularly the cluster of phenomena known as specific language impairment (SLI) is characterized by the prolongation into late childhood and even adulthood of morphological and syntactic mismatches characteristic of early child language. In particular, extended optional infinitives are frequent in impaired English, German, and French (Clahsen 1989, 1991; Wexler 1996; Rice and Wexler 1996; Leonard 1998). In impaired Italian, bare infinitives are comparatively rare, although more common than in normal child language. Articles, however, are absent more frequently than in unimpaired child speech (Leonard 1998: 93-8). SLI Spanish speakers also eliminate articles readily, although seldom use root infinitives instead of finite forms (Leonard 1998: 98-9). Clitics are normally omitted in SLI Spanish and Italian. Impaired German (Clahsen 1989, 1991) and French (Leonard 1998: 99-100) typically exhibit bare infinitives, occasionally use object pronouns as subjects, but tend to retain more articles.

Adult agrammatism, a form of aphasia, is typically caused by strokes and other brain lesions, and like other forms of aphasia covers a wide gamut of speech impairments, many of which are familiar to unsophisticated members of Romance speech communities. Some of the traits of aphasic speech coincide with child language and vestigial speech (Menn 1989), although significant differences exist. Menn and Obler (1990: 1372-3) observe that in languages with rich inflection, there is a tendency to use semantically less marked forms; however, the items which do appear are chosen from actually existing paradigms rather than representing bare roots or completely ungrammatical forms. Since the Romance infinitive, particularly in Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, is a morphologically rather marked form, it does not commonly appear in aphasic speech in substitution of finite forms. Miceli and Mazzuchi (1990) do describe some root infinitives in impaired Italian, for example:

Un personaggio dire [disse] `A character [said]
prendere [?] la sveglia `[the man] took the alarm clock'
sta a dormire `he is [sleeping]'

The use of *a* + INFINITIVE for non-future reference is reminiscent of the data collected by Green (1997) among several Afro-Dominican Spanish speakers. In the village of Cambita, near San Cristóbal, Green discovered a few residents (mostly members of a single family) who spoke what appears to be a highly deviant post-creole Spanish. Green took this to be evidence of a former Afro-Hispanic creole language in this region. Other community members do not use this

language, and describe the family's speech as *media lengua* `broken speech.' The strategic situation of the Dominican Republic during the heydey of Afro-Hispanic pidgin, especially in the 19th century, makes the search for Afro-Dominican linguistic vestiges particularly attractive, and the Cambita data at first blush appear to confirm views that a creolized Spanish was once spoken widely by Afro-Hispanic groups throughout the Spanish Caribbean. However, in August, 1998 Luis Ortiz López, Irene Pérez Guerra and I visited Cambita and interviewed some of the same informants studied by Green. Based not only on linguistic traits but also on observations of the speakers' behavior, we concluded that congenital developmental disorders underlie at least some of the `creoloid' features described by Green. Particularly striking in the speech of the family members under discussion is the use of what Green (1996, 1997) analyzed as a preverbal aspectual particle *a* + INFINITIVE, often used with preterite reference:

> No yo no a mendé e zapote no. `I don't sell zapotes'
>
> sí, a siguí `yes, [she] went on'
>
> A cogé aquelloh mango. `[I] picked those mangoes'

Rather than constituting a specific aspectual particle, it is likely that this construction represents a bare verb form such as found in Spanish child language. During the course of our interview, one of the brothers came walking up the road and into the yard where we were talking. He had found a small wrench on the pavement, and while waving it about, he asked some boys who were watching: *¿A vendé?* `To sell?' meaning, roughly, `does anyone want to buy this wrench?' The brother is a speaker of media lengua, while the boys speak normal rural Dominican Spanish. This rudimentary construction illustrates the degree of syntactic reduction in the Cambita idiolects and the congruence with the earliest stages of child language. On some occasions the Cambita family members use what appear to be bare infinitives in finite constructions:

> Hay muchacho sí tabajá sí. `There are young men who work hard'
>
> yo no hacé eso `I didn't do that'

These verbal anomalies are interspersed with correctly conjugated verbs, mostly in the present indicative. There are other features of the Cambita family's speech which suggest arrested development rather than creole leftovers; for example, there is severe reduction of onset clusters: *flojo > fojo* `weak,' *pobre > pobe* `poor,' *trabajo > tabajo* `work,' *gringa > ginga* `American,' *grande > gande* `big,' *flores > fore* `flowers,' *doble > dobe* `double,' *libra > liba* `pound,' *pueblo > puebo* `town,' etc. Although some onset cluster reduction was found in early Afro-Iberian language, and vestiges are still found in Afro-Hispanic dialects throughout Latin America, the wholesale elimination of onset clusters is found only in Spanish child language.

Summary and conclusions

The preceding survey has demonstrated that the bare infinitive in Romance-derived pidgins and foreigner talk is as much an artificial creation as a product of natural second-language acquisition. Spontaneous adult L_2 acquisition of Romance languages virtually never produces bare infinitives in place of finite verbs, whereas child language (particularly in French) and various late childhood and adult language impairments provide many instances of bare infinitives. Adult fluent speakers of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese are aware that all finite verb forms contain an overt manifestation of subject-verb agreement or AGR_S, whereas infinitives, gerunds, and past participles contain no such agreement features. Adult speakers of Spanish, Italian, French, and Portuguese are aware that finite verb forms contain an overt manifestation of subject-verb agreement or AGR_S, whereas infinitives, gerunds, and past

participles contain no such agreement features. Although perhaps passively aware that actual L_2 speech retains AGR_S while habitually confusing specific agreement morphemes, native speakers find agreement clashes unacceptable, and shy away from such combinations when spontaneously producing foreigner-talk. These same speakers will regard the infinitive as unmarked for subject-verb agreement rather than manifesting anomalous agreement, in effect analyzing finiteness--as exemplified by overt subject-verb agreement--as a marked morphological option. In other words, it is `better' to attach no person/number features at all to the verb rather than to attach features which conflict with those defining the grammatical subject. Thus the bare infinitive is both a tacit reduction of adult speech in the direction of perceived infantile or impaired speech and a manifestation of implicit grammatical hierarchies which prefer no overt subject-verb agreement to morphologically explicit mismatches.

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Table 1: Tentative sources of bare infinitives in Romance-derived pidgins/foreigner talk

German child language   6German foreigner talk

                              9   9
French child language   6French foreigner talk   6French pidgins/creoles
                               8
Impaired French
                                              9   9
Impaired Italian   6Lingua Franca/Italian foreigner talk
                                              9
Impaired Spanish/Portuguese   6Spanish/Portuguese foreigner talk
                                               8
Spanish/Portuguese child language