

“Me want cookie”: foreigner talk as monster talk

John M. Lipski

The Pennsylvania State University

1. Introduction

What do Tarzan, Cookie Monster, African slaves, foreign mercenary soldiers and “guest workers,” Chinese laborers, and other exotic human and non-human fauna have in common in the Romance- and Germanic-speaking world? In the popular mind—and media—they all speak reduced forms of the respective target languages, immediately recognizable and often stereotyped. These stereotypes represent what linguists refer to as “foreigner talk,” meaning not approximations to a target language actually produced by foreigners, but rather native speakers’ deliberate simplification of their language when speaking to foreigners or their notions of how foreigners speak their language, especially foreigners considered to be culturally or racially inferior. This is not the same as speaking more slowly, and with repetition, or speaking louder, which universally occur when one’s interlocutor has difficulties with the language of the conversation. Foreigner talk in the technical sense always carries the implicit and often explicit connotation of inferiority, baby-talk, or even “monkey-talk,” which is why in popular culture talking animals or humanoid creatures are often depicted as using the current local versions of foreigner-talk. Foreigner-talk stereotypes are widespread in all societies, and can be easily elicited and compared with actually occurring speech. You can ask your students, for example, how Tarzan might speak to his animal friends, or how they themselves might speak to some hapless immigrant who knows only a few words of the target language. Try sentences (in any language) such as “I’m hungry,” “What is your name?,” “I can’t help you,” and even some complex sentences such as “I don’t know the man that you are talking about.” Responses will

tend to cluster around certain stereotypes, more often than not derived from popular culture than from actual exposure to the speech of foreigners. Below are some examples collected by

Thompson (1991) and among my own students:

INVENTED L2 SPANISH SPOKEN TO NON SPANISH-SPEAKING EMPLOYEE (THOMPSON 1991):

¿cómo estar familia? `How is [the] family?'
¿Jugar niños afuera? '[are the] children playing outside?'

IMITATED `TARZAN-TALK' (THOMPSON 1991):

¿Estar plátano bajo tierra? `Is [the] banana down [on the] ground?'
¿Quién ser hombre? `Who is [the] man?'

ELICITED SPANISH FOREIGNER TALK (LIPSKI):

FROM SPANISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES:

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'

U.S. BILINGUALS:

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]'

SPANISH L₂ SPEAKERS (U.S.):

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 can be compared with actually occurring examples of English foreigner-talk as used by ESL instructors teaching English to Spanish-speaking adult learners:

Is important
I say bye-bye, I no want.
Why no talk?
He here.
I think I not good teacher
I write all student in office

It should be noted that in most cases, foreigner talk is quite different from “baby talk,” although prejudice and racism may associate the speech stereotypes of certain groups with baby talk. Baby talk as used (and really, as invented) by adults in any language is principally based on phonetic traits found in early child speech (“pwetty boidy,” “wittle wun,” etc.), baby words such as *tum-tum* (in English) and *do-do* (in French), lots of repetition, leaving out the copula, and use of third person address instead of first and second person (“baby give daddy a kiss”). Foreigner talk stereotypes only mimic the most noteworthy phonetic traits of interference from a given first language, use few baby words, and incline more heavily towards grammatical distortions. These include uninflected verbs, use of a simplified and preposed negation structure (in English preverbal *no*, in German use of preposed *nix* instead of *kein*, *nicht*, and *nichts*, French preposed *pas*), confusion of subject and object pronouns, loss of prepositions, elimination of definite articles, and similar traits.

The study of deliberately contrived foreigner talk is of great interest in sociolinguistics, since these stereotypes reveal attitudes and assumptions about “the other,” that is, those from afar who attempt to learn our languages. In most cases foreigner talk as produced by native speakers differs considerably from spontaneous attempts made by naive learners of the languages in question. In societies where the use of foreigner talk is frequent, native speakers’ use of this reduced language may actually influence the acquisition of their language by foreigners. The deliberate and insistent use of foreigner talk to slaves and contract laborers has been implicated, for example, in the formation of many creole languages throughout the world (e.g. Haitian French creole, Jamaican English creole), whose deviations from the original metropolitan

languages are unlikely to have arisen spontaneously through imperfect acquisition. Since I am a linguist and educator, and not a sociologist, I can only comment on the linguistic validity of foreigner-talk and the consequences for second-language acquisition and educational equity. There are, however, additional consequences of the linguistic stereotyping of foreigners that profoundly affect all of society. In today's world, foreigner-talk stereotypes may result in substandard educational opportunities, based on the notion that the foreigners in question suffer from a cognitive deficit, as "proved" by their inability to properly learn the host country's language. Other unwanted consequences may include housing and job discrimination, all of which contributes to the continued marginalization of immigrants whose intelligence and usefulness to society is unjustly identified with negative linguistic stereotypes.

But if foreigners do not actually speak in this fashion, what are the linguistic and cultural sources of these widely imitated stereotypes? The answers are obviously many and complex, and only small pieces of the puzzle can be dealt with at any given time. Rather than tackling the impossible task of tracing all imitations of foreigners' speech, in today's remarks I will concentrate on two features of foreigner talk as used in the Romance languages (French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian), and in German, namely the use of uninflected infinitives instead of conjugated verbs, and in the use of object pronouns instead of subject pronouns for the first-person singular: that is "me" instead of "I." Those of us who teach these languages know that such "errors" are not typical of spontaneous second-language speech, and yet these stereotypes are repeated in literature, popular culture, and "street wisdom." Moreover these representations are not new; examples can be found in most languages at least from the Middle Ages and probably existed even earlier. Before searching for the sources, let us consider a brief overview of more examples.

2. Examples of German foreigner-talk

The German-speaking world has been consistently using literary and folkloric foreigner and baby talk for a little over a century, perhaps because of the relatively late date at which Germans routinely came into contact with members of other races. Despite the rather recent entrance of Germanophone societies into this realm, several well-defined exemplars of pseudo-German have arisen, each in turn motivated by actually occurring speech phenomena. In the interest of time, only two deliberate linguistic inventions will be examined, as well as a couple of literary stereotypes. We first consider the early attempts at colonial language engineering known as *Kolonialdeutsch* and *Welt-Deutsch*, then the contemporary use of foreigner talk by Germans when speaking to or imitating foreigners of other races, especially in Germany. The latter imitations have their immediate source in the speech of hundreds of thousands of guest laborers recruited from eastern and southern Europe and the Middle East, whose collective approximations to the German language are well-known under the rubric of *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*.

Systematic imitations of non-European foreigners coincided with Germany's brief colonial empire, spanning the last part of the 19th century and the early 20th century, just past the end of World War I. For varying periods of time Germany held African colonies in Cameroon, Togo, Southwest Africa (Namibia) and Tanganyika (Tanzania); only in Namibia does any German survive today, and only among white descendants of German settlers. Several south Pacific colonies were also held briefly, and remnants of German are found in Papua-New Guinea. In the early 20th century a lawyer and former captain in the German colonial army, Emil Schwörer, published several documents in which proposes to implant a deliberately engineered pidgin German to be known as *Kolonialdeutsch*. Rejecting the already existent West African Pidgin English as well as more established colonial languages such as French and African lingue

franche such as KiSwahili, Hausa, etc., Schwörer created a simplified and restructured German, to be used with and among Africans; he was proud that the new language would still be German, although “a poor but useful housemaid alongside the noble sister High German” (“Das K.D. soll und will nichts anderes sein als eine dürftige, aber sehr brauchbare Arbeitsmagd neben ihrer vornehmen hochdeutschen Schwester”). Historical events intervened to preclude the implementation of Kolonialdeutsch, but its linguistic features are of great interest, since they foreshadow the situation more than half a century later when Germans spontaneously produce their own unknowing avatars of Kolonialdeutsch when seeing a non-white immigrant face in Germany. An example of Kolonialdeutsch is:

Overseer (indigenous who speaks *Kolonial-Deutsch* well): “*Ich will nun wieder halten Schule für euch, weil ich habe Zeit an diese Abend für eine halbe Stunde. Aber ihr müßt gut aufpassen; denn ihr müßt lernen de deutsche Sprache so schnell wie möglich. Also aufpassen! A, sagen mir, was ist das?*” (shows his hand).

A (beginner): “*Diese sein Ande*”.

Overseer: “*Gut, aber du müßt sagen: Das ist eine Hand*”. B., sagen mir, was ist diese Sache?” (shows a grammar).

B (beginner): “*Diese Sage ise eine Buge fü leanen de daitse Spage*.”

Overseer: “*Ja, ist recht, aber deine Sprache ist noch nicht gut*.” (corrects B) “*So nun will ich wieder C fragen. Ich tat gestern fragen de gleiche Sache*.” (shows a picture of the Kaiser) “*Wer ist das, C? Tust du nun wissen?*”

C (beginner, very clumsy): “*Ne, ise glose Mann, abe ig wissen nit, was ise*.”

Overseer: “*C, Du bist immer de gleiche Schafkopf! Du kannst nie etwas. D, sagen ihm Alles, was du tust wissen. Wer ist das?*”

D (more experienced): “*Das ist de große Kaiser von Deutschland. De Name von de Kaiser ist Wilhelm de Zweite. Er tut wohnen in sehr große feine Stadt in Deutschland; er hat viele Landen, viele Soldaten, viel Geld; aber er hat nur eine Frau, die Kaiserin. Alle Menschen müssen folgen ihm*.”

Overseer: “*Sehr gut! Also ich will euch sagen, was ihr müßt wissen von unsere Kaiser. Er hat gehabt eine sehr gute und feste Regierung seit 30 Jahren. Alle Deutschen sind gewesen zufrieden. Aber er hat viele böse Feinden. Die taten machen zusammen eine Plan und eine schwere Krieg gegen de Kaiser und gegen Deutschland ohne jede Ursache. Aber die Feinden von de Kaiser haben nichts können machen gegen die deutsche Offizieren und Soldaten. Sie taten verlieren viele hundert tausend Menschen und viele Waffen und Schiffe*”.

In essence Kolonialdeutsch proposed to systematize the simplifications found in most spontaneous second-language acquisition of German. All nouns and the corresponding adjectives are to be reduced to the masculine singular; a sole article, *de*, is used with all nouns. Genitives are formed analytically with *von de*, datives with *an de* or *zu de*, and all nouns are pluralized by adding the suffix *-en* to the singular. Subject pronouns are *ich, du, wir, er, and sie*, and in all other cases *mir, dir, ihm (sie), uns, euch*. Europeans (i.e. white people) are to be

addressed as *Sie* and Africans, naturally, as *du*, an unwarranted show of disrespect that in modern Germany is punishable by fine. In Kolonialdeutsch all verbs are reduced to the infinitive, with very few auxiliary verbs being used: *tun*, *sein*, and *haben* were suggested, due to their high frequency in German. Syntax is short; complex sentences with subordinate clauses are to be avoided; “in general the “style” of *Kolonial-Deutsch* can be compared with military speech corresponding to the relation of the White towards the indigenous” (Perl 2001). Unlike the more complicated patterns of standard German, the word order of Kolonialdeutsch is to be Subject-Verb-Object.

Kolonialdeutsch was the best-known example of a trilogy of pseudo-German planning efforts of the early 20th century. Salzmann (1913) felt that German was losing ground to other European languages, particularly English, and had no chance of becoming a world language due in part to its grammatical complexity. He proposed a simplified but rigorously controlled vereinfachte Deutsch; as with other “planned” forms of German, this new language would use only verbal infinitives as well as other common denominators. Baumann (1915) offered his designer language *Welt-deutsch*, also known as a *Welt-Hilfs-Sprache* or worldwide auxiliary language. *Wede* as this neo-language was to be nicknamed used only verbal infinitives, only *t* as definite article and *eine* as indefinite article, only SVO word order, few prepositions, and numerous other phonological and orthographic simplifications. An example is:

WELT-DEUTSCH: Ok t Esperanto sein heut in begrif su teilen t shiksal fon Wolapik su ferswinden in fersenkun u swar as fershidene grunda, besonder infolge seine spraklie mangel-haftikeit, wele hawen gefired suglei su ferhengnis -fole streitikeita u spaltuna fon seine anhangera, wele befedn sik heut af heftiste.

STANDARD HOCHDEUTSCH: Auch das Esperanto ist heute im Begriff, das Schicksal von Volapük zu teilen und in der Versenkung zu verschwinden und zwar aus verschiedenen Gründen, vor allem aber infolge seiner sprachlichen Mangelhaftigkeit, die zugleich zu verhängnisvollen Streitigkeiten und Spaltungen seiner Anhänger geführt hat, die sich heute aufs heftigste beföhden.

A pidginized German known as *Unserdeutsch* continues to exist in Papua-New Guinea, which bears a great resemblance to literary stereotypes, particularly as regards the use of the infinitive (and sometimes the 3rd person singular) as invariant verb. An example is (Mühlhäusler 1984:36: “Ich gehen. Ich dann bleiben. Dann ich grosse Mädchen. Dann ich arbeiten [...] ich arbeiten gut. Ich gut kochen. Dann zu Hause kommen. Dann ich kommen, dann bleiben, dann heiraten. Ich heiraten” [I go, then I stay. Then I am a big girl. Then I work. Then I work well. I cook well, then I come home. Then I come, I stay, I marry]

Aside from the obvious grammatical, phonetic, and orthographic simplifications, frequently found among second-language learners of German, the significance of the three early pseudo-German proposals lies in the fact that the new languages were to be used to facilitate communication with members of other races, implicitly deemed incapable of acquiring “real” German. The coupling of pidginized German with racial profiling survived the brief German colonial empire, and has become an integral part of contemporary German society, permeated by the sights and sounds of foreign “guest workers,” most of whose physical features differ significantly from typical German phenotypes. These workers come from countries as diverse as the Balkan nations, Morocco, Italy, Albania, and Greece, but by far the largest linguistic and cultural minority in Germany is the enormous Turkish population. The typical guestworker’s work environment is multi-lingual and multi-ethnic, and the various second-language strategies used by members of different linguistic groups while acquiring German becomes mixed in the workplaces, resulting in a reasonably consistent pidginized German known to linguists as *Gastarbeiterdeutsch*. A group of German linguists have carefully studied the emergence of a potential new stable and expanded pidgin language, but even at the popular level Germans are aware of the non-native speech of foreign workers, and typically adapt their own speech when

addressing those felt to be foreign. At its most offensive, this deliberate foreigner-talk is known as *Tarzanca* or *Tarzanisch* “Tarzan-talk,” and is closely identified with the Turkish population, a significant proportion of which speaks German natively or near-natively and does not require any sort of reduced foreigner talk in order to communicate with native speakers of German (Hinnenkamp 1982, 1984). That *Tarzanca* is associated with the L₂ German of non-Europeans living in Germany as well as with the fictional Tarzan is amply illustrated by the responses that Hinnenkamp (1984:143) obtained to the question “What do you understand *Tarzanca* to mean?”: “Wie Tarzan mit den Tieren sprach” [the way that Tarzan talks with animals]; “Die Bedeutung des Wortes *Tarzanca* ist meiner Ansicht nach ein Deutsch-Türkisches Gemisch ohne Grammatik” [in my opinion the meaning of *Tarzanca* is a German-Turkish mixture without any grammar]. See also Zaimoglu (1995) for a Turkish immigrant’s point of view.

That foreigners in Germany acquire a pidginized German with uninflected infinitives has been well-documented, for example by Clyne (1968): Nicht verstehen sprechen [(I) don’t understand speech], Frau Schmidt niks kommen? [isn’t Mrs. Schmidt coming?] Hinnenkamp (1984:19) claims that the infinitive in German is the unmarked form, as in many pidgins and creoles, but some conjugated form, e.g. third person singular, is probably more unmarked, as in Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian L₂ speech. German (and, as will be seen, French) stands apart from the other languages considered here in that the uninflected infinitive actually occurs spontaneously in second-language speech as well as in foreigner-talk imitations; we shall shortly see why.

Nowadays, German foreigner-talk is often directed at Turks and others physically identifiable as of non-Germanic racial stock; in these deliberately reduced speech modes the use

of the infinitive predominates, as do missing verbs (especially copulas), and reduplication (Hinnenkamp 1984: 79-80)

Gestern Du immer Schnaps trinken, Schnaps trinken, ja? [you were drinking schnaps all day yesterday, right?]

Was's los, Ali? Du boxbox mit Diner Frau? [What's the matter, Ali? You make boom-boom with your wife?]

Even when no overt racism is in play, there is a clear correlation between physical appearance as belonging to a different race and the spontaneous use of reduced German by native speakers of that language. I have personally observed this situation during visits to Germany. Because of my own eastern European heritage I am routinely mistaken for a German; people ask me for directions and other information that presupposes being a local resident. Even when confronted with my own halting German—which does not even make the grade as Kolonialdeutsch, much less Gastarbeiterdeutsch—German speakers never switch to a foreigner-talk mode. However during professional congresses in Germany I have observed that colleagues from Puerto Rico and Cape Verde, of obvious mixed-race background, were addressed in an approximation to Tarzanka, based on the fact that their physical appearance suggested Gastarbeiter status.

In addition to translations of foreigner talk in *Asterix* (always rendered with the infinitive), the “Tim und Struppi” series (a translation of the popular French *Tintin* series) offers such examples as “Tim im Kongo,” (*Tim au Congo*) replete with “African” German such as (Hinnenkamp 1984:44):

Du sehen großen Dingsbums Dampfer, Schneeball? [you see big steamship thingy, snowball?]

Stereotypes of pidginized German, probably not derived from actual learners' speech, occasionally appear in German literature. According to Mühlhäusler (1997:98) the first instance comes in Kotzebue's play *Pagenstreiche*, originally performed in 1810 (von Wiese 1972), in which a German servant pretends to be a Russian who speaks halting German:

Das sein der reichste Mann in ganz Russland. Er haban Gueter von Wolga bis Irtich [...] Der Fuerst schicken kostbare Diamanten [...] Peterburch sein Hauptstadt in Ukrain.

This sample gives evidence of the use of the uninflected infinitive, as well as other forms of simplification.

Several of Karl May's late 19th century novels also contain examples of pidginized German attributed to foreigners. In the 1886 novel *Der Peitschenmueller* (May 1958), an Italian character speaks a reasonably complex German, although using uninflected infinitives and other second-language traits: "Koenig Luigi kommen nie in Bad, sondern sein sehr einsam [...] Oh, ich glauben daran, sehr, sehr. Ich wissen genau." On the other hand a Basuto African in *Das Kafferngrab* (May 1959, published 1879) speaks a much more broken German; interestingly, a verb stem rather than uninflected infinitive is the invariant verb:

Mynheer rett Quimbo, Myhneere helf arm Quimbo. Quimbo will nicht gut schmeck Strauss, oh, oh, Mynheer, aber Mynheer nicht treff Quimbo, denn Quimbo bin sonst tot

Mühlhäusler (1997:100) notes that "The differential use of such features by literary Italians and Africans relates to an important rule for the use of foreigner talk: most of its cultural features (such as lexical replacement) and some of its natural features are employed more readily when the addressee is perceived to belong to an inferior culture, to be dressed accordingly, and where there is a power differential." The same differential treatment is found nowadays when Germans employ some version of Tarzanka upon seeing a face that suggests Middle Eastern or North African origin, while making only the most polite accommodations when faced with a white European speaker with limited competence in German.

Parodies of foreigners' German have frequently appeared in newspapers, although such mocking imitations are no longer socially acceptable. From the newspaper *Die Jugend* published in Munich in the early 20th century come parodies like the following (Mühlhäusler 1984),

combining realistic pidgin features with macarronic mixture of languages that could scarcely have occurred.

ITALIAN: Sollen sie nur spettare un poco, warten ein wenig! Aben ick jeß niente templo, keiner Seit! [...] Sein sie ick gar nix contento, gar nix sufried ! Per bacco ! Aben sie dock versprochen der governo, das Regierung, su verlegen die corso juridico von das maledetto Hinnsbruck !
FRENCH : Parbleu ! Nous sommes la grand nation ! Und sein so fridlik comme les anges ;
Desalb, wir 'aben attention toujours auf nniks que la revanche.
ENGLISH : Ich kommen to-day, nach sechsen ihn zu seh-er is noch immer verreist.

Pidginized literary German also appears in a handful of “exotic” novels, mostly set in Africa or the South Pacific. One novel with the latter setting, Nevermann’s *Kulis und Kanaken* (1942) appears to calque Tok Pisin (Neo-Melanesian Pidgin English), providing the only known example of *mich* as subject pronoun in pseudo-pidgin German, as well as bare infinitives and other typical second-language trait (184):

Mich guck aus für Kist, Master [...] Du suchen Haus für Schlaf, Haus für Kaikai, dann du kommen zurück. [I will look out for the box, master. You look for a house to sleep, to eat, then you come back]

Raabe’s *Kannibalennächte*, set in the Solomon Islands, contains similar “exotic” pidginized German (106)

Krieger von Guadalcanal viel zu essen bekommen. Grosser Haeuptling kommen, kakai (essen)
[Warriors from Guadalcanal get plenty to eat. The big chief comes, eats.]

Translations of exotic novels and stories written in English by such authors as Robert Lewis Stevenson, offered literal translations of literary pidginized English into (often equally implausible) pidginized German. From a translation of Stevenson’s story “The beach of Falesa” (Mühlhäusler 1984:52) comes:

Nicht gut. Mann er trinken, er nich gut. Warum Du mitbringen ihn? Wenn Du nicht wollen trinken ihn, Du nicht mitbringen ihn, ich glauben [No good. Man he drink, he no good. Why you bring him? Suppose you no want drink, you no bring him, I think]

Finally we must mention humorous pseudo-Germans invented solely for playful purposes, and not aimed at or attributed to any particular racial or ethnic group. Since such invented languages are produced and consumed by native speakers of German, they do not use

uninflected verbs, although other grammatical rules may be violated. A well known example is Zé do Rock's "Kauderdeutsch," which combines German, Portuguese, English, and occasional tidbits from other languages (Zé do Rock 2002:112):

Wy da is mer slangen in Deutshland denn im Amazonas. Vo wegen wolstand in Deutshland.
Rite, ma kann hir quite alles caup, aber quanto ours need ma pro dat! Day say no menn. Im est
wars nit diferent, da konnte man alles caup, if ma pro dat anos time genommen hat. Vor 10 anos
denket man, na de reunification wud el est in de westly standard adaptee, aber wenn i de slanges in
dise land se, muss i say, es laupet wol verkeert rum.

This text is not offensive because it is not meant to represent the speech of any real individuals.¹

3. French stereotypes and pidgins and creoles

French is not only the language of many literary and popular culture stereotypes, but it is also the basis for numerous creole languages spoken throughout the world, in turn derived from pidgin or contact languages formerly spoken by slaves, contract laborers, and servants. As with German, in both foreigner-talk French and in French-derived pidgins and creoles, bare infinitives (as well as the required strong pronoun *moi*) are frequent. Nor is this a recent phenomenon: 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—which has become systematized in popular literature and is known as *français populaire d'Abidjan*—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.' There are also many literary examples, especially the representation of French as spoken by Africans, derisively known as *petit nègre*, itself often influenced by foreigner-talk varieties used by native speakers of French. One example comes from the novel *Une vie de Boy*, interestingly enough by

an African author (Oyono 1956) : "Lui donner moi coup de pied qui en a fait comme soufat'soud " [he kicked the ... out of me].

4. Italian foreigner talk and stereotypes

Italian parodies of foreigners' speech go back at least to the middle ages. Italian Renaissance literature made reference to *greghesco* 'Greek' approximations to Italian. 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 the Mediterranean Lingua Franca (to be described shortly), but the verses actually 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'

We have seen the pidginized German and German foreigner-talk routinely use the root infinitive, which may have reinforced the use of the infinitive in *todesche* speech.

Continuing well into the 20th century, reduced forms of Italian used by native speakers to Africans 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 doʃe 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).

Although present in pidginized varieties of Romance languages, the bare infinitive is not the expected instantiation of an invariant verb paradigm in a language like Italian, but rather bespeaks of deliberate simplification by native and quasi-native speakers. The pioneering German linguist and creole language scholar Hugo 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 in 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.

Parodic imitations of foreigner talk continue to make their way into contemporary Italian literature. In the novel *Alla conquista di un impero* by Emilio Salgari (2004), a Spaniard pretending to be an English nobleman uses stereotypical pidgin Italian, complete with bare infinitives (p. 10):

Da mangiare! *Milord* avere molta fame! [...] Chiamare me *milord*, birbante! [...] Io essere trande inglese. Metti qui tondo! Buon profumo. [...] Io pagare e volere mangiare [...] Contare momento sul mio orologio, poi tagliare a te un orecchio [feed me; milord is hungry. Call me milord, you fool. I am a great Englishman. What a fool. I will pay and I want to eat. I'll count the minutes on my watch and I'll cut off your ear]

The child's story "Vergine abissina" by Carolina Invernizio (1987) has an "Abyssinian" character who speaks pidginized Italian (p. 205):

Padre Carbonara dice essere peccato mostrare crudeltà coi vinti [...] Oh! essere molto lontano di qui, io rimanere per curar voi, altri feriti, non poter esser trasportati [...] Io non temere che Dio. Ed i soldati italiani amare il buno Dio, rispettare le donne [...] voi non avere piú febbre, ma soffrire ancora. [Father Carbonara says it's a sin to be cruel to the conquered. Far from me [to do that] I'll stay to cure you; the other wounded cannot be transported. I fear no one but God. And Italian soldiers love God and respect women. You have no more fever, but you are still suffering.]

This fragment also contains bare infinitives, together with correctly formed Italian phrases not likely to be found in the speech of a language learner unable to conjugate a single verb.

Umberto Eco's novel *Baudolino* (2000), set in a quasi-mythical medieval environment, offers a character who after first speaking Arabic, then being addressed in Greek, responds "in un greco tutto suo" (p. 371):

Io non sa che lingua parlava. Io credeva voi stranieri e parlava lingua inventata come quella di stranieri. Voi invece parla la lingua di Presbyter Johannes e di suo Diacono. Io saluta voi, io è Gavagai, a vostro servizio [I didn't know what language you were speak-ing. I thought you were foreigners and spoke an invented language like foreigners. Instead you speak the language of Prester John and his deacon. I salute you, I'm Gavagai, at your service.]

Unlike the earlier stereotypes, Eco's speaker uses second-language traits more typical of the learner of Italian, namely the use of the third person singular (by far the most commonly occurring Italian verb form) as invariant verb. Eco has demonstrated his keen awareness of the subtleties of language, and he does not make use of the stereotypical bare infinitive common to deliberately invented Italian pidgins and foreigner-talk.

5. Spanish and Portuguese foreigner talk and stereotypes

Reduced forms of Spanish and Portuguese, used both by native speakers and by second-language learners, have coexisted with the full languages since their origins, but accurate documentation of L₂ varieties of Ibero-Romance does not emerge until the end of the medieval

period. Beginning towards the middle of the 15th century with Portuguese explorations in West Africa, various forms of reduced Portuguese and then Spanish arose between Europeans and sub-Saharan Africans. Trade, then slavery, provided the momentum for Afro-European contact languages, some of which were immortalized in the form of creoles, in West Africa and the Americas. For more than three centuries beginning in the 1450's, Portuguese and Spanish authors, in Europe and later in the Americas, would embellish their poems and plays with the *fala de preto/habla de negro* `black speech. In Spain and Portugal, these literary imitations persisted long after African-born blacks ceased to be a commonplace in the Iberian Peninsula (Lipski 1995). In these imitations use of the bare infinitive was common, alternating with other invariant verb forms, typically derived from the third-person singular. A small sample is:

A min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa, lonje muyto terra onde viver nos, andar carabela, tubno 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 rroyrn, porque bradar? `I never overturned [the wine jug], I was watering the garden, I am never bad, why are [you] angry?'

GIL VICENTE, *O CLÉRIGO DE BEYRA* (EARLY 16TH C.):

Que riabo smpresa! 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'

RODRIGO DE REINOSA, *COPLAS A LOS NEGROS Y NEGRAS* [CA. 1500]:

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'

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 `Francisco 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, señor Pollos `Now I'm happy, but do you know what I want, Mr. Pollos?'

La vieja Asunción nunca jablá `Old Asunción never speaks' (Armanda Ruíz Garcia, *Más allá de la nada* [Cuba 1957])

No, señó, 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* [Cuba 1880])

The use of *mí/mim* as subject pronoun was found in the earliest Afro-Iberian texts and continues until the end of the 16th century, after which point the correct Spanish or Portuguese subject pronouns *yo/eu* take over, and are found until the end of the 19th century, when these literary stereotypes finally fade away. Some examples are:

a min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa, lonje muyto terra onde viver nos `I am the king of the blacks in Sierra Leone, far from the land where we live'

querer *a mym* logo ver *vos* como vay `I wanted to see you right away, to see how you were'

HENRIQUE DA MOTA, IN *CANCIONEIRO GERAL*

mym andar augoá jardim, *a mym* nunca ssar rroyrn `I was watering the garden, I am not bad'

a mym logo vay tê laa, *mym* también falar mourinho `I will get some wool soon, I also speak Moorish'

GIL VICENTE (1520'S-1530'S)

Ja *a mi* forro, Ø nam sa cativo. `I am already free, [I] am not a captive. [*O clérigo da Beira*]

Mi nam falla zombaria `I am not speaking foolishness' [*O clérigo da Beira*]

A mi abre oio e Ø ve `I open my eyes and see' [*O clérigo da Beira*]

Mi risse a ella: minha rosa ... `I said to her, my rose' [*Nao d'amores*]

ANTÔNIO DE RIBEIRO CHIADO (MID 16TH CENTURY)

A mim frugá, *boso* matá `[If] I rest, you kill [me]' (*Auto das regateiras*)

Mim não quebrar bosso porta `I did not break your pitcher' (*Auto das regateiras*)

Quando *mi* bay confesa dize padere confessoro que officio que *boso* que tem `When I go to confess, the father confessor says "what work do you do?"' (*Pratica d'oyto feguras*)

RODRIGO DE REINOSA (CA. 1520)

A mí llamar Comba de terra Guinea `My name is Comba from the land of Guinea'

A mí llamar Jorge, Mandinga es mi terra ... `My name is Jorge, Mandinga is my land'

FELICIANO DE SILVA, *SEGUNDA CELESTINA* (CA. 1530)

a mí no extar tan bovo como *tú* penxar, *¿tú* penxar que no entender *a mí* ruindadex? `I am not as stupid as you think. Do you think that I don't understand about evil things?

GASPAR GÓMEZ DE TOLEDO, *TERCERA CELESTINA* (CA. 1534)

a mi cayar y xeruir extax merxedes `I will be silent and will serve these people'

JAIME DE GUETE, *TESORINA* CA. 1550)

En toro oy *mi* no comer `I haven't eaten all day'

AUTO DA BELLA MENINA, OF SEBASTIÃO PIRES (EARLY 16TH CENTURY)

mi trazey ca hu recado pera bay a bosso merce `I bring home a message for your grace'

ANON. *AUTO DE VICENTE ANES JOEIRA* (MID 16TH CENTURY)

mui gram trabaio que tem homem que *mi* sere sentar `This man that I am has much work'

IOÃO SARDINA MIMOSO, ANTÓNIO DE SOUZA, `RELACIÓN DE LA REAL TRAGICOMEDIA CON QUE LOS PADRES DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS EN SU COLEGIO DE S. ANTÓN DE LISBOA RECIBIERON A LA Magestad Católica de FELIPE II DE PORTUGAL, Y DE SU ENTRADA EN ESTE REINO, CON LO QUE SE HIZO EN LAS VILLAS Y CIUDADES EN QUE ENTRÓ' (1620)

oya que *mim* sa doyente tapua, e Ø sar mu gaçados `Look, I'm very sick, and [I] would be grateful ...'

SONG `¿QUÉ GENTE, PLIMA, QUÉ GENTE?' BY ALONSO DE BLAS Y SANDOVAL (1699)

Reye zamo del Oriente, que aunque *mí* eztar poztillón zi hayar grazia en el Garzón a quien plezenta yevamo *mí* quedar tan reya como mi Amo `We are kings from the Orient, and although I am humbled before the child for whom we are bearing gifts, I am as much a king as my Lord'

JULIÁN DE CONTRERAS (COLOMBIA, 17TH CENTURY), POEM `TEQUE-LEQUE' (PERDOMO ESCOBAR 1976)

con Juaniya *mi* sabe entendé ya `I know how to get along with Juanilla'

`O PRETO, E O BUGIO AMBOS NO MATO DISCORRENDO SOBRE A ARTE DE TER DINHEIRO SEM IR AO BRAZIL' (PORTUGAL, 1789)

Mim agola sem trabaiaá nom pore conté, ainda que *mim* ter abominaçon a captiveiro cruere de blanco `I can't stand not working, although I abhor the white man's cruel captivity'

CUBA, EARLY 19TH CENTURY

Mi no sabe, ñamito ... niña Paulita ñamá yo, bisa negra pa ni, echa mi saco ñame cono plátano, *mí* no sabe ná `I don't know, master, Paulita called me and told this negro to go, to put some yams and bananas in my sack, I don't know at all' (María de Santa Cruz, *Historias campesinas*)

A mí no bebe aguariente, mi ama `I don't drink liquor, mistress' (Condesa de Merlin, *Viaje a La Habana*)

PLONOSTICO CULIOSO, E LUNARIO PALA OS ANNO DE 1819, TELCEILA DEPOIZE DOS BISSEXTO (PORTUGAL, 19TH CENTURY)

Amado Flegueza, *mim* vai a continuar com os Repertoria dos presente Anno `Dear clients, I will continue with the account of the present year'

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). Some examples are:

LOPE DE RUEDA, *ARMELINA* (CA. 1520):

¿Quin llamar, quin llamar? ¡Hola! ¿Pinxastex quinxordamox porque traquiltraque? `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?'

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.'

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

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 slaves, and Chinese workers' acquisition of Spanish followed similar paths (Lipski 1998a, 1999c). A considerable body of literary texts imitating Chinese speakers' approximations to Spanish arose in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and these stereotypes continue in Cuba to this day. Our own Voice of America's broadcasts to Cuba, in the form of Radio Martí, include a politically-charged radio comedy show in which a Chinese-Cuban character speaks in a crude parody of foreigners' Spanish. In Chinese-influenced Spanish verbs--which almost never agreed with subjects--were sometimes based on the third person singular, some times on the infinitive. Some examples are:

`EL CHINO QUE NO SABÍA' {CUBA}:

Comandante Lupelto, *pa mi* no mila, que yo no sabo `Commander Ruperto, I don't see [anything], I don't know'

`EL DISCURSO DEL CHINO REACCIONARIO' {CUBA}:

chino so pesona lesente. Si chino no fue pesona lesente, alcalde no tlaía señola, jefe Policía no tlaía hija `Chinese are decent people. If Chinese were not decent people, the mayor would not bring [his] wife, the chief of police would not bring [his] daughter'

`EL PICADOR Y EL CHINO TIFÍ' {CUBA}:

Tú tlabaja mucho. Tú tumba mucha caña y ganá mucho dinelo. Pue, tonse, come caña hata sábaló 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' {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'

NICOMEDES SANTA CRUZ, *DÉCIMAS* {PERU}:

Yo tiene batante aló, batante canne cochino, `I have lots of rice, lots of pork'

TRAZEGNIES GRANDA {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 {PANAMA}

Cuando inglés vino a la China tlajo opio; ningún hombre tenel mucha comila, entonces el inglés 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'

CARLOS LUIS FALLAS, *MAMITA YUNAI* {COSTA RICA}:

Yo levanta temprano pelo quela mucho lato convulsando co Lamilo. `I got up early but I stayed a long time talking to Ramiro'

ACTUALLY OCCURRING CHINESE PIDGIN SPANISH (CLEMENTS 1999):

Llega aquí, no hay trabajando `[I] arrived here, and there was no work'

Yo no sabe él `I don't know him'

yo dise tío conmigo hablando, puede fuela China `I said, uncle was telling me I could leave China'

Nació de Nanking `[I] was born in Nanking'

The Spanish language was present in Philippines for more than 350 years, although only a very small proportion of the Philippine population ever spoke (non-creolized) Spanish either natively or as a strong second language (Lipski 1987, 1988). Philippine Creole Spanish has survived as a viable first and strong second language in several cities; 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. This was a rough pidgin, and contained few if any of the consistent grammatical structures which characterize true creole languages. Some examples are:

PHILIPPINE CHINESE PIDGIN SPANISH (IMITATIONS):

sigulo, señolía ... como no tiene ahola talabajo; como no tiene capé, y ha de ganalo la vida, sigulo tiene que hace tabaco `of course, sir; since {I} do not have a job now, and since {I} don't have any coffee, and {I} have to earn a living, of course {I} have to make cigars'

Mia quiele platicalo `I want to speak with you'

guerra, señolía, malo negocio ... mía aquí vendelo, ganalo `war is bad business, sir; I am here selling and earning {money}'

mueno dia señolía ... ¿cosa quiele? mia tiene nuevo patila ... `good day, Sir, what do you want? I have new merchandise'

si que le compela cosa, cosa siñolita `yes, buy many things, miss'

PIDGIN SPANISH OF (NON-CHINESE) FILIPINOS (IMITATIONS):

No puede, ama; aquel matandá Juancho, casado también `[it] isn't possible, ma'am; that no-good Juancho is also married'

¿Cosa va a hacer ya si nació viva? Seguro yo pegué plojo aquel día `what can [I] do if [the baby] was born alive? I must have been wrong that day.'

Pues suya cuidado, pero esa tiene novio castila y seguro no ha de querer con suya `That's your business, but that woman has a Spanish boyfriend and she surely won't have anything to do with you'

Usted señor, bajar, y yo apartar animales `You sir, will get down [from the carriage]; I will disperse the animals'

Bueno, señor, aquí comer `Well, sir, here [you can] eat'

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]'

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. Some examples are:

BENITO LYNCH, *EL INGLÉS DE LOS GÜESOS* [ARGENTINA]:

mí trabaca ... mí busca huesas antiguos, viecas, viecas ...
güesas india, mí bosca, mí lleva pir miuseum ... 'I work, I look for old bones, Indian bones, I look [for them] I take [them] to a museum'

JOAQUÍN GUTIÉRREZ, *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, *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, *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?'

Contemporary Spanish popular culture frequently uses foreigner talk, for examples in translations of *Asterix* as well as in texts originally produced in Spanish. Finally, broken Spanish is even 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.

6. The search for sources: Lingua Franca and *mi* as subject

In searching for the immediate sources of the bare infinitive in Romance and Germanic-inspired foreigner talk stereotypes, and also for the origins of the subject pronoun *mi*, we turn to the Mediterranean, beginning around the 14th century, when a Romance-based trade language known as Lingua Franca or Sabir came into wide usage. Much has been written about this elusively unwritten contact language, whose name is evidently a translation of Arabic *lisan al-farang* or 'language of the Franks', but tangible and trustworthy attestations are as scarce as hens' teeth. Indeed, the lack of anything other than questionable literary imitations before the late 19th century yields the suspicion that early Lingua Franca may have been as mythically effervescent as the Holy Grail. On the other hand, the recent archaeological discovery of the historical site of Camelot does inspire hope that similar traces of his putatively crucial trade language may one day come to light. According to available information, Lingua Franca/Sabir had a high proportion of Italian elements, together with Arabic, and in certain areas Turkish, Berber, Persian and French, as it spread over both shores of the Mediterranean. Most reasonably, each community of users added elements of their native language, while retaining the basic core lexicon and grammar. The Lingua Franca may have arisen as early as the Crusades (the first massive contact between speakers of Romance and Middle Eastern languages outside of the Iberian Peninsula), and it survived in full form until at least the beginning of the 19th century, when the French conquered the last flourishing Lingua Franca outpost at Algiers. Following the expulsion of Moslems from the Iberian Peninsula, many escaped to such North African outposts

as Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, where they continued to capture and hold Christian slaves, and to speak various mixtures of Arabic and Romance languages. Eventually the Lingua Franca shed its connotation of enslavement and became merely a useful trade language, which was even known by sailors in England and Ireland, surviving in British slang forms until well into the 20th century. All varieties of the Lingua Franca had an Arabic/Turkish connection, but the proportions of Italian, Spanish or French varied widely, both geographically and across time. The French preferred the term 'Petit Mauresque' for this language, while Spanish texts often confused *morisco* or 'Moorish' parodies with what might be authentic Mediterranean Lingua Franca. Italians often referred to this sort of language as *greghesco*, a term also applied to other parodies of Middle Eastern approximations to Italian.

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. Examples are:

ANON., ITALY (CA. 1353) (FERRARA 1950)

come *ti* voler parlare? 'how do you want to speak?'

Ø non aver di te paura '[I] am not afraid of you'

se per li capelli Ø prendoto, come Ø ti voler conciare! 'If I grabbed you by the hair, how I would like to beat you!'

Ch'io ti farò pigliare 'I will have you caught'

GIGIO GIANCARLI, *LA CINGANA* (CA. 1550)

mi no saber certa 'I am not sure'

mi stata sempre curteza, sin ben *mi* nasuda al monte del Barca 'I have always been well-mannered, even if I was born on Barca [Barbery Coast]'

mi andar co'l to dinari, *ti* restar ... 'I will go off with your money, you will stay ...'

ANON. SONG 'MATONA MIA CARA' (CA. 1581) (COLLIER 1976)

Ø ti prego m'ascoltare `[I] beg you to listen to me'

Mi follere canzon `I want (?) a song'

Si *ti* mi foller bene, *mi* non esser poltron, *mi* ficcar tutta notte, Ø urtar come monton `If you love me, I will not be lazy, I will stay all night, thrusting like a ram'

JUAN DEL ENCINA, `VILLANCICO' (CA 1520)

ala *ti* da bon matin `May Allah give you a good morning'

Por ala Ø te recomenda ... `By Allah [I] recommend to you ...'

Per benda Ø dar dos o tres `For a *benda* [I will] give [you] two or three [eggs]'

Peregrin taybo cristian si Ø querer andar Jordan ... `Pilgrim, good Christian, if [you] want to go to Jordan ...'

LUIS DE GÓNGORA (1615)

Yo estar Xequé. Se conmeigo andar, manteca, senhora, mel *vos*, y serva madora comerás senior el vejo `I am Jeque. If [you] come with me, my lady, you will eat lard and you, sir, will eat honey and ripe fruit'

FRANCISCO MANUEL DE MELO, *VISITA DAS FONTES* (CA. 1657)

Quem pintar senhor cristão? Pintar cristão ou mouro? ... Pois ... bem parecer; porque, se pintar mouro, Ø 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!'

MOLIERE, *LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME* (CA. 1671)

Se *ti* saber, *ti* responder, se Ø no saber, Ø tazir `If you know, you answer, if you don't know, you be quiet'

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

ANON. `DANZA DE INDIANOS' FROM *ACTIO QUAE INSCRIBITUR EXAMEN SACRUM* (17TH CENTURY SPAIN)

Cuchamé, cuchamí,
¿quen te far venir aquí?
Cangoscima tematon,
verne toldo en un sotano.
praz amor llagado bon,
prax la bunga de chuquano.
Me martillo coró cano,
me ficando par á mi.
Cuchamé, cuchamí,
¿quién te far venir aquí?

PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, *EL GRAN PRÍNCIPE DE FEZ* (1672)

Qué querer dezir aquelio de Baril Morilio ... *me* estar Morilio Baril, que estar vos ... `What do you mean by Barril Morillo ... I am Morillo, who are you?'

PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, *EL JARDIN DE FALERINA* (1677)

Ala saber donde estar *tu* `Only Allah knows where you are'

Que gigante no lo estar? `What giant is not [drunk]?'`

PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, *AMAR DESPUÉS DE LA MUERTE* (1691)

Ya el portas estar cerradas `The doors are closed'

Ø no estar loco `[I] am not crazy'

... *me* ser Crestiano en mi conciencia `I am a Christian in my heart'

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

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

Smirne non aver bisogno di tua persona. Si Ø voler andar Turchia, *io* te mandar Costantinopoli, serraglio de Gran Sultan `You are not needed in Smyrna; if [you] want to go to Turkey, I will send you to Constantinople, to the Sultan's harem'

Ø star voce de omo. *Io* non star cosi bestia a voler musico che cantar come gatto `[That] is n't a man's voice. I'm not such a beast as to enjoy a musician who sings like a cat'

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.'

tuo Console nuovo star buono, Ø non cercare me né buono mé male `your new consul is good, [he] doesn't strike me as good or bad' (*Archivio del Consolato Sardo*, Tripoli, mid. 19th c.)

Re Sardinia mandar ti Tripoli birché Ø tener bona cabesa i procura no pagar rigal `The king of Sardinia is sending you to Tripoli because [you] have a good head and try not to pay bribes' (Ferrari, *La spedizione della Marina sarda a Tripoli nel 1825*)

Santar aqui, mosieu `Sit here, sir' (Anon. 1852)

quand *moi* gagner drahem, *moi* achetir moukèrè `When I earn some money, I will buy a [concubine]'

Moi meskine, *toi* donner sordi `I am poor; you [will] give me money' (Faidherbe, *L'Alliance français pour la propagation de la langue française dans les colonies et les pays étrangers* [Algiers, 1884])

However, there is some direct testimony regarding this language, and even explicit links between the Mediterranean Lingua Franca and Afro-Iberian *bozal* language. For example the Spanish priest Fray Diego de Haedo, captured and imprisoned by Moors in Algiers in the late 16th century, wrote in 1612 a description of that region which gives clear evidence of a stable Lingua Franca, and a connection with Afro-Hispanic language:

Description of Lingua Franca (Diego de Haedo, 1612):

La tercera lengua que en Argel se usa es la que los moros y turcos llaman franca o hablar franco, llamando así a la lengua y manera de hablar cristiano no porque ellos hablen toda la lengua y manera de habla de cristiano o porque este hablar ... sea de alguna particular nación cristiana que lo use, mas porque mediante este modo de hablar, que está entre ellos en uso, se entienden con los cristianos, siendo todo el una mezcla de varias lenguas cristianas y de vocablos, que por la mayor parte son Italianos y Españoles y algunos Portugueses ... y juntando a esta confusión y mezcla de tan diversos vocablos y maneras de hablar, de diversos reinos, provincias y naciones cristianas, la mala pronunciación de los turcos, y no saben ellos variar los modos, tiempos y casos, como los cristianos ... aquellos vocablos y modos de hablar viene a ser el hablar franco de Argel, casi una jergonza o, a lo menos, un hablar de negro boçal traído a España de nuevo. [The third language which is spoken in Algiers is what the Moors and Turks call Lingua Franca, thus referring to a sort of Christian speech, not because they speak the language like Christians or because this language represents a particular Christian nation, but because they use this language amongst themselves and with Christians, being a mixture of various Christian languages and words, mostly Italian and Spanish and some Portuguese ... adding to this confusion and mixture of such diverse words and ways of speaking, from various Christian kingdoms, provinces, and nations, the poor pronunciation of the Turks; they do not know how to change mood, tense, and case like Christians ... these words and ways of speaking constitute the Lingua Franca of Algiers, almost a jargon or at least a *negro boçal* speech returning to Spain]

Haedo's Imitations of Lingua Franca

mirar como *mi* estar barbero bono y saber curar, si \emptyset estar malato y ahora \emptyset 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'

mi saber como curar a fe de Dio ... \emptyset trabajar, \emptyset no hablar que \emptyset estar malato `I know how to cure him, by God ... [he will] work, [he] will not say that [he] is sick'

mi hablar patron donar bona bastonada, mucho, mucho `I will tell the master to give [you] a good beating'

Beginning at the end of the 15th century and continuing for nearly two centuries, Afro-Iberian speech forms were widely used in Spanish and Portuguese literature, suggesting that they were relatively well known to the same elements of society (merchants in coastal areas, sailors and traders, etc.) who used Lingua Franca. A cross-fertilization of Afro-Iberian pidgin and Lingua Franca forms could well have occurred, since the former would have also occupied a prominent place in the popular imagination as the appropriate way of addressing `Africans,' whether Arabic-speaking or from sub-Saharan regions.

All available evidence suggests that the use of *mi* and similar forms as subject pronouns in Romance-derived foreigner talk (and stabilizing in many Romance-derived creole languages) comes originally from the Mediterranean Lingua Franca. In the case of Afro-Iberian language, it will be shown that this use of object pronouns as subjects was reinforced by fortuitous

similarities across many West African languages. Lingua Franca texts from the period in which Afro-Iberian linguistic contacts were being solidified show incipient use of *mi/ti* as subject, a development which does not stabilize in Lingua Franca until considerably later. More frequent in early Lingua Franca documents are null subjects, with reference being determined contextually. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the two languages which apparently provided the major impetus for early Lingua Franca, Italian and Arabic, are both 'pro-drop' languages in which null subjects are preferred. Although pidgins, like the Lingua Franca, have no verbal inflection which would obviate the use of overt subject pronouns, most pidgin speech acts involve face-to-face exchanges in which the reference of null pronominals can be effected through physical gestures, or pragmatic rules of conversational turn-taking.

The gradual emergence of *mi* as subject in Lingua Franca suggests that disjunctive object pronouns were not the natural and inevitable choice from the outset. Nonetheless, at the same time that *mi* as subject was developing in the Mediterranean Lingua Franca, *(a)mi* as subject appears in Afro-Iberian pidgin. It is not unlikely that a solution to one issue will bear immediately on the other. Beginning at the end of the 15th century and continuing for nearly two centuries, Afro-Iberian speech forms were widely used in Spanish and Portuguese literature, suggesting that they were relatively well known to the same elements of society (merchants in coastal areas, sailors and traders, etc.) who used Lingua Franca. A cross-fertilization of Afro-Iberian pidgin and Lingua Franca forms could well have occurred, since the former would have also occupied a prominent place in the popular imagination as the appropriate way of addressing 'Africans,' whether Arabic-speaking or from sub-Saharan regions.

It is misleading to judge the Italian contribution to Lingua Franca through comparison with modern standard Italian, a codified and artificially restricted derivative of educated

Florentine patterns. Nothing suggests that medieval Lingua Franca was ever inspired by learned or normative speech patterns. To the contrary, everything known about this contact vernacular indicates that it was the linguistic vehicle of choice among sailors, merchants and nomadic traders. In searching for 'Italian' sources of Lingua Franca, we must turn to regional and social dialects likely to have been used by Italian sailors and merchants in key trading regions. Genoa and Venice were particularly important commercial and mercantile centers during the 15th-17th centuries. Significantly, the regional dialects of Genoa and Venice use first person singular subject pronouns derive from Latin *mihi*, rather than *ego*. The pronouns involved have the general form *me/mi/min*. The same dialects have largely adopted *ti* for the second person singular subject pronoun, although in some cases this may have resulted from the unrounding of [ü] rather than the conversion of an object pronoun. Interestingly, in a number of northern Italian dialects, second-person plural *voi* has evolved to *vo/bo*, which could have reinforced the Afro-Iberian development of (*a*)*bo* (found instead of *tu* in all Afro-Iberian language varieties) from *vos*. Northern Italian dialects originally had only a single series of subject pronouns, derived from Latin and cognate with those of modern Italian. The adoption of *mi* as subject pronoun in northern Italian dialects arose during the 14th-15th centuries, with a few examples coming even earlier:

EARLY EXAMPLES OF *MI* AND *TI* AS SUBJECT PRONOUNS IN REGIONAL ITALIAN DIALECTS :

SERMONE OF THE LOMBARD PIETRO DA BARSEGAPÈ, PROBABLY WRITTEN AT THE VERY END OF THE 13TH CENTURY,:
 `siempre staremo *mi* e le ...' [he and I will always be ...] (Salvioni 1891:476)

LATE 14TH CENTURY SALENTINO TEXT: `my Sabatyno Russo judio de Leze vy saluto' [I Sabatino Russo, a Jew from Leze, greet you] (Stussi 1965).

BRESCIA, EARLY 15TH CENTURY (Bonelli and Contini 1935): `*Mi* sot tut innocent denanz da vo e da la zent de la mort de quest iust hom' [I am innocent before you and before the people of the death of this just man]; `Christ, se *ti* é fiol de De' [Christ, if you are the son of God]

GENOA, 15TH CENTURY: *mi* e me fiyo `I and my son' (Parodi 190119)

GENOA, EARLY 16TH CENTURY (Donaver 1910:24): `Mi son Zeneize, e Zena ho sempre amaou' [I am Genoese, and I have always loved Genoa].

Machiavelli, in his *Discorso intorno alla nostra lingua*, commented without surprise that some Italians used *mi* instead of *io*, and *ti* instead of *tu*:

E per esempio si può dare la provincia d'Italia; la quale è in una minima parte differente nei verbi, ma nei nomi differentissima [...] Intra i pronomi, quelli che importano più sono variati, sì come è *mi* in vece d'*io*, e *ti* per *tu* [and for example we can mention the province of Italy, in which verbs are minimally different, but nouns are very different [...] among the pronouns, the most important ones vary, as in *mi* instead of *io* and *ti* for *tu*] (Machiavelli 1971:925)

This shift apparently occurred when the original subject pronouns eroded to stressless clitics, bound to the verb and lacking their earlier contrastive meaning. To fill the gap formerly occupied by free-standing subject pronouns, disjunctive object pronouns were pressed into service, thereby giving the northern Italian dialects their characteristic 'dual' subject pronouns: an optional stressed pronoun and (for most forms) an obligatory preverbal clitic.

The chronology of the development of *mi* as subject in Genoese and Venetian corresponds closely to the use of subject pronouns in Lingua Franca. The earliest texts use null subjects, even in the absence of distinctive verb conjugations, alternating with etymologically correct overt subject pronouns. At this time, subject pronouns had not fully evolved to clitic status in northern Italy and could still be dropped, and disjunctive object pronouns were not yet being widely used as subjects. By the early 16th century, *mi* as subject pronoun was in use both in Lingua Franca and in northern Italian dialects, as well as in emerging Afro-Lusitanian speech. Under the very natural assumption that regional dialects of Italian prevailed over a literary 'national language' in medieval and Renaissance times, and given the increasing prevalence of the lower classes in the Venetian/Genoese maritime trade, the most influential dialects would provide a model for the incorporation of overt subject pronouns into Lingua Franca. The dialects of the major trading cities Genoa, Venice and Pisa enjoyed special prominence. The existence of Venetian, Pisan and Genoese lexical items in Lingua Franca imitations demonstrates that these

regional languages were indeed instrumental in the formation and development of the Lingua Franca, and may well have contributed their pronouns.

Unlike the nearly uniform disjunctive object pronouns, first person subject pronouns derived from Latin *ego* vary widely among Italian dialects. In the true sense of a 'lingua franca,' a set of common denominators recognizable to the widest possible group, the use of *mi* and by extension *ti* as subject pronouns would be further enhanced, once backed by the economic and political force of the Northern Italian city-states. If to these factors was added a popular perception, among speakers of other Italian dialects, that use of *mi* and *ti* represented either infantile or 'foreign' (e.g. French) interference in Italian, the conscious adoption of these elements in a trade vernacular would be a natural outcome. Finally, it is not irrelevant that Venetians and Genoese were central to the establishment of the African-powered sugar/slave plantation systems, first in the Mediterranean and later in the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde and São Tomé. In the first two island groups, Portuguese settlers soon outnumbered speakers of other languages, and only regional forms of Portuguese developed. In Cape Verde and São Tomé, however, the majority of the population was drawn from the African mainland, with creolization resulting from the consequent linguistic heterogeneity. Fortuitous similarity of Portuguese (*a)mim* and first person singular forms in local African languages could aid the adoption of disjunctive object pronouns in the developing Afro-Lusitanian pidgin. The regional Italian dialects of Genoese and Venetian sailors and merchants add to the list of contributing factors. This chain of events would constitute an indirect connection between medieval Lingua Franca and Afro-Iberian pidgins: in both contact languages, first and second person subject pronouns could have been influenced by regional Italian dialects.

The use of *(a)mi* as subject pronoun is conspicuously absent in Spanish- and Portuguese-derived creoles of Asia and the Pacific, thus suggesting an African connection in the choice of subject pronouns. In other work I have demonstrated the fortuitous fact that many West African languages have first person singular subject pronouns of the sort *mi/me/ami/ame*, while the remaining pronouns bear little resemblance to Romance forms. The fortuitous similarity between the first person singular pronoun in many West African languages and a member of the Ibero Romance pronominal paradigm would surely have been noticed by Europeans attempting to make sense of Africans' speech, a comfortably familiar item in the midst of otherwise unintelligible speech. Although it was (and still is) typical for Europeans to regard African speech as nothing but a jumble of meaningless sounds, often compared with the cries of birds and animals, attempts at reducing such languages to writing initially include phonetic patterns which are recognizable in the writers' language. A Portuguese or Spanish speaker hearing a combination like *(a)mi*, especially when accompanied by a clear deictic reference to the speaker such as a self-pointing gesture, would immediately seize upon the similarity with Spanish/Portuguese *(a)mi(m)*. In the West African languages under discussion these pronouns may only be occasional stressed variants, or object pronouns, but Europeans would not recognize other members of the African pronominal paradigm and would assume that the familiar-sounding strong forms were the only pronouns. In describing African speech, or Afro-Iberian pidgin, a Spanish or Portuguese speaker would naturally overgeneralize use of *(a)mi*. In speaking to Africans in Spanish or Portuguese, this pronoun might also be used instead of the correct subject pronouns, with the goal of facilitating the first halting attempts at communication through recourse to what was regarded as a mutually identifiable word. This is not a variant of the 'baby talk' model of pidgin formation, since there is no a priori reason why a speaker of Spanish or

Portuguese should feel that (a)mí would be inherently more comprehensible than yo/eu to an African. If genuine, albeit misguided, attempts at facilitated communication were at work, then Africans in turn would seize upon the word being proffered to them, especially if it resembled a pronoun in their native language. A mutual misinterpretation at the early stages of pidgin formation would have long-lasting consequences among both Africans and Europeans, propagating the view that 'African' versions of the first person singular all involved mi. Thus the West African connection provides the other half of the equation providing for use of object pronouns instead of subject pronouns. In the case of Asian Portuguese and Spanish creoles, where the African connection was attenuated, and where distance in time and space from the Mediterranean Lingua Franca diluted a possible influence on the emerging contact languages, only subject pronouns are used. In French pidgins and foreigner talk, use of *moi* is to be expected, since French subject pronoun *je* is a stressless clitic and cannot stand alone. French child language also exhibits use of *moi, toi*, etc. as subjects, for the same reason. The use of *mi* as subject in English-based creoles of West Africa and the Caribbean possibly also bears a Lingua Franca imprint (British linguist Ian Hancock has traced other Lingua Franca items that entered the speech of Elizabethan England), but also reflect the emphatic use of *me* in standard English, as well as the fortuitous similarity with many West African subject pronouns. Finally in German *ich* can stand alone as stressed subject, and being removed from contact both with Mediterranean Lingua Franca and West African languages, German foreigner talk never included use of *mich* or other object pronouns as subjects.

7. Continuing the search: infinitives instead of conjugated verbs

Mediterranean Lingua Franca also showed use of infinitives instead of conjugated verbs, a surprising fact given the fact that Lingua Franca was based on Italian, in which infinitives

occur relatively infrequently, and are not the form spontaneous used when second-language learners commit errors. 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 [f...] 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.

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.

8. Foreigner talk as impaired speech

Given the popular equation $PIDGIN\ LANGUAGE = BABY\ TALK$, it is useful to gather data from early Romance child language to judge the likelihood 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. French child language is quite different, in exhibiting a significant use of the bare infinitive in lieu of finite verbs. 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. German, Dutch, and Scandinavian child language also frequently exhibits root infinitives instead of finite verbs. A number of linguists have correlated the use of infinitives for conjugated verbs in child language (and in impaired speech, as will be seen), and the ability of the language to use "null" or empty subjects. Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, for example, are "null subject" languages, in which the richness of the verbal paradigm allows for subject pronouns to be routinely omitted. Indeed English-speaking students typically employ many more subject pronouns than would be normal in one of the null subject languages. The use of null subjects is not only correlated with rich verbal inflection, since, for example Chinese languages, which have no verb conjugation at all, also allow for null subjects. Rather, it has been shown that null subjects are found in languages that either have no verbal inflection at all, or those in which each person and number is represented by a distinct form (Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Catalan, etc.). Those languages such as French, German, and English, in which there is some overlap between the infinitive and conjugated forms, do not allow null subjects in normal uses, although they are found, for example, in commands, and in "diary entry" and "refrigerator note" contexts "Gone to the store, be back in an hour."

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 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. 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. SLI Spanish speakers also eliminate articles readily, although seldom use root infinitives instead of finite forms. Clitics are normally omitted in SLI Spanish and Italian. Impaired German and French 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 Opler 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]'

9. Conclusions

While the sources of foreigner-talk stereotypes are many, the preceding survey has demonstrated that the search for origins must reach far in time and space, to embrace nearly a millenium, four continents and many nations, and a variety of naturally occurring speech events as well as fanciful inventions. Implicated in the search have been the speech of sailors, mercenary soldiers and guest workers, slavedrivers and slaves, infants and language-impaired adults. Emotions and attitudes have ranged from racism to surreal humor, but a common denominator is the inferiority of the “other” as “demonstrated” by the inability to use language properly. Not all foreigner talk is sinister or ill-mannered (who can object to a fuzzy blue puppet who loves cookies?), but those of us who were raised with Tonto and the Lone Ranger, with Pancho and Cisco, with Tarzan the Ape Man, with Charlie Chan, with the Swedish janitor in Archie and Jughead’s high school, with Amos and Andy, and with Jon Jonson who comes from Wisconsin, are aware of how linguistic stereotypes can deprive entire communities of human beings of the right to be taken seriously and treated with dignity. Today’s remarks have focused on the linguistic sources of some common foreigner-talk models, because after all I am a linguist

and I tread most confidently in the arena of linguistic analyses. As a teacher, a parent, and a fellow voyager on Starship Earth, I also feel the need to urge caution and compassion when using someone else's language as a vehicle of humor. English refers to one's mother tongue, while Spanish says *la lengua que mamamos* 'the language we nursed with,' powerful metaphors that underscore the fact that to mistreat language is to mistreat those who are most dear to us. Foreigner talk can tell us much both about true language acquisition, but also about xenophobic rumor-mongering. I hope that the preceding remarks have helped to clarify what foreigner talk is, and what it is not, the respective roles of the self and the other in its creation and propagation, and the manner in which foreigner talk straddles the tenuous boundary between embracing diversity and mocking it.

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¹ In comparison the equally bizarre “translation” of the first chapter of *Don Quijote* into “Spanglish” by Ilan Stavans (2002) erroneously attributes a grammatically inept pastiche of languages to Latinos in the United States who have not mastered English:

In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase. A cazuela with más beef than mutón, carne choppeada para la dinner, un omelet pa los sábados, lentil pa los viernes, y algún pigeon como delicacy especial pa los domingos, consumían tres cuarters de su income. El resto lo employaba en una coat de broadcloth y en soketes de velvetín pa los holidays, with sus slippers pa combinar, while los otros días de la semana él cut a figura de los más finos cloths. Livin with él eran una housekeeper en sus forties, una sobrina not yet twenty y un ladino del field y la marketa que le saddleaba el caballo al gentleman y wieldeaba un hookete pa podear. El gentleman andaba por allí por los fifty. Era de complexión robusta pero un poco fresco en los bones y una cara leaneada y gaunteada. La gente sabía that él era un early riser y que gustaba mucho huntear. La gente say que su apellido was Quijada or Quesada —hay diferencia de opinión entre aquellos que han escrito sobre el sujeto— but acordando with las muchas conjeturas se entiende que era really Quejada. But all this no tiene mucha importancia pa nuestro cuento, providiendo que al cuentalo no nos separemos pa nada de las verdá.