

This is an offprint from:

FRANCIS BYRNE and JOHN HOLM (eds)  
*ATLANTIC MEETS PACIFIC*  
John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Amsterdam/Philadelphia  
1993

(Published as Vol. 11 of the series  
CREOLE LANGUAGE LIBRARY)

ISSN 0920-9026

ISBN 90 272 5232 7 (Eur.)/1-55619-165-0 (US)

© Copyright 1993 – John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by  
print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means, without  
written permission from the publisher.

## ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF 'TA' IN AFRO-HISPANIC CREOLES

John M. Lipski

### 1.0. Introduction: Verbal Markers in Ibero-Romance Creoles

A large subset of the Ibero-Romance creoles exhibits the temporal/aspectual particle *ta* in combination with an uninflected verbal stem, usually in an imperfective or progressive function.<sup>1</sup> The existence of *ta* among creoles widely separated in both geographical and ethnolinguistic terms is one of the key components in monogenetic theories of Romance-based creoles, usually involving a form of 15th and 16th century maritime pidgin Portuguese or reconaissance language.<sup>2</sup> However, despite the phonological identity of the particle *ta* among creole languages, its syntactic and semantic characteristics vary widely, in a fashion that suggests more than one route of evolution.

The following remarks will be confined to Afro-Hispanic creoles (AHC), beginning with Caribbean *bozal* Spanish (CBS). Since there is evidence suggesting that the introduction of *ta* into CBS is due at least in part to the arrival of Papiamentu (PP) speakers into Cuba and Puerto Rico (cf. Bachiller y Morales 1883, Granda 1973, Álvarez Nazario 1974:146, Lipski 1987a), relevant PP data will also be considered. Finally, since the triad CBS-PP-Palenquero (PL) is frequently cited as evidence of a single precursor Afro-Lusitanian creole (cf. Granda 1968; Otheguy 1975; Megenney 1984, 1985, 1986), data from the latter language will also be included.<sup>3</sup>

Most accounts of the development of *ta* derive the particle and accompanying verbal stems from Spanish/Portuguese *estar*, which is both an auxiliary verb used in progressive constructions and an independent verb, expressing location and, with adjectives, indicating state or condition. Spanish/Portuguese progressive constructions with *estar* are relatively infrequent and semantically marked as compared with simple verb forms, not likely to be seized upon during pidginization as the principal representative of all present-tense verbs. This fact would not be problematic if it could be demonstrated that *ta* in all Iberian-based creoles came from a single precursor pidgin or creole (assuming that a plausible scenario could be constructed for introduction of *ta* into the 'first' creole), whence it passed un-

changed into other creoles. Thus, for example, Naro (1978:342) has claimed that *ta* was already part of the Portuguese pidgin 'reconnaissance' language, from which it was ultimately transferred to other creoles. However, any such claims must be based on inference rather than direct evidence. The earliest (literary or semi-literary) representations of such Portuguese, coming in the 15th and 16th centuries, contain no examples of *ta*, but rather use the portmanteau verb *sar* (apparently a fusion of *ser* and *estar*) or *santar* (possibly a fusion of *sentar* and *estar*).<sup>4</sup>

Close inspection of the verbal system of related AHC varieties allows the postulate of a more straightforward transfer from nonstandard but noncreolized Spanish and/or Portuguese, rather than the adoption of a complete creole verb system from a 'reconnaissance language'. It has frequently been claimed that similarities between Spanish and AHC represent 'decreolization' (e.g. Baum 1976; Megenney 1986; Perl 1984, 1985, 1988; Wood 1972). However the linguistic and social history of the regions involved permit the hypothesis that contemporary manifestations of AHC verbal structures do not differ significantly from the formative periods.

## 2.0. Syntactic Status of 'ta' in Afro-Hispanic Creoles

In AHC, *ta* functions in conjunction with a verbal stem, marking at least imperfective aspect. In PP (and very rarely in PL), *ta* can also stand alone as a copular verb combining with nouns as well as adjectives (equivalent to Ibero-Romance *ser* as well as *estar*):

- |  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| 1a) (PP) Bo meresé pa ta felis<br>'You deserve to be happy'                          | Ferrol (1982:71) |
| b) (PP) Mi number ta Juan<br>'My name is John'                                       |                  |
| c) (PL) iombre! ya ba, kuan i ta ba ombre ya ba<br>'Man! - when I was a [young] man' | Schwegler (MSb)  |
| d) (PL) Limong a ta mu trabaxoso<br>'Lemons are difficult to get'                    | Schwegler (MSa)  |

In CBS and PL, *ta* is mainly used with predicate adjectives involving change of state, like Ibero-Romance *estar*. It is also used with locatives:

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 2a) (PL) to ané a ta güeno<br>'they are all good'                  | Friedemann & Patiño (1983:131) |
| b) (PL) í a ta akí demasio cansado<br>'I am here (and) very tired' | Friedemann & Patiño (1983:131) |
| c) (CBS) Yo no pue ta quieto ya<br>'I can't be still now'          | Cruz (1974:148)                |
| d) (CBS) Nángüe ta bueno ...<br>'The nángüe [tree] is good'        | Cabrera (1983:183)             |

In PP and CBS, but only rarely in PL, *ta* as a particle can combine with verbal stems to indicate state, or habitual or timeless configurations:

- |  |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| 3a) (PP) Mango ta smak bon<br>'Mangos taste good'  | Maurer (1987:36)           |
| b) (CBS) Siempre ta regalá dinero a mí<br>'He always gives me money'                                 | Álvarez Nazario (1974:384) |
| c) (PL) pero kumo nu ta yobé, iuu! sé morí tosto<br>'But since it doesn't rain, uu! everything dies' | Schwegler (MSb)            |

Occasionally in CBS, *ta* combines with a verbal stem to indicate punctual or even past aspect, usually in the presence of an expression fixing the temporal reference:

- |  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| 4a) Yo ta llorá pocque Calota ya ta morí<br>'I am crying because Carlota died'   | Morales (1976:190) |
| b) Yo no ta mirá cuando Cuevita Mabona ¿qué? gonizando no, taba mueto difunto ...<br>'I wasn't watching when Cuevita Mabona [what?], she wasn't dying, she was dead ...' | Cabrera (1979:174) |

In all three creoles, *ta* combines with verbal stems to indicate progressive aspect, usually in the present. In CBS, very occasionally in PL, but not normally in PP, *ta* alternates with *eta*, which hints tantalizingly at a form of *estar* as a historical source:

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 5a) (PP) Aworakí nos ta kome<br>'Now we are eating'                           | Maurer (1987:36)               |
| b) (PL) pueblo mí ta pelé lengua ané<br>'My people are losing their language' | Friedemann & Patiño (1983:116) |
| c) (CBS) de tó eso que yo ta nombrá<br>'Of all that I am naming'              | Cabrera (1983:229)             |
| d) (CBS) Que to mi cuepo me etá tembla<br>'My whole body is trembling'        | Cabrera (1979:40)              |

*Ta* in Iberian-based creoles is often referred to as a 'particle', but its syntactic status has seldom been empirically demonstrated. Most contemporary syntactic models assign such particles to the auxiliary component, i.e. as part of INFL, presumably an instantiation of [TNS] or a similar specification (cf. Ziegler n.d., Muysken 1981, Koopman & Lefebvre 1982, Bickerton 1981:80f.).<sup>5</sup> Most of the usual syntactic tests for overt items in INFL (e.g. modal verbs, English *to*) are not applicable to *ta*. First, Ibero-Romance has no set of verbs which share the distinctive morphological and syntactic characteristics of English modals (cf. Steele et al. (1981) in favor of modals in English and lack thereof in German). There are no Ibero-Romance verbs which remain unconjugated, or which have no infinitive form. Nor are there verbs (with the arguable exception of *poder* 'be able') which only take other verbs as complements. Unlike English, all verbs in Ibero-Romance verbs undergo movement in INFL and then to COMP in questions (cf. Raposo 1987, Pollock 1989). In Ibero-Romance, the 'auxiliary' verbs *estar* 'be' and *haber/haver* 'have', which combine with nonfinite verb forms in perfective and progressive combinations, are part of the VP (Zagona 1988).

In AHC, all inflectional morphology is absent, and syntactic movement is minimal. No AHC variety shows evidence of INFL-to-COMP movement in the syntax, or even of Verb Movement in INFL. All three AHC varieties have a reflex of *poder* (PP *por*, PL *pol*, CBS *puede*), but this verb gives at best ambiguous evidence of belonging to INFL (see below). PL and PP have a set of verbs which normally appear without *ta* or other preverbal 'particles', and most are cognate with Ibero-Romance verbs which take verbal complements; however, nothing suggests that these are other than true verbs in AHC. Finally, in all AHC varieties, *ta* is an independent verb, in addition to an element which combines with verbal stems; *ta* itself can be preceded by other 'particles'.

Although preverbal *ta* in AHC usually involves some type of 'imperfective' or 'progressive' aspect, there is no morphological signalling of TNS or AGR in AHC; Mufwene & Dijkhoff (1989) have argued that these creoles have no AGR or TNS, and arguably, no INFL at all. Even assuming that AHC retains INFL, albeit without AGR, a close examination casts some doubt on the status of *ta* as a component of INFL.

In some other creoles, two or more preverbal particles can be combined, thus suggesting a Tense-Mood-Aspect cluster in INFL. AHC varieties do not exhibit this configuration. In CBS, there are no examples where *ta* combines with other particles. In PP, *ta* may combine with the future/irrealis *lo*, but the latter element occurs preclausally, and hence cannot be considered as part of a particle cluster located in INFL.<sup>6</sup> In PL, *ta* does not normally combine with other particles.<sup>7</sup>

In none of the AHC varieties can *ta* be displaced from the verbal stem, e.g. by negatives or adverbials, which might permit a glimpse into the internal structure of the creole verb, nor is there verbal ellipsis or other processes which selectively affect individual components of the verb phrase. A partial exception is predicate clefting in PP, in which a bare verb stem may appear in preposed position, duplicated by a verb including *ta*:

- 6) (ta) pensa bo ta pensa Maurer (1988:144)  
'What you're doing is thinking'

However, initial *ta* can also combine with a different preverbal element in second position, thus suggesting that the first instance is an independent copular usage of *ta*:

- 7) ta kome el a kome Maurer (1988:141)  
'What he did was eat'

The same holds of clefting involving the 'gerund', where the left-dislocated verb can only be the bare stem with *ta*, not the gerund:

- 8) ta kome/\*komiendo nos ta komiedno Maurer (1988:144)  
'What we're doing is eating'

Moreover, when conjoining clauses with, e.g., *ðf* 'or', *ta* cannot be separated from one of the conjuncts (Maurer 1988:144).

The PP data show that *ta* can be fronted together with the main verb. Byrne (1987:44-45) uses the inability of *ta* and similar particles in Saramaccan to be fronted as evidence that they are part of INFL; the opposite conclusion is suggested for PP, and by extrapolation, for PL and CBS, although fronting constructions of any kind are vanishingly rare in the latter two languages.

Not only when AHC *ta* operates as an independent verb, but also when it appears preverbally, it may in turn be preceded by a 'modal' verb. In PP, *ta* can be combined with *por* 'be able', *mester* 'need to', etc.:<sup>8</sup>

- 9a) e por ta kanta Maurer (1988:51)  
'He can sing'  
b) Bo no mester ta mara na kapricho ridikulo di moda Lauffer (1971:71)  
'You don't have to be bound by the ridiculous whims of fashion'

PL occasionally allows *pol* 'be able' to combine with preverbal *ta*, although in 'conditional' sentences *ak* is used instead; no extant CBS text illustrates this possibility. Since AHC shows no other evidence of 'double modals', this would suggest that *ta* is part of VP, rather than an auxiliary. Moreover, if *por*, *mester*, etc. are themselves part of full VPs, then *ta* cannot be an instantiation of INFL.

In AHC, preverbal *ta* may also occasionally appear after the complementizer *pa* (<*para* 'in order to'):

- 10a) (PP) Hose ke pa Ramon ta traha aworaki Maurer (1988:253)  
'José wants Ramón to be working now'  
b) (PL) p'í (<pa í) ta kumendo Schwegler (p.c.)  
'For me to be eating'

Overt components of INFL are not normally found after AHC complementizers, which is another indirect indication of the non-INFL location of *ta*.

In PP, when conjoined verbs appear, *ta* is optional before the second verbal stem, if the conjunction *i* is used. However, if the conjunctive *ku* is used, *ta* does not normally occur before the second verb (Richardson 1977:58):

- 11a) E mucha muhé ta hari i (ta) baila  
'The girl is laughing and dancing'  
b) E mucha muhé ta kanta ku (\*ta) baila  
'The girl is singing and dancing'

Richardson (1977) analyzes conjunction with *ku* as involving reanalysis, i.e. formation of a single verbal nucleus. Conjunction with *i* is analyzed as involving reduction of two full clauses, each of which contains *ta* as a manifestation of INFL. There is no reason to consider conjunction of VPs as involving clause reduction (cf., e.g. Goodall 1987), and no pressing reason for considering *ta* as part of INFL, even when repeated before verbs conjoined with *i*.



All AHC varieties show alternation between bare verb stems and gerunds, in combination with *ta*; thus in CBS:

- 12) Tú siempre *ta* hablando a mí ... yo *ta* queré mucho a tí Álvarez Nazario (1974:384)  
'You are always talking to me ... I love you a lot'

PL also employs the gerund with *ta*, and includes gerund forms like *kumendo* 'eating' and *sindindo* 'feeling' (together with the bare stem *kumé* and *sindí*) whose phonetic shape (probably reflecting the Portuguese cognates) indicates that they have been part of PL since the beginning. PP routinely combines *ta* with gerunds, at times with partially different meaning (Maurer 1988:84):

- 13a) (PL) *i ta kantando ele* Friedemann & Patiño (1983:120)  
'I am singing to him/her'
- b) (PP) *Nos ta kuminsando* Maurer (1988:84)  
'We are beginning'

Given the paucity of movement phenomena in AHC, and the inability to intercalate, e.g., adverbs or negatives between *ta* and the main verb stem, the precise inner structure of the AHC VP is not yet clear. The default hypothesis is that preverbal *ta* is a direct continuation of Ibero-Romance *estar*, and therefore that it represents a full VP, whose complement is the VP containing the verb (Zagona 1988). This then means that *ta* has never 'left' VP. In Ibero-Romance, however, *estar* + gerund constructions are invariably progressive, while the AHC varieties exhibit greater diversity.

### 3.0. On the Origin of AHC Verb Stems

In AHC, the invariable verbal stem that accompanies *ta* appears to derive from the Ibero-Romance infinitive from which the final /r/ has been dropped; except in PP, oxytonic stress is also retained in AHC verb stems. However, each of the AHC languages contains a subset of verbal stems which derive from conjugated verbs, in the third person singular (3s) (cf. also Taylor 1977:176, Friedemann & Patiño 1983:125, Lenz 1928:118).

The multiple source of AHC verb stems, including, the simultaneous retention of stems based on more than one Ibero-Romance form (e.g. in PL), requires explanation. Gravitation toward the 3s form of the verb is a recurring characteristic of many vestigial and isolated dialects of Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>9</sup> There is much accumulated evidence (e.g. Bybee 1980:166ff; 1985) that the 3s present is in many cases the minimally marked form. This contrasts with rudimentary pidgin Spanish and Portuguese use of the bare infinitive, which was common in bozal Spanish and Portuguese of the 15th and 16th centuries:

- 14a) *amí no estar tan bovo como tú penxar* Feliciano de Silva (*Segunda Celestina* [1534]);  
'I am not as stupid as you think' Mack 1973)
- b) *Prutugá santar diablo!* Antonio Ribeiro Chiado (*Autos das Regateiras*  
'Portugal is the devil' (1970:v. 552 [1550]))

For most Ibero-Romance verbs, the only difference between the 3s form and the infinitive lacking final /r/ is the position of word stress. If the input environment for the formation of AHC included speakers of marginalized but not pidginized Spanish/Portuguese, who tended to reduce the verbal paradigm to 3s, the results would often be indistinguishable from postulating the infinitive as the original source of creole verb stem. When the 3s stem differed from that of the infinitive, this would be reflected in the eventual creole verb stem. It might even be that, as a verbal system including use of *ta* was consolidated, those proto-creole verbs that were perceived as already 'conjugated' were not drawn into the complex patterns.

Like the infinitive, the Ibero-Romance gerund receives stress on the desinence (a theme vowel plus *-ndo*); assuming that a plausible mechanism for loss of the desinence could be proposed, the gerund would then be indistinguishable from the infinitive or 3s as a source of AHC verb stems.<sup>10</sup> Precedents for loss of final syllables are not hard to find within Ibero-Romance, particularly among vestigial/isolated dialects, and in AHC:<sup>11</sup> (PP) *mes* 'same' <*mesmo/mismo*, *cos* 'thing'; PL *blo* <*bloque* '(cement) block'; CBS *bucán* <*buscando* 'searching' (Cabrera 1983:183), etc.

### 4.0. Integration of 'ta' in the Developing AHC Verbal System

Accepting tentatively that the sources of AHC verb stems include Ibero-Romance 3s, infinitive and phonologically reduced gerunds, it must be explained how *ta* (originally a form of the auxiliary verb *estar*) came to be associated with verb forms that never participated in progressive constructions. Conjugated 3s forms which differed from the infinitive only in stress placement could easily be drawn into conformity through stress shifting, or by failure to adopt a uniform stress pattern as an obligatory concomitant of the AHC verb stem. A gerund, in turn, would undergo erosion of its last syllable, a process which would be spurred on by the existence of two other sources of target patterns (infinitives and 3s forms). The original auxiliary *esta(r)*, in turn, would also participate in the gravitation toward the 3s form, accompanied by erosion of the first syllable, a phenomenon which affects *estar* in vernacular Spanish and Portuguese to this day. The result would be *ta* plus a morphologically (and syntactically) reduced verbal stem.

Given that *ta* continued to co-occur with gerunds in later stages of AHC, it is likely that the increased range of combination of proto-AHC *ta* occurred *before* all awareness of the syntactic origins of all main verbs was lost. I believe that it was the second event mentioned above, the expansion of (*es*)*ta(r)* to acquire copular functions, that was directly responsible for increasing the repertoire of elements with which preverbal *ta* could combine.

Ibero-Romance *estar*, originally meaning 'to stand', gradually acquired many of the functions of the copula (particularly to convey the result of change or the

imminent possibility of transformation), as well as a univeral locative function (cf. Holm 1988:155-6). This distribution is more apparent than real, however, reflecting normative usage and written codification, but failing to account for the linguistic behavior of many native or quasi-native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese. Isolated and vestigial Spanish demonstrates incipient incursions of *estar* into the territory of *ser*, including combination with adjectives normally reserved for *ser*, and even combination with predicate NPs (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1986, Lipski 1987b). These examples demonstrate that internal evolution in Ibero-Romance can result in significant changes in the combinatory potential of *estar*.

Possible as a collateral source of expanded AHC verbals is the use, in many varieties of Ibero-Romance, of gerunds with adjectival force. The gerund is not normally used to modify nouns, but a few 'fulcrum' cases are found (cf. Gili Gaya 1961: par. 146-148; Ramsey & Spaulding 1956:368): "le encontramos muriendo de hambre" 'we found him dying of hunger'.

The preceding paragraphs have amassed a number of pieces of indirect evidence that AHC *ta* is not generated under INFL, but is rather a full V, whether part of its own VP or contained in the VP headed by the main verb. A key factor in the generation of verbs under INFL or VP is the ability to assign  $\theta$ -roles. Verbs that are generated under INFL are unique in assigning no  $\theta$ -roles. If we accept Roberts' (1985:29) extension of the Visibility Condition, that "V assigns  $\theta$ -roles if V is governed," then it is clear that a verb with no  $\theta$ -roles to assign must appear in an ungoverned position, i.e. INFL. The converse conclusion is that a verb which assigns  $\theta$ -roles cannot be generated under INFL.

AHC *ta* takes verbal complements, some of which originally shared nominal [+N] characteristics, e.g. infinitives and gerundal adjectives. According to all indications, AHC *ta* continues to assign a  $\theta$ -role, namely the one assigned to its verbal complement. This status as a  $\theta$ -role assigner is enhanced by the concurrent existence of *ta* as an independent copular or locative verb. I propose, then, that AHC *ta* has retained and perhaps even enhanced its position as a true verb, and that the type of parametric shift that resulted, e.g., in the creation of the English modal system (cf. Lightfoot 1979, Roberts 1985) was not part of the history of AHC *ta*. This claim does not extend automatically to *ta* in other Ibero-Romance creoles, where *ta* may indeed be generated under INFL. Nor does it necessarily encompass other AHC 'particles', at least some of which may be elements of INFL. The fundamental claim advanced here is that *ta* more directly continues the syntactic configurations represented by Ibero-Romance *estar* + V, while leaving open the possibility that other Tense/Mood/Aspect markers in AHC may have evolved to become part of INFL.

In Ibero-Romance, *estar*, together with non-'auxiliary' verbs, undergo Verb Movement to INFL to acquire their Agreement features. In languages with little or no verbal inflection, including English and AHC, Verb Movement does not

take place, except as required by other grammatical structures.<sup>12</sup> This, then, is the syntactic innovation represented by AHC *ta*: not movement from generation under VP to INFL (as occurred with the English modals), but failure to undergo Verb Movement.

Once *ta* becomes part of INFL, the language learner need only attend to simple linear order: *ta* (or other particles that instantiate INFL) + verb stem. As an inflectional marker, *ta* is stripped of its combinatory complexities, and parsing is eased. Plausibly, this increased ease of processing would be selected for during creole evolution.

### 5.0. On the Linguistic Input of AHC Verbs

Many models describe creole genesis in an extremely limited language-learning environment, with the first generation pidgin-learning (i.e. creole-forming) children struggling to make sense of their elders' pidginized speech, while extending and stabilizing this speech via the addition of grammatical structures and constraints (e.g. Givón 1982:116). In the case of AHC, the development of *ta* suggests a richer ontological environment for what eventually became solidified into a creole, in particular as regards the availability and density of native-speaker models.

Although little accurate information is available on the formation and early evolution of AHC languages, it is clear that each has been in contact with Spanish, usually of a nonstandard variety, almost from the outset. The African slaves who escaped from Cartagena to form Palenque de San Basilio evidently spoke little Spanish of any sort. However, contact was reestablished with the Spanish-speaking population within less than a century from the time of founding of Palenque, which presumably antedates the creation of PL, and popular, nonstandard Spanish has been in contact with PL ever since (Arrazola 1970).

Curaçao has always been a linguistic and cultural melting pot, and even after the Dutch takeover of the island, commercial trade, as well as proximity with Venezuela, guaranteed that (nonstandard, coastal or maritime) Spanish would continue to be a decisive force in its development. Slaves escaped from Curaçao to the Venezuelan coast, while Venezuelans were a constant presence on Curaçao, and nothing suggests that PP, except perhaps during the first few decades of its existence, was out of touch with Spanish.<sup>13</sup>

CBS came into its own as more than a transitory phenomenon as part of the sugar plantation boom that affected Cuba and to a lesser extent Puerto Rico beginning around the turn of the 19th century. Presumably formed and expanded on plantations, where contact with Spanish was usually through overseers and native-born slaves, CBS received a strong dose of nonstandard but quasi-native Spanish input. Travellers' accounts of 19th century CBS indicate varying degrees of approximation to regional nonstandard Spanish, in a fashion which cannot be attributed simply to 'decreolization'.<sup>14</sup>



The analysis of *ta* in the AHC languages does not correspond to the type of abrupt restructuring of originally disparate elements which is frequently postulated as the origin of creole TMA particles (e.g. by Bickerton 1981:80-81, Seuren 1983:219-220). The high degree of congruence between AHC verbal structures involving *ta* and Ibero-Romance combinations with *estar* points not to radical rebuilding of a verbal system virtually *ab ovo*, but rather an application of something like the Transparency Principle of Lightfoot (1979). The combination of depleted morphological inflection, multiple sources for main verb stems, and expanded combinations involving *estar* would present the proto-AHC learner with a gamut of variation whose complexity could be significantly reduced by a single restructuring: *ta* extended its range to accept all verbal stems, at the same time forgoing the possibility of movement to INFL.

## 6.0. Conclusions

The preceding remarks indicate that verb systems even among closely related creoles may contain considerable diversity, especially with respect to the lexifier language. The concept of creole 'particle' has come under scrutiny, and it has been suggested that, at least in some circumstances, there may be a less discontinuous transition from the verbal system of the lexifier language to that of a creole.

## NOTES

1. Caribbean *bozal* Spanish has been included in the present study because of its importance in claims regarding creole monogenesis and the prior existence of a pan-American Spanish or Portuguese-based creole. It is a risky enterprise to include a creole which has been reconstructed from fragmentary information, much of which comes from literary or folkloric texts and is likely to have been the product of exaggeration and stereotyping. Even under the best of circumstances, the corpus of CBS materials is very small, and there are no available informants whose intuitions can be probed. All remarks concerning CBS are therefore extremely tentative, and are offered as contributions to the ongoing study of CBS, rather than as definitive conclusions. Cf. Lipski (1987a), Taylor (1971), Whinnom (1956, 1965) for comparative data from Ibero-Romance creoles, including relevant bibliography.

2. Some participants in the debate include Alleyne (1981), Álvarez Nazario (1974:193-194), Granda (1968, 1978), Laurence (1974), López Morales (1980), Megenny (1984, 1985), Naro (1978), Otheguy (1975), Perl (1982), Taylor (1971, 1977), Valkhoff (1966), Whinnom (1956, 1965), Yacou (1977). All these authors assume, implicitly or explicitly, that *ta* derives from Spanish/Portuguese *estar* or *está*. Non-Romance sources have also been postulated for *ta*, including (pidgin/creole) English *stand* (Smith 1980:27), and homophonous African particles (e.g. Taylor 1977:160).

3. Many thanks to Armin Schwegler for being a constant source of data and insights on Palenquero, as well as for helping me shape many of the ideas contained in this study. Thanks to Philippe Maurer for elucidation of the Papiamentu data.

4. Cf. Granda (1969), Lipski (1985b, 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1987a, 1988), Teyssier (1959).

5. Muysken (1981:190) claims that the placement of particles in AUX/INFL represents the least marked alternative in the development of creole verbal systems from a pidgin precursor. However, he does not elaborate on the justification for the minimally-marked status.

6. The past/imperfective marker *tábatá*, while probably deriving historically from a combination of *ta* and one or more other particles, is best analyzed synchronically as a single particle.

7. The *a* which frequently precedes *ta* in PL (cf. Friedemann & Patiño 1983:120) is not operating as an independent particle, and its presence or absence has no demonstrable effect on meaning. Pre-verbal *ta* can also be preceded by the temporal marker *ba*, which is more likely to be a particle. However, in such instances, *ba* affects the entire combination *ta* + V, which would not be the case if *ta* were also a particle.

8. Maurer (1988:274-5) cites [unpublished] work by Marta Dijkhoff which claims that *por* and similar PP verbs are part of AUX/INFL. Maurer disagrees with this analysis, citing cases like *e tábatá por a bini* 'he was able to come' where the 'tense' marker *tabatá* precedes *por*. It may be that the use of *tábatá* (and also *lo*) are theory-neutral with respect to the status of *por*, since *ta* cannot occur before *por*. *Tábatá*, while presumably also derived from *estar*, has more clearly become a (tense-ur before *por*. *Tábatá*, while presumably also derived from *estar*, has more clearly become a (tense-ur marking) particle (for example, *tábatá* cannot be fronted in focused constructions), thus a part of INFL and potentially combinable with other INFL occupants, including *por*. This is additional evidence that *ta* may be 'different' from other PP elements which have been analyzed as 'particles in AUX.' In PL, the *ba* that frequently combines with preceding *ta* in past-tense constructions also shows evidence of being a particle in INFL, capable of attaching to other elements of the sentence, and in particular, to being placed in clause-final position (Schwegler MSA, MSb).

9. For Portuguese, cf. Amaral (1955:68-69), Rodrigues (1974:160), Bortoni-Ricardo (1985:224f). For Spanish cf. Lipski (1985a). For parallels with child language and semi-fluent speech, cf. Bybee Hooper (1980), Canellada (1968), Dorian (1977), Gili Gaya (1960, 1972).

10. Continental Portuguese employs a progressive construction based on *estar* + *a* + V<sub>inf</sub> (e.g. *está a falar* '(s)he is speaking'), which appears even more closely related to creole combinations with *ta* and which has frequently been postulated as a source (Megenny 1986:181-2; Maurer 1987; Holm 1988:154). However, the Portuguese configuration is evidently a 19th century development (which has not generally been transmitted to Brazil), for which there is no evidence in any variety of Portuguese for the time period in which most creoles are assumed to have come into existence (Lipski 1987a).

11. Cf. Lipski (1985a) for many examples of loss of final syllables in vestigial and isolated Spanish dialects.

12. Roberts (1985) suggests that languages with 'rich' verbal inflection do not have AGR at all, but rather a slot equipped with the appropriate affixes, generated under INFL. Languages with depleted verbal inflection, such as modern English, govern verbs *in situ*, by means of INFL. Whereas the claim that languages with rich agreement have no AGR seems counterintuitive, the data from English and AHC unequivocally demonstrate that Verb Movement is not a required operation.

13. Cf. Acosta Saignes (1967), Birmingham (1970), Brito Figuero (1961), DeBose (1975), Ferrol (1982), Gosslinga (1979), Maurer (1988), Lenz (1928).

14. Cf. Aimes (1967), Álvarez Nazario (1974), Bachiller y Morales (1883), Díaz Soler (1981), Granda (1968, 1969), Laurence (1974), López Morales (1980), Morales Carrión (1978), Perl (1984).

## REFERENCES

- Acosta Saignes, Miguel. 1967. *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela*. Caracas: Hespérides.
- Aimes, Hubert. 1967. *A History of slavery in Cuba 1511 to 1868*, 2nd ed. New York: Octagon Books.
- Alleyne, Mervyn. 1981. *Comparative Afro-American*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Álvarez Nazario, Manuel. 1974. *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- Amaral, Amadeu. 1955. *O dialeto caipira*. São Paulo: Anhembi.
- Arrazola, Roberto. 1970. *Palenque, primer pueblo libre de América*. Cartagena: Hernández.
- Bachiller y Morales, Antonio. 1883. Desfiguración a que está expuesto el idioma castellano al contacto y mezcla de razas. *Revista de Cuba* 14:97-104.

- Baum, Paul. 1976. The question of decreolization in Papiamentu phonology. *Linguistics* 173:83-93.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1981. *Roots of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Bickerton, Derek & Aquiles Escalante. 1970. Palenquero: a Spanish-based creole of norther Colombia. *Lingua* 32:254-67.
- Birmingham, John. 1970. *The Papiamentu language of Curaçao*. Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia.
- Bortoni-Ricardo, Stella. 1985. *The urbanization of rural dialect speakers: A sociolinguistic study in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brito Figueroa, Federico. 1961. *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos en la sociedad colonial venezolana*. Caracas: Cantaclaro.
- Bybee Hooper, Joan. 1980. Child morphology and morphophonemic change. In *Historical morphology*. Jacek Fisiak, ed., 157-88. The Hague: Mouton.
- Bybee, Joan. 1985. *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Byrne, Francis. 1987. *Grammatical relations in a radical creole: Verb complementation in Saramaccan*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Cabrera, Lydia. 1979. *Reglas de congo, palo monte mayombé*. Miami: Ediciones C.R.
- Cabrera, Lydia. 1983. *El monte*, 5th ed. Miami: Ediciones C.R.
- Canellada, María José. 1968. Sobre el lenguaje infantil. *Filología* 13:39-47.
- Chiado, Antonio Ribeiro. 1970. *Autos das regateiras*. Critical edition by Giulia Lanciani. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Collier, Barbara. 1976. On the origins of Lingua Franca. *Journal of Creole Studies* 1(2):281-98.
- Cruz, Mary. 1974. *Creto Gangá*. Havana: Ed. Contemporaneos.
- DeBose, Charles. 1975. *Papiamentu: A Spanish-based creole*. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.
- Díaz Soler, Luis. 1981. *Historia de la esclavitud negra en Puerto Rico*, 2nd ed. Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria.
- Dorian, Nancy. 1977. The problem of the semi-speaker in language death. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 12:23-32.
- Escalante, Aquiles. 1954. Notas sobre el Palenque de San Basilio, una comunidad negra en Colombia. *Divulgaciones Etnológicas (Barranquilla)* 3:207-359.
- Ferrol, Orlando. 1982. *La cuestión del origen y de la formación del papiamentu*. The Hague: Smits Drukkers-Uitgevers.
- de Friedemann, Nina S. & Carlos Patiño. 1983. *Lengua y sociedad en el Palenque de San Basilio*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Gilbert, Glenn, ed. 1987. *Pidgin and creole languages: Essays in memory of John E. Reinecke*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1960. *Funciones gramaticales en el habla infantil*. Río Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1961. *Curso superior de sintaxis española*. Barcelona: Bibliograf.
- Gili Gaya, Samuel. 1972. *Estudios sobre lenguaje infantil*. Barcelona: Bibliograf.
- Givón, Talmy. 1982. Tense-aspect-modality: The creole prototype and beyond. In *Tense-aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*. Paul Hopper, ed., 115-63. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Goodall, Grant. 1987. *Parallel structures in syntax: coordination, causative and restructuring*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gosslinga, Cornelius. 1979. *A Short history of the Netherlands Antilles and Surinam*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Granda, Germán de. 1968. La tipología 'criolla' de dos hablas del área lingüística hispánica. *Thesaurus* 23:193-205.
- Granda, Germán de. 1969. Posibles vías directas de introducción de africanismos en el 'habla de negro' literaria castellana. *Thesaurus* 24:459-69.
- Granda, Germán de. 1973. Papiamentu en Hispanoamérica (siglos XVII-XIX). *Thesaurus* 28:1-13.

- Granda, Germán de. 1978. *Estudios lingüísticos hispánicos, afrohispanicos y criollos*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Holm, John. 1987. Creole influence on popular Brazilian Portuguese. In Gilbert, ed., 406-429.
- Holm, John. 1988. *Pidgins and creoles. Volume I: Theory and structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, Dell, ed. 1971. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koopman, Hilda. 1984. *The syntax of verbs*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Koopman, Hilda & Claire Lefebvre. 1982. *Pu: marqueur de mode, préposition et complementeur*. In *Syntax de l'haïtien*. Claire Lefebvre et al., eds, 64-91. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Lauffer, Pierre, ed. 1971. *Di nos: Antología di nos literatura*. Curaçao: Libreria Salas.
- Laurence, Kemlin. 1973. Is Caribbean Spanish a case of decreolization? *Orbis* 23:484-99.
- Lenz, Rodolfo. 1928. *El papiamentu: la lengua criolla de Curaçao*. Santiago: Establecimientos Gráficos "Balcells & Co."
- Lightfoot, David. 1979. *Principles of diachronic syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lipski, John. 1985a. Creole Spanish and vestigial Spanish: Evolutionary parallels. *Linguistics* 23:963-84.
- Lipski, John. 1985b. Black Spanish: The last frontier of Afro-America. *Crítica* [San Diego] 1(2):53-75.
- Lipski, John. 1986a. Convergence and divergence in *bozal* Spanish. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1:171-203.
- Lipski, John. 1986b. Golden Age 'black Spanish': Existence and coexistence. *Afro-Hispanic Review* 5 (1-2):7-12.
- Lipski, John. 1986c. On the weakening of /s/ in *bozal* Spanish. *Neophilologus* 70:208-216.
- Lipski, John. 1987a. On the construction *ta* + infinitive in Caribbean *bozal* Spanish. *Romance Philology* 40:431-50.
- Lipski, John. 1987b. El dialecto español de Río Sabinas: Vestigios del español mexicano en Luisiana y Texas. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 35:111-128.
- Lipski, John. 1988. On the reduction of /s/ in 'black' Spanish. In *On Spanish Portuguese, and Catalan linguistics*. John Stacek, ed., 4-16. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- López Morales, Humberto. 1980. Sobre la pretendida existencia y pervivencia del 'criollo' cubano. *Anuario de Letras* 18:85-116.
- Mack, Isabel. 1973. *The 'Segunda Celestina' of Feliciano de Silva: A study and an edition*. Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter.
- Maurer, Philippe. 1986. El origen del papiamentu desde el punto de vista de sus tiempos gramaticales. *Neue Romania* 4:129-149.
- Maurer, Philippe. 1987. La comparaison des morphèmes temporels du papiamentu et du palenquero: arguments contre la théorie monogénétique de la genèse des langues créoles. In *Varia creolica*. Philippe Maurer & Thomas Stolz, eds., 27-71. Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.
- Maurer, Philippe. 1988. *Les modifications temporelles et modales du verbe dans le papiamentu de Curaçao*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Megenney, William. 1984. Traces of Portuguese in three Caribbean creoles: Evidence in support of the monogenetic theory. *Hispanic Linguistics* 1:177-190.
- Megenney, William. 1985. La influencia criolla-portuguesa en el español caribeño. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) 1:157-180.
- Megenney, William. 1986. *El Palenquero: Un lenguaje post-criollo de Colombia*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Morales, Jorge Luis. 1976. *Poesía afroantillana y negrista*. Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria.
- Morales Carrión, Arturo. 1978. *Auge y decadencia de la trata negra en Puerto Rico (1820-1860)*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.

- Mufwene, Salikoko & Marta Dijkhoff. 1989. On the so-called 'infinitive' in Atlantic creoles. *Lingua* 77:297-330.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1981. Creole tense/mood/aspect systems: The unmarked case? In *Generative studies in creole languages*. Pieter Muysken, ed., 181-200. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Naro, Anthony. 1978. A study on the origins of pidginization. *Language* 54:314-47.
- Otheguy, Ricardo. 1975. The Spanish Caribbean: A creole perspective. In *New ways of analyzing variation in English*. Charles-James Bailey & Roger Shuy, eds., 323-229. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Perl, Matthias. 1982. Creole morphosyntax in the Cuban 'habla bozal'. *Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice* 5:424-433.
- Perl, Matthias. 1984. Las estructuras de comunicación de los esclavos negros en Cuba en el siglo XIX. *Islas* 77:43-59.
- Perl, Matthias. 1985. El fenómeno de descriollización del 'habla bozal' y el lenguaje coloquial de la variante cubana del español. *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica* (Valladolid) 1:191-202.
- Perl, Matthias. 1988. Rasgos poscriollos léxicos en el lenguaje coloquial cubano. *Thesaurus* 43:47-64.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb movement, universal grammar and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365-424.
- Ramsey, Marathon & Robert Spaulding. 1956. *A textbook of modern Spanish*. New York: Holt.
- Raposo, Eduardo. 1987. Case theory and Infl-to-Comp: The inflected infinitive in European Portuguese. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18:85-109.
- Rego, Antonio da Silva. 1943. *Apontamentos para o estudo do dialecto português de Malacca*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias.
- Richardson, Linda. 1977. The phrasal conjunct and the comitative marker in Papiamentu. *Amsterdam creole studies* 1:55-68.
- Roberts, Ian. 1985. Agreement parameters and the development of English modal auxiliaries. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3:21-58.
- Rodrigues, Ana Natal. 1974. *O dialeto caipira na região de Piracicaba*. São Paulo: Ática.
- Schwegler, Armin. MSa. Synchrony and diachrony of predicate negation patterns in Palenquero (Colombia). University of California, Irvine.
- Schwegler, Armin. MSb. Negation in Palenquero (Colombia): Syntax, functions and origin(s). Part I. University of California, Irvine.
- Seuren, Pieter. 1983. The auxiliary system in Sranan. In *Linguistic categories: auxiliaries and related puzzles*, vol. 2. Frank Heny & Barry Richards, eds., 219-251. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 1986. Bilingualism and language change: The extension of *estar* in Los Angeles Spanish. *Language* 62:587-608.
- Smith, Norval. 1980. Some nasal phenomena in the creole languages of Surinam. *Amsterdam Creole Studies* III:14-24.
- Steele, Susan et al. 1981. *An encyclopedia of AUX*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Taylor, Douglas. 1971. Grammatical and lexical affinities of creoles. In Hymes, 293-296.
- Taylor, Douglas. 1977. *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Teysier, Paul. 1959. *La langue de Gil Vicente*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Valkhoff, Marius. 1966. *Studies in Portuguese and creole*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Whinnom, Keith. 1956. *Spanish contact vernaculars in the Philippines*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University.
- Whinnom, Keith. 1965. Origin of European-based creoles and pidgins. *Orbis* 14:510-27.
- Wood, Richard. 1972. The Hispanization of a creole language: Papiamentu. *Hispania* 55:857-864.
- Yacou, Alain. 1977. A propos du parler bossal, langue créole de Cuba. *Espace Créole* 2:73-92.

- Zagona, Karen. 1988. *Verb phrase syntax: A parametric study of English and Spanish*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Ziegler, Douglas-Val. n.d. A preliminary study of Afro-Cuban creole. San Diego State University, Ms.

John M. Lipski  
 Department of Romance Languages  
 and Literatures  
 University of Florida  
 Gainesville, FL 32611