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LANGUAGE CHANGE AND LANGUAGE CONTACT IN PIDGINS AND CREOLES

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Preface

This anthology collects fifteen papers out of those presented at three consecutive meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics; namely, those in San Diego in January 1996, Chicago in January 1997, and London in June 1997.

Obviously, choosing these fifteen papers out of the roughly one hundred and twenty-five presented at the three conferences was not an easy task, as among the papers were several dozen fine descriptive studies, historical reconstructions, analyses couched in theoretical phonology, semantics, and syntax, sociolinguistic analyses, and educational treatises.

Wary of allowing my personal interests to bias the selection process, I decided that the guiding factor in gathering the papers for this volume would be originality. I have sought papers which, regardless of their topic, compellingly approach their subject in a novel way, bring to light hitherto undercovered material, or successfully bolster an unconventional or minority case.

The result has been a volume with papers comprising Minimalism, variable rule analysis, Indo-European historical linguistics, substratism, superstratism, the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis, Optimality Theory, language shift, tense-mood-aspect particles, Sango, Indo-Portuguese, even Chaos Theory, and more — united in their aim to keep debate in creole studies moving ever forward in new directions.

I would like to extend sincere thanks to the outside reviewers who so kindly lent their time to commenting on the first drafts of these papers. I offer this volume as a token of appreciation to all of the people in creole studies who have assisted and supported me in my academic endeavors over the past ten years.

John McWhorter
Berkeley, California, July 1999

Verb Movement in four Creole Languages: A Comparative Analysis

Marlyse Baptista

1. Introduction

The goal of this paper is threefold. The first goal is to present a comprehensive syntax of the Capeverdean Creole verb, focusing in particular on the ordering of verbal elements with regard to negation, adverbs, and floating quantifiers. The second is to show how modern syntactic theory can help account for certain descriptive puzzles in Capeverdean Creole syntax; the third is to illustrate how evidence from the verbal syntax of Capeverdean, Haitian, Guinea-Bissau and Louisiana Creoles will necessitate some revisions of current theory of verb movement.

I will focus on the commonly held assumption that there is a strong correlation between verbal morphology and verb movement, or more precisely, that morphologically "rich" subject-verb agreement is responsible for V-raising. Linguists have observed that the poorer the morphology, the more rigid the word order, and it is well known that the inflectional morphology of Creole languages tends to be much simplified in comparison to their lexifier languages (i.e., French, Portuguese, Spanish, or Dutch). Hence, one would not expect creole languages to display verb movement. Yet I will show that contrary to the predictions of various V-raising analyses, some creoles like Capeverdean show evidence of verb movement despite their minimal verbal morphology and lack of overt subject-verb agreement. In this respect, the investigation of the morphology and syntax of creole languages is a particularly interesting topic.

The first part of the paper provides a brief overview of the theory of verb movement, introducing the standard diagnostics for verb movement. In the second section, I argue that there is verb movement in Capeverdean Creole in

spite of minimal verbal morphology and lack of subject-verb agreement. In the third and last part, I compare Capeverdean to other creoles and show the implications of these findings for the theory of verb movement, suggesting revisions of current assumptions and possible new directions for research.

2. The Theory of Verb Movement: Background Assumptions

In recent literature on verb movement, it is common to use the relative position of verbal forms on the one hand and negation, adverbs, and floating quantifiers on the other in attempts to detect verb movement. The arguments for movement go as follows: If there is an element, as in the French examples below (negation in [1a], adverbs in [2a], or floating quantifiers in [3a]), that *precedes* the main verb when it is nonfinite (e.g., the participle in auxiliary constructions), then the verb is assumed not to have moved. If these same elements *follow* the main verb in core (non-compound) tenses, as illustrated by (1b), (2b), and (3b), then the finite verb is assumed to have raised from a "deep" postverbal position to the left of such elements. (3c) shows a quantifier immediately preceding the expression which it modifies.

Negation

(1) a. *Marie n' **a** **pas** lu le livre.* (French)
Marie NEG has NEG read the book
'Marie has not read the book.'

b. *Marie ne **lit** **pas** le livre.*
Marie NEG read NEG the book
'Marie does not read the book.'

Adverbs

(2) a. *Marie n' **a** **jamais** vu de fantômes.* (French)
Marie NEG has never seen any ghosts
'Marie has never seen any ghosts.'

b. *Marie ne **voit** **jamais** de fantômes.*
Marie NEG sees never any ghosts
'Marie never sees any ghosts.'

Floating quantifiers

(3) a. *Les enfants **ont** **tous** aimé Jean.* (French)
the children have all liked Jean
'The children have all liked Jean.'

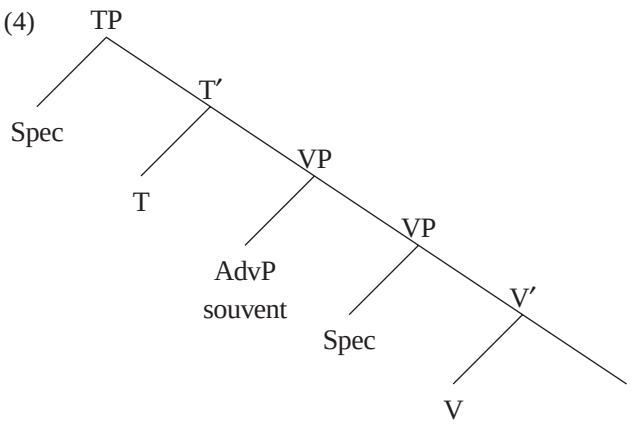
b. *Les enfants* ***aiment*** ***tous*** *Jean.*
the children love all Jean
'All the children love Jean.'

c. ***Tous*** *les enfants* ***ont*** *aimé Jean.*
all the children have liked Jean
'All the children have liked Jean.'

These facts are usually analyzed in the following way: The main verb is assumed to be generated inside the VP; and elements that precede it in the contexts which do not condition movement are either left-adjoined to the VP, as in the case of French adverbs under the phrase structure given in (4); or have their own projection higher than the verb (as in the case of *pas* located in Spec-NegP in French, as in [5]); or occur in Spec-VP (the quantifier may be left behind by a subject that is commonly assumed to be base-generated in Spec-VP, as shown in [6]). When it is finite, the main verb is then believed to move to some higher projection, such as I^0, or T^0, or AgrS (depending on the framework or the type of clausal structure assumed), in languages that have V-movement.

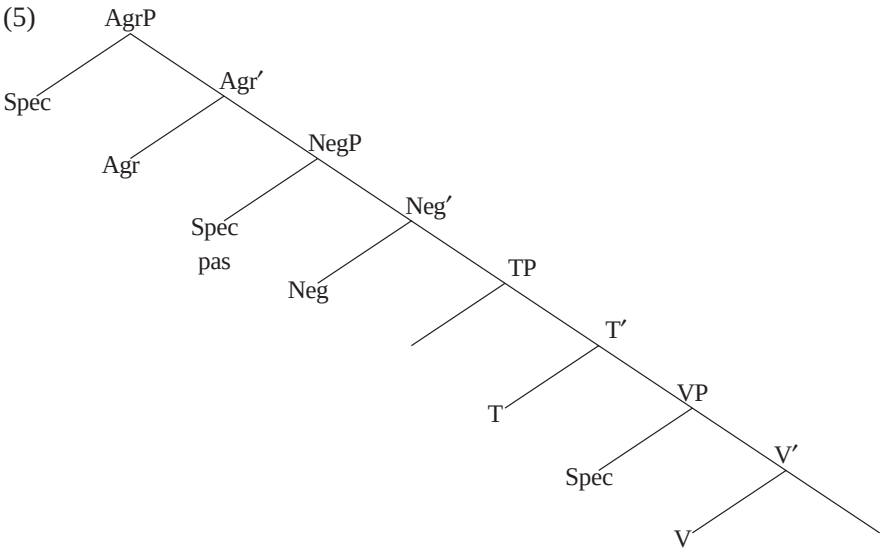
Adverbial left-adjunction:

(4)



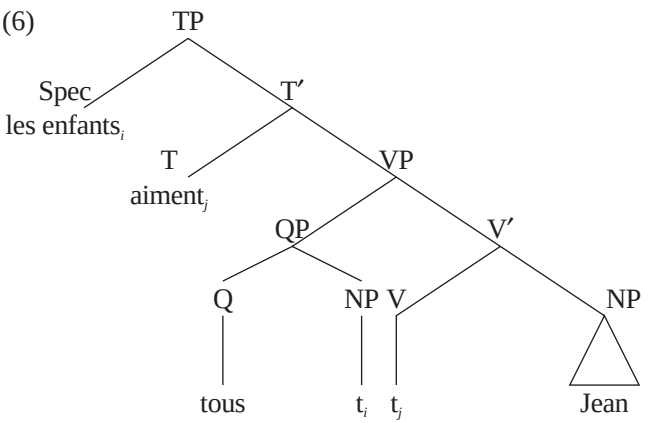
Neg heading its own projection:

(5)



Floating quantifier:

(6)



The general theoretical question arises as to why languages such as French (and Icelandic, Old English, Old Norse, Old Swedish / Danish, and Norwegian among others) seem to have V-movement, whereas others, such as English, as illustrated in the following examples, do not:

English:

(7) a. *John did **not like** the apple pie.* (Negation)
b. **John **liked not** the apple pie.*

(8) a. *John **often tells** stories.* (Adverb)
b. **John **tells often** stories.*[1]

(9) a. *The guests **all saw** Mary crying.* (Floating quantifier)
b. **The guests **saw all** Mary crying.*

As illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (7b), (8b), and (9b), finite main verbs[2] in Modern English may occur only in a post-Neg position.

This leads us to consider the competing approaches to this cross-linguistic variation.

3. Review of Approaches to Verb Movement

3.1. *Split IP*

Pollock (1989) suggests a highly articulated structure of IP and adduces some empirical evidence that inflection is split into AgrP and TP. He also assumes the maximal projection NegP. Pollock's basic assumption is that the properties of these new projections determine whether or not a verb can move. Hence, he assumed that long verb movement from V^0-to-T^0 to Agr^0 is allowed in French, due to the "transparency" of its AGR, whereas long verb movement in English is prohibited due to the "opacity" of its AGR. In other words, if AGR is transparent, verb movement is allowed; and if AGR is opaque, movement is not allowed. The concepts of transparency and opacity were reinterpreted by Chomsky (1993) in terms of "strong" and "weak" features.[3] When the V-features are strong, the verb must move overtly; when they are weak, the verb moves covertly.

3.2. *Strength of Verbal Inflection*

Vikner (1992, 1995) has consistently emphasized a correlation between the strength of verbal inflectional morphology and the obligatory movement of the finite verb to I^0 (i.e., to the left of a medial adverbial or negator). In an attempt to articulate a typology of features that trigger verb movement, Vikner (1995) argued that V^0-to-I^0 occurs only if all core tenses (meaning noncompound tenses) in a given language are inflected for person.

Rohrbacher (1995) adopts a more restrictive view than Vikner (1995) and argues that V^0-to-I^0 movement occurs if and only if 1st and 2nd person are overtly and distinctly marked at least once (that is, for 1st and 2nd person singular or 1st and 2nd person plural) in a given tense. Rohrbacher's most recent proposal (1995: 363) is that languages are not parameterized for V-to-AgrS raising and pro-drop as such, but rather for the presence or the absence of lexical entries for their agreement affixes. Whereas a positive setting of this parameter will trigger V-to-AgrS raising and allow pro-drop, a negative setting will prohibit both. In other words, the trigger for V^0-to-I^0 movement lies in the agreement paradigm of a given language.[4]

Following Platzack (1988), Roberts (1993) draws evidence from the history of English and Mainland Scandinavian, among other languages, supporting the view that verb movement is associated with rich verbal morphology. He corroborates Platzack's (1988) observation that the loss of subject-verb agreement in both English and Swedish was contemporaneous with the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement and occurred within the 200-year period between 1500 and 1700 (Platzack 1988: 223).

Consider the following examples from Middle English / Early Modern English, where the occurrence of the order V-*not* (as in [10]), V-*adverb*, and V-*quantifier* has been interpreted as resulting from V^0-to-I^0 movement:

Middle English (1100-1500):

(10) a. *Wepyng and teres* ***counforteth not*** *dissolute laghers.*
'Weeping and tears did not comfort the careless laughers.'
(1400-1450: N. Love: *The Myrour of the Blessyd Lyf of Jesu Christ* [Gray 1985: 97])

Early Modern English (1500-1800):

b. *They were ful soore adredde and* ***wist not*** *what it was.*
'They were so afraid and did not know what it was.'
(1438: Anon: *The Gilte Legende* [Gray 1985: 103])

On the basis of such evidence, Roberts concludes that Middle English and Early Modern English in its early stages (up to 1550-1575) required V^0 to move to I^0 in all tensed clauses and lost this type of movement later on. This added further evidence linking "rich" verbal morphology to verb movement.

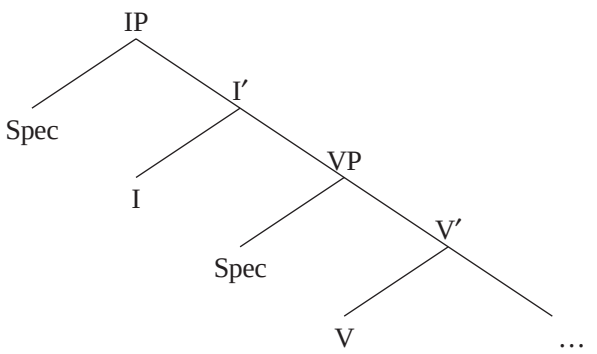
3.3. *Split IP-Parameter*

Thráinsson (1996: 267) correctly notes that it is difficult to define the concept of "rich" morphology in such a way that it makes the correct predictions with regard to overt verb movement. Instead of assuming a direct correlation between rich verbal morphology and overt verb movement, Thráinsson assumes a correlation between rich verb morphology and Split IP, under which TP is a syntactic category separate from AgrSP.

His argument was as follows: In the absence of Split IP, the simplified IP structure will emerge and no AgrSP/TP/AgrOP will appear. This would account for the different number of subject and object positions available in languages with rich verbal morphology versus those with impoverished verbal morphology. Indeed, languages with just IP above the VP would have only Spec-IP as an available subject position above VP, whereas languages with Spec-AgrSP and Spec-TP would have two positions (and also a Spec-AgrOP for the shifted object). Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1997) argue that the verb needs to move to T^0 in a Split IP structure but does not raise to I^0 in an unsplit IP structure. They opted for a structural account rather than one that relies on differential feature strength. Consider the following two structures:

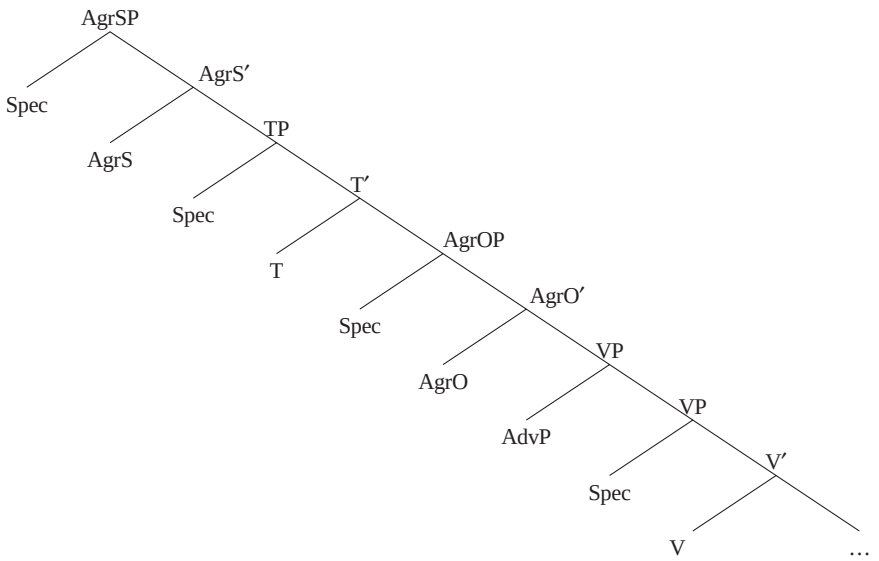
Unsplit IP:

(11)



Split IP:

(12)



They pointed out that in the unsplit IP structure in (11), the VP headed by the V^0 is the complement of I^0. If an AdvP is adjoined to VP, it does not alter that relationship because it does not create any new projection intervening between VP and I^0. If one assumes that the complement of a head is in its checking domain, then the verb does not have to move to check features present in I (Tense or other features).[5] Bobaljik and Thráinsson propose, however, that when other projections intervene between the verb and the head(s) it has to check features with, the verb has to raise to get into a checking relationship with the relevant head. This is illustrated in (12). In that structure, the verb has to check features with T^0, at least, but AgrOP intervenes, so the verb must raise overtly to T^0.

In this respect, Thráinsson (1996: 279) questions whether a language lacking inflectional morphology but displaying a Split IP (a TP separate from an AgrSP) could be found.[6] I show in this paper that although Capeverdean is endowed with minimal inflectional morphology (the single suffix *-ba*), it gives evidence of overt V-raising. Following Thráinsson's line of reasoning, it could be argued then that Capeverdean Creole has a Split IP (we will return to this issue subsequently).

In the next section, we turn to the diagnostics for V-raising in Capeverdean, and examine the distribution of verbs and TMA markers *vis-à-vis* the negator *ka*.

4. Position of Verbs and TMA Markers

4.1. *The Position of Verbs and TMA Markers in relation to* ka

When expressing sentential negation, Capeverdean *ka* precedes not only the main verb, as shown in (13), but also the sequence of TMA markers. In other words, *ka* must be preverbal and never allows *ta*, as in (14), *sta*, as in (15), or the combination *sta ta*, as in (16)-(17) to precede it.

(13) *João* ***ka*** *kume katxupa.*
João NEG ate katxupa
'João did not eat any katxupa.'

(14) a. *João* ***ka*** *ta kume karni.*
João NEG TMA eat meat
'João does not eat meat.'
b. **João ta* ***ka*** *kume karni.*
João TMA NEG eat meat

(15) a. *João* ***ka*** *sta kume karni.*
João NEG sta eat meat
'João is not eating meat.'
b. **João sta* ***ka*** *kume karni.*
João TMA NEG eat meat

(16) a. *João* ***ka*** *sta ta kume karni.*
João NEG TMA TMA eat meat
'João is not eating meat.'
b. **João sta* ***ka*** *ta kume karni.*
João TMA NEG TMA eat meat

(17) a. **João sta ta* ***ka*** *kume karni.*
João TMA TMA NEG eat meat
b. **João sta ta kume* ***ka*** *karni.*
João TMA TMA eat NEG meat

The generalization that we can derive from these data is that whether *ta* and *sta* occur alone, as in (14a) and (15a), or in combination as in (16a), these markers must follow negation.

There is, however, one interesting exception to this generalization: whereas all verbs follow negation, the copula *e* generally appears in a pre-Neg position.[7] This sole exception is worthy of further analysis and is the topic of the next subsection.

4.2. *The Position of* e *in relation to* ka

The morpheme *e* is pre-Neg (in most dialects)[8] and allows the negative morpheme to immediately precede adjectival predicates as in (18) and nominal prediactes as in (19):

(18) a. *João e* ***ka*** *temozu.*
João e NEG temozu
'João is not stubborn.'
b. **João* ***ka*** *e temozu.*
João NEG e stubborn.

(19) a. *João e* ***ka*** *nha pai.*
João e NEG my father
'João is not my father.'
b. **João* ***ka*** *e nha pai.*
João NEG e my father

Such constructions abound in Capeverdean literature, as attested by examples such as (20):

(20) *Kauberdi* ***e*** *ka mas* ***e*** *ka ménus ki un txabasku*
Cape Verde is NEG more is NEG less than a piece
di Goltarpu.[9]
of Goltarpu
'Cape Verde is no more, no less than a colony of Goltarpu.'
(Veiga 1987:14)

This is somewhat similar to the exceptional, pre-Neg position of the (inflected) English copula, but contrary to the English case, the past tense counterpart of *e*, *era*, is always post-Neg, whether in adjectival or nominal

predicates, as illustrated by the examples in (21) and (22):

(21) a. *João* ***ka*** ***era*** *temozu.*
João NEG was stubborn
'João was not stubborn.'
b. **João* ***era*** ***ka*** *temozu.*
João was NEG stubborn

(22) a. *João* ***ka*** ***era*** *nha pai.*
João NEG was my father
'João was not my father.'
b. **João* ***era*** ***ka*** *nha pai.*
João was NEG my father

The same situation arises for the future tense counterpart of *e*, *ta ser*. *Ta ser* must assume a post-Neg position, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (23b) and (23c):

(23) a. *João* ***ka*** ***ta*** ***ser*** *profesor.*
João NEG TMA be professor
'João will not be a professor.'
b. **João* ***ta*** ***ser*** ***ka*** *profesor.*
João TMA be NEG professor
c. **João* ***ta*** ***ka*** ***ser*** *profesor.*
João TMA NEG be professor

This state of affairs is summarized by the templates in (24):

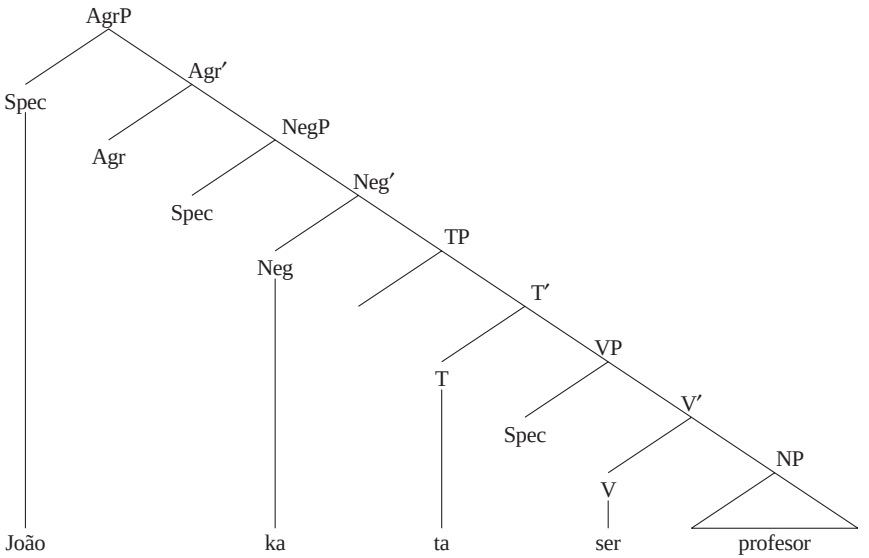
(24) a. *ka ser* + Present = ***e*** *ka*
b. *ka ser* + Past = *ka* ***era***
c. *ka ser* + Future = *ka* ***ta ser***

Chomsky (1993) argued that auxiliaries raise in English due to their semantic vacuity; lacking semantically relevant features, they are not visible to LF rules. Such arguments cannot hold for Capeverdean Creole. Indeed, the movement of *e* to a pre-Neg position cannot be explained by assuming that its raising is triggered by its auxiliary status, given that auxiliaries such as *ta* and *sta* can never be found in a pre-Neg position, as shown in (14b) and (15b). We may infer from this that *e* is not an auxiliary but that its morpho-phonological lightness may be triggering its raising.[10]

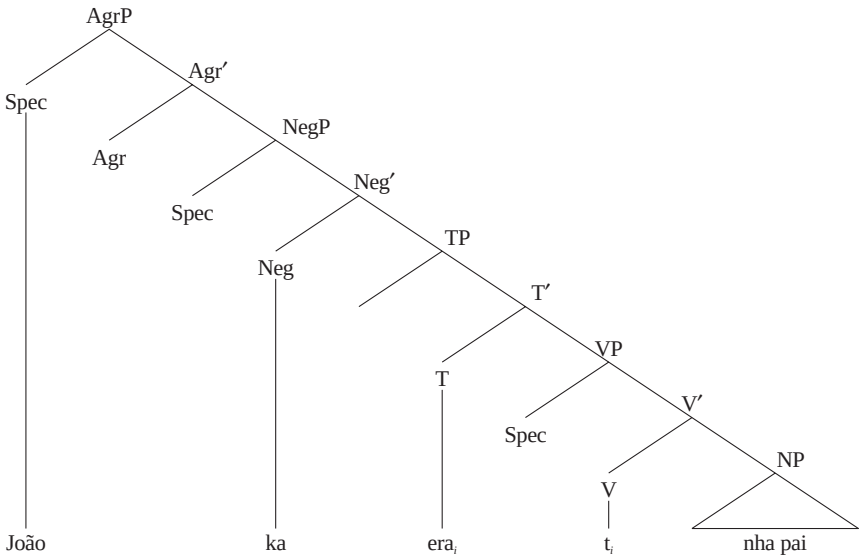
The trees in (25), (26) and (27) illustrate the assumed position of, respec-

tively, the future, past and present tense forms of *ser* 'be'. For ease of exposition, we assume that *ka* heads the projection NegP; the tree in (25), representing the future tense, shows that *ser* in the infinitival form does not have any reason to move, as it has no inflection to pick up in T^0. Hence, the main verb remains *in situ*. In contrast, the tree in (26), representing the past tense, shows that the verb has moved from V^0 to T^0, presumably to pick up a past tense feature. The tree in (27), representing the present tense, shows that the copula may have moved overtly from V^0-to-T^0 to Agr^0 to a pre-Neg position. First, *e* moves to Neg-head and adjoins to *ka*; and then the complex [e ka] moves to Agr^0. The fact that *ka* may raise in some constructions is reminiscent of the French negative particle *ne*, which raises to Agr^0, and the Italian morpheme *non*, which also raises to Agr^0, as described in Belletti (1990).

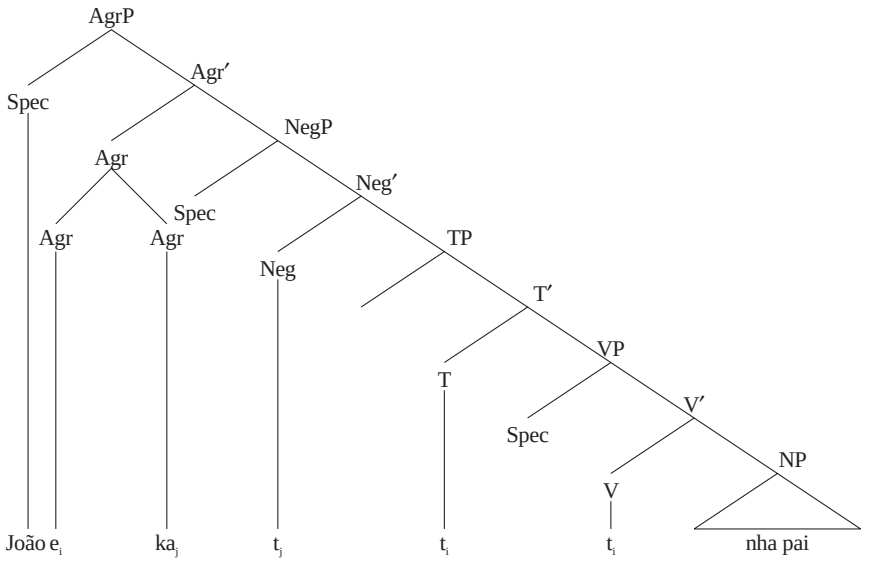
ka ta ser
(25)



ka era
(26)



e ka
(27)



In summary, in this subsection, we have observed that verbs and TMA markers are always in a post-Neg position. Verbs raise covertly from V^0-to-T^0 and remain in a post-Neg position, whereas the copula *e* raises overtly from V^0-to-T^0 to Agr^0, landing in a pre-Neg position. On this issue, I give evidence in the next subsections that verbs can move overtly from V^0-to-T^0 past a certain class of adverbials and floating quantifiers.

4.3. *Capeverdean Verb Position With Regard to Adverbs*

As discussed in the section on the theory of verb movement, it is generally assumed that whether the finite verb is in V^0 or not can be determined from its position relative to a sentence-medial adverbial (i.e., an adverbial that follows the subject but precedes the complement of the verb). The medial adverbial is assumed to left-adjoin to VP. This means that if the verb precedes the adverbial, it has left VP; whereas if the verb follows the adverbial, it must still be in V^0.

Capeverdean has a class of adverbs that occur preferably in a postverbal position, and possibly sentence-finally (in some dialects), as illustrated by (28) – (30). The following sets of sentences show that this class of adverbs (*mutu* 'too much'/'a lot'; *ben* 'well', *mal* 'badly') occur postverbally, as we see in the (a) examples; the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples shows that these adverbs cannot occur between the subject and the verb. The (c) examples show that they cannot occur sentence-initially. The question mark in the (d) examples expresses that sentence-final occurrence of these adverbs is possible in some dialects and marginal in others.

(28) a. *João ta ama* ***mutu*** *Eliza.*
João TMA love too much Eliza
'João loves Eliza too much.'

b. **João* ***mutu*** *ta ama Eliza.*
João too much TMA love Eliza

c. ****Mutu*** *João ta ama Eliza.*
too much João TMA love Eliza

d. ?*João ta ama Eliza* ***mutu***.
João TMA love Eliza too much

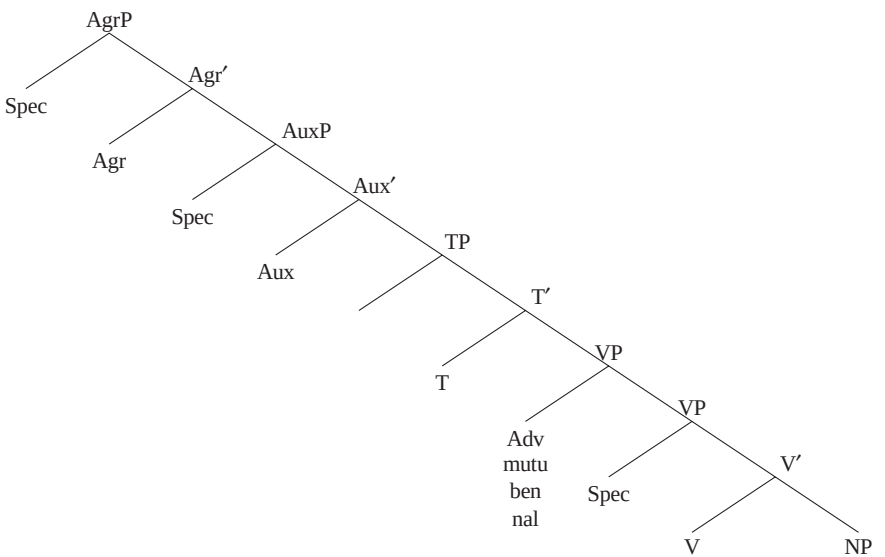
(29) a. *João xina* ***ben*** *se lison.*
João learned well his lesson
'João learned his lesson well.'

b. **João* ***ben*** *xina se lison.*
João well learned his lesson
c. ****Ben*** *João xina se lison.*
well João learned his lesson
d. ?*João xina se lison* ***ben****.*
João learned his lesson well

(30) a. *João xina* ***mal*** *se lison.*
João learned badly his lesson
'João learned his lesson badly.'
b. **João* ***mal*** *xina se lison.*
João badly learned his lesson
c. ****Mal*** *João xina se lison.*
badly João learned his lesson
d. ?*João xina se lison* ***mal****.*
João learned his lesson badly

We assume that members of this class of adverb are generated as left-adjuncts to VP, as illustrated in (31):

(31)



Assuming that these adverbs are base-generated left-adjoined to VP and that adverbs are not subject to movement, the preadverbial position of the verb would indicate that the verb has moved to T^0. The only other way to derive this word order would be to say that the object was shifted to the right, as it occurs in heavy NP shift constructions. However, an NP like *Eliza* in (28a) is not the kind of heavy NP or new-informational NP one would expect to move to the right, so this does not seem to be an option. Consequently, this type of adverb provides us with a crucial test showing that the verb has moved to T^0.

There is, however, an important observation that should be made regarding the placement of such adverbs with respect to Capeverdean auxiliaries. Consider (32), the analogue to (29) except for the presence of the auxiliaries *sta* and *ta* and the anterior marker *-ba*.

(32) a. *João* ***staba*** ***ta*** *xina* ***ben*** *se lison.*
João TMA+ba TMA learn well his lesson
'João was learning his lesson well.'

b. **João* ***ben*** ***staba*** ***ta*** *xina se lison.*
João well TMA+ba TMA learn his lesson

c. ****Ben*** *João* ***staba*** ***ta*** *xina se lison.*
well João TMA+ba TMA learn his lesson

d. ?*João* ***staba*** ***ta*** *xina se lison* ***ben****.*
João TMA+ba TMA learn his lesson well

(32) shows that whether in a compound or noncompound tense, the adverbial must be immediately postverbal, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (32b-c) and the marginality of (32d).

Recall that in French, the adverbial appears in compound tenses (involving auxiliaries) between the finite auxiliary and the past participle, as in (2a). It was observed that if the relevant functional head position (I^0 or T^0, or Agr^0) is filled with an auxiliary element, then the main verb remains *in situ*; but if no such auxiliary element is present, then the main verb moves to that functional head position in core (noncompound) tenses. In other words, verb movement in French (and other languages such as Icelandic) affects main verbs only when no auxiliaries are present. The reason for this is that auxiliary verbs in French are inflected for tense and agreement, just like ordinary verbs, so it is these verbs that check the relevant features when they are present. Hence, it is important to emphasize that contrary to the case in French, the Capeverdean adverbial does not behave differently in compound and noncompound tenses,

as shown by example (29) where auxiliaries are absent and example (32) where auxiliaries are present.

In relation to this, I argue in Baptista (1997) that the element *ta* is a nonverbal auxiliary (it cannot carry *-ba*). Hence, there is no reason to expect that it will interfere with the raising needs of the main verb. Second, I assumed a biclausal structure which supports the assumption that the element *sta* takes a clausal complement which can take its own *ta* and *-ba* markers, as shown in the tree in (40). Thus it is possible that checking in the complement of *sta* would still need to be done by the main verb. These assumptions explain why, contrary to the case in French, the presence of auxiliary elements like *ta* or *sta* does not have any effect on the raising possibilities and raising needs of the main verb.

Let us now turn to some evidence from floating quantifiers which provide another diagnostic for verb movement.

4.4. *Quantifier Float in Capeverdean*

Capeverdean displays the same type of quantifier float as French; hence, a floating quantifier may be preverbal, as in (33a), or postverbal, as in (33b). (33b) provides us with crucial evidence that the verb has moved to T^0, given that the verb precedes the floating quantifier which has remained in its DS position. This yields the tree representations in (34) and (35).

(33) a. ***Tudu*** *konbidadu* ***txiga*** *na mismu tenpu.*
all guests arrived in same time
'All the guests arrived at the same time.'

b. *Konbidadu* ***txiga*** ***tudu*** *na mismu tenpu.*
guests arrived all in same time
'All the guests arrived at the same time.'

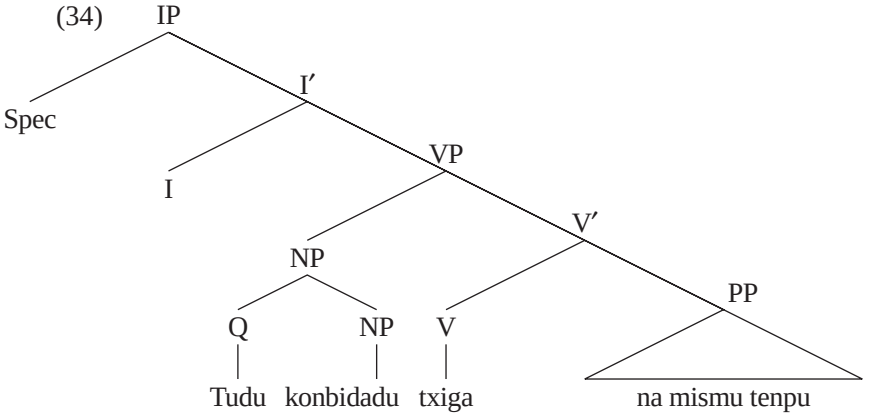
c. *Konbidadu* ***tudu txiga*** *na mismu tenpu.*
guests all arrived in same time

The assimilation of the behavior of a floating quantifier to that of VP-initial adverbs follows from the fact that they have the same DS (deep structure) location. In Sportiche's (1988) account, the NP *konbidadu* must move at SS to a position where it can be case-marked. That is why at SS (surface structure) it fills the typical subject position that has been identified with Spec-IP (or Spec-AgrP). As the subject moves, the modifying quantifier

may remain in place, as illustrated in (35). The tree in (35) crucially shows that the verb has moved to I^0 (or to T^0 in our framework)[11], past the quantifier. In this respect, floating quantifiers, like VP-adjoined adverbs, provide clear evidence of V-raising in Capeverdean Creole.

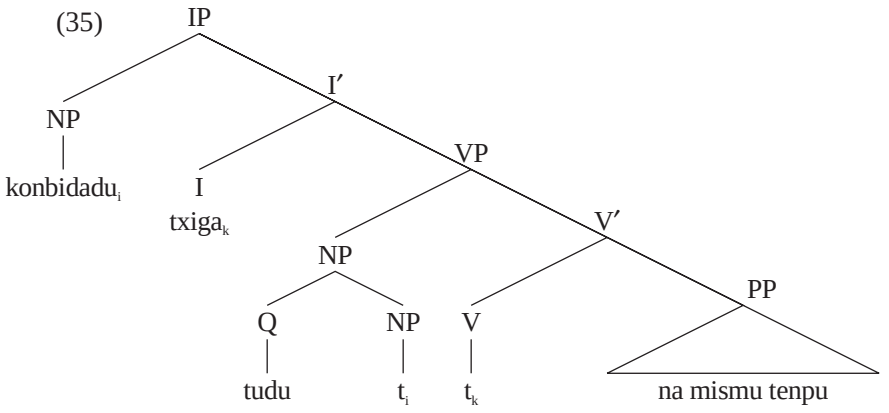
DS

(34)



SS

(35)

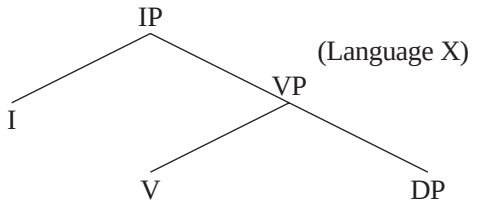


5. Comparative Creole Observations

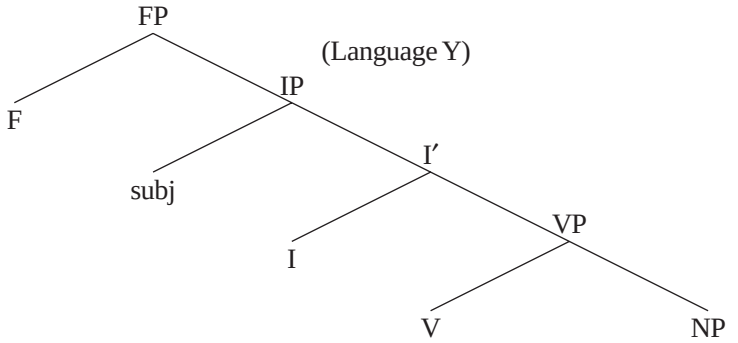
5.1. *A New Lead?*

We will first examine the approach to V-raising adopted by Bobaljik (1995) and Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1997). Consider the two trees in (36) and (37), from Bobaljik (1995: 268-269):

(36)

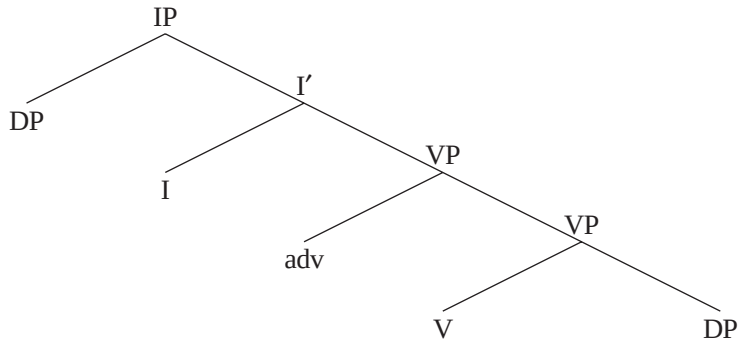


(37)



Regarding Language X, represented by the tree in (36), Bobaljik's main proposal is that if a language has only one head with V-features, in this case I^0 with VP as its sister, then the verb remains in VP. This is because Infl and VP are in a local relationship, and the verb therefore has no motivation to raise for the purpose of feature-checking. (In other words, V^0 and Infl are in a checking relationship when they are adjacent.) Bobaljik (1995:275, fn. 17) added that given the adjunction structure usually represented as in (38), adverbs do not disrupt the adjacency relationship; only specifiers and heads do.

(38)



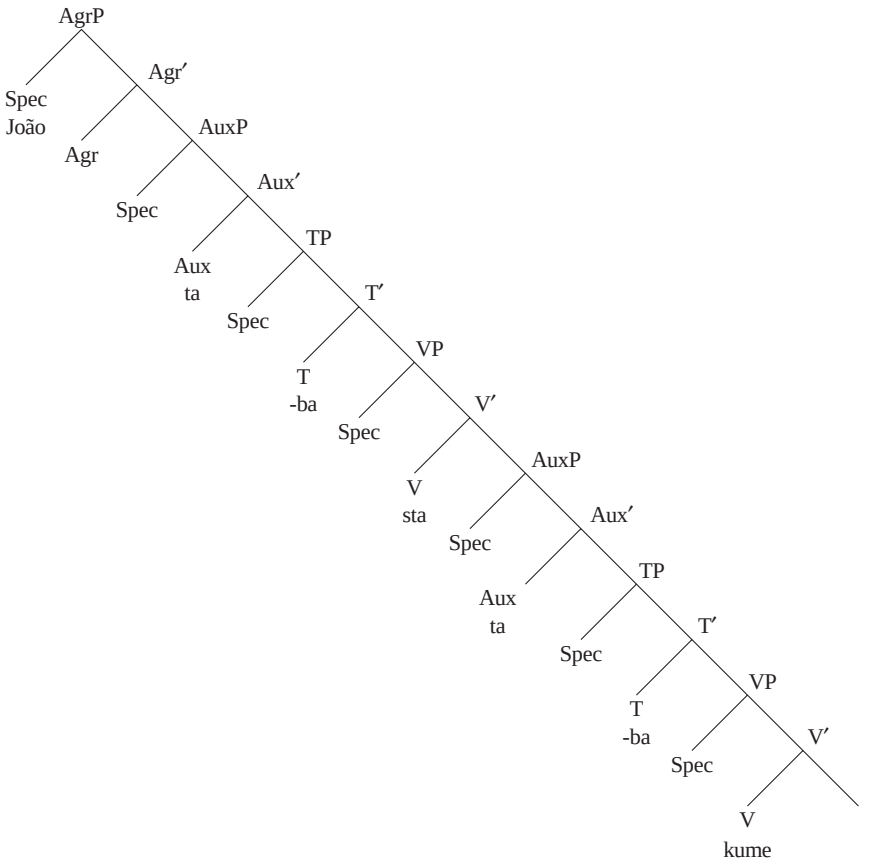
If, on the other hand, Language Y (in tree (37) has two or more heads with V-features above the VP, then checking is not satisfied without movement; the verb will have to raise to the highest of these heads, the head F in (37).

Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1997) brings further modification to this proposal. Under this theory, they assume that there is no reason for V^0 to move all the way to F in (37) rather than just to I^0. Once it is in I, it heads the complement of F, and if the Head-Complement relation is a checking relation, as we assume, then the V could check features against F even if it did not move any further than I^0. Their line of reasoning reflects a move away from the correlation between V-raising and morphology.

Let us now draw a parallel with the Capeverdean case and propose a tentative structure. I assume a biclausal architecture for Capeverdean. Thus the sentence in (39) is represented by the tree in (40):

(39) *João ta staba ta kumeba.*
João TMA sta+ba TMA eat+ba
'João would have been eating.'

(40)



This leads us to the next question: Why does the Capeverdean verb need to raise overtly to T^0? We have seen ample evidence for this movement in the previous section; in this respect, it is of interest to compare Capeverdean to Haitian, as we can derive interesting theoretical hypotheses from such a comparison.

5.2. *Haitian Creole*

The syntax of the Haitian verb is described thoroughly in DeGraff (1997). Haitian has no overt subject-verb agreement (DeGraff, 1996: 11). Haitian has

TMA markers which are all preverbal and, crucially, the language has no verbal suffixes. In the presence of VP-internal adverbials, the verb always remains in V^0 (ibid. 17).

Consider the Haitian sentence in (41). The Haitian verb cannot raise past VP-adjoined adverbs, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (41b).

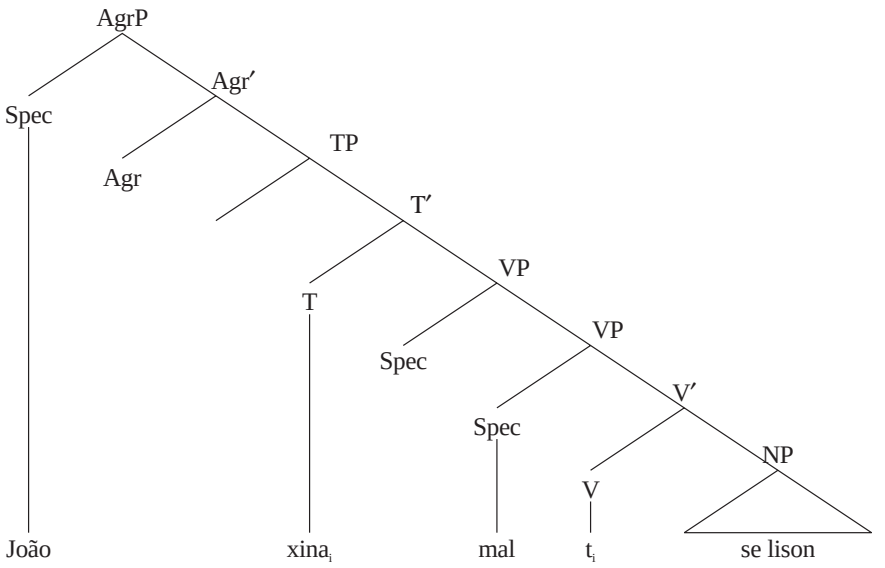
(41) a. *Bouki te ap mal manje.* (Haitian)
Bouki TMA TMA badly eat
'Bouki was eating badly.'
b. **Bouki te ap manje mal.*
Bouki TMA TMA eat badly

The difference in verbal behavior between Capeverdean and Haitian would at first seem to be due to the suffix *-ba* in Capeverdean, for which no equivalent exists in Haitian. This would lead us to view *-ba* as the trigger for the syntactic movement of the verb to T^0.

This is not an uncontroversial issue. Koopman (1984) and Bobaljik (1995) noted that the property [+affix] as a trigger for syntactic movement (in this case V-movement) is a problematic assumption, as movement occurs regardless of the morphophonological content of the affix. More precisely, raising occurs even when the supposed affix trigger is not phonological. That is indeed the case in Capeverdean, where the bare stem of nonstative verbs get a simple past tense and do raise in spite of the lack of suffixation. This is illustrated in (43).

(42) *João* ***xina*** ***mal*** *se lison.*[12] (Capeverdean)
João learned badly his lesson
'João learned his lesson badly.'

(43)



We come back to this problem in a section below, where we consider the behavior of verbs in Louisiana Creole.

This leads us to explore Bobaljik and Thráinsson's alternative approach. Let us first discuss the Capeverdean case. If one assumes the structure suggested in (43), with a TP and an AgrP as different functional projections, and if one assumes furthermore that the verb in the VP needs to check some features with the Agr-head, then it will have to move to T^0 to do so. The fact that the anterior marker *-ba* behaves differently from *ta* may suffice as evidence to the language learner that different elements, and hence plausibly different functional heads in the syntax, are involved. In Haitian on the other hand, in the absence of a suffix, the learner deduces that the verb does not have any raising needs.

Following Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1997), then, this crucial difference between Capeverdean and Haitian is similar to the difference between French or Icelandic on the one hand, and English and Mainland Scandinavian on the other. In Capeverdean as well as French and Icelandic, we have evidence for two kinds of functional projections above the VP, namely, an AgrP and a TP. Thus the verb has to raise out of the VP in order to check features against the

higher of these functional heads. In Haitian as well as English and Mainland Scandinavian, there is no such evidence. In those languages we can surmise that there may be only IP, and the V^0 checks features against the I^0 without moving out of the VP (because VP is the complement of I^0).

In fact, however, such an analysis is problematic. If one assumes that Capeverdean has a split IP, one of the possible implications is that Capeverdean would have two subject positions: one in Spec AgrP and the other in Spec TP, as well as a Spec in AgrOP for object shift. We see this in Icelandic, where transitive expletive constructions introduced by the expletive *það* are found, as illustrated in (44):

(44) *það borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar bjúgun.*
There ate probably many Christmas.trolls the.sausages
'Many Christmas Trolls probably ate the sausages.' (Jonas & Bobaljik 1993:60)

Jonas & Bobaljik note that in non-expletive constructions such as (45), there are apparently two subject positions revealed by the position of sentential adverbs. One position is reserved for definite subjects and another one for indefinite subjects:

(45) a. *Í gaer luku bessir stúdentar sennilega*
?einhverjir stúdentar
yesterday finished these students probably
?some students
verkefninu.
the.assignment
'These students probably finished the assignment yesterday.'
'?Some students probably finished the assignment yesterday.'

b. *Í gaer luku sennilega *bessir stúdentar verkefninu.*
einhverjir stúdentar
yesterday finished probably *these students the.assignment
some students
'Some students probably finished the assignment yesterday.'
'*These students probably finished the assignment yesterday.'
(Jonas & Bobaljik 1993: 60)

(45a) shows that the position preceding the adverb is the only position in which definite subjects may surface, while (45b) reveals that the position

following the adverb is only available for indefinite subjects. This leads Jonas & Bobaljik to argue that indefinite subjects are not internal to the VP at S-structure, and that indefinite subjects are in the specifier of an intermediate functional projection Spec-TP. In addition, Icelandic displays structures of the type "The troll my hat ate", where the object "my hat" has undergone overt object shift and been raised to Spec-AgrO. Neither sentences of this kind nor ones such as (44) or (45) are found in Capeverdean Creole, and thus there is no reason to assume empirically that Capeverdean would be endowed with a Spec-TP and a Spec-AgrOP.

The last step in this analysis is to look at V-raising in Capeverdean from a developmental perspective. In the same way that the loss of V^0-to-Agr^0 movement in English and Mainland Scandinavian accompanied the loss of verbal inflection (Roberts 1993), Capeverdean may possibly have gained short V-movement after acquiring a verbal suffix, an unusual trait among creole languages. The scarcity of historical texts in this creole will make it challenging to ascertain whether *–ba* was initially an independent morpheme in Capeverdean, but uncovering such evidence would be useful in confirming the link between the appearance of suffixation and verb movement.

In contrast, *ba* is found frequently as an unbound morpheme in Guinea-Bissau Creole (Kihm 1994), a Creole closely related to Capeverdean. In the next section, we consider the case of Guinea-Bissau and examine the morpheme *ba* and show how the verb behaves with regard to VP-adverbials and floating quantifiers.

5.3. *Guinea-Bissau Creole*

As described in Kihm (1994), Guinea-Bissau Creole has three TMA markers, *ba*, *na* and *ta*. The behavior of *ba* differs from that of *na* and *ta* in three ways: First, it follows the item it modifies. Secondly, it does not require adjacency to this item. Thirdly, this item may be a noun predicate, an adjectival predicate as in (46) and (47), a verb as in (48) and even a nonpredicate constituent, as shown in (49):

(46) *N ta kontenti* ***ba*** *na kil tenpu.* (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
I TMA happy [+Past] in that time
'I was happy in that time.' (Kihm 1994: 102)

(47) *I un prosesu difisil* ***ba****.*
it a process difficult [+Past]
'It was a difficult process.' (Kihm 1994: 108)

(48) a. *N konta u* ***ba*** *kuma nya pirkitu karu de.*
I tell you Past that my parrot expensive de
'I had told you though that my parrot is expensive.' (Kihm 1994: 99)

b. *E gaša li i ten un kaw ku n ciga di oja l* ***ba*** *nel.*
this girl here it have a place that I arrive of see her Past in.it
'This girl, I already saw her some place.' (Kihm 1994: 99)

(49) *I ka el* ***ba****.*
it NEG s/he/it Past
'It was not him/her/it.' (Kihm 1994: 99)

There are, however, instances where *ba* occurs immediately after the verb, displaying a distribution similar to that of Capeverdean, as shown in (50):

(50) *A! N diskisi* ***ba****!*
ah I forget Past
'Ah I had forgotten!' (Kihm 1994: 99)

Kihm (1994: 101) notes that these occurrences of *ba* represent more marginal, decreolized varieties, in which *ba* is more used as an imperfect ending, parallel to Portuguese *-va*. He analyzes *ba* not as a verb or adverb, but rather as a [+N, +V] item with an added feature [+ADV] (ibid. 105).

The above description of *ba* shows that this morpheme does not behave as a canonical verbal affix. Its nonverbal affix status should allow us to make two correlated predictions — 1) *ba* is not in T, and hence cannot trigger V-raising, and that 2) we should therefore not expect V-raising in Guinea-Bissau Creole. Closer examination of the facts shows that these predictions are only partially borne out. Let us examine the position of the Guinea-Bissau verb *vis-à-vis* negation, VP-adverbials and floating quantifiers.

With regard to negation,Guinea-Bissau *ka* behaves just like Capeverdean *ka*. When it modifies a verb, it always immediately precedes it, as shown in (51):

(51) *Ze* ***ka*** *riba inda.*
Ze NEG return yet
'Ze has not returned yet.' (Kihm 1994: 42)

In this respect, just as with ordinary verbs in Capeverdean, *ka* cannot be used as a diagnosis for V-raising. However, a contrast between the two creoles arises with respect to VP-adverbials. Indeed, as illustrated by the examples in (52) and (53), the VP-adverbials *ciw*, "a lot", and *diritu*, "well", cannot occur in a postverbal position, as shown in (52b) and (53b) respectively (Kihm, personal communication)[13]:

(52) a. *Jon ta kiri Eliza* ***ciw****.*
Jon TMA like Eliza a lot
'Jon like Eliza a lot.'
b. **Jon ta kiri* ***ciw*** *Eliza.*
Jon TMA likes a lot Eliza[14]

(53) a. *Jon prindi si lison* ***diritu****.*
Jon learned his lesson well
'Jon learned his lesson well.'
b. **Jon prindi* ***diritu*** *si lison.*
Jon learned well his lesson[15]

Hence, as we predicted, the Guinea-Bissau verb remains *in situ* and does not move past VP-internal adverbials. Our predictions, however, are not borne out with regard to floating quantifiers. Indeed, the Guinea-Bissau Creole quantifier *tudu* can be stranded and the verb can raise past it, just as in Capeverdean. This is shown in (54):

(54) a. *Konbidadu ciga* ***tudu*** *na mismu tenpu.*
guests arrived all at same time
'The guests arrived all at the same time.'
b. *Konbidadu* ***tudu*** *ciga na mismu tenpu.*
guests all arrived at same time
'The guests arrived all at the same time.'[16]

Thus the data in (54) challenges the predictions we made that the Guinea-Bissau Creole verb would not move due to having no inflection to pick up or any feature to check in T. These data show us that there may be more to the general verb movement picture than we have assumed so far.

5.4. *Louisiana Creole*

As described in Rottet (1992), there is in mesolectal Lousiana Creole a morphosyntactic alternation between full and truncated verb stems which is absent in the basilectal varieties. More precisely, in mesolectal Louisiana Creole, the alternation is ø versus *-e*. Hence, a verb like *mõzhe* "to eat", can alternate between the full stem *mõzhe* and the truncated stem *mõzh*.[17] Basilectal Louisiana Creole is only endowed with the full stems.

Rottet (1992), drawing most of his data from Neumann (1985, 1987), notes that only the short verb stems undergo verb movement, whereas the full verb stems do not. For instance, in negative constructions, Rottet notes that the long stem form does not move, hence remains in a post-Neg position, whereas the short stem form moves and appears in a pre-Neg position. This is illustrated in (55a) and (55b) respectively:

(55) a. *Na lõtõ mo* ***pa mõzhe*** *gratõ.*
in long time I NEG eat cracklin'
'I haven't eaten cracklin' for a long time.'

b. *Mo* ***mõzh pa*** *gratõ.*
I eat NEG cracklin'
'I don't eat cracklin'.' (Neumann 1985:321, cited in Rottet 1992: 277)

Short and long verb stems also show a discrepancy with regard to VP adverbs, such as *zhame*, "never". Such adverbs must precede the long verb stem, as in (56), whereas they can occur before or after the short verb stem, as illustrated in (57):

(56) a. *Mo* (*te, se, sa*, ...) ***zhame zhõngle*** *õho sa.*
I (ANT, IRR, FUT) never think about that
'I never thought/would think/will have thought about that.'

b. *Mo*(*pa*) ***zhame*** (*te*,...) ***zhõgle*** *õho sa.*
I (NEG) never (ANT,...) think about that
'I never thought about that.'
(Neumann 1985: 330, cited by Rottet 1992: 267)

(57) a. *Mo* ***zhame marsh*** *ni-pje deor.*
I never walk barefoot outside
'I never walk barefoot outside.'

b. *Mo* ***marsh*** (*pa*) ***zhame*** *ni-pje* *deor.*
I walk (NEG) never barefoot outside
'I never walk barefoot outside.'
(Neumann 1985: 330, cited by Rottet 1992: 267)

This leads us to a second observation: The occurrence of verb stems in a pre-Neg position are an innovation in Louisiana Creole, as Neumann makes explicit (1987: 20). The following question thus arises: How can we account for the difference in behavior between short and long verb stems? Rottet's analysis is that verb movement in the present tense occurs due to the presence of a null tense inflection in T, this morpheme being an affix and a trigger for V-raising (1992: 278). The long stem, in contrast, does not have any inflectional morphology, and hence no affix in T to act as a trigger for movement (ibid. 280). As a result, the long verb stem remains in situ. The case of Louisiana Creole is interesting in that it is precisely the verb stem with no overt inflection that raises to T, an analysis in sharp contrast with current assumptions that *overt* morphology triggers V-raising.

This comparison of Capeverdean, Haitian, Guinea-Bissau Creole and Louisiana Creole demonstrates the complexity of this situation, indicating that none of the theories of verb movement so far proposed have been truly able to account exhaustively for the behavior of verbs in these (and other) creoles.

6. Conclusion

The implications of the observations presented here for the theory of V-raising are twofold. First, we see how misleading the concept of "rich" verbal morphology is in predicting V-raising, in that V-raising is found in Capeverdean in spite of its having but a single inflectional marker. A more minimalist definition of the morphology required to trigger verb movement is needed.

A second obvious implication is that the explanation for V-raising may be more structural (number of heads above V^0) than morphological, as Bobalijk & Thráinsson argue. However, morphology must still play a role as a trigger, given its importance from the learnability perspective. Indeed, the Capeverdean child presumably uses V-raising because s/he is provided with the *-ba* cue, whereas the Haitian child will not, in the absence of such a cue. Nevertheless, we have seen that one of the weaknesses of this hypothesis is that it would

predict that Capeverdean would be endowed with two subject positions, one in Spec AgrP and one in TP as well as a Spec in AgrOP for shifted objects, when in fact this does not appear to be the case.[18]

The situation in Guinea-Bissau Creole and Louisiana Creole is, however, more ambiguous. We have yet to determine which trigger the Guinea-Bissau Creole-speaking child uses to allow the verb to raise past quantifiers. In the case of Louisiana Creole, it is difficult to reconcile overt morphology as a trigger for V-raising with the fact that in this creole, it is precisely the bare verb stems which raise, and not the full verb stems, despite their being endowed with the suffix *-e*.

If the analysis here is on the right track, then it is reasonable to assume that there are more triggers for verb movement than theories proposed so far have been able to identify.

Notes

1. Although (8b) is clearly ungrammatical (this example was provided by the editor), it is worth observing that not all utterances of a similar pattern would be starred. Indeed, consider (i), the counterpart to (8):

   (i) a. *John **often goes** to the movies.*
   b. */? *John **goes often** to the movies.*

   Interestingly, a number of native speakers, including the editor to this volume, would consider (ib) grammatical or would grant it at most a small question mark.

2. It is important to emphasize that only finite verbs behave this way in English. Indeed, in English, for instance, the auxiliaries *be* and *have* do raise, as illustrated in (ia) and (ib) respectively:

   (i) a. *John **is not** being facetious.*
   b. *John **has not** gone home.*

3. The concepts of "weak" and "strong" have now become controversial (cf. Chomsky 1997 Fall lectures).

4. Although their formulation of verb movement is altered in more recent work, Vikner and Rohrbacher still relate verb movement to verbal morphology.

5. See also Groat (1997).

6. Jonathan Bobaljik (personal communication) has brought to my attention the fact that Afrikaans may represent such a case.

7. The generalization that all verbs, including *e*, are post-Neg holds at DS: we may assume that *e* starts out in a post-Neg position in V^0 and raises.

8. In my own idiolect and that of all the informants interviewed, it would be ungrammatical to place *e* in a post-Neg position. I was informed, however, that there seem to be dialectal varieties that use *e* in a post-Neg position, much in the same way Portuguese does.

9. *Goltarpu* is an anagram of *Portugal*. This example is taken from Manuel Veiga's 1987 novel *Oju D'Agua*. In this fictional work, the author attempts to reconcile the imaginary to the real, and refers to real places and people by using imaginary nouns (i.e. anagrams), thus allowing the reader to recognize real life characters and places.

10. As keenly observed by an anonymous reviewer, an alternative analysis would be to assume that *e* is in subject position, as it has been proposed for its Haitian counterpart *se*. For arguments pro and against this analysis, see Baptista (1999). One possible counter-argument to this hypothesis is the existence of sentences like (i), for which it would then be necessary to assume that *João* is in a topicalized (extraposed) position:

    (i) *João e malandru.*
    João e crafty
    'João is crafty.'

    It is important to note that a similar construction to (i) in Haitian would yield ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (ii):

    (ii) *Bouki* (**se*) *malad*.
    Bouki SE sick
    'Bouki is sick.' (DeGraff 1995: 237-256)

    Indeed, in Haitian, adjectival predicates (as well as prepositional and many bare nominal predicates, as shown in DeGraff 1995) do not contain an overt copula.

11. The IP structure is used in (34) and (35) for ease of exposure.

12. It is worth mentioning that according to our definition, whether the verb is stative or nonstative, the verb still moves. Consider (i) where the stative verb *konxe* 'to know', occurs in a pre-adverbial position:

    (i) *João konxe mal es país.*
    João knows bad this country
    'João knows this country badly.'

13. I thank Alain Kihm for his assistance on this issue.

14. It is important to note that (52) has a close counterpart in some dialectal varieties of Capeverdean where *txeu* 'a lot', would be preferred to *mutu* which is closer to Portuguese. In this case, both (ia) and (ib) are grammatical:

    (i) a. *João kre Eliza txeu.* (Capeverdean Creole)
    João loves Eliza a lot
    'João loves Eliza a lot.'
    b. *João kre txeu Eliza.*
    João loves a lot Eliza
    'João loves Eliza a lot.'

    The sentence (ib) shows that the verb can raise past *txeu*, just as it does with *mutu*.

15. Interestingly, the equivalent to Guinea-Bissau *diritu* also exists in Capeverdean and is *dretu* which corresponds to *ben*. If one replaces *ben* with *dretu*, the following sentences obtain:

    (i) a. *João xina se lison dretu.* (Capeverdean Creole)
    João learned his lesso nwell
    'João learned his lesson well.'
    b. *João xina dretu se lison.*
    João learned well his lesson
    'João learned his lesson well.'

    Again, in contrast with the Guinea-Bissau Creole verb, the Capeverdean verb can raise past the VP-adverbial.

16. I thank Alain Kihm for these valuable data.

17. It is important to note that not all verbs show such an alternation in Louisiana Creole.

18. I am currently working on a manuscript where I show evidence for 2 subject positions in Capeverdean Creole.

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Notes on Componential Diffusion in the Genesis of the Kabuverdianu Cluster

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1. Introduction

Kabuverdianu is a Portuguese-based creole language spoken by more than a million Cape Verdeans.[2] Due to adverse ecological and economic conditions, only about one third of all Cape Verdeans live in the Cape Verdean archipelago, while the other two thirds constitute a culturally vital diaspora. This diaspora is mainly represented in the mother country, Portugal, and in the New England region of the United States, especially Massachusetts. In fact, Massachusetts has had a Cape Verdean community for more than a hundred years and the population of this community is now almost equal to that of the Cape Verdean archipelago itself; São Tomé e Príncipe, the Netherlands, Italy, and Senegal have been other important targets of the Cape Verdean emigration in the recent past.

The nine inhabited islands of the Cape Verdean archipelago are divided into the four Sotavento Islands, Santiago, Fogo, Maio, and Brava, and the five Barlavento Islands, Santo Antão, São Vicente, São Nicolau, Sal, and Boavista. Santiago is the most populous island with over 170,000 inhabitants, 62,000 of whom are in the capital Praia, the political center of the archipelago. Due to its natural harbor, Mindelo, on the island of São Vicente, represents a link to the outside world and continues to be regarded by most as the cultural capital of the Cape Verde Islands.

2. The Genesis of the Kabuverdianu Dialect Cluster

The southern and eastern islands of the Cape Verdean archipelago were

discovered by the Italians Cadamosto and Noli in 1456 and 1460, respectively.[3] Subsequently, the islands were claimed by the Portuguese crown, but only Santiago and Fogo were settled, with Portuguese from the Algarve and Alentejo regions. These peninsular provinces had been colonized only shortly before, in the aftermath of the Reconquista, a fact which is likely to have left its imprint on the dialects spoken there in the form of some degree of koineization. Other population groups included Jews, Crypto-Jews, Marrans, and some Spanish, Italians, and Flemish, and also slaves from the African mainland opposite, who thus were most likely speakers of West Atlantic and Mande languages.[4]

In 1513, on Santiago and Fogo there were 130 whites, including 4 women, as well as 16 male and 16 female slaves. By 1582, the adult population had surpassed 15,000, but Europeans and the free colored constituted no more than 12.8% (Carreira 1982: 44, 59-61). Fanha (1987: 293) specifies that there were 13,700 slaves and "about a hundred" whites; this leaves us with over 1200 free colored. Carreira (1982: 60) distinguishes a number of groups who, at least on the island of Santiago, divided both the geographic and the social space in a way which must have contributed to the genesis of Kabuverdianu, especially outside the capital Ribeira Grande. The groups identified by Carreira are: white *vizinhos* (lit., 'neighbors') with a licence from the King (708 on Santiago, 300 on Fogo); *escravos de confissão* ('slaves of faith'; 9500 on Santiago, 1500 on Fogo) who mainly lived in Ribeira Grande on Santiago; *brancos e pardos*, whites and persons of mixed descent (600); *pretos fôrros* ('freed slaves'; 400); and *escravos em doutrinação* ('slaves undergoing indoctrination', 2200 on Santiago, 500 on Fogo). The *brancos e pardos* and the *pretos fôrros* were only represented in the interior parishes of Santiago; the *escravos em doutrinação* lived in the interior parishes of Santiago as well, and also in Praia (which did not become the capital until 1858) (cf. Lang 1994).

By the end of the 17th century, plantations had proved unprofitable and, since Portuguese ships had obtained permission to sail directly from Senegambia to the Americas, the profitable triangle trade had lost its importance.[5] At this point in the archipelago's history, there were only about 20 whites remaining on Santiago (Fanha 1987: 294). However, a little over a century later, in 1807, the population of the archipelago consisted of 1752 whites, 5139 slaves and 51,540 free colored (Carreira 1982: 61-62). The emancipation of slaves was thus a reality long before abolition, a development which presumedly also left its imprint on the creolization outcomes in the

Cape Verde Islands.[6]

Meanwhile, as a rule, the Barlavento Islands were settled much later and with a greater proportion of whites than were present in the Sotavento Islands. Furthermore, the Europeans on these islands frequently immigrated from other islands in the archipelago. The eruption of the Pico de Fogo in 1500 led to an exodus of the settlers on that island, which had been settled from 1480 onward, to neighboring Brava. There must have been only a few slaves on Fogo at this early date (in 1513, Santiago and Fogo had a population of 130 whites and 32 slaves altogether), and the subsequent isolation of the island led its population to remain quite light-skinned. This very isolation forced the Bravaenses to be among the first to board whaling ships and to settle in New England in the 19th century. The isolation has continued until recent times; for example, the island's airport was completed only in 1991. As a consequence, the creole that is spoken on Brava is at least mesolectal in terms of a hypothetical Kabuverdianu continuum.

For several centuries beginning in 1497, Boavista remained in the hands of the family of the pioneering navigator Diogo Afonso; this island has a high proportion of whites even today, which is reflected in the fact that the local Kabuverdianu variety seems to be the one in which creolization proceeded to the weakest extent in the archipelago. The island of São Nicolau, discovered in 1461, was inhabited only by slaves and herds of goats, cows, and horses during the 16th century, and it was not until the 17th century that the first white settlers from Portugal and Madeira and also from the other islands arrived. Sal was tentatively settled by Europeans and slaves from São Nicolau and Boavista in the course of the 18th century; larger-scale settlement on this island dates from the early 19th century (from 1808 onwards). Like Boavista and Sal, Maio became a matter of interest only because of the salt it produced. Until the 17th century, only a relatively small population, consisting mainly of slaves and herds of domestic animals, inhabited the island. São Vicente was settled in 1794 with whites from the other islands, the Azores, Madeira, and Portugal, and also a few slaves**.** After massive exploitation by feudal lords beginning in 1548, exploitation by the Companhia Geral do Grão-Pará from 1757 onwards, and the effects of devastating droughts, Santo Antão had to be virtually repopulated in the 19th century. There were some wealthy Jewish families from Morocco among the white settlers at that time (as was also the case for the other Barlavento Islands) who contributed to Santo Antão's economic revival.

After unsuccessfully trying to install a plantation economy on Santiago, the Portuguese realized that the other islands were even less likely to permit more than small farms which were just big enough for subsistence farming and for supplying the ships that passed this strategically important post in the Portuguese empire. Thus, the more arid eastern islands, including the Sotavento island of Maio, were first regarded as reservoirs for meat supplies. A handful of slaves were left on the islands to keep an eye on the roaming herds of goats, cattle, and horses, the latter of which turned out to be a valuable currency used to obtain slaves on the African mainland (see above).

The dichotomy of field vs. domestic slaves seems an oversimplification of many complex situations, ones which should be separately defined in order to understand each creolization process (cf. Singler 1990, Bailey, Maynor & Cukor-Avila 1991). The interaction between masters and slaves was much closer on the Cape Verde Islands than in the classical creolization situation defined in Bickerton's Pidginization Index (1984); for example, Carreira (1982: 44, 59) stresses the role of the *escravos de casa* ('domestic slaves') in the formation of Kabuverdianu.

In comparison to the Spanish, the Portuguese constituted a very small minority in their colonies, the population of their mother country being much smaller to start with (1 million at the beginning of the Portuguese colonization as opposed to 7 million Spaniards at the beginning of the Spanish colonial expansion [Bartens 1996: 21, fn. 13]). Furthermore, there was a significant disproportion between the sexes, the bias being towards male immigrants from Portugal. This led to a mixing of races in the Portuguese colonies which was perhaps most thorough on the Cape Verde Islands, where the tendency towards the total elimination of the white and black ends of the racial continuum persists. At present, the average figures for the archipelago are 3% whites, 23% blacks, and 74% mixed. However, over 50% of the population of the main island of Santiago are black while 90% of the population of São Vicente are mixed, a fact which explains why the latter group finds it difficult to identify with the creole of Santiago. Occasionally, both Boavista and Brava are quoted as being the "white islands" of the archipelago (see below).

Given the above, it seems probable that creolization was both early and rapid on Santiago. On the other hand, as noted earlier, there was an uninterrupted supply of slaves during the initial period of settlement. Until about the 1640s, the slaves were first shipped to the Santiago entrepôt. After christianization and ladinization, most of the slaves were then shipped on to destina-

tions in the Canary Islands, on the Iberian Peninsula, and in the New World. This constant influx of new slaves guaranteed a continuous repidginization until well into the 17th century, and ultimately led to the coexistence of different varieties representing different degrees of creolization (cf. Fanha 1987). The frequent use of Cape Verdean *línguas* (interpreters) by the Portuguese in the early exploration of the West African coast hints at bilingualism or even trilingualism in creole, Portuguese, and African languages for at least part of the population, since newly imported *boçais* could not have been used in this task given their lack of competence in Portuguese, creole, or both. Additionally, there is evidence that whites used the creole in their correspondence from early on (cf. Carreira 1982, Fanha 1987: 296-297, Thiele 1991a: 28-29); this is in accordance with the language policy the Portuguese practiced throughout their sea-borne empire, and which resulted in a linguistic infrastructure that was later taken over especially by the Dutch, such as in Ceylon.

By combining the diffusion model of creolization as outlined in Holm (1986), together with the notion of the importance of the proportions of the social groups or components present during each creolization process as suggested by Hancock (1986),[7] we obtain the componential diffusion model which I have argued for earlier (Bartens 1996). The central idea of this proposed model is that of monogenesis from an Afro-Portuguese pidgin and/or a comparable reduced variety of a European language (i.e., transplantation), both direct and indirect substrate influence, universal L2-acquisition strategies, constraints of Universal Grammar in general and, last but not least, superstratal, often dialectal, structures, all of which would have contributed to the emerging creole. Within this model, the contribution of each of these factors would vary, depending on the circumstances of the particular creolization situation, including the type of economy and society and especially the numerical and social relations between the different population groups which would determine the type of linguistic input individual speakers would receive. In the case of Kabuverdianu, different diachronic and possibly also diatopic (geographical) varieties of Portuguese seem to have been involved, too.

Although racial mixing and the ensuing social mobility were particularly widespread in the Cape Verde Islands as a whole, notable differences existed among the various islands. For example, there was labor-intensive agriculture and greater social distance at least during the initial period on Santiago as opposed to the generally closer social interaction that existed on many

Barlavento Islands (see above). The genesis of the Kabuverdianu dialect or even language cluster could therefore be considered a fairly good example of the functioning of the diffusion model.

The diffusion model might be used to explain a number of the features of the creolization process in the Cape Verde Islands. First, globally speaking, the outcomes of creolization in the Barlavento Islands were less distant from superstratal structures than those in the Sotavento. This is seen in passages of Barlavento creole which mix Portuguese and creole, a result of inability or lack of motivation on the part of speakers to distinguish between the two codes which is apparently more frequent on the Barlavento Islands. Many Cape Verdeans maintain that only Santiago, and possibly Fogo and Maio, possess a genuine creole (cf. the evaluation of the dialect of Santiago by inhabitants of other islands reported as early as 1841 quoted below). Thiele (1991a: 34) quotes a study by Scotti-Rossin (1983) which reports that Portuguese was felt to be a foreign language without a transparent genetic relationship to Kabuverdianu by speakers of the São Vicente variety.

Second, the other varieties of creole, including the Barlavento creoles, must be regarded as dilutions of the original creole of Santiago. By this we mean that the creole of Santiago was transplanted as part of the superstrate to the other islands, where a (partly) new creolization process took place so that both mono- and polygenesis could be evoked to describe the genesis of the Kabuverdianu cluster.

Third, although Costa & Duarte (1967 [1886]: 239), at the end of the 19th century, maintained that on Maio, São Vicente, Santa Luzia (an island in the Barlavento where there are now only temporary settlements), and Sal there was no autochthonous creole, we have reason to believe that ultimately, separate varieties may have arisen on all of the inhabited islands (cf. Lang 1991: 4). All of the other varieties would hence constitute *second generation varieties*, as opposed to the *first generation varieties* (in the terminology of Chaudenson 1992 on Santiago.[8]

Thus we find that there are more basilectal varieties of creole in the Sotavento Islands and more acrolectal varieties in the Barlavento Islands. Contrary to previous assumptions, research by Cardoso (1989: 17-8) indicates that the variety of São Nicolau cannot be attributed to the Barlavento Islands, but apparently occupies an intermediate position between the two island groups.

The investigators Chelmicki and Vernhagen (cited in Carreira 1982: 70) testified as early as in 1841 to the existence of separate varieties of Kabu-

verdianu, with Santiago possessing the most basilectal variety:

> "Todas as ilhas têm a sua corruptela diversa; pior é o de Santiago, chamado até pelos outros insulanos crioulo cerrado" ('All islands have their own corrupt variety of Portuguese; the one of Santiago is the worst and even the inhabitants of the other islands call it deep creole'; translation mine).

Lopes (1967 [1941]), too, reports as many separate varieties as there are inhabited islands and stresses the role of extra-linguistic factors. Rougé (1994) regards the Kabuverdianu dialects of Santiago and Fogo as antecedents to the other dialects and provides an example of his postulated plurigenesis of Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese using comparative data from Santiago Kabuverdianu and from different varieties of mainland Kriôl.

The existence of a separate variety on São Vicente is confirmed by its inclusion in Veiga's grammars (1982, 1995). The cultural importance of Mindelo must have contributed to both the presumed and the genuine autonomy of this variety.

Admittedly, the linguistic distance between the varieties does not justify speaking of separate languages in the sense of "Abstandsprachen" as defined by Kloss (1967), but neither is the term "dialect" an adequate expression, since it does not convey the fact that the Kabuverdianu varieties are products of separate creolization processes.

Veiga (1995: 29) expresses a diametrically opposed point of view by maintaining that all Kabuverdianu varieties share a common deep structure:

> "E isto significa que em Cabo Verde não há nove crioulos como alguns ingenuamente afirmam, mas um único Crioulo, o qual actualiza-se em diversas variantes dialectais"
>
> ('And this means that there are not nine creoles on the Cape Verde Islands as some naively pretend but a single Creole which is realized as different dialectal variants'; translation mine).

We do not agree with Thiele (1991a) that Kabuverdianu is a decreolized variety, a "Spätkreol", as she calls it. We believe the variation on the basilect/mesolect/acrolect axis dates from the beginning of creolization, while the proportions of various speaker groups may shift with time and with increasing social mobility. This is how Alleyne (1980), Bickerton (1984), Baker (1990), and Chaudenson (1992) characterize the early continuum situation, especially in the former British Caribbean. Furthermore, already at the end of the 19th century, well before the social changes that might have brought about decre-

olization in Kabuverdianu in the recent past, one of the pioneers in creole studies, Adolfo Coelho, observed the existence of a distinct *crioulo rachado*/*fundo*/*velho* ('split/deep/old creole') on Santiago (1967: 5). Most recently, Rougé (1994: 143) also indicates that the sociolects of Kabuverdianu date from creole genesis. On the other hand, the last attribute given to this lect is not uninteresting: it seems to have been speakers themselves who qualified the basilectal variety as *velho* 'old'.

3. Present Sociolinguistic Situation and Language Policy

Thiele (1991a: 28, 35) characterizes the sociolinguistic situation of the Cape Verde Islands as functional bilingualism with about 40% of the population using Portuguese as a second language; the percentage of those who speak or understand Portuguese is 70-80% (Nunes 1991). Thiele's characterization seems to be quite an optimistic evaluation of the situation, which differs from classical diglossia due to the heavy interaction between Portuguese and the creole, and inherent tendency of creoles to adapt and even relexify according to the communicative needs of their speakers. These properties significantly contribute to the vitality of the creole but also further the shift to acrolectal variants (see below). Speakers distinguish between the urban *crioulo levinho* employed in slightly more formal situations and the *crioulo fundo* used in the countryside and in familiar usage Veiga (1995: 29-35) regards the present situation as diglossic and considers bilingualism a future goal.

Only detailed dialectological research could clear the doubts concerning the extent of the geographic variation. Meintel (1975: 237-238) indicates that even on Brava, the island with the smallest surface, there is diatopical variation which has not generally been assumed to be the case for any of the islands. Upon closer examination, however, this seems to be above all a case of diastratic (social) variation, since Meintel characterizes the language of the island capital Vila Nova Cintra as acrolectal in contrast to the rest of the island.

For the time being, there seem to be neither the financial means nor the political willpower to fully recognize the linguistic diversity which exists in the archipelago. In the initial euphoria of independence from Portugal in 1975, Kabuverdianu was declared the national (albeit not official!) language of Cape Verde and it was proposed at the Mindelo colloquium in 1979 that the variety

of Santiago be introduced into the media, education, and the socioeconomic and sociocultural spheres (Veiga 1982: 13; Thiele 1991a: 30-35).

The choice of this particular variety was highly political: Santiago and the capital Praia not only constitute the political and demographic centers of gravity, but the Sotavento varieties of the creole are also closer related to the Kriôl spoken in Guinea-Bissau. Until the *coup d'état* of 1980, which was at least in part motivated by fear of cultural and political domination by the Cape Verdeans, Guinea-Bissau was to form a state union with Cape Verde. The creole of Santiago can also be regarded as the most basilectal, and is therefore considered by many Cape Verdeans as the most African of all Kabuverdianu varieties. This has to be seen in connection with the fact that independence from Portugal brought about an appreciation of the African heritage of Cape Verdean culture.

It will probably never be possible to uncover the exact genetic relationship between the Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles, that is, whether there was transplantation from the islands to the continent, parallel development, or a combination of both. However, it is clear that the contact was extensive since the two colonies formed an administrative unit until 1879, and many of the *lançados* who first penetrated into Guinea came from the Cape Verde Islands. It seems likely that there was mutual influence between the islands and the mainland with Cape Verde dominating, while separate creolization processes took place on the islands as well as on the mainland. A linguistic continuum of Portuguese — Barlavento varieties of Kabuverdianu — Sotavento varieties — Kriôl has also been postulated (cf. Morais-Barbosa 1967: 138, Cunha 1981: 43, Perl 1982: 65-66, Fleischmann 1984: 128-129, Pereira 1991: 20, Thiele 1991a: 37-38, Rougé 1994).

The *coup d'état* of 1980 in neighboring Guinea-Bissau, mentioned earlier, also slowed down the pro-creole language policy of the Cape Verdean government. In addition the elite of Mindelo would not accept linguistic domination by the presumedly more African and backward and, hence, stigmatized population of the Sotavento Islands, nor would they accept the phonemic orthography devised by Veiga (e.g. 1982: 13-14) upon the recommendations of the Mindelo colloquium. Later, all varieties were to receive a separate orthography which, however, proved too expensive. For several years, little concrete progress visible to the outside world was made although the Comissão Nacional para a Língua Cabo-Verdiana ('National Commission for the Cape Verdean Language') and the Forum de Alfabetização Bilingue

('Forum for Bilingual Alphabetization') were created in 1989, and the Comissão Nacional para a Padronização do Alfabeto ('National Commission for the Standardization of the Alphabet') was created in 1993 (at the time of the Colloquium of Mindelo, the existence of a phonematic alphabet by Ana de Paula de Brito [1967[1887]] was ignored [Veiga 1995: 26-27]). Recently, pro-creole language policy seems to have picked up and a new orthography (ALUPEC, Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Crioulo, 'Unified Alphabet for Writing Creole'), a compromise between a phonemic orthography and traditional etymologicizing spelling systems, is awaiting approval by the Government. Approval of the new orthography would be an important measure in that it would pave the way toward further institutionalization and ultimately, toward the maintenance of creole together with Portuguese.[9] On the other hand, the extensive linguistic accommodation during speaker-interaction observed by Fanha (1987) is typical of creole speech communities and does not in itself testify to decreolization or language shift.

4. Dialectological Studies on Kabuverdianu

Obviously the emergence of a uniform creole would boost nation-building, a task which has not always been easy in this heterogenous island community. This might take place through official promotion of one variety or through natural selection; the latter is a somewhat less likely prospect, although it was at one time advanced by the government (cf. Fleischmann 1984: 132, Holzer 1991).[10] We must note the observation of Batalha (1985) that the language death which mobilizes linguists from all over the world may actually mean economic opportunities and social promotion for the community of speakers who are at least stigmatized, or at most excluded from mainstream society because of their divergent speech. In many cases, bilingualism is the best solution (in contrast to official monolingualism and diglossia) and it is the one which Veiga advocates for Cape Verde (1995: 29-33; cf. also Fishman 1991: 60-61, 64-65).

However, a precondition for both status and corpus planning is the study and adequate documentation of the linguistic variation in the Cape Verde Islands, an undertaking which would simultaneously result in recording part of their cultural heritage. It is also important to systematically compare the different Kabuverdianu varieties to Portuguese dialects since at least part of