

LSRL

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Variable nominative anaphora resolution in Cabo-Verdean Creole

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Cabo-Verdean Creole (CVC) – *Kriolu* – *Língua berdiana*

- Portuguese-based Creole language spoken since mid-XV century on Cabo Verde Archipelago
- Primary source languages:
 - Late Medieval/Early Classical Portuguese
 - Wolof (Atlantic)
 - Mandinka (Mande)
- Diglossia with European Portuguese since the late colonial era
 - Independence in 1975
 - EP remains the H variety
- Large diaspora (almost double home population) mostly in USA & Europe



Three nominative referential
expressions in CVC

Subject clitic = SC

(1) ***N=txoma Jas***

1sg.SBJ=call J.

'I am called Jas.'

Double-subject pronoun construction (tonic + clitic)

(2) **Anos Nu=ta** *fla* “ag”, **Aes** **Es=ta**
1pl.SBJ 1pl.SBJ=TMA say water 3pl.SBJ 3pl.SBJ=TMA

fla “agu”

say water

‘We say “ag”, they say “agu”’.

Null/zero subject (contested)

- (3) a. *Nho Lion_i ka fazi almusu, dja ∅_i ba fazi pastoria.*
mister lion NEG make lunch, TMA ∅.3sg go make field
'Mr. Lion didn't make lunch, he had gone to the fields.' (Baptista 2002:268)
- b. **(N/Bu/E) papia txeu*
1.sg.nom.cl/2.sg.nom.cl/3.sg.nom.cl speak a lot
'I/you/he/she speak a lot.' (Costa & Pratas 2013:39)

No person-number 'agreement/inflection' suffixes

N ta kanta

I sing

Eu canto

Bu/nhu/nha ta kanta

You sing

Tu cantas

E ta kanta

He sings

Ele/ela/você/o senhor/a senhora canta

Nu ta kanta

We sing

Nós cantamos

Nhos ta kanta

You sing

Vós cantais

Es ta kanta

They sing

Eles/elas/vocês/os senhores/as senhoras catam

Objectives

- Examine 5 of the most important/predictive variable constraints (observed across three parallel quantitative analyses) that conditioned the expression of (1) – (3a)
 - What environments promote zero subject expression (3a)?
 - What is the discursive function of double subject pronoun constructions (2)?
 - Can the results for the above two referential expression tell us anything about formal/functional status of subject clitics?

Overt subject pronouns in CVC

The tripartite analysis

Person/#	Strong	Weak	Clitic
1SG	<i>Ami</i>	<i>Mi</i>	=N= / =M=
2SG	<i>Abo</i>	<i>Bo</i>	<i>Bu=</i> / = <i>u</i>
2SG (POLITE)	<i>Anho</i> (M) / <i>Anha</i> (F)	<i>Nho</i> (M) / <i>Nha</i> (F)	= <i>Nhu</i> = [M] = <i>Nha</i> = [F]
3SG	<i>Ael</i>	<i>El</i>	= <i>E(l)</i> =
1PL	<i>Anos</i>	<i>Nos</i>	= <i>Nu</i> =
2PL	<i>Anhos</i>	<i>Nhos</i>	= <i>Nhos</i> =
3PL	<i>Aes</i>	<i>Es</i>	= <i>Es</i> =

- Pratas (2004) (see also Baptista 2002) based on the “the Typology of Structural Deficiency” (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

The bipartite analysis

- Subject clitic attachment to verb root, TMA particle, negation, preceding complementizer
- In double subject pronoun constructions, the tonic pronoun can be adjacent or separated from the subject clitic by a range of intervening material

Person/#	Tonic	Atonic
1SG	(A)mi	=N= / =M=
2SG	(A)bo	Bu= / =u
2SG (POLITE)	(A)nho (M) / (A)nha (F)	=Nhu= [M] =Nha= [F]
3SG	(A)el	=E(l)=
1PL	(A)nos	=Nu=
2PL	(A)nhos	=Nhos=
3PL	(A)es	=Es=

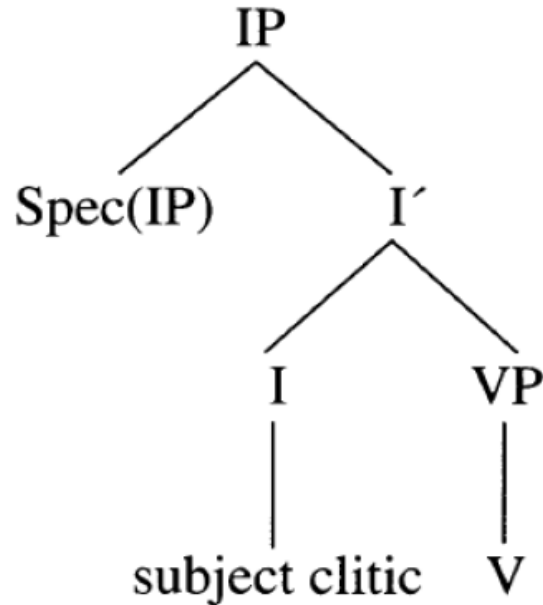
(Veiga 1996:176-177,332-335; 2002:83; Quint 2000:161-163; 2015:44-45; Lang 2012:23)

The disputed formal/functional status of subject clitics

In CVC and cross-linguistically

The disputed status of subject clitics cross-linguistically

a. Inflectional affix hypothesis



→ CVC (Baptista 1995, 2002)

Colloquial French (Auger 1994; Culbertson 2010; Palais 2013; *inter alia*)

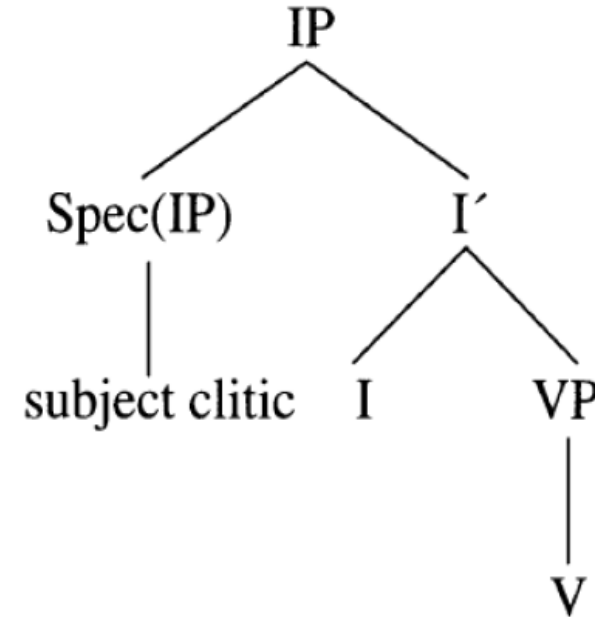
Krèyol Ayisyen (DeGraff 1993)

Northern Italian Dialects, Rhaeto-Romance, Southern Gallo-Romance (Rizzi 1986a; Vanelli 1987; Brandi & Cordin 1989; Renzi 1992; Zribi-Hertz 1994; [for some of these varieties] Poletto 2000; Gorla 2004; Poletto & Totoro 2016; *inter alia*)

Several European languages (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

Wolof (Zribi-Hertz & Diagne 2002; Torrence 2013; Dione 2013)

b. Phonological clitic hypothesis



→ CVC (Pratas 2004; Costa & Pratas 2008, 2013)

French (Kayne 1975; Rizzi 1986a; Brandi & Cordin 1989; Roberge 1990 De Cat 2005; *inter alia*)

Krèyol Ayisyen (Déprez 1994)

Degema, Igbo, Naro, Swahili, and Kalibari (Kari 2017)

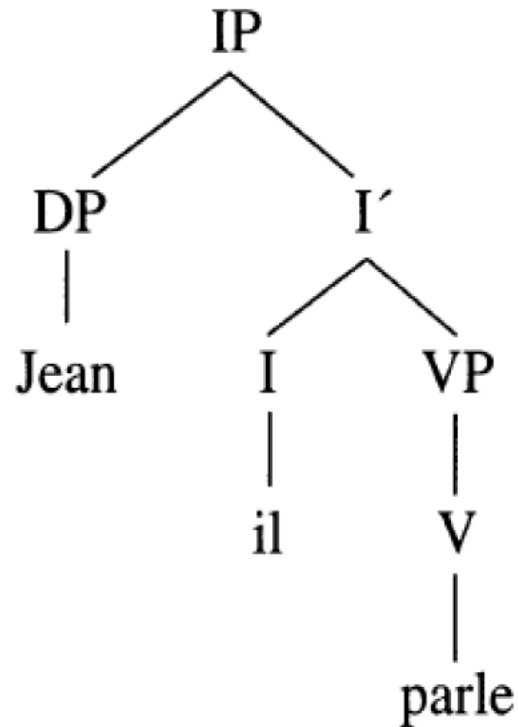
Wolof (Dunigan 1994)

Walpiri (Jelinek 1984)

Mohawk (Baker 1996)

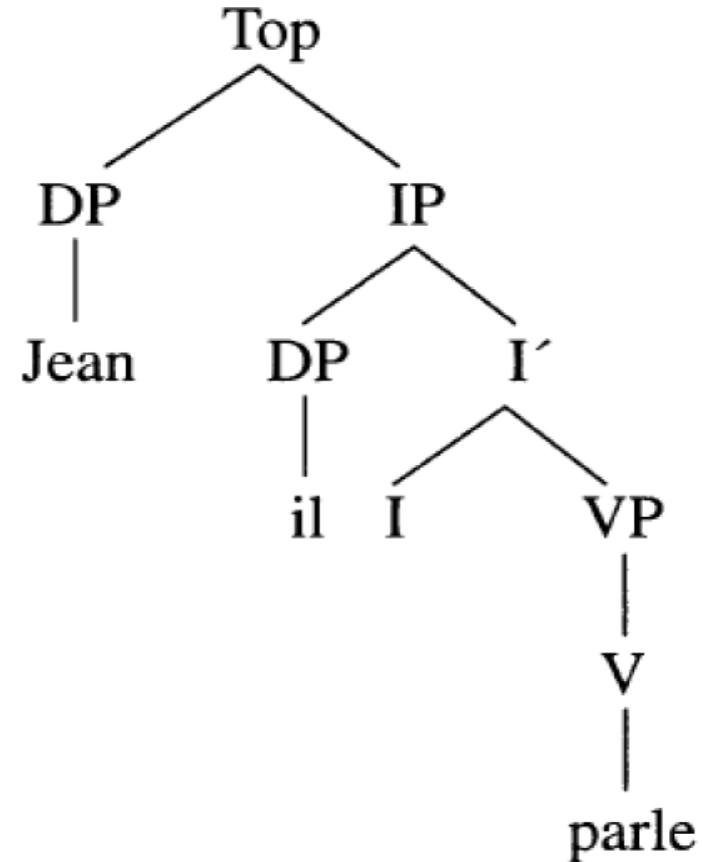
Subject-doubling structures (French; Culbertson 2010)

Inflectional affix hypothesis



→ [IP [DP EI_i]' e_i [VP *papia*]]
'He/She said'

Phonological clitic hypothesis



→ [CP [DP EI_i][IP [DP e_i][VP *papia*]]]
'He/She said'

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) – “the Typology of Structural Deficiency”

Three [universal] classes

Strong	Weak	Clitic
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• +animate• +specific• +definite• +tonic• XP• does not receive specification from antecedent (has “functional case features”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• +/-animate• +/- specific• +/-definite• +tonic• XP (but ‘deficient’, i.e. lacking a functional projection =CP)• receive specification from antecedent	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• +/-animate• +/- specific• +/-definite• -tonic• X°• receive specification from antecedent

→ *pro* is a deficient pronoun (Chomsky 1981; Rizzi 1986a)

I assume (at least in discourse) double subject pronoun constructions are equivalent to strong forms, I don't distinguish when the involve a di- or monosyllabic tonic pronoun

Breaking the impasse

- Classic **diagnostic tests** or **taxonomies** (such as Kayne 1975; Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Cardinaletti & Starke 1999; among many others) have not provided a resolution to the protracted debate over the formal status and clausal position of subject clitics cross-linguistically (Haspelmath 2013, 2015).
 - As an alternative, I propose a quantitative analysis of the distribution of the referential expressions that ‘compete’ with subject clitics for the ‘subject space’ in CVC
 - This will ultimately lead me to propose that CVC subject clitics are “ambiguous person agreement markers” as in Siewierska (2004)

Zero subjects

With no local person marking, under referential accessibility accounts, in variationist sociolinguistics, 'exceptions' to referential accessibility

'True' zero subjects

(4) *Si M=bem teni fidju gósi Ø ta fika mutu kansadu*
 COMP 1sg.SBJ=come have kid now 1sg.SBJ TMA COP very tired
 'If I were to go have kids now I would become very tired.' (P17)

(5) *Ta atxa [munti alunus]_i pa li, li na béra mar li*
 TMA find many students PREP here here PREP seaside here
 [...] *Ø_i ta fuma ganza*
 3pl.SBJ TMA smoke weed
 'One finds a lot of students around here, here by the seashore here [...] [they] smoke weed.' (P3)

(6) *[Kel sapu]_i ta fudji d-el, Ø_i ta bai fika riba d-un tronku*
 DEM toad TMA escape PREP-3sg.NS 3sg.SBJ TMA go stay PREP-DET log
 'That toad escapes from him, [he] goes on top of a log.' (P6)

Other languages with attested ‘true’ zero subjects

- Many contexts in **English** (except third-person singular present tense) (Givón 1976, 2017; Haegeman 1990; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2014, 2019; Wagner 2016; Schröter 2019; *inter alia*), **Mandarin** (Li & Thompson 1976; Huang 1984, 2000; Chen 1986; Pu 1997), **several Creole languages** (Mufwene 1988; Kouwenberg 1990; Veenstra 1996; Lipski 1999; Bartens & Sippola 2014, 2016), **Ute** (Givón 1983, 2017), **Tamil** and **Japanese** (Ascher 1996).

Cognitively oriented discourse analysis

- Reference as ‘mental processing instructions’
 - Referential accessibility → mental representation of anaphoric or deictic referent in a ‘mental map’ of the discourse
 - Enhanced by greater referential coherence / salience / continuity / activation → when antecedent or last mention was:
 - subject of prior clause
 - anaphorically proximate
 - 1st & 2nd > 3rd person
 - +animate +definite +specific
 - a high continuity device
 - Topical, focused
 - etc...

highest continuity

- a.) zero anaphora
- b.) unstressed anaphoric pronouns
- c.) stressed independent pronouns
- d.) definite NPs
- e.) indefinite NPs
- f.) modified NPs

lowest continuity

(Givón 1976, 1983, 1992, 2001, 2017; Ariel 1990, 2001; Gundel et al. 1993; Cornish 1999; Huang 2000; Siewierska 2004; *inter alia*)

Contributions from quantitative methods and variationist sociolinguistics

- Variable constraints related to ***persistence (priming)*** of morphological form across congruent syntactic contexts and ***referential accessibility*** may be **active cross-linguistically, regardless of overall rates of zero/overt subject pronoun expression** (across Romance: Duarte & Soares da Silva 2016; Santomean Portuguese: Bouchard 2018; across varieties of Spanish: Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Carvalho, Orozco, & Lapidus Shin eds. 2015, *inter alia*; across varieties of English: Wagner 2016; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2014, 2019; Schröter 2019; Mandarin: Chen 1986, Pu 1997, Huang 2000; *inter alia*)
 - Languages differ in the envelope of variation, magnitude of effect & hierarchical ordering of constraints.
 - PROSODIC & SYNTACTIC LINKING between Intonational Units (proxy for referential accessibility) promotes zero subjects in English (Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2019)

Possible (language-specific) exceptions to referential accessibility

- Mandarin zero anaphora often resume inanimate and indefinite antecedents (Chen 1986; Pu 1997)
- Semantic referential deficiency promote zero subjects in Brazilian Portuguese → “avoid referentially deficient pronoun constraint” (Kato 1999; Kato & Duarte 2003, 2005; Duarte & Soares da Silva 2016)

Methodology

Data collection, transcription, the envelope of variation, coding predictors, statistical analysis

Data collection

- Sociolinguistic interviews & picture description narrative ('The Frog Story') collected over 3 summers
- Word of mouth snowball sampling lead by local informants/collaborators
- 33 native speakers of CVC born and raised in CVC from Santiago (3 dialect zones) & Maio (1 dialect zone) spanning a range of socioeconomic backgrounds, urban v. rural residents, male v. female.
- Summers 2 & 3 – local community member informants aided in conducting interviews
- Zoom H2n Handy Recorder



Transcription

- 3 transcriptions assistants
 - 2 native speakers from São Salvador do Mundo
 - 1 near-native L2 learner of CVC, 15+ years resident in CV
- Prosodic Transcription (Du Bois *et al.* 1993; Chafe 1993, 1994 ; Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2019) → Intonational Unit (IUs; more on this when discussing coding for LINKING)

The envelope of variation

Finiteness not a discrete category in CVC, not marked morphologically → **occurrence of all 3 referential expression** must be observable in corpus for admission into the envelope

- Excluded contexts:

- Copula *e* 'to be' only admits singleton tonic pronoun or zero, never subject clitics
- Singleton tonic subject pronouns only 7 out of ~8,500 isolated IUs with all other verb types
- The second 'subject slot' of serializing constructions

E=fika *ta* *djobi sapu*
3sg.SBJ=stay TMA stare toad

'He stays starring at the toad ~ He stays [and] stares at the toad.'

- Presentatives/expletives with *ten* 'have', weather predicates, *parsi* 'seem' and other seem- and experiencer-type predicates
 - Impersonal '*ta*' construction *ta kumi txeu pexi na CV* 'one eats a lot of fish in CV/a lot of fish is eaten in CV'
 - Otherwise nonreferential, impersonal, generic referents
 - Modal/auxiliary verb + bare verb clause followed by 'list' of bare verbs
 - Bare non-stative (dynamic/actives verbs) that don't get a default past reading when bare
 - Certain collocations and cognition verbs with superstrate inflection *axu* 'I think' and *sei* 'I know'
- **Double subject pronoun construction never resumed an inanimate or indefinite antecedent** ←

The envelope of variation

- 3rd person and 1st person plural → identifiable discourse antecedent introduced by lexical DP/NP (could be nonspecific):

<i>Kes gafanhoto</i>	<i>es=sta</i>	<i>mas é</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tenpu</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>azagua</i>
DEM cricket	3pl.SBJ=COP	more COP	PREP	time	PREP	rainy season

[...]

<i>Kriansa_i</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>panha</i>	<i>∅</i> ,
kid	TMA	catch	3pl.OBJ

<i>e_i=ta</i>	<i>brinka</i>	<i>ku-el</i> ,
3sg.sbj=tma	play	prep-3sg.obj

<i>∅_i</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>sta</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>korri</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>sédu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tardi!</i>
3sg.SBJ	TMA	COP	PREP	road	TMA	run	PREP	early	PREP	late

‘Those crickets are there more in the rainy season. [...] Kids catch [them], he plays with it, [he] is in the street running from early until late!’

- First-person singular → unambiguously referential/argumental contexts

Five predictors

- Some predictors that emerged as significant/predictive in at least 2 of 3 analyses (except SPECIFICITY)
 - SURFACE FORM OF THE ANTECEDENT
 - LINKING (between Intonational Units)
 - PERSON/NUMBER
 - ANTECEDENT ACCESSIBILITY PATTERN
 - SPECIFICITY (of the antecedent, part of semantic referential deficiency)

Predictor variables	levels
ANTECEDENT ACCESSIBILITY PATTERN	PATTERN A, PATTERN B, PATTERN C, PATTERN D, PATTERN E, PATTERN F, PATTERN G (modification of Duarte and Soares da Silva 2016; see next slide)
SURFACE FORM OF THE ANTECEDENT	LEXICAL DP, DP + INTERVENING MATERIAL + Ø, TONIC PRONOUN, CLITIC, Ø, DOUBLE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTION, <i>DI</i> OBLIQUE, POSSESSIVE PRONOUN, INFLECTION, INCORPORATED <i>TA</i> MEDIAL SUBJECT
LINKING	PROSODIC, SYNTACTIC, BOTH, NO LINK
PERSON/NUMBER	1SG, 1PL, 3SG, 3PL
SPECIFICITY*	SPECIFIC, NONSPECIFIC

LINKING between Intonational Units

- Prosodic linking

E ta pila kana,

∅ ta fazi si groginhu

‘He presses the sugar cane, makes his moonshine’

- Syntactic linking

Rapzinhu buâ n-el.

i li e=sa ba ku redi p=e panha-l

‘The boy jumped on him. And here he is going to with his net to catch him.’

- Both

Minis di Praia é so si,

***ma**=es ta arma bon karaka pâ*

‘Guys from Praia are all like that, but they put on a good party bro’

- No linking

N=sta pa pega autukarru númeru 3.

40 minutu N=ta txiga na bo

‘I’m catching bus number 3. 40 minutes I’ll be there.’

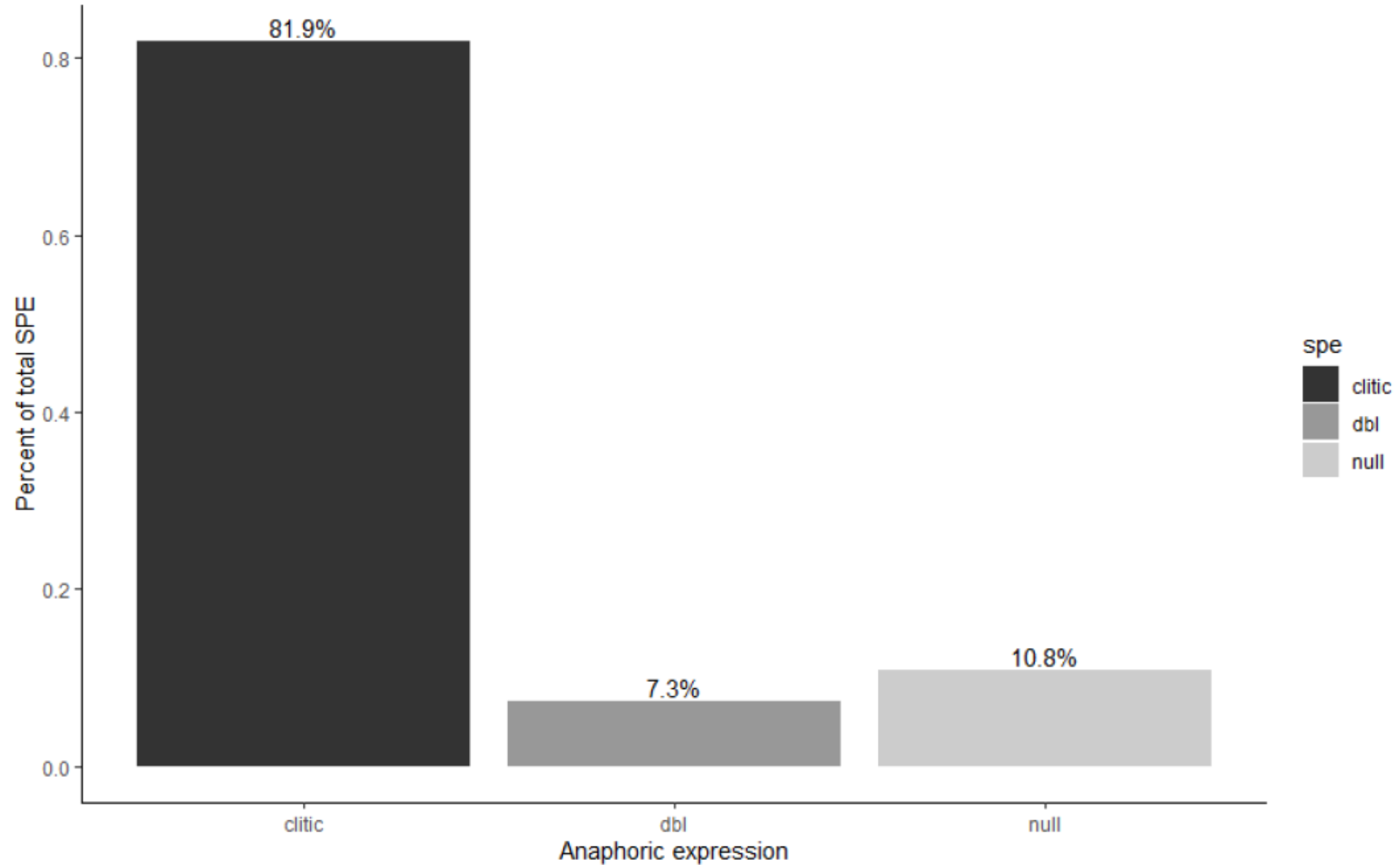
Pattern	description	generalization
PATTERN A	The anaphor is in an embedded clause and is c-commanded by its antecedent	C-commanding antecedent, adjacent clauses, embedded target subject
PATTERN B	The antecedent is the subject of the immediately prior clause	Same subject, adjacent independent clauses/IUs
PATTERN C	The antecedent is in the prior clause, but has some role other than the subject	Switch-reference, adjacent clauses
PATTERN D	The antecedent is the subject of a clause that is separated from the clause containing the anaphor by at least one clause (like PATTERN B but in a nonadjacent clause)	Switch reference, antecedent is subject in nonadjacent clause
PATTERN E	The antecedent plays a role in the clause other than the subject and is separated from the clause containing the target anaphor by at least one intervening clause (like PATTERN C but in a nonadjacent clause)	Switch-reference, non-subject antecedent in nonadjacent clause
PATTERN F	The anaphor is in a main clause following a fronted adverbial subordinate, <i>si</i> -clause, or <i>pa</i> -clause, containing the antecedent	Fronted embedded clause
PATTERN G	The antecedent is in a prior, separate, and distinct clause-chain or ‘discourse chunk’ (the referent is an old discourse topic)	Distinct discourse ‘chunk’

Statistical procedure

- Of ~8,500 Intonational Units isolated, 3,651 were retained for analysis
- 3 parallel analyses
 - Analysis 1. fixed effects multinomial logistic regression → \emptyset / SUBJECT CLITIC / DOUBLE SUBJECT PRONOUN CONSTRUCTION
 - Analysis 2. mixed effects binomial logistic regression → \emptyset / OVERT
 - Analysis 3. mixed effects binomial logistic regression → DOUBLE SUBJECT PRONOUN CONSTRUCTION / ALL ELSE
- Descriptive visualizations with `ggplot`
- Stepwise comparison of nested regression models for AIC score
- Conditional inference trees and random forests
- Inferential visualization with `sjplot` (Lüdecke 2019)
- Tests for multicollinearity and singularity

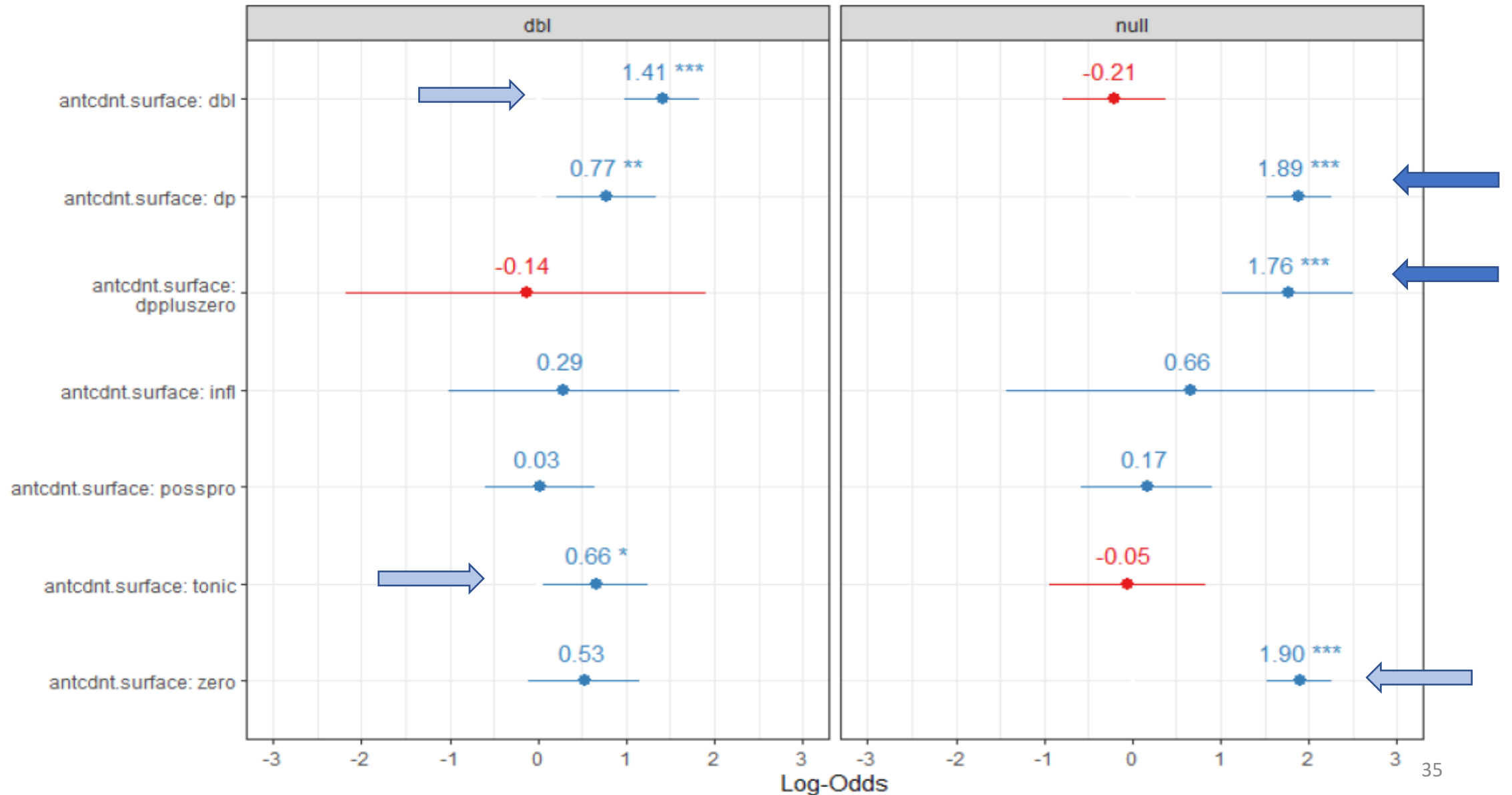
Results

Distribution of nominative referential expressions

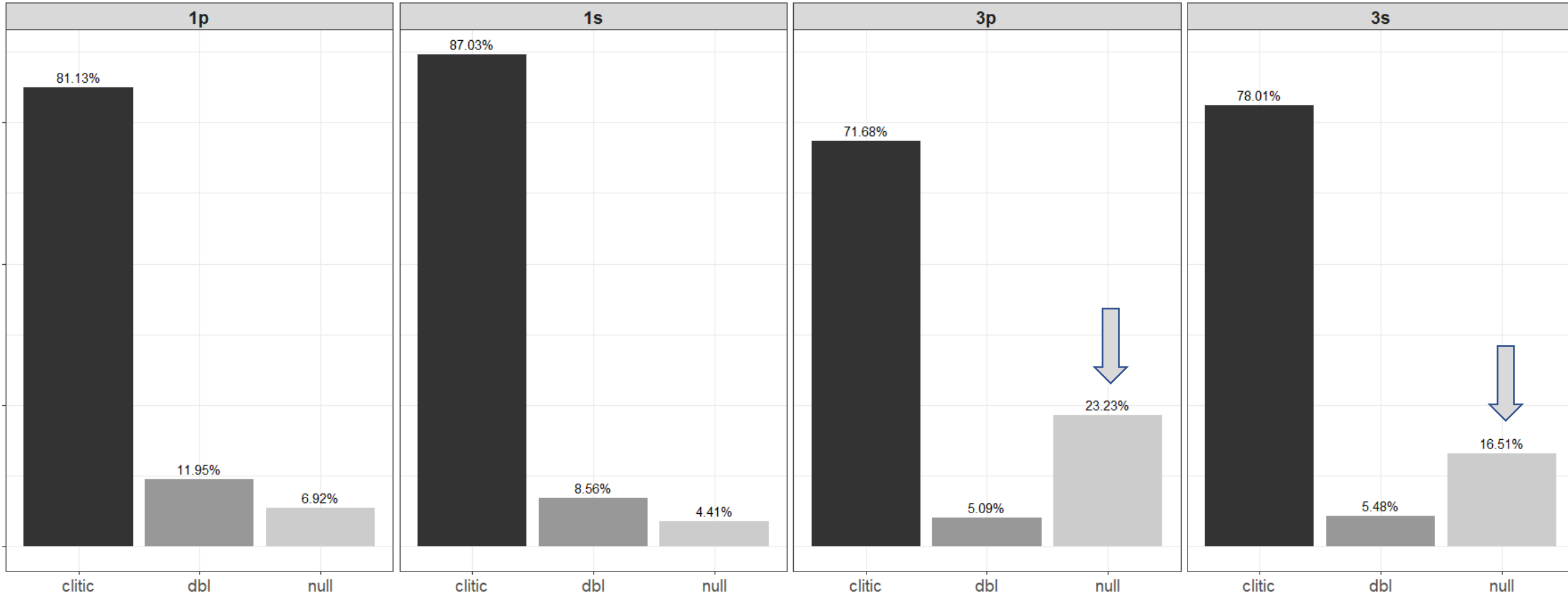


The effects SURFACE FORM OF THE ANTECEDENT on SUBJECT EXPRESSION – Analysis 1

Response variable application value = SUBJECT CLITIC; Predictor application value = CLITIC

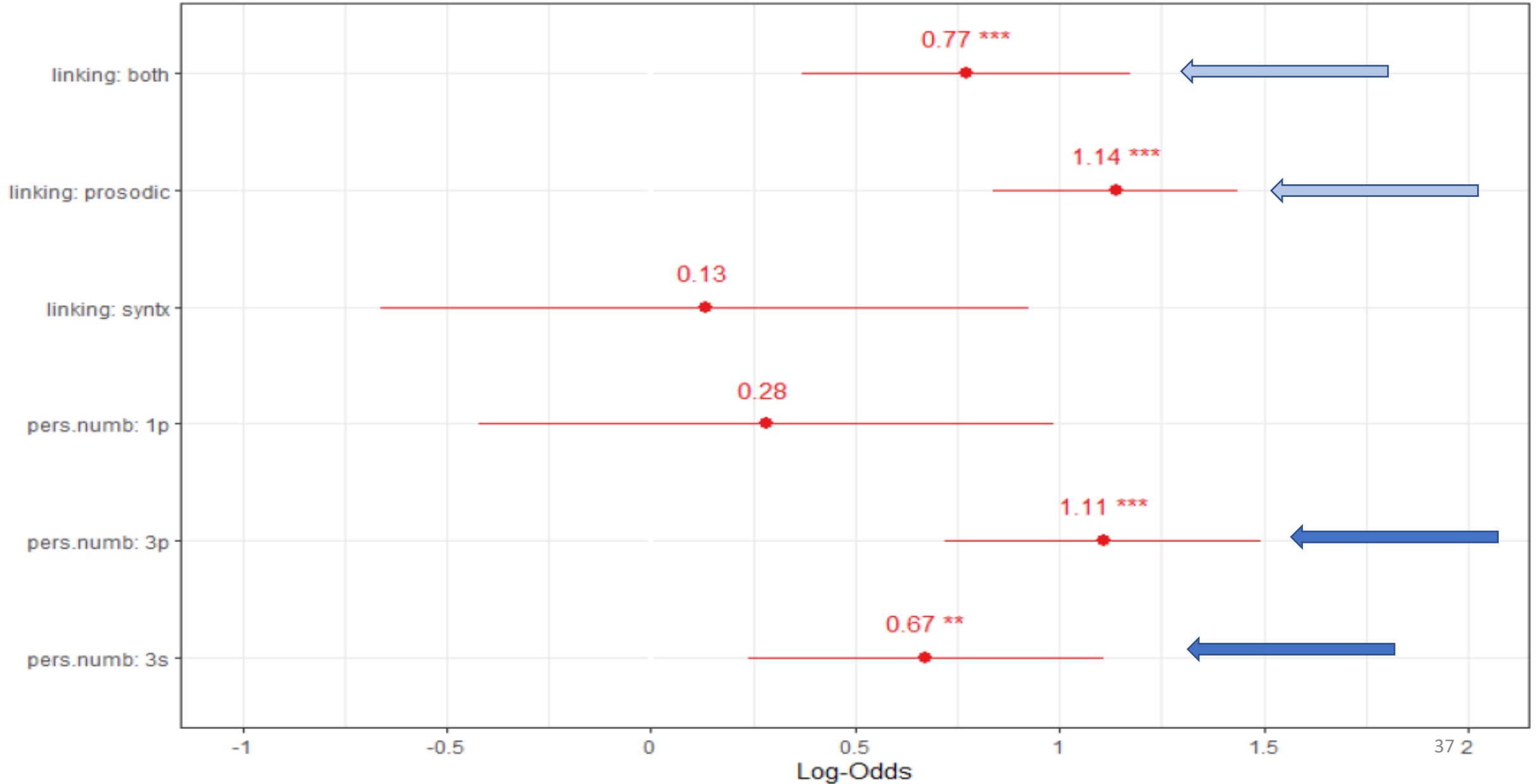


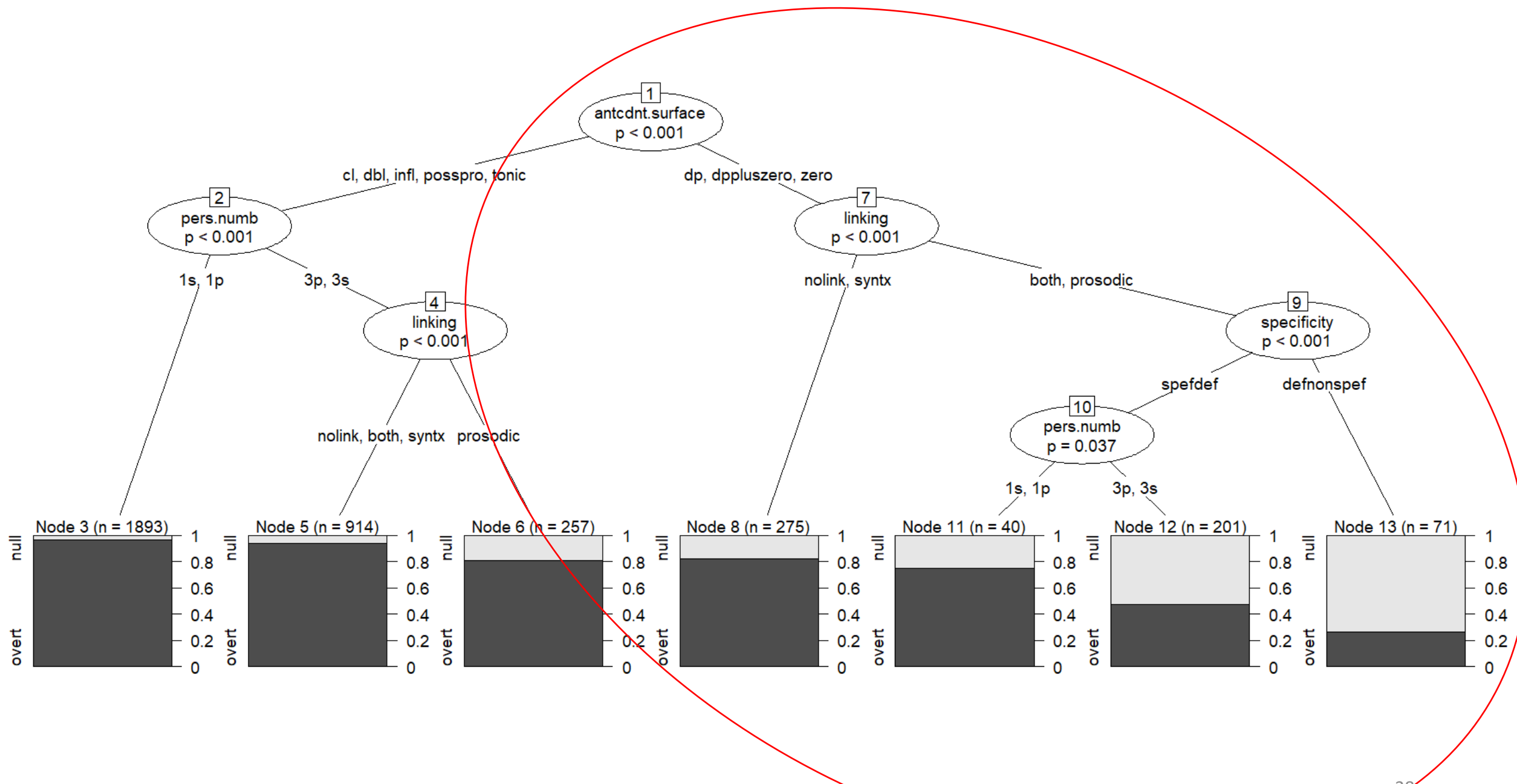
Distribution SUBJECT EXPRESSION by PERSON/NUMBER



The effects LINKING and PERSON/NUMBER on \emptyset SUBJECTS – Analysis 2

Response variable application value = OVERT; Predictor application values = NO LINK; 1SG



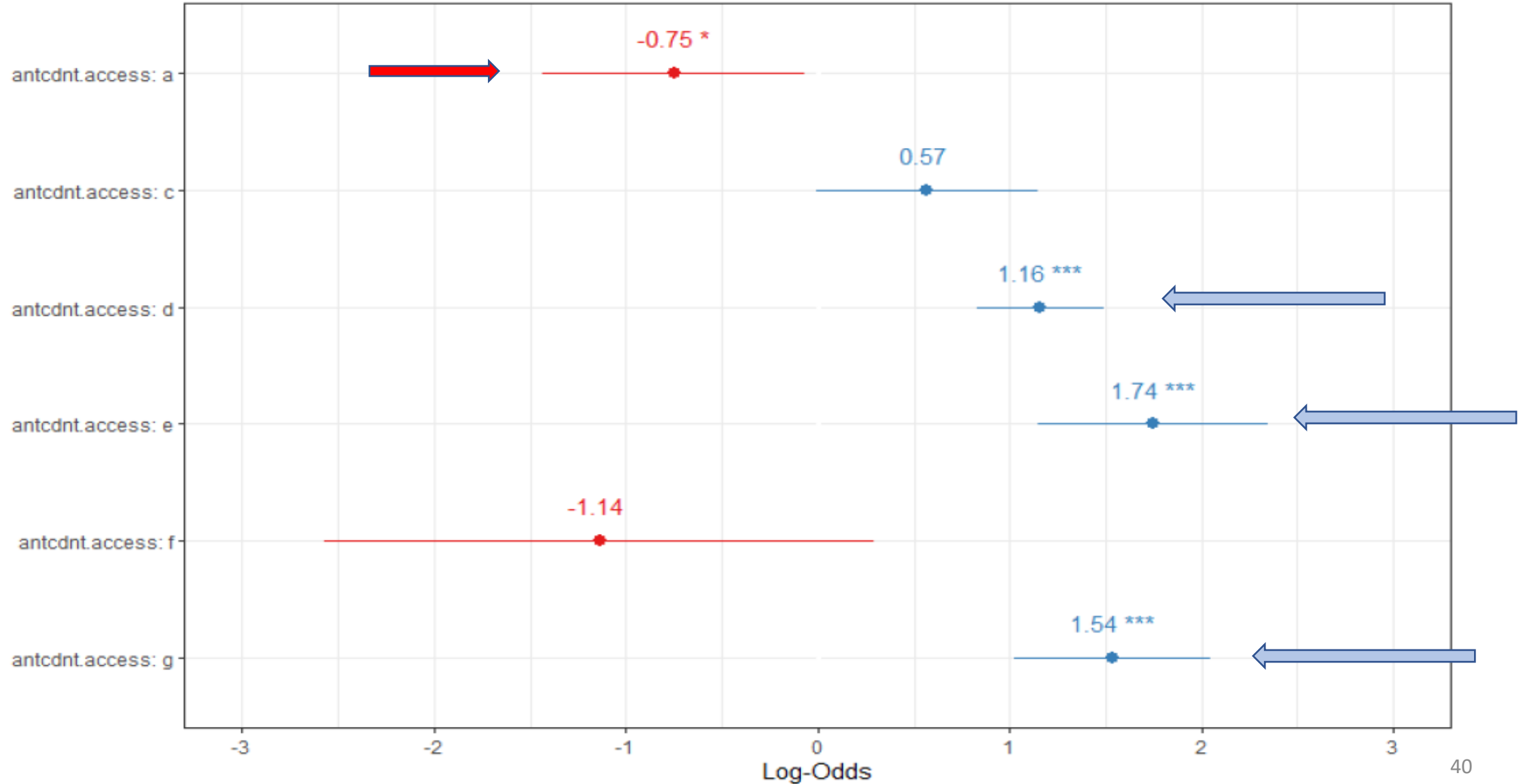


Summary of results for ZERO SUBJECTS

- Inter-clausal LINKING and short ANAPHORIC DISTANCES ‘unlock’ the:
 - \emptyset -to- \emptyset persistence (priming) effect
 - The favoring effect from NONSPECIFIC (referentially deficient) LEXICAL DP antecedents on \emptyset SUBJECTS
 - Presumably from inanimate and indefinite antecedents too (needs further testing!)
 - The “avoid referentially deficient pronoun” constraint, like in Brazilian Portuguese (Kato 1999, Kato & Duarte 2003, 2005; Duarte & Soares da Silva 2016)
 - This may be a consequence of having person marking forms that can resume semantically referentially deficient antecedents (and the extent to which they have grammaticalized into subject clitics)

The effects of ANTECEDENT ACCESSIBILITY PATTERN on X2SBJ – Analysis 3

Response variable application value = ALL ELSE; Predictor application value = PATTERN B (same subject prior clause)



Summary of results for DOUBLE SUBJECT PRONOUN CONSTRUCTIONS

- DOUBLE SUBJECT PRONOUN CONSTRUCTIONS show a persistence (priming effect) from other DOUBLE SUBJECTS and singleton TONIC PRONOUNS
 - But only across non-adjacent clauses
- DOUBLE SUBJECT PRONOUN CONSTRUCTIONS are switch-reference devices and used establish contrastive focus

What can this tell us about CVC subject clitics?

- A cross-linguistically common grammaticalization cline:

independent person marker > weak form > clitic > agglutinative affix > fusional form > \emptyset

(Siewierska 2004)

- The functional properties of CVC double subject pronoun constructions reflect those of tonic pronoun + bound inflectional suffixes in Canonical Null Subject languages (switch reference, contrastive focus)

<i>Ami N=gosta di fazi kaldu</i>	=	<i>Eu gosto de fazer caldo</i>	'I like to make soup.'
<i>Ma nos nu=ka ta studa</i>	=	<i>Mas nós não estudamos</i>	'But we don't study'
<i>El e=sta riba di pó</i>	=	<i>Ele está acima da rama</i>	'He is on top of the stick.'
<i>Aes es=ta vivi sabi</i>	=	<i>Eles vivem bem</i>	'They live well.'

- Zero subjects are promoted in the 3rd person
 - Respond to properties of the antecedent

CVC subject clitics are ‘ambiguous person agreement markers’

- The grammaticalization cline also implies changes in functional properties
 pronominal agreement marker > ambiguous agreement marker > syntactic agreement marker

- ‘Grammatical agreement’** (with a local **conominal**)

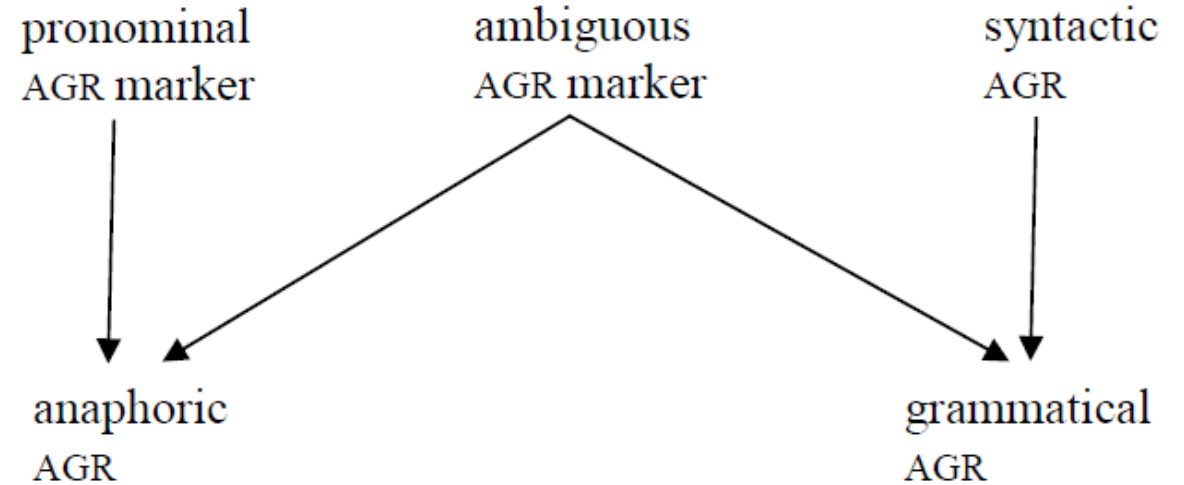
[<i>Nha pai</i>] _i	<i>e_i=bem</i>	<i>dipôs k=N</i>
1sg.POSS father	3sg.SBJ=come	after COMP=1sg.SBJ
<i>tinha</i>	<i>onzi anu</i>	
have.IMPERF	eleven year	

‘My dad [he] came after I was eleven years old.’ (P34)

- ‘Anaphoric agreement’** (with a **nonlocal disocurse antecedent**)

<i>É</i>	[<i>Nha irmôn</i>] _i	<i>ki</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>polítiku</i>
COP	1sg.POSS brother	COMP	COP	politician
[...]	<i>E_i=sai</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>polítika</i>	
...	1sg.SBJ=left	PREP	politics	

‘[It] is my brother who is a politician [...] he left politics.’ (P38)



(Siewierska 2004; see also Brensan & Mchombo 1987; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005; Corbett 2006)

For Haspelmath (2013, 2015), these are ~ *cross-indexes*

- The results here provide quantitative empirical support to Wratil's (2009) proposal that CVC **subject clitics are 'in-between' forms** developing **along a grammaticalization cline** from independent pronoun to bound inflectional affix

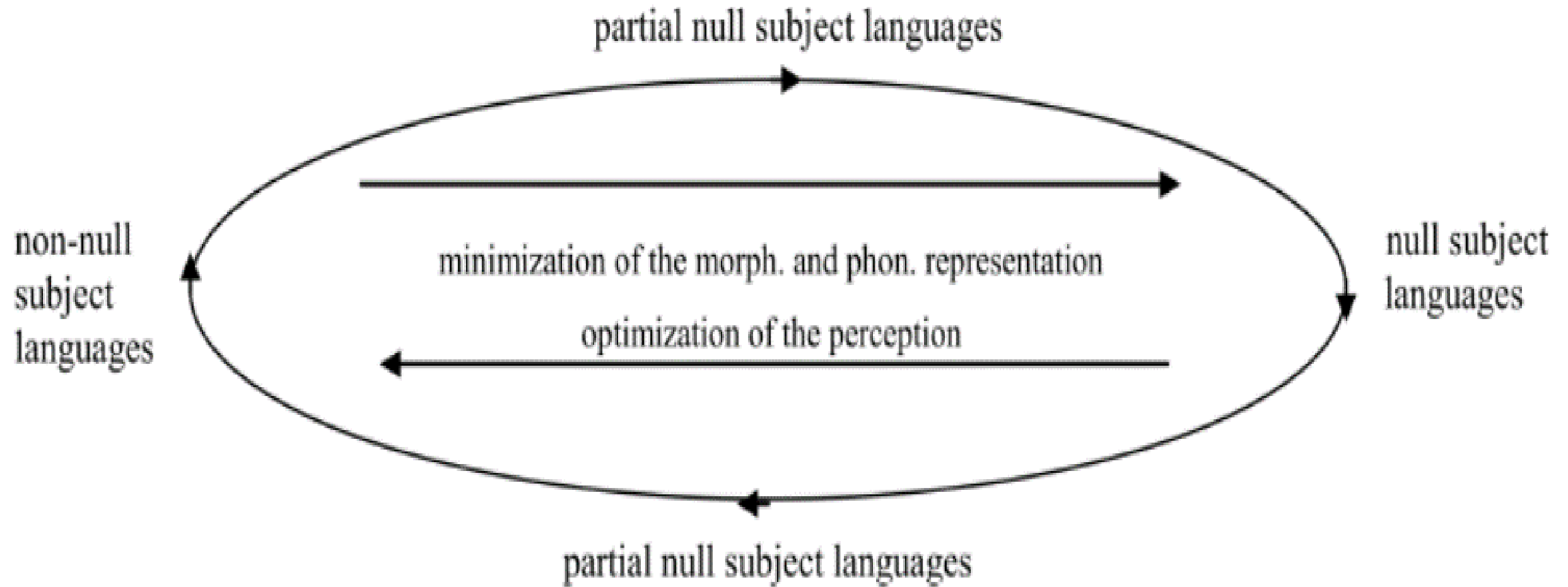
- This is the reason that the phonological clitic vs. inflectional affix debate has stalled at an impasse for so long → it's not an either/or binary, **clitics are by their nature diachronically 'transitory' forms**

- Grammaticalization** can obtain to different degrees across the pronominal paradigm, resulting in different functional roles for clitics (e.g. they may be 'more pronominal' or 'more affixal' in different person/number instantiations) (see Vainikka & Levy 1999; Meyerhoff 2000; Wratil 2009, 2011; inter alia)

- CVC 1sg is the most affixal**
 - Largest portion of double subject pronoun constructions
 - Low rate of zero subjects → becoming invariable/obligatory
 - Most phonologically reduced
- 3sg retains more pronominal properties**
 - Responds to properties of discourse antecedent
 - Only partial phonological reduction (loss of lateral coda)
- 3pl is the most pronominal**
 - Largest portion zero-subjects
 - Homonymy-but-for-stress between monosyllabic tonic and atonic forms

A 'split-paradigm' system

Person/#	Tonic	Atonic
1sg	(A)mi	=N= / =M= / ∅ (low rates)
2sg	(A)bo	Bu= / =u / ?
2sg	(A)nho [M]	=Nhu= [M] / ?
(polite)	(A)nha [F]	=Nha= [F] / ?
3sg	(A)el	=E(l)= / ∅
1pl	(A)nos	=Nu= / ∅ (low rates)
2pl	(A)nhos	=Nhos= / ?
3pl	(A)es	=Es= / ∅



(Wratil 2011)

Dja kaba!

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Brigadu nhos tudu pa sisti nha palestra!

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Extra examples

[*ses* *fidju* *ki* *ta* *nasé na istranjeru*], *Es* *ka*
 3pl.POSS children COMP TMA born PREP abroad 3pl.SBJ NEG

ta *inxiná-∅_i* *papia Kriolu.*

TMA teach-3pl.OBJ speak Kriolu

∅_i *ka* *ta* *sabi* *papiá Kriolu propi.*

3pl.SBJ NEG TMA know speak Kriolu INTF

‘Their kids that are born abroad, They don’t teach [them] to speak Kriolu. [They] don’t know how to speak Kriolu really.’

Bom, batuku [...] [*kes mudjeris*]_i *ta* *poi* [...] *un panu,*

Good, Batuque, [...] DEM women TMA put [...] DET cloth

∅_i *ta* *fica ta da así*

3pl.SBJ TMA stay TMA give like that

∅_i *ta* *da kutornu,*

3pl.SBJ TMA give shape

∅_i *ta* *dansa sintura*

3pl.SBJ TMA dance hip

∅_i *ta* *fazi* *muvimentus*

3pl.SBJ TMA make movements

I kriansa_i ta brinka ku-el_y
 CONJ children TMA play PREP-3sg.OBL

∅_i ta fazi m-∅_j-é di baka,

3pl.SBJ TMA make COMP-3sg.SBJ-COP PREP COW

∅_i ta brinka ku-el_y

3pl.SBJ TMA play PREP-3sg.OBL

∅_i ta toka ∅_j dianti,

3pl.SBJ TMA tocu^h 3sg.OBJ in.front

∅_i ta pega munti ∅_y

3pl.SBJ TMA catch many 3sg.OBJ

∅_i ta inxi garrafa,

3pl.SBJ TMA fill bottle

∅_i ta bira ta brinka ku-el_j.

3pl.SBJ TMA return TMA play PREP-3sg.OBL

‘And the kids play with it, [they] make it so that [it] is like a cow, [they] play with it, [they] chase [them], [they] catch a lot [of them], [they] fill the bottle, [they] play with it again.’

Ali dj=e_i bai embora,

here TMA=3sg.SBJ go INT

dja ∅_i kansa di pega sapu i dja ∅_i ba

TMA 3sg.SBJ tire PREP catch toad CONJ TMA 3sg.SBJ go

si kaminhu

3sg.POSS way

‘Now here he went away, [he] tired of catching frogs and [he] went on his way.’

Pattern A

Maioria di berdianus_i, na fin di simana, es_i=ta bati

Most PREP cabo-verdeans PREP weekend 3pl.SBJ=TM wash clothes

pamodi dia di simana es_i=ta trabadja

COMP weekday 3pl.SBJ=TMA work

‘Most Cabo-Verdeans on the week they wash clothes because during the week they work.’

Pattern B

Pesoas_i sata fitxa txeu odjus pa kes kuza la,

people TMA close a lot eye PREP DEM thing there

Ø_i sata finji ma Ø_i ka sata odja Ø

3pl.SBJ TMA pretend COMP 3pl.SBJ NEG TMA see 3sg.OBJ

‘People close their eyes to those thing there, [they] pretend that [they] aren’t seeing [it]’.

Pattern C

Na fornu dja=nu ta pui Ø_i keju,

PREP oven TMA=1pl.SBJ TMA put 3sg.OBJ cheese

Ø_i ta fika mas sabi propi

3sg.SBJ TMA become more tasty INTF

‘In the oven now we put more cheese [on it], [it] ends up tasting even better.’

Pattern D

Un bes N_i=ta juga-ba oril.

DET time 1sg.SBJ=TMA play-TMA mancala

mas gosi li tipu k-é un práktika ki kuazi sta dizaparesi,

CONJ now here DM-COP DET practice COMP almost COP disappear

asi dipôs també falta di tenpu.

like that later also lack PREP time

mas N_i=gosta txeu Oril.

CONJ 1sg.SBJ=likea lot mancala

‘Once I used to play mancala. But now it’s like it’s a practice that is almost disappearing, like then there is also a lack of time, but I like mancala a lot.’

Pattern E

Podi ser munti grandi prigu [un kriansa]_i sozinhu pamodi

could COP very big danger DET child alone COMP

el_i so ku s_i kãu,

3sg.SBJ alone PREP 3sg.POSS dog

kãu_j ka pudi ten kel maturidadi así kel inteligjensia,

dog NEG might have DEM maturity like that DEM intelligence

si Ø_i foga-ba lisin pa Ø_j djuda-ba el_i

COMP 3sg.SBJ drown-TMA right here COMP 3sg.SBJ help-TMA 3sg.OBJ

‘[It] could be very dangerous, a child alone, just him/her and his/her dog, [the] dog might not have the maturity, like, that intelligence, if [he/she] were him/her.’

to drown here, for [it] to help

Pattern F

oras ki M_i=N_i ta le=l,

COMP 1sg.SBJ=1sg.SBJ TMA read=3sg.OBJ

N_i=ta atxa=l ma un istória típiku

1sg.SBJ=TMA find=3sg.OBJ COMP DET story typical

‘When I read it, I find that it is a typical story.’

Pattern G

Li nu ten un imajen, podi ser kasador,

Here 1pl.SBJ.GEN have DET image could COP hunter

e=teni un kãu,

3sg.SBJ=have DET dog

i li sa parsi m-é, m-é pexi ki

CONJ here TMA seem COMP-COP COMP-COP fish COMP

es_i es_i tra=s.

3pl.SBJ=3pl.SBJ remove=3pl.OBJ

ali tem un lagoua, ki ten un sapu, é n-um

here have DET pond COMP have DET toad COP PREP-DET

boski

forest

... -TURNS PAGE- ...

I li es_i=ta korri tras di sapu

CONJ here 3pl.SBJ=TMA run PREP toad

‘Here we have an image, [it] could be a hunter, he has a dog, and here it seems that [it] is, that [it] is fish that they got (them) here we have a pond, that has a frog, it is in a forest. ... -TURNS PAGE- ... And here they run up behind the frog.’

Primeru N=ta *tenta midjora-ba* [*kel, kel kistôn di violensa*];
 first 3sg.SBJ=TMA try improve-TMA that, that question of
 violence;

li, pamodi e_i=ta *straga imagen di Kauberdi*
 here COMP 3sg.SBJ=TMA spoil image PREP Cabo Verde

‘First I would try to improve that issue of violence here, because it spoils the
 image of Cabo Verde.’

Kriolu_i dj=e_i ka, ka ta mutu djuda=l na fala,
 kriolu_i TMA=3sg.SBJ NEG NEG TMA much help=3sg.OBJ PREP speak
ten ki ta, eeehh.. fala inglês ma ... Ø_i ta arma djuda sin
 have.to TMA HES speak english CONJ 3sg.SBJ TMA garner help yes

‘Kriolu does not really help them that much in speech, they/one have/has to,
 uhh... speak English but... [it] does garner help some, yeah.’

ma e_i kai ... Ø_i sta dentu di mar
 DM 3sg.SBJ fall Ø_i COP PREP sea

‘Then he fell ... He is in the sea.’

Ami é gemiu k-un femia, ia, Ø_i txoma Nilda
 1sg.SBJ COP twin PREP-DET female DM Ø callN.

‘I am twins with a female, yeah, [her] name is Nilda’

E=tivi si primeru fidju k=E_i mori na tropa,
 3sg.SBJ=have 3sg.POSS first child COMP=3sg.SBJ die.PST PREP army

Ø_i mori ku dizoitu anu
 3sg die PREP eighteen year

‘He had his first child who died in the army, [he/she] died at 18 years old.’

Rapazinhui sta xinta, Ø_i ba toma si banhu
 boy TMA sit Ø go take 1sg.POSS bath

‘The boy is sitting, [he] went to take his bath.’

E=fika ta djobi sapu

3sg.SBJ=stay TMA stare toad

‘He remains starring at the toad ~ He remains [and] stares at the toad.’

Dipôs e=ta fika kunpridu ta seka

then 3sg.SBJ=TMA become elongated TMA dry

‘Then it becomes elongated [and] [it] dries’

El=fika ta anda ta para

3sg.SBJ=stay TMA walk TMA stop

‘He remains [and] walks [and] stops.’

Es es=sta senpri ta promente=n

3pl.SBJ 3pl.SBJ=COP always TMA promise=1sg.OBJ

‘They are always promising me.’

Dja nu=ta fika sabi pamo nu=ka sabia

TMA 1pl.SBJ=TMA COP good COMP 1pl.SBJ=NEG know.IMPF

kuzé ki era tinha lus

COMP COP have.IRR light

‘We were good because we didn’t know what it was like to have light.’ (P34)

Ortografia é ora ki profesor_i ta papia Ø_i ta dita

orthography COP COMP professor TMA speak 3sg.SBJ TMA dictate

‘Orthography is when the professor speaks [and] dictates.’

Prosodic linking (only)

a.) ***E_i=ta*** *pila kana,*

3sg.SBJ=TMA press cane

∅_i *ta fazi si* *groginhu*

3sg.SBJ TMA make 3sg.POSS sugarcane liquor

‘He presses the sugar cane, [he] makes his sugarcane liquor.’

b.) ***N=ta*** *ferbi nha* *kafé pretu,*

1sg.SBJ =TMA boil 1sg.POSS coffee black

N=ta *bebi* ***∅***

1sg.SBJ =TMA drink 3sg.OBJ

‘I boil my black coffee, I drink [it].’

c.) ***Es=es*** *stala,*

3pl.SBJ=3pl.SBJ COP there

es=es *ten ki ntegra* *na* *sosiedadi!*

3pl.SBJ=3pl.SBJ have.to integrate PREP society

‘They are there, they have to integrate into the society.’

Syntactic linking (only)

a.) *iii dj=e_i ta sigi kel pasu.*

CONJ TMA=3sg.SBJ TMA follow DEM footstep

i Ø_i odja rã sta d-un ladu

CONJ 3sg.SBJ see frog COP on-DET side

‘And now he follows those footprints. And [he] sees that frog is to one side.’

b.) *Rapzinhu_i buâ n-el.*

boy jump PREP-3sg.OBL

i li e_i=sa ba ku redi p=e_i panha=l

CONJ here 3sg.SBJ=TMA go PREP net COMP=3sg.SBJ catch=3sg.OBJ

‘The boy jumped on him. And here he is going with the net to catch it.’

Ali é abitasôn di sapu_i.

here COP inhabitation PREP toad_i

i el_i dj=e_i fika tristi, ne?

CONJ 3sg.SBJ_i TMA=3sg.SBJ_i become sad DM

‘Here is the frog’s place of inhabitation. And here he becomes sad, right?’

Both

a.) [**Kel sapu**]_i *ta* *fudji* *mas un bes,*
[that frog]_i TMA escape more DET time
i **∅**_i *ba fika sukundidu riba d-un pédra*
CONJ 3sg.SBJ_i go stay hidden on top of-DET rock
‘That frog escapes one more time, and [he] goes to hide on top of a rock.’

b.) [**Minis di Praia**]_i *é* *so* *si,*
[guys from Praia] COP only like that
m=es_i *ta* *arma* *bon* *karaka* *pa*
COMP=3pl.SBJ TMA mount good beachside party DM
‘Guys from Praia are just like that, but they put on a good beachside party man.’

c.) **Es**_i *ka* *sa* *da* *txeu importánsia pa* *violensa ki* *sta*
3pl.SBJ NEG TMA give a lot importance PREP violence COMP COP
na *sosiedadi,*
PREP society
pamodi aes_{i=es}_i *ta* *anda ku ses* *siguransa*
COMP 3pl.SBJ=3pl.SBJ TMA go PREP 3pl.POSS security
na *karru*
PREP car

‘They are not putting a lot of importance on the violence in society, because they go around safe in their cars.’

No linking

a.) *Kel otu anu M=ba trabadja MDR ...*

DEM other year 1sg.SBJ=go work MDR

∅ *ba lóra pédra, koba txôn.*

1sg.SBJ go mine rock dig earth COMP

‘That next year I went to work at MDR... [I] went to mine rocks, dig up earth’

b.) *N_i=sta pa pega autukarru númuru tres.*

1sg.SBJ=intend.to catch bus number three

Kuaranta minutu N_i=ta txiga na bo

forty minute 1sg.SBJ=TMA arrive PREP 2sg.OBL

‘I am planning to catch bus number three. Forty minutes, I’ll arrive where you are.’

c.) *U_ilis_i, ki e_i é prizidenti di kambra li di Praia.*

U. COMP 3sg.SBJ COP president.of.chamber here PREP Praia

E_i=e_i kumesa fazi un bon trabadju,

3sg.sbj=3sg.sbj begin do DET good job

kalseta rua, fazi prasas, fitines park, asi.

cobble street make plaza fitness park like that

‘Ulises, who is the municipal executive, here from Praia. He started to do a good job, cobbling the streets, making plazas, fitness parks, things like that.’

	<i>Si</i>	<i>M=bem</i>	<i>teni fidju gósi</i>	\emptyset	<i>ta</i>	<i>fika mutu kansadu</i>	
	COMP	1sg.SBJ=come	have kid now	1sg.SBJ	TMA	COP very tired	
	'If I were to go have kids now I would become very tired.'					(P17)	
<i>E</i>	<i>po=m_i</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>órta,</i>	\emptyset_i	<i>ta</i>	<i>guberna animal</i>	
	3sg.SBJ put=1sg.OBJ	there	garden	1sg.SBJ TMA	govern	animal	
	'He put me there in the garden, [I] would tend to the animals.'					(P32,	
	<i>Mi=N</i>		<i>ta</i>	<i>atxa</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>[língua Kriola]_v, \emptyset</i>	<i>ta</i> <i>atxa</i>
	1sg.SBJ=1sg.SBJ	TMA	think	PREP	language Kriola	1sg.SBJ	TMA think
<i>ma</i>	\emptyset_i	<i>debi</i>	<i>ser</i>	<i>língua</i>		<i>ufisial</i>	
	COMP	3sg.SBJ should COP	language	official			
	'I think of the Creole language, [I] think that [it] should be an official language.'					(P8)	
<i>Ax-u</i>		<i>k=N</i>		<i>tinha</i>		<i>pa aí unz onzi</i>	<i>anu,</i>
	think-1sg	COMP=1sg.SBJ have.IMPF	about DET	eleven	year		
\emptyset		<i>ba-ba</i>	<i>Fransa ku</i>	<i>família</i>			
	1sg.SBJ	go-TMA	France	PREP	family		
	'I think that I was about eleven years old, [I] went to France with family.'					(P1)	
<i>[Praia, Kauberdi]_v,</i>		<i>pudi</i>	<i>ser sabi n-un</i>		<i>pontu ma \emptyset_i</i>	<i>podí</i>	
	Praia,Cabo Verde,	can	be nice	PREP-DET	point	CNJ 3sg.SBJ	can
<i>ser ka</i>		<i>sabi na</i>		<i>kel</i>	<i>otu</i>	<i>pontu</i>	
	be NEG	nice PREP	DEM	other	point		
	'Praia, Cape Verde, can be nice on the one hand, but [it] can be not nice on the other hand.'					(p10,	
<i>[Kel sapu]_i</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>fudji</i>	<i>d-el,</i>	\emptyset_i	<i>ta</i>	<i>bai fika riba d-un</i>	<i>tronku</i>
	DEM toad	TMA	escape	PREP-3sg.NS	3sg.SBJ TMA	go stay	PREP-DETlog
	'That toad escapes from him, [he] goes on top of a log.'					(P6,	
	<i>Funaná_i é</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ritimu mas faxi asín,</i>	\emptyset_i	<i>ta</i>	<i>bai mas</i>	<i>rápido</i>
	Funaná	COP	DET	rhythm more fast like that,	3sg.SBJ TMA	go more	fast
	'Funaná has a quicker rhythm, [it] goes faster.'					(P?, ??	

Predicted probabilities of spe

