The Verbal System of the Cape Verdean Creole of Tarrafal, Santiago: A Semantic Analysis of the Tense, Mood and Aspect Markers

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Abstract

   This thesis deals with the verbal markers of tense, mood and aspect (TMA) in Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), focussing on the influence of context and time adverbials in determining the markers' meaning. It is based on a corpus recorded in Fazenda, a small fishing community in the Tarrafal district of Santiago Island (cf. Appendix). CVC verbal markers have often been described in the literature but the present work shows that context, adverbials of time and intonation must also be considered to determine the verbal marker's semantics. Chapter One outlines the role of Santiago Island in the genesis of CVC and presents the structure and methodology of this thesis. Chapter Two offers a review of the literature on TMA markers in CVC. These previous studies are discussed in chronological order and some new insights are offered. Chapter Three presents an analysis of the meaning of CVC verbs when they are unmarked, showing that stativity is crucially relevant and that many verbs can be stative in one context and non-stative in others. Thus, CVC verbs fall into three groups according to whether their unmarked form indicates present, past or both. Chapter Four presents the range of the functions of the marker *ta* with particular focus on its role in indicating habitual aspect. Chapter Five examines the following CVC progressive markers: (i) the markers *sta ta* and *sta na* focussing on the importance of the particles *ta* and *na*; (ii) the inland markers *sata* and *ata*; and (iii) the occurrence of *ta* in certain contexts with perception verbs indicating progressivity. Chapter Six offers a semantic and syntactic analysis of *–ba* (a suffixed anterior marker), *dja* (which can also be an adverb) and the least described verbal marker, *al*. Chapter Seven presents an exhaustive inventory of combination patterns involving all the markers referred to above, showing that there are strict rules concerning the markers' position within verb phrase. Finally, Chapter Eight presents the main accomplishments of this thesis and suggests further research needed to help us better understand the CVC verb system, one of the most complex aspects of the language.

Keywords: Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), Santiago Island, Tarrafal, verb phrase, tense, mood and aspect (TMA), anterior, habitual, progressive, past, present and future.

Resumo

Esta dissertação trata dos marcadores verbais de tempo, modo e aspecto (TMA) no crioulo de Cabo Verde (CCV), centrando-se sobre a influência do contexto e dos advérbios de tempo na determinação do significado destes marcadores. Este estudo é baseado num corpus gravado em Fazenda, uma pequena comunidade piscatória situada no concelho de Tarrafal, na ilha de Santiago (cf. Apêndice). Embora os marcadores verbais do CCV tenham sido alvo de muita atenção na literatura, o presente trabalho vem mostrar que o contexto, os advérbios de tempo e a entoação devem também ser considerados na determinação da semântica desses marcadores. O primeiro capítulo descreve o papel da ilha de Santiago na génese do CCV e apresenta a estrutura e a metodologia usada nessa dissertação. O segundo capítulo apresenta uma revisão de estudos anteriores sobre estes marcadores, seguindo a ordem cronológica da sua publicação. O terceiro capítulo apresenta uma análise dos verbos no CCV, quando são não-marcados, mostrando que a noção de verbo de estado é crucialmente relevante. Muitos verbos podem referir-se a estados num contexto e a acções noutros. Assim, pode-se afirmar que no CCV os verbos se dividem em três grupos, de acordo com a indicação do tempo presente, passado ou ambos pelas suas formas não-marcadas. O quarto capítulo apresenta as diferentes funções gramaticais do marcador *ta*, em especial enquanto marcador de aspecto habitual. O quinto capítulo trata os seguintes marcadores de aspecto progressivo: (i) *sta ta* e *sta na*, focando na importância das partículas *ta* e *na*; (ii) os marcadores *sata* e *ata*, usadas no interior da ilha; e (iii) a ocorrência de *ta* com os verbos de percepção em alguns contextos indicando o aspecto progressivo. O sexto capítulo oferece uma análise semântica e sintáctica dos seguintes marcadores: *-ba* (um marcador de anterioridade que é um sufixo verbal), *dja* (que também pode ser um advérbio) e *al*, um marcador que tem recebido menos atenção na literatura. O sétimo capítulo apresenta um inventário exaustivo de combinações envolvendo todos os marcadores verbais, mostrando que há regras rígidas que definem a posição dos marcadores num sintagma verbal. Finalmente, o oitavo capítulo oferece uma síntese deste estudo e traça futuras linhas de investigação sobre o funcionamento do sistema verbal do CCV.

Palavras-chave: crioulo de Cabo Verde (CCV), ilha de Santiago, Tarrafal, sintagma verbal, tempo, modo e aspecto (TMA), anterior, habitual, progressivo, passado, presente e futuro.

For my daughter Amy Lana

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Abbreviations

ALUPEC = Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano (cf. pages 8 and 9)
ANT   = anterior
AUX   = auxiliary
BT   = Bernardino Tavares (author's sentence)
CL   = clitic
COMP   = complementizer
COP   = copula
CP   = creole Portuguese (Holm 2000)
CS   = creole Spanish (Holm 2000)
CVC   = Cape Verdean Creole
DEM   = demonstrative
DIST   = distal
DUR   = durative
En   = English
fn.   = footnote
GB   = Guinea- Bissau
GBC   = Guinea-Bissau Creole (Jacobs 2011)
IPFV   = imperfective/ IMP- imperfective (Jacobs 2011)
INF   = infinitive
lit.   = literal
NONCL = nonclitic
PA   = Papiamentu
PFV   = perfective/ PERF- perfective (Baptista 2002)
PL   = plural
POSS   = possessive
PREP   = preposition
PROG   = progressive
PROX   = proximal/proximate
Pt.   = Portuguese
REL   = relative
SG   = singular
SVC   = serial verb construction
T   = tense
TMA   = tense, mood, or aspect marker
UGPC   = Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole
V   = verb

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 The scope of the thesis

The focus of this study is on tense, mood and aspect markers (TMA) of the variety of Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) spoken on Santiago Island with particular attention to an inland variety, that of Tarrafal district, about 75 kilometers away from Praia, the capital city (cf. Map 1). There are several studies about these TMA markers (cf. Chapter Two), but the present work shows how the context and the use of adverbials affect the semantics and the position of the markers within the verb phrase. Furthermore, the meaning of unmarked CVC verbs is studied and discussed in terms of dimensions such as stativity. Each CVC verbal marker is examined in detail, and analysed from its etymology to its semantic and syntactic functions, with an exhaustive study of the range of their combination patterns.

1.1 Santiago Island: its history and a current socio-linguistic sketch

Map 1. Tarrafal district, Santiago Island, Cape Verde
Source: (http://ilhasdomar.blogspot.pt/2006/09/viajando-pela-ilha-de-santiago.html)

Santiago Island is the biggest (about 991 square kilometres) and the most populous (with about 300,262 people) island in the archipelago of Cape Verde. It was the first to be discovered (1460) and settled.

In order to understand the genesis of Cape Verdean Creole (CVC), one needs a clear understanding of the colonization and settlement of the Cape Verde Islands. Settlement patterns had lasting consequences on the formation of CVC. Santiago Island was initially populated with slaves from the western coast of Africa, namely people from ethnic groups such as the *Mandinga*, *Wolof* and *Fula*. They were from Guinea, the entire coast, especially from the areas of Cacheu and Bissau, from the Senegal River to Sierra Leone (cf. Andrade 1996 and Baptista 2002). Furthermore, Baptista (2002:17) points out that 'among the black population of the Cape Verde Islands, there were not only slaves but also the free blacks like the *Banhuns*, the *Brames* and the *Cassangas* who voluntarily accompanied traders, missionaries and sea captains (cf. Alvares d'Almada 1964, and Andrade 1996).'

There were also *Ladinos*, slaves who had converted to Christianity and had learned the basics of the Portuguese language, and *Lançados*, who were often former criminals or marginalized Portuguese sent to the Islands as intermediaries between the slave traders and the people of the interior. CVC probably resulted from the contact on the islands between slaves from different ethnolinguistic groups, free blacks, *Ladinos* and *Lançados* and the colonizer (for further details cf. Quint 2000, Baptista 2002 and 2006, Lang 2006).

However, due to the transit of black slaves between Africa and Portugal, the origin of CVC 'is a controversial issue and three hypotheses have been proposed so far: some scholars believe that CVC emerged in Portugal (Naro 1978), others in Guinea [(Rougé 1986)], and a third group in Cape Verde (Kihm 1994; Peck 1988; Lang 1999:185, [Jacobs 2011b])' (Baptista 2006:93). But without putting aside the hypotheses that some slaves had already acquired some basics of the Portuguese language or a Portuguese pidgin on the western coast of Africa before arriving to the islands, there is no doubt that it was the domestic contact between the slaves and their owners, associated with a considerable miscegenation since there was a lack of white women in these communities which favoured the origin of CVC. The stabilization and isolation of slaves on plantations must have also favoured the formation of a pidgin (cf. Pereira 1987).

It is certain that the CVC resulted from the contact between those groups referred above. Santiago played an important role in favouring this contact, not only because it was the first to be settled and populated but also for, as Baptista (2002:20) points out,

> serving as an experimental ground for products that were subsequently sent to the Americas and the African continent. Santiago was at the same time a depository that exported slaves to Europe and afterwards mostly to the Americas. It was a necessary stop imposed by the Portuguese crown for the slave ships sailing along the African coast. It was also a regular stop for ships sailing toward India that came to the islands to get supplies such as food and water.

Like many Creole languages, that of Cape Verde is a native language which emerged under special circumstances which led to its use and acquisition as a first or second language, or a kind of a pre- pidgin or pidgin. In other words, the slaves came from different ethnic groups, with different first languages, such as 'the Niger-Kordofanian languages: the West- Atlantic languages (Wolof, Fula, Serer, Balanta, Manjak, Mankan and Bola among others) and the Mande languages (Malinke and Bambara to mention just a few' (Brásio 1962, cited in Baptista 2006:93) and they had to communicate with each other and with their colonizer who also had a different language.

Baptista et al. (2010:275-276) point out that 'the Cape Verde islands were settled in different periods of history and often by different populations of Portuguese settlers and African slaves. For instance, the islands of Santiago and Fogo were settled as early as 1461 and the islands of Sal and São Vicente as late as the first half of the 19th century.' This can explain the dialectal variation from island to island, mainly between the cluster of *Sotavento* (Leeward) Islands composed of Maio, Santiago, Fogo and Brava and the *Barlavento* (Windward) group, made up of Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia   (an unsettled island), São Nicolau, Sal and Boavista.

Most of CVC lexicon is from Portuguese, which was the dominant language in its formation. For instance, Quint (2009:130, my translation) points out that 'more than 95% of the vocabulary of the variety of Santiago Island …. has as its origin some word of the Lusitanian language', i.e. Portuguese (also cf. Quint 2006:76-80). CVC is the mother tongue not only of the people who live in the archipelago, but also of many people in emigrant communities on the African continent, in Europe and in America. However, it is not a language of instruction yet, due to many factors like the subordinate role that CVC had in former times (it was forbidden in some public

places during colonial times), the deprecatory attitude that the creole community had toward CVC and its salient variability from island to island. These factors undermined its recognition as an official language.

Although Portuguese is still the only official language in Cape Verde, in many social circumstances, CVC is naturally preferred to Portuguese. For instance, nowadays CVC is very often used in the Parliament in political speeches. Political entities and creolists from Cape Verde and abroad are working hard in order to gain its official recognition. Now it is believed that the Cape Verdean people are more aware of the advantages of having CVC as an official language and as the language of instruction, together with Portuguese.

Baptista et al. (2010:277) stress that

> the UNESCO 1953 [report entitled *The use of Vernacular Languages in Education*] and 2003 Education documents, … shed light on two main fronts: first, they provide information on the pedagogical and didactic benefits of mother tongue instruction by showing that it facilitates comprehension, expression, self realization, valorization, as well as early acquisition of literacy skills. Second, they also highlight the cognitive advantages of mother tongue instruction. For instance, by facilitating an understanding of the functioning of the mother tongue, mother tongue education also fosters a greater mastery of second languages.

As Baptista et al. (2010:277) point out 'mother tongue instruction also promotes better retention of information in other subject areas (cf. also Cummins 2000, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).' Following Baptista et al. (2010), in my opinion and according to my teaching experience, I would stress that the introduction of CVC in the educational system will facilitate the learning of foreign languages such as English, French etc. Actually, the language of instruction is Portuguese, which is not sufficiently known by children since they start to learn it when they are around six and they use it only in the classroom. These are some facts which may complicate the learning of other languages like English, which are taught through the Portuguese language. For instance, when teaching vocabulary or the meaning of words in a context, many times there is recurrence to Portuguese words when the meaning is not so clear but it would be much more effective and it would save teaching time if the translation was directly to CVC, for our children are far more fluent in CVC than in Portuguese.

Furthermore, this lack of exposure of our children to Portuguese is paralleled to their lack of school materials in general, especially for children from the rural interior

of the islands. For instance, the children from the district of Tarrafal, which is my home town in the north of Santiago Island, have less access to school materials and information in general than children from Praia. However, it is important to note that this does not mean that children from Praia are more successful in learning a foreign language or other subjects than the children from Tarrafal.

Alexandre (2012:2) points out that 'according to Brüser & Santos [= Lang et al.] (2002), the formation of the Santiago variety of CVC must have begun in the first decades of the Island discovery and, therefore, this variety of Cape Verdean Creole is one of the oldest European-based creoles still alive.' Reis (2008:150) points out that 'in Cape Verde there are more than nine varieties of creole including all the interior varieties of each inhabited island.' In the inland variety of Tarrafal, there are more words with African etyma than in the variety Praia. For instance, people from Tarrafal use words like *fepu* 'totally' or *matakan* 'great, big' etc. which are not used in Praia. Furthermore, words that end in the vibrant consonant /r/ in Praia, often ended in the lateral /l/ in Tarrafal like *mudjer* 'woman' = *mu*(*d*)*jel*, *papiador* 'talkative man' = *papiadol* etc., but a more detailed description must be left for later research.

1.2 Goals and structure of the thesis

The first goal of this work is to present a semantic analysis of the tense, mood and aspect markers (TMAs) in Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) of Santiago, with special emphasis on the variety of Tarrafal (cf. Chapter Five). Showing how the context and adverbials of time go together with the TMA markers and the kind of verb (cf. Chapter Three) to signal meaning are paramount questions here. The identification of tense, aspect and mood in CVC relies strongly on the context and the use of adverbials and CVC verbal markers may vary their functions according to the context. However, it is important to note that this characteristic of the markers to vary in meaning occurs when indicating aspect rather than tense.

Another goal is to consolidate what scholars have found out about the CVC verbal markers in particular, and about the verbal system in general, which is one of the most complex aspects of CVC. In other words, this thesis seeks to cast further light on previous contributions about CVC TMA markers of native or foreign scholars.

The structure of this work is based on eight chapters. The first two are mostly descriptive while the others are more practical and closer to pragmatic issues than the beginning chapters (chapters one and two). Some insights regarding linguistic theories

are presented whenever necessary. Chapter One offers a general introduction focussing on historical facts about the settlement of the archipelago in general, and the role of Santiago Island in particular in the formation of CVC. This chapter presents the methodology involved and shows how this work is organised as well. It also explains the spelling convention used.

Chapter Two provides an overview of some objective descriptions of the Cape Verdean Creole TMA markers found in linguistic descriptions of CVC. In a chronological sequence, a range of ideas and observations is presented from scholars of the nineteenth century such as Brito (1887), to more recent scholars such as Lopes da Silva (1984), Silva (1985, 1990), Suzuki (1994), Quint (2000), Baptista (2002), Pratas (2007), and Jacobs (2011b).

Chapter Three groups CVC verbs according to the tense and meaning they yield when unmarked. The criteria used for the grouping is based on whether they can enter into serial verb constructions (SVC) and whether they behave like action verbs (non-stative verbs) or stative verbs. Note that the concept of serial verb construction is used here even for constructions which allow prepositions to come in between the verbs but that can be left out.

Chapter Four is an exhaustive study of the habitual functions of the marker *ta*, regardless of voice (active or passive). The meaning *ta* yields depends on the kind of verb it modifies. It can indicate (future or present) tense or/and aspect. Some combinations involving *ta* with another marker (e.g. *–ba* to indicate past habitual) are presented.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the use of the progressive markers in Santiago. There is a special focus on the inland markers of Tarrafal since they are less described in the literature. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the role of the particles *na* and *ta* when indicating progressivity, and a consideration of the marker's origin is presented as well.

Chapter Six concentrates on the function and syntactic behaviour of the other CVC markers (i.e. *–ba*, *dja* and *al*).These three markers reinforce the peculiarity of CVC if compared with other creoles languages since the first (*-ba*) and the second (*dja*) exist in other creole languages (i.e. in GBC) but with different syntactic behaviour while the last (*al*) does not exist in this form in other creoles.

Chapter Seven aims to provide an exhaustive study of the combination patterns. All the possible combination patterns involving two or more markers and their respective meaning are presented.

Finally, Chapter Eight presents a general overview of this study and some perspectives for further research.

1.3 Methodological procedures

This thesis is based on empirical data concerning the variety of Santiago Island. Most of the data are from my native-speaker intuition and a transcription recorded in Fazenda (cf. Appendix), a relatively isolated community of Tarrafal district, in the extreme north of the island (cf. Map 1 above). The transcription is an interview with a 60-year old man who was born and raised in the community referred above. The questions are carefully chosen and the occurrences of fossilized phrases are identified by an upper case f in the transcript. The interview is a report of the settlement and every day life (in the past and present) of the people from that community. It is translated into English and glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (revised version of February 2008).

Throughout this thesis, the glossing of CVC TMA markers varies according to their specific function in each example presented. However, it is worth stating that the examples from other sources are preserved in the authors' original transcription, except in Chapter Two in which I added glossing to Brito (1887), Silva (1990) and to some Pratas (2007)'s examples, those which were not glossed, and to examples from Quint (2000) when the author opted for phonetic transcription instead of glosses. Furthermore, I decided to gloss the progressive periphrastic marker *sta ta* as PROG1 PROG2 (only when other markers occur in the same example) since *sta* and *ta* can each occur alone indicating progressivity (cf. Chapter Five).

As a native speaker of the variety of Santiago, I have recourse to my own grammaticality judgements but when necessary I have consulted with other native speakers (of the Santiago variety) who are here in Portugal (cf. Acknowledgements). I have also used data from previous linguistic studies (some of which are referred to above in section 1.1). Thus, excepting the examples from the transcript (cf.Appendix), all of the data is attributed, and my own examples are indicated by my initials (BT).

Paralleling is another method adopted throughout this work. One way of understanding the features of a language is to try to find a similar feature in other

languages and show its peculiar characteristics. Thus, throughout this thesis I try to compare the features of CVC (Santiago variety) with those of other creole languages like the Creole of Guinea-Bissau (GBC, also a Portuguese-based creole) and with Romance languages like Portuguese (CVC's lexifier language), and with English. However, it is important to note that these comparisons are presented only when they cast light on a particular issue. The goal here is not to offer a systematic comparison between CVC (Santiago variety) and any other language but simply to draw attention to those features that CVC may share with these languages.

1.4 The spelling option

Baptista et al. (2010:286) points out that 'the designing of an orthographic script is the very first step towards giving written representation to the creole language and opens up its use to many spheres'. The spelling option adopted in this work follows the *Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano* (ALUPEC), the 'Unified Alphabet for Writing Cape Verdean' in general; however, it is important to note that concerning examples taken from other sources, the original orthography of each is preserved, respecting the authors' original transcription. The ALUPEC convention is the result of a compromise or reconciliation between the previous orthographic proposals: (i) the exclusively pro-phonemic approach (at the first International Colloquium for the promotion of CVC, in Mindelo, on the island of São Vicente in 1979). This approach was intended to eliminate all etymological traces of Portuguese spelling; (ii) The pro-phonemic approach with concessions to etymological spelling of palatal consonants (at the meeting *Fórum de Alfabetização Bilingue* in 1989); and (iii) the unified phonemic script with a wider range of concessions to etymological spelling (cf. Baptista et al. 2010:287).

These proposals for ALUPEC resulted from a contract signed between the *Comissão Nacional de Padronização* or the National Commission for Standardization with the *Instituto Nacional de Cultura* or the National Institute of Culture in 1993. Its goal was to have a unified alphabet which covers all of the sounds of all the varieties spoken in the archipelago. Thus, the ALUPEC script was created in 1994; however, it was not officially approved until July 1998 by the Cape Verdean Council of Ministers and only on March 16, 2009 was it recognized officially as the alphabet of the Cape Verdean language (for further information cf. Almada 1998, Delgado 2008 and Baptista et al. 2010).

The ALUPEC alphabet is composed of twenty-four letters and four diagraphs:

a b d e f g h i j k l m n ñ o p r s t u v x z dj lh nh tx.

Furthermore, it contains accentuation rules but throughout this work, accent is not used unless it helps to clarify some phonological process involving TMA markers, which is the core subject of this thesis (cf. discussion after sentence (12) in Chapter Two and section 6.1). In this case I use the accent to show the height of CVC vowels but showing the grapheme and their equivalents in the IPA system (cf. http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/ALUPEC). This is because of the complex nature of the accentuation rules; in addition, note that Baptista et al. (2010:289) points out that 'on the premise that paroxytonic words are dominant in the language, the original creators of the ALUPEC stated that it was not necessary to mark the stressed syllable with [an] accent, as this stress pattern is predictable.'

The interval of time from the proposal until its recognition by the government as the alphabet of the Cape Verdean language shows that the acceptance of ALUPEC has been eventful. ALUPEC has some detractors who are mostly from São Vicente and claim that it is based on the Santiago variety and a group of the elite who fear that Portuguese will lose it status in the archipelago. They claim that it should be closer to the etymological writing system of Portuguese.

In my opinion, this resistance to ALUPEC is mostly due to the rivalry between São Vicente and Santiago Islands as cultural centers. However, it is important to note that speakers of any CVC variety can identify with ALUPEC without a problem. Some of the reasons the detractors point out for not identifying with ALUPEC are the following: (i) the lack of geminate consonants, (ii) the replacement of the etymological digraph *tch* by *tx* as in *tx*ora 'cry', (iii) the elimination of the Portuguese consonant *c*[1] and its substitution by the consonant *k* etc. (cf. Baptista et al. 2010:289-290).

ALUPEC is an on-going process. With a sense of common purpose, it can be improved and frictions can be overcome. It is an important tool to finally having CVC as another official language (together with Portuguese) in the archipelago, an important symbol of our distinctive language and cultural heritage.

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[1] Note that the Portuguese consonant *c* is replaced in CVC by the consonant *k* only when *c* is pronounced /k/. When the Portuguese *c* has the sound /s/, it is replaced by *s* in CVC.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview about some objective descriptions of the Cape Verdean Creole TMA markers. In order to reduce some of the mystification about the CVC verbal system, a close focus on TMA markers is needed. Bakker et al. (1994:247) pointed out that

> the categories of tense, mood and aspect are a universal phenomenon in languages, but their role in the grammar and the way they are expressed varies. They may be marked morphologically (e.g. by the use of inflection on the verb) or syntactically, (e.g. by the pre- or postverbal markers and/ or auxiliaries), but may also be expressed in a purely lexical manner (e.g. by using an adverbial expression). Sometimes they are not expressed at all, and then their interpretation depends on context and situation.

In CVC, these verb categories are expressed by all the means listed above but often in contexts which play a central role in determining their meaning. Most of the literature on CVC describes them in a simplistic way and many times authors take it for granted that these TMA categories are expressed syntactically. I hope to prove that if we consider only the syntactic behaviour of the markers, this may be insufficient to determine the full meaning of these verb categories. Evidence for these assertions will be given throughout this work.

For now, in this chapter, the focus is on what scholars have said up to now about the meaning and the syntactic behaviour of TMA markers in CVC. A range of ideas and observations will be presented from scholars of the nineteenth century such as Brito (1887), to more recent scholars such as Lopes da Silva (1984), Silva (1985, 1990), Suzuki (1994), Quint (2000), Baptista (2002), Pratas (2007), and Jacobs (2011). Their observations are presented in chronological sequence to show what they have said about each TMA marker (*sata, sta, sta ta, ata, ta, al, dja* and *-ba*) and their combinations.

2.1 Brito (1887)

Beginning with one of the earliest works about CVC, Brito (1887), a native speaker of Sotavento CVC, started with considerable linguistic insight about the

words which are labelled TMA markers today. As noted by Coelho in his preface to Brito (1887), 'Mr. A. de Paula Brito wanted to write his grammar in the Creole language, which of necessity led him to coin many grammar terms, being guided doubtlessly by the Creole's adaptive nature, but the reader will easily distinguish these terms from what is truly the Creole of the people.' Moreover, Brito himself pointed out that: 'I have divided it into three sections, having eliminated the section on syntax since I would have had to limit Creole syntax to the general rules used in the Portuguese grammars.' (1887:62 / my translation) He was very aware of the syntactic differences between CVC and its lexifier language.

For reasons cited above we can understand why his work lacks a detailed description of the behaviour of the TMA markers. However, Brito's attempt to provide a synthesis of CVC grammatical categories constitutes a very useful start to the study of this language. Concerning TMA markers, in the second part which he labelled *Morfulujia* 'morphology' and *berbu* 'verb', he referred to the markers sometimes as syllables and other times as auxiliaries.

According to Brito, CVC indicative mood refers to more than one tense. Thus he pointed out that 'the indicative mood has five tenses: two present tenses ….the first present is formed by the syllable *ta* followed by a verb …. the second present tense is formed by the word *sata* followed by a verb' (1887:637, my translation), as shown in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) *Ĩ*   *ta*   *fla,*   *bu*   *ta*   *obi*. (Brito 1887:637)
    1SG   DUR   say   2SG   DUR   listen
    'I tell (a story) and you listen.'

(2) *Nu*   *sata*   *obi*. (Brito 1887:637)
    1PL   PROG   Listen
    'We are listening to it.'

Concerning the future tense of regular verbs, he said that this form consists exclusively of the syllable *al* followed by the verb in the infinitive as shown in (3).

(3) *Es*   *al*   *papia*. (Brito 1887:637)
    3PL   FUT   speak
    'They will talk.'

Today, the particle **al** is said to indicate irrealis mood rather than tense, since it is used when speaking about the future intentions or hopes of the speaker. This marker can also be used to indicate future possibilities as shown in (4), which is a sentence I might use myself as a native speaker of Tarrafal CVC, as are all sentences with my initials, BT:

(4) *E   al   bai missa*. (BT)
   3SG FUT go mass
   '(I hope) s/he will go to mass.'

Nowadays in CVC the future of all verbs is formed by the particle **ta** followed by the verb as illustrated in (5) and (6). However, the label FUT will be reserved in this chapter for **al** which is only future, and **ta** will be labelled DUR because it is used whenever the meaning of the verb is durative, or non-punctual. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four below.

(5) *N   ta   linpa   karu   manhan*. (BT)
   1SG   DUR clean   car   tomorrow
   'I will clean the car tomorrow. Or I am cleaning the car tomorrow. '

(6) *Bu   ta   ser   un   bon   professor*. (BT)
   2SG DUR   be   a   good   teacher
   'You will be a good teacher.'

In (5) the marker **ta** can be substituted by the progressive marker **sata**, and the meaning will be the same, as shown in (7).

(7) *N   sata   linpa   karu   manhan*. (BT)
   1SG PROG   clean   car   tomorrow
   'I will clean the car tomorrow. Or I am cleaning the car tomorrow.'

This is a widespread phenomenon in many languages around the world. For instance in English the same phenomenon happens, the progressive form can be used for future scheduled events as shown above in (7).

Brito (1887:639) pointed out that 'the imperfect preterit of the indicative mood admits two more forms, one with the present of the verb **sata** (from Pt. *estar* 'be'),

followed by the imperfect preterit without the particle *ta*, and another with the imperfect preterit of the indicative of the same verb, *sta ta*.... followed by the infinitive of the verb' (my translation). Today the imperfect preterit of the indicative may correspond to past perfect aspect in certain contexts, as illustrated in (8):

(8) *E*   *limpaba*   *kasa*. (BT)

  3SG   clean+ANT   house

 'S/he had cleaned the house.'

The example in (8) above means that when the sentence is uttered, the house is not clean anymore. Something or someone has dirtied the house again.

   According to Brito's description and his examples of the use of the marker *sta (ta)*, I would say that there has been some syntactic evolution in CVC concerning the use and function of this marker. At that stage of CVC, when *sta (ta)* was followed by a verb which it modified, it seems to have indicated past progressive, as he translates (9) below to Portuguese as *eu estava fallando,* without marking the verb or **sta** with the anterior or past *–ba* or marking both. Nor is there any evidence of recurrence to the phonological strategy for marking past (anterior) discussed after (12) below.

(9) *Ĩ*   *stâ*   *ta*   *papiâ*. (Brito 1887:639)

  1SG   PROG1   PROG2   speak

  'He was talking.' [Pt.: *eu estava falando* or *eu estava a falar*.]

However, Jürgen Lang points out that sentence (9) is the result of a misinterpretation of the text in Botelho da Costa Duarte by Brito (1887).

   Notice that when the progressive marker involved is *sata,* the anterior past *–ba* is added to the verb to indicate past progressive as shown in (10) below:

(10) *Ĩ*   *sata*   *papiaba*. (Brito 1887:639)

  1SG   PROG   speak+ANT

  'I was talking.'

Only the marker *sata* (an allomorph of **sta ta**) could indicate present progressive as show in (11):

(11) *Ĩ*   ***sata***   *papia*. (Brito 1887:637)

    1SG   PROG   speak

    'I am talking.'

Today, in Santiago Island, when indicating past progressive, the anterior postverbal marker **-ba** is either suffixed to both **sta** and the main verb or it is suffixed only to **sta** as shown in (12).

(12) *E*   ***staba***   ***ta***   *papia(**ba**)*. (BT)

    3SG   PROG1+ANT PROG2   speak+ANT

    'He was talking.'

Currently there is another possibility to indicate the past progressive aspect without suffixing the anterior postverbal marker **–ba** to both **sta** and the main verb or to **sta** only. The construction [**sta ta** + Verb] can indicate either present or past progressive. When the final vowel sound in **sta** is the low central vowel -/**a**/ (here written with the grapheme ‹***á***›), it indicates the past progressive as shown in (13) below, but when the final vowel sound in **sta** is the mid central vowel - /**ɐ/,** the normal pronunciation of **sta** elsewhere, it indicates present progressive as shown in (14) below.

(13) *kuse*   *ki*   *bu*   ***stá***   ***ta***   *fasi?* (BT)

    What that 2SG   PROG1+ANT PROG2   do

    'What were you doing?'

(14) *Kuse*   *ki*   *bu*   *st**a***   *(t**a**)²*   *fasi?* (BT)

    What that 2SG   PROG1   PROG2   do

    'What are you doing?'

The phonological strategy found in (13) above is used in the inland variety of Santiago CVC (i.e. that of Tarrafal) to express past progressivity. In other words, to express past and/or past progressive in CVC we can suffix the anterior postverbal marker **–ba** to the verb or use the phonological strategy discussed above. In addition, for main verbs ending in *–a* (from Pt. *-ar*) like: *papia* 'speak'*, linpa* 'clean', *badja*

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² The morpheme ***ta*** is optional here. It is optional only in the *present* progressive construction (***sta (ta)*** + V). Throughout the present work, a marker is optional whenever it is in parentheses.

'dance' etc., a low central final vowel- **/a/** (here written with the grapheme ‹*á*›) sound can be also added to the verb instead of suffixing **–ba** in past progressive construction as shown in (15).

(15) *N*   ***stá***   ***ta***   ***badjá***   *funana*. (BT)
   1SG   PROG1+ANT   PROG2   dance+ANT   *funana*
    'I was dancing the *funana*.'

For all other verbs (ending in *–i* or *–u*)[3] like *kumi* 'eat', *obi* 'hear', *fasi* 'do' etc., an **-a** (/ɐ/ sound) is added and uttered as the final sound of the verb instead of suffixing **-ba**, as shown in (16).

(16) *E*   ***stá***   ***ta***   *fasia*[4]   katxupa. (BT)
   3SG   PROG1+ANT   PROG2   make+ANT   katxupa
    'S/he was cooking katxupa.'

A more extensive analysis of these markers is made later on (section 6.1).

2.2 Lopes da Silva (1984)

Baltasar Lopes da Silva, a native speaker of the Barlavento variety (from São Nicolau Island) did a relevant description of CVC. The focus of his work, entitled *O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde* (1984), is on the Barlavento variety but from time to time he comes up with descriptions of the Sotavento variety in order to make some comparisons. Concerning TMA markers, he pointed out that: 'to express the different temporal and modal functions, the auxiliaries are joined to the surviving form (the infinitive or the third person singular of the Portuguese present indicative) (Lopes da Silva 1984: 138 / my translation).

Many times in his description, he referred to phonological features to explain the behaviour of TMA markers. For instance he pointed out that: 'in Santiago Island …the auxiliary ***sta*** is substituted, in progressive conjugations [sic] by ***sa***. Here,

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[3] In CVC (Santiago variety), verbs can end in *–a, -i, -u* or *–e*. For further information on verb endings in CVC see Quint (2000:225-228)

[4] Here in the main verb fasi, an *a* (/ɐ/ sound) is added and glossed as anterior (ANT) because it replaces *–ba* as does the grapheme ‹ *á* ›. Thus the verb *fasia* is pronounced [fasiɐ].

contrary to **ta**, which resulted from a regressive assimilation of *s* in **sta** to *t*, a progressive assimilation occurs of *t* to *s*' (Lopes da Silva (1984:139 / my translation). More insights on –**ba** can be found in Chapter Six.

2.3 Silva (1990)

Izione S. Silva, a native speaker from Brava Island, is another scholar whose work contributed to enriching the study of CVC TMA markers. She stresses that: 'according to Bickerton, it is a general characteristic of creole languages that the zero form marks simple past of action verbs and nonpast for stative verbs. The situation in Capeverdean Crioulo is somewhat parallel'(1990:146).

As she noted, she uses Bickerton's paradigm to describe the Cape Verdean tense-aspect system and then compares the Cape Verdean system to Bickerton's classic one. She begins by dividing CVC verbs into different groups. Thus she provides a taxonomy of CVC verbs in order to explain the functions of the markers and how the verbs are used with each marker. She comes up with a table (Table 1[5]) in which she places the verbs that are stative. She defines a stative verb as 'any verb which is [–imperative] and [–controllable]'(1990:146). Thus she divides her table in four columns and four groups in which she places the verbs according to (i) whether they are used as imperatives, (ii) whether they co-occur with the marker **sta** followed by the preposition *pa* when indicating future plans, (iii) whether their zero form takes a past reading or not, and in the last column (iv) whether they can be part of progressive constructions with the marker **sta**. She makes a very important remark by checking and saying that the column on **sta** was included for the purpose of demonstrating 'that the standard test for stativity (whether or not a particular verb is barred from entering into a progressive construction) is generally misleading and not operative in Capeverdean Crioulo' (1990: 147).

She was very aware that her table was not perfect since it contains some ambiguity. The last group (Group IV) is the only one that does not present any problem. Curiously it contains verbs which have the ability to enter in all the constructions referred in each column. On the other hand, the verbs in Group III are the most problematical one because she presents the verbs as disallowed as imperatives and calls attention to the fact that some of them *(kredita* 'believe'*, skeci* 'forget'*, spera*

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[5] See Silva (1990:147-148)

'wait', *obi* 'hear' and *txera* 'smell') can be [+imperative] and [+controllable] in negative sentences. I would say that in my idiolect (inland of Santiago Island, Tarrafal) all the verbs in her group IV may be used in the imperative as shown in (17) and (18):

(17) **Spera**-n   la   na   merkadu! (BT)
    Wait-1SG   there in   market
    'Wait for me at the market!'

(18) **skesi**   kel   problema   di txon   la! (BT)
    Forget   DEM   problem   of ground   there
    'Forget about that problem of ground!'

Concerning the group I, which consists of four verbs (*ten* 'have', *teni* 'have temporary', *sta* 'be', *e/ser* 'be'), Silva (1990) describes them all as not allowed to enter in any construction labelled in the columns, although she recognises some exceptions. The verb *ser* as well as the verb *ten*, can both be used with the marker **sta** followed by the preposition *pa* for future plans. In addition I would say that the verb *ser* can also enter in progressive constructions with the marker **sta** indicating a temporary act of behaving as shown in (19):

(19) *Bu   sta   ser   buru*. (BT)
    2SG   PROG   be   donkey
    'You are being stupid.'

Ten can also be modified by the marker **sta**, without the preposition *pa*, to indicate future plans when the speaker has a strong conviction of their being achieved as shown in (20):

(20) *N   sta   ten   bon   nota   na   izami   ki   nu   fasi*. (BT)
    1SG   FUT   have   good   grade   in   exam   REL   1PL   do
    'I am going to have a good grade on the exam we had.'

Silva (1990:148) points out that the verbs in 'Group I and II are [−imperative] and [−controllable] ….the zero forms of these verbs are also interpreted as nonpast.' The verbs in Group II are ambiguous semantically and the zero forms of some of them (*gosta* 'like' and *conxi* 'know') can also have past reading as shown in (21) and (22):

(21) *Maria   konxi   Paris   sima   e   sta   la*. (BT)
    Maria   knew   Paris   as   3SG   be   there
    'Maria knew Paris as grown up as she is.'

(22) *Ana   kronta   ku   Palu,   es   gosta   di   kunpanheru*. (BT)
    Ana   meet   with Palu   3PL   like   of   each other
    'Ana met Palu and they fell in love.'

However, she states that 'the verb, *gosta* ….is clearly a stative verb by both our and Bickerton's definition. It is …. [-past]' (1990:149). Pratas (2007:66) makes a useful observation regarding the verb *gosta* 'like'. Thus she points out that 'a few verbs, like *gosta* 'like', have an ambiguous behaviour, since for the combination with a zero morpheme both Past Perfective and Present readings are allowed, depending on the other temporal information in the sentence'. A closer observation of these two verbs (*gosta* and *conxi*) will be provided in Chapter Three.

Concerning the other three markers (*ta*, *-ba* and *dja*), Silva (1990) does not include them in her table. Instead she gives very concise lists of examples of their occurrence explaining their functions and their combinations. For instance she points out that 'the co-occurrence of *–ba* with various other markers signals a range of tense-aspect combinations….*ta* designates both present habitual and future (and does not, by itself, occur with verbs in the past). When *ta* combines with a verb followed by the past marker *–ba*, the result is a past habitual or a past conditional (contrary-to-fact)' as shown in (23) and (24).

(23) …. *era   gentis   ki   ta   rasebeba   tudu   favor*. (Silva 1990:155)
    were   people   that   DUR   receive+ANT   all   favour
    'They were the people who used to receive all the favours.'

(24) *N   ta   fritaba   nhose un   obinhu   ma gossi …. tudu galinha   sta txoka*.
    1SG DUR   fry+ANT 2PL   one little egg   but now   all   chickens   be hatch
 'I would have fried some eggs for you, but now all the chickens are hatching.'(ibid.)

2.4 Quint (2000)

Quint (2000), *Grammaire de la langue Cap-Verdienne*, is one of the most important grammatical studies of CVC, mainly focussed on the variety of Santiago

Island, which the author calls '*le badais*'[6] for historical reasons. Quint has a deep knowledge of CVC (Santiago variety), which greatly helps his detailed analysis of it, although his mother tongue is French. As pointed out by the author when explaining his methodological choices (2000: xxii), this rich description of CVC is based on a functional grammar approach influenced by Martinet's works and by the work of Guillaume[7] and Chomsky.

Quint basically divides his grammar into three parts, besides the introduction. Each part consists of chapters describing CVC diachronically and synchronically. Given the purpose of the present work, the focus here will be on his second part, namely his chapter VI which he labels *Le Systeme Verbal* 'the verbal system'.

According to Quint (2000:223), the important point is to try to understand the architecture of the CVC verbal system rather than trying to find equivalent categories in the French or Portuguese verbal systems. In addition he points out that 'the architecture of the creole verbal system is closer to those of the nearby Niger-Congo languages on the continent rather than to the Romance languages' (Quint 2000:229/ my translation).

Quint (2000) divides CVC verbs into groups according to their endings (/a, e, i, o, u/) and their probable origins. He points out that 'all the verbs, except *ser* 'be', have four different simple forms' (2000:225). In order to illustrate this assertion, he comes up with a table[8] about the four forms of the verb *kanta* 'sing' showing double oppositions: between the present and past tense on one hand, and between the active and passive voice on the other. More insights about the voice opposition Quint refers to will be given in section 4.4.

Concerning CVC tense, Quint (2000:229) points out that morphologically there are two verbal tenses in CVC: the present and past tense (he includes the concept of recent past and distant past (*éloigné*)). Furthermore, he stresses that this is a

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[6] 'Le badais' = *badiu* which refers to the CVC variety of Santiago Island. It is also used to refer to the people from Santiago Island as opposed to *Sanpadjudu,* which is the name used by natives of Santiago to designate both the people and the speech varieties of all other Cape Verde Islands (cf. Lang 2002:684, Jacobs 2011:172). Sometimes *badiu* has a pejorative meaning because it is said that it originated from the Portuguese word *vadio*, which was the word used by Portuguese colonizers to refer to the ex-slaves who had refused to work for their master after emancipation (1878).

[7] See footnotes in Quint (2000:241).

[8] See Quint (2000:225)

characteristic of CVC tense that makes it different from its lexifier language (Portuguese) and other western European languages, in which there are three basic tenses: present, past and future. He explains that these three tenses refer to the time of the utterance. Thus he points out that the present is *at* the time of the utterance, the past is the time *before* the time of the utterance and the future is *after* the time of utterance. He uses six concise schemes in order to explain how CVC verbal system works.

However, according to Quint this western European linearity of tense identification is not always clear in CVC. He points out that morphologically CVC does not mark these notions of tense *before* or *after* the time of utterance. On the contrary, in CVC there is a sphere of the present which can include future and recent past events signalled by the durative marker *ta* as shown in (25) below:

(25) *E   ta   kanta   sabi*. (Quint 2000:236)
   3SG DUR   sing   delicious
   'S/he sings well.'

There is also a sphere of past which includes a distant past marked by omitting *ta* but including the anterior marker *–ba*. This inclusion of *–ba* shifts attention from the time in focus back to the time when the event took place, as shown in (26).

(26) *E   kantaba*.   (Quint 2000:238)
   3SG sing+ANT
   'S/he had sung.'

The future tense is defined by the context or the use of adverbs or expressions of time like *manhan* 'tomorrow', *otu anu* 'next year', etc. as shown in (27).

(27) *E   ta   ben   kanta   manhan*. (Quint 2000:236)
   3SG   FUT come sing   tomorrow
   'He will come and sing tomorrow'.

Then he describes the origin of the marker *–ba* and the synchronic use of the passive markers *-du* and *-da*, as well as their etymologies. These two issues will be analysed in more detail in sections (6.1 and 4.4).

In his presentation of the aspectual system of CVC, Quint (2000:235) starts by saying that 'there are five aspectual particles: *ø* (unmarked form), *al, dja, sata* and *ta*',

and that their occurrence or omission depends on the kind of verb they modify. In other words, CVC verbs behave differently regarding the use of each of these aspect markers. That is why he divides CVC verbs into three categories: *les verbes faibles* 'weak verbs', *les verbes forts* 'strong verbs' and *le verbe sér* 'the verb *ser*'. He points out that 'in CVC most verbs are 'weak' and that their aspectual structure depends on the opposition between habitual and non habitual' (2000:236). In Quint (2000), 'weak verbs' correspond to what other scholars label non-stative verbs and 'strong verbs' correspond to stative verbs.

According to Quint (2000), habitual aspect is expressed whenever the action of a 'weak verb' (= non-stative verb) is considered without regard to the time of the utterance. In other words, the habitual meaning appears when the focus is on the action of a non-stative verb rather than on the time at which the action is performed.

Concerning non-habitual aspect, he points out that the unmarked form represents the *accompli* 'perfective aspect', as shown in (25). He points out that 'in French, the CVC perfective aspect corresponds to *passé composé* or *passé simple* for the present sphere and to *plus-que-parfait* for the past sphere' (Quint 2000:238), as illustrated in (20) above, in which **–ba** is suffixed to the verb.

(28) *E   kanta*. (Quint 2000:238)

    3SG   sing

    'S/he sang (a song).'

Moreover he stresses that the *accompli* 'perfective action' marks the frontier between the present sphere with the past sphere (2000:239). According to Quint (2000), **dja** (which he considers to indicate *l'actualisation* 'accomplishment') represents an action that starts *before* the time of the utterance but which continues *until* the time of the utterance as shown in (29):

(29) **Dja**-n   *perdi   nha   kamisa*. (Quint 2000:238)

    TMA-1SG lose   POSS.1SG shirt

    'I have lost my shirt.'

Quint (2000) makes an interesting remark concerning the progressive marker **sata** by saying that **sta** (used in Praia), **aita** and **ata** (used in inland rural areas of Santiago Island competing with **sata**) are variants of **sata**. He points out that the marker **al** is

used today for uncertain actions *after* the time of the utterance. The markers **ata** and **aita** will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

As noted, everything that has been said about aspect in CVC by Quint (2000) up to now refers to verbs which he labels *verbes faibles* 'weak verbs'. Now the focus turns to verbs which he labels *verbes forts* 'strong verbs' (= stative verbs). Thus he points out that 'the great aspectual particularity of strong verbs is the confusion of the perfective and progressive aspect …. the use of **sata** and **dja** is almost null' (Quint 2000:241). As the author notes, for 'strong verbs' only these two markers (**al, ta**) and the unmarked form can be used and furthermore only **al** keeps the same value as when it modifies 'weak verbs'. With 'strong verbs', **ta** has a future reading and never indicates past (habitual) readings. The markers **ta** and **sata** will be discussed again in chapters four and five.

2.5 Baptista (2002)

Baptista (2002), *The Syntax of Cape Verdean creole*: *the Sotavento variety*, discusses CVC TMA markers in detail. As noted by Swolkien (forthcoming), ' Baptista (2002) is the most comprehensive and fine-tuned synchronic description of the morphosyntax of the Sotavento variety (i.e. those of Brava, Fogo, Santiago and Maio) based on 187 interviews conducted on these four islands and analysed within the theoretical framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program.' For the purpose of the present work, the focus here will be on Baptista's (2002) chapter four, *The VP and other constituents*, and particularly on her subsections on the unmarked verb and tense, mood and aspect markers. She analyses the functions of each marker and then shows their combination patterns which yield a range of interpretations. In addition the author presents a 'coherent proposal on the stative/ non-stative listing of Capeverdean verbs, including a review of the previous proposals in Silva (1990) and Suzuki (1994)' (Pratas 2007:65).

Concerning the unmarked verb, Baptista (2002:75) starts by affirming that 'in CVC, verbal forms do not display any morphological variation reflecting person and number through a given tense paradigm'. She illustrates her assertion giving the example of the verb *papia*[9] 'speak'.

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[9] See Baptista (2002:75)

According to Baptista (2002:76), the bare form of stative verbs refers to present tense events as shown in (30) and for non-stative verbs it is interpreted as past events as shown in (31). However she recognises that this dichotomy (stative versus non-stative verbs) is not always sufficient to determine tense and aspect in CVC.

(30) *N ka **sabe** kuze ki tene-m duenti*. (Baptista 2002:76)
 I NEG know what COMP have-me sick
 'I don't know what is making me sick.'

(31) *N **anda** tudu txon di Ponta*. (ibid.)
 I walk all ground of Ponta
 'I walked all over Ponta.'

Baptista (2002:77) points out that 'CVC has two TMA markers **sta** and **ta**, which occur preverbally; a postverbal suffix **–ba**, and a clause-initial / clause-final particle **dja**.' Then she explains the functions of each marker in the language. Thus she states that **ta** can indicate both *realis* and *irrealis* situations. As noted, she uses Bickerton's terminology in order to show the functions of **ta.** She defines *realis* and *irrealis*[10] situations and gives examples of the situations in which **ta** occurs.

Furthermore she stresses that **ta** may express a habitual present as illustrated in (32) or a habitual past for *realis* situations, as shown in (33). In *irrealis* situations, '**ta** fulfils a mood function …. and may express conditional as shown in (34), as well as futurity' (2002:78), as shown in (35).

(32) *Algen ku si boka ka **ta** era kaminhu*. (Baptista 2002:78)
 One with his/her mouth NEG ASP lose path
 'One who asks does not get lost.'

(33) *Era un fomi tristi, **ta** txoma pa nomi, **ta** toma, ta kume*. (ibid.)
 Was a hunger sad ASP call for name ASP take ASP eat
 'It was a terrible famine, they would call us by name and we would take [the food] and eat.'

(34) *N ka **ta** rasebe nha*. (ibid.)
 I NEG COND receive you
 'I would not have received you.'

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[10] See Holm (1988:164-166) for a definition of *irrealis*.

(35) *N*   ***ta***   *konta nha   tudu storia, …. te   manhan.*(Baptista 2002:79)

    I   FUT tell   3SG all   story   till tomorrow

   'I'll tell you the whole story,… till tomorrow.'

Baptista (2002) makes an interesting remark about ***sta***. She draws attention to the fact that ***sta*** can be either a verb (a stative verb or copula) or an aspect marker. As a verb ***sta*** designates temporary qualities contrasting with *e/ser* (permanent qualities) as shown in (36) and (37). As a marker ***sta*** indicates the (present) continuous progressive aspect as illustrated in (38).

(36) *Bu*   *sta*   *bunita*. (BT)

   2SG   COP   beautiful

   'You are beautiful.'

(37) *Bo*[11]   *e*   *bunita*. (BT)

   2SG   COP   beautiful

   'You are beautiful.'

(38) … *N*   ***sta***   *konsigi fase   txeu*. (Baptista 2002:81)

    I   PROG   manage   do   a lot

    'I am managing to do a lot.'

According to Baptista (2002:81) ***sta*** is in general incompatible with stative verbs; however, she recognises that '***sta*** may combine with some stative verbs as first observed in Silva (1985)'. Baptista (2002) justifies this assertion by saying that the occurrence of ***sta*** with stative verbs indicates that the state is instable, as shown in (39).

(39) *kada dia el*   *sta*   *sabi   mas   txeu*. (Baptista 2002:81)

   each day 3SG PROG know   more   a lot

   'Each day, s/he knows a little more.'

On the other hand, when ***sta*** modifies nonstative verbs, it may trigger a future reading as shown in (40).

(40) *Saudu,*   *N*   *sta* *fasi*   *un*   *badjinhu*. (Baptista 2002:82)

   Saturday I   FUT do   a   little dance

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[11] Note that *bo* 'you' is used as subject only with the verb *e* 'be'. For the subject of all other CVC (Santiago variety) verbs the pronoun *bu* 'you' is used instead.

'Saturday, I'll throw a little dance.'

Baptista (2002) makes a parallel between the CVC anterior marker *–ba* and anterior markers in other Atlantic Creole languages. In other words according to Baptista (2002:83), in CVC the anterior marker *–ba* is suffixed to the main verb, while in other Atlantic Creoles like Negerhollands Creole Dutch the anterior markers tend to precede the verb' as shown in (41).

(41) *Di   hon   a   ne*:   *si   fripampi*. (Holm 2000:179)
    the   dog   ANT   take   POSS   leash
    'The dog took his leash.'

She points out that 'when *–ba* suffixes to a stative verb, the utterance yields a simple past reading as illustrated in (42); whereas when it suffixes to a nonstative verb, the interpretation is past perfect' (2002:83) as shown above in (8).

(42) *Ami   kunpadri,   N   ka   konxeba*. (Baptista 2002:83)
    me   child's god-father   I   NEG   know+ANT
    'As for me, I did not know my child's godfather.'

Then she comes up with a range of possibilities about the origin of *–ba*, which she considers controversial, for creolists have been divided about this issue.

Concerning the marker *dja,* Baptista (2002) views it as a perfective marker 'as it allows a possible continuing relevance of the action or state to the present situation' (2002:85). She calls attention to the fact that *dja* may also function as an adverbial meaning now, soon and already as shown in (43). She considers first *dja* is an adverbial and the second one is a perfective marker.

(43) **Dja**   *korpu*   **dja**   *sa*   *d'idadi*. (Baptista 2002:86)
    now   body   PERF   be   of+age
    'Now, I am old.'

Baptista (2002) refers to Silva's (1990:147-148) Table 1 and points to the inadequacy of Silva's stative versus non-stative disctinction, which according to Baptista was not made clear until Suzuki (1994). Baptista (2002) presents a review of the distribution and behaviour of verbs in Silva's table. For instance, as shown above, Silva (1990) considers that the verbs in Group III are stative verbs that behave like

non-stative verbs. Baptista (2002:98) argues that they 'behave like nonstative verbs simply because they are nonstative verbs ….these verbs occur very naturally in imperative sentences,' as illustrated in (44):

(44) ***Ubi***   *kel*   *barudju!*   (Baptista 2002:98)
    listen   that   noise
    'Listen to that noise!'

Thus she concludes that the verbs in Group III are non-stative. In addition, she argues that 'even verbs like *kredita* …. and *vivi* are nonstative verbs , insofar as they can express the imperative and combine with the progressive marker ***sta***' (2002:100) as shown in (45), (46), (47) and (48) respectively:

(45) *Ka*   *bu*   ***kredita***   *tudu*   *kuza*   *ki*   *bu*   *ubi*! (Baptista 2002:100)
     NEG   you   believe   all   thing   COMP   you   hear
     'Don't believe everything that you hear.'

(46) *N*   ***sta***   ***kredita***   *tudu kuza*   *k'el*   ***sta***   *fra*[12]-*m*. (ibid.)
     I   PROG   believe   all   thing   COMP+she   PROG   tell-me
     'I am believing everything s/he is telling me.'

(47) ***Vivi***   *bu*   *vida,*   *ka*   *bu*   *skuta-s*. (ibid.)
     live   your   life   NEG   you   listen-them
     'Live your life, don't listen to them.'

(48) *N*   *ka*   *podi*   *bai*   *mas*   *ma*   *N*   ***sta***   *vivi*   *dretu*.(ibid.)
     I   NEG   can   go   no longer   but   I   PROG   live   well
     'I can no longer go there but I am living well.'

In the present work, the combination patterns are reserved for a whole chapter (Chapter Seven).

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[12] *Fra* (from Fogo and Brava varieties) 'tell' is realised as *fla* 'tell' in Santiago variety.

2.6 Pratas (2007)

Pratas (2007), *Tense features and argument structure in Capeverdean predicates*; is one of the broadest descriptions concerning the CVC verbal system so far. The author presents a very important and complex study of CVC within a generative grammar framework. Here, my focus will be on her chapter two, the longest chapter, since she makes an extensive analysis of the TMA morphemes, particularly grammatical rather than lexical aspect which is one of the main topics of the present work. She is very aware of the use of verbal markers and their limits in indicating Tense, Aspect and Mood in CVC. Thus she points out that 'in most Capeverdean sentences Tense and Aspect, and also Mood, are not exclusively provided by functional morphemes, but rather they are derived from the interaction of different pieces, such as the verbs that these TMA are marking, adverbial expressions, temporal clauses and discourse information, which work together and condition the whole meaning' (Pratas 2007:43).

She discusses tense and aspect in detail; interspersing references to mood when needed. The author justifies her focus by stressing that '….there is no specific verbal morphology that identifies subjunctive, although there are sentences whose reading clearly is correspondent to this mood in Portuguese – in Portuguese it is identified by specific morphological markers….as for conditional, there is a wide debate around this being really a mood; hence I will not even consider this possibility. This does not mean, though, that there are no conditional constructions – they exist in Capeverdean, as we shall see, but the morphology involved is the one available for indicative mood; as it might be expected by now, the conditional reading is provided by other elements in the sentence (such as a conditional clause introduced by *si* 'if').' (2007:43).

As noted, she focuses mainly on the temporal reference of verbal constructions. She argues that 'syntactic Tense features and also morphological markers for Tense and Aspect (TMAs) may be accommodated by T alone ….the main purpose in the present chapter is to show that each of these markers may surface in one of the multiple adjoined heads under the label T'(2007:44). Concerning the syntactic/semantic behaviour of the most frequent CVC TMA markers: the preverbal morphemes *ta, sata/ sta ta* and the postverbal one *–ba*, the author points out that 'any of them may appear as the only functional morpheme in the sentence, and they may also combine'(2007:63). In order to show their possible and impossible combinations,

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she gives a very detailed list of templates[13] showing the markers' positions in simple sentences. However, according to her example number (41) on page 64, which is here represented in (49), the progressive marker *sata* (which predominates in the inland of Santiago Island) cannot be combined with *al* (a future reading marker).

(49)….mai ***al sta ta*** *papia ku nha* *pai. / *al sata papia.*
mother   FUT PROG1PROG2 talk   with 1SG.POSS father/ FUT PROG talk
'.... mother must be talking to my father./' (Pratas 2007:64)

In my idiolect, ***sata*** can combine with ***al*** as well as ***sta ta*** can in progressive constructions triggering an epistemic modal value (i.e. the speaker knows or there is a strong probability that the event is taking place at that moment) as shown in (50), which is how I would say (49):

(50) *Es ora li,* *nha* *mai* ***al*** *sta ta / sata papia ku nha* *pai.*
This hour DEM 1SG.POSS mother FUT PROG/ DUR talk   with 1SG.POSS father
'Right now, my mother must be talking to my father.' (BT referring to Pratas 2007:64)

Furthermore, as Pratas(2007:65) shows with the combination of markers in (49) – her (41) (2007:64), the marker *sata* and *ta* cannot coexist when a progressive reading is intended. She postulates that 'syntactically, there seems to be no place for these two preverbal TMA morphemes – assuming that *sta*, as an auxiliary, is a verbal form, not a TMA morpheme of the same type' (2007:65). There are some syntactic contrasts between the uses of *sta ta* and *sata* when other markers are involved but semantically their behaviour is the same. More observations on the distinction between *sta ta* and s*ata* will be presented in subsections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.

According to Pratas (2007:66), in order to mark tense and aspect, certain Capeverdean verbs need markers, whereas others do not. Thus she comes up with two tables (Pratas 2007:67) based on the stativity versus non-stativity of verbs (which she recognises as being problematic and insufficient when actually describing data). She labels the first table as non-stative verbs and the second as stative verbs in which she gives examples of two ambiguous verbs (*gosta* 'like and *sabi* 'know') usually

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[13] See Pratas (2007: 63)

assumed to indicate states although they behave differently with certain markers. In other words, as the author points out, 'a few verbs, like *gosta* 'like', have an ambiguous behaviour, since for the combination with a zero morpheme both Past Perfective and Present readings are allowed, depending on the other temporal information in the sentence'(2007:66).

In addition, if we examine Pratas' table (45), we can see clearly that *sabi* does not allow progressive constructions while *gosta* does. Furthermore if we compare these two tables, we can see at a glance that the verbs labelled non-statives do enter in past progressive habitual construction while the ones labelled statives do not allow this.

As she noted, 'only the 'simple' progressive reading of the auxilary construction (which in the past, PastProg, is **staba ta** V(-**ba**)) may also be built with **sata**' as illustrated in (51):

(51) *Kantu(ki)   bu   txiga, mudjeris **staba**   **ta**   / **sata** kanta**ba**.*
   when (that) 2SG   arrive, women   PROG1+ANT   PROG2 / PROG sing+ANT
   'When you arrived, the women were singing.' (BT referring to Pratas 2007:73)

It is important to note that in past progressive constructions, when –**ba** is suffixed to the marker **sta**, -**ba** in the main verb is optional as shown in (52), but when the marker involved is **sata**, -**ba** is only suffixed to the main verb. It is obligatory as shown in (53).

(52) *Mudjeris   **staba**   **ta**   kanta(**ba**)*. (BT referring to Pratas 2007:71)
   Women   PROG1+ANT   PROG2   sing+ANT
   'The women were singing.'

(53) *Mudjeris   **sata**   kanta**ba***. (BT)
   women   PROG   sing+ANT
   'The women were singing.'

In order to explain the behaviour of –**ba** when combined with **sta ta**, the author contrasts these two sentences below in numbers 54 (corresponding to her example (48.b)) and 55 (corresponding to her example (50)):

(54) *Mudjeris **ta**   **staba**   (tudora/sempri) **ta**   kanta*(-**ba**)*.
   Women DUR   PROG1+ANT   (always)   PROG2   sing+ANT
   'The women were/ used to be (always) singing.' (Pratas 2007:71)

(55) *Kantu (ki)   bu   txiga, mudjeris (*ta)   staba   ta   kanta(ba)*.

   when (that) 2SG arrive, women   DUR   PROG1+ANT   PROG2 sing+ANT

   'When you arrived, the women were singing' (Pratas 2007:72)

Then she points out that '*sata* marks progressive (Aspect) while *-ba* contributes the past (Tense) reference' and she laments that 'this could be an interesting conclusion if there were not this contrast between (48) and (50), where *-ba* is obligatory in the former (48b) and optional in the latter'(Pratas(2007:73). In my idiolect, *–ba* is also optional in her sentence (48.b).

Notice that the combinations referred to above, in (54), include *ta* before [*staba ta* V +(*-ba*)]. They indicate the past progressive habitual in which the first *ta* triggers a habitual reading, *-ba* triggers the past reading and *sta* the progressive reading. Notice that according to Comrie (1976:33) 'progressiveness is similar to continuousness, which is definable as imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality.... progressiveness is not incompatible with habituality: a given situation can be viewed both as habitual, and as progressive, i.e. each individual occurrence of the situation is presented as being progressive, and the sum total of all these occurences is presented as being habitual (the habitual of a progressive)' Furthermore, it is important to note that the marker *sata* is disallowed in past progressive habitual, since *sata* is never preceded or followed by *ta* as shown below by the ungrammaticality of (56) and (57):

(56) *Mudjeris   ta   sata   kanta**ba**. (BT)

       Women   DUR PROG   sing+ANT

(57) *Mininus   sata   ta   fasi   barudju tudu   ora. (BT)

       Children PROG   DUR   make noise   every   hour

More insights on the combinations patterns involving the behaviour of the marker *sata* will be provided in Chapter Six.

2.7 Jacobs (2011)

Jacobs (2011), *The origins of Papiamentu*: *linguistic and historical ties with Upper Guinea,* presents an important description on TMA markers, especially the preverbal marker *ta*. The author uses the TMA markers in order to justify the affiliation of

Papiamentu (PA) to CVC. He points out that 'PA and Upper Guinea Portuguese Creole (UGPC) are descendents from the same proto-creole, an analysis of their TMA markers is indispensable' (Jacobs 2011:171). He considers being superficial the assumption 'that PA *ta* and CV *ta* qualitatively differ in that the first is [+progressive] while the latter is [-progresive] (Jacobs 2011:173), and comes up with a range of literature on CVC (Silva 1985:158 & 1990:157; Lang 1993:150; Pereira 2000:32; Bartens 2000:51;Rougé 2004:25 and Veiga 2000:199) in which '*ta* is categorized as [+habitual] and [-progressive]' (idem).

However, Jacobs (2011) reassess the status of CVC *ta*. He presents data which shows that 'CV *ta* is fully operative as a preverbal progressive aspect marker, thus allowing for the hypothesis that CV *ta* once operated as a general imperfective marker quite similar to its PA cognate' (2011:73). He comes up with evidence in which CVC *ta* indicates progressivity unambiguously. Thus he points out that 'this evidence comes in the shape of complement clauses of the type [*ta* + V] …. [which] have been referred to as gerundive complements or gerundive clauses by Kihm (1994:210, for GBC ….) and ….for PA) respectively' (Jacobs 2011:175). Jacobs is very aware that '[*ta* + V] complements may cover the whole spectrum of imperfectivity so that their meaning may be habitual, iterative or progressive, always in function of context' (idem, cf. Perreira 1999:114) but his concern is with the complements in which [*ta* + V] indicates progressive aspect.

Jacobs (2011:175-178) presents a range of examples about construction of the type [*ta* + V] complements. According to Jacobs (2011), in PA as well as in CVC, [*ta* + V] can occur:

• in complex predicates of the type that he calls '[Vaux + *ta* + Vinf]' (Jacobs 2011:175), as shown in (58),

(58) *E   komesa   (ta)   papia*.(BT)
    3SG   begin   DUR   speak
    'S/he began talking.'

• in *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions, as complements of perception verbs as shown in (59),

(59) *N xinti algen **ta** **pintxa** porta!* (Jacobs 2011:176)

    I feel person IMP push door

    'I felt somebody pushing the door!'

• as adjectival complements as shown in (60),

(60) *Anton, (...) ku gentis tudu **ta** **kume** (...)* (ibid.)

    Thus with people all IMP eat

    'Thus, with everybody eating (...)'

• as adverbial complements as shown in (61),

(61) *El fika la, **ta** **skuta**-m.* (Jacobs 2011:177)

    he stay there IMP listen+me

    'He stayed there, listening to me.'

• and in series expressing simultaneity of events as shown in (62).

(62) *E **ta** fika na kuartu **ta** **obi** muzika **ta** **badja**.* (BT)

    3SG DUR stay in room PROG hear music PROG dance

    'He stays in the room listening to music and dancing.'

For Jacobs (2011), as well as for some scholars referred above in this thesis, it is very easy to notice that morphological differences between Romance creoles and their lexifier lie in their verb system. Jacobs makes an important analysis on the stative versus non-stative distinction in creoles, and he compares stative verbs in PA to stative verbs in CVC in order to discuss the affiliation of PA to CVC. As noted, Jacobs divides stative verbs into two groups: strong and weak stative verbs 'following Quint (2000a:248-252, 2000b:151-153)' (Jacobs 2011:216). Thus he presents two tables: Table 4 (on pages 217 and 218), for PA's and CVC's strong stative verbs and Table 5 (on page 220) for weak stative verbs. According to Jacobs 'strong stative verbs are those stative verbs that are still morphologically marked as such (zero → present)' (idem).

However he draws attention to the fact that 'while the unmarked form of strong statives will indeed yield a present reading, this does not imply that they are obligatorily unmarked for present. Some invariably take either a zero or an

imperfective marker in the present' (Jacobs 2011:217), as shown in (63) with the CVC verb *gosta* 'like'.

(63) *Pedro gosta di Maria   =   Pedro **ta**   gosta di Maria*. (Jacobs 2011:217)

    Pedro like   of Maria   =   Pedro IMP   like of Maria

     'Pedro likes Maria.'

It is important to note that the verb *gosta* 'like', can also have a past reading when unmarked in certain contexts, (e.g. perfective situations).

   Concerning weak stative verbs, Jacobs considers them to be those 'that are (or can be) semantically stative, but are not morphologically marked as such' (2011:216). Then he points out that they 'are verbs generally considered to be stative (eg. 'believe'), or which can, depending on the context, either be stative or nonstative (eg. most perception verbs), but which, nonetheless are obligatorily marked by an imperfective marker for present, even in clearly stative propositions' (2011:219).

   Jacobs (2011) presents interesting discussions of the origins of PA and CVC markers (***sata, ta, -ba*** etc.). Like the previous scholars referred above, he considers this issue very controversial. More will be said about the markers' etymologies in the following sections.

2.8 Conclusions

   To summarize, it is important to note that, in general, most of the descriptions presented in this chapter are about the CVC variety of Santiago Island, which is considered to be one of the four basilectal varieties, the one most described so far and which is in the origin of other CVC varietes for socio historical reasons. The descriptions are presented chronologically.

   However, as noted by the structure of this Chapter Two, there are long intervals of period that lacked descriptions on CVC. For instance it is the case of the first half of the 20th century. According to Swolkien (forthcoming) 'most accounts of CVC from this period are of very little if any scientific linguistic value .... written by amateurs, military men or colonial bureaucrats of higher rank who were more than not biased by racist ideology, they represent a step backwards in relation to publications of the 1880's.' The accounts of CVC referred in this chapter are from second half of 19th

century, the second half of the 20th and the present century which correspond to the periods of increased scientific interest in CVC.

As shown above, the focus is on CVC tense, mood and grammatical aspect markers. Thus as noted by Baptista (2002:13) this issue is very complex for 'the various type of temporal, aspectual and modal interpretation each marker yield depending on whether it occurs in isolation or in combination with other markers .... it has become quite clear that a morpho-syntax treatment of these TMA markers [*sata, sta, sta ta, ata, ta, al, dja* and *-ba*] is not sufficient to account for this multiple functions. Pragmatics and discourse also play a crucial role.' That is why one of the main goals of this thesis is to cast further light on the use of CVC TMA markers by showing the importance of discourse context.

Chapter 3

UNMARKED FORM

3.0 Introduction

Holm (1988:150) points out that 'a good deal has been written about the importance of the creole distinction between stative and non-stative verbs regarding tense (e.g. Bickerton 1975)'. According to Pratas (2010), there has been some generalization concerning the meaning of the unmarked form of Capeverdean Creole verbs regarding tense, aspect and mood. However, as Holm (1988) points out, 'this actually has more to do with the problem of translating unmarked creole verbs into the suitable European tense, rather than any overtly marked distinction made within the creole verbal system.'

Bickerton (1979:109) points out that 'the unmarked creole verb signifies past with non-statives and nonpast with statives.' This distinction may be problematic in CVC as previous studies such as Silva (1985, 1990), Baptista (2002) and Pratas (2007) have shown. As Holm (1988:151) argues 'it is not the case that unmarked creole stative verbs always correspond to the English present tense, and that unmarked creole non-stative verbs always correspond to the English past tense.' In CVC it is easy to find examples which contradict Bickerton's assertion above. There are many stative verbs whose unmarked form indicates past in certain contexts as shown in (64):

(64) *N   konxi   Portugal na 2005*. (BT)

    1SG   know   Portugal in 2005

    'I visited Portugal [for the first time] in 2005.'

Most CVC verbs are non-statives (i.e. action verbs). Quint (2000:242 and 2008:124-125) presents an exhaustive list of stative verbs which include about nineteen verbs. The author divides stative verbs into two groups and labels the first group as *verbes personnels* (about fourteen verbs) and the other group as *verbes impersonnels* (about five verbs). The latter correspond to the verbs that may be used with no subject in CVC as shown in (65) with the verb *parsi* 'seem'. These verbs generally take an expletive 'it' as their subject in English.

(65) ***Parse*-*n*   *ma*   *e*   ***ta***   *pasa*   *na*   *izami*. (BT)

    Seem-1PL   that   3SG FUT   pass   in   exam

'It seems to me that s/he will pass the exam.'

It is a limited group. Quint (2000:242) presents all of them as *verbes forts* (*personnels* and *impersonnels*), but note that except for *meresi* 'deserve', *mesti* 'need', *podi* 'can', *sta* 'be' and *teni*[14] 'have', all of them can behave like non-stative verbs in some contexts in that their unmarked forms indicate the past, as will be shown in the subsequent sections.

As previous studies show, the puzzle of CVC verbs resides in the stative verbs because many of them behave syntactically like non-stative verbs. CVC verbs challenge the concept of stativity: we cannot support the simple assumption that bare forms of stative verbs indicate the present and that the bare forms of non-stative verbs indicate the past in CVC, because this is not always the case. In other words, pragmatics affects the interpretation of their semantic properties and the syntactic behaviour of CVC verbs regarding tense and aspect. As Quint (2000:251) pointed out, there are verbs which can have either stative or non-stative readings depending on the time setting indicated by adverbials, the whole predicate and the context.

In this chapter, CVC verbs will be divided into three different groups. The criteria for this grouping depend solely on the tense and semantic properties which their unmarked form indicates. They will be discussed separately in section 3.1 (in which the unmarked form always indicates the present) and section 3.2 (in which the unmarked form always indicates the past) and section 3.3 (in which the unmarked form can indicate either the present in one context or the past in another).

Brinton (2000:113-114) points out that 'aspect can be defined as the view taken of an event, or the aspect under which it is considered, basically whether it is seen as complete and whole (perfective aspect) or as incomplete and ongoing (imperfective aspect)'. Comrie (1976:6, fn. 4) notes that "in addition to the term 'aspect', some linguists also make use of the term 'aktionsart' …. meaning 'kinds of action'" such as habitual, completive etc. According to Andersen (1990:63), *grammatical aspect* is morphologically conveyed and he points out that 'separate from such morphologically conveyed aspect is what is called "lexical aspect" or "inherent semantic aspect" of verbs and predicates. Grammatical vs. lexical aspect is referred to in German as Aspekt vs. Aktionsart, and in French as aspect vs. mode d'action (….cf. Meisel

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[14] *Teni* 'have' indicates a temporary possession while *ten* 'have' indicates a permanent possession.

1985:324, fn. 1.).' It is important to note that CVC has both *grammatical* and *lexical* *aspect*, but the focus in the present work is on the former aspect as will be shown in the subsequent sections.

3.1 Stative verbs: unmarked form always indicates the present

Consider the table below:

A: cf. modal auxiliaries	B: other auxiliaries
mesti 'need'	*sta*, 'be'
kre 'want or estimate'	*e*[15] 'be'
podi 'can'	*teni* 'have'
debi 'owe or must'	
*meresi 'deserve'	

Note that the verbs in group B correspond in meaning to other auxiliary verbs in English and the Romance languages. However in CVC, only *sta* has the syntactic behaviour of the verb *be* in English or of the verb *estar* in Portuguese (in periphrastic constructions with *estar á* + verb for the progressive). In other words, when *sta* is a marker (i.e. not a full verb), it can be followed by a verb in progressive constructions, as will be shown in Chapter Four, while *e* 'be' and *teni* 'have' are always used as full verbs and they never precede a verb in CVC, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (66) below.

(66) **Karmen teni papia franses ku mi*.

      Karmen have speak French with me.

All the verbs in group A can appear as the first element in serial verb constructions (SVC) as will be discussed in Chapter Four. Following Jansen et al. (1978:125), Holm (1988:183) points out that 'as their name implies, they consist of a series of two (or more) verbs; they both have the same subject and are not joined by a conjunction ('and') or a complementizer ('to') as they would be in European languages.' In other words, Veenstra (1999:168) points out that 'serial verb constructions are considered

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[15] Cf. Lang et al. 2002

to be constructions containing at least two (main or independent) verbs in what appears to be a single clause. Only one subject and no overt markers of sub- or coordination are present (Jansen et al. 1978, Sebba 1987, Muysken & Veenstra 1995).' All of them except *meresi* 'deserve' correspond semantically to modal auxiliaries in English and the Romance languages.

Quint (2000:242) and (2008:124-125) labels the bare or unmarked verbs above *verbes forts* (stative verbs). They are all stative verbs and their unmarked form always indicates present tense. However, their semantic properties do not exclude the idea of past. As Holm (1988:151) points out 'states by the very nature of their meaning, are more likely to be open-ended and extended into the present.' In CVC, as in many other languages, their meaning may be extended into the future as well. They may involve the idea of duration from before the time of utterance and may or may not persist into the future.

Consider the following sentence (67):

(67) *Pedru meresi   bu   atenson*. (BT)
      Pedru deserve   POSS.2SG attention
      'Pedru deserves your attention.'

This sentence may mean that *Pedru* deserved your attention in the past, he (still) deserves it in the present or that he will deserve it in the future or all three. As Quint (2000:231) points out, there is a sphere of the present which can include past, present and future corresponding to the simple present tense in English, which actually indicates habitual aspect. In other words states have their inception in the past (before the time of utterance) and continue in the present and may or may not continue into the future (they are open-ended events). For instance consider the sentence in (68).

(68) *Marku teni dinheru*. (BT)
      Marku have money
      'Marku has [a lot of] money.'

Only with an overt indication of time would it be interpreted as referring only to the present as shown in (69) below.

(69) *Gosi Marku   teni   dinheru*. (BT)
      Now Marku   have money

'Marku has money now.'

The inclusion of the adverbial *gosi* 'now' excludes the idea of past. It refers to the present and Marku may or may not continue having money in the future. It is important to note that all the verbs presented in this section form about a half of the CVC personal stative verbs. The other half is discussed in section 3.3.

3.2 Non-stative verbs: unmarked form always indicates the past

Following Guillaume (1973:128-129), Quint (2000:236-243) labels these *verbes faibles*. This is the biggest group of CVC verbs, which includes all action and perception verbs when used literally. There is only one consistent truth concerning past tense in CVC, which is that unmarked action verbs always indicate the past as shown in (70) below.

(70) *E   kori   karu*. (BT)
   3SG   race   car
   'S/he drove the car fast.'

The sentence above can only be interpreted as past (either recent or distant past) in any context, and it indicates past independently of the use of any adverbials of time. Furthermore, it is perfective (indicating a completed situation). The action of driving fast has reached its termination before the time of the utterance. In CVC, an action verb has to be marked (by **ta, sata**…) whenever the time it refers to extends into the present or future. Note that here action verbs denote physical or mental actions, as well as verbs whose internal semantic properties involve the idea of change (e.g. *kria* 'grow') as shown in (71) below, or movement (e.g. *nasi* 'be born') as in (72):

(71*) N   kria   na   Tarrafal*. (BT)
   1SG   grow   in   Tarrafal
   'I grew up in Tarrafal.'

(72) *Nha   fidju   nasi   dretu*. (BT)
   POSS.1SG   son   be born   well
   'My son was born healthy.'

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3.3 Mixed stativity verbs: unmarked form can indicate either present or past

The criterion adopted here for dividing this group into two columns is the following: column A includes verbs which cannot be the first verb in serial verb constructions (SVC) (i.e. they are part of the complements of the first verb in the series) while column B includes those which can:

A: cannot begin a SVC	B: can begin a SVC
ten 'have'	
bali 'value or help'	*gosta* 'like or love'
txoma 'call' or 'be called'	*sabi* 'know or be able to'
mora 'live'	
konxi 'know'	

Quint (2008:124-125) included these verbs among what he called the *verbes forts* (cf 3.1), but I think it would be clearer for me to call them mixed stativity verbs since they behave differently from other non-stative verbs in that they can also be stative. This group is formed by verbs with ambiguous stativity. As Pratas (2010) points out, they can behave idiosyncratically regarding tense and aspect. Their unmarked form can indicate either past or present tense according to the context and the use of adjuncts of time. Note that all of the verbs listed under 3.3 can be understood as stative. Due to their idiosyncratic behaviour, they will be analysed here one by one. In certain contexts they behave like the verbs in 3.1 but in other contexts they behave like those in 3.2.   Consider the sentence (73) below:

(73) *Maria   ten   fidju*. (BT)
　　　 Maria   have son
　　　 'Maria has a child.'

Sentence (73) has a present reading, but the inclusion of a temporal adjunct (like *na 1998, onti, kinta fera,* etc.) makes the same sentence have a past reading as shown in (74):

(74) *Maria   **ten**   fidju   **kinta fera***. (BT)
　　　 Maria   have baby   Thursday

   'Maria had a baby on Thursday.'

Yet, the verb *ten* 'have' rarely indicates past when unmarked. For instance in (74) *ten* does not have its basic meaning (possession); the rest of the sentence (the object *fidju* and the temporal adjunct *kinta fera*) gives the verb the more figurative meaning of 'to give birth to a child' and dates the event in the past. In (73) *ten* 'have' indicates possession (its literal meaning) and the main focus is on the verb. However, in (74) the most important piece of information is the time (*when?*) rather than the event per se. Note that (73) answers the question *what?* While (74) answers the question *when?*

   Furthermore, consider sentence (75):

(75) *N*   ***ten***   *karu*   ***na 2001***. (BT)
    1SG have car   in   2001
    'I got a car [for the first time] in 2001.'

Note that the focus is on the time when the subject started to have the object, which is not specified (it could be this car or that one or even a car that no longer exists). Sentence (75) is general in meaning; it could mean that the subject may still have a car or may not. Only the context can clarify its tense reference. It can mean that the subject first bought a car in 2001. The core information here is the time (which can be the beginning of a situation that is or is not yet ended).

   However, in English and Romance languages like Portuguese, there is a greater linearity in defining tense. For instance consider the following sentences in (76) and (77) below:

(76) I have had [this] car since 2001. (BT)
(77) I had a car in 2001. (BT)

It is clear that sentence (76) means that I started to have it in the past and I still have it in the present (present perfect), while (77) means I had it in the past but I do not have it any more (past tense). Unlike CVC, these languages have distinct verb forms to refer to past or present situations or situations that started in the past and persist into the present. It is not the time adjunct (e.g. 2001) that makes sentence (77) have a past reading but rather the verb form itself; it means past and there is no need of a context to show that it is past.

Concerning the CVC verb *bali,* it only can have a past interpretation when its unmarked form means 'help'. Note that *bali* here does not have its literal meaning as shown in (78) below:

(78) *Bu   bali-n   onti.* (BT)

    2SG   value-1SG   yesterday

    'You helped me yesterday.'

Comparing *bali* with *ten*, note that *bali* is per se past (with or without the inclusion of a temporal adjunct) while *ten* needs a temporal adjunct in order to have a past interpretation. The point is that *bali* 'help' is an action verb, thus its unmarked form indicates the past. The reason for the inclusion of *bali* in this group (3.3) is that it can also mean present when used in its literal meaning 'to be worth ', as shown in (79).

(79) *Si   kasa   bali   txeu.* (BT)

    POSS.3SG   house be worth   a lot

    'His/her house is worth a lot.'

The verb *txoma* behaves similarly to *bali*. Its unmarked form has past interpretation (e.g. for narration) when it means 'call to ' or 'telephone somebody' (as an action verb), as shown in (80) but it is interpreted as being in the present tense when it is used to introduce people, where Portuguese uses a reflexive construction (e.g. *chamo-me João*) as shown in (81).

(80) *Pedru   txoma   si   amigu.* (BT)

    Pedru   call   POSS.3SG   friend

    'Pedru [has] called his friend.'

(81) *N   txoma   Manel.* (BT)

    1SG   call   Manel

    'I am Manel.'

Thus sentence (81) can be ambiguous. It can also be interpreted as past and only the context or the inclusion of an adjunct of time can disambiguate its meaning (perfective) as shown in (82) below:

(82) *N **txoma** Manel **onti***. (BT)

    1SG call   Manel yesterday

    'I called Manel yesterday.'

The verb *mora* 'live' is another ambiguous verb regarding stativity. Its unmarked form can have either past or present interpretation. Consider the sentence (83):

(83) *E   (ta)   mora na Txada Moron*. (BT)

    3SG HAB live in Txada Moron

    'S/he lives in Txada Moron.'

Sentence (83) can have a present (habitual) reading with or without the marker ***ta***. ***Ta*** is optional here although it is important to note that the inclusion of ***ta*** before the verb *mora*, referring to present situation, is more frequent than its omission. In the absence of ***ta*** and any adjunct of time, in some contexts, sentence (83) can also have a past interpretation (past experience/habit). In this case the verb *mora* means 'used to live' as shown in (84) below:

(84) *E   mora na Txada Moron*. (BT)

    3SG live in Txada Moron

    'S/he used to live in Txada Moron.'

This use corresponds to the Portuguese *pretérito prefeito* (*eu vivi em Txada Moron* or *eu costumei viver em Txada Moron*) which in its turn corresponds to the English term for this term, i.e. 'preterite', to express a completed past action or change of condition. In (84) the verb *mora* behaves as the verbs in 3.2 regarding tense. Furthermore, note that this sentence can also mean 's/he has lived in *Txada Moron*'. It can correspond to the English simple present perfect tense in which the present situation began in the past but at an unspecified time. However, the inclusion of an adjunct of time makes it unambiguously past as shown in (85):

(85) *E   **mora** na Txada Moron **na 1999***. (BT)

    3SG live in Txada Moron in 1999

    'S/he lived in Txada Moron in 1999.'

In the absence of an adjunct of time, the verb *mora* can have a present or past reading depending on the context. However, the verb *konxi* 'know' always has a present interpretation in the absence of an adjunct of time as shown in (86).

(86) *N   konxi   Djon*. (BT)
     1SG   know   Djon
     'I know Djon.'

On the other hand its bare form always indicates the past when there is an overt indication of time, as shown in (87) below:

(87) *Manel   **konxi**   Palu   **Sesta Fera***. (BT)
      Manel   know   Palu   Friday
      'Manel met [for the first time] Palu Friday.

Both verbs in column B of the table beginning this section can begin a SVC as illustrated in (88) and (89) below.

(88) *E   **gosta** (di) **djuda**   si   amigus*. (BT)
     3SG   like   of   help   POSSS.3SG   friends
      'S/he   likes helping her/his friends.'

(89) *Nha   irmon   **sabi   munta**   bisikleta*. (BT)
     POSS.1SG brother   know   ride   bike
      'My brother can ride a bike.'

Note that in (88) the preposition *di* 'of/to' can occur between *gosta* 'like' and the following verb but it is optional. In addition, the verb *sabi* (when used in the first position) in a SVC means 'can', 'be able to' or 'know how to' to express ability as shown in (89) above.

Pratas (2007:66) pointed out that 'a few verbs, like *gosta* 'like', have an ambiguous behaviour, since for the combination with a zero morpheme both Past Perfective and Present readings are allowed, depending on the other temporal information in the sentence.' Concerning tense, the verb *gosta* 'like' behaves exactly the same as the verb *mora* 'live' in (83), (84) and (85) above. Thus, consider the sentence (90) below:

(90) *Es* (ta) **gosta di nha primu Silvinu**. (BT)

    3PL HAB like of POSS.1SG cousin Silvinu

    'They like my cousin Silvinu.'

Sentence (90), without the marker **ta**, may also mean 'they liked my cousin Silvinu' (i.e. past) in certain contexts and the inclusion of an adjunct of time like *onti*, 'yesterday' *oxi*, 'today' *Sabadu* '[last] Saturday' etc. gives it a clearly past interpretation as shown in (91).

(91) *Es* **gosta di nha primu Silvinu onti**. (BT)

    3PL like of POSS.1SG cousin Silvinu yesterday

    'They liked my cousin Silvinu yesterday.'

However, it is important to note that both the verb *gosta* 'like' or *mora* 'live' can have future interpretation when they are marked by **ta**, depending on the context or the use of some adjuncts of time like *manhan* 'tomorrow', *otu Sabadu* 'next Saturday', *otu anu* 'next year', *di li un mez* 'in a month's time' etc. which indicate future intrinsically. Further discussions of these two verbs regarding tense, will be presented in chapters four and five.

Pratas (2007:67) points out that '[there are some] differences between *gosta* 'like' and *sabe* 'know', both considered "statives": the former seemed to allow *ta*, the latter did not.' In other words when indicating the present the verb *gosta* 'like' can or cannot be combined with **ta**. **Ta** is optional with *gosta* 'like' as shown in (90) above, while *sabi* 'know' does not allow **ta** in the present. 'With *sabe* in declarative sentences *ta* always marks future, not present' (ibid.), as shown in (92) below:

(92) *N* **ta sabi resposta**. (BT)

    1SG FUT know response

    'I will know the answer.'

Furthermore, like the verbs *mora* 'live', *konxi* 'know', *gosta* 'like' and *ten* 'have', the unmarked form of the verb *sabi* 'know' can have either a present or past reading. Only the context or the use of an adjunct of time can give *sabi* a past interpretation as shown in (93) below:

(93) *N*   ***sabi***   *resposta*   ***Tersa fera***. (BT)

　　1SG   know   response   Tuesday

　　'I knew the answer [last] Tuesday.'

However, it is important to note that when the verb *sabi* is followed by the preposition *di,* it may mean 'care about' in some contexts. In this case it behaves like the verbs in 3.2. Thus, its unmarked form indicates the past as shown in (94) below, and the inclusion of ***ta*** gives it a present reading as illustrated in (95)

(94) *Mariu*   ***sabi di***   *si*   *fidjus la*   *Cabo Verde*. (BT)

　　Mariu   care about   POSS.3SG   sons   there   Cape Verde

　　'Mariu cared about his children in Cape Verde.'

(95) *Familia*   *nbarkadu*   ***ta***   ***sabi***   *d-es*.

　　Family   emigrated   HAB   care   of-3PL

　　'[Their] overseas relatives care about them.'

3.4 Summary

　　To summarize, it is crucial to note that the correct interpretation of the tense or aspect of unmarked CVC verbs depends on the context and temporal adjuncts. The only simple truth about CVC unmarked verbs is that unmarked action verbs always indicate the past tense and perfective aspect as discussed above in section 3.2. But we cannot take for granted that unmarked stative verbs always indicate present tense and imperfective aspect because as shown above, an overt indication of time may affect the interpretation of these verbs' stativity.

　　As noted throughout this chapter, CVC verbs can be ambiguous concerning their stativity. In addition, the meaning of their unmarked forms may vary according to the context. Furthermore, some CVC verbs behave like non-stative verbs in certain contexts or with certain predicates, while in other contexts they can be considered statives. That is why an exhaustive list of such verbs is identified in section 3.3 as mixed stativity verbs, a concept that is introduced here for the first time to the best of my knowledge.

Chapter 4

HABITUAL *TA*

4.0 Introduction

Comrie (1976:24-25) points out that

> while many languages do have a single category to express imperfectivity, there are other
> languages where imperfectivity is subdivided into a number of distinct categories, and yet others
> where there is some category that corresponds to part only of the meaning of imperfectivity.

In CVC, the imperfectivity can be subdivided into two distinct categories: habitual and progressive. As Comrie (1976:33) points out,

> progressiveness is not incompatible with habituality: a given situation can be viewed both as
> habitual, and as progressive, i.e. each individual occurrence of the situation is presented as being
> habitual (the habitual of a progressive).

In CVC, there is this compatibility between the progressive and habitual aspect of a situation as will be shown in Chapter Seven.

Quoting Baptista et al. (2007:57), 'in CV[C] and GB (Peck 1988:259, Kihm 1994:91), habitual aspect is indicated by the preverbal marker *ta*.' *Ta* is the most multifunctional CVC TMA marker. It performs a variety of functions within the language's verbal system. It can indicate tense and aspect simultaneously, and as well as mood.

The focus in this chapter is on the habitual function of the marker *ta*. In addition, some analyses of the other functions of *ta* are presented. It indicates habitual present with non-stative verbs as will be shown in section 4.1, while with most CVC stative verbs *ta* indicates the future tense, as shown in 4.2. *Ta* can combine with other TMA markers and yield different grammatical readings depending on the other markers involved in the combination. For instance *ta* can combine with *–ba* to indicate habitual past or counterfactual situations as in section 4.3 and it appears in (habitual) present and past passive constructions as in 4.4. Furthermore, when *ta* follows certain verbs (e.g. verbs of perception), it can indicate progressive aspect but this function of *ta* will not be discussed until Chapter Five.

4.1 Habitual present

Baptista (2002:77) points out that ***ta*** 'is both a *realis* and *irrealis* marker…. as a *realis* marker, ***ta*** fulfils a variety of functions.' It can indicate the habitual present but this happens only when ***ta*** modifies non-stative or dynamic verbs as shown in (96) below, or at least verbs which can behave as non-stative verbs in CVC. In this chapter, I follow Baptista (2002) in giving markers the general gloss (TMA) since the point is to work out what meaning these markers have in particular sentences rather than to label each marker with a single, unchangeable gloss. The only exception is the marker *–ba* which is always glossed as (ANT) since it always indicates anterior tense.

(96) *Nu* ***ta*** *anda a pe.*
 1PL TMA walk by foot
 'We go [there] on foot.'

Furthermore the context can disambiguate the function of ***ta***. Sometimes, in the absence of a clear context, only adverbials like *tudu dia* 'every day', *senpri* 'always', etc. can help to show that the construction [***ta*** + verb] indicates habitual present, as shown in (97).

(97) *Algen* ***ta*** *mesti un tistonsinhu* ***tudu dia***.
 one TMA need one little money every day
 'People need a little money every day.'

Without these adverbials, the same sentence may have a future reading as will be discussed in section 4.2 below.

4.2 Future tense

Baptista (2002:79) points out that '***ta*** is not sensitive to stativity, it can co-occur with stative verbs.' In addition, notice that it unambiguously indicates future when it occurs with stative verbs as shown in (98).

(98) *Algen ....* ***ta*** *bira* ***ta*** *ba Vila di midjor manera.*
 one TMA turn TMA go Vila of better way
 'People will be able to go to Vila in a better way.'

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When it occurs with nonstative verbs, only the context or the use of adverbials like *manhan* 'tomorrow', *otu anu* 'next year', *sigunda fera* 'next Monday' etc. can give it a future reading as shown in (99).

(99) **Apartir di   vinti   di Otubru** *....nu   ta   purba midju dentu Fazenda.*
    from   [of] twenty of October   1PL TMA taste   corn   into   Fazenda
    'By October 20th we will eat corn in Fazenda.'

In the absence of adverbials, a serial verb construction (of a string of two immediately adjacent verbs) can be used. Thus, in certain context the inclusion of directional verbs like *ben* 'come' or *bai* 'go' between **ta** and the main verb [**ta** +*ben* +V] yields a distant future reading as well, as shown in (100) below.

(100) *Bu   ta   ben   ganha   kanpionatu.* (BT)
    2SG TMA come   win   championship
    'You will win the championship.'

In other contexts, the same construction referred to in (100) above, can yield a (present or past) habitual reading, as shown in (101) below.

(101) *N   ta   lenbra   rabidantis…. ta   ben   kunpra pexi na banhera.*
    1SG TMA remenber peddlers   TMA come buy   fish   in bathtub
    'I remember that peddlers used to come and buy fish in a tub. '

Ta can occur in other types of serial verb constructions yielding a progressive reading as shown in (102) below. For further analysis of progressivity involving **ta**, see the next chapter (cf. Jacobs 2011:173-183).

(102) *E   ta   kontinua   ta   falta skola.* (BT)
    3SG TMA continue   TMA   miss school
    'S/he will continue missing lessons.'

4.3 Habitual past or counterfactual situations

4.3.1 Habitual Past

The construction [**ta** + V –**ba**] indicates past habitual events, as shown in (103).

(103) *N* **ta** *linpa**ba*** *nha* *karu* *tudu* *dia*. (BT)

    1SG   TMA   clean+ANT   POSS.1SG   car   every day

    'I used to clean my car every day.'

However in certain constructions with dynamic verbs, **ta** may be left out and only the verb with the suffix **-ba** can yield a past habitual reading. For instance in two contrastive clauses linked by the conjunction *mas* 'but' **ta** may be omitted in the first clause as shown in (105).

    Consider sentence (104) below:

(104) *N* *kore**ba*** *di* *bo*. (BT)

    1SG   run+ANT   of   you

    'I used to run from you.'

Pratas (2007:83) points out that **-ba** is the only morpheme needed to mark past habitual with statives. In addition, it is important to note that non-stative verbs with the suffix *–ba* can indicate past habitual as shown in (104) above and in (105) below. In (104) no further context is provided, which may sound strange to a non-native speaker of CVC but it is not. A contrastive clause can be added in order to make it more understandable as shown in (105) below.

(105) *N* *kore**ba*** *di* *bo* *mas* *N* *ka* **ta** *kori mas*.(BT)

    1SG run+ANT of   2SG   but   1SG   NEG   TMA   run more

    'I used to run from you but [now] I do not run anymore.'

It occurs when contrasting past habits with present/future habits although sometimes there is no need for the second clause to show this. For the context or even the rising intonation of the verb in the first clause helps to indicate that it was a habit in the past and that it does not happen anymore. This use of *–ba* to mark past habitual is very similar to the use of the Portuguese imperfect (*pretérito imperfeito*, suffixing *–va* to verbs ending in *-ar*) which can have a past habitual reading.

    Baptista (2002:90), in her analysis of the characterization of **ta** in Silva (1985) and Suzuki (1994), points out that '**ta** is not a nonpast marker per se.' In addition I would say that **ta** can occur by itself triggering a past habitual reading in a series of multiple independent clauses (sentences), in which the first clause contains a verb in the past as

shown in (106), and in embedded clauses where the verb of the main clause is past. However, in the latter case *ta* usually has a progressive reading.

(106) *Es **ta** ben**ba** ...kasa nu **ta** kumi,… **ta** bebi,... **ta** parodia*.(BT)

    3PL TMA come+ANT   house 1PL TMA eat   TMA drink   TMA party

    'They used to come to [my] house and we used to eat, drink and have a party.'

4.3.2 Counterfactual situations

The construction [**ta** + V-**ba**] can also be used in conditional clauses denoting a hypothetical past or counter-factual situation as in (107).

(107) *N **ta** ganha**ba** txeu dinheru si N **ta** djuga**ba** basketbol*.(BT)

    1SG TMA win+ANT much   money   if   1SG TMA play+ANT basketball

    'I would have earned a lot of money if I had played basketball.'

Concerning conditional clauses, as Baptista (2002:90) notes, 'the use of   –**ba** in the first clause may trigger agreement in the second clause ....This is not, however, obligatory, as illustrated by the grammaticality of' (108) below:

(108) *E ka **ta** kreba pa nu **ubi** tudu livru*. (Baptista 2002:91)

    He NEG TMA   want+ANT   for CL hear   all   book

    'He did not want us to listen to the whole book.'

4.4 *Ta* in passive constructions

In CVC (Santiago variety), the formation of passive voice constructions is slightly different from English or Romance languages like CVC's lexifier, Portuguese. In CVC only the *-du* form of the verb (corresponding to a past participle in Portuguese), is sufficient to indicate an (im)personal past passive voice with no need for an auxiliary as in most western European language like Portuguese or English, as shown in (109):

(109) *Fazenda ....e mas antigu ki Txon Bon ki povoa**du** apartir di 1936*.

    Fazenda   is more ancient than Txon Bon that populated   from   [of] 1936

    'Fazenda is older than Txon Bon, which was founded in 1936.'

Brito (1887:647) points out that in CVC 'there are verbs which are used without **ta** in the indicative present, both in the active and passive voice; however, this omission is not categorical; it happens only in certain cases [and with certain verbs]' (my translation) as illustrated by the passive sentence in (110) below.

(110) *Ĩ* kre**du**. (Brito 1887:647)

    1SG wanted

    'I am esteemed' or 'I am loved.'

Ta can be used in personal passive constructions, with a verb with the suffix **–du** (indicating the present passive), yielding a habitual reading as in (111) below. When **–da** is suffixed to the verb instead of **–du** it indicates the (habitual) past passive with a counter-factual meaning as in (112).

(111) *Katita ki N* **ta** *txoma**du** dentu di kel rubera li.*

    Katita that 1SG TMA called inside of DEM gulley here

    'Katita is what I am called around here.'

(112) *N* **ta** *da**da** txeu prizenti kantu ki mi era pikinoti.*(BT)

    1SG TMA given very presents when that 1SG-NONCL was little

    'I was given many presents when I was a child.'

As Quint (2000:234) noted, in CVC passive constructions the agent is never expressed. When there is a need to identify the agent, the active voice is used instead. Furthermore the construction [**ta** + V-**du**] does not always indicate passive. As in most languages, in CVC there are also verbs which cannot be used in the passive voice, but they may be preceded by **ta** and **–du** can be suffixed to them yielding a habitual or future reading. This construction does not indicate passivity with certain verbs which are not dynamic (stative verb) like *sta* 'be', *mora* 'live', *sabi* 'know' etc. as shown in (113) below. In this case the subject of the verb is sometimes indefinite.

(113) *Ta* *sta**du** li na kasa tudu dia dimingu.*(BT)

    TMA been here in house every day Sunday

    'There is [usually] somebody at home on Sundays.'

Note that the meaning of habituality is yielded by the adverbial *tudu*. If *tudu* is left out, the sentence in (113) above could have a future reading, as illustrated in (114) below.

(114) ***Ta*** *sta**du** li na kasa dia dimingu.* (BT)
     TMA been here in house day Sunday
     'There will be somebody home next Sunday.'

In addition, ***ta*** may also be used in agentless passive constructions when it is not important to state or to know who performs the action and when giving instructions about how to perform a task, as shown in (115):

(115) ***Ta*** *spera**du** agu ferbi primeru, dipos* ***ta*** *po**du** midju.* (BT)
     TMA waited water boil first, then TMA put corn
     'First, water is left to boil and then some corn is added.'

It is important to stress that the use of ***ta*** in passive constructions always has a habitual reading unless there is an overt indication of future time by the use of adverbs which intrinsically indicate the future like *manhan* 'tomorrow' etc.

Historically, the suffix *–du* is derived from the Portuguese past participle suffix *–do* and the suffix *–da* is a fusion of the suffix *–du* with the anterior marker *–ba* (cf. Lang 2004, Quint 2000: 234-235 and Bartens 2000:50).

4.5 Conclusions

To summarise, let me recapitulate the main functions and syntactic behaviour of the CVC TMA marker ***ta***. In the realm of habituality in CVC, the main topic of this chapter, it is crucial to have the preverbal marker ***ta***. ***Ta*** can take a habitual reading even in the passive voice. However, as shown above, [***ta*** + V] does not always indicate habitual aspect or present tense. The context of utterances and their adverbials are also useful in determining when ***ta*** indicates habitual aspect and when it does not.

As noted throughout this chapter, the morpheme ***ta*** indicates tense and/or aspect. As a tense marker it can indicate present or future depending on the type of verb ***ta*** modifies. When it modifies non-stative verbs, it usually indicates present but some adverbials and the context can yield a future reading when added to a verb phrase

which includes *ta*. With stative verbs *ta* indicates future tense; however, there are some exceptions due to the ambiguity of some stative verbs (like *gosta* 'like', *kredita* 'believe', *txera* 'smell', *kria* 'grow' etc.) that sometimes behave like non-stative verbs in CVC.

As an aspect marker *ta* indicates habituality. It can appear in sentences with past habitual meaning as when it co-occurs with the anterior marker *–ba*, yielding the construction [*ta* + V-*ba*]. However, *ta* can be left out in some such utterances, as shown in (104) above. *Ta* can also be omitted in a series of sentences in which the verb of the first sentence is understood as past, or marked as past by taking the suffix *–ba* or its equivalent and [*ta* + V] appears in subsequent or sentences in the series. Furthermore, note that *ta* can also indicate progressivity depending on the context, as will be shown in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

PROGRESSIVE MARKERS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the progressive aspectual markers *sta, sta ta*, *sta na*, *sata* and *ata* as they are used in Santiago Island. However, the emphasis is on the so-called inland markers *sata* and *ata*. The latter is used predominantly in Tarrafal. In addition, as in Chapter Four, most examples given throughout the present chapter are taken from a conversation tape recorded in Fazenda, a small fishing village in the district of Tarrafal (cf. Appendix).

The focus on the inland markers is due not only to the fact that they need more detailed analysis but also because as Reis (2008:150) points out, in Cape Verde there are more than nine varieties of creole including all the interior varieties of each inhabited island. In effect, the speakers of CVC distinguish between the so-called *kriolu fundu*, which is used in rural areas, especially in family contexts, and the *kriolu lebi*, which is used in urban areas.

The aim here/in this chapter is to provide an overview of the use of progressive markers in Santiago, drawing on their description in the literature on CVC to draw attention to the important role of the particles *ta* and *na* when they indicate progressivity in the Santiago regional varieties. Thus, an overview of what is said in the literature on the etymology and origins of CVC progressive markers as well as some further remarks is given in section 5.1. Section 5.2 highlights the semantic and syntactic use of the markers in Praia (5.2.1) and in Tarrafal (5.2.2). Section 5.3 provides a detailed analysis, based on Jacobs (2011), on the role and use of the marker *ta* when indicating progressivity (*ta* +V complement), noting when *ta* can be replaced by the particle *na*. Finally, section 5.4 offers some final remarks and conclusions.

5.1 The origins of the CVC progressive markers

Scholars have been divided about the etymology and origins of CVC verbal markers in general. Some scholars consider the progressive markers in Santiago to be variants of each other while others take them to be remnants of the lexifier language, Portuguese. Both of these positions could be correct.

Concerning the marker **ta**, as Almada (1961:108) points out, it is a reduction of Portuguese *estar*. She points out that 'some scholars like B. da Costa and Custódio Duarte [(1886)], Vasconcelos [(1898)], and more recently, Baltazar Lopes da Silva [(1957)] consider that **ta** could be a variant of **sta**' (Almada 1961:110/ my translation).

Consider the sentence (116) below, which is from a Barlavento variety (from São Nicolau Island):

(116) *ǝm*   **ta**   **ta**   *labá*. (Almada 1961:110)
    1SG   PROG   wash
    'I am washing [myself].'

It corresponds to (117) below in the Santiago variety. Note that in the latter variety, the first **ta** is replaced by **sta**, which is considered to correspond and come from the Portuguese periphrastic construction with [*estar a* + infinitive (INF)] when indicating progressivity as shown in (117).

(117) *ĩ*   **sta ta**   *labá* [sic]. (Almada 1961:110)
    1SG   PROG   wash
    'I am washing [myself].' [Pt.: *eu estou a lavar-me*.]

According to Holm (2000:181), 'the marker **ta** in Cape Verdean CP, Papiamento CS and Palenquero CS comes from Portuguese or Spanish *está* often pronounced /ta/ in informal speech in both the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America' (cf. Quint 2000:257-258 for further information about the origin of **ta** and other CVC markers).

Pina (2006:70, my translation) points out that 'authors like Almada (1961) and Silva (1984) consider that both morphemes **sa** and **ta** are reduced forms of **sta**.' He also notes that nowadays the morpheme **sa** is thought to be a reduced form of **sta** but the same does not apply to the morpheme **ta**. The existence of the Tarrafal (inland marker) **sata** (or **sa ta**) supports Pina's assertion since it corresponds semantically to Praia **sta ta**. Furthermore, Pratas (2007: 63) points out that 'this morpheme [(**sata**)] is assumed to be phonologically derived from **sta ta**.'

Note that there is no uniformity concerning the spelling of the inland marker **sata**. For some authors like Suzuki 1994, Bartens 2000, Pereira 1999 and 2000, Lang et al. 2002 etc. spell it as two morphemes (**sa ta**) while others like Quint 2000 and 2008, Pratas 2007, Jacobs 2011 etc. spell it as a single morpheme (**sata**) but in both cases

the marker has a single function. Jacobs (2011:182) presents an interesting analysis on this progressive marker that might justify both spellings. He points out that 'we can then hypothesize a process in which a frequent use of the periphrasis [*sa + ta…. + V*] 'to be V-ing' led to the cliticization of *sa* to *ta...* and the crystallization of *sata* as a synthetic progressive aspect marker in SCV, while *sa* did not survive as an autonomous copula verb, at least not in Santiago' (cf. Rougé 2004:261 for a similar point).

I decided to use the latter spelling (***sata***) since the point here is to present a semantic analysis of the markers' functions and so avoid confusion due to all the variations in CVC progressive markers. However, the spelling ***sa ta*** seems to be more logical since the last part of the quotation from Jacobs (2011:182) overlooks the existence of an autonomous copular verb or marker ***sa*** in CVC which is used in Praia. Curiously, the existence of ***sa*** reinforces Jacobs (2011:80) view that 'locative copulas are regularly selected as auxiliaries for periphrastic progressives (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994:129-131; Heine & Kuteva 2002:276-82).'

Furthermore, as Jacobs (2011:80) points out, 'the true progressive aspect marking morpheme in these complex markers [compound progressive CVC markers] is *ta*, while the first morpheme is a locative copula with auxiliary function.' It is believed that ***sa*** is a variant of ***sta*** from the Portuguese verb *estar* and furthermore, ***ta*** corresponds to the Portuguese preposition *a* (cf. section 5.3).

Moreover, in relation to the three progressive markers: ***sta, sta ta*** and ***sata***, Jacobs (2011: 317) stresses that 'there is no agreement on how these three variants correlate semantically and etymologically'. He also notes that 'Lang (2009) sees ***sta*** as a reduction of ***sata***, others rather take ***sata*** to be a variant of ***sta ta*** , and yet others analyze ***sta ta*** as a phonetic variant of ***sta*** (eg. Suzuki 1994, in Baptista 2002: 93)'.

Jacobs (2011:325) notes that 'the synchronic use of ***sa*** as a copula in Casamance has only been documented by Bal (1985)'. This statement reinforces the existence of ***sa*** as a copula and as a progressive marker in CV and leads to the hypothesis of its being borrowed from Casamance to Cape Verde or vice versa since both of them belong to the Upper Guinea group of Portuguese creoles and people from each place can communicate with each other with a high level of intelligibility. I think this is evidence that ***sa*** is a phonological variant of the marker ***sta***, used in Praia; this reinforces the likelihood that the inland marker ***sata*** is a phonological variant of ***sta ta***.

Considering the other inland progressive marker *ata* (or *aita* – in the district of Santa Catarina) which predominates in Tarrafal, its etymology remains unclear. However, Lang et al (2002:10, my translation) speculate that the *a* which is prefixed to *ta* is a variant of *ai*, which in its turn has the function of *sa* (cf. Jacobs 2011:182-183 for more information about the etymology of *ata*/*aita*).

5.2 Santiago progressive markers

The analysis of CVC markers is a rather complex area. It is still something of a puzzle, due to the markers' multifunctionality, their combinations and their regional variants. Nowadays in Santiago, the TMA markers in general are not used in any locality exclusively. This is due to people having constantly moved around the island for professional, educational and other reasons. For instance a considerable number of heads of families in Praia are people from the interior of Santiago but moved to the capital city for a better job. They bring their way of talking with them, which might or might not be influenced by the way people talk in Praia. That is why you can find many people in Praia using the progressive marker *sata*, from the inland.

On the other hand you can also find people from Tarrafal uttering sentences in which they use the progressive markers *sta* **(ta)** or *sta* **(na)** as shown in (126). Note that the morpheme *sta* can be either a marker or a copula like the Portuguese verb *estar*, as show in (118) and (119) respectively.

(118) *N sta rapara ma li baxu ma ten un baia.*
  1SG PROG check that here down that have one bay
  'I see (I am seeing) that there is a bay down here'

(119) *Kaminhu sta mau, mariadu.*
  Way   COP bad, not well
  'the road is in a bad condition'

Lang et al. (2002:670) states that '*sa* is always followed by the particle *ta*, which express durativity' (my translation). However, I would say that in Praia, although its occurrence is restricted, *sa* can stand alone with the same meaning and function of *sta* (and can also occur without *ta*) as shown in (120). As a marker, *sta* like the other inland markers *sata* and *ata* (or *aita*), can indicate progressive aspect in the present or future tense, as shown in (121), with the context indicating the meaning.

(120) *Pedru* **sta/sa** *fazi si trabadju di kaza.* (BT)

    Peter   PROG (or FUT)   do   POSS.3SG   work   of   house

    'Peter is doing his homework' or 'Peter will do his homework'

(121*) N* **sta/ sata/ ata** *linpa mesa.* (BT)

    1SG   PROG (or FUT)   clean   table

    'I am cleaning the table.' or 'I will clean the table.'

The inclusion of an adverb of time (except the adverb *gosi li* 'right now') makes the sentences (120) or (121) unambiguously indicating future, as shown in (122) below:

(122) *N* **sta**/ **sata** / **ata** *linpa mesa manhan.* (BT)

    1SG   FUT   clean   table   tomorrow

    'I am going to/ will clean the table tomorrow.'

    In order to make the use of these markers clearer, I think that more analysis is needed concerning their progressive function and that a closer examination of the use of the particles **ta** and **na** is also needed (cf. section 5.3 below).

5.2.1 Praia progressive markers: *sta (sa)* and *sta ta*

    Both *sta (*or *sa)* and *sta ta* indicate progressivity. However, *sta ta* or sometimes *sta na* (which is commonly used in Tarrafal) as shown in (123) indicate progressive only, while *sta (*or *sa)* can also have a future reading as shown in (120) above.

(123) *Nu* **sta na** *rasmunda, tanbe nu* **sta na** *tra flor di miju.*

    1PL   PROG   reweed   also   1PL   PROG   take flower from corn

    'We are reweeding [= doing the second weeding since the rains]; we are also taking the tassles off the corn [= maize]'

    Baptista (2002:92) says that

according to Silva's (1990) analysis, **sta ta** and **sta** differ in their degrees of emphasis on continuity of progression. If this is a systematic difference between them, then one would expect that it would also hold when they are combined with the anterior marker –**ba**'.

However, when indicating past progressive with the anterior marker **–ba** suffixed to the marker **sta**, the particle **ta** must be included, as shown in (124a) and by the ungrammaticality of (124b), whereas when **–ba** is suffixed to the verb only, the particle **ta** is not included, as shown in (125).

(124) a. *Maria*   ***staba***   ***ta***   *djuda*   *si*   *mai*. (BT)
      Maria   PROG1+ANT PROG2 help   POSS.3SG   mother
     'Maria was helping her mother'

    b.*Maria   ***staba***   *djuda*   *si*   *mai*. (BT)
      Maria   PROG+ANT   help   POSS.3SG mother

(125*) Maria* ***sta***   *djuda**ba***   *si*   *mai*. (BT)
    Maria PROG   help+ANT   POSS.3SG   mother
    'Maria was helping her mother.'

Another syntactic difference between **sta *(sa)*** and **sta ta** is that the cluster **sta ta** allows some discontinuity as in (124a) above, while **sta** does not allow any word or the anterior marker **-ba** before the verb it modifies, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (124b) above. In other words, as Baptista (2002) points out, it is possible for an adverbial like *senpri* 'always' (or *li* 'here', *la* 'there', *so* 'only', *kuazi* 'almost'…) to intervene between **sta** and **ta** as shown in (126), while with **sta** alone , these adverbials might come after the verb it modifies but never between **sta** and the verb as shown in (127a). Note that the sentences in (126) and (127a) also have habitual readings by the inclusion of the adverbials *senpri* 'always' and *tudora* 'every hour' which indicate habituality intrinsically.

(126*) El*   *sta*   *senpri*   *ta*   *kumi*. (Baptista 2002:93)
   3SG   TMA   always TMA   eat
   'S/he is always eating'

(127) a. E   *sta*   *kumi*   *tudora*. (BT)
   3SG   PROG   eat   every hour
   'S/he is always eating'

b. *E   **sta**   *tudora*   *kumi*. (BT)

   3SG   PROG   every hour   eat

5.2.2 Tarrafal progressive markers

Most people from Tarrafal would use the markers **ata** or **sata** in progressive situations. However, **ata** as shown in (128) predominates in Tarrafal.

(128) *Nu*   **ata**   *spera pa   kanbra   konpo-nu   kaminhu.*

   1PL PROG wait for   town hall   repair-CL.1PL way

   'We are waiting for the town hall to repair the road for us'

Syntactically, all three of these progressive markers (**sata**, **ata** and **aita**) have a common point when indicating the past progressive. In other words, the anterior marker **–ba** is suffixed to the verb but not to the progressive markers (**sata**, **ata** and **aita**), as shown in (129a), however; this suffixation can occur on the marker **sta ta**, as shown in (124a) above.

(129) a. *Sima N*   **ata**   *fla**ba**   nho, populason di li   ta   vivi asi.*

   as   1SG PROG say+ANT you, population of here   HAB live so

   'As I was telling you, people from here live that way'

   b. *Sima   N   *ataba   fla   nho , populason di   li   ta   vivi asi.*

   as   1SG TMA+ANT   say   you, population of here HAB live so

Like the Praia markers **sta** and **sta ta**, the Tarrafal markers **sata** and **ata** (or **aita** − in the villages of the district of Santa Catarina) can have other functions besides indicating progressivity: they can also have a future reading as illustrated in (130) below:

(130) *Nu*   **ata**   *fasi   festa*. (BT)

   1PL   FUT   go   party

   'We are going to/will give a party.'

However, when indicating progressivity, the markers **sata** and **ata** (or **aita**) behave different from **sta** syntactically. In other words, as shown in the previous subsection, **sta** only allows the particle **ta** to intervene before the verb it modifies, becoming **sta ta** +V or allowing both an adverbial and **ta** in the combination **sta** + ADV + **ta** + V, as

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shown in (126) above. However, the inland markers *sata* and *ata* or *aita* do not allow any word or the marker *–ba* to come before the verb they modify, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (131a-c) below:

(131) a. *N   *sataba/ *ataba   munda.*
       1SG   PROG+ANT   weed

   b. *Katita *sata/*ata senpri txora.*
      Katita   PROG   always cry

   c. *Nu   *sata/*atata   piska.*
      1PL   PROG   fish

5.3 *Ta* as a progressive marker

Jacobs (2011: 316) points out that 'CV[C] *ta* is in fact fully operative as a preverbal progressive aspect marker' as illustrated in (132). He examines the synchronic use of CVC *ta* as a progressive marker but only in progressive complement clauses, i.e. after objects of perception verbs, after adverbs of place like *li* 'here', *la* 'there' etc. (cf. Jacobs 2011: 319-321).

(132) *N   odja-l   ta   salta paredi.* (BT)
    1SG see- CL.3SG   PROG jump wall
     'I saw him/her jumping over the wall'

The marker *ta* behaves similarly to the Portuguese preposition *a* in the periphrastic construction *estar a* + V (eg. Pt: *ela esta a falar Inglês* 'she is speaking English.'). However, it is worth stating that the CVC (Santiago variety) progressive *ta* (when used alone without the preceding *sta)* is only used in [*ta* + V] complements constructions in complex predicates such as complements of perception verbs as in (133a), as adverbial complements as in (133b) or as verb complements expressing simultaneity of events in which *ta* appears only in the second and/or the subsequent events in the discourse, as illustrated in (133c).

(133) a. *N   obi-u   ta/na   kanta.* (BT)
      1SG   hear-CL.2SG   PROG   sing

'I heard you singing'

b. [*N*   *sta*]   *li* ….   *ta*   *branbran.*
1SG   COP   ADV   PROG   fight
'I am here fighting to survive.'

c. *E*   *ata*   *kumi,*   *ta*   *badja*   *funana*. (BT)
3SG   PROG   eat   PROG   dance   funana
'I am eating and dancing *funana*.'

Note that as Jacobs (2011:79) points out,

in SCV (and possibly in other varieties of CV), *na* can occasionally replace *ta* in progressive [*ta* + V] complements (J. Lang 2000:27; 2002:e.g. 557,580, 675, 717, 776); significantly, however, the markers canonically presented as CV's primary progressive markers (e.g. *sata*, *sta* and *sta ta*) cannot (cf. Quint 2010:141).

In addition, the particle *ta* in *sta ta* can also be replaced by the particle *na*, as shown in (134a) and in complement of perception verbs as shown in (133a) above.

(134*)* a. *Manel*   *sta*   *na*   *kori*   *ta*   *djata*. (BT)
Manel   PROG   run   PROG   scream
'Manel is running and screaming'

b. *Manel*   *sta*   *ta*   *kori*   *ta*   *djata*. (BT)
Manel   PROG   run   PROG   scream
'Manel is running and screaming'

Furthermore, it is important to note that when indicating progressivity, ***sta na*** can be followed by a verb (135a) or a noun (135b) while ***sta ta*** is always followed by a verb. In other words, a verb (or a verb phrase) can be replaced by a noun after ***sta na*** without changing the meaning (progressive) of the sentence, as shown in (135b) which is semantically equivalent to (135a), whereas after ***sta ta*** this substitution is not allowed, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (136). In other words, note that it is possible to use ***na*** as a preposition followed by a noun functioning as its object, while with ***ta*** there is not this possibility.

(135) a. *E   sta na   durmi*. (BT)

     3SG   PROG   sleep

     'S/he is sleeping.'

   b. *E   sta   na   sonu*. (BT)

      3SG   COP   PREP   sleep

      'S/he is sleeping.'

(136) *E   * sta ta   sonu*. (BT)

     3SG PROG   sleep

In (135b) above the verb *durmi* 'sleep' is replaced by the noun *sonu* 'sleep' but the meaning is the same. Note that in English the word *sleep* can be either a verb and a noun depending on context while there is not this possibility in CVC (eg. *sonu* 'sleep' is always a noun and *durmi* 'to sleep' is always a verb). Other CVC words can be either, such as *fala* 'speak' or 'talk' from the Portuguese *falar* can be either a verb and a noun without any phonological, phonetic or morphological change.

   However, note that the markers *sata*, *ata* (*aita*) cannot take the particle *na*. In other words, in discourse indicating simultaneous events in which the inland markers *sata*, *ata* (*aita*) are used in the first clause, as shown in (133c) above, *ta* cannot be substituted by the particle *na* in the subsequent clauses. In addition, *ta* can also be used in series of progressive clauses in which the first clause contains the other progressive markers (*sata, ata, aita, sta, sta ta* and *sta na*) in order to avoid the repetition of the same markers and the use of the conjunction *i*. The subject in the clauses which contain *ta* can be dropped, as shown in (137).

(137*) N ata kumi , ta bebi   ta parodia*.(=*N ata kumi N ta bebi (i)N ta parodia*)

   1SG PROG eat   PROG drink PROG feast

   'I am eating, [I am] drinking and [I am] partying.' (BT)

   The particle *ta* (in *sta ta*) is sometimes optional, as shown in (138). The progressive *ta* can also be optional. This happens when *ta* is the complement of verbs like *komesa* 'begin', *kontinua* 'continue' etc., as shown is (139) and (140) below:

(138) *E   sta   (ta)   kumi*. (BT)

     3SG   PROG   eat

'S/he is eating. '

(139) *E   komesa* (***ta***)   *kumi*. (BT)
     3SG   begin   PROG   eat
     'S/he began eating (and went on eating).'

(140) *E   kontinua*   (***ta***)   *fasi   barudju*. (BT)
      3SG   continue   PROG   do   noise
      'S/he kept on making noise.'

 Note that the main verbs above suggest continuity intrinsically. Naturally a process or a situation in progress has at least a beginning point (and may have middle and end points) and I think that logically the omission of *ta* after these verbs avoids redundancy and leads to a serial verb construction within the predicate.

5.4 Conclusions

   As can be seen throughout the present chapter, the progressive aspect is one of the most challenging categories within the CVC verb system. It is an area which is marked by great diversity due to the markers' semantic and syntactic behaviour and regional variation as well. Furthermore, the existence of the inland markers (*sata*, *ata*, and *aita*) contributes to cast further light on the etymology and uses of CVC progressive markers in general.

   Their etymology remains uncertain mainly in the case of compound markers (*sta ta*, *sata* or *sa ta*, *ata* and *aita*) which are considered to indicate progressivity canonically. Furthermore, scholars are divided concerning the markers' origin; however, there is a convergence of opinion regarding the origin of the marker *ta* in the Portuguese verb *estar*. Note that *sta ta* is also considered to come from the Portuguese periphrasis *estar a*. Here the particle *ta* corresponds to the Portuguese preposition *a* as in [*estar a* + V] and the absence of *ta* may trigger future reading. ***Ta*** (as a progressive marker) in complement clauses also corresponds to the Portuguese preposition *a*. Yet it is interesting to note that similar to the English progressive forms constructions 'be + V –ing' or 'be going to + V', they can indicate the future, which also happens in CVC, as shown in (120), (121) and (122) above.

It can be concluded that recourse to the particles *ta* and *na* in addition to *sta* (= *sta ta* and *sta na*, periphrastic markers) helps to clarify the type of progressive meaning intended in the CVC of Santiago. In addition, as noted in (135b) above, a verb can even be replaced by a semantically parallel noun after *sta na* (i.e. *sta na* + noun (N)) but the meaning does not change. In the absence of these two particles, only the context can make clear whether the preverbal marker *sta* expresses progressive aspect, or future tense.

Chapter 6

OTHER MARKERS: -BA, DJA and AL

6.0 Introduction

This chapter concerns the other markers which have not yet been analysed in detail in the present thesis. They are the anterior (ANT) marker *–ba*, the perfective (PFV) marker *dja* and the marker of eventuality *al*. The point here is to analyse their functions and the meanings they yield when used alone rather than in combination with other markers.

Some evidence of their origins are presented in the section on each marker. Thus, section 6.1 is a detailed analysis of *–ba* and the two subsequent sections (6.2 and 6.3) are descriptions of the completive/perfective marker *dja* and the less described modal marker *al* respectively. Note the lack of consensus in labelling these markers among CVC scholars, as shown below.

6.1 The anterior marker *–ba*

The CVC anterior marker *–ba* is a peculiar syntactic characteristic within the language. This marker exists in other creole languages (like Guinea-Bissau CP and Palenquero CS) but its syntactic and semantic behaviour varies from language to language. For instance, Baptista (2002:83) points out that 'although anterior markers tend to precede the verb in Atlantic creoles, CVC is an exception, as it has a postverbal anterior marker *–ba* which is suffixed to main verbs (and to the auxiliary *sta*).' In addition, Baptista et al. (2007:55) point out that '"the notion of an anterior tense is in relation to the time in focus in the preceding discourse rather than to the time of the utterance (Holm 1988: 151).' Tense is indicated in CVC by the anterior markers *–ba* (Sotavento varieties) or *–va* (Barlavento varieties), and in Guinea-Bissau (GB) by *ba*." The difference lies in the fact that in CVC *–ba* or *–va* only occurs after verbs and they are bound morphemes, whereas in GB, *ba* is a free morpheme which occurs after main and auxiliary verbs, and after adjectives as in (141).

(141) *Si   fijus   **kontenti**- **ba** ku   kil notisia*. (Peck 1988:216 cited in
    3POSS children happy- ANT with that news   Baptista et al 2007:56)
    'His/her children were happy about that news.'

There have been some arguments about the etymological origin of –**ba**. For instance, Silva (1985, 1990) argues that it derived from the Portuguese inflection –*va* for the first and third person singular of the imperfect tense of verbs ending with -*ar*. But Bickerton (1981:81) claims that it is derived from the completive marker *kaba*, present in a number of creoles, itself derived from Portuguese *acabar* 'to finish. Note that Silva's observation which is consistent with Almada's (1961) analysis concerning CVC –**ba**, is more reasonable than Bickerton's claim. First there is a tendency to replace the Portuguese phoneme /*v*/ by /*b*/ in Santiago Creole varieties (e.g. the Portuguese words ***vaca***, *cavalo*, ***vivo*** etc. correspond to ***baka*** 'cow', ***kabalu*** 'horse', ***bibu*** 'alive' respectively in Santiago). Moreover, in CVC *kaba* 'finish' is a verb (not a marker) from *acabar* in Portuguese. In addition, Holm (2008:319) points out that 'there are a few clear-cut cases in which Portuguese inflections survived as such in creoles …. It cannot be ruled out that CV CP –**ba** was at one time a free morpheme like GB CP **ba**, but became an inflection under influence of Portuguese –**va**.'

Lang (2000:54) considers the way anteriority is marked in CVC to be an exotic trace of Santiago Creole varieties. As he points out, the morphemes which express anterior tense (-**ba**) or passive voice (-**du**) can be suffixed to the first verb, as shown in (142) or to the second verb, as shown in (143) or to both verbs in a complex verb phrase which has two verbs such as in a verbal periphrasis with an auxiliary verb plus a main verb, as shown in (144).

(142) *Es   kabába   di   kanta   kántu   N   txiga   li*. (Lang 2000:54)
　　 3PL   finish-ANT of   sing   when   1SG arrive here
　　 'They had finished singing when I arrived here.'

(143) *Es   kába di   kantába   kántu   N   txiga   li*. (ibid.)
　　 3PL   finish of   sing-ANT   when   1SG arrive here
　　 'They had finished singing when I arrived here.'

(144) *Es   kabába   di   kantába   kántu   N   txiga   li*. (ibid.)
　　 3PL   finish-ANT of   sing-ANT   when   1SG arrive here
　　 'They had finished singing when I arrived here.'

It is interesting to note that there is a phonological process going on in all three sentences above. In other words, the suffixing of the anterior marker –**ba** moves the

stress to the syllable right before the suffix *–ba* (i.e. the penultimate syllable) as shown by the use of the grapheme ‹*á*› (used in the ALUPEC spelling system described in chapter one). In addition, note that sometimes a vowel alternation occurs when suffixing *–ba* to CVC verbs. Namely, when *–ba* is suffixed to verbs ending in a thematic vowel *i* (in those verbs which correspond to Portuguese verbs ending in *–er*) the *i* becomes *e* (eg. *fasi* 'do'> *faseba*). For monosyllabic verbs beginning with a bilabial sound (/p/ or /b/) which end in the diphthongs *oi* or *ai*, the *i* is dropped when suffixing *–ba* (eg. *poi* 'put'> *poba* or *bai* 'go'>*baba*), while with other monosyllabic verbs this phenomenon does not occur (eg. *kai* 'fall'> *kaíba*, *sai* 'leave'> *saíba* etc.). Concerning verbs which have the thematic vowel /u/, the /u/ becomes /o/ when *–ba* is added (eg. *konpu* 'repair'> *konpoba*). Note that the stress is always on the syllable or at least on the vowel which precedes *-ba*.

As noted in chapter two above, there are some phonological strategies to mark anteriority in CVC. These strategies consist first in the replacement of the anterior marker *–ba* by the vowel [**a**] (corresponding to the grapheme ‹*á*›) for all the verbs ending in *a* (e.g. *papia* 'speak'>*papiaba* = *papiá*) and the directional verb *bai* 'go'>*baba* = *bá*. Secondly, *–ba* can be replaced by the vowel [ɐ] (corresponding to the grapheme ‹*a*›) when verbs end in other vowel sounds (e.g.: kori 'run'>*koreba* = *korea/koria*, *djongu* 'sleep'>*djongoba* = *djongoa/djongua*, *subi* 'climb'>*subiba* = *subia* etc.).

According to a personal communication from Jürgen Lang, the former phenomenon is due to the loss of the intervocalic *b* which occurs in Santiago varieties (e.g. *kábu* 'place' > *káu*, *bibu* 'alive'> *biu* etc.) and of the subsequent fusion [aɐ] which results in [a] (eg. *papia* 'speak'>*papiaba* = *papia'a* → *papiá*). Note that this happens when the *b* from *–ba* is preceded by ‹*á*› [**a**] as in *papiaba* = *papia'a* → *papiá*, *baba* = *ba'a*→ *bá*, *lababa* = *laba'a* → *labá* etc. The latter phenomenon, in which *–ba* can be replaced by the grapheme *a* [ɐ] happens when *b* is preceded by other vowels (*e*, *i*, *o* or *u*) as in *koreba* = *korea*/*koria*, *djongoba* = *djongua*/*djongoa*, *subiba* = *subia*[16] etc. Note that verbs ending in a nasal (e.g. *ben* 'come' or *ten* 'have') do not undergo the phonological process referred to above.

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[16] Note that when *–ba* is suffixed to the verb *subi* 'climb' which corresponds to the Portuguese verb *subir*, as for all other CVC verbs which correspond to the Portuguese verbs ending in *–ir*, the thematic vowel i does not change to e (*subeba*). The final *-i* in *subi* 'climb' remains when *–ba* is added =

Holm et al. (2000:148-149) points out that 'most of the Atlantic creoles have a verbal marker to indicate a tense anterior to the time in focus; this can correspond to the past, the present perfect or the past perfect in Western European languages, its interpretation often being sensitive to the distinction between stative and non-stative verbs.' In CVC the function of the anterior marker *–ba* varies according to the kind of CVC verbs it modifies. Baptista (2006:94) points out that 'when it suffixes to stative verbs, the utterance yields a simple past tense reading, whereas when it suffixes to a non-stative verb, the interpretation is past-before-past', as shown in (145) and (146) below respectively.

(145) *N   sabeba   si   nomi*. (BT)
    1SG   know +ANT   POSS.3SG   name
    'I knew his name.'

(146) *N   linpaba   karu*. (BT)
    1SG   clean+ANT car
    'I had cleaned [my] car.'

In addition, the anterior marker *–ba* can indicate tense and aspect (habitual) simultaneously when combined with action verbs (cf. sentence (104) in section 4.3.1 above), while with the stative verbs presented in section 3.3 it indicates tense (past) only, as shown in (145) above.

In other words, when suffixed to CVC non-stative verbs *–ba* can convey the notion of duration (habituality) while with stative verbs the notion of habituality (in the past) is only possible by including another marker (i.e the preverbal marker *ta*) , triggering a past habitual reading (but note that *ta* + **V-*ba*** can also indicate counterfactual situations, cf. 4.3.2). Note that (146) above presupposes the existence of a contrastive clause (when *–ba* is suffixed to an action verb), as shown in (147). However, this contrastive clause may or may not be explicit.

(147) *N   linpaba   karu mas dj-e   sta xuxu   otu bes*. (BT)
    1SG   clean+ANT car   but   PFV-CL.3SG   COP dirty   other turn
    'I had cleaned [my] car but it is already dirty again.'

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sub**iba** which can have only one variant *subia*, contrary to all the verbs whose the thematic vowel i corresponds to the Portuguese verbs ending in *–er*.

A clause in which **–ba** is suffixed to an action verb or verbs that suggest change may have an aspectual function indicating that there is no longer the effect of a past action as in (147) above or (past) habituality, as discussed in subsection 4.3.1 above.

6.2 The (completive/perfective) marker *dja*

Dja derives from the Portuguese *já* (the form it takes in Barlavento varieties). It is an aspectual marker rather than a tense marker since its combination with zero forms does not change the tense which the verbs indicate when they are not marked (cf. Quint 2000:261). As Silva (1985, 1990) points out, **dja** indicates that an event has been completed as in (148) but it can also indicate incomplete situations that started in the past and continue up to the moment of speaking (i.e. persistent situations), as in (149). This statement goes with what Comrie (1976, cited in Suzuki 1994:58) points out, 'the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation, expressing a relation between two time points, the time of the state resulting from a prior situation and the time of that prior situation.' Regarding the problem of glossing **dja** as PFV or ADV see the discussion after sentence (155).

(148) **Dja**-*n*   *fazi*   *nha*   *trabadju*   *di*   *kasa*. (BT)
      PFV-CL.1SG   do   POSS.1SG   work   of   home
      'I have already done my homework.'

(149) **Dja**-*n*   *ten*   *un*   *simana*   *na*   *Koimbra*. (BT)
      PFV-CL.1SG   have   a   week   in   Coimbra
      'I have been in Coimbra for a week.'

In a sentence or a clause in which the subject is a clitic, as in (150a) or a pronoun, as in (150b), **dja** must precede the subject, so it has initial position. When the subject is a whole noun phrase (e.g. a name), **dja** occurs between the noun phrase and the verb and it can also be repeated in a clause final position, as illustrated in (151) (cf. Baptista 2002:85).

(150) a. **Dja**-*n*   *fitxa*   *porta*. (BT)
        PFV-CL.1SG   close   door
        'I have already closed the door.'

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b. **Dja**   bu   kebra janela. (BT)

  PFV   2SG   break window

  'You broke the window.'

c. *Bu   **dja**   linpa kamisa.

  2SG   PFV   clean   shirt

(151) *Pala* **dja**   kumi   **dja**. (BT)

  Pala PFV   eat   PFV

  'Pala has already eaten'

Note that **dja** in the final position emphasizes the event or situation. Besides that, it triggers the meaning of anticipation of an action or that an event happened earlier than expected (either in a positive or negative way).

   Consider sentence (152) below:

(152) **Dja**   bu   abri   porta   **dja**. (BT)

  PFV   2SG   open door   PFV

  'You have already opened the door.'

The second **dja** indicates that the door got opened before the expected time or before another event which had been supposed to happen before the opening of the door, as shown in (153) below, by the addition of an adverbial clause (*antis di Manel txiga* 'before Manel's arrival') which may or may not be explicit.

(153) **Dja**   bu   abri   porta   **dja**,   antis   di   Manel   txiga. (BT)

  PFV 2SG open door   PFV before of   Manel   arrive

  'You have already opened the door before Manel's arrival.'

  Silva (1990:155-156) points out that

> when *dja* marks a stative whose zero form takes a nonpast interpretation, …. it signals that the state is in total existence in the present. There is sometimes no indication when the state commenced – only that at the moment of the utterance, the existence of the state is indisputable …. In contrast, when *dja* marks a verb whose zero form takes a past interpretation …. it indicates situations from the past whose result is applicable in the present moment.

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Furthermore, Quint (2000:241, 261) points out that with *verbes forts* (which correspond to stative verbs) *dja* functions as an adverb. Comrie (1976:52) points out that 'the perfect [aspect]….tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation.' Thus, I would point out that when *dja* modifies a verb with a stative reading (since in CVC, there are some verbs which can be stative in one context but non-stative in other context, cf. section 3.3 above), it indicates the result of an earlier situation (or effort) and the state still remains in the present, as shown in (154) or to express an experiential event, following Comrie's terminology of *experiential perfect* which 'indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present'(1976:58), as in (155) below. Whereas with non-stative verbs *dja* indicates that the action is perfective (indicating a completed situation) before the time of speaking, as in (148) above.

(154) ***Dja**-n   sabi   risposta*. (BT)
  PFV-CL.1SG   know   response
  'I already know the answer.'

(155) ***Dja**-n   konxi   Paris*. (BT)
  PFV-CL.1SG   know   Paris
  'I have (already) been to Paris.'

  There is little consensus among scholars concerning the labelling of ***dja***. Baptista (2002:84-85) points out that

> Silva labels *dja* a completive marker and justifies such terminology by arguing that completive places emphasis on the completion or termination of a given action or state, not just that it occurred in the past (Silva 1985:232). Suzuki (1994) noted, however, that in some of the examples in Silva's work, the situation described by the verb is not always completed.

Maurer (2006:199) points out that 'the categorical status of *dja* is probably the most difficult issue in the analysis of the CVC TAM-system: Is it a TAM-marker, an adverb or both? ' Following Suzuki (1994), Baptista (2002:85) labels ***dja*** as a perfective marker 'as it allows a possible continuing relevance of the action or state to the present situation'. Note that as Baptista (2002:86) points out, ***dja*** may assume the function of the adverbial 'now', as shown by the meaning of the first ***dja*** in (156) below:

(156) ***Dja*** *korpu* ***dja*** *sa* *d'idadi*. (Baptista 2002:86)

    Now body PERF is of+age

    'Now, I am old.'

Concerning the labelling of ***dja***, I would follow Baptista (2002:94) and in addition, view it as a perfect (PERF) marker rather than a perfective (PFV) marker or as a completive marker. First because most unmarked CVC verbs (i.e. all action verbs or at least verbs with non-stative behaviour) already trigger the meaning of perfective (as shown in section 3.2 above) and when they are marked by ***dja*** the meaning largely corresponds to that of the English perfect tense plus the adverb *already*. As Quint (2000:41) notes, the occurrence of ***dja*** with stative verbs is restricted (e.g. ***dja*** does not occur with the verb *txoma* 'call' in the literal sense); however, when it modifies stative verbs (or verbs with a stative reading), the meaning may also correspond to the English perfect tense plus *already* or prepositions like *for* (indicating a length of time), as shown in (149) above with the verb *ten* 'have'.

6.3 The eventuality marker *al*

In CVC, markers can also have a modal verb function. As Silva (1985, cited in Suzuki 1994: 90) notes, ***al*** refers to 'a wish/hope on the part of a speaker that the person being talked about would act in a particular manner' and expresses the 'speaker's doubt as to whether the act will be carried out in accordance with the speaker's wishes/hopes', as shown in (157).

(157) *E*   ***al***   *pasa na izami*. (BT)

    3SG FUT pass in exam

    '[I hope] s/he passes the exam.'

Here the speaker hopes that the person will pass the exam but the speaker is not sure if he will pass. ***Al*** can also be used in impersonal sentences, for instance when making predictions about the weather, as in (158).

(158) ***Al***   *txobi*   *manhan*. (BT)

    FUT rain tomorrow

    'I hope it rains tomorrow.'

Almada (1961 cited in Suzuki 1994: 94) claims that *"al* has derived from the phonological reduction of Portuguese *há-de*, the third person singular of the *'Present Indicative'* of *haver"*. It is worth noting that *al* expresses probability (a future action less certain than a future formed with the marker *ta+* V). *Al* may indicate an epistemic modality corresponding to the meaning of the English modal verb *must* (cf. Suzuki 1994). For instance, consider sentence (159) below, in which *al* modifies the verb *sta* 'be'.

(159) *Pedru*   ***al***   *sta*   *moku*. (BT)

     Pedru   must   COP   drunk

     'Pedru must be drunk.'

Here in (159), there is some evidence that leads the speaker to suppose that the subject (Pedru) may be drunk, although the speaker does not know for sure if that is really the case. Furthermore, nowadays the use of *al* is rare and the use of *ta* is more frequent when indicating possible future events (cf. Quint 2000:263).

6.4 Final remarks

Comparing the three markers, I would point that they have similar behaviour concerning the indication of tense. In other words, in general they do not change the tense of the verb they modify, except when *–ba* modifies stative verbs (whose zero forms usually indicate present) in that the tense becomes past (= English past tense). As noted above, when *–ba* is suffixed to non-stative verbs the tense remains past (i.e. = English past perfect) and may indicate past habitual in some contexts.

The effect of *dja* regarding tense indication is null. The inclusion of *dja* changes the meaning of zero forms only slightly in that with *dja* the focus is on the time before the time of speaking (i.e. to show that the situation has been completed before now, the moment of speaking) while without *dja* the focus is more general (i.e. it is not important to show that the situation is complete before the time of speaking but just to narrate the meaning).

Concerning the marker *al*, it is worth noting that it indicates probability in general. It can indicate probability about the present (with stative verbs), and about the past or future (with non-stative verbs). However, note that only the context or adjuncts of time can disambiguate whether the probability is about the past or future.

Chapter 7

OTHER COMBINATIONS OF MARKERS

7.0 Introduction

A high level of combinability of markers is an important feature of the CVC verb system. Thus, two, three or more markers can combine in a verb phrase, which affects their meaning, as illustrated in the examples below. However, there are some limits on their combining and sometimes the rules for their position within the combination patterns are strict. For instance the habitual marker *ta* must not be combined with the inland progressive marker *sata* alone, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (160).

(160) *N   * ta   sata   koba txon.*
     1SG   HAB PROG   dig   ground

However, if *ta* is moved to the position after the verb (i.e. *sata* V *ta* V), the sentence is acceptable if another clause is added, indicating simultaneity of events (cf. section 7.2), as shown in (161) below:

(161) *N   sata   koba (txon) ta   bebi   grogu.* (BT)
     1SG PROG   dig   earth PROG drink *grogu*
    'I am digging [the earth] and drinking *grogu*.'

Note that in (161) above, the direct object *txon* 'earth' can be dropped. This is due to most CVC action verbs' ability to be used intransitively when the direct object can be understood from the context.

The organization of the present chapter is based on the markers that appear in the first position in the combination patterns. Some combination patterns have already been presented in the previous chapters (e.g. subsections 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.), so this chapter concerns patterns other than those already presented. This survey is quite exhaustive, listing the combination patterns according to the marker in the first position, (i) *ta* in the first position, as in section 7.1, (ii) *sta ta* or its variants, as in 7.2, (iii) *dja*, as in 7.3 and (iv) *al*, as in 7.4. In addition, it is important to note that some of the combination patterns presented here are not at a simple sentence level (i.e. a single clause), except for the patterns in subsections 7.1.1, 7.3.1, 7.3.3,

7.3.4, 7.4.2 and 7.4.4, which represent single clauses. They represent counterfactual situations, simultaneity of events (cf. section 5.3) or the order of two or more events.

7.1 Combination patterns with *ta* in the first position

7.1.1 *ta + sta ta* + V

The tense and aspectual interpretation that this combination pattern yields is dependent on the context or the use of adverbials which may occur at the end of the clause or between **sta** and the second **ta** since, as noted above, **sta ta** allows some discontinuity (cf. subsection 5.2.1). This is a combination of two durative markers (i.e. habitual and progressive). This pattern yields a present habitual and progressive reading when there is inclusion of adverbs like *tudora* 'every hour', *senpri* 'always', *tudu dia* 'every day' etc. which indicate the frequency of the event (or action), as shown in (162). Whereas with adjuncts of time like *oxi* 'today', *manhan* 'tomorrow' etc. it yields a future progressive reading, as shown in (163).

(162) *E* **ta** *sta ta* *le* *tudu dia* *es* *ora* *li*. (BT)
　　　3SG HAB PROG read every day this hour here
　　　'S/he is [usually] reading every day at this time.'

(163) *N* **ta** *sta ta* *djuga* *bola* *manhan* *es* *ora* *li*. (BT)
　　　1SG FUT PROG play ball tomorrow this hour here
　　　'I will be playing football tomorrow at this time.'

7.1.2 *ta + staba ta* V(-*ba*)

First note that the second **–ba** is optional. This pattern yields past habitual and progressive reading (when an adverbial of frequency is added), as illustrated in (164). Furthermore, it may indicate a counterfactual habitual and progressive situation understood from the context or by the addition of a clause beginning with the conjunction *si* 'if', as shown in (165).

(164) *Maria* **ta** *staba* *ta* *bari*(**ba**) *kasa tudora*. (BT)
　　　Maria HAB PROG1+ANT PROG2 sweep+A NT house every hour
　　　'Maria was [usually] sweeping the house all the time.'

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(165) *Es* **ta** *staba* **ta** *brinka*(**ba**) *si es ka tinha aula mas*.(BT)

    3PL COND PROG1+ANT PROG2 play+ANT if 3PL NEG had   class more

    'They would have been playing if they had not had any more classes.'

7.2 Combination patterns with *sta ta* or *sata* (*ata*) in the first position

7.2.1 *sata*/*ata* + **V** *–ba*

This pattern indicates past progressive as discussed in subsection 5.2.2 above. Besides this, it can indicate counterfactual situations which can be understood from the context or from the inclusion of a contrastive clause, as in (166) or a clause of condition (i.e. a clause beginning with the conjunction *si* 'if'), as in (167).

(166) *Nu* **sata/ata** *ba***ba** *Praia oxi mas nu dexa pa otu dia*. (BT)

    1PL FUT   go+ANT Praia today but 1PL leave for other day

    'We were going to go to Praia today but we left [it] for another day.'

(167) *N* **sata/ata** *ba***ba** *nha kaminhu si bu ka binha*. (BT)

    1SG FUT   go+ANT POSS.1SG way   if 2SG NEG came

    'I was going to go away if you had not come.'

In both sentences above, something happened which prevented the event in the first clauses from taking place. In (166) the cause is not explicit but it can be deduced by the context, i.e. they postponed their travel to Praia because of something else which the speaker did not specify. However, in (167) the cause is explicit (i.e. if the hearer had not come, the speaker would have gone away). Note that in this pattern *sata*/*ata* cannot be substituted by *sta ta* (i.e. **sta ta* + **V-*ba***) because *sta ta* is incompatible with *–ba* suffixed only to the verb.

7.2.2 [*staba ta* + **V** (*-ba*) + *ta* + **V** (*-ba*)] or [*sata* (or *ata*) + **V** *–ba* + *ta* + **V** (*-ba*)]

These two equivalent patterns indicate simultaneity of events in the past, as shown in (168a) and (168b). In addition, note that the pattern [*staba ta* + **V**(*-ba*)] or [*sata* (*ata*) + **V**-*ba*] (which corresponds only to the event that comes first in the pattern) may indicate a counterfactual situation when a clause beginning with *si* 'if' is added, as shown in (169) below or in (167) above respectively.

(168) a. *Gentis*   **staba**   **ta**   *trabadja*(**ba**)   **ta**   *kanta*. (BT)

       People   PROG1+ANT PROG2 work+ANT   PROG   sing

       'People were working and singing.'

   b. *Gentis*   **sata** (or **ata**) *trabadja*(**ba**)   **ta**   *kanta*. (BT)

       People   PROG   work+ANT   PROG   sing

       'People were working and singing.'

(169) *Nu*   **staba**   **ta**   *rasmunda*(**ba**) *si* *txuba* *ben***ba**. (BT)

    1PL   PROG1+ANT PROG2 reweed+ANT   if   rain   come+ANT

    'We would have been re-weeding if it had rained.'

However, it is important to note that (167) indicates a cancellation of a decision taken before. While (169) indicates a possible progressive situation which did not occur but which would have occurred if there had been the proper conditions for it. As noted above, when the first marker is **sata** (or **ata**) instead of the periphrastic marker **sta ta**, the anterior marker **–ba** is suffixed only to the verb.

7.3 Combination patterns with *dja* in the first position

It is important to draw attention to the position of the subject in the combination patterns involving **dja**. As noted in section 6.2, the subject comes after **dja** if it is a subject clitic or a personal pronoun (like *N* 'I', *bu* 'you' etc.) but when it is a name or a common noun it usually precedes **dja**. However, when the marker **al** (which is the only marker that can precede **dja**) does precede **dja** (as in subsections 7.3.3 and 7.4.1.), a subject clitic or a personal pronoun can precede **al** (i.e. subject + **al** + **dja** + V) or follow **dja** (cf. 7.4.1), but when the subject is a name, it never follows **dja** (i.e * **al dja** *Palu kumi aros*).

7.3.1 *dja* + subject + *sta ta* / *sata* + **V**

This pattern yields a present progressive reading highlighting the fact that the event has begun before the time of speaking, as shown in (170) below:

(170) **Dja**-*n*   *sta ta* / **sata**   *studa*. (BT)

    PFV-1SG   PROG   study

'I am already studying.'

7.3.2 *dja* + subject + [*staba ta* + **V**(-*ba*)] or [*sata* (or *ata*) + **V** –*ba*]

These structures yield a past progressive reading indicating that an event had been in progress when another one happened (in the middle) or interrupted it, as shown in (171a) and (171b). Note that the inclusion of *dja* is only to give emphasis to the beginning of the first event which these structures represent. These structures require the existence of another clause indicating the event that happened afterwards or which interrupted what was going on.

(171) a. ***Dj**-e*   **staba**   **ta**   *trabadja**ba**   kantu   N   txiga*. (BT)
         PFV-3SG   PROG1+ANT PROG2   work+ANT   when 1SG   arrive
          'S/he was already working when I arrived.'

     b. ***Dj**-e*   **sata** (or ***ata***)   *trabadja**ba**   kantu   N   txiga*. (BT)
         PFV-3SG   PROG   work+ANT   when   1SG   arrive
          'S/he was already working when I arrived.'

7.3.3 *dja* + subject + *al* + **V** or *al* + *dja* + subject CL + **V**

This structure indicates a logical deduction that an event must have already taken place, as shown in (172).

(172) ***Dj**-e*   **al**   *fasi si*   *trabadju   di   kasa*. (BT)
       PFV-3SG   must   do   POSS.3SG   work   of   house
       'S/he must have already done her/his homework.'

7.3.4 *dja* + subject + *al* + *sta ta*, or *sata* (or *ata*) + **V**

This structure indicates that a situation must (i.e. showing a possibility) already be in progress, as illustrated in (173).

(173) ***Dj**-es*   **al**   *sta ta / sata (or ata)*   *djanta*.(BT)
       PFV-3PL   must   PROG   dinner
        'They may already be having dinner [now]. '

7.3.5 *dja* + subject + *al* + [*staba ta* + **V** (*-ba*)] / [*sata* (or *ata*) + **V-*ba***]

This structure indicates that a situation must have already been in progress before another event happened, as illustrated in (174a) and (174b).

(174) a. ***Dj***-*e*   ***al***   *staba*   *ta*   *trabadja*(***ba***) *kantu* *ki* *N* *txiga*. (BT)

       PFV   must   PROG1+ANT PROG2 work+ANT   when that 1SG arrive
       'S/he must have already been working when I arrived.'

    b. ***Dj***-*e*   ***al***   *sata* (or ***ata***)   *trabadja****ba*** *kantu* *ki* *N*   *txiga*. (BT)
      PFV   must   PROG   work+ANT when   that 1SG arrive
      'S/he must have already been working when I arrived.'

7.4. Combination patterns with *al* in the first position

7.4.1 *al* + *dja* +subject + **V** *–ba*

This structure presupposes that an event had already occurred by the time another one occurred, as shown in (175). In other words, it indicates the order of occurrence of events in that one might have occurred before the other one.

(175) ***Al dja*** *bu* *kebra****ba***   *lanpa* *antis* *di* *bu*   *pai* *sai*(***ba***)   *di kasa*.
    must PFV2SG break+ANT lamp before of POSS.2SG father leave+ANT of house
    'You must have already broken the lamp before your father left home.' (BT)

7.4.2 *al* + *ta* + **V**

This pattern indicates a logical deduction from the speaker's point of view about a present habitual situation. In other words, the speaker is not sure if the event is a habit but s/he supposes that it may be a habit due to some evidence, as shown in (176).

(176) *E*   ***al***   *ta*   *bebi*   *tudu dia*. (BT)
    3SG   must   HAB   drink   every day
    'S/he must drink [alcohol] every day.'

Note that sentence (176) means 's/he must drink every day' not as an obligation but as a habit for which there is some evidence, for instance due to her/his present physical

appearance etc. Furthermore, note that *al* always precedes *ta* when they are combined; the occurrence of *ta* before *al* would make (176) ungrammatical, as shown in (177).

(177) *E   * ta   al   bebi   tudu   dia.*
    3SG   HAB TMA   drink   every   day

Concerning logical deductions about a past habitual situation, *-ba* can be added to the verb in this combination pattern (= *al + ta + V -ba*), as shown in (178) below. However, note that *ta* can also be left out indicating counterfactuality, as shown in subsection 7.4.3.

(178) *E   al   ta   bebeba   tudu   dia.* (BT)
    3SG   must HAB   drink+ANT   every   day
     S/he must have drunk [alcohol] every day.

7.4.3 *al* + V –*ba*

This indicates a deduction about a possible counterfactual situation. In other words, something else happened to prevent another probable event from taking place, as shown in (179).

(179) *E   al   kumeba   si   bu   ka   sanhaba   n-el.* (BT)
    3SG   must eat+ANT   if   2SG   NEG   screech+ANT   in-3SG
    'S/he might have eaten if you had not screeched at her/him.'

In (179) the subject did not eat because another person had screeched at her/him.

7.4.4 *al* + *sta ta* / *sata* (*ata*) + V

This indicates a logical deduction that an event must be in progress (not as an obligation), as shown in (180).

(180) *E   al   sta   ta* / *sata* (or *ata*) *odja   tilivizon.* (BT)
    3SG   must   PROG   watch   television
     'S/he must be watching television. '

In other words, it is probable that the subject (*E* 's/he'*)* is watching television but the speaker is not sure. The speaker has some evidence or s/he is just guessing.

7.4.5 *al* + [*staba ta* + **V** (*-ba*)] / [*sata* (*ata*) + **V** *–ba*]

This indicates a deduction that an event was in progress, as shown in (181a) and (181b).

(181) a. *Marku **al** staba   ta   durmi(**ba**) kantu   ladron entra.*(BT)
  Marku must PROG1+ANT PROG2 sleep+ANT how many thief   come in
  'Marku must have been sleeping when the thief came in.'

  b. *Marku **al**   sata* (or ***ata***) *durmi**ba**   kantu   ladron entra.* (BT)
  Marku   must   PROG   sleep+ANT how many thief   come in
  'Marku must have been sleeping when the thief came in.'

Note that this pattern can also indicate a deduction about a counterfactual progressive situation in the past, as in (182) below:

(182) *Manel **al** staba   ta   ri**ba**   si e   pasa**ba**   na izami.*(BT)
  Manel must PROG1+ANT PROG2 smile+ANT if 3SG pass+ANT   in exam
  'Manel would have been smiling if he had passed the exam.'

7.5 Summary

All CVC (Santiago variety) verbal markers can occur with each other, but there are strict rules for their positions within the combination patterns. However, the markers *al* and *dja* can exchange positions without changing the meaning of the sentence, as shown in subsection 7.3.3. Furthermore, note that *–ba* is involved in all combination patterns which contain a clause beginning with *si* 'if' indicating counterfactual situations and they present a contrast of tense or aspect between two or more events (cf. sentences (179), (182) etc.). In other words, we are dealing with at least bi-clausal sentences when *–ba* is involved. However, as discussed in Chapter Six, some of these clauses may not be explicit but can be understood from the context.

Finally, to conclude it should be noted that the verbs involved in combinations with the progressive markers (*sata*, *ata*, or the periphrastic marker *sta ta*) are usually action verbs. This is due to the general characteristic of stative verbs not to enter into progressive constructions (cf. Quint 2000, Silva 1990 etc.).

Chapter 8

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The main goal of this thesis was to present a coherent analysis of the Cape Verdean Creole TMA markers of Santiago Island's Tarrafal district, focussing on the importance of the context and adverbials of time. This area of syntax is one of the most frequently described in the literature on CVC, but it is also one of the most complex areas of the language's syntax. The present work focuses the most on the influence of the context and time adverbials on the function and meaning of the TMA markers. To the best of my knowledge, it offers the first detailed discussion of the functions of the inland progressive marker *ata*, which is hardly mentioned in previous work.

There is no doubt that Santiago was the cradle of the Cape Verdean nation and language. The contact on the island between the slaves brought from different parts of the African continent (cf. section 1.1) with the European colonizers or their intermediaries favoured the formation of this contact language. Thus, Chapter One outlines the historical facts that contributed to the genesis of CVC and the role of Santiago Island in this process. Besides describing methodological issues, it also discusses the long path of CVC toward recognition as an one of the official languages of the archipelago, presenting some current views of scholars who are in favour of its introduction in the educational system but who are aware that this is a difficult task, and as well as some who are against this for some reasons that seem to me to be less relevant.

Chapter Two offers a review of the most important literature concerning CVC TMA markers. This chapter demonstrates that a considerable number of scholars have written about TMA markers since the second half of the twentieth century. The second chapter is aimed at explaining exactly what scholars have said about CVC TMA markers; it always includes such views and insights even when they contradict what happens in my idiolect (the variety of Tarrafal).

Chapter Three presents an analysis of the functions of CVC verbs without markers, emphasizing the concept of stativity. Thus, CVC verbs are divided into three groups: (i) canonical stative verbs whose unmarked form indicates the present tense; (ii) action verbs whose unmarked form indicates the past; and (iii) verbs which can be stative in one context but non-stative in others. It can be concluded that the traditional

concept of stative versus non-stative verbs is crucial to understanding the tense reference of CVC verbs, although some verbs challenge this division (like stative verbs that do not enter in progressive constructions) in that they switch identity according to the context and the use of time adverbials.

Chapter Four focusses on the habitual function of the marker *ta*. This chapter shows that *ta* is the most multifunctional CVC verbal marker since it can indicate present or future tense (depending on the context and the adverbials of time), as well as habitual present and it can appear in combinations with *–ba* (i.e. *ta* + **V-*ba***) triggering a past habitual reading. Because of this latter function and its indicating (habitual) passive voice in the present or past, the allegation that *ta* is a non-past marker may constitute an overgeneralization.

Chapter Five deals with progressive markers and includes some insights about their etymology. Their origin remains uncertain and they form the most diverse group of markers in that they differ markedly from the capital city (Praia) to the inland districts (Tarrafal, Santa Catarina etc.). Progressive aspect has more verbal markers than any other TMA category in CVC. Besides the regional variations, CVC progressive markers differ from each other syntactically but all of them can also indicate future tense in certain contexts (i.e. indicating a certain future plan). Concerning the periphrastic marker *sta ta* or *sta na*, this chapter highlights the particles *ta* and *na* as the particles which truly indicate progressivity since without them *sta* can indicate future tense in some contexts or be a copula when used alone. Furthermore, it is important to note that *ta* (i.e. after [perception verbs or the verbs *komesa* and *kontinua*] + *ta* + **V**) can indicate progressivity, as shown in section 5.3, while *na* cannot indicate progressivity in CVC but can in GBC.

Chapter Six offers an analysis of the remaining CVC verbal markers (*-ba*, *dja* and *al*). This chapter shows that *–ba* is the only CVC verbal marker which is a suffix (i.e. it can be suffixed to the verbs and to *sta* but never to the inland progressive markers: *sata*, *ata* or *aita*) and that it may move within the verb phrase when indicating past progressive aspect. Furthermore, this chapter highlights for the first time that besides indicating past-before-past (i.e. when suffixed to action verbs) when *–ba* is suffixed to verbs (i.e. action or stative verbs) it can indicate past habitual in certain contexts in which the intonation on the verb is raised (cf. subsection 4.3.1). This insight challenges the earlier supposition that past habitual in CVC could only be indicated by *ta* + **V-*ba***. Concerning *dja*, Chapter Six shows that it is used to give emphasis to

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perfective events and that in some contexts it is an adverb meaning 'now'. Furthermore, *dja* can mean 'so' or 'thus' (cf. lines 113, 119, 122, 125, 155 and 190 in the Appendix), in which case a pause usually occurs after *dja*, even when the subject which follows *dja* is the personal pronoun *N* 'I', but when followed by an enclitic *N* 'I' *dja* emphasises perfective events, as shown above (cf. section 6.2), although this issue needs further research. This chapter also offers for the first time an exhaustive analysis of the morpheme *al*, which is rarely mentioned in the previous literature concerning CVC verbal markers. *Al* is less used nowadays; its main function is to indicate deductions about (i) what may have happened in the past; (ii) what may be happening now; (iii) what may usually happen; and (iv) what may happen in the future (in this last case indicating that the speaker wishes the event to take place). The latter case, which *al* indicates wishes for the future, occurs more frequently than the others.

Chapter Seven shows that all CVC TMA markers can occur with each other in certain combination patterns (within a single clause). However, there are strict rules concerning their position in each pattern or context.

As emphasized throughout this work, in many sentences or verb phrases CVC TMA markers per se do not define tense, aspect or mood neatly. Very often there is a need to consider factors like the context, time adverbials, intonation and pauses in the conversation in order to identify these grammatical categories. In addition, note that the same words which are canonically identified as CVC TMA markers, can, in some context or sentences, be (i) a full verb (i.e. a copula), *sta* 'be', (ii) in the case of *dja*, an adverb meaning 'now', or 'thus', 'so' or 'therefore' (iii) in the case of *al*, which besides indicating future wishes or predicting events, can also mean 'must have' when making deduction or trying to guess that something is true or that something has or had happened, (iv) in the case of *ta*, optional (cf. sentences (90) and (138) in chapters three and five respectively).

CVC verbal markers vary from island to island and as shown throughout this thesis, there is variation within each island. More accentuated syntactic and semantic differences can be found between the cluster of Sotavento and Barlavento islands, more specifically between the varieties of Santiago (the oldest known creole) and São Vicente (which was the last island settled in the archipelago). For a better understanding of the CVC verbal system in general, more detailed research on the TMA markers of each island and of the major regional varieties of CVC is needed.

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APPENDIX: CORPUS

The following transcription of the local Cape Verdean Creole of Tarrafal (with glosses and a translation into English) is provided to contribute to the corpus of local speech varieties of CVC. The conversation is 13 minutes and 25 seconds in length and was recorded on October 9, 2010 in Fazenda in the Tarrafal district of Santiago Island in Cape Verde. It was transcribed into ALUPEC spelling (see Chapter One) and glossed and translated into English by the author of this thesis, Bernardino Tavares. Djack is a man from Vila di Tarrafal and K. is an older man in his 60s from the community of Fazenda di Tarrafal. Their conversation is about the everyday life of people in the latter community.

Djack:

1 *Bon   dia*!
  Good day
  'Good morning!'

K.:

2 *Bon dia,   mo   ki   nhu[17] sta?*
  good day, how   that   2SG be
  'Good morning, how are you?'

Djack:

3 *Ale li,   so   ta   branbran.*
  here,   only PROG   move.
  'I am here surviving.'

K.:

4 *Familia   di   nho[18]   modi ki   sta?*
  family   of   2SG   how that   be
  'How is your family?'

Djack:

5 *So   ta   branbran.*
  Only   PROG   move

---

[17] *Nhu* indicates politeness.

[18] *Nho* also indicates politeness.

'[They are fine,] trying to survive.'

K.:

6 *E   berdadi, grasas a Dios,   obrigadu.*

 Be   true,   graces to God,   thank you

 'It's true, thanks to God, thank you.'

Djack:

7 *Nhu   obi   li,   ami   e   Djack.*

  1SG   listen here, NONCL.1SG be Djack

  'Sir listen, I am Djack.'

8 *N   ta   mora   na Vila di Tarrafal di Santiago.*

  1SG HAB live   in   Vila of Tarrafal of Santiago

  'I live in Vila di Tarrafal, Santiago Island.'

9 *Eh, modi ki   nhos   ta   txoma   kel   zona- li?*

  eh, how   that 2PL   PROG call   DEM zone-PROX

  'Eh, how do you call this place?'

K.:

10 *zona   di nos   li   na undi nu   ta   mora li,*

   place of 1PLPOSS, here in where 1PL PROG live   PROX

   'our zone, here where we live,'

11 *ta   txomadu Fazenda di Tarrafal, portantu li   e nos di Tarrafal.*

   HAB called   Fazenda of Tarrafal, therefore here be 1PL of Tarrafal

   'it is called Fazenda di Tarrafal, so here it is us from Tarrafal..

12 *Di   li   pa nu   bai Vila propi,* nu *ten dos   kaminhu:*

   from here to 1PL go Vila sure,   1PL have two   way

   'From here for us to go to Vila sure, we have two ways:'

13 *nu ten un   kaminhu ki   e posivel, nu   ta anda a pe,*

   1PL have one way   that be possible, 1PL HAB walk   by foot

   'we have a way that it is possible to go on foot'

14 *mas pa nu   bai di karu dja, e 12 kilomitru   di distansia, lonji Dimas!*

   but   to 1PL go of car   now, be 12 kilometre of distance,   far   too!

   'but to go by car, it is 12 kilometers of distance, too far!'

15 *Mas   ago di kualker das formas*[f] *e li   ki nos   vivensia   sta.*

   but   now of any   of forms be here that 1POSSPL experience   be

   'However, any way it is here that our experience of life is.'

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16 [*Istu e*]^f *li   ki   nu   ta   mora.*

that be   here   that 1PL HAB   live

'That is, here is where we live.'

Djack:

17 *Ok,   obrigadu. Obi,   modi ki   nhu   txoma?*

ok,   thank you. Listen, how that 2SG   call?

'Ok, thank you. Listen, what is your name?'

K.:

18 A*mi   nha   nomi   go,*

NONCL.1SG POSS.1SG name   now,

'My name,'

....

19 *ki   N   ta   txomadu dentu di   kel   rubera-li.*

that 1SG   HAB called   inside of   DEM brook-PROX.

'that I am called by in this brook.'

20 *Eh ami   e nasidu i kiriadu di li,   e li   ki   nu sta.*

eh NONCL.1SG be born   and grown of here, be here that 1PL be

'I was born and grown up here, this is where we are.'

Djack:

21 *Ok, N   sata   odja ma e un zona lonji di Vila, ku un   klima suavi,*

 ok, 1SG   PROG see that be one zone far   of Vila, with a   climate soft

  'Ok , I see that it is a zone which is far from Vila and with a good climate,'

22 *entri   montanhas. E   un zona berdi, ku   poku   kasa.*

between mountains. 3SG+be one zone green, with few   house

'between mountains. It is a green zone with few houses.'

23 *Pesoas   ta   parsi dretu, enfin,   nhu   podi*

people   HAB seem right, finally,   2SG   can

'People seem to be nice, can you'

24 *konta-n   vivensia   di Kel   zona-li?*

tell-CL.1SG living experience of   DEM zone-PROX?

'tell me about the every day life of this zone?'

K.:

25 *Bon, Fazenda, e   ten   si   storia. Pamodi ali   e   un zona pikinoti,*

well, Fazenda, 3SG have POSS.3SG story.   Because here be one   zone small,

'well, Fazenda has its story. Because it is a small zone,'

26 *purtantu   e   ta   fladu Vali di Fazenda,*

    so   3SG HAB said Vali of Fazenda

    'therefore it is called Vali di Fazenda,'

27 *ma nomi mas   ki   nu   ta   txoma-l e   Fazenda.*

    but name more that   1PL HAB call+CL be   Fazenda

    'but the name that we most call it, it is Fazenda.'

28 *Li   e un zona piskatoria, e   un zona di agrikultura di regadiu   i*

    here be one zone fishing,   be one zone of agriculture   of irrigated and

    'Here, it is a fishing zone, it is a zone of irrigated agriculture and'

29 *di sekeru tanbe, iii algen   di li,   ate purki,   nu   ta   fla ma, N   ta*

    of unirrigated too,iii someone of here, till because,1PL HAB say that,1SG HAB

    'unirrigated agriculture, people from here, by the way, we say that, I'

30 *perguntaba   nha   gentis   mas   grandi*

    ask+ANT   POSS.1SG relatives more great

    'used to ask my older relatives,'

31 *N   ta   fla pamodi   ki   ben   muradu li   Fazenda?*

    1SG HAB say why   that come lived   here   Fazenda

    'I used to say why people came to live here in Fazenda?'

32 *Dipos   moda Betu   dimeu   ta   fla ma na Fazenda, purtantu*

    after   as   Betu   of mine HAB say that in Fazenda, therefore

    'Then as my Betu uses to say that in Fazenda, therefore'

33 *na kantu ki   na altura di povoamentu ma data di inisiu di ki*

    in   when that in time   of settlement   that date of start of that

    'at the time of the settlement that the starting date, when'

34 *Fazenda povoadu propi mas ma e   ka   sabi mas,*

    Fazenda settled proper but that 3SG NEG know but,

    'Fazenda was settled, he does not know for sure,'

35 *ate   ma e   mas   antigu   di   ki*

    until that be more old   of   that

    'but that it is before'

36 *Txon Bon   ki   povoadu apartir di 1936. Purtantu, Txon Bon   lasin,*

    Txon Bon that settled   from   of 1936. Therefore, Txon Bon near

    'Txon Bon which was settled by 1936.Therefore, Txon Bon,near here,'

37 *ki gosi   e un zona grandi, Fazenda povoadu si   frenti*.
   that now be one zone big,   Fazenda settled   POSS.3SG before .
   'that is a big zone now, Fazenda was settled before it.'

38 *Ali   go, pamodi dedi senpri   ki velhu dimeu   fla ma ten algen   li,*
   Here then, because since always that old   of mine say that have someone here
    'since always that my father says there are people here

39 *tinha   agu txeu   ta   koreba   na rubera,*
   had   water a lot HAB   run+ANT in brook
   'there was a lot of water running in valleys, '

40 *ami   me N   ta   lenbra,*
   NONCL.1SG same 1SG   HAB   remember
   'I remember myself,'

41 *N   ta   lenbra   agu ta   kori na rubera*
   1SG HAB remember water HAB run in brook
   'I remember water running through the valley'

42 *N   ta   lenbra   kamaron txeu,*
   1SG   HAB remember shrimp   very,
   'I remember there was a lot of crabs,'

43 *N   ta   lenbra   li xeiu di agu, kes   planta*
   1SG HAB remember   here full of water, DEM   plant
    'I remember here full of water, those plants'

44 *ki   ta   da frutu, tudu, mangui, koku   ku   papaia, limon, tudu,*
   that HAB give fruit, all,   mango, coconuts with papaya, lemon, all,
   'which produce fruits, all of them, mango, coconuts and papaya, lemon, all

45 *maioria di arvori ki   ta   da-nu   frutu li N   konxeba   li Fazenda,*
   most   of   tree   that HAB give+CL fruit here 1SG know+ANT here Fazenda,
   'most of trees which provide us fruits, I knew here in Fazenda, but now with the'

46 *mas   so   ki gosi go   ku   falta di txuba,*
   but   only   that now   with lack of   rain
    'but now with the lack of rain,'

47 *kusa   ta   ba ta   frakisi manenti-manenti.*
   thing   HAB go PROG weaken   gradually
   'things are getting weaker and weaker now and then.'

48 *Ma na es momentu li   propi,   nu sta kontenti purke, sima nhu fla, e   sta berdi*

but in this momenthere proper,1PL be happy because,   as   2SG say,3SG be green

'But at this moment, for sure, we are happy because as you said, it is green now'

49 *pamodi   nu   sta na tenpu di txuba, i   na Kabo Verdi nu   ten un   prinsipiu*

because 1PL be in time of rain,   and in   Cape Verde 1PL have one start

'because it is raining season now, and in Cape Verde we usually have a start'

50 *di txuba ta   txobi, nu   ta   konta ko-l   e na mês   di Julhu, Agostu,*

of rain   HAB rain, 1PL   HAB count with+CL be in month of July,   August

'of the raining season, that it rains, we count on it by the months of July,   August,'

51 *Setenbru, Otubru   o   ki e ben, mas es   anu txuba komesa txobe-nu li   na*

September, October when that be come, but DEM year rain   start   rain+CL here in

'September, October, when it comes, but this year the rain has started here in'

52 *Fazenda- li   dia 4 di Agostu, nton dedi   4 di Agostu ki   txuba komesa*

Fazenda-PROX day 4 of August, So   since 4 of August that rain   start

'Fazenda on August 4th, so since August 4th that it started'

53 *txobe-nu li,   txuba ka   falta. Grasas a Dios na nos simentera ki   nu   ta   fasi*

rain+CL here, rain   NEG lack. Graces to God in our sewing   that 1PL HAB do

'raining here, the rain did not lack. Grace to God, that in our sewing act of'

54 *na sekeru-li,   nu   ta   símia miju, fixon, bobra,   fixon ten un munti tipu:*

in dryness-PROX ,1PL HAB sew   corn, bean, pumpking, bean have a many kind

'dry season, we usually sew corn, beans, and pumpkings.There're many kinds of

beans:'

55 *bongolon, dipos   fixon branku, balansia, molon. Gentis na es*

bongolon, then   bean white,   squash,   melon. People in   this

'bongolon, then white bean, squash and melon. People, in this'

56 *momentu-li   dja munda, nu sta na rasmunda, tanbe nu sta na tra flor   di miju.*

moment-PROX PFV weed, 1PL be in reweed,   too   1PL be in take flower of corn

'moment, have already wed, we are reweeding and taking off the flowers from corn

tree too'

57 *Nu   ta   pensa ma di li   mas o menus , iiii, dia 15 di Otubru e dia*

1PL   HAB think   that of here more or less,   iiii, day 15 of October be day

'We think that by October 15th more or less, which is'

58 *di Nha Santa Tereza ki   ta   fladu. Nton alguns zonas si   txuba*

of Mrs Saint Teresa that HAB said. So   some zones   if   rain

98

'Nha Santa Teresa's day ,that it is said to be. So in some zones, if it'

59 txobeba   mas   sedu   ta   purbadu miju mas ago nos dja   apartir di 20 di
   rain+ANT more early HAB tasted   corn but so 1PL thus from   of 20 of
   'had rained earlier, the corn would have already been eaten but we, for sure, by 20th'

60 Otubru dja si nada   ka   obi   di anormal, si tudu   kore-nu dretu,
   October PFV if nothing NEG happen of anormal, if everything run+CL well,
   'October if nothing bad happens, if nothing of abnormal, if everything goes well,

61 nu   teni fe   na nhordes, ma nu   ta   purba miju dentu   Fazenda.
   1PL have faith in God,   that 1PL FUT prove corn   inside Fazenda
   'we have faith in God, that we will eat corn here in Fazenda.'

Djack:

62 nn, nhu obi   li,   N   sta   odja ma nhos ta   dipendi txeu di txuba , eh
   nn, 2SG listen here, 1SG PROG see that 2PL HAB depend a lot   of rain,   eh
   'Here, listen sir, I see that you depend a lot from the rain eh'

63 sima nhu kaba di fla-n,   mas tanbe N   rapara ma populason ta   vivi di
   as   2SG finish of say+CL, but   also 1SG see   that population HAB live of
   'as you have just said to me, but I also could see that the people live of'

64 agrikultura mas ka   so agrikultura eh, dja nhu flaba   mi a bokadu
   agriculture but NEG only agriculture eh, PFV 2SG say+ANT me then
   'agriculture but not only from agriculture eh, you have already said me then'

65 pamo   zona piskatoria, eh ali tanbe, si kalhar N   sta   odja sima ki   ten
   because zone fishing,   eh here too,   maybe 1SG PROG see as   that have
   'because here is a fishing zone too, maybe I can see as that there are'

66 otus   atividadis para alen di   agrikultura.
   other activities   besides   of agriculture.
   'other activities besides agriculture.'

K.:

67 Sertu me, sima N   ata   flaba   nho a bokadinhu, populason   di
   Sure ,   as 1SG   PROG say+ANT 2SG a little time , population   of
   'For sure, as I was telling you a little time ago, people from'

68 Fazenda li   ta vivi asi,   ta   vivi, anos   nu ta   vivi si:
   Fazenda here HAB live like this, HAB live, NONCL.1PL 1PL PROG live like this:
   'Fazenda live like this, they live like this, we live like this:'

69 *ten alguns ki   teni família nbarkadu ta   manda si   tistonsinhu*

    have some that have family emigrated HAB send   POSS.SG little money

  'there are some of them who have emigrated relatives who send them a little money'

70 *di vez enkuantu,   ta   sabi di   família,*

   once in a while   HAB   care about family,

   'once in a while, who care about relatives, '

71 *eh nu   ta   vivi tanbe di agrikultura di regadiu ki   e   orta,   purke*

   eh 1PL HAB live also   of agriculture of irrigated that be kitchen garden, because

   'eh we also live of watering agriculture that is a vegetabe garden, because'

72 *nu   ten nos   ortinha   li   ki   nu ta distranka ko-l, dipos na*

  1PL have POSS.1PLlittle kitchen garden here that1PL HAB go on with+CL, then in

  'we have our little vegetable garden here with what we make our day, then at the

73 *tenpu di azagua ki   e   agrikultura di sekeru ki nu   ta símia nos   miju*

  Season of *azagua* that be agriculture of dryness that 1PL HAB sow POSS.1PL corn

   'season of *azagua* that is the agriculture of drought that we sew our corn'

74 *mas   isensial propi   vivensia isensial e di azagua.*

   more essential proper   experience essential be of *azagua*

   'more essentially and for sure, our essential living goods come from *azagua*.'

Djack:

75 *azagua*

K.:

76 *purtantu, trabadju di azagua, ma dja   nu po nos   mijinhu,   nos*

   therefore,   work   of *azagua*, since PFV 1PL put POSS.1PL little corn, POSS.1PL

   'therefore the *azagua* work, since we have already sew our little corn and'

77 *fixonsinhu na tanboru, si Dios dja   da-nu   el*

   little bean in barrel,   if God   PFV give+CL 3SG

   'our little bean in a big pot, if God has given them to us'

78 *nu   ta   bira xintidu   diskansadu.*

   1PL HAB turn   sense   untired

   'we do feel fine.'

Djack:

79 *Boita na kaminhu!*

  things in way

  'Everything good!'

K.:

80 *Boita na kaminhu sin*

   things in way   yes

   'Everything good, yes!'

Djack:

81 [*ta bon*]^f, [*ta   bon*]^f*!*

   be good,   be good

   'It's ok, It's good!'

K.:

82 *Purke   dja ku   miju bu   ta   fasi   un munti kusa, arguen podi   sta*

   Because PFV with corn 2SG HAB make a   many thing, one   can   be

   'Because you can already make many things with corn, one can be'

83 *sen   nunhun tiston li   ma, basta   bu   teni   bu   tanbor   di miju,*

   without none   money here but, enough 2SG have   POSS.2PL barrel   of corn,

   'without any money but, it is enough if you have your barrel of corn,'

84 *bu teni bongolon guardadu, bu   teni fixon guardadu. Ku miju   ten   un munti*

  2SG have bongolon stocked, 2SG have bean stocked.   With corn have a many

   'stocked bongolon and white beans. With corn, there are many'

85 *pratu ki   bu   ta   fasi, bu   ta   fasi xeren,*

   plate   that 2SG HAB do,   2SG HAB do *xeren*,

   'plates you cook, you cook *xeren*,'

86 *bu   ta   fasi tenteren, bu   ta   fasi katxupa, bu   ta   fasi kuskus,*

  2SG HAB do *tenteren*, 2SG HAB do *katxupa* 2SG HAB do *kuskus,*

  '*tenteren*, *katxupa*, *kuskus,* '

87 *bu   ta   fasi papa, bu   ta   fasi pastel, bu   ta   fasi fidjos.*

  2SG HAB do *papa*, 2SG HAB do *pastel*, 2SG HAB do *fidjos*

  '*papa*, *pastel* and *fidjos*.'

88 *Ten   un munti kusa so   ki   miju ki e mutu bon , ki   nu ta*

   have a many thing only that corn that be very good, that 1PL FUT

   'There are many things, the point is that corn is very good, and we'

89 *spera, nbora   go gosi li mininus nobu   li   ka   mutu kre kumi katxupa, ka*

   hope, although now   here kids   young here NEG very want eat *katxupa*, NEG

  'hope, even though kids do not want *katxupa* anymore, they do not'

90 *ta   utiliza miju, mas e aros, mas anos   mas grandi li   miju!!! Ki di*

   HAB use   corn, but be rice, but NONCL.1PL more old   here midju!!! That of

  'Use corn, but rice, but we the older people prefer corn!!! That is'

91 *preferensia nos   alimentason di   bazi.*

   preference POSS.1PL food   of   base

   'the preference, our main food.'

Djack:

92 *Txa-n   fasi nho mas   un pergunta li.*

   Let+CL ask 2SG more one question   here.

   'Let me ask you another question. How do you think'

93 *Mo   ki   nhu ta   atxa di, di di, [ker dizer]*[f]*, en termu di asesu?*

   How that 2SG HAB think of ,of, of, want say,   in term of access

   'What do you think of, …. in terms of the access?'

94 *Demu   sai   di Fazenda, ben   pa Fazenda?*

   For example leave of Fazenda, come to Fazenda?

   'Such as leaving and coming to Fazenda?'

95 *[Ker dizer]*[f] *o   ki   nhos   ta   bai   Vila,*

   That is   when that 2PL   HAB   go   Vila,

   'when you go to Vila,'

96 *pamod N   ta   rapara ma kaminhu sta mau, mariadu.*

  because 1SG HAB see   that way   be bad, not good

  'because I can see that the road is in a bad condition, not good.'

K.:

97 *Sta   mariadu, sta mau propi, iih, [ker dizer]*[f] *nos, anos   go   pa nu,*

   be   not good, be bad proper, iih , that is   1PL,NONCL.1PL now to 1PL,

   'It is bad, too bad iih, it means now for us,'

98 *di li   pa Mangi, anos   nos   Tarrafal,*

  of here to   Mangi, NONCL.1PL POSS.1PL Tarrafal,

   'from here to Mangi, we ,our Tarrafal,'

99 *ki   e   la   na Vila di Tarrafal, anos   nu   ta   txoma-l di Mangi,*

  that be there in Vila of Tarrafal, NONCL.1PL 1PL HAB call+CL of Mangi

   'that is in Tarrafal small Town, we call it Mangi,'

100 *di Mangi, mas di li   pa   nu ba Mangi, iih komu*

   of Mangi, but of here to   1PL go Mangi, iih as

'Mangi, but from here for us to go to Mangi. iih as'

101 *karu li ka ta sirkula kuazi,*

   car here NEG HAB circulate almost,

   'cars almost do not circulate here, we go on foot, we'

102 *nu ta ba ku pe na txon, nu ta ba a pe, nu ta ben a pe,*

   1PL HAB go with foot in ground, 1PL HAB go of foot,1PL HAB come on foot,

   'we go on foot, we go on foot and we come on foot,'

103 *nu ta baba pe na txon, nu ta ben pe na txon. Mas na karu*

   1PL HAB go+ANT foot in ground, 1PL HAB come foot in ground. But in car

   'we used to go on foot, we come on foot. But by car'

104 *go e mutu midjor inda purke gosi dja, argen otu ku mutu idadi, ten*

   now be very better still because now so, people other with very age, have

  'now it is still better because now already, other people who are very old, there are'

105 *txeu otus ki sta ku idadi ka ta ba Mangi ku ses pe,*

   many others that be with age NEG HAB go Mangi with POSS.3PL foot

  ' many others that are old don't go to Mangi on foot,'

106 *mas nton go es ten ki bai na karu pa es ben na karu.*

   but then now 3PL have that go in car to 3PL come in car

  'but they have to go by car and come by car.'

107 *So ki kaminhu di nos sta mau, purke,*

   Only that way of POSS.1PL be bad, because

  '[The problem] is that the road is in bad condition because,'

108 *kaminhu nu ata spera pa konpodu, nu ata spera pa kanbra o gentis*

   way 1PL PROG wait to repair, 1PL PROG wait to Town Hall or people

  'we are waiting it to be repaired, we are waiting for the Town hall or people'

109 *di governu pa konponu kaminhu, purke ali inda e kaminhu tera tera,*

   of government to repair+CL way, because there still be way earth earth,

 'from the government to repair the road for us, because it is still a earth to earth road'

116 *ka sta kalsitadu ki mafari asfalkadu. Purtantu nu ata spera ma algun*

   NEG COP paved that more tarry . Therefore 1PL PROG wait that some

  'without pavement or tar. Therefore, we hope that some '

110 *dia ma es debi midjora-nu kaminhu li. Ten algun alguen di li propi ki*

   day that 3PL should better+CL way here. Have some people of here proper that

  'day they may better the road for us here. There are some people from here who'

111 *teni xintidu na kunpra karu, mas   strada ka   bali,   dja   nu   sta xintadu nu*
   have sense in buy   car, but   road   NEG value, now 1PL be   sat   1PL
   'have a hope in buying a car, but the road is not good, so we are sat'

112 *ta   spera algun dia ki   konpodu kaminhu na midjor kondison pa nu   ta*
   PROG wait some day that repaired way   in better   condition to 1PL FUT
   'Waiting that someday the road will be repaired in better condition so that we'

113 *ten un karu li, algen dja   ta   bira ta   ba Vila di midjor manera. Mininus*
   have a car here, people so FUT turn HAB go Villa of better way.   Children
   'can have a car here, we will be able to go to Villa in a better way. Children'

114 *di li   ta   ba skola ta   sufri propi, ta   sufri   distansia.*
   of here HAB go school HAB suffer proper, HAB suffer distance.
   'from here go to school, they suffer, they suffer because of the distance.'

115 *Purke es   ta   ba skola lonji, otu ta   ba skola   la na Traz-di-Munti la,*
   Because 3PL HAB go school far, other HABgo school there in Traz-di-Munti there,
   'Because they go to school too far, some of them go to school in Traz-di-Munti'

116 *ki   e 4 kilometru lonji di li.*
   that be 4 kilometres far of here
   'that is 4 kilometers far from here.'

117 *Sima di li   pa vila   a pe nu   ta   ba na kel   kaminhu di 7 kilometru bai*
   as   of here to Villa on foot 1PL HAB go in DEM way   of 7 kilometer go
   'From here to Villa we take the road of 7 kilometers, an *aller- retour*

118 *ku   ben, nhos odja 14 kilometru   ka   brinkadera.*
   with come, 2PL   see 14 kilometer   NEG joke.
    'journey, you see 14 kilometers is not a joke.'

Djack:

119 *Mas   dja   un bokadinhu fasil.*
   But   thus   a bit   easy
   'But it is a little bit easy.'

K.:

120 *kaminhu fasil.*
    way   easy
    'Easy way.'

Djack:

121[*ker dizer*]^f, *ta   torna   mas kurtu a pe, mas dja pa ba pa strada, pa strada*

    That is,   FUT become more short on foot, but so to go by road,   by road

    'it means that it is shorter on foot, but to go by road, by road'

K.:

122 *pa strada dja   e   12 kilometru di bai, 12 di ben.   Kela   dja algen*

    by road   so   be 12 kilometer of go, 12 of come. DEM   so   someone

    'By road it is 12 kilometers for a return journey. For that people

123 *ka   ta   konsigi fasi.*

    NEG HAB manage do

    'don't manage to do.'

Djack:

124 *Pa bai Txada Karera….pa kontorna Traz-di-Munti, *[*ker dizer*]^f

    to go Txada Karera…. to turn   Traz-di- Munti, that is

    'To go to Txada Karera…. to go and pass Traz-di-Munti, which means'

125 *sirkuitu dja e   totalmenti diferenti.*

    circuit   so be totally   different

    'circuit is totally different.'

K.:

126 *Lonji.*

   far

   'It is far.'

Djack:

127 *Mas un uniku pergunta pa N   fasi nho? N   sta   rapara ma li*

    more one only   question to 1SG do 2SG 1SG PROG see   that here

    'can I ask you only one more question [sir]? I see that here'

128 *baxu ma ten un baia, kuze Ki es   ta   splora la,   na kel portu- la   baxu?*

  down that have a bay, what that 3PL HAB explore there, in DEM port-DIST down?

  'down there is a bay, what do they explore there, in that port down there?'

K.:

129 *Bon, la   baxu   la   nu ta txoma-l Portu Fazenda, es   ta   txoma-l, di*

    well, there down there1PL HAB call+CL Portu Fazenda, 3PL HAB call+CL, of

    'Well, down there we call it Portu Fazenda, they call it, from'

130 *la   pa ba Vila di Mangi propi   e   ka   mutu lonji nau. Purtantu   si   nu*

there to go Vila di Mangi proper be NEG very far   no. Therefore if 1PL

'there to go to Vila di Mangi it is not too far. Therefore, if we'

131 *utiliza, pur   ezenplu a   pe,   ami*

use,   for   example on foot,   NONCL.1SG

'use, for example go on foot…., I'

132 *N   ta   konxi, N   ta   lenbra   rabidantis ta   benha,*

1SG   HAB know, 1SG HAB remember *rabidantis* HAB come+PST,

'myself remember , I remember rabidantis coming'

133 *rabidantis pexera   ta   benha   la   di Mangi pe na txon,   ta   ben*

rabidantis fish sellers HAB come+PST there of Mangi foot in ground, HAB come

'*rabidantis* fish sellers coming from Mangi on foot, coming'

134 *kunpra pexi na banhera li   baxu li   na Portu di Fazenda li   ta   ba*

buy   fish in bathtub here down here in Portu of fazenda here HAB go

'to buy fish in bath here in Portu di Fazenda, they leave'

135 *ko-l   na kabesa ta   ba bendi na Vila o na Txon Bon, o otu kau   ki*

with+CL in head   HAB go sell   in Vila or in Txon Bon, or other place that

'with it on their head, they go and sell in Vila or Txon Bon, or in other places where'

136 *es   ta   bendi ses   pexi   mas iih*

3PL   HAB sell   POSS.3PL fish   but iih

'they sell their fish but'

137 *gosi iih ten kel   barku ki es   ata   fla po redia   na altu mar li*

now iih have DEM boat that 3PL   PROG say   put fishing net in   high sea here

'now there is the boat that they use to put fishing net in high sea'

138 *nton gentis   dja   rabidanti ka   sata   ben Fazenda mas,*

so   people   now rabidanti NEG PROG come Fazenda   anymore

'so *rabidanti* people are not coming to Fazenda anymore,'

139 *purke   nos li   nu   tenha   kes redia   antigu*

because 1PL here 1PL have+PST   DEM net   antique

'because here we had those antique fishing net'

140 *ke-s   ta   fla   redia di rasta   ki   es   ta   fla*

that+CL HAB say   *redia di rasta*   that 3PL HAB say

'which they called them *redia di rasta*'

141 *dja gosi   e ka   sima di altu mar, purk   redia di altu mar dja e*
　　so   now   be NEG as   of high sea, because net of high sea so be
　　'now it is not similar to the one from the high sea, because high sea fishing net is'

142 *midjor, ten midjor kualidadi mas kel   di rasta-li   e   o   ki   kardumu entra*
　　better, have better quality but DEM of *rasta*-PROX be when that shoal   enter
　　'better, it has better quality but that one of *rasta*, it is when the shoal enters'

143 *dentu baia ki   bu   ta   ba da   ku redia, mas ten   kou   ki ti undi ki*
　　inside bay that 2SG HAB go give with net, but have place that till where that
　　'in the bay that you go and use the net, but there are places till where'

144 *redia podi askansa ki bu   ta   da mas la   kel   portu la, nos , ten*
　　 net can   reach   that 2SG HAB give but there DEM port there, 1PL, have
　　'the fishing net can reach that you use but in that port there, we, there are'

145 *rapasis li   ki   ta   murgudja, mas gosi go na ultimu tenpu li   ku falta di*
　　 Boys   here that HAB dive,   but now now in last   time here with lack of
　　'boys here who dive, but now at the present last moments with the lack of'

146 *trabadju, nbora   ka   kredu pa panha ria   mas ten gentis tanbe ki   algun*
　　 work,   althought NEG wanted to catch sand but have people too   that some
　　'employment, although it is forbidden to take sand but there are also people who'

147 *ta   ba tra ria   ke-s   ta   bendi komu meiu di sobrivivensia. Nbora nu sabi*
　HAB go take sand that+CL HAB sell   as   mean of surviving.Although 1PL know
　　'go and take the sand and sell it as a mean of surviving. Although we know'

148 *ma e proibidu mas mesmu assin, dja nen nos ki   e moradoris li   tanbe*
　　that be forbidden but even   so,   thus nor 1PL that be residents here also
　　'that it is forbidden, even so, here neither us that are the residents'

149 *nu   ka kreba ...   ki kel   praia stragaba   si*
　1PL NEG want+ANT…that   DEM   beach damage+ANT so
　　'wanted that that beach and port to be damaged like that'

150 *mas pa kel   portu stragaba   si, mas ago komu nada   pega ne-l   ka   ten,*
　　but to DEM port damage+ANT so, but now as   nothing catch in+CL NEG have
　　'but to that port to be damaged like that, but since there is nothing to live by,'

151 *dipos algen   ta   mesti, nu sabi*
　　after someone HAB need, 1PL know
　　'and people are in need, we know'

152 *ma algen   ta   mesti un tistonsinhu tudu dia, kel   ki teni mininu na*
   that someone HAB need a little money every day, DEM that have children in
   'that people need a little money every day, those who have children at'

153 *skola, pa ses   sustentu   tanbe. Dipos e kel   ki*
   school, to POSS.3PL subsistence also,   after be what that
   'school, also to support themselves. That is why '

154 *algen   ta   ba ta   mexi ta   ba   ta   tra   ria   la,*
   someone HAB go PROG move HAB go PROG remove sand   there
   'people continue moving, removing sand there,'

155 *ba ta   tra   ria la, dja nos praia ta (ba) ata   dana manenti.*
   go PROG remove sand there, so POSS.1PLbeach HABgo PROGdamage gradually
   'continue removing the sand , so our beach is getting damaged so and then.'

Djack:

156 *Nhu obi   li,   N   ripara ma pesoal di li   ta   parsi dretu ,*
   2SG listen here, 1SG see   that people of here HAB seem   right,
   'Sir can you listen, I can see that people seem to be good,'

157 *dja N   flaba   nho ma   ta   parsi dretu.*
   PFV 1SG say+ANT 2SG that   HAB seem right
   'I have already told you that it seems good. '

158 *Ago nhu faze-n   un skolha li, kuze ki nhu ta   odja*
    but 2SG make+CL one choice here, what that 2SG   HAB see
     'Now make a choice, what do you think about'

159 *relasionamentu pesoal di li   ku pesoal di li   i   pesoal di li   pesoal di*
   relationship   people of here with people of here and people of here people of
   'the relationship between people from here and with people from'

160 *fora?* [*Ker dizer*][f] ….
   out?   That is ….
   'other place? That means….'

K.:

161 *Anos   dja grasas a Dios, nu ka ten ki kexa.*
   NONCL.1PL so   thanks to God, 1PL NEG have that complain.
   'Graces to God we don't have anything to complain.'

162 *Kualker algen   ki ben vizita-nu li Fazenda li,*
    any   person that come visit+CL here Fazenda here

108

'Anybody who comes and visits us here in Fazenda,'

163 *ki   ben   undenu, ken ki ben punde-nu li,   e benvindu*
    that come see+CL, who REL come visit+CL here, be welcome
    'comes and visit us here in Fazenda, is welcome'

164 *pamodi nu   ta   fika kontenti, nu ta   odja ma nu ka sta so, mas*
    because 1PL HAB be   happy, 1PL HAB see   that 1PL NEG be alone, but
    'because we feel happy, we see that we are not alone, but'

165 *en termu di rilasionamentu nos ku nos   li   na Fazenda li,   komu li   e*
    in terms of relationship   1PL with 1PL here in Fazenda here, as   here be
    'in terms of the relationship between us in Fazenda, as it is'

166 *zona pikinoti, anos   tudu e   dretu ku   kunpanheru. Kualker kantu,*
    zone small,   NONCL.1PL all   be good with each other. Any   corner,
    'a small zone, all of us are good to each other. In any corner,'

167 *inda ten   txeu   otu   zona gosi li   ki ka   ten sistema di djunta mo, mas*
    still   have many other zone now here that NEG have system of *djunta mo*, but
    'there are still many zones where there is no system of *djunta mo*, but'

168 a*nos   li   inda nu ta   djunta, na ti inda nu   ten sistema di djunta mo.*
    NONCL.1PL here still 1PL HAB join, in till still 1PL have system of *djunta mo*
    'here we still join, we still have the *djunta mo* system'

169 *Nu ta djunta mo na monda,   si un alguen teni kasa   pa fasi un*
    1PL TMA join hand in weeding, if one person have house to do one
    'we help each other during the weeding season if a person has a house to build'

170 *paredi ou un beton , nu   ta   djunta mo. Kualker trabadju li,   na ti   inda*
    a wall or a beton, 1PL HAB join hand. Any   work   here, in till still
    'a wall or a beton, we help each other. For any work until now'

171 *na Fazenda ten sistema di djunta mo ki gosi dja na txeu   zona ka   ta*
    in Fazenda have system of *djunta mo* that now PFV in many zone NEG HAB
    'in Fazenda there is a system of djunta mo which there is not in many zone'

172 *dadu, fazedu mas purki   tudu kusa gosi e pa pagu-pagu mas anos*
    given, done more because all   thing now be to paid- paid   but NONCL.1PL
    'not given, done anymore because now anything must be paid but we'

173 go   *nu ta   djunta mo, na ti   inda.*
    now 1PL HAB join   hand, in until now
    'still help each other.'

Djack:

174 *I   pexi   oras   ki   es   pega   izenplu?*
   and   fish   when   that   3PL   catch   example,
   'And what about the fish they catch for example?'

175 *ora   ke-s   pur izenplu, imajina   si oxi*
    when   that+CL for example,   imagine if today
    'when they for example, imagine if today'

176 *un piskador   bai pa mar, panha un grandi kuatidadi di pexi? Es   ta*
     a fisherman go to sea, catch a   great   quantity of fish? 3PL HAB
     'a fisherman goes to the sea and catches a great quantity of fish? They'

177 *konsigui bendi so   pa kel   povoadu di norti li   o kuze ki   es   ta   fasi ku*
    manage   sell   only toDEM village of north here or what that 3PL HAB do with
    'manage to sell it only to this village of the north or what do they do with'

178 *pexi mas   o   menus?*
    Fish   more or less?
     'the fish?'

K.:

179 *Nau, Fazenda e   pikinoti. Ali   pur izenplu si rapasis pega pexi*
     no, Fazenda be small.   Here for example if boys   catch fish
     'No, Fazenda is a small place. For example when the boys catch'

180 *txeu,   kes   ki   ta   ba   piska   tanbe*
    very,   DEM that HAB go   fish   also
    'a lot of fish, those that go fishing too'

181 *se-s   pega pexi txeu, ali   dja pexi   ka   ta   kaba.*
    if+CL   catch fish very,   here thus fish   NEG   HAB finish
    'if they catch a lot of fish, thus fish does not miss here.'

182 *Nton go   es   ta   prifiri ba bendi na Vila ki   e mas grandi o nton la*
    Then   now 3PL   HAB prefer go sell   in Vila that be more big   or then there
     'That is why they prefer to sell in Vila that is bigger or'

183 *Txon Bon, ki   ali dja kumunidadi e poku, sima N fla nho   alvez   nen*
    Txon Bon, that here PFV community be little, as   1SG say 2SG sometimes nor
    'Txon Bon, here the community is small, as I told you, sometimes neither'

184 *tudu   algen   ka   ta   teni kel   dinherinhu demu   tudu   maré*
    all   people   NEG HAB have DEM little money for example all   tide

110

'everybody doesn't have a little money for example all the time'

185 *ki   ta   mesti pa kunpra   kel   pexi   pa es   kumi.*
    that   HAB   need to buy   DEM   fish   to 3PL   eat
    'that they need to buy the fish they eat.'

Djack:

186 *I   oras   ki   es   ka   teni dinheru es   ta   fika sen   pexi?*
    And   when that   3PL NEG have money   3PL HAB stay without fish?
        'And when they don't have money, do they stay without any fish?'

187 *Es   ta   kunpra otu   produtu? O nton kuze ke-s   ta   fazi?*
    3PL   HAB   buy   other product? Or then what that+CL   HAB   do
    'Do they buy other products? Or so what do they do?'

K.:

188 *Komu ali   tanbe nu…   te inda   ten sistema di troka,   si   un algen*
    As   here also   1PL…until now have system of exchange, if   one person
    'here as we also have the system of exchanging until now, if a person'

189 *ka   teni dinheru di kunpra   pexi*
    NEG   have money of buy   fish
    'doesn't have money to buy fish

190 *e   ta   fla fla-nu dja: ami   N   ka   teni*
    3SG HAB say say+CL so   NONCL.1SG 1SG   NEG   have
    's/he says to us: I don't have'

191 *dinheru, da-n   midju   o da-n   aroz,*
     money, give+CL corn   or give+CL rice,
    'money, [the person who sells fish says] give corn or rice to me'

192 *kel algen   ki teni pexi di benda ta   toma midju o aroz ta   da-l   pexi.*
  DEM   someone that have fish of selling HAB take corn   or rice HABgive+CL fish
   'the person who sells fish takes corn and rice and give him/her fish.'

193 *Mesmu assi tanbe e   ta   da-l   fiadu   i   e   ta*
    Even   so   too   3SG HAB give+CL credit   and 3SG   HAB
    'Even so s/he gives him on credit and s/he'

194 *fle-l: oras ki   bu atxa bu ta   da-n.*
    say+CL when   that 2SG find 2SG FUT give+CL
    'would say to her/him: you will pay me when you have money.'

Djack:

195 *ok, ok,* [*si kalhar*]^f *N   ka   ta   toma nho mas tenpu e mas o menus assi,*

    ok, ok, if happen   1SG   NEG FUT take 2SG more time be more or less   so,

    'ok, ok, perhaps I won't take you more time, it is more or less so'

196 *mutu obrigadu   pa..., mutu obrigadu.*

    very   thank you   to…, very thank you

    'thank you very much for…., thank you very much.'

K.:

197 *Nos ki   ten ki agradisi, purtantu   nu   dizeja nhos tanbe bon   fin*

    1PL that have to thank,   therefore 1PL wish   2PL too   good end

    'it is us that have to express gratitude, so we wish you a good'

198 *di simana, dja boa viaji   pa Mangi ki   tudu kori dretu.*

    of week,   so good travel to Mangi that all   run   right

    'weekend, so have a good travel to Mangi and that everything goes well with you!'

Djack:

199 O*k,   mutu obrigadu, sertu.*

    ok,   very thank you, right

    'Ok, thank you very much, right.'

K.:

200 *Tudu.*

    all

    'Right.'