The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole

The Sotavento Varieties

Marlyse Baptista

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by Marlyse Baptista

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University of Georgia

Pa povu di Kabu Verdi
i pa Rabeladu di Santiagu
ki mostra-nu kaminhu d'independensia antis d'ora.

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Abbreviations

AgrP	agreement phrase	LOC	locative
ANT	anterior marker	LonF	long form (of clitic)
ASP	aspect	LF	logical form
AUX	auxiliary	MA	Maio (island)
BD	Berbice Dutch	NA	non applicable
BR	Brava (island)	NONCL	nonclitic
CL	clitic	NEG	negation
COMP	complementizer	NUM	numeral
COND	conditional	PERF	perfective marker
COP	copula	PF	phonetic form
CVC	Cape Verdean Creole	PL	nominal plural
DEF	definite article	PROG	progressive aspect
DEM	demonstrative	PRON	pronominal
DET	determiner	QT	quantifier
DO	direct object	REL	relative pronoun
EMP	emphasizer	RP	resumptive pronoun
FO	Fogo (island)	SIP	split Infl parameter
FOC	focalizer	SF	short form (of clitic)
FUT	future	SG	singular
GBC	Guinea-Bissau Creole	ST	Santiago (island)
GEN	genitive	TMA	tense, mood, aspect marker
IND	indefinite article	TP	tense phrase
IO	indirect object	TOP	topic
IRR	irrealis mood (future, conditional)	Ø	zero realization
		???	unclear

Anonymous acronyms for informants

ALE	informant ALE	BEL	informant BEL
AM	informant AM	BER	informant BER
APF	informant APF	C	informant C
AR	informant AR	CCG	informant CCG
ARA	informant ARA	COL	informant COL
BCR	informant BCR	D	informant D

DI	informant DI		MN	informant MN
DM	informant DM		MR	informant MR
ELV	informant ELV		MS	informant MS
EUG	informant EUG		MSP	informant MSP
FA	informant FA		NHA	informant NHA
FLT	informant FLT		PD	informant PD
IB	informant IB		PSF	informant PSF
IDA	informant IDA		RC	informant RC
ISA	informant ISA		RJ	informant RJ
JDP	informant JDP		RK	informant RK
JNV	informant JNV		RM	informant RM
JOA	informant JOA		RO	informant RO
JOM	informant JOM		RS	Rabeladu Speech (data from
JOS	informant JOS			22 speakers in the Rabeladu
JUL	informant JUL			community)
LOL	informant LOL		RSS	informant RSS
MA	informant MA		S	informant S
MAR	informant MAR		SA	informant SA
MAT	informant MAT		TA	informant TA
MC	informant MC		W	informant W
MCG	informant MCG		X	informant X
MCR	informant NCR		Y	informant Y
MDM	informant MDM		YV	informant YV

Maps

Map 1. Santiago.

Brava

2 km

Furna•

Santa Barbara •
Nova Sintra •

• Nossa Senhora do Monte

• Cachaço

Map 2. Brava.

Fogo

2 km

- •Ponta Verde
- •Curral Grande
- •Chã das Caldeiras
- •Brandon
- •São Filipe
- •Forno

Map 3. Fogo.

Map 4. Maio.

Cape Verde Islands

Map 5. Cape Verde Islands.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.0 A general introduction

This book is a substantially revised version of my Ph.D. dissertation, completed at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, in May 1997. The most significant changes occurred in the area of the database from which most of the examples in this volume are now drawn. The book covers a much wider range of morpho-syntactic topics as well.

Soon after graduating in 1997, I returned to the Cape Verde islands to conduct fieldwork, gathering additional data in 2000 and 2001. These three field trips resulted in the compilation of a large corpus that brought to light morpho-syntactic issues not previously explored in my dissertation. The richness of the new database led to systematic changes in the examples and to the alteration of some of my previous analyses. The two main theoretical chapters (Chapters 7 and 8) have been updated and offer a sharper analysis of the data.

1.1 Previous studies on Cape Verdean Creole

Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) has been the object of a number of linguistic studies led by pioneers such as Coelho (1967 [1880]), Costa & Duarte (1967 [1886]), Brito (1967 [1887]), Schuchardt (1888) and Fernandes (1991 [1920]) to mention just a few.[1]

Coelho (1880) initiated the remarkable and ambitious enterprise of comparing a wide range of creoles and other languages spoken in Africa, Asia and America. These included CVC, Guinea-Bissau Creole, São Tomé Creole and the varieties of Portuguese spoken in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), Brazil, Malacca, etc. Costa & Duarte (1886) offered the first morpho-syntactic study of CVC

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1. The 19th century writings by Coelho (1880), Costa & Duarte (1886) and Brito (1887) were republished in a 1967 collection that Morais-Barbosa edited.

comparing the Barlavento (windward) and Sotavento (leeward) varieties. Their work included linguistic excerpts from several islands. Brito (1887) is the first bilingual study (Portuguese/CVC) to focus on the morpho-syntax of the variety spoken on the island of Santiago. Fernandes (1920) compiled the first exhaustive bilingual dictionary (CVC/Portuguese) which he modestly called a lexicon.

These works provided the foundation for a number of contemporary linguistic studies focusing on different varieties of CVC: Almada (1961) describes the varieties spoken in São Vicente and São Nicolau. Her study was complemented by Lopes (1957) and Cardoso (1989) which also concentrate on the variety of São Nicolau. Meintel (1975) describes the variety of Brava. Silva (1985), a native of Brava, and Thiele (1991) focus on the use of Tense, Mood and Aspect markers while Lang (1993) describes the verbal system as a whole. Quint (2000) offers a grammatical study of the variety spoken in Santiago. Veiga (1982) provides a comparison of the varieties spoken in Santiago, Fogo, São Vicente and Santo Antão. Veiga (1995, 1996, 2000) compares the varieties spoken in Santiago and São Vicente to Continental Portuguese. Macedo (1979) is the first study to provide an exhaustive treatment of Cape Verdean phonology based on the variety spoken in Brava.

1.2   Cape Verdean Creole and its social lects

Geographic lects exist not only between the varieties of CVC spoken in the Barlavento and the Sotavento islands but within each of the two island clusters as well. The characteristics distinguishing Barlavento varieties from their Sotavento counterparts include phonetic, syntactic, lexical and discourse features. For instance, like Portuguese, the Barlavento varieties make use of the palato-alveolar fricative [š]. The use of number double marking on determiners and nouns (instead of single marking on the determiner) is more prevalent in Barlavento. As a heterogeneous entity, CVC continues to exist in a complex political and social relationship to Portuguese.

In addition to geographic lects, any serious study of CVC must take into account its social lects, i.e., the differences between monolingual and bilingual speech conditioned by varying levels of education among speakers. CVC co-exists with Portuguese in a state of diglossia in which each language tends to be used in specific spheres. Portuguese is used in schools and other formal settings while CVC is reserved for more informal circumstances (cf. Almada, 1998).

As linguists and educators push for its recognition and officialization,[2] CVC has expanded into domains that were once reserved exclusively for Portuguese (e.g., political speeches at the senate and parliament).

1.3 Orthographic choices

Orthographic choices in CVC have been informed by the need to integrate dialectal diversity into a unified spelling system. Such choices have been punctuated with three main stages: a pro-phonemic approach (adopted after the first 1979 linguistic colloquium held in Mindelo), a pro-etymological approach (adopted after a 1989 linguistic forum) and, finally, a phonemic orthography with a few concessions to etymological spelling (created in 1994). This new orthographic convention is called the ALUPEC (Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano "A Unified Alphabet for the Writing of Cape Verdean Creole").

The study of the document defining the approach and purpose of the new alphabet provides us with interesting insights. The primary objective of the ALUPEC is to reflect the relevance, functionality and systematic nature of all the sounds of the language. One of its secondary objectives is to preserve and support the literary tradition of the islands by avoiding a radical divergence from the orthography used in past literary works; the hope is that such preservation will promote a broader acceptance of the alphabet. The ultimate purpose of the ALUPEC is to provide a system of sign-sound correspondence that ensures the principle of linguistic economy. The fact that the new alphabet represents a system with which all speakers may identify, independently from the dialectal variety they speak, might ultimately ensure its success. It is establishing solid foundations for the study of CVC, anticipating the new social, political and educational roles that the language will eventually undertake.

As CVC expands its written representation, a few obstacles still lie ahead in the implementation of this new orthographic system: although the ALUPEC was officially recognized by the Cape Verdean government in 1998, no follow-up measures have been pursued in the implementation of the new alphabet in the educational sphere. Such follow-up initiatives are the prerequisite to the continuation of a thriving literary tradition and the development of instructional

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2. To this date, Portuguese is the only official language of the Cape Verde islands.

materials for classroom teaching. This will allow Cape Verdean children not only to acquire literacy skills in their own language but also to gain access to other languages in their environment more easily. So far, bilingualism has been a necessary prerequisite to the success of Cape Verdean children.

The promotion of CVC as a language of literacy and instruction has been, for the past thirty years, the core message of Cape Verdean activists such as Manuel da Luz Gonçalves and Georgette Gonsalves. It has also led to the creation of militant organizations such as the Cape Verdean Creole Institute (CCI), which was founded in 1995.

More details concerning the ALUPEC can be found in the appendix.

1.4   Objectives and general scope of this study

The first goal of this volume is to promote a better understanding of CVC, a language that offers serious descriptive challenges to the linguist. Some issues are notoriously difficult to account for, particularly with respect to its determiner system, Tense, Mood and Aspect markers, and pronominal paradigms. Language variation in the archipelago is another challenge to contend with if one wishes to give a full account of the language.

The second goal is to use the tools provided by generative linguistics to uncover scientific evidence for the principles that rule the linguistic system of this particular language.

The third goal is to present data representative of all four basilectal (more africanized) varieties of CVC spoken in the Sotavento (or leeward) islands of Brava (my native island), Fogo, Santiago and Maio.

It is worth emphasizing at this point that in this volume I compare CVC not only to other creoles such as Guinea-Bissau Creole and Haitian, but also to a number of noncreole languages such as Portuguese, French, and Icelandic, as well as some northern dialects of Italian. This comparative method highlights the similarities and differences that a natural language such as CVC may share with other languages, whether they are creoles or noncreoles. Such an endeavor wishes to emulate similar trends that have already occurred in the study of Romance and Germanic languages among others.

This work seeks to complement previous contributions of Cape Verdean and foreign linguists who brought valuable insights to the study of the language: I would like to single out Dulce Almada Duarte, Inês Brito, Eduardo Cardoso, Napoleão Fernandes, Baltazar Lopes da Silva, Donaldo Macedo, Izione Silva,

Tomé Varela da Silva, Manuel Veiga, Dulce Pereira, Jürgen Lang, Petra Thiele, Deirdre Meintel and Jean-Louis Rougé to mention just a few. This volume is aimed at three different audiences: creolists, generativists and the Cape Verdean community in Cape Verde and the Diaspora.

1.5   Organization of the volume

The objectives of this book have dictated its organization and content. Its organization strikes a balance between three descriptive chapters (3, 4 and 5) and three theoretical counterparts (6, 7 and 8).

This first chapter offers a general introduction addressing the goals and general scope of this study, as well as the methodology involved and the type of database. The theoretical assumptions at the core of the last three chapters of this volume are also introduced.

In Chapter 2, I draw a brief sociohistorical sketch of the circumstances leading to the genesis of CVC.

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, in-depth descriptive and analytical accounts of several morpho-syntactic issues in the areas of the Cape Verdean Noun Phrase, Verb Phrase, other types of constituents, and syntactic patterns are provided. These three descriptive chapters will be of particular interest to the Cape Verdean community and to creolists.

Covering Cape Verdean functional categories and clausal architecture, Chapter 6 serves as a theoretical bridge between the first three descriptive chapters and the last two theoretical chapters.

In addressing verbal syntax and the syntax of pronominals in the language, the two main theoretical chapters (7 and 8) should be of particular interest to generativists. They show how the morpho-syntax of CVC may inform the field of theoretical linguistics.

Given the diversified target audiences of this book, the three descriptive chapters have been intentionally kept separate from their theoretical counterparts. The descriptive chapters provide a thorough presentation of issues that are later revisited from a theoretical perspective.

All examples have been transcribed according to the spelling conventions of the ALUPEC. Examples taken from sources other than my own corpus adopt the orthography used by their original authors.

1.6   Database and methodology

The data upon which the present study of CVC is based are drawn from several sources. As a speaker of the variety of CVC spoken in Brava, I have recourse to my own grammatical judgments though never without prior consultation with other speakers in my community. On a few occasions, I use data from novels written in CVC and second-hand data from previous linguistic studies (i.e., Veiga, 1996, and Meintel, 1975). However, as previously mentioned, the data used in the morpho-syntactic descriptions and theoretical analyses provided in Chapters 3 through 8 are *primarily* taken from a large corpus collected during three field trips to Cape Verde in June-July 1997, June 2000 and June 2001.

   The database representative of the Sotavento varieties (the leeward islands) consists of 187 interviews varying in length. I transcribed 83 interviews out of 187 and 12 of them were selected for inclusion on the compact disc accompanying this volume. The 12 interviews are representative of the varieties spoken on the islands of Brava, Santiago, Fogo and Maio. I explored the remainder of the transcriptions with the computer program *Wordsmith,* which, by helping detect interesting morpho-syntactic patterns, enabled me to provide a more exhaustive description of the language.

   In collecting interviews, I was careful to select a sample of speakers with a variety of educational and social backgrounds, as I wanted the corpus to reflect the linguistic features of both monolingual and bilingual speakers. The overwhelming majority of my informants were, however, monolinguals.

   On the island of Santiago, I focused on a particular group of monolinguals due to the exceptional circumstances in which they emerged: the *Rabeladu* or "rebels" live in the interior of the island near the small village of *Espinho Branco.* In the 1940s, they escaped the Portuguese regime, withdrew from the rest of Cape Verdean society and took refuge in mountainous and fairly inaccessible areas of the interior (cf. Monteiro, 1974). They escaped Portuguese rule primarily for religious reasons and live to this day fairly isolated from the rest of their countrymen. They do not go to public churches (as their own leader provides religious services) and their children do not go to school. They live in *funku* (huts) with no electricity and no television. There is only one radio for a community of around 300 monolingual individuals. As a result of their relative isolation, the speech of the *Rabeladu* in *Espinhu Branco* is less likely to be influenced by the media and the Portuguese language. These exceptional circumstances led me to focus on this group in my work with monolinguals in Santiago. Although they are aloof and wary of strangers, I was fortunate to gain the trust

of the *Rabeladu* with the help of a social worker (Misa) and obtained from their leader the authorization to tape 22 individuals among them.

In accordance with the Human Subject Research requirements at the University of Georgia, I obtained the consent of each informant to be recorded either in writing or verbally (on tape). I collected the following personal data for each speaker: name, age, gender, first and second language (in the case of educated speakers), place of birth, place of residence (and how long the speaker had been living in that particular place), travels abroad, especially to Portugal and Brazil, level of education, and profession.

The recordings consist of individual interviews exclusively; all speech was spontaneous and my position was that of an observer rather than a participant. My main role was to provide speakers with themes or topics of conversation directly relevant to their own life experiences according to their age, gender or the island where they lived. The topics never failed to trigger natural conversation, as evident in the CD recordings accompanying this volume. Topics included the famine of the 1940s in the case of older informants, volcanic eruptions in the 50s and 90s (in Fogo), earthquakes (in Brava), everyday life activities (e.g. fishing, cooking), and life aspirations.

For the recordings, I used a digital mini-recorder with mini-discs. I chose this particular piece of equipment due to its high sound quality and its small, hence unobtrusive, size.

As stated earlier, one of the objectives of this volume is to use data representative of all four basilectal varieties. The goal is *not* to provide a systematic comparative analysis of the four varieties[3] but simply to reflect (albeit to a limited extent) dialectal variation between islands and speakers.[4] In this respect, dialectal variation between monolingual and bilingual speakers will be of particular interest and significance with regard to some of the syntactic issues examined, such as verb movement in Chapter 7.

Logistically speaking, my fieldwork involved traveling by boat or plane between islands and in various pickup trucks within islands. On each island, I explored both urban centers and rural areas in an attempt to record existing sub-varieties.

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3. Such work will appear in Baptista (in preparation) where I compare the Sotavento varieties in relation to each other and to the Barlavento varieties.

4. As a result, the selected examples are *not* meant to represent speech data exclusive to a given island. The same features may be found in the other Sotavento islands.

In Santiago, by far the largest and most challenging island to cover, I conducted interviews in the neighborhoods of Achada de Santo Antonio, Achada Eugenio Lima, Plató, Sukupir and Tchadinha, in the capital city of Praia. Away from the capital, I covered the towns and villages of Santa Ana, Assomada, Calheta de São Miguel, Espinho Branco, Tarrafal, Chão Bom, São Domingo, Cidade Velha and Picos (cf. Map 1).

On the island of Brava, I interviewed informants in the main towns of Nova Sintra and Nossa Senhora do Monte, in the rural areas of Cachaço and Santa Barbara and in the fishing village of Furna (cf. Map 2).

On the island of Fogo, my data were first collected in São Filipe, the capital. There, I focused on the neighborhood of Santa Filomena for the most part. The rural areas included Chã das Caldeiras, Curral Grande, Brandon, Forno and Ponta Verde (cf. Map 3).

Finally, on the island of Maio, my fieldwork was conducted in the main city Vila do Maio and rural areas such as Calheta and Figueira (cf. Map 4).

1.7   The theoretical framework

The primary theoretical framework of generative grammar that I adopt in this book is the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1999; Chomsky & Collins, 2001). Here, I make explicit some of the assumptions upon which this research program is based. Unlike the Government and Binding Theory which was based on a four-level representation illustrated in (1) (Chomsky, 1981), the Minimalist Program links only two levels of representations: LF and PF, as shown in (2).

(1)   Lexicon ⟶ D-structure   (Chomsky, 1981)

S-structure

Phonetic Form   Logical Form

(2)

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
& \textit{Merge \& Move} & \\
\text{Lexicon} & \longrightarrow & \text{LF} \\
& \downarrow & \\
\textit{Spell-Out} & & \text{(Abraham \& al., 1996: 5)} \\
& \text{PF} &
\end{array}
$$
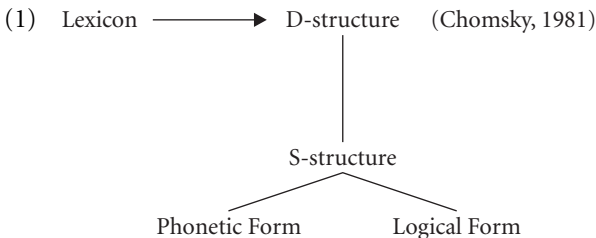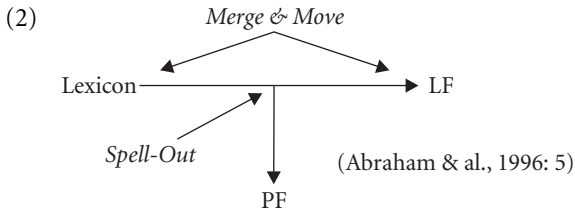
As suggested by the representation in (2), the Minimalist Program is guided by the principle of Economy of Representation and attempts to reduce the structure of human grammar to its bare essentials. Each abstract structure that is generated and computed must result in two well-formed structural representations at the two levels of LF and PF. The two concatenative operations are *Merge* and *Move* and each of these two operations concatenates two categories, resulting in a third. The application of these rules occurs cyclically and builds constituent structure. Syntax must receive an overt form; this overt realization occurs at Spell-out, where computations split to derive two independent representations at LF and PF characterized by different properties (cf. Abraham & al., 1996).

The underlying assumption is that overt movement is always more costly and occurs only when necessary. Such an operation is called *last resort*. A related concept is *procrastinate*: as covert movement is more economical, overt movement is always postponed as long as possible. In Chapter 7 of the book, we analyze verb movement within this framework and study it in great detail.

Languages differ from one another according to whether particular parameters show a positive or negative setting. Hence, a particular parameter setting determines, among other things, the word order of a language, that is, whether a language is SVO, SOV or OSV. Upon exposure to data in a given language, the child sets the various parameters positively or negatively. To do so, children are assumed to rely on morphological cues in the target language. Studies by Vikner (1991, 1995a,b) and Holmberg & Platzack (1995), among others, support the hypothesis that morphological differences (e.g., subject–verb agreement, morphological case) among languages have crucial syntactic ramifications. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that a widely accepted typological assumption is that those languages with a richer morphology display a relatively greater freedom in word order. We show in this book that although CVC is endowed with minimal verbal morphology, the language displays a relatively flexible word order in specific respects.

We assume the sort of split IP analysis advocated by Pollock (1989) and now widely assumed for many languages. According to the split IP analysis, the

traditional INFL is split into two heads, Tense and AGR, each with its own projection. The tree in (3) represents the structure of the split IP.

(3)

```
            AgrP
          /      \
       Spec      Agr'
                /    \
             Agr      TP
                    /    \
                 Spec     T'
                          |
                          T
```
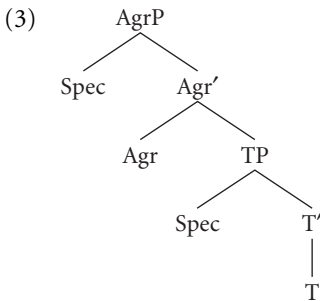
The question of whether or not functional categories (such as AGR and Tense) are universal was first brought to the fore by Iatridou (1990: 553). She proposed that evidence for various functional categories needs to be found independently in each language. In other words, there may be evidence for AgrP in some languages but not in others. Admittedly, such a proposal is not uncontroversial, as linguists have been reluctant to assume that a given functional category is absent in a language based on the absence of overt morphology. In the same way, in the Minimalist Program, lack of overt movement to a given functional head (or functional phrase) is not to be equated with the absence of that functional head in the language. Thráinsson (1994, 1996) took a stand similar to Iatridou and argued more specifically that some languages like Icelandic or French may have a split IP in which AgrSP and TP are separate functional categories, whereas languages like English and Mainland Scandinavian do not show evidence for a split IP. In English and Mainland Scandinavian, it is assumed that the functional categories AgrSP and TP have been fused, hence do not exist independently from each other. Relating this proposal to language acquisition and parameter setting, Thráinsson claimed that a child acquiring a given language is guided by the Real Minimalist Principle, stated in (4):

(4)   *The Real Minimalist Principle*
      Assume only those functional categories that you have evidence for.
      (Thráinsson, 1996: 261)

Thráinsson argued that the *Real Minimalist Principle* is in the true spirit of Chomsky's Economy of Representation. In Chapter 7, I discuss his empirically appealing proposal and show its limitations. Thráinsson (1996) argued that the structure for Icelandic is as in (3), whereas the structure for English is as in (5):

(5)

```
              IP
           /      \
        Spec       I'
                 /    \
                I      VP
                      /  \
                     V
```
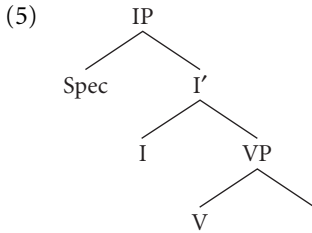
In this regard, I argue in this book that CVC shows evidence for a split IP, whereas other creoles like that of Guinea-Bissau, its closest relative, may be lacking a category like TP, which accounts for the difference in the behavior of their respective verbs. I will show, however, in Chapter 7 that although morphological and structural accounts of V-raising make interesting predictions for CVC, neither hypothesis fully accounts for all the empirical facts observed in the Cape Verdean verbal syntax.

Cape Verdean Creole

A sociohistorical sketch

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief description of the sociohistorical setting in which CVC developed with special regard to the various population groups that participated in the evolution of the Cape Verdean colony (which remained Portuguese until 1975) and its language. The examination of the demographics of the Cape Verdean settlements hopes to shed some light on the genesis and development of CVC whose exact origins are still the topic of much controversy.

This chapter is organized as follows: the first and second sections provide a geographic and historical presentation of the archipelago of Cape Verde. The third section discusses the human components that contributed to the formation of CVC, including the first white settlers on the islands and African slaves in both Cape Verde and Portugal. As part of this discussion, I examine the itinerary and destinations of the slave trade, as Cape Verde played a major role in the slavery triangle between Europe, Africa and the Americas. On the issue of language transmission, the *lançados* will be presented as having played a major role between Cape Verde and Guinea. The fourth section explores the notion of *Proto-Kriolu* and its connection to the formation of CVC. In the fifth section, demographic figures evaluating the ratio of Blacks to Whites will shed some light on the evolution of Cape Verdean settlements. In the sixth section, I conclude and place the Cape Verdean situation in the interesting debate on creolization, language creation and language acquisition. In the process, I show that in light of the historical facts presented in this chapter, both children and adults played important roles in the formation of CVC.

2.1   Geography

Essentially of volcanic origin, the Cape Verde islands belong to a union of archipelagoes in the Atlantic Ocean that includes the Canary Islands, the Azores and Madeira. Cape Verde is roughly situated at 450 kilometers west of Senegal and Mauritania (cf. Map 5).

The archipelago consists of two main clusters of islands divided according to their exposure to the northeasterly winds: Barlavento (the windward islands) in the North and Sotavento (the leeward islands) in the South. The Barlavento islands include Boavista, Sal, São Nicolau, Santa Luzia, São Vicente and Santo Antão. The leeward islands are composed of Brava, Fogo, Santiago and Maio. The archipelago represents a total surface of 4033 square kilometers. The largest and most populated island is that of Santiago, with 991 square kilometers, the smallest one is that of Brava with 67.4 square kilometers (cf. Auzias & Labourdette, 1999).

2.2   Discovery and settlement

Much controversy still surrounds the exact date of the discovery of the islands and who discovered them, which, of course, has consequences for any hypothesis regarding the genesis of CVC. On the one hand, official textbooks claim that the first set of islands were discovered in 1460 (Santiago, Fogo, Maio, Boavista and Sal) and the second set (Brava, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, Santo Antão) between 1460 and 1462. There are, however, two pieces of historical evidence tracing the discovery and settlement of the islands to earlier dates: cartographic evidence and 19th century writings referring to the Jalofo tribe having inhabited the island of Santiago prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Indeed, Greek and Arabic geographers seem to have been aware of the islands since the first half of the 15th century. On this issue, Andrade (1996) refers to the map of Macia de Viladestes dating from 1413 (at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris) which shows two small islands of uneven size facing the Riu de l'Or. These same islands carry the names of Isles de Gader on the map of Andrea di Bianco in 1448 and are later identified as the *Dos Ermanos*.

There is also evidence that the island of Santiago was inhabited by the Jalofos before the arrival of the Portuguese (Carreira, 1972:301). The real circumstances of their presence in Santiago are uncertain but according to tradition, a Jalofo king escaping a rebellion fled his country with his family and

tried to take refuge in Cape Verde (a peninsula of Senegal) on the continental coast. However, a violent storm erupted and led to their shipwreck on the island of Santiago (Andrade, 1996:45). A number of references to the presence of human settlements in Cape Verde before the Portuguese arrivals can be found in writings dating back to the 19th century (cf. Chelmicki & Varnaghen, 1841; Pusich, 1860) and in Ruela Pombo (1937).

2.3   The contributing components to the formation of Cape Verdean society

In this section, I explore the origins of the white settlers and the black populations who first settled in the Cape Verde islands. These observations will shed some light on the formation of CVC.

2.3.1   The white settlers

The first groups of Whites to settle in Cape Verde were not only Portuguese from Algarve, Alentejo (cf. Martinus, 1996:119–120; Carreira, 1983:28) and Madeira but also Genoese, French and Jews from Spain.

Originally, the islands were supposed to be populated by white Europeans following the settlement models of Madeira and the Azores. However, the rigor of the climate and the impossibility of implementing in Cape Verde cereal-based cultures to which European families were accustomed became major obstacles to European development in the islands (Andrade, 1996:37). This led to the importation of slaves for the development of a new economy.

The first of the Cape Verde islands to be populated was Santiago in 1460, followed by the island of Fogo between 1480 and 1493. The settlement of Maio accelerated at the beginning of the 17th century due to the exploitation of salt. Brava was first populated with the inhabitants of Fogo who had to leave their island in 1680 due to a violent volcanic eruption.

2.3.2   The origins of the black population in Cape Verde islands

Among the dozens of ethnic groups that may have contributed to the formation of the Cape Verdean language and the Cape Verdean people, the three most representative groups are those of the Mandings, Jalofos and Fulas Pretos. At the beginning of the settlement of the Cape Verde islands, the slaves were

brought back from all of Guinea, from the Senegal river to Sierra Leone (Andrade, 1996: 40). However, with the shrinking of the Portuguese colonial empire under the push of other western powers such as France, Holland and England, the Portuguese reservoir of slaves in Western Africa was by the middle of the 16th century nearly reduced to the geographical boundaries of the current Guinea-Bissau.

Supported by the slave census conducted in the islands in 1856, Brasio (1962) reports that the Mandings, Balantes, Bijagos, Feloupes, Beafadas, Pepels, Kissis, Brames, Banhuns, Peuls, Jalofos, Bambaras, Bololas and Manjaks contributed massively to the African component of the population. Geographically speaking, the areas of Cacheu and Bissau provided most of the human contingent.

2.3.3   The transit of black slaves between Africa and Portugal

Martinus (1996) reports an interesting historical fact that may give credence to the hypothesis that a Proto-Portuguese pidgin originated in Portugal. Indeed, the two Portuguese provinces of Alentejo and Algarve had already been receiving Blacks from the first explorations and trading that the Portuguese had made along the coast of Africa. In 1441, around 20 years before the Portuguese discovery and settlement of the Cape Verde islands, the first cargo of black slaves was brought back to Lisbon. Martinus views this date as potentially the beginning of the slave trade between Portugal and Africa. Cape Bojador was reached in 1443, Sierra Leone in 1446,[1] Guinea in 1455,[2] and Mina and Congo around 1480. Martinus reports that these activities resulted in the considerable rise of the black population in Portugal, particularly in Lisbon and the South of Portugal. In the provinces of Algarve and Alentejo, Blacks considerably outnumbered Whites by the middle of the 16th century (Alvarez Nazario, 1961).

Such observations show that very early on, intense slave traffic took place between the Gulf of Guinea, Cape Verde and Portugal.

2.3.4   Itinerary and destination of slaves

As a depository, Cape Verde kept many of its incoming slaves but it was also a place where *ladinos* (slaves who were taught Portuguese) were trained for their ultimate reexportation to the more profitable markets of the Americas. Scholars

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1. Kihm (1994), however, claims that the discovery of Sierra Leone was in 1462.

2. Kihm (1994) states that Guinea-Bissau was discovered nine years earlier in 1446.

such as Andrade (1996:109) and Carreira (1972:264–265) report that such slaves were destined to Cartagena and other places in Central America. They observe that between 1610 and 1613 most of the slaves arriving in Cartagena came from Cape Verde, from the "Rios de Guinea", the São Domingos river and the "Cacheu" river (Guinea-Bissau).

From Cape Verde and São Tomé, three types of slaves were exported: the *boçais* (or *bossales*) (cf. Carreira, 1972), the *ladinos* who spoke Portuguese and the *naturais* who were born and grew up in Cape Verde. Lara (1984:315–316) and Andrade (1996:110) report that *ladinos* who arrived in the Caribbean occupied high domestic positions due to their linguistic proficiency in Castilian or Portuguese and their knowledge of certain religious practices. Andrade believes that these slaves came from Cape Verde rather than from Spain or Portugal. Studies by Zamia (1981:63) corroborate that at the beginning of slavery in Guadeloupe (1635–1664), the population consisted mostly of Africans, most of whom came from Angola and Cape Verde. Other destinations for the slaves going through Cape Verde included Cuba and Brazil.

These observations show the essential role Cape Verde played in the slave triangle and the heterogeneous complexity of the social and ethnic makeup of the archipelago during these times.

2.3.5   The role of the *lançados* and *ladinos* in language transmission

Among the black population of the Cape Verde islands, there were not only slaves but also 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). A number of them could speak Portuguese and some of them went to Santiago to be Christianized.

Among the Beafares, there were also, as reported by Alvares d'Almada (1964), black males and females speaking Portuguese; they were *ladinos* and *ladinas* (also called *tangomas*) who accompanied the *lançados* to Cape Verde islands. The *ladinos* were converted slaves who had learned the basics of the Portuguese language and the *lançados* were transmitting agents who served as intermediaries between slave traders and the people of the interior. The *lançados* were Portuguese who had been marginalized due to their Jewish descent or because they were former criminals. They settled in Cape Verde with African wives and children and had, as a result, the opportunity to learn the creole and disseminate it on the continent, in Guinea for instance.

Kihm (1994:4) rightly points out that in addition to the *lançados* or *ladinos*, the *grumetes*, translatable as 'shipboys' (Christianized Africans who served as intermediaries between the Portuguese and the Africans living in Cacheu and Ziguinchor), also played a role in language transmission.

This sketch shows that the *lançados*, *ladinos* and *grumetes* have played an instrumental role in the transfer of creole from Cape Verde to Guinea-Bissau. The geographic proximity (and historical affinities) could account for most of the strong similarities noted between the creole of Cape Verde and that of Guinea-Bissau. This leads us to discuss the concept of *Proto-Kriolu* and the genesis of CVC.

2.4   The Proto-Kriolu

The creole spoken in the Cape Verde islands (locally referred to as *Kriolu*) is historically and linguistically intimately related to the creole spoken in Guinea-Bissau. For this reason, one cannot explore the history of Cape Verde and its language without exploring that of the western coast of Africa, particularly that of Guinea.

The coast of Gambia, Casamance and Guinea-Bissau is believed to have been discovered in 1446 during two consecutive expeditions. This early date has led some linguists to postulate that a *Proto-Kriolu* could have emerged by the end of the 15th century (Rougé, 1986; Kihm, 1994).

As mentioned in the previous section, black slaves were captured and brought back to Portugal in the second half of the 15th century (Carreira, 1983). Several thousand slaves would have lived in Lisbon at the beginning of the 16th century where they mixed with the white population. This fact is corroborated in the Portuguese literature by playwrights such as Gil Vicente who imitated *a lingua dos pretos* (black speech) in some of his plays. Careful examination of this speech, although caricaturized, reveals phonological and morpho-syntactic features that one finds in some of the contemporary Portuguese-based creoles (cf. Teyssier, 1959), including CVC.

As for the exact nature of the language spoken by the black slaves in Portugal, two hypotheses have been proposed: according to the first one, slaves spoke a *reconnaissance* language deliberately taught to the Blacks by the Portuguese so that they could communicate with each other. This would have allowed the Portuguese to use the slaves as interpreters during the expeditions on the African continent. The second hypothesis simply argues that the slaves

learned Portuguese as a second language. Kihm (1994) proposes that traveling back and forth between Portugal and West Africa creates the possibility that a Portuguese pidgin served as the foundation for the Proto-Kriolu that developed in Senegambia and Cape Verde.

This leads us to the question of finding out where CVC originated. This 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). In the previous section, we have seen that there is evidence that the *lançados* settled in Cape Verde, married and learned the creole that they could have easily transmitted to the nearby coast of Guinea-Bissau in the course of their commercial transactions, which supports the third hypothesis.

The languages which have greatly contributed to the genesis and formation of *Kriolu* are varied: besides Portuguese, which contributed to its lexicon, the African element is mostly represented by the Niger-Kordofanian languages: the West-Atlantic languages (Wolof, Fula, Serer, Balanta, Manjak, Mankan and Bola among others) and the Mande languages (Malinke, Bambara and Diola to mention just a few).

2.5   Some demographic figures

According to Fanha (1987), in 1582, the White to Black ratio was roughly 100 Whites to 13,700 slaves in Santiago with slaves representing 87.3% of the population, while Whites and *pardos* (mixed descent) represented 12.7%. In Fogo, the second island to be settled, the ratio was 2,000 Blacks to 1,608 white inhabitants, including free *pardos*, and 400 married *pretos forros* (free Blacks). These figures reveal that in places such as Santiago, the presence of Blacks was overwhelming and that a century after the beginning of the settlement, there were already people of mixed descent and free Blacks on the islands (Andrade, 1996: 108).

As discussed in Section 2.3.4, at the beginning of the trade, some of the slaves came by the islands on their way to some other final destination while some remained and became part of the labor contributing to agriculture, cattle raising, weaving and dyeing. Such resources became all the more important in 1472, as an ordinance from the King of Portugal demanded that all commercial exchange between the islands and the mainland be made with local products. At that point, the purchase of black slaves on the mainland could only be made with horses and woven cloth (Andrade, 1996). Due to this commercial use of

the islands, slaves outnumbered the whites for the longest time and according to Carreira, it is only in the 19th century that the white population increased in numbers though it never outnumbered the black population.

At all times, the islands were used more as a commercial strategic point than for the wealth of the resources they had to offer. They were primarily used as a slave depository, a testing ground for agricultural resources, and a spring board for reconnaissance expeditions and exploration on the western coast of Africa (Andrade, 1996).

Table 1, adapted from Andrade (1996:137) and Carreira (1972:420–430), shows the demographics of the slave population in the islands between the 16th and 19th century.

Table 1. The evolution of the slave population

Years	1582	1827	1834	1844	1856
Slaves	13,700	5,123	3,979	5,659	5,182

Compared to the total population, the slaves represented 87.5% in 1582, 6.4% in 1827, 9.4% in 1844 and 5.8% in 1856 (Andrade, 1996).

2.6   Summary and conclusion

The historical facts show that from the very beginning of colonization, Santiago played an important role in the slave trade, 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 coasts. It was also a regular stop for ships sailing toward India that came to the islands to get supplies such as food and water.

It is essentially due to the activities linked to the slave trade that the economy of the archipelago saw its expansion during the early phases of colonization. As early as the end of the 16th century, however, Portugal began losing a great deal of colonial power due to competing European countries such as Holland and France and, gradually, the islands lost their importance and ceased to be a turning plate in the slave trade.

Putting these sociohistorical observations within the broader context of language creation, this sketch clearly suggests that the agents who contributed

to the formation of CVC were not only children born on the colony but also adults (*lançados*, *grumetes*…).

CVC presents a particularly interesting case for the ongoing debate on creolization, language change and language acquisition. On this issue, DeGraff (1999) represents the first attempt to connect these three areas to generative theory. DeGraff observes that the study of language, grammar and development can either take a microscopic approach by focusing on the linguistic knowledge states in an individual speaker's head or a macroscopic approach by focusing on the behavioral manifestations of these knowledge states in the speaker's social environment or linguistic ecology (cf. Mufwene 2001). From the microscopic perspective, the formation of CVC clearly involved L1 (children) and L2 (adults as transmitting agents) acquisition. From the macroscopic angle, the study of creolization and language change needs to take into account the identity of the first African slaves and of the free men involved in language transmission.

In addition, the specific dialects of Portuguese that contributed to the formation of the Sotavento and Barlavento varieties over the course of one hundred years should be examined. The sociohistorical facts observed in this chapter give further credence to Bartens' (1996, 2000) componential diffusion model. The formation of CVC involved L1 and L2 acquisition (as already mentioned), an Afro-Portuguese pidgin (that may have originated from Cape Verde or from the mainland) or possibly a lingua franca interacting with various substrates.

Furthermore, the constraints imposed by Universal Grammar need to be considered. The gradual settlement of the archipelago having occurred over a span of a century clearly implies that different diachronic and synchronic varieties of substrates and of the superstrate were involved in the creole formation, which makes the study of CVC all the more challenging.

Such intense and ongoing interaction of the various linguistic sources would account for a number of grammatical puzzles (examined in this volume) stemming from feature conflation. Such phenomena are found for instance in the area of copular predication, which is examined in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.

CHAPTER 3

The Cape Verdean NP

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections covering the Cape Verdean full noun phrase, the pronominal system and adjectival predicates.

The study of the full noun phrase involves the semantics of indefinite and definite determiners, the interpretational variability of null determiners, pluralization strategies, gender marking and the reduplication of NPs. The examination of the pronominal systems includes the clitic and nonclitic paradigms and their distribution, reflexives, demonstratives, possessives, relative pronouns, interrogatives and expletives. The last topic addresses adjectives and agreement, adjectival reduplication and comparative constructions.

All examples in the corpus conform to the spelling conventions of the new official script ALUPEC (Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Caboverdiano, 1998). The only modifications I bring to the conventions of the ALUPEC are at the level of accentuation. I do not indicate the stress patterns of the words that abide by CVC following stress rules: stress rules are conditioned by the syntactic category to which a given word belongs, as well as its syllabic structure. For all verbs ending with a 'consonant-vowel' type of syllable (this represents the great majority of CVC verbs), the stress falls onto the final syllable (e.g., *dur'mi* 'to sleep'). For all the other lexical categories such as nouns, adjectives or adverbs, the stress falls onto the penultimate syllable if the final syllable is open (e.g., *'menza* 'table'), otherwise the stress falls onto the final syllable (e.g., *mu'djer* 'woman') (cf. Kihm, 1994, for similar rules in Guinea-Bissau Creole). This oversimplified description of the CVC stress system will be sufficient for the task at hand. I indicate stress on the words that depart from these basic rules and on syllables that have been clearly stressed by the speaker for extraneous reasons.

As previously mentioned, most of the speech data in this volume are drawn from the corpus compiled in the course of three fied trips conducted in 1997, 2000 and 2001. The selected examples represent speech samples from all four

Sotavento islands and have been assigned abbreviated labels identifying the informant and his/her native island. Such labels are meant to enable me to identify each speaker and his/her island while preserving the speaker's anonymity. BR stands for the island of Brava, FO for Fogo, ST for Santiago and MA for Maio. A list of abbreviations is provided at the beginning of this volume. The starred examples and the examples devoid of such abbreviated labels are of my own devising.

3.1   The full noun phrase

This section examines several issues in the domain of noun phrases. Section 3.2.1 provides a thorough presentation of the determiner system in CVC involving the analysis of overt and null determiners and their interpretational variability. Also in this section, the unusual and often overlooked phenomenon of nominal reduplication is discussed. In Section 3.3, the pronominal system which includes personal pronouns, reflexives, demonstratives, and possessives, is presented. Finally, Section 3.4 examines adjectival phrases, focussing on their agreement patterns and distribution.

3.1.1   The determiner system

This section provides a full description of the Cape Verdean determiner system and demonstrates how overt and null determiners interact in marking the specificity and nonspecificity of NPs.

On the issue of interpretational variability of null determiners, the findings in this study will be shown to contrast significantly with earlier observations made by scholars such as Meintel (1975) and Lucchesi (1993).

There are two types of overt determiners in CVC (marking number but not gender as a rule): the indefinite article *un* (sg.) and its plural counterpart *uns* (plur.) which, as will be argued below, behaves more like a quantifier than a genuine determiner. In the realm of definiteness, *kel* (sg.)/*kes* (plur.) occasionally assumes the role of a definite determiner in the language, although its primary function is that of a demonstrative. Almada (1961:89) denies the existence of a definite article in CVC but acknowledges the possible use of the demonstrative *kel/kes* as a definite article. Our seemingly diverging views are in fact reconcilable, as it will be shown that *kel/kes* actually has a double function in the language, primarily acting as a demonstrative but occasionally assuming

the role of a definite article. On this issue, CVC determiners have followed an evolutionary path common to determiners in a number of world languages. Indeed, as stated in Janson (1984: 305), the numeral *one* has been adopted as the indefinite article. As for the demonstrative, Janson notes that it may weaken to such an extent that it sometimes marks only definiteness, i.e., the quality of being known already. CVC *kel/kes* has not evolved to this stage yet, as it still performs a dual function with its primary function being that of a demonstrative. I will discuss in Section 3.2.1.1 clear cases where *kel/kes* unequivocally serves as a definite article.

3.1.1.1   *The semantics of indefinite and definite determiners*
Let us start with considering the distributional properties and uses of the indefinite *un/uns*. *Un* in CVC can act both as a numeral and an indefinite determiner. These two functions are illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively:

(1) *Nu ten **un** anu na prizão.* (Y-ST)[1]
      we have NUM year in jail
      'We spent one year in jail.'

(2) a. *Mas N ten ki   buska **un** pesoa ta   koba.* (S-ST)
          but I have COMP look IND person TMA[2] dig
          'But I need to look for someone to dig.'

     b. *Nos e **un** povu ki   ka   ta   xatia-s.*   (S-ST)
          we COP IND people COMP NEG TMA bother-them
          'We are people who don't bother them.'

In (2a), *un* is used to indicate that the referent is nonspecific, hence, is new in the discourse and in the shared consciousness of the speaker and hearer. *Un* may also refer to a specific entity, one already known by the speaker or both the speaker and hearer, this is the case in (2b). Hence, it is important to emphasize that an NP introduced by *un* may be [indefinite, nonspecific/nonreferential], as

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1. See list of abbreviations regarding these labels.

2. TMA stands for Tense, Mood and Aspect marker. These markers play a crucial role in a number of creole languages in yielding a variety of temporal, aspectual and modal interpretations depending on whether they occur in isolation or in combination with each other. We discuss them extensively in Chapter 4 and show that the marker *ta* in particular may function as an aspectual or mood marker.

in (2a), or [indefinite, specific/referential], as in (2b).[3] This state of affairs contradicts previous generalizations by Lucchesi (1993: 92–93) regarding the semantics of *un/uns* in CVC. Indeed, Lucchesi's study supports Givón (1981: 52) who claims that in creoles, the indefinite article is only a marker for referential-indefinite nouns. Givón states that creoles "represent the first, earliest stage in that development of 'one' as an indefinite marker, where it is used *only* (my emphasis) to mark referential-indefinite nouns" (Givón, 1981: 36; Lucchesi, 1993: 86). Both Lucchesi and Givón granted to *un/uns* the exclusive function of marking an NP as referential (specific) indefinite. These claims are contradicted by the data in (2a) and are further countered by examples such as (3a) in which nonreferential NPs are preceded by *un*.

> indefinite nonreferential
(3) a. *Nu ta   ranja* **un** *panela*, (C-ST)
>   we TMA get   IND pan
>   *nu ta   ba kunznha la   n' otu   funku*
>   we TMA go cook   there in other hut
>   'We find a way of getting a pan, then we go and cook in the other
>   hut over there.'
> indefinite referential
     b. **Un** *matxu sta na Sal.* (C-ST)
>   IND boy   is in Sal
>   'A boy (of mine) is in Sal.'

The pair of examples in (3) clearly shows that an NP introduced by *un* may be interpreted as referential, as in (3b) (the informant was referring to one of her sons who lives in the island of Sal), or nonreferential, as in (3a). This generalization may be represented in the following schema:

(4)   Indefinite *un* → [referential/nonreferential]

Uns, the plural counterpart to *un*, may modify a countable entity and semantically behaves more like a quantifier than a genuine plural determiner, as illustrated in (5):

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3. The use of *un* in CVC is in sharp contrast to that of Guinea Bissau Creole (GBC). According to Kihm (1994: 137), *un* in GBC unambiguously denotes that the entity it modifies is not identifiable. The said entity is generally new as opposed to presupposed or already known. In other words, Kihm analyzes *un* as modifying NPs that can only be interpreted as nonspecific nonreferential entities.

(5) *To ki' N ta   ten **uns** problema…* (S-ST)
    when I TMA have QT problem
    'When I have some problems…'

On this issue, it should be noted that there are clear cases where singular *un* may also act like a quantifier, particularly when it modifies noncountable, abstract entities, as shown in (6).

(6) a. *E bota-m   **un** ajudinha.* (S-ST)
        she throw-me QT little help
        'She gave me some little help.'
    b. *Nho kre   faze   **un** karidadi.* (S-ST)
        you want make QT charity
        'You wish to do some charity.'

Although one of the functions of *un* is to introduce a new referent, its presence is not required for a given NP to be interpreted as new information. We consider in Section 3.2.1.2 the cases when bare NPs may be interpreted as indefinite, nonreferential.

   Let us presently turn to definite NPs: as a rule, CVC does not explicitly mark its NPs as being definite by means of overt determiners; this issue will be examined in Section 3.2.1.2. When an overt determiner expressing definiteness does appear, it has the form of *kel/kes. Kel/kes* has a double function: on the one hand, it primarily performs the role of a demonstrative in the language. We elaborate on that function in Section 3.3.4. On the other hand, it may be used to mark definiteness when referring to a known entity, as shown in (7). In (7a), the expression *azagua* is used for the first time in this particular passage (of the interview) and when it recurs in the following sentence, *kel* precedes it and involves no deixis:[4]

(7) a. *Mas ami, N ta   trabadja azagua.   *(S-ST)
        but me I TMA work   rainy season.
        'As for me, I work during the rainy season.'
    b. *N ta   munda **kel** azagua   mi so.* (S-ST)
        I TMA weed out DEF rainy season myself
        'I weed out during the rainy season on my own.'

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4. In Guinea-Bissau Creole as well, Kihm (1994:139) reported that the demonstrative is gradually gaining an anaphoric role, signaling that the entity denoted by the NP has already been mentioned directly in some previous discourse. Such a function is fulfilled in Guinea-Bissau Creole by the distal demonstrative *kil*.

In (7a), *azagua* 'rainy season' is mentioned for the first time; it should be emphasized that when it recurs in (7b) with the definite article, the use of *kel* is neither necessary nor predictable.

The use of *kel* as a definite determiner may also occur in the formation of relative clauses of the type in (8):

(8) *Kel omi ki'   N odja na merkadu era bu   pai.*
    DEF man COMP+I see in market   was your father
    'The man that I saw in the market was your father.'

Furthermore, the use of *kel* with the adjective *otu* 'other' or the comparative marker *mas* 'more' clearly yields a definite reading for the NP it modifies. This is exemplified in (9):

(9) *Kel otu   sta moradu li   sin li, k'e   kel mas grandi.* (C-ST)
    the other is   lived   here here   COMP+he the more big
    'The other one lives right here, he is the oldest.'

It is also important to emphasize that the definite determiner refers to a known entity but not necessarily to an item that has been introduced in the discourse earlier, as shown in (10):

(10) *Kel otu   dia dimingu, ta   ledu na kel otu   kaza.* (C-ST)
     DEF other day Sunday   TMA read in DEF other house
     'The following Sunday, we read in the other house.'

Hence, contra Lucchesi who claims that an entity must be mentioned at least once in the discourse before *kel* may be used, the data show that such prerequisite is unnecessary. Further evidence for the lack of such a rule is provided by examples such as (11) in which the truncated form of *kel*, i.e. *ke*, appears although *simenti* 'seeds' has not been mentioned earlier and is not being pointed at deictically. In this case, the expression *ke simenti* yields a definite rather than a demonstrative interpretation:

(11) *N ta   po **ke simenti** na txon,   prontu.* (S-ST)
     I TMA put DEF seeds   in ground ready
     'I put the seeds in the ground, that's it.'

There may also be syntactic reasons accounting for the absence of a determiner. Modifiers such as possessives (12a) or demonstratives (12b) may inhibit its appearance, as first noted in Lucchesi (1993).

(12) a. *Lei   di **nos** xefri li.*   (S-ST)
        rules of our leader here
        'The rules of this leader of ours.'
   b. *Nu ben   pa **ke** xefri li.*   (S-ST)
        we come for DEM leader here
        'We joined this leader.'

Note that *kel* can also modify abstract or noncountable entities, as illustrated in (13):

(13) *Na **kel**   tenpu, vida era sabi.*   (S-ST)
        in DEM time   life   was pleasant
        'In those days, life was pleasant.'

The plural counterpart of *kel*, *kes*, is illustrated in (14):

(14) *E   tudu **kes** povu ki   sta na nos.* (S-ST)
        FOC all   DEM people COMP are on us
        'It is all these people that are over us.'

Although it is often difficult to decide whether one is dealing with the true deictic or its anaphoric counterpart, clear examples of the anaphoric usage have been provided in (7b), (8), (9), (10) and (11). The null determiner may also express specificity, just like *kel*, rendering the use of *kel* optional. The use of *kel* as a definite determiner cannot be considered systematic at this point in the development of the language.

The two overt determiners *un(s)* and *kel/kes* having been introduced, it is worth contrasting these two items to their counterparts in Portuguese (the lexifier) and Manjaku (one of the contributing African languages). Just as in Guinea-Bissau Creole (cf. Kihm, 1994: 139–140), the CVC system for marking specificity has little in common with the system of its Portuguese lexifier. The Portuguese definite article *o(s)* (MASC)/*a(s)* (FEM) are nonexistent in CVC, and from the Portuguese indefinites *un(s)* (MASC)/*uma(s)* (FEM), only *un(s)* was preserved.[5] As for *kel*, it is possible to detect a resemblance between *kel* and *aquele*, the Portuguese demonstrative equivalent to 'this/that' but some caution is in order because of possible substratal influence. For instance, in Mande, *kili* is used as a definite determiner. A plausible scenario is that CVC *kel* is the result of a conflation between Portuguese *aquele* and Mande *kili* (cf. Chataigner, 1963).

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5. On rare occasions, Cape Verdean informants used *uma*, the feminine counterpart to *un* in Portuguese, but such occurrences are so scarce (only one occurrence appears in the entire corpus) that it is reasonable to assume they are merely incidental, not systematic.

Although CVC may explicitly distinguish between definite and indefinite (specific and nonspecific) NPs by means of overt determiners, we will show that such determiners may be omitted if sufficient information regarding the (in)definiteness status of the NPs is provided by the context or prior discourse.

The following section will demonstrate that the use of null determiners is prevalent in the language. Interestingly, Kihm (1994: 139) notes that the system bears a certain resemblance to that of Manjaku in that Manjaku contrasts a marked unspecific form (e.g. *kalon kato*/one house 'a house') with an unmarked form (*kato* 'the/a house'), which would make it similar to Guinea-Bissau Creole and CVC. One should, however, remain cautious when elaborating hypotheses about the origins of these features.

3.1.1.2   *Interpretational variability of null determiners*[6]

Null determiners in CVC show a high degree of interpretational variability in that the NP they modify may be interpreted as generic (15), indefinite plural (16), indefinite singular (17), definite singular (18) or definite plural (19). The relevant interpretation is captured through cotextual (found in the text itself), contextual cues or simply pragmatics, meaning situational constraints familiar to language users:

generic

(15) *Nu ta   ten   **midju,** nu ta   ten **fixon,** nu ta   ten **kobu,***   (W-ST)
we TMA have corn   we TMA have bean   we TMA have cabbage
*nu ta   ten   **kongu,** nu ta   ten **mandioka,** nu ta   ten **batata.***
we TMA have congo we TMA have manioc   we TMA have potatoes
'We get corn, we get beans, we get cabbage, we get Congo beans, we get manioc, we get potatoes.'

indefinite specific plural

(16) *Dja'   N faze   **balei**   pa' N bende.* (W-ST)
PERF+I   make basket for I   sell
'I made baskets for sale.'

indefinite specific singular

(17) *Nu tenha **xefri,** nu tenha xefri   ki   ta   leba libru ku   nos.* (C-ST)
we had   leader we had   leader COMP TMA take book with us
'We had a leader, a leader who would take book(s) with us.'

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6. See Baptista (1998, 1999b & 2000b) for an in-depth study of the various interpretations of bare nominals.

definite specific singular

(18) *familia, N ten   tudu menor.* (W-ST)
family   I   have all   small
'The family, they are all small.'

definite plural

(19) *Amigu i   kolega   ben   odja-m na ospital.*
friends and colleagues come see-me in hospital
'My friends and colleagues came to see me in the hospital.'

There are several reasons why bare NPs may appear. First, the speaker may consider information regarding specificity as irrelevant. This would account for the occurrence of the bare NP in (15).

Second, in the realm of definite NPs, the entity may be easily identifiable by both the listener and speaker if such an entity is familiar to their world. In (20) for instance, the speaker knows that *xefri* 'the leader' is an individual known both by her and her audience, hence there is no need for a determiner:

(20) *Ano   nu fika   kontenti ku   xefri.* (S-ST)
NONCL CL remain happy   with leader
'As for us, we are satisfied with the leader.'

This would also be applicable to unique entities that form their own class such as *sol* 'sun':

(21) *Ja   e ka   ta   mutu matrata-m, mas ku   sol* (S-ST)
now it NEG TMA a lot   ill-treat-me but with sun

el   e ta   fika matratadu.
NONCL CL TMA stay ill-treated
'Now, it does not hurt me as much but with the sun, it still hurts me.'

Null morphemes alternate and interact with overt determiners in fairly intricate ways. Consider for this purpose the following text, in which the specific indefinite NP *duensa* is introduced by the indefinite article *un* in its first occurrence and is modified by a null determiner subsequently. Note that demonstratives such as *es* are not precluded and do appear in the third occurrence of the NP in this particular case.

(22) *N ten un duensa ki'   N dja ara   ku   el, ta   txoma* (S-ST)
I have IND disease COMP I PERF bother with it TMA call

asma   duensa ta   txoma asma i   mi, nha trabadju, azagua,   N
asthma disease TMA call   asthma and me my work   rainy season I

> *ta   trabadja mas* **es   duensa** *p'e   trabadja-m sabi e   ku   txuba.*
> TMA work   but DEM disease for+it work-me   well COP with rain
> 'I have a disease that bothers me, they call it asthma, the disease is called asthma and I do my work harvesting but for this disease not to bother me, it must rain.'

These data corroborate an earlier observation by Lucchesi (1993: 81) that after an NP has been introduced in the discourse by the indefinite article *un/uns*, it may recur bare with no need for *kel/kes* or any other modifier.

In brief, the data at hand contradict Lucchesi's and Givón's semantic analysis of *un/uns*. According to both scholars, the exclusive function of *un/uns* in creole languages is to mark an NP as referential (specific) indefinite. Examples (2a) and (3a) reflecting monolingual speech clearly show that *un* can modify nonreferential indefinite NPs. Furthermore, contrary to Lucchesi's claim (based on examples like (22)) that an NP has to be introduced by *un* first in order to be recovered in subsequent occurrences as a definite NP, examples such as (20) and (21) show us that there is not such a need or prerequisite.[7]

There is yet another oversight on Lucchesi's part that must be noted: it concerns the specific versus nonspecific readings of null morphemes. Although Lucchesi's claim that nouns unmarked by an article may get a specific reading is correct, it is important to refine such an observation and note that only plural nouns marked with the zero form article may get a specific or nonspecific interpretation according to the context. For instance, a sentence like *omis gosta di bebe grogu* could be interpreted as 'men (nonspecific) like to drink hard liquor' or 'the men (specific reading) like to drink hard liquor'. However, when it comes to singular bare NPs, it is often the case that they are interpreted as indefinite or definite depending upon their position in the sentence. Definite singular bare NPs tend to be found in subject positions (older information) while indefinite singular bare NPs (new information) tend to appear in object positions. These two positions are illustrated in (23) and (24) respectively:

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7. Indeed, Lucchesi (1993: 86) argues that "the speaker is capable of recovering its referent from prior discourse thanks to the presence of the indefinite article in the first occurrence of the NP." On this matter, he adds (Lucchesi, 1993: 105, fn.7) that "the absence of the indefinite article in the first occurrence of the NP would lead the hearer inevitably to interpret this NP as nonreferential. Thus the chain of co-reference would not be initiated, which is what happens potentially in Creoles when an NP is introduced by an indefinite article." Examples (20) and (21) show, however, there is no need to mark an NP with an indefinite article to establish reference.

definite referential singular

(23) ***Xefri*** *ka   ta   zanga   ku   nos.* (C-ST)
leader NEG TMA get angry with us
'The leader does not get angry with us.'

indefinite referential singular

(24) a. *Nu tenha **xefri** ki   ta   leba libru ku   nos.* (C-ST)
we had   leader COMP TMA take book with us
'We had a leader who would take book(s) with us.'

b. *Djedje atxa **mudjer** bibu, kuazi   mortu lago.* (BCR-BR)
Djedje find woman alive almost dead   there
'Djedje found a woman alive, she was nearly dead over there.'

It is important to emphasize that these are just tendencies, as it is also possible to find indefinite referential/nonreferential singulars (or just generic) in subject position, as illustrated in (25):

(25) ***Amigu*** *ka   ta   faze keli.*
friend NEG TMA do   this
'A friend does not do such a thing.'

This state of affairs is summarized in the schema in (26):

(26) Positions for new and old information (regarding singular bare NPs)
Old information: definite → Subject position
New information: indefinite → Object position

These are of course just tendencies but, as such, they have been noted in studies by Payne (1985) in general and by Kouwenberg (1994: 108) for Berbice Dutch. Kouwenberg notes that in Berbice Dutch (BD), referential NPs are generally introduced in discourse as indefinite NPs, but the form they take depends on whether they hold a subject or an object position in the sentence. Kouwenberg's observation is supported by the fact that in a number of languages, the subject position tends to be associated with the topic function. As a result, the subject position in affirmative sentences tends to be reserved to definite NPs, and if an indefinite NP appears in subject position, it tends to be interpreted referentially [indefinite/referential]. This means that new NPs are introduced in object positions whereas subject positions tend to be reserved in general to "old", or definite, NPs. This is not, however, always the case. Kouwenberg observes notable exceptions in BD and the same can be said for CVC. Indeed, an indefinite referential NP does not always take an indefinite article, but may appear bare in subject position. Hence, an NP may be introduced for the first time

in subject position with no article and be interpreted as indefinite referential. In conclusion, the interpretive options of singular NPs seem subject to positional attributes whereas plural NPs are not subject to such constraints.

In summary, although plural NPs preceded by the null morpheme may get an indefinite or definite interpretation according to the context, singular nouns marked by the zero-form article tend not to get an indefinite nonreferential interpretation in subject position.

The interactive and overlapping use of overt and covert determiners may be summarized as follows: the first generalization concerning the overt indefinite determiner *un* is that it may introduce a referential or nonreferential indefinite NP in its first occurrence. Its plural counterpart *uns*, which fulfills the same role, is closer to a quantifier (some, a few) than to an indefinite article. *Uns* may be replaced by a null morpheme for marking nonreferential or referential NPs. *Un* may also act as a quantifier when modifying noncountable or abstract entities, as illustrated in example (6).

The definite article, demonstrative *kel* and its plural counterpart *kes* may introduce referential specific NPs but are more often than not replaced by null morphemes. In this respect, the null morpheme may introduce singular or plural referential or nonreferential NPs, which include unique entities or items familiar to both the hearer and speaker. Furthermore, the appearance of the definite article may be inhibited by factors such as other referentiality-inducing modifiers (possessives, adjectives, or relatives) because such modifiers already indicate referentiality and, in some cases, definiteness, as noted in Lucchesi (1993: 90).

Table 1 reflects the CVC determiner system with two provisos: it should be kept in mind that *uns* behaves more like a quantifier than a genuine indefinite article and the primary function of *kel/kes* is that of a demonstrative with occasional use as a definite article.

Table 1. The Cape Verdean Creole determiner system

		Nonreferential	Referential	
			Indefinite	Definite
Countables	Plural	Ø	*uns*, Ø	*kes*, Ø
	Singular	*un*, Ø	*un*, Ø	*kel*, Ø
Noncountables		Ø	*un*, Ø	*kel*, Ø

In the next section, the focus shifts from left-periphery nominal modifiers such as overt and null determiners to right-periphery plural suffixation. More precisely, we examine pluralization strategies in CVC with a particular focus on -*s* suffixation on noun stems. This analysis will reveal what type of information -*s* suffixation encodes in monolingual speech.

3.1.2   Pluralization strategies

This section proves particularly enlightening in the realm of inflectional morphology in creole languages and is significant with regard to the current debate on the morphological properties of creole languages (cf. McWhorter, 1998; DeGraff, 2001). It introduces all pluralization strategies present in CVC and focuses particularly on nominal morphology, i.e., plural suffixation on nominal stems, and shows that it is a highly productive process regulated by principled licensing conditions.[8] In addition, the possible genesis of the suffixation strategy, as well as the implications for the universal principles underlying plural marking are considered.[9]

Holm (1988: 193) states that as a rule, creole nouns are not inflected with plural suffixes[10] and that in order to express plurality, most Atlantic creole nouns make use of a free morpheme that corresponds to the third person plural pronoun 'they'. With regard to CVC for instance, Holm echoes Almada (1961) in claiming that CVC only uses pluralizers derived from Portuguese plural determiners, i.e., *uns* 'some' and *kes* 'the'. He attributes the occasional use of the plural suffix '-*s*' on nominal stems to creolophones emulating Portuguese speakers. Contra Holm's hypothesis and in contrast to the works by Almada (1961), Meintel (1975) and Lopes (1957), which did not acknowledge plural suffixation on CVC

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8. Indeed, contra Mühlhäusler's (1997: 215) observation regarding the random use of -*s* in Krio, the study of plural suffixation in this section shows that the plural suffix -*s* does not enter randomly the language under study.

9. In Baptista (to appear in 2002a), I compare plural suffixation in five creole and pidgin languages: CVC, Guinea-Bissau and Guinea-Casamance creoles, Nigerian Pidgin English and Ghanaian Pidgin English. A close examination of large corpora representative of all five languages revealed that animacy, definiteness and episodic tense have a role to play in predicting the use of the plural suffix.

10. Holm (1988: 193), however, refers to plural markers that have integrated the morphological makeup of specific lexemes without expressing plurality. Such cases can be found in Miskito Coast Creole English: *tuulz* stands for 'tool'. Such examples may also be found in CVC, as will be discussed later.

nouns, this section shows that plural suffixation on nominal stems is a productive process. Pires (1995) also noted that although plural inflection has not been acknowledged in most of the literature on this topic, such a marker is attested in all registers of the language, whether scholarly, literary or informal and is sensitive to animacy. As her paper inscribes itself in the perspective of bilingualism, Pires attributes the choice for plural marking to the influence of Portuguese. While this section supports Pires' original insight regarding the widespread use of plural suffixation in CVC and its sensitivity to the animacy variable, it diverges from her approach and conclusions by focusing primarily on the use of plural suffixation in monolingual speech, particularly that of the *Rabeladu* (cf. Chapter 1). In the process, the primary principles regulating the occurrence of plural suffixation are discussed.

Let us start with analyzing the various pluralization strategies available in CVC. One of the standard strategies in marking number in the language is via determiners (27b), deictics, possessives (28b, 28c), numerals (29) and floating quantifiers (30), while the nominal stem, as a rule, remains bare, making plural marking generally economical.

indefinite determiner
(27) a. **un** *rapariga*
          'a young woman'
      b. **uns** *rapariga*
          'some young women'

demonstrative/definite determiner
(28) a. **kel** *rapariga*
          'that/the young woman'
      b. **kes** *rapariga*
          'those/the young women'
      possessive
      c. **nhas** *fidju* (MR-FO)
          'my children/my sons'

numerals
(29) *N pari*   **oitu** *fidju.*   (C-ST)
      I deliver eight children
      'I had eight children.'

quantifier

(30) **Tudu** *rapariga   staba ta   txora.*
　　all   young women were TMA crying
　　'All the young women were crying.'

CVC is endowed with a wide range of quantifiers rendering a plural interpretation to the nouns they modify. Note, however, that the use of a quantifier does not preclude the noun from carrying the plural suffix, particularly if the noun is animate. This is illustrated in (31):

(31) *Ta ten txeu **mininus** ki   ta   ba skola.* (D-ST)
　　TMA have a lot children COMP TMA go school
　　'There are a lot of children who go to school.'

When preceded by an adjectival modifier, the plural suffix may be carried by the nominal stem or by the modifier, as shown in (32a) and (32b) respectively:

(32) a. *Ka ten   otru **meius** mas di vive.* (SA-FO)
　　　　NEG have other means more of living
　　　　'there are no other means of livelihood.'
　　 b. *Ka   ten   **otrus** trabadju.* (MCG-FO)
　　　　NEG have other work
　　　　'There are no other jobs.'

There are also cases of lexicalized plurals whereby the plural suffix has integrated the lexical makeup of the word. This process affects particularly borrowings, such as *dropis* < Engl. 'drops' (candies) in (33) or *Estadus Unidu* < Port. *Estadus Unidus* 'United-States' in (34).

(33) *Ka ten un **dropis**,   ka ten un asukri…* (AR-FO)
　　NEG have one candy drops NEG have one sugar
　　'There is not one candy, there isn't any sugar…'

(34) *Pai   senpri t'   andaba na **Estadus** Unidu.* (MS-FO)
　　father always TMA walk   in states   united
　　'Father always traveled to the United States.'

Furthermore, as already discussed in Section 3.2.1.2, bare nouns may yield a generic interpretation (35) or be interpreted as plural (36):

generic interpretation

(35) ***Omi*** *ten pe di katxor.* (idiomatic)
men/man have foot of dog
'Men are always out.' *or*
'Man is always out.'

plural interpretation

(36) ***Kaza*** *d'es rua ta parse bedju.*
house of+this street TMA look old
'The houses in this street look old.'

In addition, nominal stems may carry a plural suffix (as in (37)), a strategy that will be the focus of the next subsection.

(37) ***Raparigas*** *txiga sedu.*
young women arrive early
'The young women arrived early.'

On top of these strategies generally acknowledged in the literature on CVC (cf. Veiga, 1995), the corpus at hand revealed two more strategies: in the case where a noun is preceded by a determiner such as a possessive, the determiner may remain singular and the noun may carry the plural suffix, as illustrated in (38).

(38) a. *Nha* ***grandis*** *ki labanta…* (DM-FO)
     my children COMP get up
     'My children who got up…'
   b. *nha* ***mininus*** (PD-FO)
     'my children'
   c. *nha* ***kolegas*** (CCG-FO)
     'my colleagues'

Furthermore, in some rare instances, both the determiner and the noun may carry the plural marker but only when the referent is [+human], as in (39).

(39) *Ah!* ***Kes djentis*** *la*   (DM-FO)
     oh those people there
     'Oh! Those people!'

The four-way plural marking strategies in CVC are summarized in Table 2.

In addition to the pluralization strategies listed in Table 2, one should note a small set of irregular plurals in the language, such as *minizu* 'children', as illustrated in (40):

(40)   *Atxa-m duenti, sera **minizu** txiga.* (RS-ST)
       find-me sick   wait kids   arrive
       'He found me sick, he waited for the children to arrive.'

Interestingly, such forms cannot be considered as borrowings from Portuguese although the lexemes they affect are. The Portuguese equivalent to *minizu* is *mininus*, a form also found in CVC.

Let us presently focus on plural suffixation and examine the triggers intervening in NP marking.

In the entire corpus representing the speech of *Rabeladu*, the following items compose the whole set of plural markers found on nominal stems. As attested by the representative examples, plural marking affects human nouns exclusively.

(41)   *Dja la   nu podu na   trabadju.* (RSS-ST)
       PERF there we were put at work
       *trabadju duru, mi ku   nos **mininus***
       work   hard me with our children
       'There, we were put to hard work, me and our children.'

(42)   *Bu trabadja ku   nha **povus**.* (RSS-ST)
       you work   with my people
       'You worked with my people.'

(43)   *Ami nha **mininus**, es fika   tudu la pa fora.*   (RSS-ST)
       me my children they remain all   there outside
       'As for my children, they all stayed out there.'

(44)   *Sen   nada   i   sen   **pesoas**.* (RSS-ST)
       without nothing and without persons
       'Without anything or anyone.'

Table 2. Plural marking strategies

un**s**/ke**s** + bare noun
kes + noun-**s** (uncommon)
nha + noun-**s**
Bare noun (generic or specific reading)
Quantifier (of various types) + bare noun
Quantifier + noun-**s**
Ø + noun-**s**

In the realm of animate entities, it is important to emphasize that plural marking represents a very strong tendency, but remains a tendency neverthe-less. It is for instance possible to find examples where a definite animate plural noun may not be marked with the plural suffix, as in (45):

(45) ***Mininu*** *sta so miodu,* ***mininu*** *inda ka pode trabadja, e* (W-ST)
children are only small children still NEG can work FOC
mi so ki sa trabadja.
me alone COMP TMA work
'My children are all small, my children cannot work yet, I am the only one to be working.'

The context of this utterance clearly reveals that the speaker is talking about his own children, hence a set of definite animate entities. This state of affairs shows that although a strong tendency may be detected, nominal stems devoid of modifiers and plural suffix may refer to specific plural entities.

Pires (1995) claimed that the plural marking of nouns such as *mininus* '(the) children', *omis* '(the) men', *mudjeris* '(the) women', *rapasis* '(the) boys', *dotoris* 'the doctors', is systematic. Although such claims are sustained by the animate nature of these entities, they should be dealt with cautiously in the light of examples such as (45) in which the plural entity *mininu* does not carry a plural suffix. While number inflection in *Rabeladu* speech exclusively targeted animate entities, other monolingual varieties may mark inanimate items under two conditions: these items must either be definite/specific or be framed in the context of episodic tense, meaning they are relevant to the speaker's past or present experience. The study of other languages like Hindi and Indonesian has shown that episodic tense can affect the interpretation of a NP as referential definite (cf. Porterfield & Srivastav, 1988:268). Plural-marked definite inani-mate items tend to be found in the realm of time units or monetary currency, as shown in (46) and (47) respectively:

(46) ***Oras*** *ki da…* (DI-ST)
hours COMP give
'Whenever the times were good…'

(47) *Vinti* ***anus*** (MA-ST)
twenty years

Episodic tense is shown to affect the interpretation of a NP as referential in the following examples:

(48) *Ka   tene   **kondisons.** (AM-ST)*
NEG have conditions
'There aren't the adequate conditions.'

(49) *Nu fika t'   atxa **brokinhus** na tera. (PSF-FO)*
we stay TMA find holes   in earth
'We kept finding holes in the ground.'

(50) *El ta   uza **kuzas** mariadu.   (AR-FO)*
he TMA use things problematic
'He uses problematic things.'

(51) *Ka   ten   **lugares** p'algen   inprega. (SA-FO)*
NEG have places   for+someone hire
'There are no places where one can find a job.'

(52) *Tenba txeu ki   tinha **maneras.** (APF-FO)*
was   a lot COMP had   means
'A lot of them had the means.'

In summary, we may formulate two tentative generalizations: number inflection primarily targets [+human/+animate] entities. Animacy and definiteness are the two features that identify them as prime candidates for plural marking. The marking of inanimate objects is sensitive to definiteness and Tense (episodic tense versus generic tense). In addition to showing that plural suffixation in monolingual speech is sensitive to variables such as [±animate, ±human] and [±definite], the data at hand has also revealed that monolingual speech is not a monolithic whole and that multiple grammars exist among speakers. Speakers have several options: for instance, nouns may not carry a plural marker if modified by a numeral or a quantifier already implying plurality. This is however not always the case. Entities that tend to be pluralized are those that carry the [+human] feature. This option is not activated in the case of things or [−human] entities, given that they may be viewed as an undifferentiated mass for which individuation is irrelevant or useless. This was clearly the case of *Rabeladu* speech but not of all monolinguals.

We can tentatively propose a hierarchy among the variables affecting NP marking: entities are more likely to be marked with the plural suffix if they are [+animate/+human]. Such entities do not have to be definite in order to be marked. Inanimate entities on the other hand, are more often than not unmarked, but the prerequisite to plural marking is that they be definite or uttered in the context of episodic tense.

The examination of the corpus at hand has shown that plural suffixation is used in various registers and varieties of the language including monolingual speech. It has also helped us determine which variables plural suffixation is sensitive to.

Definiteness/specificity has also been said to play a role in other creoles such as Guinea-Bissau Creole (cf. Kihm, 1994: 281, fn. 15). Kihm noted a strong correlation between pluralization and specificity. Hence, the Guinea-Bissau Creole expression *omis ben* (identical to its CVC counterpart) yields the primary interpretation that 'the men came' [specific men]; however, the nonspecific reading is not excluded. Kihm proposes that the nonspecific reading is due to the possibility of conceiving a set without reference to the individuals who compose it. Plural marking, however, tends to signal that the set carries the [+animate] feature.

The emerging pattern in the cases of CVC and Guinea-Bissau Creole is that there is an interaction and occasional overlaps between the factors of animacy and definiteness. If *omis ben* has the potential to mean 'men came' [non specific], this clearly shows that specificity in the case of animate entities is not the trigger for plural marking, but animacy is. In the case of inanimate entities, plural marking emerges in the case of definite/specific items relevant to the speaker's experience, hence in the context of episodic tense.

3.1.3   Gender marking

Gender marking occurs in CVC on both nouns and adjectives (we discuss adjectival agreement in Section 3.4). Animacy and the [+ human] feature in particular are chief factors in determining whether a noun expresses a distinction between masculine and feminine. This trait inherited from Portuguese has been discussed at length in Pires (1995). The examples in (53) show that kinship terms can express gender distinction. The examples in (54) reflect various activities performed by humans. The set in (55) exemplifies aristocratic titles.

(53) a. *fidju-fidja* (Pires, 1995: 76)
          son daughter
      b. *noibu-noiba*
          groom-bride

(54) a. *ladron-ladrona* (Pires, 1995: 77)
          thief (MASC)-thief (FEM)
      b. *trabadjador-trabadjadera*
          hard-worker (MASC)/hard-worker (FEM)

    c.   *papiad**or**-papiad**era***
       talker (MASC)/talker (FEM)[11]

(55) a.   *duki-duke**za*** (Pires, 1995:77)
        duke-duchess

      b.   *prispi-prinsez**a***
        prince-princess

      c.   *kondi-kondes**a***
        count-countess

Gender marking is only one of the areas where the factor of animacy plays a major role in the grammar of the language.

3.1.4   Reduplication of NPs

Nominal reduplication occurs in CVC and yields primarily a distributive interpretation. It also affects a number of lexicalized expressions. The reduplication of nominal temporal expressions as in (56) is highly productive and fulfils a distributive adverbial function:

(56) *Nha   dotor ben odja-m **sumána-sumána**.*
      1SG.POSS doctor come see-me week-week
      'My doctor came to see me every week.'

(57) *Bu ta* atxa-s   ***grán-grán.*** (Veiga, 1987:63)
      you TMA find-them grain-grain
      'You find them one by one.' (my translation)

(58) *Gentis… lebadu **bárku-bárku**, es   more **mónti-mónti.***
      people carried boat-boat   they die heap-heap
      'People … were carried away boat after boat, they died in numbers.'
      (my translation) (Veiga, 1987:210)

The temporal and quantifying nominal expressions in (56) through (58) represent a fairly highly productive process in the domain of distributive reduplication. It is important to emphasize, however, that such a degree of productivity does not carry over to other types of nouns and I show in other sections that the reduplication of other lexical categories such as adjectives and adverbs is more productive in CVC. As a rule, when nouns (other than temporal and quantifying nominal expressions such as those listed in (56)–(58)) are

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11. To be more precise, *papiad**or**/papiad**era*** refers to someone who talks a lot.

reduplicated, their semantic properties tend to be non-iconic, involving a change in meaning and/or a change in word class. More precisely, we find cases where the unreduplicated form is a noun and its reduplicated counterpart an adjective or a verb. There are also cases where no category change is effected by the reduplication, but where the semantics of the reduplication is nonetheless divorced from that of the unreduplicated form. In this section, we briefly examine these types of reduplication. While it is naturally impossible to assert that the reduplicated forms listed below are the only attestations of these categorial and semantic relationships, it is safe to say that these types of reduplication are highly restricted in CVC.

As illustrated by the following examples, the semantic shifts are sometimes quite unpredictable. For instance, reduplication of *peli* 'skin' in (59) yields *peli-peli* 'stark naked'.

(59) a. *Maria fra-m ma João ten   duensa di **peli**.*
          Maria tell-me that João have disease of skin
          'Maria told me that João has a skin disease.'
      b. *Onti,   N odja djenti **peli-peli** na praia di Tarrafal.*
          yesterday I   see   people skin-skin LOC beach of Tarrafal
          'Yesterday, I saw stark naked people on the beach at Tarrafal.'

In this particular case, the categorial change operates from noun to adjective. Similarly, in (60), the noun *bóka* 'mouth', once reduplicated into *bóka-bóka*, yields a nominal/adverbial form '(in) secret'.

(60) a. *Kala **bóka**!*
          quiet mouth
          'Be quiet!'
      b. *e ka sa   ta   atxaba djazigu   di konbersa, **bóka-bóka***
          he NEG TMA TMA find   opportunity to converse mouth-mouth
          ku   si gentis.
          with his people
          '… he was not finding the right occasion to converse in secret with
          his people.' (my translation) (Veiga, 1987:124)

There are also several lexemes displaying "dual-citizenship", in that a single form may be a noun or a verb. For instance, the nominal/verbal expression *foga* 'suffocation, to suffocate' (it may also mean 'to strangle') yields '*fóga-fóga*' which is interpreted as the noun 'speed/haste' (61b) or the adverb 'hurriedly, hastily' (61c) (cf. Fernandes, 1991 [1920]:74):

(61) a. *Hoje im ta   dá-bo   um **fóga**.*
today I   TMA give you a   strangling
'Today, I'll strangle you. '(my translation)
(Fernandes, 1991 [1920]:74)

  b. ***Fóga-fóga** ka   bale.*   (Fernandes, 1991 [1920]:74)
haste haste NEG worthy
'Haste leads you nowhere.'

  c. *E   ta   faze tudu kuza na **fóga-fóga**.*
he TMA do   all   thing in haste haste
'He does everything hastily.' (my translation)
(Fernandes, 1991 [1920]:74)

In other such cases, reduplication results in a semantically unrelated noun: while *fuska* may be a verb meaning 'to get drunk' or a noun meaning 'drunkenness', the reduplicated form *fuska-fuska* has the unrelated meaning 'sunset/darkness'. Similarly, *buli* may be interpreted as a noun 'gourd' or as a verb 'to annoy'. The reduplicated form *buli-buli* is interpreted as the verb 'to shake' and may have a sexual connotation implying a teasing movement, for instance in dancing.

Regarding the semantic relationship between the unreduplicated form and its reduplicated counterpart, any attempts to generalize must remain tentative. For instance, the formation of *peli-peli* in (59) could be said to involve the semantic change from an object (*peli* 'skin') to characterization by the presence of that object (hence 'naked'). However, *bóka-bóka* in (60), meaning 'in secret', does not have a similar semantic linkage with the word it is derived from, *bóka* 'mouth'. In fact, *bóka* is semantically only indirectly connected to the reduplicated form *bóka-bóka*. On the basis of these examples, we observe that the semantics (and/or categorial status) of some reduplicated forms can be indirectly related to that of the unreduplicated form, or entirely divorced from it.

In summary, the examples examined show that reduplication of nominal quantifiers and nominal temporal expressions is iconic in fulfilling a distributive function. However, in the realm of other types of nouns, reduplicated forms have semantic properties that are typically non-iconic and may involve category change.

Nominal reduplication patterns are summarized in Table 3.

In Baptista (to appear in 2002b), I investigate further reduplication processes as they apply to other lexical categories and explore their possible lexical sources in the Cape Verdean substrates.

The next section introduces pronominal paradigms in the domains of personal pronouns, reflexives, demonstratives, possessives, relatives, interrogatives, indefinites and expletives.

Table 3. Types of reduplication in Cape Verdean Creole

Base		Reduplication	
Quantifying element	*mónti* 'heap'	Adverbial (distributive)	*mónti-mónti* 'in numbers'
Noun	*bóka* 'mouth'	Noun (semantic shift)	*bóka-bóka* '(in) secret'
Noun/Verb	*fuska* 'to get drunk' 'drunkenness'	Noun (unrelated)	*fuska-fuska* 'sunset' 'darkness'
Noun/Verb	*buli* 'gourd' 'to annoy'	Verb (semantic shift)	*buli-buli* 'to shake (hips)'

3.2   The pronominal system

The first subsection presents two paradigms, those of the clitic and the nonclitic pronominals, and focuses on their distribution. CVC clitics are listed in Table 4 and their nonclitic counterparts in Table 5. CVC pronominals are morphologically not marked for case, number, or gender except for the formal second person singular pronouns *nho* and *nha*. It is likely that *nho* and *nha* may have been derived from the Portuguese expressions *senhor* 'Sir' and *senhora* 'Lady'.[12]

3.2.1   The clitic paradigm

In Table 4, variations due to specific morpho-phonological environments are marked with parentheses.

3.2.1.1   *The distribution of subject clitics*
In CVC, the subject clitic immediately precedes either the verb, as in (62a), or TMA markers in affirmative sentences, as in (63a), or the negative marker *ka* in negative sentences, as in (64a). No element may intervene between the subject clitic and its verbal or negative host, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples.

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12. This assumption was first put forward in Costa and Duarte (1967 [1886]: 239), who noted that *nho* may have derived from Portuguese *senhor* 'Sir' on the basis of utterances like *Nho José* 'Sir José'.

(62) a. *N entra li   ku   nha mai.*   (S-ST)
          I   come here with my mother
          'I came in here with my mother.'

      b. **N li   entra ku   nha mai.*
          I   here came with my mother

(63) a. *N ta   favora-l   dretu.* (S-ST)
          I   TMA favor-him well
          'I favor him a lot.'

      b. **N dretu ta   favora-l.*
          I   well   TMA favor-him

(64) a. *N ka   sabe nada   di keli.* (S-ST)
          I   NEG know nothing of this
          'I don't know anything about this.'

      b. **N nada   ka   sabe di keli.*
          I   nothing NEG know of this

Note that in Table 4, the first person singular may undergo phonological change when the following verb begins with the homorganic consonants *b-*, *m-*, or *p-*, as illustrated in (65):

(65) *N [m] bai mora na Praia.* (S-ST)
      I   go live in Praia
      'I went to live in Praia.'

Table 4. Clitics

Clitics	Subject	Object	Prepositional
1st sg	*N (M)*[a]	*-m*	NA
2nd sg	*bu*	*-bu/-u*	
3rd sg	*e*	*-(e)l*[b]	
3rd formal	*nho/nha*	*-nho/nha*	
1st pl	*nu*	*-nu*	
2nd pl	*nhos*	*-nhos*	
3rd pl	*es*	*-(e)s*	

a. As in English, the first person singular pronoun is always capitalized, according to the new orthographic convention, the ALUPEC.
b. Most Cape Verdean verbs end with a CVC type of syllable, in which case the contracted form of the object clitic appears (ex: *N odja-l* 'I saw him/her'). However, in the rare event that the verb ends with a VC type of syllable, the full form of the clitic appears, making it homophonous with the nonclitic *el* (ex: *N ler-el* 'I read it'). We consider the full significance of this point in Chapter 8, Section 8.7.

Table 5. Nonclitics

Nonclitics	NonPrepositional	Prepositional
1st sg	*mi/ami*	*mi*
2nd sg	*bo/abo* *nho/nha* (formal) *anho/anha*	*bo* *nho/nha*
3rd sg	*el/ael*	*el*
1st pl	*nos/anos*[a]	*nos*
2nd pl	*nhos/anhos*	*nhos*
3rd pl	*es/aes*	*es*

a. *Nos/anos* may be found as *no/ano* in a few informants' speech in the island of Santiago.

3.2.1.2 *The distribution of object clitics*

The examples in (66) and (67) illustrate object clitics, interpreted as accusative and dative respectively.

(66) *E ka   ta   dixa-m goza   di tudu kuza.* (S-ST)
       it NEG TMA let-me enjoy of all   thing
       'It does not let me enjoy everything.'

(67) *E   da-m   kudjer riba   di kama.* (S-ST)
       she give-me spoon on top of bed
       'She fed me when I was in bed.'

Note that the third-person singular and third-person plural object clitics undergo vowel deletion upon cliticizing to the preceding verb, as shown in (68a) and (68b):

(68) a. *Ano   nu   ka ta fronta-l.* (S-ST)
           1PL.NONCL 1PL.CL NEG TMA attack him
           'We don't attack him.'
      b. *N traze-s   ali.* (S-ST)
           I bring-them here
           'I brought them here.'

The object clitic cannot be separated from the verb, as witnessed by the un-grammaticality of (69b):

(69) a. *N ta   favora-l   dretu.* (S-ST)
           I TMA favor-him well
           'I favor him a lot.'

b. *_*N ta   favora dretu-**l**._
   I TMA favor well-him

Typically, CVC does not have prepositional clitics, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (70b), but does have prepositional nonclitics, as in (70a) (cf. Table 5).

(70) a. *Dj' es   ka fika ku **mi**.*   (S-ST)
         PERF they NEG stay with NONCL
         'They ended up not staying with me.'
      b. *_*Dj' es   ka fika ku-**m**._
         PERF they NEG stay with-CL

The distribution of subject and object clitics in the verbal domain is displayed in (71).

(71) **Subject Clitics**   **Object Clitics**
      a. CL-V   a. V-CL
      b. CL-TMA-V   b. *V-Adv-CL
      c. CL-Neg-V   c. *V-Prep-CL
      d. *CL-Adv-V

3.2.2 The nonclitic paradigm

Table 5 introduces the nonclitics and the contexts in which nonclitics are used are to be discussed in subsequent sections.

3.2.2.1 *The distribution of subject nonclitics*
There are several important observations to be made with regard to the use of subject nonclitics: first, the nonclitic pronominals in Table 5 may be used as subjects in some dialectal varieties of Cape Verdean, whereas the clitic pronominals from Table 4 are used as subjects in other varieties. Consider (72), where the nonclitics *ami* (72a) and *bo* (72b) are used as the subjects of the predicate.[13]

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13. In my own idiolect, (72a) is highly marked, if not ungrammatical. To express the same idea, I resort instead to the use of a clitic or an amalgamated form merging a nonclitic to a clitic: this is illustrated in (i) and (ii) respectively:
(i)   *N pega na kel livru li.*
      I catch in this book here
      'I studied this book.'
(ii) *Mi'N pega na kel livru li.*
      I   catch in this book here
      'I studied this book.'

(72) a. ***Ami*** *pega na kel livru li.* (S-ST)
           NONCL catch in this book here
           'I studied this book here.'
      b. ***bo*** *sabê es koza drete.* (São Vicente dialect) (Veiga, 1996: 363)
           you know this thing well
           'You know this thing well.'

Monosyllabic nonclitics of the *mi* type and bisyllabic nonclitics of the *ami* type can appear in all subject positions.[14] Indeed, in embedded clauses, the appearance of a bisyllabic nonclitic is also possible, although in some dialects, it would be awkward, if not marked:

(73) *Na mensa di rabelason ki **ami** rabela.* (RS-ST)
          at table of revelation that I rebel
          'It is at the table of revelation that I rebelled.'

When in subject position in a main clause, the long form is often amalgamated with a subject clitic (as in (74a)), an option also open to the short form (as in (74b)):

(74) a. ***Ami'*** *N ten sinku fidju.* (S-ST)
           NONCL CL have five   children
           'I have five children.'
      b. *Si ki   **mi'*** *N ta   vive.* (S-ST)
           how COMP NONCL CL TMA live
           'This is how I live.'

This type of amalgamation will be considered in Chapter 8 when the pro-drop status of CVC is discussed.

In addition, subject nonclitics may be topicalized, in which case, there is a clear pause between the topicalized subject nonclitic and the following clitic subject. This is illustrated in (75):

(75) *Mas **ami**, N ta   trabadja azagua.*   (S-ST)
          but NONCL CL TMA work   rainy season
          'As for me, I work during the rainy season.'

Subject nonclitics may also appear in cleft sentences of the type in (76):

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14. I am indebted to Lynn Nichols for observing this fact during elicitation.

(76) *E **mi** so ki sa ta trabadja.* (W-ST)
FOC NONCL only COMP TMA TMA work
'I am the only one to be working.'

Considering the previous data, there is no a priori reason to stipulate the exclusion of the following nonclitic combinations (in both their short and long forms):

(77) a. ***Ami, ami*** *pega na kel livru li.*
NONCL NONCL catch in this book here
    b. ***Ami, mi*** *pega na kel livru li.*
NONCL NONCL catch in this book here
    c. ***Mi, mi*** *pega na kel livru li.*
NONCL NONCL catch in this book here
    d. ***Mi, ami*** *pega na kel livru li.*
NONCL NONCL catch in this book here

The combination patterns of long forms (LonF) and short forms (SF) give rise to the templates in (78):

(78) a. NONCL (LonF) / NONCL (LonF)
    b. NONCL (LonF) / NONCL (SF)
    c. NONCL (SF) / NONCL (SF)
    d. NONCL (SF) / NONCL (LonF)

The combinations of nonclitics and clitics yield the following pattern:

(79) a. NONCL (SF) / CL
    b. NONCL (LonF) / CL
    c. *CL/NONCL (SF/LonF)

The resulting generalization is that nonclitics in both their short and long forms may appear adjacent to one another when one of them is topicalized. In the domain of nonclitic/clitic combinations, the only possible combination is of the type nonclitic/clitic, in that exact sequence. After considering the distributional properties of these pronominals, a theoretical analysis for these distributional facts is offered in Chapter 8.

Let us now turn to object nonclitics.

3.2.2.2   *The distribution of object nonclitics*
It is of interest that nonclitics cannot appear in object position directly adjacent to the bare verb stem in their short or long forms, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (80b). Only clitics are allowed in such position as shown by (80a):

(80) a. *E ka   ta   dixa-m goza di tudu kuza.* (S-ST)
          it NEG TMA let-CL   enjoy of all   thing
          'It does not let me enjoy everything.'
      b. **E ka   ta   dixa mi/ami   goza di tudu kuza.* (S-ST)
          it NEG TMA let   NONCL (SF/LonF) enjoy of all   thing

Note that (80b) is still ungrammatical in contexts where the pronominal is focused. Consider the exchange in (81):

(81) a. *Kenhi k'e   odja?*
          who   COMP+he see
          'Who did he see?'
      b. **E   odja ami/mi.*
          he see   NONCL (LonF/SF)

One of the possible answers to (81a) with no VP deletion would be that in (82), illustrating predicate cleft.

(82) *E   mi   k'el   odja.*
      FOC NONCL COMP+he see
      'It is me that he saw.'

The short and long forms may also appear in a left-dislocated position, as in (83).

(83) *Ami/mi,   João odja-m.*
      NONCL (LonF/SF) João see-me
      'Me, João saw.'

Nonclitics are not, however, banned from all object positions. Indeed, in contexts where the verb carries the inflectional anterior Tense marker *-ba*, the short form of the nonclitic *must* appear, as illustrated by (84a) and (85a). In such contexts, clitics are not allowed to appear and cliticize onto the suffixal tense marker, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (84b) and (85b).

(84) a. *Nha xefri dja fraba   mi.*   (RS-ST)
          my   leader PERF tell+ANT NONCL
          'My leader had told me so.'
      b. **Nha xefri dja   fraba-m.*
          my   leader PERF tell+ANT-NONCL

(85) a. *E daba   nos   un   anu.* (RS-ST)
          he give+ANT NONCL NUM year
          'He had given us one year.'

    b. *E daba   **nu** un anu.*
       he give+ANT CL NUM year

Note that the long form of nonclitics cannot appear adjacent to the anterior marker, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (86):

(86) *Nha xefri dja fraba **ami.***
     my leader PERF tell+ANT NONCL (LonF)

We observe that prepositional nonclitics differ from the nonprepositional nonclitics (in Table 5) insofar as they have only one monosyllabic form, hence do not have a counterpart beginning with the vowel *a* like *ami* or *abo.* On this matter, we have grounds to believe that the initial vowel *a* is a preposition,[15] which would account for the fact that it cannot be preceded by another preposition, as witnessed by the example in (87). Such an observation has important consequences for the analysis of these facts, which I offer in Chapter 8.

(87) *E   kume ku **ami.**
     s/he eat with me

Prepositional nonclitics appear before or after prepositions like *ku* 'with' (in (88a,b)).

(88) a. ***Mi*   *ku* *Brankinha arge.*   (C-ST)**
        NONCL with Brankinha get up
        'Brankinha and I got up.'
     b. *Dj' es   ka fika ku **mi.**   (S-ST)*
        PERF they NEG stay with NONCL
        'They did not stay with me.'

Note that the use of long forms in a post-prepositional position is ungrammatical, which supports our hypothesis that the *a* in the long form is a preposition and a ban on two consecutive prepositions in CVC would prevent such occurrence. In contrast, the long form may appear in subject position, which can be predicted in the absence of a preposition. This is illustrated in (89a) and (89b) respectively:

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15. I owe this observation to Richard Kayne (personal communication) who noted that *a* is reminiscent of Spanish prepositions that ordinarily precede animate direct objects, as illustrated in (i):

(i)   *Juan vió a Raina.*
      John saw a Raina
      'John saw Raina.'

(89)   a. **Dj' es   ka   fika ku   **ami**.*
            PERF they NEG stay with NONCL (LonF)
        b. ***Ami***   *ku   Brankinha arge.*   (C-ST)
            NONCL (LonF) with Brankinha get up
            'Brankinha and I got up.'

In double object constructions involving pronominals, the clitic precedes the short form nonclitic in that strict sequence if the preceding verb is a bare stem (90). If the verb is inflected with the anterior tense marker -*ba*, only short form nonclitics may appear in the roles of dative and accusative objects, as shown in (91a). Object clitics are banned, as in (91b).

(90)   *João da- **m**- **el**.*
        João give-CL-NONCL
        'João gave it to me.'

(91)   a. *João daba   **mi**   **el**.*
            João give+ANT NONCL NONCL
            'João had given it to me.'
        b. **João daba-   **m**- **el**.*
            João give+ANT-CL-CL

The distribution of clitics and nonclitics is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of clitics and nonclitics

Distribution of Clitics and Nonclitics	Clitics	Nonclitics
Subject Position	+	+
Object Position on Bare Stem Verb	+	−
Prepositional Complements	−	+
Object Position on Inflected Verb (with -*ba*)	−	+
Left-Dislocated Position	−	+

At this point, it is worth taking a look at the Portuguese pronominal system (Portuguese being the lexifier of CVC) in order to compare the two systems. Table 7 lists Portuguese pronominals.

CVC and Portuguese pronominals differ in that Portuguese has gender marking on the third person singular and plural for subject and for direct and nonreflexive object pronominals, whereas CVC does not, except for the polite form of the second person *nho* and *nha*.

A second major difference between the two languages is that Portuguese, a highly inflected language in the verbal domain, is clearly pro-drop and allows null subject pronominals as well as null object pronominals (cf. Raposo, 1986). CVC, on the other hand, is not richly inflected, but Chapter 7 will provide evidence for its pro-drop status as well. For an exhaustive treatment of clitic and nonclitic distributional properties, I refer the reader to Chapter 7, where the clitic pronominals just examined are revisited and further evidence of their clitichood status is provided.

In the next subsections, I examine the other categories of pronouns and start with reflexive pronouns.

3.2.3 Reflexives

This subsection examines the various strategies CVC uses to express reflexivity: the names of body parts, special reflexives and a paraphrastic phrase (cf. also Meintel, 1975: 231–232; Kihm, 1996).

The use of the names of body parts to express reflexivity occurs pervasively throughout the world languages (cf. Postma, 1993). In the CVC case, reflexivity is expressed via the use of *kabesa*, 'head'. Three formulations are possible: verb + possessive adjective + head, as in (92); verb + head, as in (93); and the verb with no reflexive marking, as in (94).

(92) *No(s)   ta   trata no(s) **kabesa.*** (Y-ST)
      NONCL TMA treat our   head
      'We take care of ourselves.'

Table 7. The Portuguese pronominal system

Subject	Object			
	Nonprepositional		Prepositional	
	Direct	indirect	reflexive	nonreflexive
eu	*me*	*me*	*me*	*mim*
tu	*te*	*te*	*te*	*ti*
ele/ela	*o, a*	*lhe*	*se*	*ele, ela, si*
nós	*nos*	*nos*	*nos*	*nós*
vós	*vos*	*vos*	*vos*	*vós*
eles/elas	*os, as*	*lhes*	*se*	*eles, elas, si*

(93)   *No(s) ta   trata **kabesa**.*
  NONCL TMA treat head
  'We take care of ourselves.'

(94)   *Dja bu laba?*
  PERF you wash
  'Did you wash yourself?'

Most verbs may use the first and second strategies when the agent is animate. There are, however, only a small set of verbs that fall into the third category. For instance, (95) is unacceptable and cannot mean 's/he takes care of himself/herself':

(95)   **El   trata.*
  s/he takes care of himself/herself

Note that *kabesa* does not participate in the formation of possessive reflexives in CVC:

(96)   **El   toma libru di se **kabesa**.*
  s/he took book of her head[16]

Reflexivity may also be expressed through special reflexive forms that are composed of nonclitics + *me* (97a) or noun + *me* (97b). Those forms are *mi-me* 'myself', *bo-me* 'yourself', *el-me* 'himself/herself', *nos-me* 'ourselves', *nhos-me* 'yourselves' and *es-me* 'themselves'.

(97)   a.   *Ma **mi me** tanbe, N ta   midjora.* (RS-ST)
    but myself as well CL TMA improve
    'But I myself will improve as well.'
  b.   *N prende ku   **donu me** di ofisina.* (RS-ST)
    I learn   with owner self of shop
    'I learnt with the shop's owner himself.'

In CVC, long distance reflexives are unacceptable, as illustrated by (98b):

(98)   a.   *João$_i$ fra-m m'el$_i$ gosta di **el$_i$-me**.*
    John tell-me COMP+he like   of him-self
    'John said to me that he likes himself.'
  b.   **João$_i$ fra ma   bu$_j$ gosta di el$_i$-me.*
    João tell COMP you like   of himself

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16.   The intended meaning is: 'S/he took his/her own book.'

Reciprocity is conveyed via the reciprocal invariable expression *kunpanheru* 'each other', as in (99).

(99)   *Nu konforta ku   kunpanheru.* (RS-ST)
        we comfort with each other
        'We were content with each other.'

As predicted by the ungrammaticality of long-distance reflexives, the reciprocal cannot be bound by an antecedent outside its clause; hence a sentence like (100a) is ungrammatical:

(100)   a.   **Es$_i$ fra ma   nu$_j$ ka   gosta di **kunpanheru**$_i$.[17]*
              they tell COMP we NEG like   of each other
        b.   *João$_j$ fra m'es$_i$ ka   gosta di **kunpanheru**$_i$.*
              João tell COMP+they NEG like   of each other
              'João said that they do not like each other.'

The ungrammaticality of examples such as (98b) and (100a) shows that CVC reflexive and reciprocal expressions cannot be bound by (be coreferent with) antecedents outside their clause, the antecedent must be local. The various reflexivity strategies are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Reflexivity

a.	V + POSS + *kabesa*
b.	V + *kabesa*
c.	V
d.	Nonclitic + *me*
	Noun + *me*
e.	V *(di) kunpanheru*

3.2.4   Demonstratives

There are two kinds of demonstratives in CVC: *kel/kes* and *es*. *Kel/kes* inflect for number (101) but not for gender (102) and *es* inflects for neither (103).

(101)   a.   *N ta   spera morti, la   na **kel** lei.* (S-ST)
              I TMA wait death there in DEM rule
              'I will be waiting for death under that rule.'

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17. (100a) is naturally grammatical if the reciprocal *kunpanheru* is co-indexed with the clause-bound antecedent *nu*. In some varieties, *kunpaheru* is rendered as *konpanheru*.

b. *E   tudu **kes** povu   ki   sta na nos.* (S-ST)
    FOC all   DEM people COMP are on us
    'It is all these people who are all over us.'

(102) a. ***Kel** omi e   pretu.* (S-ST)
          DEM man COP black
          'That man is black.'

b. ***Kel** mudjer ki   staba li.*   (S-ST)
    DEM woman COMP was   here
    'That woman who was here.'

(103) a. *Nu fika   tudu kontenti ku **es** trabadju.* (S-ST)
          we remain all   happy   with this job
          'We are all happy with this job.'

b. *Nu fika   kontenti ku **es** mudjer /omi.*
    we remain happy   with this woman/man
    'We are happy with this woman/man.'

Note that in the case of *kel/kes*, number agreement is not always necessary, as shown in (104). In this particular case, *kel* does not have to inflect for number due to the presence of the numeral *dos* 'two' that expresses plurality:

(104) *…ki   ten **kel** dos mininu.* (S-ST)
          COMP has DEM two kids
      'who has these two kids.'

The optional *li* marks proximity whereas *la* marks distance only with the demonstrative *kel/kes. Li* and *la* may also simply mark a contrast.

(105) a. *Dja'N pega na **kel** livru **li.**   (S-ST)
          PERF+I catch in DEM book here
          'I now study this book.'

b. *Ami   **kel** xefri **la,**   N ta   favora-l.* (S-ST)
    NONCL DEM leader there I TMA favor-him
    'As for me, that leader, I favor him.'

The demonstrative *es*, on the other hand, can only be combined with the marker *li*.

(106) *Ten kuatru anu ki'N   ten **es** problema **li**   na boka.* (S-ST)
      have four   years COMP+I have this problem here in mouth
      'I have had this problem in the mouth for four years.'

The semantic difference between *es* and *kes* lies in the fact that *kel/kes* may express both proximity and distance while in contrast, *es* may express only proximity.

The relevant paradigm for demonstratives is in Table 9.

Table 9. Demonstratives

Singular	Plural
es…(li)	*es…(li)*
'this'	'these'
kel…(li) or *(la)*	*kes…(li)* or *(la)*
'this' or 'that'	'these' or 'those'

3.2.5   Possessives

Possessives may show number agreement with the NP they modify but no gender agreement. The paradigm is displayed in Table 10.

Table 10. Possessive adjectives

	Singular	Plural	Translation
a.	*nha*	*nha(s)*	'my'
b.	*bu*	*bu(s)*	'your'
c.	*se*	*se(s)*	'his/her'
d.	*nos*	*nos*	'our'
e.	*nhos*	*nhos*	'your'
f.	*ses*	*ses*	'their'

In Table 10, rows (a–c) show that optionally, a morphologically different singular and plural form may signal whether the head noun is singular or plural. The example in (107) shows that *nha* may modify a singular or plural head noun. When plural, the head noun may carry number inflection as in (107b).

(107) a.   *Ami' N sai   ku   tudu **nha** frakeza.*   (S-ST)
           NONCL I   leave with all   POSS weakness
           'I left with all my weakness.'

       b.   *Bu trabadja ku   **nha** povus.*   (S-ST)
           you work   with POSS people
           'You worked with my folks.'

Rows (d–f) in Table 10, however, do not show such a contrast: the singular and plural forms of the possessive are homophonous, as illustrated in (108):

(108) a. *nos fidju*
           our son
           'our son'
       b. *nos fidjus*
           our sons
           'nos fidjus'

The examples in (108) reveal that if the possessive adjective is ambiguous between the singular and the plural (e.g., *nos* 'our'), then the noun may have to carry the plural marker to avoid number ambiguity. In this regard, Veiga (1995: 167) observed that in the case of plural nouns, the plural marker can be either on the possessive or on the noun, as illustrated in (109)–(110). Note that plural double marking is acceptable, as illustrated by (109c) and (110c).

(109) a. **nha djentis** *kria-m.*   (TA-BR)
           my family raise-me
           'my family raised me.'
       b. *N kria* **nhas**   *fidju.*   (MC-BR)
           I raise my+PL children
           'I raised my children.'
       c. *N ta   ba atxa* **nhas**   *mininus.* (MC-BR)
           I TMA go find my+PL children
           'I go and join my children.'

(110) a. **nha fidjas**
           my daughters
           'my daughters'
       b. **nhas**   *fidja*
           my+PL daughter
           'my daughters'
       c. **nhas**   *fidjas*
           my+PL daughters

Veiga (1995) claimed that plural marking on the possessive or the noun is in free alternation in the Barlavento variety whereas the variety of Santiago marks only the possessive (and not the noun) for the plural, as in (109b) and (110b). The corpus at hand reveals, however, that these free forms are available in the Sotavento varieties as well.

CVC has an alternative way of marking possession that consists of the periphrastic form of *di* + possessive. The paradigm for possessive pronouns is provided in Table 11 and is illustrated in the examples in (111):

Table 11. Possessive pronouns

(a)	*di meu*	'of mine'
(b)	*di bo*	'of yours'
(c)	*di sel*	'of his/of hers'
(d)	*di nho/di nha*	'of yours' (polite form)
(e)	*di nos*	'of ours'
(f)	*di nhos*	'of yours'
(g)	*di ses*	'of theirs'

(111) a. *Kel rapas **di meu**, el,   e more.* (S-ST)
           that boy   of mine NONCL CL died
           'That boy of mine, he died.'
       b. *Artur ka   era d'idadi di Djon di bo?*   (MC-BR)
           Artur NEG was of+age of Djon of yours
           'Artur was not of the same age of that Djon of yours?'

Let us now turn to relative pronouns.

3.2.6   Relative pronouns

The relative markers in CVC are *ki, ma* and *kuma. Ma* and *kuma* tend to be used with declarative and epistemic verbs. All three relative pronouns are illustrated in (112), (113) and (114):

(112) *Nu ten fe   ki   nu ka ta   torna volta.* (FA-MA)
       we have faith COMP we NEG TMA turn back
       'We have faith that we won't come back.'

(113) *N fla-l   ma   s'e   ka dixa-m bai, N ta   txora.* (MAR-MA)
       I say+him COMP if+he NEG let-me go I TMA cry
       'I told him that if he didn't let me go, I would cry.'

(114) *N t'atxa   kuma e more sedu.* (ELV-BR)
       I TMA+find COMP he die early
       'I think that he died early.'

The forms of relative pronouns are listed in Table 12.

Table 12. Relative pronouns

Relative Pronoun	Translation
ki	'that'
ma	
kuma	

3.2.7   Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are always found sentence initially, hence undergo *wh*-movement and can (but not always) be accompanied by the complementizer *ki*. Note that *ki* may appear in a post interrogative position whether the subject or the object is extracted, as illustrated in (115) and (116) respectively:

subject extraction
(115) a.   *Kenhi **ki**   bai Merka?* (IDA-BR)
        who   COMP go America
        'Who went to America?'

    b.   *Kenhi **ki**   ta   ratxa pedra?* (APF-FO)
        who   COMP TMA split   stone
        'Who will break the stones?'

object extraction
(116) a.   *Kuze **ki**'   N ta   panha pa' N da fidju?*   (EUG-BR)
        what COMP I TMA take   for I give children
        'What do I take to give my children?'

    b.   *Kuze ki'   N staba   ta   fraba   ago?* (AR-FO)
        what COMP I   be+ANT TMA say+ANT now
        'What was I just saying?'

The relative *ki* is optional in questions from which the object has been extracted, depending on the dialectal varieties. This is illustrated in (117):

object extraction
(117) a.   ***Kuze** nhos   ta   kumeba?* (MCR-ST)
        what you(PL) TMA eat+ANT
        'What did you use to eat?'

    b.   ***Kuze** nu sabe?* (RC-ST)
        what we know
        'What do we know?'

In my entire corpus, I did not find any cases in which *ki* may be optional in interrogatives from which the subject has been extracted; this leads me to assume that the counterpart to (118a) is ungrammatical in the absence of the complementizer (118b).

subject extraction
(118) a. ***Kenhi ki**   ta   karega pedra?* (JUL-ST)
      who COMP TMA carry stone
      'Who will carry the stones?'
   b.*/?***Kenhi** ta   karega pedra?*
      who   TMA carry stone

Interestingly, my corpus revealed instances where *ki* may be omitted in relative clauses from which the subject had been extracted. This is illustrated in (119):

subject extraction
(119) *Nu pasa   fomi   li*   (DM-FO)
     we undergo hunger here
     ***kenhi** ka   tenha un tiston, e ka   tenha ropa*
     who NEG had a cent he NEG had clothes
     'We suffered from hunger here, whoever didn't have a cent didn't have clothes.'

An alternative to *kuze ki* in declarative sentences is *kel ki* except that the complementizer *ki* in *kel ki* is not deletable:

(120) a. ***Kel ki**   no   nu fla, e **kel ki**   xefri fla.* (RS-ST)
      what COMP NONCL CL say is what COMP leader say
      'What we say is what the leader says.'
   b. *kel   no   nu fla, e **kel** xefri fla.*
      what NONCL CL say is what leader say

Example (121) shows that *wh*-words accompanied by *ki* may participate in the formation of declarative sentences:

(121) ***Undi ki**   nu bai, no sta livri.* (Y-ST)
     where COMP we go we are free
     'Wherever we go, we are free.'

Wh-words may also be found in embedded clauses, as illustrated in example (122).

(122) a. *Kabu Verdi e   pikinoti ma e ta   rasebe tudu **kenhi ki**   ben.*
      Cape Verde COP small but it TMA receive all who COMP come
      'Cape Verde is small but it welcomes who comes to visit.' (JNV-ST)

b.   *Nhos   k'odja   kuze ki   vulkan sta   faze.* (BER-FO)
     you(PL) NEG+see what COMP volcano TMA do
     'You didn't see what the volcano is doing.'

Further examples of interrogative pronouns are found in Table 13.

Table 13.   Interrogative pronouns

Interrogatives	Translation
kuze (ki)[a]	'what'
kel ki	
kenhi/ken (ki)	'who'
undi (ki)	'where'
kantu (ki)	'how much'/'how many'
modi/kuma (ki)	'how'
pamodi/pamo (ki)	'why'
pake (ki)/purke	
kuandu (ki)	'when'
kantu (ki)	

a. Inês Brito brought to my attention that the interrogatives *kuze* and *kenhi* (in Table 13) are very likely derived from the interrogatives *kuza* + copula *e* and *kenha* + copula *e* respectively.

3.2.8   Expletives

The term *expletive* refers to pronouns that play no role in the semantic makeup of the sentence: such pronouns act as a slot-filler in place of an empty subject position (Crystal, 1991).

There are no overt expletives in CVC in weather predicates, as in (123), existential predicates, as in (124), with raising verbs, as in (125), or impersonal passives, as in (126).

(123)   ***Sta** faze   kalor oji.*
        is   make heat today
        'It's hot today.'

(124)   *Ba podu na prizao, **ten**   sinku dia ka   kume.* (RS-ST)
        go put   in jail,   have five day NEG eat
        'We were put in jail and spent five days without eating.'

(125)   *Ma gosi n'es   tenpu, **parse** ki   ta   nase   mas.* (RS-ST)
        but now in+this time   seem COMP TMA be born more
        'But it would seem that in these times, more are being born.'

(126)   ***Ta   txomadu*** *so   di noti.* (RS-ST)
        TMA called   only of night
        'One was called only at night.'[18]

There are, however, no transitive expletives of the Icelandic type either. Consider the Icelandic transitive expletive construction in (127):

(127)   *Það   borðuðu sennilega margir jólasveinar   bjúgun.*   (Icelandic)
        there ate   probably many   Christmas trolls sausages
        'Many Christmas trolls probably ate the sausages.'
        (Jonas & Bobaljik, 1993:60)

Such constructions are ungrammatical in the language, as witnessed in (128):

(128)   **Ten   kume mutu djenti   katxupa.*
        have eat   many people katxupa

This leads us to the following descriptive generalization:

(129)   There are no overt expletives in CVC.

Note, however, that in adjectival predicates, the presence of the morpheme *e* is obligatory, as illustrated in (130).

(130)   a.   *E difisil   di papia ku   João.*
             e difficult to talk   with João
             'It is difficult to talk with João.'
        b.   **Difisil   di papia ku   João.*
             difficult to speak with João

We discuss the function of this type of *e* as a focalizer in Chapter 4, Section 4.5.

3.3   Adjectives

3.3.1   Adjectives and agreement

This section on adjectives focuses on two main areas: number and gender agreement between adjectives and nouns, and their distributional properties.

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18. The passive translation is meant to reflect the passive status of the sentence in CVC, although an active voice translation, such as "They called us only at night", would naturally be more felicitous.

Adjectives, as a rule, do not agree in number with the nouns they modify, as illustrated by the examples in (131):[19]

(131) a. *Tenha djenti   tudu **kansadu**.* (S-ST)
          have   people all   tired out
          'There were people all tired out.'
      b. *Ano   e   **animadu**.* (S-ST)
          NONCL COP courageous
          'We are courageous.'
      c. **Ano   e   **animadus**.*
          NONCL COP courageous

Gender agreement occurs with both singular and plural head nouns if the head noun is human, as illustrated in (132) and (133).

(132) a. ***un** mininu bunit**u***
          a   boy   handsome
          'a handsome boy'
      b. ***un** minina bunit**a***
          a   girl   beautiful
          'a beautiful girl'

(133) a. ***uns**   mininu bunit**u***
          some boy   handsome
          'some handsome boys'
      b. ***uns**   minina bunit**a***
          some girl   beautiful
          'some beautiful girls'

It is worth emphasizing that animacy is an important factor in the realization of agreement, although agreement is optional. In (134) for instance, the animate feminine NP may be modified with an adjective carrying a masculine ending. It could be easily argued that the default gender for adjectives is masculine.

(134) *Sezaltina ta   sta li   ben **kontroladu**, ben **tratadu**, ben **afogadu**.*
      Sezaltina TMA TMA here well controlled   well treated   well satisfied
      'Sezaltina has it under control, she is well treated and quite satisfied.'
      (NHA-MA)

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19. It should be noted, however, that in more acrolectal varieties, it is likely that both the noun and the adjective it modifies may agree in number.

It should be added that adjectives denoting states exclusive to the female condition, such as *gravida*, 'pregnant' will, as expected, always take the feminine ending.

(135)   *N staba gravida.* (RS-ST)
      CL was   pregnant
      'I was pregnant.'

In summary, adjectives modifying animate entities such as *tratadu* 'treated' (134) and *bunitu/bunita* (132)–(133) 'beautiful' may agree in gender and take on feminine endings. The default, unmarked form that may modify both masculine and feminine animate nouns is, however, masculine. It should be noted that as a rule, gender agreement with inanimate nouns like *kapa* 'robe' in (118b) which is feminine in Portuguese, is not prevalent in basilectal varieties, but does occur, as shown in (136a). Naturally, the default form is always possible and even preferable in some varieties, my own included, as shown in (136b):

(136)   a.   *Ta   ben   un padri di   kapa branka.* (RS-ST)
           TMA come a   priest with robe white
           'There will come a priest with a white robe.'
      b.   *Ta   ben   un padri di   kapa branku.*
           TMA come a   priest with robe white
           'There will come a priest with a white robe.'

Costa & Duarte (1967 [1886]:259) were the first to note that when a 'default' type of adjective modifying a feminine NP undergoes a category change (i.e., from adjective to noun), then the newly formed nominal entity will obligatorily carry the feminine marker -*a* in order to remove any ambiguity. This is illustrated in the examples in (137):

(137)   a.   *un mudjer branku*
           a   woman white
           'a white woman'
      b.   *un branka*
           a   white+FEM
           'a white woman'

On the issue of adjectival agreement, Veiga (1995:160) divided adjectives into two typological categories, *uniform* adjectives (invariable adjectives that do not distinguish between masculine and feminine) and *biform* adjectives (which make such distinctions). It may be, however, more accurate to say that their endings determine category assignment and that the agreement behavior of a

given adjective will change if its ending is altered. To illustrate this point, let us take a *uniform* adjective like *grandi* 'tall/big/large' which, when used in its *augmentative* form, will show gender agreement. Observe the following:

(138)   a.   *Kel omi e   grandon.*
              DEM man COP tall+AUGMENTATIVE SUFFIX
              'That man is very tall.'

        b.   *Kel mudjer e   grandona.*
              DEM woman COP tall+AUGMENTATIVE SUFFIX
              'That woman is very tall.'

It is of interest to note that some adjectives have a dual meaning, depending on whether or not they show agreement. For instance, adjectives like *bon* means 'good, generous' when it does not show agreement with a feminine head noun, as in (139a). When it shows agreement, *boa* connotes the quality of sexual attractiveness, as in (139b).[20]

(139)   a.   *Elsa e   un **bon** mudjer.*
              Elsa COP a   good woman
              'Elsa is a good woman.'

        b.   *Elsa e   un **boa**   mudjer.*[21]
              Elsa COP an attractive woman
              'Elsa is an attractive woman.'

The example in (140) shows that in some contexts, an adjective like *bon* does not tolerate agreement with an animate feminine noun. This may be due to its semantic shift.

(140)   a.   *Paula e   un **bon** studanti.*
              Paula COP a   good student
              'Paula is a good student.'

        b.   **Paula e   un **boa** studanti.*
              Paula COP a   good student

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20. I thank Manuel da Luz Gonçalves for drawing my attention to such a distinction.

21. Some of my informants prefer to place the adjective *boa* in a postnominal position to convey the same meaning. This yields the sentence in (i):

(i)   *Elsa e   un mudjer boa.*
      Elsa COP a   woman attractive
      'Elsa is an attractive woman.'

Note that although gender agreement is optional with head nouns, as illustrated by (141), agreement is obligatory with pronouns in order to avoid ambiguity, as shown in (142):

(141) a. *Paula e   un mudjer bunita.* (FEM)
           Paula COP a   woman beautiful
           'Paula is a beautiful woman.'
     b. *Paula e   un mudjer bunitu.* (MASC)
           Paula COP a   woman beautiful
           'Paula is a beautiful woman.'

(142) a. *Bo   e   bunitu.*   (when addressing a man)
           you COP handsome
           'You are handsome.'
     b. *Bo   e   bunita.*   (when addressing a woman)
           you COP beautiful
           'you are beautiful.'

In the area of their distributional properties, adjectives may be predicative, as in (143) and (144), or attributive, as in (145).

(143) a. *Amilcar e   un omi **spertu.***
           Amilcar COP a   man intelligent
           'Amilcar is an intelligent man.'
     b. *Paula e   un mudjer **sperta.***
           Paula COP a   woman intelligent
           'Paula is an intelligent woman.'

(144) a. *João e   **bon.***
           João COP good
           'João is good.'
     b. *Eliza e   **boa.***
           Eliza COP attractive
           'Elisa is attractive.'

(145) a. *Amilcar e   un **grandi** omi.*
           Amilcar COP a   great   man
           'Amilcar is a great man.'
     b. *Paula e   un **grandi** mudjer.*
           Paula COP a   great   woman
           'Paula is a great woman.'

The position of the adjective vis-à-vis the noun does not affect the agreement patterns but may alter their meaning. For instance, in (146a), postnominal *noba*

means 'young' but can be interpreted as 'new' when prenominal (146b). Similarly, the adjective *grandi* can mean 'tall, big or great' when prenominal (145) but means 'old' when in a postnominal position and referring to a human being (146c):

(146) a. *João ten un mudjer **noba**.*
           John has a   wife   young
           'John has a young wife.'
       b. *João ten un **noba** mudjer.*
           João has a   new wife
           'João has a new wife.'[22]
       c. *Tenha un omi **grandi** ki   ta   txoma Nho Djiku.* (LOL-BR)
           was   a   man old   COMP TMA call   Nho Djiku
           'There was an old man whose name was Nho Djiku.'

Note, however, that such rules do not always hold. For instance, the semantics of the adjective *nobu* cannot always be derived from its position, as illustrated by (147) where the postnominal adjective means 'new' and not 'young.'

(147) *Livru **nobu** ten sesenta palabra.* (RS-ST)
        book new   has sixty   words
        'The new book has sixty words.'

3.3.2   Reduplication of adjectives

Adjectives can be productively reduplicated with the effect of marking emphasis.[23] Each member of the reduplicated form carries independent stress. I have not found any cases of full reduplication where the main stress is clearly on one

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22. My informants reminded me that it is also possible to use the masculine form *nobu* when referring to a woman. Inês Brito observed that in some contexts, the expression *un mudjer nobu* may refer to a maiden.

23. Kouwenberg (to appear) notes that although Portuguese grammarians of the 16th century do not refer to reduplication or to any other iterative strategy, iteration of adjectives and verbs with an intensive effect is rather common in Modern Portuguese.

(i)   *Ela é linda linda linda.* (Portuguese)
      she is pretty pretty pretty
      'She is very pretty.'

(ii) *João bebeu bebeu bebeu.*
      João drank drank drank
      'João drank drank and drank.'

of the members of the reduplication. The following illustrates adjectival reduplication (148–149):

(148) *Maria ten denti **branku-branku**.*
      Maria have teeth white-white
      'Maria has really white teeth.'

(149) *Kel katxor e **pikinoti-pikinoti**.*
      DEM dog COP small-small
      'That dog is really small.'

Reduplicated adjectives are semantically transparent, consistently expressing emphasis; thus, distributive and diminutive functions of reduplicated adjectives are not available in CVC. These reduplications also involve no category change — contrary to the reduplications of verbs or nouns. Furthermore, reduplicated adjectives occur in the same range of positions as unreduplicated adjectives: attributive, as in (148), or predicative, as in (149).

To summarize the main points so far, we have seen that there is no plural marking on adjectives, only gender agreement. Gender agreement tends to be limited to adjectives modifying human nouns, but even with such nouns, gender agreement is optional. The positional status of the adjective (predicative or attributive) does not affect agreement patterns. The reduplication of adjectives is iconic and consistently expresses emphasis.

The last part of this subsection is dedicated to comparative constructions.

3.3.3 Comparative constructions

Comparison is a common grammatical category that is expressed morphologically in some cases (cf. English *strong – stronger – strongest*) and syntactically (periphrastically) in others (*more intelligent – most intelligent*). CVC expresses comparison both morphologically and syntactically. In (150), comparative constructions involve the adverbial *mas* in a periphrasis. The comparative particle equivalent to English *than* is Cape Verdean *ki* or *di ki*.

(150) a. *E   mutu **mas** bedju **di ki** mi.* (MC-BR)
         COP much more old   of than me
         'He is much older than I am.'
     b. *Artur e   **mas** bedju **ki**   Djon.* (MC-BR)
         Artur COP more old   than Djon
         'Artur is older than Djon.'

As illustrated in (150), adjectives such as *bedju* 'old' retain their agreement patterns in a comparative construction.

In contrast, adjectives that express comparison by adopting a suppletive form such as *midjor*, inherited from Portuguese *melhor* 'better', do not show any agreement, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (151b). Note that in CVC, the use of the suppletive form does not prevent the appearance of the comparative adverbial *mas*, as shown in (151c):

(151) a. *Tenpu bira   **midjor.** (MC-BR)
           time become better
           'The times became better (than earlier).'
       b. **Paula e   midjora ki   se irmon.*
           Paula COP better   than her brother
           'Paula is better than her brother.'
       c. *Tenpu d'antigu e   **mas** midjor.* (JOA-ST)
           time   of+old   COP more better
           'The old days were better.'

The comparative of inferiority displays the same properties as the comparative of superiority, except for the use of the adverbial *menus* instead of *mas*, as shown in (152).

(152) *El   e   **menus** grandi di ki   bo.*
       s/he COP less   tall   of than you
       'S/he is less tall than you.'

(153) shows that *worse* is preferentially rendered by the irregular form *pior* (directly inherited from Portuguese *pior*). The periphrastic construction with *menus* in (153b) is marginal for some speakers and ungrammatical for others.

(153) a. *Korenta dos, era mutu mas   pior.* (AR-FO)
           forty   two was a lot more worse
           '1942 was much worse.'
       b.?/*El   e   **menus** bon ki   bo.*
           s/he COP less   good than you

Comparatives of equality are formed with the adverbial *sima*, as in (154a), or *ton…kuma*, as in (154b):

(154) a. *Es   e   sabidu   sima nos.*
           they are intelligent as   us
           'They are as intelligent as us.' (Veiga, 1995: 162)

b. *Es   e   ton sabidu   kuma nos.*
    they are as   intelligent as   us
    'They are as intelligent as us.'

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have provided in this chapter an in-depth account of nominal categories such as determiners, nouns, adjectives and the whole set of pronominal paradigms.

I have brought to the fore the full complexity of the referential system and discussed the intricate role played by null morphemes. I have shown that although plural NPs preceded by the null morpheme may get an indefinite or definite interpretation according to the context, singular nouns marked by the zero-form article tend not to get an indefinite nonreferential interpretation in subject position. The interactive and overlapping use of overt and covert determiners is quite intricate. In the realm of overt determiners, the first generalization concerning the overt indefinite determiner *un* is that it may introduce a referential or nonreferential indefinite NP in its first occurrence. Its plural counterpart *uns*, which fulfills the same role, is closer to a quantifier ('some', 'a few') than to an indefinite article. *Uns* may be replaced by a null morpheme for marking nonreferential or referential NPs. *Un* may also act as a quantifier when modifying noncountable or abstract entities.

The definite article, demonstrative *kel* and its plural counterpart *kes* may introduce referential specific NPs but are more often than not replaced by null morphemes. In this respect, the null morpheme may introduce singular or plural referential or nonreferential NPs, which include unique entities or items familiar to both the hearer and speaker. Furthermore, the appearance of the definite article may be inhibited by factors such as other referentiality-inducing modifiers (possessives, adjectives, or relatives) because such modifiers already indicate referentiality and, in some cases, definiteness.

The investigation of the CVC pluralization strategies has shown that animacy, definiteness and episodic tense are three powerful factors in predicting whether noun stems take the plural inflection *-s* or not. Naturally, we have shown that there is a great deal of variation in the language regarding this topic.

In the realm of pronominal paradigms, the examination of the morphology and distribution of clitic and nonclitic pronouns has revealed a complex

system subject to a variety of constraints (e.g., impossibility of consecutive clitics) that will be revisited from a theoretical perspective in Chapter 7.

Finally, I have shown that adjectives display some agreement patterns, have distributional properties and are subject to reduplication.

We now turn to the second descriptive chapter of this volume, namely, verbal categories.

CHAPTER 4

The VP and other constituents

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an in-depth examination of the Cape Verdean VP and other constituents. It is subdivided into two main parts: the first part examines the Cape Verdean VP, investigating such phenomena as the unmarked verb, Tense, Mood and Aspect (TMA) markers, copular predication (specifically focusing on the hybrid morpheme *e*), verbal reduplication, serial verb constructions, passivization, the imperative mood and Negation[1] (as a negator of VP and other types of constituents). For the sake of completion, the second part introduces a variety of other lexical categories, i.e., quantifiers, adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions.

In this chapter, TMA markers are occasionally assigned labels such as PROG (for progressive) or FUT (for future). Such labels are not meant to describe the function of the marker *per se* (all markers assume several functions in the language) but rather the aspectual, temporal or modal interpretation that derives from the presence of the marker in a given sentence.

4.1 The unmarked verb

In CVC, verbal forms do not display any morphological variation reflecting person and number throughout a given tense paradigm. Consider the past tense of the verb *papia* 'to speak'.

(1) *N papia*   'I spoke'
     bu papia   'you spoke'
     e papia   'he spoke'
     nu papia   'we spoke'

---

1. 'Negation' is spelt with a capital *N* when referring to the negative phrase.

> *nhos papia*   'you spoke'
> *es papia*   'they spoke'

The CVC verbal system crucially distinguishes between verbs that represent a (more or less permanent) state and those that represent an action. This distinction is reflected morphosyntactically in the forms that the verbs assume for various tenses. For instance, stative verbs, unlike nonstative verbs, generally occur neither in a progressive form nor in the imperative. On semantic grounds, they express states of affairs rather than actions, or refer to perceptual or cognitive processes (cf. Crystal, 1991).

   For instance, in (2), the bare stem of the stative verb *sabe* 'to know' is interpreted as a present tense event, whereas *anda* 'to walk' in (3) refers to a past event.

(2) *N ka **sabe** kuze ki   tene-m   duenti.* (RC-ST)
     I NEG know what COMP have-me sick
     'I don't know what is making me sick.'

(3) *N **anda**   tudu txon   di Ponta.* (RW-ST)
     I walked all   ground of Ponta
     'I walked all over Ponta.'

Sabe illustrates fairly clearly the concept of a stative verb and *anda* reflects well the concept of a dynamic verb and their status conveys the desired temporal interpretations in (2) and (3). However, Section 4.4 reveals that the dichotomy between stative and dynamic verbs can be problematic in predicting the correct temporal and aspectual interpretations. This classification is further complicated by the existence of verbs like *smell* that have both a stative and a dynamic use (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985; Lyons, 1968).

4.2   Tense, mood and aspect markers

This section introduces Cape Verdean Creole TMA markers, as well as their various combination patterns. The first subsection focuses on the meaning and distribution of each marker. The second subsection provides their combination patterns. In the last subsection, previous scholars' studies of Cape Verdean TMA markers (Silva (1985) and Suzuki (1994)) are examined and discussed. At the same time, a parallel study of the TMA system of Guinea-Bissau/Casamance Creole and Cape Verdean Creole will be conducted, using works by Kihm

(1994) and Peck (1988), among others. The examination of the diverse functions of TMA markers will lead to the study of their positions in the CVC clausal architecture in Chapter 6.

4.2.1 An introduction to the markers *ta, sta, -ba* and *dja*: The individual cases

Prior to the examination of TMA markers in CVC, a word of caution is in order. It should be emphasized that the traditional concepts of tense and aspect (in particular), as they apply to the study of Indo-European languages, are not adequate in accounting for the multifunctionality of TMA markers. As a result, we use the concepts of present, future and imperfectivity as mere comparative and descriptive tools for lack of better ones.

CVC has two TMA markers, *sta* and *ta*, which occur preverbally; a postverbal suffix *-ba*; and a clause-initial/clause-final particle *dja*. Furthermore, the bare stem of the verb assumes various functions, depending on whether the verb is stative or nonstative; this was discussed in Section 4.1 and will be revisited in 4.4.

4.2.1.1 *The marker ta*

Ta assumes a variety of functions in the language. It is both a *realis* and *irrealis* marker.[2] The *realis* refers to situations and events that have happened or are happening; hence, it encompasses the past and the present tense. The *irrealis*, in contrast, refers to situations and events that have not actually happened yet; hence, it includes the future and conditional (cf. Bickerton, 1975). As a *realis* marker, *ta* fulfils a variety of functions. It may be an aspectual/tense marker expressing the habitual present, as shown in (4), (5) and (6) or habitual past, as in (7), (8) and (9):

present
(4) *Mas nha fidjus   tudu **ta** papia ku   el.* (RC-ST)
but my children all   ASP talk   with him
'But all my children talk to him.'

iterative/habitual present
(5) *Unde ki   nha **ta** bai, nha **ta** prugunta.* (RC-ST)
where COMP you ASP go   you ASP ask
'Wherever you go, you ask your way around.'

---

2. See Silva (1985) for a different take on the issue.

habitual present

(6) *Algen ku si boka ka **ta** era kaminhu.* (RC-ST)
   one with his/her mouth NEG ASP lose path
   'One who asks does not get lost.'

habitual past

(7) *Era un fomi tristi, **ta** txoma pa nomi, **ta** toma, **ta** kume.* (APF-FO)
   was a hunger sad ASP call by name ASP take ASP eat
   'It was a terrible famine, they would call us by name, we would take (the food) and eat.'

habitual past

(8) *Nu **ta** konbersa tudu dia, Brankinha **ta** konta-m, N ta konta-l.*
   we ASP talk every day Brankinha ASP tell-me I ASP tell-her
   'We talked every day, Brankinha would tell me things, I would tell her things.' (RC-ST)

habitual past

(9) *Nu tenha xefri ki **ta** leba libru ku nos.* (RC)
   we had leader COMP ASP take book with us
   'We had a leader that would take the book with us.'

Regarding the examples (8) and (9), it is worth noting that the absence of the anterior marker -*ba* (Section 4.2.1.3) did not prevent the verbs *konta* 'tell', and *leba* 'take' from being interpreted as past events within the context of these particular utterances.

Ta may express imperfectivity, as shown in (10):

imperfectivity

(10) *El fika la, **ta** skuta-m.* (Y-ST)
   he stay there ASP listen-me
   'He stayed there, listening to me.'

As an *irrealis* marker, *ta* fulfils a mood function (a property first noted by Suzuki, 1994) and may express conditional (11), as well as futurity (12):

conditional

(11) *N ka **ta** rasebe nha.* (RC-ST)
   I NEG COND receive you
   'I would not have received.'

future

(12)   *N **ta**   konta nha tudu storia, N **ta**   konta nha te   manhan.*   (RC-ST)
       I   FUT tell   you all   story I   FUT tell   you till tomorrow
       'I'll tell you the whole story, I'll tell you till tomorrow.'

Ta is not sensitive to stativity; it can co-occur with stative verbs, as in (13), as well as nonstative verbs, as in (4) above:

(13)   *Ami'   N **ta**   ten   lata panha agu.*   (RC-ST)
       NONCL CL ASP have can get   water
       'I have a can to get water.'

Finally, *ta* is typically found in quasi-passive constructions:

(14)   *Bonba **ta**   dadu in oitu   oitu   dia.* (RC-ST)
       spray   ASP given in eight eight day
       'The spray is given every eight days.'

(15)   *Kel otu   dia dimingu, **ta**   ledu na kel otu   kasa.*   (RC-ST)
       the other day Sunday   ASP read in the other house
       'On the following Sunday, the book would be read in the other house/
       one would read in the other house.'

Silva's (1985) study assumed that *ta* is a nonpast marker that can be interpreted as present or future, depending on the context. We have seen in this section that such characterization is not sufficient to account for all the occurrences of *ta*. It only captures a subset of its functions.

Suzuki (1994:41) was the first to remark insightfully that in addition to expressing futurity, *ta* can express modal meanings. She observed, furthermore, that the function of *ta* is similar to that of the irrealis marker in other creole languages, as defined in Holm (1988):

(16)   The irrealis marker indicates that the action of the following verb is not
       (yet) a part of reality. Used alone, it approximates in meaning the future
       tense of the European superstrate languages… Used in combination with
       the anterior marker, the irrealis marker can impart the idea of European
       conditional or subjunctive constructions.
       (Holm, 1988:164, quoted in Suzuki, 1994)

Contrary to the latter part of the definition, it is important to observe, however, that as an irrealis marker, *ta* does not have to combine with the anterior marker to convey a conditional meaning, as illustrated by example (11) above.

   The above data has shown that *ta* can function as an aspectual marker as well as a modal marker. Suzuki noted that it is also possible to subsume habitual meaning under a mood. Comrie defined irrealis to include habituality and stated:

(17)   Realis refers to situations that have actually taken place or are actually taking place, while irrealis is used for more hypothetical situations, including situations that represent inductive generalizations and also predictions, including also predictions about the future.
       (Comrie, 1985:45 quoted in Suzuki, 1994)

Suzuki (1994:42) noted that under Comrie's definition, habitual meaning can be subsumed under the irrealis mood. It then seems reasonable to assume that *ta* in CVC indicates the irrealis mood in Comrie's sense, which is used not only for future and hypothetical meanings but also for habitual meaning.

   Although Silva's and Suzuki's characterization of *ta* was fairly elaborate, it is yet incomplete. Indeed, in spite of a clear behavioral pattern as an irrealis marker, *ta* may also function as a realis marker. Indeed, what both Silva's and Suzuki's characterization of *ta* missed is that *ta* is not a nonpast marker *per se*. The corpus revealed many instances whereby *ta* referred to present and past tense events, including past habits, as exemplified by the examples (7), (8) and (9).

   Under Comrie's strict definition of realis and irrealis, *ta* may fulfil both roles in the language. Table 1 summarizes the various functions of *ta*.

Table 1. The functions of *-ta*

Realis	Irrealis	
Aspect/Tense Functions	Mood Functions	Passivization
Habitual Present	Conditional	Quasi-passive
Habitual Past	Futurity	Passive
Imperfectivity		

4.2.1.2   *The marker **sta***

As a verb, *sta* 'to be' can be viewed as an auxiliary verb (for reasons we explore below) and contrasts with *e/ser* in designating temporary as opposed to permanent qualities. It may precede a verb or introduce adjectival, nominal and prepositional predicates; it may occur in isolation or combine with verbal forms to mark the continuous progressive aspect. When occurring in isolation, *sta* functions as a copula expressing temporary properties:

prepositional predicate

(18) *Un **sta** la   pa Sal.* (RC-ST)
      one COP there in Sal
      'One is there in Sal.'

adjectival predicate

(19) *Gosi li   **sta** sosegadu.* (RC-ST)
      now here COP quiet
      'Now it is quiet here.'

Sta may also function as a preverbal marker indicating progressive aspect in the present, as illustrated in (20).

(20) *Gosi dja, N **sta**   konsigi fase txeu.* (RS-ST)
      now PERF I   PROG manage do   a lot
      'Now I am managing to do a lot.'

The anterior tense inflection *-ba* may suffix to *sta* to clearly yield a past tense reading (21):

(21) *E ta   pode lenbra,   mas e   **staba** pikinoti.* (RC-ST)
      he COND can remember but he was   small
      'He could remember but he was small.'

There is a general incompatibility between progressive and stative verbs, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (22):

(22) **El   **sta**   **tene** fome.*
      s/he PROG have hunger

However, in spite of such a tendency, *sta* may combine with some stative verbs, as first observed in Silva (1985). For instance, the verbs *sabe* 'to know' and *parse* 'to seem' take *sta* to indicate that the state is not stable.

(23) *Cada dia el   **sta**   **sabe** mas   tcheu.*
      each day s/he PROG know more a lot
      'Every day, s/he knows a little more.' (Silva, 1985: 149)

Comrie (1976) (cf. Suzuki, 1994) claimed that in such a case, verbs are often used nonstatively. In (23), the stative verb with *sta* refers not to a state but to a process developing in several stages. Comrie argued that the stative meaning does not survive in these examples and that the occurrence of these stative verbs

with a progressive is due to their nonstative use.[3] The same situation obtains in CVC, as illustrated in (24):

(24) *N sta   ubi   vos.*
      I   PROG hear voices
      'I am hearing voices.'

The use of the progressive form signals that the repetitive realizations form a continuum.[4]

   Nonstative verbs may take *sta* to express the future.

(25) *Saudo,   N sta faze un badjinhu.*
      Saturday I FUT do   a   little dance
      'Saturday, I'll throw a little dance.'
      (Macedo, 1979 quoted in Silva, 1985: 152)

With regard to (23) and (25), it is important to emphasize that each aspectual interpretation is derived from the time reference of the adverbial being used, hence adverbials such as *cada dia* in (23) and *saudo* in (25) assume an important anchoring function.

   The examples in (20), (21) and (25) reveal that *sta*+V primarily acts as an aspectual marker modifying present, past or future events. Table 2 summarizes the various functions of *sta*.

Table 2. The functions of *sta*

Copula Function	Aspect	Mood
Stage-level copula	Progressive	Future

   We now turn to CVC anterior tense marker *-ba*, the only postverbal suffixed marker in the language.

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3. As observed in Suzuki (1994), Comrie (1976: 35) pointed out that in Portuguese, progressive forms of inert perception verbs are perfectly acceptable, and he claimed that in a given language, such verbs can be either stative or nonstative because it is possible to view seeing and hearing, for instance, as either states or nonstates (dynamic situations). Thus it is possible to assume that verbs of inert perception are nonstative verbs indicating dynamic situations (Suzuki, 1994).

4. I thank Susumu Kuno (personal communication) for this observation.

4.2.1.3   *The marker -**ba***

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*). When it suffixes to a stative verb, the utterance yields a simple past tense reading, as illustrated in (26a); whereas when it suffixes to a nonstative verb, the interpretation is past perfect, as in (26b).

> simple past
> (26) a. *Ami kunpadri,   N ka   konxeba.*   (RC-ST)
>   me   child's god-father I   NEG know+ANT
>   'As for me, I did not know my child's godfather.'
> past perfect
>   b. *Dj'e   fudjiba   dja.*   (RS-ST)
>   COMP+he flee+ANT already
>   'He had already fled.'

The etymological origins and use of *-ba* have divided creolists into three different camps. Almada (1961:116) suggested that the marker *-ba* is derived from the Portuguese inflection *-va*, which is used to express the imperfect of first conjugation verbs, as shown in (27).

> (27) *Eu falava   sempre com os   meus pais.*   (Portuguese)
>   I   talk+*va* always with DET my   parents
>   'I always talked to my parents.'

On the other hand, Bickerton (1981:81) assumed that *-ba* is derived from the completive marker *kaba*, present in a number of creoles, and would be itself derived from Portuguese *acabar* 'to finish'. Finally, there are those supporting a Guinean origin for *-ba*. Following Rougé (1986:24), Peck (1988:331) argued that *-ba* may originate from African languages such as Manjak, Mankan, Diola, Mandinka and Bambara. Indeed, these languages mark the perfect aspect with morphemes bearing some morpho-phonological resemblance to *-ba*: *-ba* in Manjak and Mankan, *ban* in Diola, and *ka ban* in Mandinka. Observe the example from Bambara in (28):

> (28) *A ye   na   tobi **ka ban.*** (Bambara)
>   he PAST sauce cook and finish
>   'He has already cooked the sauce.'
>   (Holm, 1986:263 quoted in Peck, 1988:333)

Peck (1988:332) observed that from a semantic point of view, *-ba* is much more similar to the African forms that mark completion of the event than it is to the

Portuguese *-va*, which expresses imperfect. Beside the semantic parallel, there is also a syntactic similarity in the distribution of substrate morphemes like *kaban* and *ba* in Guinea-Bissau Creole, as *ba* occurs in that particular creole as a free morpheme (29), contrary to CVC where it is bound.

(29) *Onti   ba   n oja-l.*   (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
        yesterday ANT I saw-him
        'Yesterday, I saw him.'

Constructions like that in (29) led Peck to suggest that both Portuguese and African substrata played a role in the development of *ba* in Guinea-Bissau Creole and most likely in CVC.

Regarding the temporal interpretations of *-ba*, Suzuki (1994: 16) noted that the notion of anterior tense conveyed by the suffixation of *-ba* is similar to that of the relative past tense in Comrie (1976). Comrie defined a relative tense as one "where the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment" (Comrie, 1976: 56). Under this notion, the relative past tense is interpreted as referring to some point in time before a reference point possibly provided by the context. Table 3 summarizes the functions of *ba*.

Table 3. The functions of *ba*

Anterior Tense
Past Perfect with nonstative verbs
Simple Past for stative verbs

Let us now turn to the last TMA marker *dja*.

4.2.1.4   *The marker **dja***

One of the functions of *dja* is to indicate that an event has been completed (cf. Silva, 1985, 1990). This is illustrated in (30):

(30) *Nha mai   more, nha pai   dja more.* (ARA-BR)
        my mother die   my father *dja* more
        'My mother died, my father died.'

Such characterization is, however, not sufficient to account for all the occurrences of *dja*. 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. This is illustrated in (31):

(31) *Xobinho fra-l,   ja tem tres dia qui'm   ca   come nada.*
      Xobinho say-him *ja* have three day COMP+I NEG eat   nothing
      'Xobinho told him, it has been three days (already) since I've eaten anything.' (Parsons, 1923)

As a result, we will follow Suzuki (1994) in viewing *dja* as a perfective marker (rather than a completive marker), as it allows a possible continuing relevance of the action or state to the present situation.

The position of the marker *dja* involves an interesting contrast between pronominals and full NPs. Full NPs precede *dja* as shown in (32):

(32) a. *N atxa bonberu   dja   poi nunbru na porta.* (RC-ST)
          I find exterminator PERF put number on door
          'I found that the exterminator had put the number on the door.'
      b. **N atxa dja   bonberu   poi nunbru na porta.*
          I find PERF exterminator put number on door

Nonclitics share the same positions as full NPs, as shown in (33):

(33) a. ***Ano   dja   nu fika   sen   ningen.*** (RC-ST)
          NONCL PERF we remain without anyone
          'We are left without anybody.'
      b. ****Dja   ano   nu fika   sen   ningen.***
          PERF NONCL we remain without anyone

Clitics however can only postcliticize to the marker, as shown in (34a) and (34b). *Dja* may, in addition, occur clause initially and clause finally within the same sentence, as illustrated in (34a).

(34) a. ***Dja'N   ka pode trabadjaba dja mas.***   (MS-BR)
          PERF+CL NEG can work+ANT PERF anymore
          'I could no longer work.'
      b. ***Dja bu* ta kalsa,   bu ta fika   bursidu, pamodi tradison**
          PERF CL ASP put shoes you ASP remain down   because tradition
          diskalsu.
          barefoot
          'You put shoes on but you feel down because of the tradition of walking barefoot.' (AM-ST)

Interestingly, *dja* is rendered in some varieties as *ja*, which may be found clause finally, as in (35a) or clause initially, as in (35b). The two morphemes should not be viewed, however, as always performing the same function in the language. For instance, in (35), the meaning of *ja* is closer to the adverbial *now*:

(35) a. *Ael   purtantu ja, e fika ku povu la.*   (S-ST)
      NONCL yet   now CL stay with people there
      'Now, as for him, he stayed with the people there.'

   b. ***Ja*   *e ka ta   mutu matrata-m.* (RS-ST)
      now it NEG ASP much ill-treat-me
      'Now, it does not ill-treat me too much.'

Further evidence that *dja* may function both as a perfective marker and an adverbial comes from examples like (36). In (36a) and (36b), the first *dja* clearly assumes the function of the adverbial 'now' whereas the second *dja* acts as the perfective marker.

(36) a. *Mas **dja** uji, fidjus   **dja** sta tudu omi ku mudjer.* (MS-BR)
      but now today children PERF are all   man and woman
      'But now, today, all my children are adults.'

   b. ***Dja** korpu **dja** sa d'idadi.* (MS-BR)
      now body PERF is of+age
      'Now, I am old.'

Regarding the multifunctionality of *dja/ja*, one is in a position to conclude that the Cape Verdean grammar may display two types of *dja/ja*: the perfective *dja* and adverbials roughly corresponding to the meaning of *now*, *soon* and *already*. Table 4 summarizes the functions of *dja/ja*.

Table 4. The functions of *dja/ja*

Dja/Ja
Perfective marker
Adverbial

In the next section, the various combination patterns of the markers just introduced are examined.

4.2.2   The combination patterns

In this subsection, five combination patterns yielding a complex range of aspectual, mood and temporal interpretations will be examined.

4.2.2.1 *The combination* **sta ta V-ba** *or* **staba ta V**

Ta can combine with the markers *sta* and *-ba* to yield the progressive habitual in the past, as in (37). The temporal suffix *-ba* may cliticize onto the verb stem, as in (37a), or onto the auxiliary, as in (37b).

(37) a. *Azagua   ka sta   ta   daba.*   (RC-ST)
         rainy period NEG PROG TMA give+PAST
         'The rainy period was not yielding anything.'
     b. *E **staba**   riba kasa **ta** kubri kasa la kutelu.* (RC-ST)
         he PROG+PAST on top house TMA cover house on mountainside
         'He was on top of the house, covering (the roof of) the house on the mountainside.'

Note that the string *staba ta* is discontinuous in (37b). In the absence of the prepositional phrase *riba kasa* 'on top of the house', the following sentence would yield (38):

(38) *E **staba**   ta   kubri kasa   la kutelu.*
      he PROG+PAST TMA cover house on mountainside
      'He was covering (the roof of) the house on the mountainside.'

4.2.2.2 *The combination* **ta sta ta V**

Sta may appear in conjunction with two *ta* in the strict sequence *ta sta ta*. Silva distinguished between (39) and (40) as representing progressive iterative and progressive habitual, respectively.

(39) *El   **ta**   **sta** **ta**   come tudo bez qu' m ba la.*
      s/he TMA TMA TMA eat   every time that I go there
      'S/he is eating every time I go there.'   (Silva, 1990:154)[5]

(40) *El   **ta**   **sta** **ta**   come sempri qu' m ba la.*
      s/he TMA TMA TMA eat   always that I go there
      'S/he is (usually) eating when I go there.' (Silva, 1990:154)

Note that the progressive iterative interpretation in (39) derives from the time reference of the adverbial *tudu bez* 'every time'. Similarly, the progressive habitual reading of (40) derives from the time reference of the adverbial *sempri* 'always'. Hence, the semantic difference between the two utterances derives from

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5. Note that the spelling convention used by Silva is different from the new ALUPEC orthography, which I use throughout this book.

the adverbials. However, as observed by Suzuki (1994: 55), iterative meaning is subsumed under habitual meaning, and thus progressive iterative is subsumed under the progressive habitual, so both meanings may be captured under the more general concept of habituality. It should be added that the presence of adverbials is unnecessary in order to derive the right interpretation. Iterative or habitual meaning can be easily derived from the context, as illustrated in (41):

(41) a. *N ta   sta te   ta   lenbra.*   (RC-ST)
          I   TMA TMA even TMA remember
          'I still remember' or 'I keep remembering.'
      b. *Es   ta   sta ta   briga, mi'   N ta   mete dentu kaza*
          they TMA TMA TMA fight NONCL CL ASP put   inside house
          N ta   fitxa porta, so   pa'N k'odja.   (MAR-MA)
          I   ASP close door   only for+I NEG+see
          'Whenever they are fighting, I go inside the house and close the door
          so that I don't see anything.'

An interesting question with regard to the combination *ta sta ta* is whether the two instantiations of *ta* are identical morphemes. It would seem, however, that we are dealing with two different kinds of *ta*. As illustrated in (42), ta_1 forms a constituent with *sta*, and no adverbial may intervene between the two elements in (42b), but *sta* does not form a constituent with ta_2 in (42c) and intervening elements may occur.

(42) a. *Es ta_1 sta ta_2 briga.*
          they TMA   TMA TMA   fight
          'they are fighting.'
      b. **Es ta_1 senpri sta ta_2 briga.*
          they TMA   always TMA TMA   fight
      c. *Es ta_1 sta senpri ta_2 briga.*
          they TMA   TMA always TMA   fight
          'They are always fighting.'

To summarize this state of affairs, there are two kinds of *ta*. One *ta* is a TMA marker expressing aspect (futurity or habituality), as shown in (43), and the other *ta* is a TMA marker that has become an infinitival marker (roughly speaking), as in (44) and (45):

(43) *Bu   ta   kuida   d'el.* (AM-ST)
      you TMA take care of+it
      'You will take care of it' or 'you usually take care of it.'

(44) *N ka* **sta** **ta** *spera ma* *N pode.* (MCG-FO)
      I NEG TMA TMA wait COMP I can
      'I am not expecting that I can do it.'

(45) *N atxa un omi ku roda d'algen* **ta** *konbersa.* (JOA-ST)
      I find a man with circle of+people TMA speak
      'I found a man speaking with a bunch of people around him.'

We now turn to a more fine-tuned temporal interpretation of the tripartite cluster *ta sta ta.* Although *sta ta* represents continuity/progression, *ta sta ta* represents a type of progressive iterative (46), progressive habitual (47), or future progressive (48), depending on the context:

       progressive iteration
(46) *El* **ta** **sta** **ta** *kume tudu bes ki* *N ba la.*
      s/he TMA TMA TMA eat all time COMP I go there
      'S/he is eating every time I go there.' (Silva, 1990: 154)[6]

       progressive habitual
(47) *El* **ta** **sta** **ta** *kume senpri ki* *N ba la.*
      s/he TMA TMA TMA eat always COMP I go there
      'S/he is always eating when I go there.' (Silva, 1990: 154)

       future progressive
(48) *O* *ki'N* *ba la* *manhan, el* **ta** **sta** **ta** *kume.*
      when COMP+I go there tomorrow s/he TMA TMA TMA eat
      'When I go there tomorrow, s/he will be eating.'

In this respect, it is important to emphasize that each aspectual interpretation is derived from the time reference of the adverbial being used or appropriate context.

4.2.2.3 *The combination **ta staba ta** V*
Ta staba ta combines the habitual, continuous and anterior markers to yield a past habitual progressive, as in (49), or past conditional, as in (50).

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6. The examples (46) and (47) are taken from Silva (1990) but the spelling was changed here to conform to the orthographic conventions of the ALUPEC.

past habitual progressive
(49) *Tudu djenti ta   dixaba   ele keto quanto ele **ta   staba   ta***
     all   people TMA leave+ANT him quiet when   he TMA TMA+ANT TMA
     come.
     eat
     'Everyone would leave him alone when he was eating.' (Silva, 1985)

     past conditional
(50) *Migel **ta   staba   ta**   durmi, si bu dixaba   el   ketu.*
     Migel TMA TMA+ANT TMA sleep   if you let+ANT him alone
     'Migel would have been sleeping if you had left him alone.'

4.2.2.4   *The combination **ta V-ba***
Ta combined with -*ba* refers to past habitual events, as shown in (51) and (52):

(51) *Es   tudu **ta koreba**   d'el.*   (RC-ST)
     them all   ASP run+ANT from+him
     'They all used to run from him.'

(52) *Si irma ka   **ta   daba**   ku   nos.* (RC-ST)
     his sister NEG TMA give+ANT with us
     'His sister used not to get along with us.'

Ta V+ba may also be used in conditional clauses. The combination can denote
real-life or hypothetical past situations when *if*-clauses are involved. Example
(53) illustrates a real-life situation and example (54) refers to a hypothetical
past situation.

(53) *Nen si nho tenha dinheru pa nho kume, **ta   faltaba**   nos.* (MCR-ST)
     even if you had   money for you eat   ASP miss+ANT us
     'Even if one had money to buy food, we couldn't get it.'

(54) *Es   tudu **ta koreba**   d'el,   s'es   sabeba   k'el   era*
     they all   ASP run+ANT from+him if+they know+ANT COMP+he was
     Nho Lobo.
     Mr Wolf
     'They would have all run from him if they had known that he was Mr Wolf.'

Note that in some instances, the use of -*ba* in the first clause may trigger
agreement in the second clause, as shown in (55a). This is not, however, obliga-
tory, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (55b):

(55) a. *E ka **ta kreba**   pa nu **ubiba**   tudu livru.* (RC-ST)
          he NEG TMA want+ANT for CL hear+ANT all   book
          'He did not want us to listen to the whole book.'

  b. *E ka **ta kreba**   pa nu **ubi** tudu livru.*
          he NEG TMA want+ANT for CL hear all   book
          'He did not want us to listen to the whole book.'

4.2.2.5   *The combinations **sta ta/sa ta** and **staba ta***

Sta or *sa* can combine with *ta* to indicate progressive aspect,[7] as shown in (56):

(56) a. *N ta   fra grasa a Deus, pamo   N ka **sta ta**   spera.* (CCG-FO)
          I TMA say thank to God   because I NEG TMA TMA wait
          'I say thanks to God because I am not expecting much.'

  b. *Mas gosi mininus, dja ka **sta ta**   obi.* (JOA-ST)
          but now children PERF NEG TMA TMA hear
          'But now, kids are not listening anymore.'

The equivalent of *sta ta* is *sa ta* in the Sotavento varieties, as illustrated in the following examples:

(57) *i   tudu bes… ki   nu **sa   ta**   ba libru.* (RC-ST)
      and all   time COMP CL TMA TMA go book
      'And whenever we were on our way to go and listen to the book.'

(58) *S'e   **sa   ta**   papia ku   mi na telefoni…* (RC-ST)
      if+he TMA TMA talk   with me on phone
      'If he is talking to me on the phone…'

At this point, it is worth dwelling on the nature of the cluster *sta ta*. Here, I present Silva's and Suzuki's analysis of this cluster, and I propose an alternative approach. Consider (59):

(59) a. *N ka **sta ta**   spera ma   N pode.* (MCG-FO)
          I NEG TMA TMA wait COMP I can
          'I am not expecting that I can do it.'

  b. *N ka **sta** spera ma   N pode.*
          I NEG TMA wait COMP I can
          'I am not expecting that I can do it.'

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7. As discussed in Silva (1985) and Suzuki (1994), the cluster *sta ta* may be realized as *sta ta*, *sa ta*, *ta ta*, or *ti ta*, and the latter two forms occur more often in the Barlavento dialects.

Silva (1990) claimed that the meaning of *sta ta* is different from that of *sta*. She explained the difference as follows:

(60)   *Sta ta* is the combination of the continuous aspect and the habitual/ iterative aspect. But it is very similar to *sta* in meaning; it is frequently used to describe or report events taking place at the moment of utterance. Even more so than with *sta* alone, there is a pronounced notion of continuity/ progression. (Silva, 1990: 153)

In Silva's 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*. There is, however, an asymmetric construction in the past in which the anterior form of *sta*, *staba*, cannot occur alone to indicate past progressive meaning, as shown in (62a). In order to express this meaning, *staba* must be followed by *ta*, forming *staba ta* (62b), in contrast to the case in the present where *ta* is optional, as shown in (61).

(61)   a.   *Gosi, N **sta** konsigi faze txeu kuza.* (RK-ST)
            now I ASP manage do   lot of thing
            'Now, I am managing to do a lot of things.'
       b.   *Gosi, N **sta ta** konsigi faze txeu kuza.*
            now I ASP ASP manage do   lot of thing
            'Now, I am managing to do a lot of things.'

(62)   a.   **N **staba**   konsigi faze txeu kuza.*
            I ASP+ANT manage do   lot of thing
       b.   *N **staba**   ta konsigi faze txeu kuza.*
            I ASP+ANT ASP manage do   lot of thing
            'I was managing to do a lot of things.'

Based on these facts, we have good reason to believe that *sta* and *sta ta* are not two sides of the same coin. Let us now turn to Suzuki's analysis.

Suzuki (1994: 25) assumed that the progressive *sta* is a phonological variant of *sta ta*, formed by the reduction of /sta ta/ to /sa ta/ and to /sta/. She followed Almada (1961: 112), who suggested that in the Sotavento varieties, /s/ in /sta/ results from /sa/ in /sa ta/ being reduced and becoming a proclitic. This would reflect the reduced form of the verbal auxiliary *sta*. According to Suzuki, the absence of the anterior form of the progressive *sta* may be due to the fact that the reduction does not take place when *-ba* intervenes, as in /staba ta/, under the assumption that /sta ta/ is the underlying form of the marker of progressive aspect.

In addition, the presumed notional difference between *sta* and *sta ta* may be due to the fact that the full form may be preferred in contexts where a special emphasis on continuation or progression is expressed.

To summarize Suzuki's interpretation of *sta ta, sta ta* is a phonological variant of *sta*, upon cliticization of *ta* to *sta*. There is, however, a problematic implication to Suzuki's analysis. Consider (63):

(63) *El **sta** senpri **ta**   kume.*
      he TMA always TMA eat
      'He's always eating.'

If *sta* were indeed a reduced form of *sta ta*, we would expect that *sta ta* would form a constituent. However, as illustrated in the example in (63), it is possible for an adverbial like *senpri* to intervene between *sta* and *ta*.

4.2.2.6   *The combinations involving **dja***

Dja may combine with the particles *sta*, as in (64), *-ba*, as in (65), or *ta*, as illustrated in (66):

(64) ***Dja sta** ben   faze onzi   anu ki   nha maridu   more.* (IDA-BR)
      dja   TMA come do   eleven year COMP my   husband die
      'It's soon going to be eleven years since my husband passed away.'

(65) *Pa kazu, **dj**'e   konxe**ba**   mi.* (RC-ST)
      for case   dja+*e* know+ANT me
      'As a matter of fact, he knew me.' or '… he already knew me.'

(66) *Nha familia **dja fika ta**   manda-m kel dola   di   Merka.* (JOS-BR)
      my   family dja keep ASP send-me   that dollar from America
      'My relatives keep sending me dollars from America.'

Dja may also combine with all combinations of TMA markers to yield the past progressive form, as illustrated in (67) and (68). Note that in (68), *ja* acts more like an adverbial.

(67) ***Dja**'N **sa**   **ta**   baba   pa tudu kau.* (JNV-ST)
      dja+I   ASP ASP go+ANT for every place
      'I was going all over the place.'

(68) *El   **staba**   **ta**   kume **ja**.*
      s/he PROG+ANT TMA eat   already
      'S/he was already eating.'

As already discussed in Section 4.2.1.4, further support for the proposal that *dja* indicates the perfect comes from the fact that it can co-occur with the progressive marker *sta ta* (Suzuki, 1994: 65). Silva (1985) noted that *dja* combines with *sta-(ba) ta* to designate ingressive meaning.

(69)   ***Dja*** *nhos* ***sa*** ***ta*** *ntende   cumpanhero midjor?*
       TMA you TMA TMA understand each other   better
       'Are you beginning to understand one another better?'
       (Silva, 1985: 178)[8]

Note that the equivalent of *sa ta* in (69) is *sta ta*, as illustrated in (70).
    The past tense equivalent is *staba ta*, as shown in (71):

(70)   ***Dja*** *nhos* ***sta*** ***ta*** *ntende   cumpanhero midjor?*
       TMA you TMA TMA understand each other   better
       'Are you beginning to understand one another better?'

(71)   ***Dja*** *nhos* ***staba***   ***ta*** *ntende   cumpanhero midjor?*
       TMA you TMA+ANT TMA understand each other   better
       'Were you beginning to understand one another better?'

In (69), *s(t)a ta* indicates that understanding is an ongoing process (dynamic situation) that has not been completed at the moment of speaking. The continuing relevance of the incomplete situation is indicated.

    Given this observation, it is reasonable to conclude that *dja* does not necessarily involve completion of a past situation and is therefore not a completive marker in Silva's sense (Suzuki, 1994: 65). For this reason, it would be more accurate, following Suzuki, to label *dja* a perfect marker. Furthermore, Suzuki (1994) noted that there are cases where *dja* shows futurity, as shown in (72):

(72)   *Mi* ***j'en*** *bay, adéwz,   pamó   Tey, j'el   soma.*
       me *ja*+I go   good bye because Tey *dja*+he arrive
       'I am gone, good bye, because Tey, he has just arrived.' (Meintel,
       1975: 247–256)[9]

Suzuki observed that this situation is similar to situations of prospective aspect, in Comrie's (1976) sense.[10]

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8. This example reflects Silva's spelling.

9. This example reflects Meintel's spelling.

10. According to Comrie (1976: 64, in Suzuki, 1994: 72), prospective aspect relates a state to

In the next section, I briefly introduce Bickerton's classical TMA system and emphasize, following Silva (1985, 1990), the ways in which the Cape Verdean system differs from the Bickertonian system.

4.3 Silva's (1985, 1990) analysis of tense and aspect in Cape Verdean Creole

Bickerton (1975) divided the creole verbal system into two categories: the *realis* and the *irrealis* (see definition in Section 4.2.1.2). Based on the Guyanese verbal system, Bickerton inferred that in creole languages, a nonpunctual marker (Guyanese *a*) can express both continuative and iterative aspect, and he also drew the generalization that all TMA markers are preverbal. Furthermore, he was the first to observe that in the absence of TMA markers, the bare stem form of the verb expresses the simple past of nonstative verbs and the present of stative verbs.

Silva's (1985, 1990) pioneering work on the Cape Verdean TMA system demonstrated, however, that CVC does not display all of the features described in Bickerton's model. She showed that CVC diverges from Bickerton's classical system in two major ways. First, the anterior marker is suffixed to the verb stem, hence is postverbal. Second, in Bickerton's system, the nonpunctual marker incorporates both the progressive and the durative, but in CVC, the iterative/ habitual *ta* appears to have merged with either punctuals or irrealis, leaving the nonpunctual category to consist only of continuative/durative *sta*. Furthermore, the perfective marker *dja* is used productively.

As already discussed, creole verbs fall into two categories: stative and non-stative verbs. In this respect, Silva defined a stative verb as being [−imperative] and [−controllable]. The feature [±controllability] refers to the ability of the subject to exert control over the verb. The stative/nonstative distinction is crucial in an analysis of the behavior of the verbs listed in Table 5 (Silva, 1985: 143).

The verbs in Groups I, II and IV of Table 5 confirm Bickerton's statement regarding the interpretation of stative and nonstative unmarked verbal forms: verbs in Groups I and II are [−imperative] and [−controllable], according to the present definition of stative verbs. The zero form of these verbs is also interpret-ed as nonpast. The verbs in Group I are the only ones that behave according to

some subsequent situation; more precisely, it is used when someone is in a state of being about to do something.

Table 5. Stative and nonstative verbs in Cape Verdean Creole[a]

Group I	Imperative			
Verbs	**Control**	*sta*	*sta pa*	**Past**
tem 'have'	–	–	–	–
tene 'have'	–	–	–	–
sta 'be'	–	–	–	–
e/ser 'be'	–	–	–	–
Group II				
sabe 'know'	–	–	–	+
parse 'resemble'	–	–	–	+
cre 'want'	–	–	–	+
cre tcheu 'like much'	–	–	–	+
conche 'recognize'	–	–	–	+
debe 'owe'	–	–	–	+
gosta 'like'	–	–	–	+
Group III	**Imperative**			
	Control	*sta*	*sta pa*	**Past**
credita 'believe'	–	–	+	+
squice 'forget'	–	–	+	+
spera 'wait'	–	–	+	+
obi 'hear'[b]	–	–	+	+
odja 'see'	–	–	+	+
tchera 'smell'	–	–	+	+
morre 'die'	–	–	+	+
vive 'live'	–	–	+	+
cria 'grow'	–	–	+	+
Group IV				
tchiga 'arrive'	+	+	+	+
muda 'change'	+	+	+	+
abri 'open'	+	+	+	+
salta 'jump'	+	+	+	+
traze 'bring'	+	+	+	+
bebe 'drink'	+	+	+	+
entra 'enter'	+	+	+	+

a. The verbs in Table 5 (adapted from Silva, 1985) reflect Silva's spelling.
b. The verb *obi* 'to hear' is also realized as *ubi* in the language.

the standard definition of stative verbs. That is, they do not enter into a construction with the progressive form *sta*. The verbs in Group II may however enter into such a construction, as illustrated in (73) and (74):

(73) *Cada dia el sta **sabe** mas tcheu.*
      every day he TMA know more more
      'Everyday, he knows more and more.' (Silva, 1985: 149)

(74) *Bu sta **parse** kada dia mas duenti.*
      you TMA seem each day more sick
      'You are looking sicker everyday.'

Silva (1985: 149) justified the use of *sta* with verbs like *sabe* 'to know' in (73) by claiming that this indicates that the state is not stable or is not completely achieved. With respect to examples like (74), she asserted that *sta* with *parse* 'to seem' indicates limited duration of the state or of the process leading to the state.

The verbs in Group IV are nonstatives, being [+imperative] and [+controllable]; and their zero form is interpreted as past.

The problematic group is Group III. Silva claimed that the verbs in Group III are also stative verbs, as they are [−imperative] and [−controllable]. The bare forms of these same verbs are also [+past], hence would not be considered statives by Bickerton's definition. Recall that Bickerton stated that the bare form of statives expresses the present tense, whereas the bare form of nonstative verbs express past tense. Silva (1985: 144) claimed that Group III verbs are stative verbs (they are [−imperative] and [−controllable])[11] that behave like nonstatives for the following reasons: they may combine with the auxiliary *sta* to yield a progressive reading and their bare stem yields a past tense reading, as in the case of nonstative verbs. The examples in (75) and (76) illustrate the behavior of four verbs in Group III: *kria* 'to raise/to grow' in (75a), *skise* 'to forget' in (75b), *spera* 'to wait for' in (76a), and *kredita* 'to believe' in (76b).

The past tense interpretation of the bare stem is illustrated in (75), whereas the examples in (76) show that these verbs may be combined with the progressive marker *sta.*

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11. Silva acknowledged (1985: 144) that verbs like *credita* 'to believe', *squice* 'to forget', and *cai* 'to fall' may be [+imperative]. Consider the example in (i):

(i) *Ka bu kredita tudu kuza ki   kel omi ta   fra-bu.*
     NEG you believe all   thing that that man TMA tell-you
     'Do not believe everything that that man tells you.'

(75) a. *N **kria** kes fidju,   omi dexa-m ku'el.* (ISA-ST)
          I   raise those children man leave-me with+it
          'I raised those children, the man left me with them.'

      b. *Se fidja,   sa   na Fijon d'Agu, N **skise** te   nomi d'el.* (TA-BR)
          her daughter TMA in Fijon d'Agu I   forget even name of+her
          'Her daughter, she lives in Fijon d'Agu, I even forgot her name.'

(76) a. *N sta   **spera** Antonia pa du[12] ba spera nha mai   pa du ba.*
          I   PROG wait   Antonia for we   go wait   my mother for we go
          'I am waiting for Antonia before we go and wait for my mother, then
          we go home.' (BER-BR)

      b. *El **sta**   ta   **kredita** tudu ki   bu ta   fra-l.*
          she PROG TMA believe all   that you TMA tell-her
          'She is believing everything that you tell her.'

Here, I argue that these verbs behave like nonstative verbs simply because they
are nonstative verbs; in addition, contra Silva's claim that they are [−impera-
tive] and [−controllable], these verbs occur very naturally in imperative
sentences, as illustrated in (77), (78) and (79).

(77) ***Ubi**   kel barudju!*
      listen that noise
      'Listen to that noise!'

(78) ***Skise** di trabadju, ben   kume ku   mi.*
      forget of work   come eat   with me
      'Forget work, come eat with me.'

(79) ***Txera** es flor,   el ta   txera sabi.*
      smell this flower it TMA smell good
      'Smell this flower. It smells good.'

These examples suggest that Group III verbs are more nonstative than stative,
a view shared by Suzuki (1994).

     I have shown throughout this section how Suzuki's analysis of Cape
Verdean TMA markers brought new insights to that of Silva. Her refinement of
Silva's basic concepts helped to resolve some of the problems that Silva's
analysis faced. That refinement bears on a number of points (a redefinition of
the functions of *dja* and *ta*, among others) and particularly on the notions of
stativity and nonstativity. In the next subsection, I show how Suzuki revisited

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12. In some varieties, the first person plural pronoun *nu* 'we' is realized by *du*, as shown in (76).

the notions of stativity and nonstativity to account for the behavior of Group III verbs, which Silva classified as statives.

4.4   Suzuki (1994): Stativity and nonstativity revisited

As already discussed, Silva defined as stative verbs those verbs that "cannot occur as an imperative and over which the subject of the verb cannot exert control" (Silva, 1990: 146).

   According to this criterion for stativity, the verbs in Group I, Group II and Group III are stative verbs, and those in Group IV are nonstative. Recall that Group III verbs in Table 2 were considered stative by Silva although their bare stem form yields a past interpretation and these verbs may be preceded by *sta*. Silva attributed the ambiguous status of Group III verbs like *credita* 'to believe', *spera* 'to wait for', *morre* 'to die', and *piora* 'to get worse' to the fact that these verbs may express a situation whose starting point reflects an event that results in a state (Silva, 1990: 149).

   The inadequacy of Silva's stative and nonstative distinction was first revealed by Suzuki (1994) who argued that Silva's definition of stative verbs does not capture accurately the semantic characteristics of states in contrast to dynamic situations. Suzuki rightfully refers instead to two working definitions of stativity by Comrie (80) and Lyons (81) with the purpose of reclassifying the verbs Silva analyzed.

(80)   With a state, unless something happens to change that state, then the states will continue, and therefore, to remain in a state requires no effort. With a dynamic situation, on the other hand, the situation will only continue if it is continually subject to a new input of energy, to remain in a dynamic situation does require effort, whether from inside (in which case we have an agentive interpretation, e.g. 'John is running') or from outside (in which case we have a non-agentive interpretation, e.g. 'the oscilloscope is emitting a pure tone'. (Comrie, 1976: 49)

Under Comrie's definition, the verbs that denote dynamic situations may or may not be agent-controlled. Such observation is made explicit in Lyons (1977: 483):

(81)   A static situation (or state of affairs, or state) is one that is conceived of as existing, rather than happening, and as being homogeneous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration. A dynamic situation, on the other hand, is something that happens… […] it may or may not be under the control of an agent. (Lyons, 1977: 483)

Such working definitions allowed Suzuki to reclassify Silva's verbs and consider Group III verbs as nonstative. Like Suzuki, I assume that verbs like *morre* 'to die', *cria* 'to raise', and *squice* 'to forget' and verbs of inert perception like *obi* 'to hear', *odja* 'to see', and *tchera* 'to smell' refer to a dynamic event. As for verbs like *credita* 'to believe', *spera* 'to wait for', and *vive* 'to live', Suzuki allowed that they might be partly stative verbs whose stem forms indicate perfectivity. Here, however, I would depart from Suzuki and argue that even verbs like *credita*, *spera* and *vive* are nonstative verbs, insofar as they can express the imperative and combine with the progressive marker *sta*. The examples in (82), (83), and (84) illustrate the behavior of *kredita, spera* and *vive* in imperative and progressive constructions:

imperative
(82) a. *Ka bu **kredita** tudu kuza ki   bu ubi!*
          NEG you believe all   thing COMP you hear
          'Don't believe everything that you hear!'
      progressive
      b. *N **sta**   **kredita** tudu kuza k'el   sta   fra-m.*
          I PROG believe all   thing COMP+she PROG tell-me
          'I am believing everything she is telling me.'

imperative
(83) a. ***Spera**-m li,   N ta   bai buska bu   mai!*
          wait-me here I TMA go fetch your mother
          'Wait for me here, I will go and fetch your mother!'
      progressive
      b. *Faze di presa, N **sta**   **spera**-bu!*
          do   quickly I PROG wait-you
          'Hurry up, I am waiting for you!'

imperative
(84) a. ***Vive** bu   vida, ka   bu   skuta-s!*
          live your life NEG you listen-them
          'Live your life, don't listen to them!'
      progressive
      b. *N ka   pode bai mas   ma N **sta**   **vive** dretu.* (MCR-ST)
          I NEG can go no longer but I PROG live well
          'I can no longer go there but I am living well.'

The examples in (82)–(84) support my claim that all verbs in Group III are nonstative, a view that is also consistent with Suzuki's revision of the notions of

stativity and nonstativity. Her insights make the right predictions regarding the behavior of Group III verbs and have led to a better understanding of the Cape Verdean TMA system.

   To summarize this particular section, several aspects of the Cape Verdean verb phrase, including the unmarked verb form and individual tense, mood and aspect markers, as well as their combinatory patterns, have been explored. In the process, the temporal, modal and aspectual interpretations that the various combinations yield were laid out. On this last point, I have tried to show the full extent of the complexity of the Cape Verdean TMA markers. I used Silva's pioneering study of TMA markers and Suzuki's insightful perspective and analysis of these markers. I have added to these two previous studies my own insights as a speaker of the Brava variety and have demonstrated that Group III verbs are indeed nonstative. My claim is supported by an array of examples featuring those verbs in the imperative mood and with the auxiliary *sta*. I have also proposed that two kinds of *ta* occur in the Cape Verdean grammar: the aspect/mood marker *ta* and the infinitival marker *ta*. I also argued that *sta ta* is not the underlying form of *sta*, given possible intervening adverbials between these two morphemes.

   In Chapter 6, I return to TMA markers and examine their position in the Cape Verdean phrase structure.

   Let us now turn to the copula and its own complexities.

4.5   The copula

In this section, various instances of copular predication are examined including equative "be" in nominal and adjectival predicates, locative "be" and focalizer "be". In the second part, I attempt to shed some light on the real nature of the morpheme *e* which at the surface occupies the syntactic position of a copula between subject and predicate but displays nominal properties regarding its position vis-à-vis Negation, past tense and pronominal selection. In this respect, we will make a comparative analysis of copular constructions in Cape Verdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole (Ichinose (1993)), as these two languages have a lot in common in this regard. In the last section, I propose an analysis for the evolution of the Cape Verdean morpheme *e*.

4.5.1   A general introduction to various forms of *be* in Cape Verdean Creole

4.5.1.1   *Equative **be***

In CVC, nominal predicates may be introduced by the morpheme e[13] when referring to permanent states as illustrated in (85) below or by the copula *sta* in nominal predicates when expressing a temporary state as in (86). In (86a) the emphasis is on the temporary status of the profession whereas in (86b) the emphasis is on the profession itself. This can be basically reduced to a distinction between individual-level (permanent properties) and stage-level (temporary properties) predicates.

(85)   *Nha vida e   pilon.*   (MDM-ST)
      my   life COP mortar/pestle
      'I make a living with a mortar and pestle.'

(86)   a.   *Gosi, Vieira **sta** diretor   di skola, kada anu, e   ta   troka   trabadju.*
          now Vieira is   director of school each year CL ASP change job
          'Now, Vieira is a school director, every year, he changes jobs.'
     b.   *Vieira **e**   diretor   di skola.*
          Vieira COP director of school
          'Vieira is a school director.'

4.5.1.2   *Adjectival predicates in Cape Verdean Creole*

In contrast to a number of creoles (cf. Holm, 1988, 2000), there are no verbal adjectives in CVC. Parallel to nominal predicates, adjectival predicates are introduced by two kinds of copulas: *e* and *sta*, thus expressing the same dichotomy between stage-level and individual-level predicates just explicated in the previous section.

(87)   *E fla mundu **e**   nganadu.* (RS-ST)
      CL said world   COP deceived
      'He said that the world is deceived.'

(88)   *Mundu **sta** nganadu txeu.* (RS-ST)
      world   is   deceived a lot
      'The world is quite deceived.'

---

13. We will call *e* a morpheme for the time being, as we will determine its nature in a later section. We will see that *e* occupies the syntactic position of a copula but behaves like a pronoun vis-à-vis NEG and Tense.

4.5.1.3   *Locative* **be**

Contrary to nominal and adjectival predicates which may be introduced by *sta* or *e*, locative predicates in CVC may only be introduced by *sta*.

(89) a. *Un* **sta** *la   pa Sal.* (RC-ST)
          one is   there for Sal
          'One of them lives in Sal.'
      b. **Un* **e** *la   pa Sal*
          one is there for Sal

4.5.1.4   *Focalizer* **be**

A focalizer is a morpheme that emphasizes the word it occurs next to; for instance, in Yoruba, focalizer *ni* occurs after the word or clause that it emphasizes, which is brought to the front of the sentence, as illustrated by (90) (Holm (1988: 179)):

(90) *aso* **ni** *mo rà.*   (Yoruba)
       cloth ni I   bought
       'It was cloth that I bought.'

In Cape Verdean, *e* may function as a focalizer and introduce nominal predicates in a clefting construction, as shown in (91).[14] The same construction obtains in Portuguese.

(91) **E** *mi ki   ta fika ku   kes minizu.* (ISA-ST)
       FOC me COMP ASP stay with the children
       'It is I who stay with the kids.'

The various usages of the copulas are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. The copulas and their usage

Noun Phrase	Adjective	Locative	Focalizer
e~sta	*e~sta*	*sta*	*e…ki*

---

14. The homophony between the copula and the focalizer should not be surprising. It has been attested in a number of languages. Bickerton (1993) for instance has observed that in the majority of creoles, a focalizer like *se* in French creoles or *da/na* in English creoles is generally homophonous with the copula that subcategorizes for NP complements.

Having introduced the usage of the two copulas *e* and *sta*, I will now turn to the characteristics of the morpheme *e*. First, I will examine the behavior of null and overt pronouns, then I will focus on the clitic pronoun *e* which is homophonous with the "copula" *e*. This will bring to the fore the syntactic properties that these seemingly two different morphemes share.

4.5.2   Characteristics of the morpheme *e* in Cape Verdean Creole

To determine the real nature of the morpheme *e* is no easy task: it generally occupies the syntactic position of a copula between a subject NP and a predicate but displays nominal properties with regard to Negation, pronominal selection and tense. Let us first turn to Negation.

4.5.2.1   *e and Negation*
All verbs obligatorily follow Negation in CVC as illustrated by *ba* (or *bai*) 'to go' in (92).

(92) a.   *Mi'N*   **ka baba**   *pamo   mi   e   mas nobu.* (BCR-BR)
           NONCL CL NEG go+ANT because NONCL COP more young
           'I didn't go because I am the youngest.'
      b.   **Mi'N*   **baba   ka** *pamo   mi   e   mas nobu.*
           NONCL CL go+ANT NEG because NONCL COP more young

The morpheme *e* however is pre-Neg (in most basilectal varieties) and allows the negative morpheme to immediately precede nominal predicates, as in (93) and (94):[15]

(93) a.   *PAIGC **e**   **ka**   PAICV.* (RS-ST)
           PAIGC COP NEG PAICV
           'The PAIGC is not the PAICV.'
      b.   **PAIGC **ka**   e   PAICV.*[16]
           PAIGC NEG COP PAICV

---

15. It was brought to my attention that in some dialects, *e* may appear in a post-Neg position. I must admit, however, that in my idiolect and that of a number of informants, *e* must be pre-Neg, otherwise it yields an ungrammatical output.

16. The PAIGC is an acronym standing for *Partido para a Independencia da Guine-Bissau e de Cabo Verde* 'The Party for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde'. The new party label PAICV (*Partido para a Independencia de Cabo Verde* 'the Party for the Independence of Cape Verde') emerged after a split occurred between the two countries.

(94) *João e ka padri.*
      João COP NEG priest
      'João is not a priest.'

E ka may not only modify NP predicates but also other types such as APs (95) and PPs (96):

(95) a. *Keli e ka sabi.*   (RS-ST)
          this COP NEG pleasant
          'This is not pleasant.'
      b. *Nos   e ka diskurajadu.* (S-ST)
          NONCL COP NEG discouraged
          'We don't lack courage.'

(96) *Ke kusa e ka di seriu.* (RS-ST)
      that thing COP NEG of serious
      'That thing is not to be taken seriously.'

E is the only verb form found in a pre-Neg position in the language; we will see below that even its past tense counterpart behaves like other verbs and is found in a post-Neg position. This state of affairs is somewhat reminiscent of the exceptional pre-Neg position of the (inflected) English copula, as illustrated in (97).

(97) a. John **is not** stubborn. (present)
      b. John **is not** my father.

It is important, however, to note that in English, the pre-Neg position of auxiliaries is consistent across tenses and moods (*is not/was not/will not…*), as illustrated by (98a–d). Main verbs, however, never appear in such a position, as illustrated in (98e–f):

(98) a. John **is not** being stubborn.   (present)
      b. John **has not** been stubborn. (present perfect)
      c. John **was not** stubborn.   (past)
      d. John **will not** be stubborn.   (future)
      e. *John **came not** home.   (past)
      f. John **did not come** home.   (obligatory *do*-support)

Contrary to the English case, the past tense counterpart of *e*, *era*, is always post-Neg, as illustrated by the examples in (99) and (100):

(99) a. *Si mai   ka era rabeladu.* (RS-ST)
          his mother NEG was Rabeladu
          'His mother was not a Rabeladu.'

b. *_Si   mai   era ka   rabeladu._
his mother was NEG rabeladu

(100) a. _Mi'   N ka era di   li._   (RS-ST)
NONCL CL NEG was from here
'I was not from here.'

b. *_Mi'   N era ka   di   li._
NONCL CL was NEG from here.

The same situation arises for the future counterpart of _e, ta ser. Ta ser_ must assume a post-Neg position, as is shown by the ungrammaticality of (101b) and (101c):

(101) a. _João ka   ta   ser profesor._
João NEG TMA be professor
'João will not be a professor.'

b. *_João ta   ser ka   profesor._
João TMA be NEG professor

c. *_João ta   ka   ser profesor._
João TMA NEG be professor

This state of affairs is captured by the templates in (102):

(102) a.   Present _ka ser = e ka_
b.   Past   _ka ser = ka era_
c.   Future _ka ser = ka ta ser_

4.5.2.2   _e and pronominal selection_
As already discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3, CVC verbs may select pronominal clitics (103) or nonclitics in subject position as illustrated in (104).

(103) _N bai   na kuartu, N xinta,   N txora._ (MAR-MA)
CL went in room   CL sit down CL cry
'I went to my room, sat down and cried.'

(104) a. _Ami   pega na kel livru li._   (S-ST)[17]
NONCL catch in this book here
'I studied this book here.'

b. _Bo sabê es   koza drete._ (São Vicente dialect)
you know this thing well
'You know this thing well.' (Veiga, 1996: 363)

---

17. _Pega_ has several meanings in the language and can be translated by 'to catch', 'to grab', or 'to be attached'.

E, however, may only select nonclitic pronominals, as illustrated in (105a) otherwise yielding ungrammaticality (105b).

(105) a. ***Mi***   *e*   *pobri, ma* ***mi***   *e*   *trabadjadera.* (JNV-ST)
        NONCL COP poor but NONCL COP worker
        'I am poor but I am a hard worker.'
    b. *N e   *pobri, ma N e*   *trabadjadera.*
        CL COP poor but CL COP worker

This is further evidence that *e* does not display regular verbal behavior.

4.5.2.3   *e and tense: e different in nature from past tense **era***
Evidence that *e* is of a different nature from its past counterpart *era* is provided by the position of the latter vis-à-vis Negation (106) and pronominal selection (107), hence showing that *era* contrary to *e* behaves like a real verb:

(106) a. *Kantu k'e*   *ben kaza, si mai*   ***ka era*** *rabeladu.* (C-ST)
        when COMP+she come home her mother NEG was rebel
        'When she came home, her mother was (still) not a rebel.'
    b. **Kantu k'e*   *ben kaza, si mai*   ***era ka*** *rabeladu.*
        when COMP+she come home her mother was NEG rebel

(107) a. ***bu/bo***   *ka* ***era*** *trabadjadera.*
        CL/NONCL NEG was worker
        'You were not a hard worker.'
    b. ***bu/bo***   *era trabadjadera.*
        CL/NONCL was worker
        'You were a hard worker.'

The positions of *era* vis-à-vis NEG in (106a) and its ability to select clitic or nonclitic pronominal as subject NPs (107) show that it behaves like a real verb. *E*, on the other hand, occupies the same position as a clitic pronominal, including its homophonous counterpart *e* ('it', 'she', 'he'), as illustrated in (108):

(108) a. ***E ka*** *ta*   *pode djuda-m.* (ELV-BR)
        CL NEG ASP can help-me
        'She cannot help me.'
    b. ****Ka e*** *ta*   *pode djuda-m.*
        NEG CL ASP can help-me

The behavior of *e* vis-à-vis Negation and tense is reminiscent of Guinea-Bissau Creole data. In this respect, Ichinose (1993) claims that the Guinea-Bissau

Creole counterpart to Cape Verdean *e*, namely *i*, is a pronoun and not a copula. His arguments are exposed in the next subsection.

4.5.2.4   *A comparative analysis of Cape Verdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole*

Ichinose (1993) claims that Guinea-Bissau Creole *i*, the counterpart to Cape Verdean *e*, evolved from the third person singular, hence in constructions such as "X *i* Y", *i* does not originate from the Portuguese "be", *ser*, but from the Portuguese third person singular *ele* (1993:24). The lack of verbal characteristics associated to *i* — namely *i* cannot precede the anterior tense marker *ba* (109b) and cannot appear sentence initially in an imperative construction (110b) — led Ichinose to conclude that *i* was not a verb.

(109) a. *El   i   pursor   ba.*
           s/he COP professor ANT
           'S/he was a professor.'
       b. **El   i   ba   pursor*
           s/he COP ANT professor (Ichinose, 1993:24)

       imperative
(110) a. *Sedu garandi!*
           COP adult
           'Be an adult!' (Ichinose, 1993:25)
       b. **I   garandi!*
           COP adult

On this issue, Ferguson (1971:142) defends the idea that languages without a copula in equated constructions may use a third person singular pronoun to topicalize the subject of the clause. According to him, the equative construction has evolved from "Y" to "XY", to "*i* Y" to "X *i* Y" and the construction "*i* Y" is found in a number of languages such as Bambara where the predicator appears when there is no explicit subject. On a similar subject, Ichinose observes (1993:30, fn. 9) that Wolof (spoken in Senegal) also has constructions of the type "it/he/she Y". Given the striking similarities between Cape Verdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole, the next task is to find out if Cape Verdean *e* is a pronoun, a copula or both.

4.5.2.5   *Arguments for an analysis of **e** as a pronoun*

The symptoms of the pronominal behavior of *e* can be summarized as follows: *e* appears in a pre-Neg position and behaves differently from its past tense

counterpart, which is always post-Neg (just like all other verbs). Additionally, *e* never selects a clitic in subject position, only nonclitics, contrary to other verbs. Indeed, an argument in favor of *e* as a pronoun would be to say that the status of *e* as a clitic pronoun accounts for the fact that it cannot host another clitic pronoun in subject position. Instead, a nonclitic pronominal must appear in subject position in SpecAgrP (this issue will be revisited from a theoretical perspective in Chapter 8). This contrasts with all the other verbs which may select a clitic or nonclitic in subject position.

4.5.2.6 *Arguments against e as a pronoun*

There are, however, theoretical reasons to doubt that *e* is a pronoun. Indeed, if we consider the topicalized construction in (111), we run into the following problem: to analyze *e* as a pronoun would equate with claiming that the following construction is characterized by three third person singular pronouns, which would create problems for the theory of (case) feature checking. Chapter 8, Section 8.7 will shed new light on this issue.

(111) a. ***El,   el   e trabadjadera.***
           NONCL NONCL CL worker
           'S/he is (really) a hard worker.'
       b. ***Ami,   mi   e mas bedju.*** (JOS-ST)
           NONCL NONCL CL more old
           'I am (really) older.'

This conflict arises from the duality of the morpheme *e*, which is found both in a clitic subject position and a copula position in CVC. This state of affairs may find some resolution by considering the hypothetical evolution of this morpheme. The question is: where does the copula originate? Here, along the lines of Ichinose (1993), I propose that the copula is derived from the pronoun, instantiating some type of category conversion following the pattern in (112):

(112) $\emptyset > e$ (PRON) $> e$ (COP) $> e$ (FOC)

In other words, CVC may have started out with copulaless constructions and then used a pronoun in equative constructions before the morpheme assumed the role of a copula and focalizer, as seen in example (91). Such evolution would account for the remaining nominal properties of the morpheme with regard to Negation, tense and pronominal selection. An offshoot of this evolution is the parallel use of the copula as a focalizer under the influence of Portuguese. We may hypothesize that the use of *e* as a pronoun in a copula

position may have been acquired under the influence of substrates like Wolof. Later on in the continuum, the Portuguese influence may have created a shift from a pronoun to a copula and focalizer.

In conclusion, I hope to have shown in this section how the Cape Verdean morpheme *e* has evolved and undergone both substrate and superstrate influences, which accounts for its nominal and verbal properties.

4.6   Verbal reduplication

In this section, we examine the highly productive process of verbal reduplication (full reduplication), as well as lexicalized reduplication.

4.6.1   Full verbal reduplication

The primary function of full verbal reduplication is to convey iteration and/or intensification, as shown in (113) and (114).

(113)   *Sāchu* **kōpô'** **kōpô'** *t'ok'ê   dana se rabu.*
monkey get ready get ready until+he ruin his tail.
'The monkey pampered himself so much that he ruined it all.'
(my translation) (De Paula Brito, 1967 [1880]: 391)

(114)   *Agu   móli na pédra ríju ta* **báte báte** *até   ki   fúra.*
water soft on stone hard ASP hit   hit   until COMP break.
'Soft water keeps on hitting the hard rock until it breaks.'
(Meintel, 1975: 219)

Besides these iconic interpretations, lexicalized reduplicated verbal forms also abound in CVC.

4.6.2   Lexicalized verbal reduplication

The semantic properties of lexicalized verbs are by definition non-iconic in CVC and involve a change in meaning and/or word class. In some cases, reduplication results in a semantically unrelated noun: for instance, while *fuska* is a verb meaning 'to get drunk' or a noun meaning 'drunkenness', the reduplicated form *fuska-fuska* has the unrelated meaning 'sunset/darkness'. Similarly, *buli* may be interpreted as a verb 'to annoy' or as a noun 'gourd'. The reduplicated form *buli-buli* is interpreted as the verb 'to shake' and may have a sexual connotation implying a teasing movement, for instance in dancing.

In other cases, a change of meaning occurs without category change. Thus, the verb *futi* 'to break, to fall, escape', reduplicates to *futi-futi* (also pronounced *fute-futi*) 'to get agitated, to struggle, to wrestle'. Although there is no category change, the semantics of the unreduplicated form and that of the reduplicated form are rather distinct:

(115) a. *Garáfa **futi'm***   *de*   *mon.*
            bottle   escape+me from hand
            'The bottle escaped me/I dropped the bottle.' (my translation)
            (Fernandes, 1991 [1920]:77)
        b. *El sta*   *ta*   ***fute-futi*** *na meio*   *d'arguem.*
            he PROG TMA wrestling LOC middle of+people
            'He is wrestling his way through the crowd.' (my translation)
            (Fernandes, 1991 [1920]:77)

Table 7 shows that verbal reduplication may or may not involve category conversion.

Table 7. Verbal reduplication

Verb	*futi* 'to break'	Verb (unrelated)	*futi-futi* 'to get agitated'
Noun/Verb	*buli* 'gourd', 'to annoy'	Verb (semantic shift)	*buli-buli* 'to shake (hips)'

4.6.3   Substratal influence on Cape Verdean Creole reduplicative strategies

Some evidence of potentially relevant substrate languages may be adduced from a consideration of reduplicated forms that, as has been argued by Quint (1999), have been directly inherited from substrate languages. He identified Mandinga Malinké, Mandinga Mandika, Wolof and Bambara as sources of inherited reduplications.

Thus, the tenuous semantic relationship between *futi* 'to get broken' and the reduplicated expression *futi-futi* 'to get agitated' may be ascribed to Mandinga Mandika: *futi-futi* is said to be derived from Mandinga Mandika *fítifiti* 'to get agitated' (Quint, 1999).

Other lexicalized reduplications have been assumed to have a direct substratal source: for instance, *feti-feti* (116) is believed to be derived from the Wolof verb *fete* 'to scrub'.

(116)   *Ba **feti-feti-m** kel   ropa   la.*
        go scrub-me   that clothing there
        'Go and scrub those clothes for me.'

Menhi-menhi (117) is another such example. It is believed to derive from Mandinga Bambara *mene-mene* 'to twinkle' (Quint, 1999: 156).

(117)   *Stréla ta   **menhi-menhi** na séu.*
        star   TMA twinkle   LOC sky
        'Stars twinkle in the skies.'

It is important to note the absence of the single forms **feti* and **menhi* in CVC, corroborating direct inheritance of the reduplicated forms from the substrates. Veiga (1996) provides as well a number of inherited reduplicated forms, and observes that such expressions exist mostly in the Santiago variety of CVC, a basilectal dialect, which is expected given the substratal origin of such items.

4.7 Passivization strategies[18]

Passives are typically characterized by the use of the *-du* inflection on the verb stem, as illustrated in (118) with *txomadu* 'called'.[19] Passivization can be encoded through impersonal constructions displaying null expletives in subject position, as in (118).

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18. I thank Michel DeGraff for a fruitful discussion on this topic.

19. Veiga (1995) and Quint (2000) note that the counterpart to the present passive morpheme *-du* is *-da* expressing past passive. However, the perusal of my corpus did not yield many cases of past passives. Only a few examples could be viewed as possible candidates. A word of caution is in order, as *-da* in (i) and (ii) could reflect agreement with the subject and object predicates respectively. Such atypical agreement could be due to hypercorrection:

(i)   *N kiri**da** dretu.* (RC-ST) (female informant)
     I   raised   well
     'I was raised well.'

(ii)   *Senpri nu ta   ler**da eskritura** di greja.*   (RC-ST)
     always we ASP read   writing   of church
     'We were always read the bible' or 'The bible was always read to us.'

The example in (iii) seems to represent a more genuine case of past passive.

(iii) *Ta tra**da** miolu di dentu di banana, ta   kume**da**.* (MCR-ST)
     ASP taken pulp of inside of banana ASP eaten
     'The pulp was extracted from the banana and eaten up.'

(118) a. ***Ta   txomadu** so   di noti.* (RS-ST)
              TMA called   only of night
              'We were only called at night time.'
       b. ***Ta   fladu** si, **ta   fladu** ku   boka.* (RS-ST)
              TMA said   yes TMA said   with mouth
              'It is said indeed, it is said openly.'

Passivization can also be encoded through personal constructions. The personal passive takes an overt NP in subject position, as in (119).

(119) a. ***Bonba ta   dadu** dentu di kaza.* (RS-ST)
              spray   TMA given inside of house
              'The house was sprayed.'
       b. ***Nu podu** tudu na trabadju.* (RS-ST)
              CL put   all   in work
              'We were all put to work.'

This type of constructions is characterized by the absence of a copula linking the subject to the past participle and the absence of an agentive prepositional phrase. In a number of cases, personal passives may involve subject–verb inversion only under the condition that the subject be a full NP (120).

(120) a. *Dipos dja   ki   **pegadu kel rapas.**   (RS-ST)
              after   PERF COMP caught the young man
              'It is only afterwards that the young man was caught'.
       b. *Ka   ta   **fazedu kaza   di padja.** (RS-ST)
              NEG TMA made   house of straw
              'Thatched homes are not made.'

Such inversion is not allowed with clitic pronominals (121).

(121) a. **Dipos dja   ki   **pegadu e.***
              after   PERF COMP caught CL
       b. *Dipos dja   k'e   **pegadu.***
              after   PERF COMP+he caught
              'It is only afterwards that he was caught.'

4.8 Serial verb constructions

Due to the variety of syntactic and semantic definitions regarding serial verb constructions in the literature (Lord, 1993; Christie, 1998), it is desirable to

begin with a working definition of the phenomenon. The definition most suitable to the case of CVC is primarily structural and to a limited extent semantic. Structurally speaking, the serial verb constructions found in this corpus consist of a string of two (122) or three immediately adjacent verbs (123):

(122) a. *N **ben** **sai** di vila.* (RS-ST)
           CL come go of city
           'I ended up leaving the city.'
       b. *N **ben** **fase** balei.* (W-ST)
           CL come make basket
           'I made baskets.'

(123) a. *E ta   **torna ben**   **toma** konta.* (RS-ST)
           CL TMA return come take   charge
           'He will end up taking charge once again.'
       b. *Nu **ben**   **torna ben**.* (RS-ST)
           CL come return come
           'We returned once again.'

If present, a TMA marker immediately precedes the first member of the string, as illustrated by (123a). Historically, serialization may display verbs that have become grammaticalized. *Ben* 'come' and *bai* 'go' may be viewed as instances of grammaticalization expressing directionality. Verbs like *torna* in (123) may have come to play more the function of the adverbial 'once again'. The examples in (122)–(123) illustrate serial verb constructions expressing directionality and simultaneous events.

Besides directional verbs such as *ben* and *bai*, serial verb constructions may also involve verbs of volition such as *kre* 'to want', or *dezeja* 'to wish'.

(124) a. *El   ta **kre** **faze** un kuza linpu.* (RS-ST)
           NONCL ASP want do   a   thing clean
           'He wishes to do something neat.'
       b. *N ka   **dezeja bai**.* (WH-ST)
           CL NEG wish   go
           'I don't wish to go.'

Verbs of necessity such as *meste* 'need' or permission such as *dixa* 'let/allow' can also take another adjacent verb, as shown in (125) and (126) respectively:

(125) *N ka   **meste konta** nha.* (RS-ST)
       CL NEG need tell   you
       'I need not tell you.'

(126) a. *E ka ta **dixa-m goza.** * (RS-ST)
             CL NEG ASP let-me enjoy
             'It does not let me enjoy life.'
       b. *Ma senhor Jesus Kristu ka **dexa faze** nada.*   (RS-ST)
             but lord   Jesus Christ NEG let   do   nothing
             'But the Lord Jesus Christ did not let us do anything.'

This working definition of serial verbs has enabled us to identify a large set of
constructions made up of two or three consecutive verbs.

4.9 The imperative

On the topic of imperatives, the affirmative imperative consists of two morpho-
logically distinct sets: the imperative for the second person singular is formed by
using a bare verb stem with no overt subject pronoun, as in (127).

(127) a. **Odja** *li!*   (RJ-ST)
             see   here
             'Listen up!'
       b. ***Bu odja** *li!*
             you see   here

In contrast, the formation of the imperative for the other persons in the
paradigm involves the use of the pronoun *nu* for the first person plural and *nhos*
for the second person plural, as illustrated in (128) and (129), respectively.

(128) **Nu** *bai!*
          we leave
          'Let's leave!'

(129) **Nhos** *odja li!*   (RJ-ST)
          you see   here
          'You listen up (all of you)!'

The examples in (127), (128) and (129) feature the paradigm of the affirmative
imperative.
        The negative imperative is formed by using the negative particle followed
by the subject pronoun. The examples in (130)–(132) feature the paradigm of

the negative imperative.[20] Observe that the pronoun of the second person singular negative imperative is obligatorily overt, as illustrated in (130). This contrasts with the affirmative imperative, for which it was necessarily null, as illustrated in (127b).

(130) a. ***Ka bu*** *bai Praia!* (MAR-MA)
        NEG you go Praia
        'Don't go to Praia!'
    b. *****Ka   bai** *Praia!*
        NEG go Praia

(131) ***Ka nhos***   *dezeja-l pamo   si fomi   ben, e   kastigu.* (YV-ST)
    NEG you (PL) wish-it because if hunger come is/it horrible
    'Don't wish for it because if the famine comes, it is horrible.'

(132) ***Ka   nu*** *spera!* (AM-ST)
    NEG we wait
    'Let's not wait!'

Unlike negative constructions in which the subject precedes Negation, as in (133), the negative imperative is formed by inverting the negative morpheme and the verb.

(133) ***Bu ka***   *paga kel   renda.* (AM-ST)
    you NEG pay   that rent
    'You did not pay rent.'

I re-examine the negative imperative in Chapter 7, Section 7.6, from a theoretical perspective.

4.10 Negation

This section examines in detail sentential Negation in CVC and focuses in particular on the position of the negator *ka* with regard to main verbs and TMA markers.

    When expressing sentential Negation, Cape Verdean *ka* precedes not only the main verb, as shown in (134), but also the sequence of TMA markers. In other

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20. The imperative for the formal second person singular is as in (i):

(i) ***Ka nha/nho***   *bai!*
    NEG you (formal) leave
    'Don't leave!'

words, *ka* must be preverbal[21] and never allows markers such as *ta*, as in (135), or combinations such as *sta ta*, as in (136) to precede it.

(134) a. *Ano   nu **ka** fronta-l.*   (RS-ST)
    NONCL CL NEG insult-him
    'We did not insult him.'

  b. **Ano   nu fronta-l   **ka**.*
    NONCL CL insult-him NEG

(135) a. *Rabeladu **ka** ta   briga.* (RS-ST)
    Rabeladu NEG ASP fight
    'The Rabeladu do not fight.'

  b. **Rabeladu **ta** **ka** briga.*
    Rabeladu ASP NEG fight

(136) a. *Azagua   **ka** sta ta   daba.*   (RS-ST)
    rainy period NEG TMA TMA give+ANT
    'The rainy period was not yielding much.'

  b. **Azagua   **sta** **ta** **ka** daba.*
    rainy period TMA TMA NEG give+ANT

Ka may negate VPs, as shown in (134) through (136), but can also negate other types of constituents such as NPs (137) and PPs (138).

(137) *E   **ka** **maniok** ki   João kunpra na merkadu.*
   FOC NEG manioc COMP João buy   in market
   'It is not manioc that João bought at the market.'

(138) *E   **ka** **na merkadu** ki   João kunpra maniok.*
   FOC NEG in market   COMP João buy   manioc
   'It is not at the market that João bought the manioc.'

Cape Verdean *ka* can occur clause-internally between subject and predicate, as illustrated in (139):

(139) *E fla-nu pa du **ka**   toma.* (RS-ST)
   CL tell-us for we NEG take
   'He told us not to take it.'

Negation can occur in two different places, negating either the embedded predicate (as in (139)) or the matrix predicate, as illustrated in (140):

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21. As discussed in Section 4.5, the only exception to this rule is the copula-like morpheme *e* which is the only Cape Verdean verb (let us call it a light verb) that is found in a pre-Neg position.

(140)   *E **ka** fla-nu pa du toma.*
        CL NEG tell-us for we take
        'He did not tell us to take it.'

Furthermore, *ka* may negate the matrix predicate and the embedded one, as shown in (141):

(141)   *E **ka** fla-nu pa du **ka** toma.*
        CL NEG tell-us for we NEG take
        'He did not tell us not to take it.'

The generalization that can be derived from these data is that *ka* is always preverbal with both matrix and subordinate predicates and always precedes TMA markers whether they occur in isolation or in combination.

CVC *ka* is also involved in the interpretation of negative quantifiers. As a rule, *ka* combined with a negative quantifier always yields a negative statement; the two negative morphemes do not cancel each other out, as would be the case in some languages. Consider the sentences in (142) and (143):

(142)   *Bonba **ka**   dadu **mas.***   (RS-ST)
        spray   NEG given anymore
        'Houses were no longer sprayed.'

(143)   a.   *N **ka** sabe **nada**   di keli.* (RS-ST)
             CL NEG know nothing of this
             'I don't know anything about it.'
        b.   *Ami'   N **ka**   konxe **ningen.*** (RS-ST)
             NONCL CL NEG know nobody
             'I don't know anybody.'

Often, negative quantifiers are topicalized and can be found in a pre-Neg position.

(144)   a.   *Ma ami,   **nada**   N ka   ten.* (RS-ST)
             but NONCL nothing CL NEG have
             'But, as for me, I don't have anything.'
        b.   ***Nada**   N **ka**   faze.* (RS-ST)
             nothing CL NEG do
             'I did not do anything.'

In some rare instances, a positive quantifier such as *algen* 'someone' in (145) is used in place of *ningen* 'no one' yielding the same negative interpretation as the latter:

(145) *Si bu **ka** odja **algen,   bu ta   sta   fora.***   (RS-ST)
      if CL NEG see   someone you TMA TMA outside
      'If you don't see anyone, you remain outside.'

The sentence in (146b) shows that CVC does not have an alternative in express-
ing a negative statement. Two negative elements like *ningen* and *ka* in (146a)
must appear in the negative statement, thus creating negative concord.

(146) a. *Mas **ningen ka** ta daba   txeu kumida propi.* (MCR-ST)
         but   no one NEG ASP give+ANT much food   really
         'But no one had given a lot of food away really.'
      b. *⋆Mas **ningen** ta daba   txeu kumida propi.*
         but   no one ASP give+ANT much food   really

There are cases in CVC where several negative quantifiers combine into a single
instance of sentential Negation in the presence of *ka*. Consider (147) and (148):

(147) *Nos   nu **ka** ta uvi na **mas   nada.***   (RS-ST)
      NONCL CL NEG ASP hear on no longer nothing
      'We don't listen to anything else anymore.'

(148) *El   **ka** fra **ningen nada.***
      s/he NEG said nobody nothing
      'S/he did not say anything to anybody.'[22]

(147) and (148) show that CVC has a rule of negative concord allowing *ka* to
interact with several negative quantifiers. In Chapter 7, I analyze *ka* as the head
of the NEG phrase.

4.11 Other lexical categories

In this section, other lexical categories such as quantifiers, adverbials, conjunc-
tions and prepositions will be introduced for the sake of completeness in this
investigation of CVC syntax.

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22. *Ningen* and *nada* can alternatively be considered negative polarity items meaning
'anybody' or 'anything' and requiring an overt syntactic NEG. They cannot occur without the
negative morpheme, as illustrated in (i):

    (i) *⋆El fra ningen nada.*
       he say nobody nothing

4.11.1   Quantifiers

4.11.1.1   *Quantifiers and their distribution*

There are a number of quantifiers in CVC, among them: *algun* 'some/someone', *ninhun* 'none/no one/any', *ningen* 'nobody', *kada* 'every', *kalker* 'any', *otu* 'other', and *mutu* or *txeu*, both meaning 'a lot of'.

   Algun may act as a nominal quantifier (149a) or may modify a noun, as in (149b):

(149)   a.   *Ten **algun**   di seu ki   ta   konta.* (RS-ST)
              have someone of sky COMP ASP count
              'There is someone up there who counts.'

   b.   ***Algun dia**, N ta   bai Merka.*
              one   day I   ASP go America
              'One day, I'll go to America.'

Just like *algun*, *ninhun* may stand on its own, in which case, it means 'no one/anyone' (150a) or it may modify a noun, as in (150b):

(150)   a.   *Nu ka   ta   faze forsa   ku   **ninhun.*** (RS-ST)
              CL NEG ASP make strength with anyone
              'We don't oppose anybody.'

   b.   *Nu ka   ta   toma **ninhun** nunbru.* (RS-ST)
              CL NEG ASP take no   number
              'We don't take any number.'

Ningen 'nobody/anybody' is a negative polarity item and a nominal quantifier that may be found in subject or object position.

(151)   a.   *Ami,   **ningen** ka   fla-m.* (RS-ST)
              NONCL nobody NEG tell-me
              'Me, nobody told me.'

   b.   *N ka   konxe **ningen**.* (RS-ST)
              CL NEG know nobody
              'I don't know anybody.'

Otu may be a nominal quantifier signifying 'other one' (152a) or may be an adjectival quantifier 'other', as in (152b):

(152)   a.   *Kel **otu** sta moradu li   sin   li.*   (RS-ST)
              the other AUX lived   here right here
              'The other one is living right here.'

b. *Ta ba fase **otu** funku la.* (RS-ST)
ASP go do other hut there
'One goes and makes another hut over there.'

Nada is a negative quantifier and can act as a negative polarity item:

(153) a. *N ben i **nada** N ka ubi mas.* (RS-ST)
CL come and nothing CL NEG hear anymore
'I came and I did not hear anything anymore.'

b. *Ami' N ka sabe **nada** di keli.* (RS-ST)
NONCL CL NEG know nothing of this
'I don't know anything about it.'

Kada 'each' and *kualker* 'any' are both modifiers and must always qualify a noun, as shown in (154) and (155) respectively:

(154) a. *E da senpri se pon di **kada dia.*** (RS-ST)
CL give always his bread of every day
'He always gave us daily bread.'

b. *Ami nha mininu, **kada** un nase n'un kau.* (RS-ST)
NONCL my children each one was born in a place
'As for my children, each one was born in a different place.'

(155) *Fika **kualker dia** pa nho fradu.* (RS-ST)
remain any day for you told
'There remain any number of days for you to be told.'

The adjectival quantifier *mutu* 'a lot/too much/very' may modify a verb (156):

(156) a. *Ja e ka ta **mutu** matrata-m.* (RS-ST)
now CL NEG ASP a lot ill-treat-me
'Now, it does not ill-treat me a lot.'

b. *Es ka **mutu** pega na mi.* (RS-ST)
CL NEG a lot attach on me
'They are not much attached to me.'

Interestingly, there are cases where the verb precedes the quantifier *mutu*, as attested by the following examples.

(157) *Brankinha ka ta matrata **mutu** se maridu.* (RS-ST)
Brankinha NEG ASP ill-treat a lot her husband
'Brankinha does not ill-treat her husband a lot.'

Mutu may also modify an adjective, as shown in (158):

(158)   *N atxa   ki   keli e   **mutu mutu** bon.* (RS-ST)
        CL found COMP this COP very   very   good
        'I found that this is very very good.'

Txeu 'a lot' is semantically close to *mutu* and may modify a noun (159) or a verb (160):

(159)   a.   *N ka   konsigi faze **txeu** kuza.* (RS-ST)
              CL NEG manage do   a lot thing
              'I did not manage to do a lot of things.'
        b.   *Livru go   nu tene **txeu.*** (RS-ST)
              book now CL have a lot
              'We have a lot of books.'

(160)   *Dja' N trabadja **txeu.*** (RS-ST)
        PERF CL work   a lot
        'I have worked a lot.'

In summary, *algun, ninhun* and *otu* may be nominal or adjectival in their function, *nada* and *ningen* can only be nominal, whereas *kada* and *kualker* can only be adjectival. In the next subsection, the quantifier *tudu* is treated separately due to its multiple functions in the language.

4.11.1.2   *The distribution of the quantifier **tudu***
Although the quantifier *tudu* overlaps different word classes, the various meanings and functions will be introduced all together in this section, for ease of exposition.

First, *tudu* 'all' works as a floating quantifier. When *tudu* co-occurs with pronominals, the latter may immediately precede *tudu* (161a), they may precede an intervening verb (162a) or may follow the quantifier (163a). An interesting piece of data resides in the fact that a full NP may substitute for the pronominal in (162b) and (163b) and in (161b):

(161)   a.   ***Es   tudu,** nu ta koreba   d'el.*   (RS-ST)
              PRON all   CL ASP run+ANT from+it
              'We used to run away from all of them.'
        b.   ***Alunu   tudu,** nu ta   koreba   d'el.*[23]
              students all   CL ASP run+ANT from+it
              'We, the students, all used to run away from it'

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23. The reverse order *tudu alunu* 'all the students' also yields a grammatical output.

(162) a. ***Es*** *fika **tudu** la pa fora.* (RS-ST)
PRON stay all there outside
'They all stayed out there.'

b. ***Alunu*** *fika **tudu** la pa fora.* (RS-ST)
students stay all there outside
'The students all stayed out there.'

(163) a. ***Tudu es*** *sta la na Pofinu.* (RS-ST)
all PRON are there in Pofinu
'They are all in Pofinu.'

b. ***Tudu alunu*** *sta la na Pofinu.*
all students are there in Pofinu
'All the students are there in Pofinu.'

Floating quantifiers occur in other creole languages. For instance, Kihm (1994) points out examples of quantifier floating in Guinea-Bissau Creole, as illustrated in (164) and (165):

(164) ***Tudu*** *N tene.* (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
everything I have
'I have everything.' (Kihm, 1994: 170)

(165) *E fididu jinjirba **tudu** i kaba.* (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
they be+slit gums all it be-finished
'Then they all had their gums tattooed.' (Kihm, 1994: 173)

The issue of quantifier float will be revisited in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4) from a theoretical perspective and the positional properties of *tudu* in the Cape Verdean architecture will be discussed.

Second, *tudu* may function as an adjective translatable as 'the whole/all of/all' modifying a common noun:

(166) *N ta konta nha **tudu** storia.* (RS-ST)
CL ASP tell you whole story
'I will tell you the whole story.'

(167) *N ta anda **tudu** Sera Malageta.* (RS-ST)
CL ASP walk all Sera Malageta
'I walk all over Sera Malageta.'

(168) *Nu kore di **tudu** kaza.* (RS-ST)
CL run from all house
'We ran away from all the houses.'

Tudu may modify an adjective, in which case, it signifies 'all, entirely, truly.'

(169) *E ba ku mi, mi   go **tudu   kulpadu.** (RS-ST)
CL go with me NONCL then entirely guilty
'He went with me, me all guilty.'

(170) *Nu fika **tudu kontenti.** (RS-ST)
CL stay all   happy
'We were truly happy.'

Regarding (170), it is worth observing that an interesting ambiguity arises, depending on whether *tudu* has scope over the adjective *kontenti* 'happy' or the subject clitic *nu* 'we'. If *tudu* modifies the subject, the interpretation would be 'we were all happy', or 'all of us were happy.' Alternatively, if it modifies the adjective, the interpretation in (170) is possible. Similar ambiguous interpretations arise with (171):

(171) *Nu bai **tudu** mininu.* (RS-ST)
CL go all   children
'We went when we were really small children.'
or 'We all went, as children.'

Finally, the fourth function of *tudu* is that of a distributive quantifier meaning 'every', as illustrated in (172) and (173):

(172) *Nu ta   kume batata **tudu** dia.* (RS-ST)
CL ASP eat   potato every day
'We eat potatoes every day.'

(173) ***Tudu** algen   ta   ben.* (RS-ST)
every person FUT come
'Everyone will come.'

4.11.1.3 *Distributive reduplication of quantifiers*
The reduplication of numerals (174) and quantifying expressions of various sorts ((175)–(177)) is highly productive and fulfils a distributive adverbial function in the language:

(174) *N kré karnéru ki   ta pari   **dós-dós.***
1SG want sheep   COMP ASP deliver two-two
'I want sheep that deliver lambs by pairs/two by two.' (Quint, 1999:73)
(my translation)

(175)   *Konbidadu sta   txiga **póku-póku.***[24]
        guests   PROG arrive little-little
        'Guests are arriving little by little.'

(176)   *Bu ta atxa's   **grán-grán.***
        you ASP find-them grain-grain
        'You find them one by one.' (Veiga, 1987:63)
        (my translation)

(177)   *Gentis… lebadu **bárku-bárku,** es   more mónti-mónti.*
        people   carried boat-boat   they die   heap-heap
        'People … were carried away boat after boat, they died in numbers.'
        (Veiga, 1987:210) (my translation)

In the next section, adverbials (manner adverbials in particular) are introduced.

4.11.2 Various adverbials and their different positions

In this subsection, before introducing a typology of CVC adverbials, reference will be made to Jackendoff (1972) and Rochette (1990), as their studies provide the foundation for the classification I design for CVC.

4.11.2.1   *Jackendoff's (1972) and Rochette's (1990) typology*

Jackendoff (1972) argued that six major types of adverbs can be identified in English. Rochette (1990), who accounted for adverbial distribution in terms of selectional properties, also provided a clear presentation of such typology.

Class I adverbs (like *clumsily* in (178)) and Class II adverbs (like *slowly* in (179)) can occur in three distinct positions: initial, Aux and VP-final. A semantic change distinguishes the first class from the second, insofar as a change in meaning occurs in (178), as illustrated by (178′). Class III adverbs, illustrated in (180), occur in two positions: initial and Aux. If they occur in clause-final position, they are preceded by a pause, as illustrated in (180c–d). Class IV adverbs, illustrated in (181), occur in two positions: Aux and VP-final. Class V adverbs, illustrated in (182), occur only VP-finally and Class VI adverbs occur only in Aux, as in (183).

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24. *Fiša-fiša* is another reduplicated expression meaning 'little by little' (cf. Meintel, 1975:242).

Class I
(178)   a.   **Clumsily** (,) John dropped his cup of coffee.
        b.   John **clumsily** dropped his cup of coffee.
        c.   John dropped his cup of coffee **clumsily**.

(178′) a.   It was clumsy of John to drop his cup of coffee.
        b.   The manner in which John dropped his cup of coffee was clumsy.

Class II
(179)   a.   **Slowly**(,) John dropped his cup of coffee.
        b.   John **slowly** dropped his cup of coffee.
        c.   John dropped his cup of coffee **slowly**.

Class III
(180)   a.   **Evidently** George read the book.
        b.   George **evidently** read the book.
        c.   *George read the book evidently.
        d.   George read the book, evidently.

Class IV
(181)   a.   *Completely George read the book.
        b.   George **completely** read the book.
        c.   George read the book **completely**.

Class V
(182)   a.   *Hard John hit Bill.
        b.   *John hard hit Bill.
        c.   John hit Bill **hard**.

Class VI
(183)   a.   *Simply Albert is being a fool.
        b.   Albert is **simply** being a fool.
        c.   *Albert is being a fool simply.

The position of English adverbials is summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. English adverbial typology

Class	Initial Position	Aux Position	Final Position
Class I (≠Interpr.) (*clumsily…*)	+	+	+
Class II (= Interpr.) (*slowly…*)	+	+	+
Class III (*evidently…*)	+	+	−
Class IV (*completely…*)	−	+	+
Class V (*hard…*)	−	−	+
Class VI (*simply …*)	−	+	−

We now turn to CVC adverbials, adopting a similar comparative approach in terms of their distributional properties.

4.11.2.2   *Cape Verdean Creole adverbial typology*
In Cape Verdean, several classes of adverbs may be identified based on their placement properties.

Class I adverbs such as *senpri* 'always' can occur sentence initially, in Aux, and VP-finally, as illustrated in (184):

(184) a.   ***Senpri** nos   e   partikular.* (RS-ST)
            always NONCL COP particular
            'We were always peculiar.'

       b.   *E   da   **senpri** se pon   di kada dia.* (RS-ST)
            CL give always his bread of every day
            'He always gave us daily bread.'

       c.   *E   da-nu   **senpri.*** (RS-ST)
            CL give-us always
            'He always gave us.'

In (184), the placement of *senpri* does not affect the meaning of the sentence. There are, however, situations where *senpri* may take scope over a given constituent and alter the interpretation of the sentence. Consider (185):

(185) a. ***Senpri*** *João bebe vinhu.*
           always João drink wine
           'João always drank wine.'
       b. *João bebe **senpri** vinhu.*[25]
           João drink always wine
           'João always drank wine.'
       c. *João bebe vinhu **senpri**.*
           João drink wine   always
           'João always drank wine.'

Like the English Class I adverbs, *senpri* yields different interpretations in (185a) and (185b). This is illustrated in (185′):

(185′) a. It was João's habit to drink wine.
        b. It was wine that João had always been drinking.

The sentence in (185c) is ambiguous between the other two readings.

   Class II adverbs like *abertamenti* 'openly' and *sinseramenti* 'sincerely' in (186) may occur clause-finally (as in (186a)) or clause-initially (as in (186b)). However, they may not occur immediately preverbally (as in (187a)) or immediately adjacent to the TMA marker (as in (187b)). It is admittedly representative of a more acrolectal variety of the language and may not be found in the more basilectal varieties.

(186) a. *Ben fla-m **abertamenti**, ma'u   ta ama-m **sinseramenti**.*
           come tell-me openly   COMP+you ASP love-me sincerely
           'Come and tell me openly that you love me sincerely.'
           (Veiga, 1987:21)
       b. ***Abertamenti**, ben fla-m, ma **sinseramenti** bu ta ama-m.*
           openly   come tell-me COMP sincerely   you ASP love-me
           'Openly, come and tell me that sincerely you love me.'

(187) a. **Ben **abertamenti** fla-m, ma'u   ta ama-m sinseramenti.*
           come openly   tell-me COMP+you ASP like-me sincerely
       b. **Ben fla-m abertamenti, ma'u   **sinseramenti** ta ama-m.*
           come tell-me openly   COMP+you sincerely   ASP love+me

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25. Note that *senpri* can also occur preverbally, as shown in (i):

   (i) *João **senpri** bebe vinhu.*
        João always drink wine
        'João always drank wine.'

Class III adverbs like *dretu* 'well' only occur sentence finally, as in (188a), not sentence initially as in (188b) nor preverbally as in (188c):

(188) a. *E ta konbersa **dretu***. (RS)
       CL ASP discuss well
       'He discusses well.'

     b. ****Dretu** e ta konbersa*.
       well   CL ASP discuss

     c. **E **dretu** ta konbersa*.
       CL well ASP discuss

In Class IV adverbs such as *entritantu* 'in the meantime' are found. They occur more naturally in a sentence-initial position than in any other location. *Entritantu* is best sentence initially, as illustrated in (189a), and is marginal (some speakers find it ungrammatical) sentence finally, as in (189b). It yields an ungrammatical sentence when preverbal, as in (189c).

(189) a. ***Entritantu,** kel noti, e'sinti raiba si kabésa.*
       in the meantime that night he+feel anger his head
       'In the meantime, on that night, he was mad at himself.'
       (Veiga, 1987:20)

     b.*/[?]*Kel noti, e' sinti raiba si kabésa **entritantu**.*
       that night he felt anger his head in the meantime

     c. **Kel noti, e **entritantu** sinti raiba se kabésa.*
       that night he in the meantime felt anger his head

Class V adverbs occur preferably in final position, as in (190), and can also be topicalized (191), although the topicalized position may be perceived in some idiolects like my own as marginal:

(190) *N ta bai **divagar**.* (RS-ST)
      CL ASP go slowly
      'I will go slowly.'

(191) ***Divagar,** N ta bai.*
      slowly CL ASP go
      'Slowly I will go.'

Class VI adverbs occur preferably postverbally in some varieties and possibly sentence finally in others. They are represented here by *pisikulojikamenti* 'psychologically', *materialmenti* 'materially', *ben* 'well', and *mal* 'badly'. Both examples in (192) and (193) are taken from T.V. da Silva's 1990 novel *Nha*

Gida Mendi. As T. V. da Silva is a bilingual speaker, adverb placement in such examples may be more symptomatic of acrolectal tendencies in bilingual speech:

(192) *Propi abitu… ta **privini pisikulojikamenti** grandi nunbri di ledores*
           very habit   ASP prevent psychologically   great   number of readers
           kontra letura   na kauberdianu.
           against reading in Kriolu
           'The very habit… psychologically raises readers against the idea of reading in Kriolu.' (T. V. da Silva, 1990: 13)

(193) *El ta   benba pisadu di dinheru ki   ta **konpensaba materialmenti***
           he ASP come loaded of money COMP ASP compensated materially
           tenpu gastadu.
           time   wasted
           'He would show up full of money that would materially compensate for wasted time.' (T. V. da Silva, 1990: 28)

The adverbs *ben* (194) and *mal* (195) preferably occur in a postverbal position in some dialects and possibly sentence finally in others. The (d) examples reflects the latter option.

(194) a. *João prende **ben** se lison.*
          João learn   well his lesson
          'João learnt his lesson well.'
    b. **João **ben** prende se lison.*
          João well learn   his lesson
    c. ***Ben** João prende se lison.*
          well João learn   his lesson
    d. *João prende se lison **ben**.*
          João learn   his lesson well
          'João learnt his lesson well.'

(195) a. *João prende **mal** se lison.*
          João learn   badly his lesson
          'João learnt his lesson badly.'
    b. **João **mal**   prende se lison.*
          João badly learn   his lesson
    c. ***Mal** João prende se lison.*
          badly João learn   his lesson
    d. *João prende se lison **mal**.*
          João learn   his lesson badly
          'João learnt his lesson badly.'

These examples show that this class of adverbs (*ben* 'well', and *mal* 'badly') occur postverbally, as we see in the (a) examples; the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples shows that these adverbs cannot occur between the subject and the verb. The (c) examples show that they cannot occur sentence initially. The (d) examples show that the sentence-final occurrence of these adverbs is possible in some dialects. With regard to the (a) and the (d) examples, I propose that there is a dialect split in CVC whereby some varieties or idiolects allow V-raising and others do not. A similar dialect split was noted in Jonas (1996) with regard to V-raising in Faroese.

We revisit Class VI adverbs from a theoretical perspective and use them as a diagnostic for verb movement in Chapter 7.

The six classes of CVC adverbs identified so far are represented in Table 9.

Table 9. Cape Verdean Creole adverbial typology

Class	Initial Position	Aux Position	Final Position
Class I (≠Interpr.) (*senpri…*)	+	+	+
Class II (=Interpr.) (*abertamenti…*)	+	−	+
Class III (*dretu/mal…*)	−	−	+
Class IV (*entritantu*)	+	−	−
Class V (*divagar*)	−	−	+
Class VI (*materialmenti…*)	−	+	−

We now turn to the productive process of adverb reduplication.

4.11.2.3 *The reduplication of adverbs*

Adverbs can be productively reduplicated with the effect of marking emphasis. Each member of the reduplicated form carries independent stress. I have not found any cases of full reduplication where the main stress is clearly on one of the members of the reduplication. The following illustrates adverb reduplication (196):

(196)   ***El saí***   *faxi-faxi.*
      he go out quickly-quickly
      'He left very quickly.'

On the issue of adverb reduplication, full reduplication prevails but partial reduplication is also found, as shown in (197a) and (197b) respectively:

(197)   a.   *Ben   odja-m **gosi-gosi.***
          come see-me now-now
          'Come and see me right away.'
     b.   ***Agó-go***   *el kre   pa nu ba la.*[26]
          now-now he want for we go there
          'Now, he wants us to go there.' (Meintel, 1975: 228)

There are cases of adverb reduplication involving a lexicalized reading: for instance, temporal adverbs such as *onte* (or *onti*) 'yesterday', once reduplicated as *onteonte* (Fernandes, 1991 [1920]: 116), mean 'the day before yesterday'. Other types of adverbs such as *zup* 'suddenly' once reduplicated, do not yield the expected emphatic interpretation 'quite suddenly' but rather 'in a succession/successively', as illustrated in (198):

(198)   *El dajhe zup dento   de casa,   no entra   **zup-zup.***
      he come in   suddenly in house we come in succession
      'He suddenly dashed into the house, we came in one after the other.'
      (my translation) (Fernandes, 1991 [1920]: 167)

4.11.3 Conjunctions

Two common conjunctions are *ma* (199a) (which may also be realized as *mas* (199b)) 'but' and *o* 'or' (200).

(199)   a.   *Omi ta   ten   medu di Dios **ma** omi   não.* (RS-ST)
          man ASP have fear   of God but man no
          'Men have fear of God but not of men.'
     b.   *Nu sa   kontenti, **mas** anos   ku   di nos.* (RS-ST)
          CL   ASP happy   but NONCL with of us
          'We are happy but among ourselves.'

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26. The nonreduplicated counterpart of *agó-go* is *agó*.

(200) *Nho ta po ku   karni **o** di kabra **o** di baka.* (RS-ST)
        you ASP put with meat or of goat   or of cow
        'You put in it either goat meat or beef.'

The two types of conjunction of coordination are *i* and *ku* and the choice of which to use depends on the nature of the constituents being coordinated. *I* may be used in number formation, as shown in (201):

(201) *Dos mil   **i**   kinhentu*
        two thousand and five hundred

I may join two clauses, as in (202):

(202) a. *Nha maridu more **i**   ami'   N fika.* (RS-ST)
            my husband die and NONCL CL stay
            'My husband died and I stayed.'
        b. *E staba pikinoti **i**   N fika ku   kuatu fidju.*   (RS-ST)
            CL was small   and CL stay with four   children
            'He was small and I stayed with four children.'

I may join two NPs, as in (203):

(203) *Aristídes Pereira **i**   Pedro Pires ta   da-nu.* (RS-ST)
        Aristídes Pereira and Pedro Pires FUT give-us
        'Aristídes Pereira and Pedro Pires will give us.'

It may join two VPs, as in (204):

(204) *…pa troka-l   **i**   pidi sinhor.* (RS-ST)
           to return-it and ask Lord
        'To return it and ask the Lord.'

It may join two adverbs, as in (205):

(205) *asin   **i**   tanben.* (RS-ST)
        this way and as well
        'This way as well.'

It may also link two adjectives (206):

(206) *El e bunitu   **i**   spertu.*
        he is handsome and clever
        'He is handsome and clever.'

Ku has a dual function in the language, operating not only as a coordination conjunction but also as a preposition; as a conjunction, *ku* may coordinate two

NPs of the type nonclitic and full NP, as in (207), or two full NPs (208), or nonclitic and PP (209):

(207) a. *Mi   ku nha pai*   (RS-ST)
            NONCL and my father
            'My father and me'

       b. *Mi   ku Brankinha* (RS-ST)
            NONCL and Brankinha
            'Brankinha and me'

(208) a. *Nha mai   ku nha pai*   (RS-ST)
            my mother and my father
            'my mother and my father'

       b. *Nha mininu ku nha maridu* (RS-ST)
            my child   and my husband
            'My child and my husband'

(209) *A(y)es ku di ses*   (RS-ST)
        NONCL and of theirs
        'Them and their own'

This morpheme may also function as a preposition meaning 'with' with an associative (210) or instrumental interpretation (211):

(210) a. *E fika ku povu la.*   (RS-ST)
            CL stay with people there
            'He stayed with people there.'

       b. *Ano   nu ka ta mexe ku algen.* (RS-ST)
            NONCL CL NEG ASP touch with people
            'We do not mess around with people.'

(211) a. *Nu ta paga   bonba ku el.* (RS-ST)
            CL ASP extinguish spray with it
            'We extinguish the spray with it.'

       b. *E sapa ku faka.* (RS-ST)
            CL cut   with knife
            'He cut it with a knife.'

A set of verbs may subcategorize for the preposition *ku*, like *kontra ku* 'to meet' (212), *fronta ku* 'face' (213), or *konforta ku* 'to be content with' (214):

(212) *Nu kontra ku   kel satanas.* (RS-ST)
        CL met   with that demon
        'We met that demon.'

(213)   *No xefri te   fronta   **ku** el.* (RS-ST)
       our leader even get angry with him
       'Even our leader got angry at him.'

(214)   *Nu konforta **ku**   konpanheru.* (RS-ST)
       CL comfort with companion
       'We were content with each other.'

Finally, *ku* participates in the formation of a number of idiomatic expressions, as shown in (215), (216) and (217):

(215)   *Ami'   N sta **ku** fomi.*   (RS-ST)
       NONCL CL be with hunger
       'I am hungry.'

(216)   *Es ta   da-nu   **ku**   pedra.* (RS-ST) (instrumental idiom)
       CL ASP give-us with stone
       'They throw stones at us.'

(217)   *Es ta   daba   **ku**   kunpanheru.* (RS-ST)
       CL ASP give+ANT with companion
       'They got along with each other.'

4.11.4 Prepositions

This section introduces a limited set of CVC prepositions, these being *riba/riba di* 'above', *baxu/baxu di* 'under' and *na* 'on/at/to'. Each of these has several possible translations. *Riba* may be translated as 'on, in, on top of, above':

(218)   a.   *Mundu era **riba di** tres   pedra.* (RS-ST)
          world   was top of three stone
          'The world was on top of three stones.'
      b.   *E   da-m   kudjer **riba di** kama pa' N kume.* (RS-ST)
          CL give+me spoon top of bed   for CL eat
          'He fed me when I was in bed.'

Note that *riba di* in (218) is a complex unit made up of two prepositions but it can also be a simple one consisting of *riba* alone. Both are synonymous. This is shown in (219):

(219)   a.   *Ami   sintadu **riba** kama spertadu sin.*   (RS-ST)
          NONCL sitting on bed awake   like that
          'I was sitting on the bed, wide awake.'

b.   *E   staba **riba** kasa.* (RS-ST)
      CL was   top   house
      'He was on top of the house.'

Riba may also participate in a complex cluster with an adverbial function, as shown in (220):

(220)   *Pulisia, un   ba **di pa riba.*** (RS-ST)
         police   one go of to up
         'The police, one of them went upwards.'

Just like *riba*, *baxu* 'under, underneath' may combine with the preposition *di* or occur alone while modifying an NP (221):

(221)   a.   *Un saia ki   ta bistidu **baxu di** kel otu   saia di riba,*
               a   skirt COMP ASP worn   under of the other skirt on top
               k'   e   konbinasan. (DM-FO)
               COMP COP pettycoat
               'A skirt that is worn underneath the other skirt which is on top, that is the pettycoat.'
         b.   *Un saia ki   ta bistidu **baxu** kel otu   saia di riba,*
               a   skirt COMP ASP worn   under of other skirt on top
               k'   e   konbinasan.
               COMP COP pettycoat
               'A skirt that is worn underneath the other skirt which is on top, that is the pettycoat.'

It may also assume an adverbial function, as illustrated in (222):

(222)   *Nu ba **baxu.***   (RS-ST)
         CL go down/downwards
         'We went down.'

Finally, the last multipurpose preposition that will be introduced is *na*. As illustrated by the examples below, *na* has various functions and is, as a result, translatable as 'in', 'about', 'to/at', 'on'…:

        na as 'in'+ time or place
(223)   a.   *Ami,   nha vivimentu **na** korenti seti…* (RS-ST)
               NONCL my livelihood in forty   seven
               'As for me, my livelihood in forty seven…'

    b.   *Un sta **na** Boa Vista.* (RS-ST)
        one is   in Boa Vista
        'One of them is in Boa Vista.'

    na as 'about'

(224)   *mas senpri faladu **na**   xefri.* (RS-ST)
        but always spoken about leader
        'But we always spoke about our leader.'

    na as 'to/at'

(225)   *Dja la   nu podu **na** trabadju.* (RS-ST)
        PERF there CL put   to work
        'There, we were put to work.'

(226)   a.   *N bai   txiga la   **na** kunpadri.*   (RS-ST)
           CL go arrive there at child's godfather's
           'I finally arrived at my child's godfather's house.'

      b.   ***Na** komensa   di rabelasan…*
           at   beginning of revelation
           'At the beginning of the revelation…'

    na as 'on'

(227)   *E   baza **na** txon.* (RS-ST)
        CL spill   on floor
        'It spilled on the floor.'

Additionally, *na* participates in a number of idioms:

(228)   a.   *N ta **fika**   **na** stranhu.* (RS-ST)
           CL ASP remain in ignorance
           'I remain ignorant.'

      b.   *E   **rabenta na** nos.* (RS-ST)
           CL explode on us
           'He got furious at us'.

Finally, *na* may be subcategorized by verbs such as *txiga* 'to arrive' and *pega* 'to grab':

(229)   a.   *El   ben   **txiga na** nos.* (RS-ST)
           NONCL come arrive on us
           'He approached us/came to us.'

      b.   *Nu ben   **pega na** yel.* (RS-ST)
           CL come grab at him
           'We finally grabbed him.'

4.12 Summary

One of the main contributions of this chapter is a thorough presentation of the complex system of CVC TMA markers. The complexity of this system resides in the various types of temporal, aspectual and modal interpretations each marker yields depending on whether it occurs in isolation or in combination with other markers. The description of these markers is further complicated by other anchoring elements such as adverbs. From this description, it has become quite clear that a morpho-syntactic treatment of these TMA markers is not sufficient to account for their multiple functions. Pragmatics and discourse also play a crucial role.

I have also shown that a greater refinement of the functions of several markers was needed. Such refinement bears on a number of points (a redefinition of the functions of *dja* and *ta*, among others) and particularly on the notions of stativity and nonstativity. I have argued that Group III verbs are indeed nonstative, which makes the correct predictions with regard to their use in the language. My claim is supported by an array of examples featuring those verbs in the imperative and with the auxiliary *sta*. I have also proposed that two kinds of *ta* occur in the Cape Verdean grammar: the aspect/mood marker *ta* and the infinitival marker *ta*. I also argued that *sta ta* is not the underlying form of *sta*, given possible intervening adverbials between these two morphemes

Another main point of this chapter is the examination of copular predication in CVC. It clearly demonstrated the hybrid nature of the individual-level copula *e* that is endowed with both nominal and verbal properties. I argue that the nominal properties of the morpheme are detected with regard to Negation, tense and pronominal selection. I propose that the morpheme *e* has evolved and undergone both substrate and superstrate influences, which accounts for its nominal and verbal properties.

In the realm of verbal reduplication, I have shown that iconic verbal reduplication occurs. As for lexicalized reduplicated verbs, their semantic properties involve a change in meaning and/or a change in word class.

In the domain of serial verbs, a structural and semantic working definition allowed us to identify strings of two or three immediately adjacent verbs.

The rest of the issues we investigated were passivization, the imperative mood and Negation. For the sake of completion, the last part of this chapter was dedicated to a variety of other word classes such as quantifiers, adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions.

Cape Verdean Creole syntactic patterns

5.0 Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 provided a detailed presentation of the Cape Verdean noun phrase and verb phrase, grammatical categories, morphological properties and word classes. In the process, it led to several observations regarding basic word order patterns. This chapter will elaborate on basic syntactic patterns such as double object constructions and secondary predicates and will focus particularly on variations in word order, including subject–verb inversion, the position of verbs (with regard to Negation, adverbs, and quantifiers), topicalization and heavy NP shift.

5.1 Basic word order patterns: A brief overview

5.1.1 Simple SVO sentences

As already observed in previous chapters, Cape Verdean Creole is an SVO language. Consider the following intransitive (in (1)), transitive (in (2)) and ditransitive (in (3)) verbs:

(1) *Kuatu **more**.* (RC-ST)
    four   die
    'Four of them died.'

(2) *N **pari**   oitu fidju.*   (RS-ST)
    CL deliver eight children
    'I delivered eight children.'

(3) *N ta   **da**   nha fidju un bokadu di kumida.* (MDM-ST)
    CL ASP give my child a   little   of food
    'I give my child a little bit of food.'

We will start by taking a closer look at ditransitive verbs and the double object construction.

5.1.2   Double object constructions with full NPs

In CVC, the only possible word order in double object constructions with full NP follows the pattern V-Indirect Object (IO)/Direct Object (DO), as in (4a). Double object constructions do not have a prepositional variant (equivalent to an English sentence like 'I gave a book to the child'), as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (4b):

(4)   a.   *N da   mininu un libru.*[1]
              I give child   a   book
              'I gave a book to the child.'
       b.   **N da   un libru pa mininu.*
              I give a   book to child.

Hence, the only possible pattern is that of 'to give somebody something'. The sentences in (5)–(8) illustrate the IO-DO NPs in four different types of pairing: indefinite/indefinite in (5), definite/indefinite in (6), indefinite/definite in (7) and definite/definite in (8). In all four cases, the IO-DO order must be maintained, independently from the type of nominal referent the NP denotes (indefinite, definite or generic). This is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples:

       indefinite/indefinite NPs
(5)   a.   *N da   un mininu un libru.*
              I give a   child   a   book
              'I gave a child a book.'
       b.   **N da   un libru un mininu.*
              I give a   book a   child

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1. Inês Brito brought to my attention that some verbs like *manda* 'to send' do have a prepositional counterpart, as illustrated in (i) and (ii):

   (i)   *N manda Rui un karta.*
           I send   Rui a   letter
           'I sent Rui a letter.'

   (ii) *N manda un karta **pa** Rui.*
           I send   a   letter to Rui
           'I sent a letter to Rui.'

I propose that the preposition *pa* is selected by the verb *manda*, which allows this type of verb to appear in two configurations.

definite/indefinite NPs

(6) a. *N da **mininu un libru.***
         I give child a book
         'I gave the child a book.'

     b. ******N da **un libru mininu.***
         I give a book child

indefinite/definite NPs

(7) a. *N da **un mininu libru.***
         I give a child book
         'I gave a child the book.'

     b. ******N da **libru un mininu.***
         I give book a child

definite/definite NPs

(8) a. *N da **mininu libru.***
         I give child book
         'I gave the child the book.'

     b. ******N da **libru mininu.***
         I give book child

The same order is found with idiomatic expressions in (9) and (10).

(9) a. *Nu ka ta da **algen pankada.*** (X-ST)
         we NEG TMA give someone injury
         'We don't injure anyone.'

     b. ******Nu ka ta da **pankada algen.***
         we NEG ASP give injury   someone

(10) a. *El da **João bufatada** sen   mon.*
         s/he give João slap   without hand
         'S/he gave João a slap without a hand.'[2]

     b. ******El da **bufatada João** sen   mon.*
         s/he give slap   João without hand

5.1.3 Double object constructions with pronominals

With pronominals, the word order sequence remains the same, namely, V-IO-DO. The following examples represent the IO-DO NPs under the pairing IO (pronominal)/DO (full NP), as in (11)–(12); IO (full NP)/DO (pronominal), as

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2. This idiomatic expression means: 'S/he got back at João.'

in (13)–(14); and IO (pronominal)/DO (pronominal), as in (15)–(16).

pronominal/full NP

(11) a. *S'e   kre   da-**l**   **un vinti   meres.** (RS-ST)
          if+CL want give-him a   twenty cent
          'If he wants to give him some twenty cents.'

    b. **S'e   kre   da   **un vinti   meres el.**
          if+CL want give a   twenty cents him

pronominal/full NP

(12) a. *Jizus Kristu da-**l**   **lisensa.**   (RS-ST)
          Jesus Christ give-him permission
          'Jesus Christ gave him permission (to do so).'

    b. **Jizus Kristu da   **lisensa   el.**
          Jesus Christ give permission him

full NP/pronominal

(13) a. *El   da   **João el.**
          s/he give João it
          'S/he gave it to João.'

    b. **El   da-**l**   **João.**³
          s/he give-it João

full NP/pronominal

(14) a. *El   da   **João es.**
          s/he give João them
          'S/he gave them to João.'

    b. **El   da-**s**   **João.**
          s/he give-them João

pronominal/pronominal

(15) a. *Deus ka   da-**m-el**   pamo   fradu si buru
          God NEG give-me-it because said   if donkey
          dadu kornu, ma   el ta   ratxa barkinu.   (AR-FO)
          given horn COMP it ASP tear   skin of goat
          'God didn't give it to me because they say that if the donkey was
          given horns, it would tear through the goat's skin.'

    b. **Deus da-**l**   me.*
          God give-it me

---

3. This sentence is ungrammatical under the interpretation 'S/he gave it to João' but would be grammatical under the interpretation 'S/he gave João to him/her.'

pronominal/pronominal

(16) a. *El   da-**bu**   **el**.*
       s/he give-you it
       'S/he gave it to you.'
      b. **El   da-**l**   **bu**.*
       s/he give-it you

Regarding (15) and (16), we note that in double object constructions involving pronominals, the permitted sequence is clitic-nonclitic. We see in Chapter 8, Section 8.6 that a double clitic constraint regulates Cape Verdean pronominals.

5.1.4   Secondary predicates

We discussed adjectives in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4, and observed that there is some variation with respect to their placement and agreement patterns. Typically, an adjective occurs after the noun, as shown in (17):

(17) *N ten   un kaza   **burmedju**.*
       I have a   house red
       'I have a red house.'

There are other types of constructions called secondary predicates, where adjectives may modify an object or a subject. It is argued that adjectives modifying the object NP in secondary predicates are inside the VP. Consider (18), where the adjective modifies the complement:

(18) *El   [VP pinta kaza   burmedju]*[4]
       s/he   paint house red
       'S/he painted the house red' or 'she painted the house in red.'

Red in (18) is a resultative expressing the result of the house being painted. Interestingly, (18) is potentially ambiguous in that it may be interpreted as 's/he painted the red house'.

Just like (18), (19) illustrates a secondary predicate where the adjective modifies the NP complement.

(19) *Es   [VP kume karni kru]*.
       they   eat   meat raw
       'They ate the meat raw.'

---

4. In some varieties, *red* is pronounced *brumedju*.

However, the adjective in a secondary predicate does not necessarily modify the complement NP; it may also modify the subject NP, as in the following:

(20)   *Es*   [$_{VP}$ *kume karni*] *moku.*
        they   eat   meat   drunk
        'They ate the meat (while) drunk.'

In (20), *drunk* modifies the subject NP and for pragmatic reasons, none of the ambiguity detected in (18) arises.

5.2   Some variations in word order

Although CVC is an SVO language, the language displays a few divergences from this basic order. I discuss here subject–verb inversion, verb placement, quantifier float, topicalization, left dislocation, clefting, heavy NP shift, right dislocation, and *wh*-questions.

5.2.1   Subject–verb inversion

Subject–verb inversion occurs in the written text, as well as in everyday speech. This subsection shows that subject–verb inversion occurs with regular verbs in the active voice, unaccusative verbs, passive verbs and impersonal constructions. Common verbs such as *da* 'to give' may be inverted with their subject:

(21)   *Di   korente tres   pa korente kuatu, **da   krizi**, krizi grandi.* (MSP-FO)
        from forty   three to forty   four   give crisis crisis great
        'From 1943 to 1944, a huge crisis occurred.'

It is of interest that some constructions displaying subject–verb inversion yield a conditional interpretation, reminding us of similar English constructions (as illustrated by the gloss in (22a)). The most common way of expressing the conditional is illustrated in (22b), whereas (22a) shows the inversion construction:

(22)   a.   ***Standu mi** li   na kasa, es   kusa ka   ta   kontiseba.*
              being   me here in house this thing NEG TMA happen+ANT
              'Had I been here at home, this would not have happened.'
              (Veiga, 1995: 369) (my translation)
        b.   *Si'N staba   li   na kaza, es   kuza ka   ta   kontiseba.*
              if+I be+ANT here in home this thing NEG TMA happen+ANT
              'If I had been at home, this would not have happened.'

(22a) and (22b) represent two different ways of expressing the same idea: (22b) starts with an *if*-clause and (22a) with a gerund. Note that *if* cannot trigger subject–verb inversion, whereas the gerund can.

Unaccusative verbs such as *ben* 'to come' (23), and *ba/bai* 'to go' ((24)–(25)) are commonly inverted with their subjects.

(23) *E ka   ta   konpo, **pode ben   tudu guvernu**   pa toma koitadu.*
      CL NEG ASP repair can   come all   government to take poor
      'It will not get better, no matter which government comes in to take care of the poor.' (MSP-FO)

(24) ***Ba pulisia, ba** bonberu.*   (RS-ST)
      go police   go exterminator
      'The police went, the exterminators went.'

(25) *Es   ba konbida Nho Lobo un badju na Ilheu. **Ba kruja, ba** (BR)
      they go invite   Mr. Wolf a dance at Ilheu go owl   go
      ranha, ba korbu, ba otu   pasu. (Meintel, 1975:247)*
      spider go crow   go other birds
      'They went to invite Mr. Wolf to a dance at Ilheu. The owl went, the spider went, the crow went, the other birds went.'

Passive constructions may involve subject–verb inversion, as shown in (26):

(26) *Dipos dja   ki   **pegadu kel   rapas…*** (RS-ST)
      after PERF COMP caught that boy
      'After that, the boy was caught…'

In impersonal weather predicates exemplified in (27), a verb and a weather qualifier may be inverted.

(27) ***Sta txuba, sta bentu.*** (DM-FO)
      be rain   be wind
      'There is rain, there is wind'

There are cases, however, where the weather qualifier moves to subject position, as shown in (28):

(28) *E baxu d'ordi,   ku   purada, bu ba matu, **txuba sta, bentu sta.***
      e under of+order with blow   you go wood rain   be wind be
      'We were under orders and were beaten up, you go to the woods, whether there is rain, whether there is wind.' (DM-FO)

In the next subsection, we consider the position of verbs vis-à-vis adverbs and quantifiers.

5.2.2   More on the position of verbs

This subsection serves as a preliminary to Chapter 7, which investigates verb movement in CVC. Regarding verb movement, linguists have consistently emphasized the correlation between a rich verbal morphology and verb movement. More precisely, it is assumed that a rich inflection triggers the verb to move past Neg, past VP-internal adverbials and past quantifiers to check features. We show in Chapter 7 that CVC presents an interesting situation, as this language with minimal verbal morphology[5] displays symptoms of verb raising.

We begin with an examination of the canonical position of Cape Verdean verbs vis-à-vis a certain class of adverbs and vis-à-vis floating quantifiers.

5.2.2.1   *The verb and (other) adverbs*
In Chapter 4, Subsection 4.11.2, we considered the typology of Cape Verdean adverbials and noted that Class VI adverbs preferably occur in a postverbal position. In those particular cases, we argue in Chapter 7 that the verb has moved from its base-generated postadverbial position to a preadverbial position. The adverbs in (29) and (30) are clearly in a postverbal position.

(29)   *Propi abitu... ta **privini pisikulojikamenti** grandi nunbri di ledores*
        very habit   ASP prevent psychologically   great   number of readers
        kontra letura   na kauberdianu.
        against reading in Kriolu
        'The very habit…psychologically raises readers against the idea of reading in Kriolu'. (T. V. da Silva, 1987: 13)

(30)   *El ta   benba pisadu di dinheru ki   ta **konpensaba***
        he ASP come loaded of money   COMP ASP compensate+ANT
        ***materialmenti** tenpu gastadu.*
        materially   time   wasted
        'He would show up full of money that would materially compensate for wasted time.' (T. V. da Silva, 1990: 28)

Such examples instantiate verb movement and will be revisited in Chapter 7 from a theoretical perspective, as this type of adverb will be used as a diagnostic for V-raising. We now turn to floating quantifiers.

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5. Recall that in Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.1.3, we introduced the postverbal anterior marker -*ba*, which suffixes to the verb.

5.2.2.2   *The verb and quantifiers*
As discussed in Chapter 4, Subsection 4.11.1, a floating quantifier may follow or
precede the verb, as illustrated in (31) and (32), respectively.

(31)   ***Es***   *fika* ***tudu*** *la*   *pa fora.* (RS-ST)
        PRON stay all   there outside
        'They all stayed out there.'

(32)   ***Tudu es***   *sta la*   *na Pofinu.* (RS-ST)
        all   PRON be there in Pofinu
        'They are all in Pofinu.'

Note that whether the verb is an auxiliary (as in 32) or a full verb (as in 31) does
not affect quantifier floating. In (31), the main verb could occur in a post-
quantifier position, as illustrated in (33), and the auxiliary in (32) could occur
in a prequantifier position, as shown in (34):

(33)   ***Es***   ***tudu fika*** *la pa*   *fora.*
        PRON all   stay all there outside
        'They all stayed out there.'

(34)   ***Es***   ***sta tudu*** *la*   *na Pofinu.*
        PRON be all   there in Pofinu
        'They are all in Pofinu.'

With full NPs, occurrence of the floating quantifier before the verb also yields
a grammatical output, as illustrated by (35c).

(35)   a.   ***Tudu*** *konbidadu txiga   na mismu tenpu.*
                all   guest   arrive in same   time
                'All the guests arrived at the same time.'
        b.   *Konbidadu txiga   **tudu** na mismu tenpu.*
                guest   arrive all   in same   time
                'All the guests arrived at the same time.'
        c.   *Konbidadu **tudu** txiga   na misma tenpu.*
                guest   all   arrive in same   time
                'All the guests arrived at the same time.'

The contrast between (35b) where the verb precedes the floating quantifier and
(35c) where the verb follows the quantifier can be accounted for by assuming
that verb movement has taken place.

I reconsider the issue of Cape Verdean verb movement from a theoretical
point of view in Chapter 7 and consider the implications of our observations for
the theory of verb movement in general.

5.2.3   Topicalization

Topicalization occurs when a constituent is moved to the front of a sentence. Here, I use the concept of topicalization in its broader sense[6] and show that in CVC, constituents of various kinds may be extracted from several types of complement clauses via topicalization. I also show that topicalization occurs in both main and embedded clauses. The candidates for topicalization may be complement NPs, as in (36), adjuncts, as in (37), APs (38), VPs (39), PPs (40), or QPs, as in (41). In each case, the extracted constituent originates within AgrSP and is moved outside.

object topicalization
(36)   ***Fidju,*** *N ten   txeu, es   e   oitu.* (CCG-FO)
child   I have a lot they cop eight
'Children, I have a lot of them, there are eight of them.'

adjunct topicalization
(37)   ***La   me   bu   fika.*** (DM-FO)
there itself you stay
'There you stayed.'

adjectival topicalization
(38)   *Ma **sabi,***   *N ka   sta.* (MR-FO)
but happy cl neg be
'But happy, I am not.'

verb topicalization
(39)   ***Kume,*** *dja'   N ka   meste fla.* (RS-ST)
eat   perf cl neg need say
'Eat, I don't need to tell you about.'

PP topicalization
(40)   ***Ku   vida, o ku   morti,*** *nu konforta.* (RS-ST)
with life   or with death we content
'With life or death, we are content.'

(negative) quantifier topicalization
(41)   a.   *N ben   i   **nada**   N ka ubi mas.*   (RS-ST)
cl come and nothing cl neg hear anymore
'I came and I did not hear anything anymore.'

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6.   In the literature on topicalization (cf. Radford, 1988), this term is used more narrowly and refers only to the preposing of NPs.

    b.   ***Tudu***   *N tene.* (RS-ST)
         everything I have
         'I have everything.'

Other constituents that may undergo movement are AP resultatives, as in (42), and NPs in consecutive clauses, as in (43):

  (42) [_{AP} ***Tanto seriu***] [_C*era*] *se duensa* ___, *k'el*   *more.*
         so   serious was his disease   COMP+he die
      'So serious was his disease that he died.'

  (43) [_{NP} ***Tantu***   ***morabeza***] *e* *mostra* ___, *ki'N*   *da-l*   *un prezenti.*
         so much kindness   he show   COMP+I give+him a gift
      'So much kindness did he show that I gave him a gift.'

Note, however, that VP and AP constituents cannot be extracted unconditionally in CVC. Indeed, a VP cannot be extracted from TMA clusters, as in (44), and NP constituents cannot be extracted from a prepositional phrase, as preposition stranding is not permitted in this language, as illustrated in (45):

  (44) ****Kume,*** *N* *ka*   *sta*   *ta*   ___.
        eat   CL NEG TMA TMA

  (45) ****Nha fidju,*** *N* *gosta di* ___.
        my child CL like of

Caskey (1990) claims that topicalization requires the use of a resumptive pronoun and considered the sentence in (46a) ungrammatical. However, informants who were polled accepted both (46a) and (46b); hence example (46a) is not starred.

  (46)   a. *Kes* *laranja_i, diretor* *manda pa nu ka* *kume* [ ]_i.
           these oranges director send   for we NEG eat
           'These oranges, the director asked us not to eat.'
      b. *Kes* *laranja_i, diretor* *manda pa nu ka*   *kume's_i.*
           these oranges director ask   for we NEG eat+them
           'These oranges, the director asked us not to eat them.'

Regarding (46), I assume, contra Caskey, that the two sentences are grammatical, but that (46a) is an instance of topicalization, whereas (46b) is an instance of left-dislocation. This brings us to the next topic of left dislocation.

5.2.4   Left dislocation

Left dislocation seems parallel to topicalization, but there are a number of features differentiating the two types of constructions. Whereas topicalization, as we have just seen, leaves a typical movement gap at the extraction site, left dislocation (and dislocation in general) involves no gap within AgrSP. Left dislocation refers to constructions in which a given constituent appears in initial position and its canonical position is filled by a pronoun or a full lexical noun phrase with the same reference, as illustrated in (47).

(47) a. *Santu ayel,   N   atxa-l   dentu grexa.* (RS-ST)
          saint   NONCL CL find-him inside church
          'As for the Saint, I found him inside the church.'

      b. ***Dotor Karlu Veiga,*** *ale-l   la.*   (RS-ST)
          doctor Carlos Veiga, there-him there
          'As for Dr. Carlos Veiga, there he is.'

A left dislocation structure is analyzed as base-generated, whereas topicalization involves movement. Let us now turn to clefting.

5.2.5   Clefting

A cleft sentence originates from a single clause that has been divided into two independent sections, each with its respective verb (Crystal, 1991). Observe the following single clause sentence:

(48) *Nos   e   riku.*
      NONCL COP rich
      'We are rich.'

The example in (48) yields the following clefted sentence in the corpus:

(49) E ***nos***   [*k'   e   riku*]. (RS-ST)
      it NONCL COMP COP rich
      'It is we who are rich.'

Alternatively, had the speaker wished to emphasize the property of being rich, the adjective *riku* would have been clefted:

(50) *E **riku** [ki   nos e*].
      it rich   COMP we COP
      'It is rich that we are.'

The same goes for the clefted sentence in (51):

(51) *Keli e* **nha pai** [*ki* *konta-m*]. (RS-ST)
       that COP my father COMP tell-me
       'That, it is my father who told me.'

Again, had the informant wished to emphasize what her father told her, she would have clefted *keli*, as in (52):

(52) *E* **keli** [*ki* *nha pai* *konta-m*].
       it that COMP my father tell-me
       'It is what my father told me.'

In such cases, the preposed constituent is said to be in a focus position.

Regarding clefted sentences involving resumptive pronouns, Caskey (1990) claimed that number agreement between the resumptive and its antecedent is obligatory. Consider now the following example from Caskey (1990):

(53) a. *E* *kes* *midida* *injustu di goberno*
          FOC these measures unfair of government
          k'es *ta* *protesta kontr'***es**.
          COMP+they TMA protest against+them
          'It is these unfair governmental measures that they are protesting
          against.' (Caskey, 1990: 133)
      b. *E* *kes* *midida* *injustu di goberno*
          FOC these measures unfair of government
          k' *es* *ta* *protesta kontr'***el**.
          that they TMA protest against+it
          'It is these unfair governmental measures that they are protesting
          against.' (Caskey, 1990: 133)

Caskey (1990) claims that (53b) is ungrammatical because the resumptive pronoun does not agree with its antecedent. However, I disagree with that judgment and argue that the resumptive pronoun in (53) may be either singular, as in (53b), or plural, as in (53a). Hence, (53b) is not starred. We could argue that Cape Verdean facts mirror those in English with respect to number agreement in *it*-clefts. Consider the following sentences:

(54) a. It is I who is wrong.
      b. It is I who am wrong.

If it is assumed that *I* is the antecedent for *who* in the relative clause in (54b), then the verb in the relative clause must agree with *who* = *I* (first person). On the

other hand, if it is assumed that the antecedent for *who* is *it* (the minimally specified place-holder NP that occurs in *it*-clefts), then the verb in the relative clause must agree with *who* = *it* = (3rd person singular), as in (54a). Likewise, in the grammar of the speakers of CVC who accept both (53a) and (53b), *it*-clefts are syntactically ambiguous with respect to the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun and the number ambiguity of the full NP antecedent. (53b) arises when the clause headed by the morpheme *e* is taken to be the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun, and (53a) arises when the plural NP *kes midida* is taken to be its antecedent. Let us now turn to heavy NP shift.

5.2.6   Heavy NP shift

Heavy NP shift refers to the process whereby a complex NP gets postposed to the right of a clause (cf. Crystal, 1991). Consider the contrast between (55a) and (56):

(55) a. *Nha dotor fra pa'N   bebe **leti** kada noti.*
          my   doctor say for+CL drink milk every night
          'My doctor said for me to drink milk every night.'
      b. **Nha dotor fra pa'N   bebe kada noti **leti**.*
          my   doctor say for+CL drink every night milk

Sentences like (55b) have been said to be ungrammatical due to a violation of the adjacency constraint on accusative assignment: in (55b), the presence of the adverbial phrase *kada noti* 'every night' precludes adjacency and thus prevents the verb from assigning accusative case to its NP complement *leti* 'milk'. Linguists have noted, however, that in contrast to (55b), sentences such as (56) are grammatical by virtue of the heaviness of the NP:

(56) *Nha dotor fra pa'N   bebe kada noti **dos kopu di leti di kabra**.*
      my   doctor tell for+CL drink every night two glasses of milk of goat
      'My doctor said for me to drink every night [$_{NP}$two glasses of goat milk].'

In order to account for the thematic relation between the verb and its complement, one assumed in the former Government and Binding Theory that the sentence-final position of the NP in (56) is a derived position and that the D-structure of this sentence is as in (57) and the S-structure as in (58):

(DS)

(57) *Nha dotor   fra pa'N*   [$_{V'}$ *bebe* [$_{NP}$ **dos kopu   di leti   di kabra**]]
     my doctor say for+me   drink   two glasses of milk of goat
     kada noti.
     every night
     'My doctor said for me to drink two glasses of goat milk every night.'

     (SS)

(58) *Nha dotor   fra pa'N*   [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$[$_{V'}$ *bebe t$_i$*] *kada noti*] [$_{NPi}$ *dos kopu   di*
     my doctor say for+me   drink every night   two glasses of
     leti di kabra]].
     goat of milk
     'My doctor said for me to drink every night two glasses of goat milk.'

In such constructions, the NP moves to an adjoined position.

    Let us now consider right-dislocation.

5.2.7   Right dislocation

Right-dislocation refers to a construction in which one of the constituents appears in final position and its canonical position is filled by a pronoun with the same reference (Crystal, 1991).

(59) *N konxe-l,   nha fidju; e   spertu.*
     I know-him my son   COP smart
     'I know him, my son; he's smart.'

This type of dislocation to a clause-final position is not attested in the corpus data but sounds fairly natural.

5.2.8   Questions

In this section, we consider various types of questions: *yes/no*-questions, echo questions, direct *wh*-questions (also called constituent questions), and indirect questions. In the first subsection, we consider indirect *yes/no*-questions and indirect *wh*-questions.

5.2.8.1   *Yes/no-questions*

Yes/no-questions in CVC follow the basic SVO word order without recourse to subject–verb inversion, hence the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples. Neither the main verb in synthetic tenses, as in (60), nor the TMA marker in

complex tenses, as in (61), moves. Questions are formed using a rising intona-
tion, as shown in (60a) and (61a):

(60)   a.   *Ke   bandera, **nha k'**   odja-l?* (RC-ST)
           that flag   you NEG see-it
           'That flag, didn't you see it?'
      b.   ⋆*K'   **odja-l nha** ke   bandera?*
           NEG see-it you that flag

(61)   a.   *Ami'N   si'N ka   kre   bai, **bu   ta   leba-m?*** (RM-ST)
           NONCL CL if CL NEG want go   you ASP take-me
           'If I don't want to go, will you take me?'
      b.   ⋆*Ami'N   si'N ka   kre   bai, **ta   leba-m   bu?***
           NONCL CL if CL NEG want go   ASP take-me you

It is worth noting furthermore that subject–Aux inversion can occur neither
with full verbs nor with auxiliaries, as illustrated in (62b) and (63b):

(62)   a.   *João sta detadu?*   (BER-FO)
           João is   laying down
           'Is João in bed?'
      b.   ⋆***Sta João** duenti?*
           sta João laying down

(63)   a.   *Nos trabadju ten   valor?* (ARA-BR)
           our work   have value
           'Does our work have value?'
      b.   ⋆***Ten   nos trabadju** valor?*
           have our work   value

This means that in CVC, the auxiliary does not move from its base position
under I^0 to the position dominated by C^0. In the next subsection, I briefly
consider echo-questions.

5.2.8.2   *Echo questions*
Echo questions are formed by simply substituting a question word for a
constituent, as shown in (64), *kuze* 'what', and (65), *di kenhi* 'whose'. Interroga-
tive constituents such as *kuze* and *di kenhi* remain *in-situ* in questions and do
not undergo movement to SpecCP:

(64)   *Bu   kunpra **kuze?***
       you buy   what
       'You bought what?'

(65) *Na kasa   **di kenhi?*** (RC-ST)
       in   house of whom
       'In whose house?'

Note that the sentence in (65) can be produced as an echo question expressing surprise or incomprehension, or can be interpreted as a *wh*-question.

5.2.8.3   *Wh-questions*

Unlike echo questions, which are used in rather specific circumstances, ordinary *wh*-questions are used productively. *Wh*-questions are formed using interrogative pronouns such as *kenhi ki* 'who', as in (66), or *kuze ki* 'what', as in (67). The *wh*-phrase is obligatorily fronted to SpecCP. The assumption that *ki* is a complementizer accounts for its absence in *in-situ* constructions, as in (64) and (65):

(66) a. **Kenhi ki**   ta ben? (RS-ST)
              who   COMP ASP come
              'Who will come?'
       b. **Kenhi ki**   kre? (RS-ST)
              who   COMP want
              'Who wants some?'

(67) **Kuze ki**   bu   kre?
       what COMP you want
       'What do you want?'

(66) and (67) show that *ki* appears in root questions involving either subject (66) or object (67) extraction. (68) and (69) show that the same holds in embedded clauses. In (68), the subject has been extracted. In contrast, (69) illustrates object extraction.

(68) *Kenhi ki   sabe **ki**   João kunpra karu?*
       who   COMP know COMP João buy   car
       'Who knows that João bought a car?'

(69) *Kenhi ki   bu sabe **ki**   João odja onti?*
       who   COMP you know COMP João see   yesterday
       'Who(m) do you know João saw yesterday?'

Note, however, that the complementizer *ki* does not obligatorily accompany the *wh*-word when it is fronted. Examples such as (70) and (71) are also common.

(70) **Pamodi** ka   ta   mexe go? (RS-ST)
       why   NEG ASP touch so
       'So, why doesn't one touch it?'

(71)   *Mas **undi** bu   bai?* (RS-ST)
        but   where you go
        'But where did you go?'

All the *wh*-questions just discussed do not display any subject–verb inversion. Veiga (1995) observed, however, that some constructions display subject–verb inversion when the question is introduced by an interrogative pronoun, as in (72):

(72)   a.   ***Undi** sta bu   libru?*
              where is your book
              'Where is your book?'
        b.   ***Ken** e   mi pa ser presidenti?*
              who cop me to be president
              'Who am I to be a president?' (Veiga, 1995:367)

It would seem, however, that the interrogative pronoun is not the trigger. The copulas, rather, seem to allow such inversion. We can then assume that subject–verb inversion in CVC seems limited to such cases where copulas are involved, as illustrated in (72).

Subject–verb inversion with copulas may occur only in *wh*-questions and not in *yes/no*-questions, as shown in (62b). Furthermore, if present, the complementizer *ki* can (but not necessarily) inhibit subject–verb inversion, in which case, the non-inverted equivalents to (72a) and (72b) obtain, as shown in (73):

(73)   a.   ***Undi ki**   bu   libru **sta**?*
              where comp your book is
              'Where is your book?'
        b.   ***Ken ki**   mi **e**   pa ser presidenti?*
              who comp mi cop to be president
              'Who am I to be president?'

The reason why it cannot be argued that *ki* is an inhibitor to subject–verb inversion is due to its possible participation in an inverted construction. (74) provides such evidence:

(74)   a.   ***Undi ki**   **sta** bu   libru?*
              where comp is   your book
              'Where is your book?'
        b.   ***Ken k'**   **e**   mi pa ser presidenti?*
              who comp cop me to be president
              'Who am I to be president?'

Ordinary verbs cannot undergo inversion in *yes/no*-questions, or in *wh*-questions, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (75):

(75) *Undi ki   *nase João?*
     where COMP born João

Indirect *yes/no*-questions may be introduced by the complementizer *si* 'if'.

(76) *E pruguntadu **si** e kustumadu ubi   livru.* (RS-ST)
     it asked   if it used   listen book
     'We were asked if we were used to listening to the book.'

Note that direct questions (77) or statements (78) may be introduced by the complementizers *ma/kuma* or *ki*:

(77) *Bu ka sabe **ma**   nu fronta?*   (RS-ST)
     CL NEG know COMP we be unhappy
     'Do you know that we were unhappy?'

(78) *Nu sabe **ki**   nos pai   e   Sinhor Deus.* (RS-ST)
     we know COMP our father COP Lord   God
     'We know that our Father is the Lord.'

5.3 Conclusion

Chapter 5 provided an overview of Cape Verdean syntactic patterns and focused on variations in syntactic patterns, particularly with respect to subject–verb inversion, the position of verbs with regard to adverbs and floating quantifiers, topicalization, left-dislocation, clefting, heavy NP shift, right dislocation and various question types. Our observations regarding Cape Verdean syntactic patterns enable us to propose in the next chapter a set of functional categories and a clausal architecture for the language.

Chapter 6

Cape Verdean Creole functional categories and clause structure

6.0 Introduction

This brief chapter is meant to serve as a bridge between the analytical descriptive Chapters 3, 4 and 5 and the theoretical Chapters 7 and 8.

It is divided into three parts. The first section defines the nature of functional categories in Cape Verdean Creole, as some linguists such as Iatridou (1990), Bobaljik (1995) and Thráinsson (1994, 1996) have questioned their universality. Second, the Cape Verdean TMA templates are reviewed, as they are essential in determining the nature of functional categories and their placement. In the third and last part, evidence for the CVC biclausal structure is provided.

6.1 Identifying Cape Verdean Creole functional categories

Identifying CVC functional categories is essential to determining the position and status of TMA markers in the CVC clausal architecture. In doing so, we raise the question of whether functional categories are universal, an issue first examined by Iatridou (1990: 553). She proposed that evidence for various functional categories has to be found separately in each language. In other words, there may be evidence for AgrP in some languages but not in others. Admittedly, such a proposal is not uncontroversial, as linguists have been reluctant to assume that a given functional category is absent in a language, based on the absence of overt morphology.

Similarly, in the Minimalist Program, lack of overt movement to a given functional head (or functional phrase) is not to be equated with the absence of that functional head in the language. Thráinsson (1994, 1996) took a stand similar to that of Iatridou and argued more specifically that some languages like Icelandic or French may have a split IP where AgrSP and TP are separate functional categories, whereas languages like English and Mainland Scandinavian do not provide

evidence for a split IP. In English and Mainland Scandinavian, it is assumed that the two functional categories AgrSP and TP have been fused, hence do not exist independently from each other. Thráinsson relates this proposal to language acquisition and parameter setting and claims that a child acquiring a given language is guided by the Real Minimalist Principle, stated in (1):

(1) *The Real Minimalist Principle*
     Assume only those functional categories that you have evidence for.
     (Thráinsson, 1996: 261)

Thráinsson argues that the *Real Minimalist Principle* is in the true spirit of Chomsky's Economy of Representation. I follow this theoretically and empirically appealing proposal.

  As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.1, CVC does not display any subject–verb agreement but in Chapter 8, Section 8.9.2, subject clitics will be argued to recover the features of the verb as they spell out features in AGR. For this reason, we have good reason to argue for AgrP in CVC. There may also be other functional categories in CVC that are not present in all languages. Such functional categories are the Tense, Mood and Aspect markers presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.2. As pointed out by Thráinsson (1996), it has been assumed that Mood and Aspect do not play any role as functional categories in Germanic languages as they are not marked separately in the overt morphology of these languages. In contrast, the CVC markers *ta* and *sta* are overt reflexes of Mood and Aspect, and *-ba* is the overt reflex of (anterior) Tense. In the next section, I provide the complete templates of TMA markers.

6.2   Cape Verdean Creole TMA templates

In this section, the TMA combination patterns examined in Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.2, are summarized by means of templates. For the sake of clarity, their combination patterns are split into two templates involving *sta* and *ta* on the one hand, and *sta*, *ta* and *-ba* on the other hand. The combination patterns of the two morphemes *sta* and *ta* give rise to the templates in (2):

(2) a.   S   V
     b.   S **ta**   V
     c.   S **sta**   V
     d.   S **sta ta**   V
     e.   *S **ta sta** V

      f. *S **ta ta**   V

      g. *S **sta sta**   V

      h.   S **ta sta ta**   V

      i. *S **sta ta ta**   V

      j. *S **ta ta sta**   V

This template reveals that *ta* and *sta* can be found only preverbally as independent morphemes and when they combine in pairs or triples, they exhibit a strict sequential order.

      Let us now consider the combination of the preverbal markers *ta,* and *sta* with their postverbal counterpart *-ba*. As the combination patterns multiply with the three morphemes, we list only the grammatical combinations. The template is as in (3):

(3) a, S   V-**ba**

     b.   S **ta**   V-**ba**

     c.   S **sta ta**   V-**ba**

     d.   S **sta-ba ta**   V

     e.   S **sta-ba ta**   V-**ba**[1]

     f.   S **ta sta-ba ta** V

     g.   S **ta sta ta**   V-**ba**

     h.   S **ta sta-ba ta** V-**ba**

The descriptive generalization encapsulating the template in (3) is expressed in (4):

(4)   *-ba* may suffix either to the main verb (as shown in (3a)); or in the presence of TMA markers, to the main verb or to *sta* alternatively (as in (3c–d)); or to both the main verb and *sta* simultaneously (as in (3e–h)).

In the next section, we consider the position of these TMA markers in the CVC clausal structure.

6.3 Cape Verdean Creole clausal architecture

As far as the position of the TMA markers is concerned, there are several possibilities, two of which we explore. First, the morphemes *sta* and *ta* may be

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1. I thank Samuel Epstein for eliciting this piece of data, and I thank Manuel da Luz Gonçalves and John Hutchison for corroborating it.

heading their own projections, AspectP and MoodP, respectively. It is not clear, however, that these two morphemes are restricted to such functions. More precisely, it is not correct to assume that *sta* is just an aspect marker or that *ta* is just a mood marker. It was shown in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, that they yield different aspectual, temporal and mood readings, depending on whether they occur alone with a verb or combine with each other. Furthermore, we have established in the same chapter that these two morphemes could qualify as auxiliaries. Hence, a second option is to assume that they may be part of an auxiliary shell in the CVC clause structure.

Let us pursue these two hypotheses and examine which one is more viable. In the first case, we assume that *sta* and *ta* head their own projection. We assume a split IP configuration for two reasons: first, as mentioned in Section 6.1, I provide evidence for AgrP in Chapter 8, as we assume that subject clitics are in Agr. Second, I provide evidence for TP in Chapter 7, when we examine V-raising to T^0.

I assume, furthermore, that Negation is heading its own projection. This assumption is based on Zanuttini's (1991) account of the syntax of Negation in Romance languages. The crucial piece of evidence for this particular structure (Neg heading its own projection) comes from negative concord: as seen in Chapter 4, Section 4.10, negative quantifiers like *ningen* 'nobody', *nada* 'nothing' enter in an agreement relation with the negative morpheme *ka* at LF yielding a negative interpretation.

Just as Neg heads its own projection, we assume that Tense, Mood and Aspect markers head their own.

Given such assumptions, the sentence in (5) would be represented as in (6):

(5) *Bandidu* **ta** **sta** **ta** *briga.* (MAR-MA)
    thug   TMA TMA TMA fight
    'The thugs are fighting.'

(6)

```
              AgrP
             /    \
          Spec    Agr'
                  /   \
               Agr    NegP
                      /   \
                   Spec   Neg'
                          /   \
                        Neg   AspP
                              /   \
                           Spec   Asp'
                                  /   \
                                Asp   AuxP
                                      /   \
                                   Spec   Aux'
                                          /   \
                                        Aux   MoodP
                                              /   \
                                           Spec   Mood'
                                                  /   \
                                               Mood   TP
                                                      /  \
                                                   Spec   T'
                                                          /  \
                                                         T   VP
                                                             /  \
                                                          Spec   V
                                                                 |
                                                                 V

   bandidu      (ka)      ta      sta      ta              briga
```
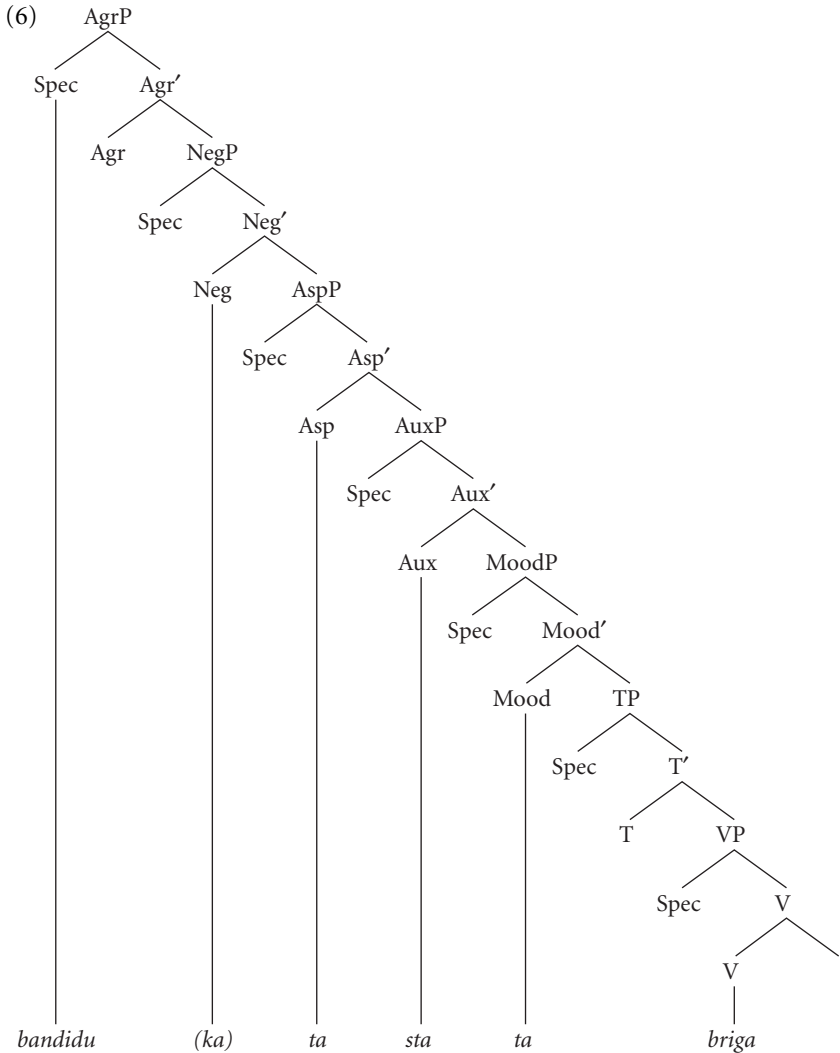
This type of tree suggests that AgrS is the head against which agreement features of verbs would be checked, and SpecAgrSP is the specifier position to which a subject has to move in order to check its agreement features.

   This type of clausal structure also bears an implication with regard to floating quantifiers and adverbs. Indeed, assuming Sportiche's analysis of quantifier float (which will be discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.4), it should be possible for the quantifier in SpecVP (where the subject originates) to appear as well in one of the lower Spec-positions. Hence, the floating quantifier should be

able to intervene in SpecAspP between the negative *ka* and the aspectual *ta* (as in (7)), in SpecAuxP between the higher *ta* and *sta* (as in (8)), and between the lower *ta* and the adverbial *ben*. One would then obtain the order *ta sta ta Q V ben* (as in (9)). Those predictions are not borne out, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

(7) *Konbidadu ka **tudu** *ta sta ta kume.*
guest   NEG all   TMA TMA TMA eat

(8) *Konbidadu ta **tudu** *sta ta kume.*
guest   TMA all   TMA TMA eat

(9) **Konbidadu ta sta ta* **tudu** *kume ben.*
guest   *ta sta ta* all   eat   well

There must be, however, a maximal projection with a Spec where the floating quantifier may land between *sta* and the second *ta*, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (10):

(10) *Konbidadu ta   sta* **tudu** *ta   kume.*
guest   TMA TMA all   TMA eat
'All the guests are eating.'

Furthermore, adverbials like *senpri* 'always' may also appear in such a position, as illustrated by (11):

(11) *Konbidadu ta   sta* **senpri** *ta   kume.*
guest   TMA TMA always TMA eat
'The guests are always eating.'

Another analysis of quantifier float that was pursued by Bobaljik (1995) suggests that quantifiers are not actually generated in Spec-positions but, rather, adjoined just as adverbs are; this is an option we explore in Chapter 7, Subsection 7.4.2, when we observe the similarities in distribution between adverbs and quantifiers in CVC.

Given the data in examples (7)–(9), however, we see that the type of clausal structure illustrated in (6) poses a problem, as it generates a number of extra-positions that cannot be filled by a quantifier or a subject. One could assume that these intermediate Spec positions may not host (at PF) any subject or floating quantifiers because that subject cannot check case in such sites. For instance, no subject may appear in SpecVP or in SpecMoodP on its way to SpecAgrP, as illustrated in (12) and (13):

(12) **Ka   ta   sta   ta   **João** kume.*
     NEG TMA TMA TMA João eat

(13) **Ka   ta   sta   **João** ta   kume.*
     NEG TMA TMA João TMA eat

This might explain why subjects may not stay in SpecVP but case constraints should not affect a quantifier left in that position, as the relevant case could be transmitted from the raised subject to the quantifier left behind, in SpecVP or in some other Spec-position. In short, this structure is clearly problematic.

This leads us to explore an alternative approach: here, I propose that CVC structure is biclausal. Recall the doubling of TMA markers witnessed in the templates (2) and (3) in Section 6.2. The following biclausal structure is promising, as the repetition of *ta* and *ba* can be naturally derived.

(14) *João ta staba   ta   kumeba.*
      João ASP be+ANT ASP eat+ANT
      'João would have been eating.'

(15)

```
                    AgrP
                   /    \
                Spec    Agr′
                       /    \
                     Agr    AspP
                           /    \
                        Spec    Asp′
                               /    \
                             Asp     TP
                                    /   \
                                 Spec    T′
                                        /  \
                                       T    VP
                                           /   \
                                        Spec    V′
                                               /   \
                                              V    AuxP
                                                  /    \
                                               Spec   Aux′
                                                     /    \
                                                   Aux     TP
                                                          /   \
                                                       Spec    T′
                                                              /  \
                                                             T    VP
                                                                 /   \
                                                              Spec    V
                                                                      |
                                                                      V

 João          ta      -ba      sta      ta      -ba      kume
```
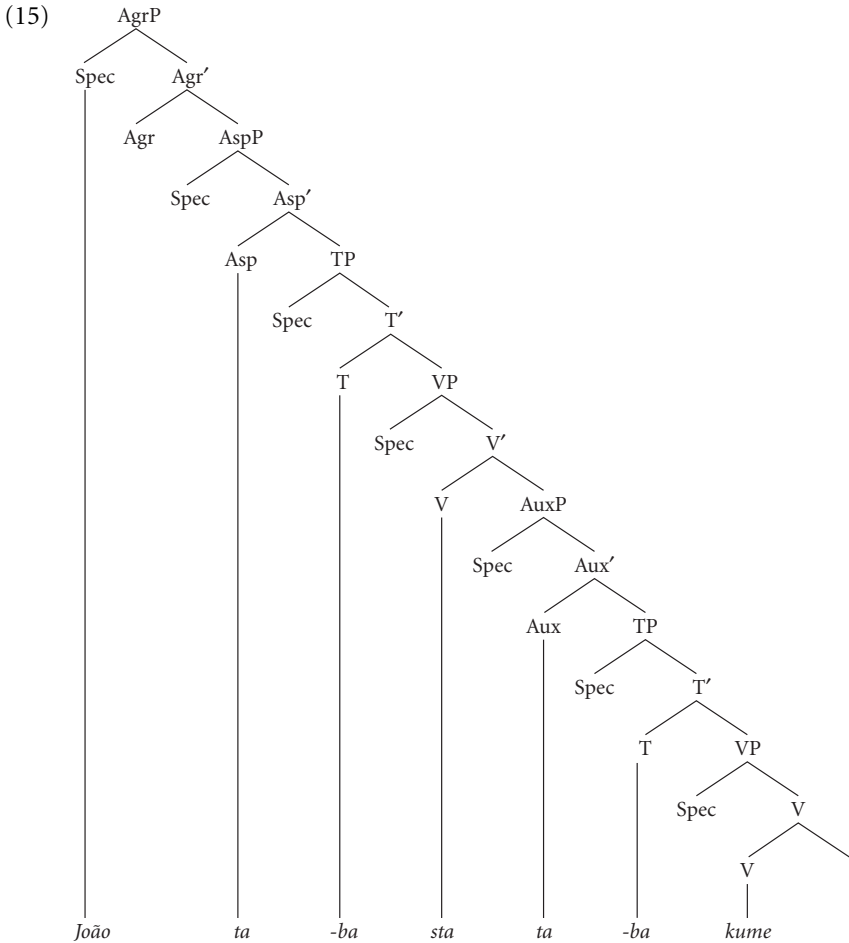
If the biclausal structure proposed in (15) is correct, then one would predict that adverbs like *senpri* 'always' can intervene between *sta* and the lower *ta* and this suggests that the adverbial is adjoined to the AuxP. This in turn predicts that the adverbial is able to adjoin to the topmost AspP. Such predictions are borne out, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (16) and (17):

(16) *João ta   staba   **senpri** ta   kumeba.*
      João TMA be+ANT always TMA eat+ANT
      'João was always eating.'

(17) *João **senpri** ta   staba   ta   kumeba.*
      João always TMA be+ANT TMA eat+ANT
      'João was always eating.'

This type of clause structure makes the right prediction regarding the recurrence of TMA markers and also with regard to the distribution of adverbials and floating quantifiers. We further examine floating quantifiers in Chapter 7, Section 7.4. There we explore the possibility that quantifiers may indeed be generated in a VP-adjoined position, following Bobaljik (1995). Furthermore, the clause structure assumed in (15) supports the hypothesis we explore in Chapter 7, that the Cape Verdean verb moves to T^0 to check Tense features.

6.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined functional categories in CVC, and I have argued not only that CVC has a split IP but also that it is endowed with a biclausal structure, which accounts for two facts. First, it accounts for the recurrence of TMA markers in the patterns *ta sta ta* or *sta-ba ta V-ba*. Second, it accounts for the distribution of adverbials like *senpri* 'always', which may occur between the subject and *ta* or between *sta* and *ta* but not between *ta* and *sta*. If it is assumed that *senpri* adjoins to AuxP, its distribution is accounted for.

This intermediary chapter has laid the foundation for the examination of the syntax of the CVC verb in Chapter 7. There, I focus particularly on the symptoms of V-raising in this particular creole.

CHAPTER 7

The verbal syntax of Cape Verdean Creole

7.0 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is threefold. First, it presents a comprehensive study of the syntax of the Cape Verdean verb, focusing in particular on the ordering of verbal elements with regard to Negation, adverbs and floating quantifiers. Second, it shows how modern syntactic theory can help account for certain descriptive puzzles of CVC syntax. Third, it illustrates how evidence from the verbal syntax of CVC will necessitate revising several aspects of the current theory of verb movement. On this issue, I focus on the commonly held assumption that there is a strong correlation between verbal morphology and verb movement, or more precisely, that morphologically "rich" subject–verb agreement is responsible for V-raising. I show that, contrary to the predictions of various V-raising analyses, some creoles like CVC display evidence of verb movement in spite of their minimal verbal morphology and the absence of overt subject–verb agreement.

In this chapter, I consider to what extent simplification in morphology leads to simplification in the syntactic structure or movement possibilities in the CVC verbal syntax. Furthermore, I show that a comparison with other creoles like Guinea-Bissau Creole (GBC) may have implications for the theory of verb movement.

This chapter is organized around these three objectives. The first section provides an overview of the theory of verb movement and of its standard diagnostics. In this overview, I examine some of the central proposals and competing accounts on verb movement in Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1993), Vikner (1991, 1995a,b), Roberts (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Rohrbacher (1993, 1995), Thráinsson (1994, 1996), Bobaljik (1995), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000).

In the second section, I argue for verb movement in CVC and base my arguments on the ordering of the main verb, and of Tense Mood Aspect (TMA) markers with respect to Negation, adverbs and quantifiers. This examination of

the syntax of the CVC verb provides arguments that the CVC verb does indeed move, in spite of minimal verbal morphology and the absence of subject–verb agreement. This chapter will provide empirical evidence that will corroborate on independent grounds the CVC clausal architecture assumed in Chapter 6.

In the third and last part of this chapter, I propose an analysis of V-raising in CVC and show the implications of these findings for the theory of verb movement. I then suggest revisions to current assumptions and possible new directions for research.

7.1   The theory of verb movement: Background assumptions

7.1.1   Diagnostics for V-raising

In recent literature on verb movement, it is common to use the relative position of verbal forms on the one hand and Negation, adverbs and floating quantifiers on the other in attempts to detect verb movement. The argument for movement goes as follows: if there is an element (Negation in (1a), adverbs in (2a), and floating quantifiers in (3a)) that precedes the main verb when it is nonfinite (e.g., the participle in auxiliary constructions), then the verb is assumed not to have moved. If these same elements follow the main verb in core tenses (non-compound tenses), as illustrated by (1b), (2b), and (3b), then the finite verb is assumed to have raised from a "deep" postverbal position to the left of such elements. The position of the verb with regard to Negation, adverbs and floating quantifiers is used as a test to detect verb movement. Icelandic illustrates such patterns:[1]

    Negation
(1) a. *Jón hefur **ekki lesið** bókina.* (Icelandic)
         Jon has   NEG read book-the
         'Jon has not read the book.'
    b. *Jón **las** **ekki** bókina.*
         Jon read NEG book-the
         'Jon did not read the book.'

---

1. The Icelandic examples in this section were provided by Höskuldur Thráinsson through personal communication.

adverbial

(2) a. *Maria hefur **aldrei séð**   draug.* (Icelandic)
      Maria has   never seen ghost
      'Maria has never seen a ghost.'

   b. *Maria **sá**   **aldrei** draug.*
      Maria saw never ghost
      'Maria never saw a ghost.'

floating quantifier

(3) a. *Strákarnir höfðu **allir séð**   myndina.* (Icelandic)
      boys-the   had   all   seen film-the
      'The boys had all seen the movie.'

   b. *Strákarnir **sáu allir** myndina.*[2]
      boys-the   saw all   film-the
      'All the boys saw the movie.'

The same patterns obtain in French:

Negation

(4) a. *Marie n' a   **pas lu**   le   livre.*[3] (French)
      Marie *ne* has NEG read the book
      'Marie has not read the book.'

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

adverbial

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

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

---

2. A third distributional pattern of the quantifier is attested in Icelandic:

   (i) ***Allir** strákarnir höfðu **séð**   myndina.*
       all   boys-the   had   seen film-the
       'All the boys had seen the movie.'

In this case, the quantifier immediately precedes the NP that it modifies.

3. As a fluent speaker of French, I provide all French examples.

floating quantifier

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

b. *Les enfants   **aiment tous** Jean.*
the children love   all   Jean
'All the children love Jean.'[4]

These facts are usually analyzed in the following way: the main verb is assumed to be generated inside the VP and the elements that precede it in the non-movement contexts are either left-adjoined to the VP (as in the case of Icelandic and French adverbs, under the phrase structure given in (7)), or have their own projection higher than the verb (as in the case of *pas* in SpecNegP in French, in (8)), or occur in SpecVP (the quantifier may be left behind by a subject that is commonly assumed to be base-generated in SpecVP, as shown in (9)). When it is finite, the main verb is then believed to move to some higher projection, such as I^0, or T^0, or AgrS, in the languages that have V-movement.

(7) adverb left-adjunction

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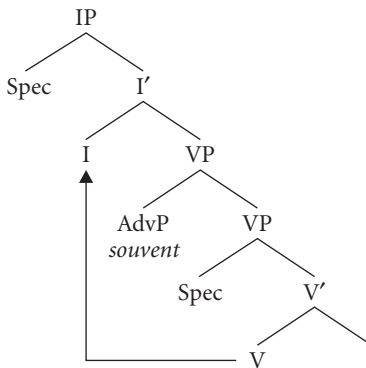
4. The quantifier may also immediately precede the NP it modifies:

(i) ***Tous** les enfants   ont   **aimé** Jean.* (French)
all   the children have liked Jean
'All the children have liked Jean.'

(8)

```
                    AgrSP
                   /     \
                Spec     AgrS′
                        /     \
                     AgrS     NegP
                      ▲      /     \
                      |    Spec     Neg
                      |    pas     /    \
                      |         Neg      TP
                      |          ne     /    \
                      |        ▲    Spec      T′
                      |        |             /    \
                      |        |            T      VP
                      |        |            ▲     /    \
                      |        |            |  Spec     V′
                      |_____|_____|          /    \
                                            |_____ V
```

(9)   floating quantifier

```
                    IP
                   /    \
                Spec     I′
                 ▲      /    \
                 |     I      VP
                 |     ▲     /    \
                 |     |   Spec     V′
                 |     |   /    \   /    \
                 |     |  Q     NP  V     NP
                 |     |  |     |   |     |
                 |     | tous les enfants aiment  Jean
                 |_____|__|_____|___|
```
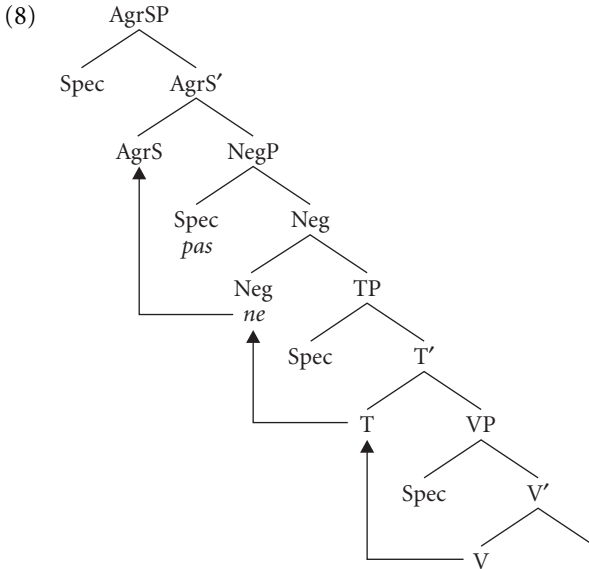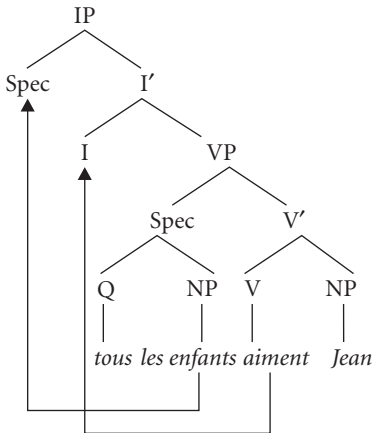
The general theoretical question arises as to why languages such as French, Icelandic, Old English, Old Norse, Old Swedish/Danish, and Norwegian seem to have V-movement, whereas others like English and Faroese do not. The examples in (10) through (12) show that English lexical verbs occur canonically in a post-Neg, postadverbial and postquantifier position.

Negation

(10) a. John did **not like** the apple pie.

   b. *John **liked not** the apple pie.

adverbial

(11) a.   John **often tells** stories.
      b.   *John **tells often** stories.

floating quantifier

(12) a.   The guests **all saw** Mary crying.
      b.   *The guests **saw all** Mary crying.

The same distributional properties of the verb with regard to Neg, adverbials and quantifiers obtain in Faroese (Vikner, 1995b), as illustrated in (13) through (15).

Negation

(13) a.   *Eg veit   ikki hví   tað   **ikki er komið** nakað bræv.* (Faroese)
            I   know not why (there) not is come   any   letter
            'I don't know why there has not come any letter.'
            (Vikner, 1995b: 59)
      b.   **Eg veit   ikki hví   tað   **er ikki komið** nakað bræv.*
            I   know not why there is   not come   any   letter

adverbial

(14) a.   *Eg veit   ikki hví kúgvin   **altíð   stendur** inni   í   húsinum.*
            I   know not why cow-the always stands   inside in house-the
            'I don't know why the cow is always standing in the house.'
            (Faroese) (Vikner, 1995b: 73)
      b.   **Eg veit   ikki hví kúgvin   **stendur altíð**   inni   í   húsinum.*
            I   know not why cow-the stands   always inside in house-the

floating quantifier

(15) a.   *Tað   **onkur   hevur** etið   eitt súrepli.* (Faroese)
            there someone has   eaten an apple
            'Someone has eaten an apple.' (Vikner, 1995b: 153)
      b.   **Tað   **hevur onkur**   etið   eitt súrepli.*
            there has   someone eaten an apple

As illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (10b), (11b) and (12b), on the one hand, and (13b), (14b), and (15b), on the other, finite main verbs[5] in Modern

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5. It is important to emphasize that only finite verbs behave this way in English and Faroese. Indeed, in English, for instance, the auxiliaries *be* and *have* do raise, as illustrated in (i-a) and (i-b) respectively:

(i) a.   John **is not** making pancakes.
     b.   John **has not** gone home.

English and Faroese may occur only in a post-Neg, postadverbial and post-quantifier position.

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

7.1.2   Competing accounts of verb movement: An overview

7.1.2.1   *Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1993)*

Pollock (1989) suggested a highly articulated structure of IP and adduced some empirical evidence that inflection is split into AgrP and TP. He also assumed the maximal projection NegP. Pollock's basic assumption was that the properties of these new projections will determine whether or not a verb can move. Hence, he assumed that long verb movement from V^0 to T^0 to Agr^0 is allowed in French, due to the "transparency" of its AGR, whereas long verb movement in English is prohibited due to the "opacity" of its AGR. In other words, if AGR is transparent, verb movement is allowed; if AGR is opaque, movement cannot occur.

The concepts of transparency and opacity were reinterpreted by Chomsky (1993) in terms of "strong" and "weak" features.[6] When the V-features are strong, the verb must move overtly; when they are weak, the verb moves covertly. Chomsky (1993) attempted to reduce parametric variations (such as overt V-raising or lack thereof) to morphological properties. In this sense, his approach is compatible with that of Pollock. Furthermore, he assumed that LF is irrelevant in detecting variations in languages, as distinctive properties may be detected only at PF. If parametric differences among languages such as raised phrases or phrases *in situ* are not detectable at LF, one has to rely on morphological properties that are reflected at PF. So languages with V-raising, like French, and those without V-raising, like English, are not distinguishable at LF. From the perspective of learnability, the child has to rely on the detectable properties at PF (morphological properties) to set the parameters of a given language correctly.

Two approaches have been explored to explain how the verb checks its inflectional features. The first approach proposes that the main verb typically picks up the features of Tense and Agr, adjoining to an inflectional element to

---

6. The concepts of "weak" and "strong" features have now become controversial, starting with Chomsky's 1997 Fall Lectures.

form [V I]. One possibility is to assume that the lexical element α (a verb in our case) starts out as a bare, uninflected form; PF rules are then designed to interpret the complex [α I] as a single phonological word.

The other approach, preferred by Chomsky, is that α emerges from the lexicon fully inflected (a lexicalist approach). Its features are then checked against the inflectional element I in the complex [α I]. Technically, α adjoins to the lowest I to form the complex [$_I$ α I], then this complex continues to raise to the next higher inflectional element. After multiple adjunctions, α will still be in the checking domain of the highest I (Chomsky, 1993:47, fn.31).

For the sake of concreteness, let us illustrate this on the tree in (16).

(16)
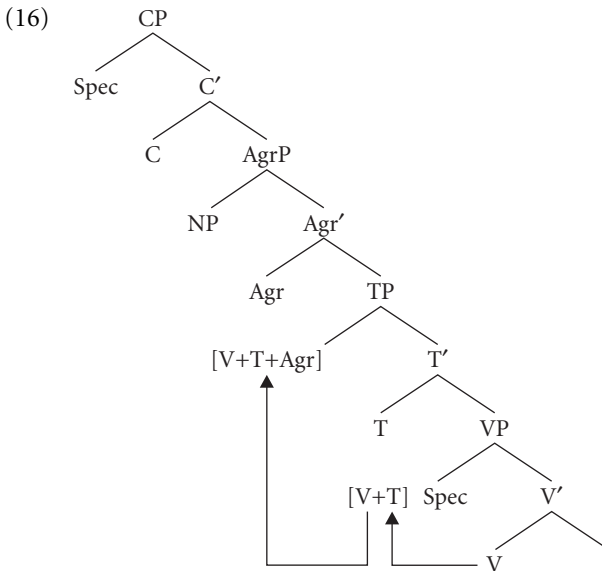
If the tree in (16) were associated with a French sentence, V^0 would move to T^0 and then to Agr^0. In the new lexicalist framework, the functional heads T^0 and Agr^0 do not dominate inflectional morphemes but, rather, bundles of abstract features, "φ-features". Chomsky's basic assumption is that the functional features associated with the verbal inflectional morphology must be checked against the abstract features on the functional heads T^0 and Agr^0. Feature matching is done via a process of adjunction. The V adjoins to the matching functional head T^0 to form the complex [$_T$V T], and then this complex raises to the matching functional head Agr^0 to form the complex [$_{Agr}$ [$_T$V T] Agr]]. Abstract features are then eliminated in the process of feature checking. If the features match, the derivation converges. If they clash, the derivation crashes.

In Chomsky's terms, if the features of α and I match, I disappears and α enters the PF component under Spell-Out; if they conflict, I remains and the derivation crashes at PF (Chomsky, 1993: 27–28).

Within this framework, Chomsky attempted to answer the important question why the auxiliary verbs *have* and *be* raise in English but main verbs do not. This is also an important issue for CVC, which we tackle in Section 7.2. Chomsky explained why main verbs do not move in English in terms of an economy condition. LF operations are less costly than overt operations (the principle Procrastinate); hence, syntactic overt movement is minimized whenever possible. In English-type languages, overt raising is not forced for convergence; therefore, it is prohibited by economy principles. As for auxiliaries, he argued that the fact that they raise in English reflects their semantic vacuity; they are placeholders for certain constructions and are at most very light verbs. Such elements, lacking semantically relevant features, are not visible to LF rules. If they have not raised overtly, they will not be able to raise by LF and the derivation will crash.

To summarize Chomsky's lexicalist approach to V-raising, we may say that the relevant heads (T^0 or AgrS) are "strong" (have strong V-features) in some languages but not in others. If the features are "strong", the verb has to move to check these features (tense features, agreement features, or some other type of features). In this sense, the strength of these features is only indirectly related to morphology. The core assumption of the lexicalist approach is that the verb is inserted in the lexicon fully inflected and must only check its features against Infl within an appropriate local checking relation. Another approach explored by Halle & Marantz (1993) is that the inflectional affix merges with the verb stem under a strict condition of local adjacency, such merging occurring postsyntactically in a morphological component. Both the lexicalist and postsyntactic merging approaches are compatible with the argumentation in this chapter.

7.1.2.2 *Vikner (1992, 1995a,b), Rohrbacher (1995, 1999), Platzack (1988), Roberts (1993), Holmberg & Platzack (1995)*
Vikner (1992, 1995a,b) has consistently emphasized a correlation between the strength of verbal inflectional morphology and the obligatory movement of the finite verb to I^0 (i.e., to the left of a medial adverbial or Negation). In an attempt to articulate a typology of features that trigger verb movement, Vikner (1995a,b) argued that V^0-to-I^0 occurs only if all core tenses (meaning non-compound tenses) in a given language are inflected for person.

Rohrbacher (1995) adopted a more restrictive view than Vikner (1995a,b) and argued that V^0-to-I^0 movement occurs if 1st and 2nd persons are overtly and distinctly marked. This notion is accurately captured in Rohrbacher (1999:116) under *the Paradigm Verb Raising Correlate* which states that "a language has V to I raising if and only if in at least one number of one tense of the regular verb paradigm(s), the person features [1st] and [2nd] are both distinctively marked." Rohrbacher's proposal is that languages are not parameterized for V-to-AgrS raising and pro-drop as such but rather for the presence or the absence of lexical entries for their agreement affixes. Whereas a positive setting of this parameter will trigger V-to-AgrS raising and allow pro-drop, a negative setting will prohibit both. In other words, the trigger for V^0-to-I^0 movement lies in the agreement paradigm of a given language.[7]

Following Platzack (1988), Roberts (1993) drew evidence from the history of English and of Mainland Scandinavian, among other languages, supporting the view that verb movement is connected to rich verbal morphology. He examined the history of English and of the Mainland Scandinavian languages and corroborated Platzack's (1988) observation that the loss of subject–verb agreement was "contemporaneous"[8] with the loss of V^0-to-I^0 movement and occurred within the 200-year period between 1500 and 1700 (Platzack, 1988:223).

Consider the following examples from Middle English/Early New English, where the occurrence of the order V-*not* (as in (17)), V-*adverb* (as in (18)), and V-*quantifier* (as in (19)) has been interpreted as resulting from V^0-to-I^0 movement:

> Negation in Middle English (1100–1500) and Early New English (1500–1800)

(17) a. *Wepyng and teres* **counforteth not** *dissolute laghers.*
       weeping and tears comfort   NEG dissolute laughers
       'Weeping and tears did not comfort the careless laughers.'
       (1400–1450: N. Love: *The Myrour of the Blessyd Lyf of Jesu Christ;*
       Gray, 1985:97, in Roberts, 1993:250)

---

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

8. As rightly noted in Bobaljik (2000), the fact that a period of 200 years elapsed between the loss of subject–verb agreement and V-to-I raising makes the use of the adjective "contemporaneous" somewhat inadequate.

   b.   *They were ful soore adredde and **wist   not** what it was.*
         they were full sore afraid   and knew NEG what it was
         'They were so afraid and did not know what it was.'
         (1438: Anon: *The Gilte Legende*; Gray, 1985:103, in Roberts,
         1993:250)

   adverbials in Middle English and Early New English

(18)   *The Turks … **made anone** redy   a grete   ordonnaunce.*
         the Turks   made soon   ready a large number of weapons
         'The Turks soon prepared a large number of weapons.'
         (c.1482: Kaye: *The Delectable Newsse of the Glorious Victorye of the
         Rhodyans agaynest the Turkes*; Gray, 1985:23, in Roberts, 1993:253)

   quantifiers in Middle English and Early New English

(19)   *In doleful wise   they **ended both** their days.*
         in doleful fashion they ended both their days
         'In a doleful fashion, they both ended their days.'
         (1589: Marlowe: *The Jew of Malta*, III, iii, 21, in Roberts, 1993:253)

On the basis of such evidence, Roberts concluded that Middle English and Early New English in its early stages (up to 1550–1575) required V^0 to move to I^0 in all tensed clauses and subsequently lost this type of movement.

In this respect, Mainland Scandinavian underwent an evolution parallel to that of English. Considering Negation alone, the order of the inflected verb and Negation in subordinate clauses in Old Swedish was V-*Negation*, as illustrated in (20a). In contrast, the order in Modern Swedish is *Negation*-V, as illustrated by (20b):

(20)   a.   *at Gudz ord **kan ey** vara j honom.* (Old Swedish)
              that God word can NEG be   in him
              'that God's word cannot be in him.'
         b.   *att Guds ord   **inte kan** vara i honom.* (Modern Swedish)
              that God word NEG can be   in him
              'that God's word cannot be in him.' (Roberts, 1993:263)

The observation that the loss of V^0-to-Agr^0 in English and Swedish is related to the loss of verbal morphology provided additional evidence linking "rich" verbal morphology to verb movement.

Holmberg & Platzack (1995) followed a similar line of reasoning and argued more specifically that the syntactic differences between Mainland Scandinavian (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian) and Insular Scandinavian (Icelandic) can be derived from the fundamental difference in their inflectional systems.

Mainland Scandinavian has no subject–verb agreement morphology and a highly impoverished system of case morphology. In contrast, Insular Scandinavian has a rich system of subject–verb agreement morphology and case morphology. Hence, Holmberg & Platzack constructed a theory accounting for the role that agreement and case morphology play in the syntax of the Scandinavian languages and, by extension, in Universal Grammar (Holmberg & Platzack, 1995: 3).

7.1.2.3 *Thráinsson (1994; 1996), Bobaljik (1995), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), Bobaljik (2000)*

Thráinsson (1996: 267) correctly noted that it is difficult to define the concept of "rich" morphology in such a way that it makes the correct predictions with regard to overt verb movement. Instead of assuming a direct correlation between rich verbal morphology and overt verb movement (as did Vikner, Holmberg, Platzack, Rohrbacher, and Roberts), Thráinsson assumed a correlation between rich verb morphology and split IP, under which TP is a syntactic category separate from AgrSP.

His argument goes as follows: in the absence of a split IP, the simplified IP structure will emerge and no AgrSP/TP/AgrOP will appear. This would account for the different number of subject and object positions available in languages with rich verbal morphology versus those with impoverished verbal morphology. Indeed, languages with only IP above the VP would have only SpecIP as an available subject position above VP, whereas languages with SpecAgrSP and SpecTP would have two positions (and also a SpecAgrOP for the shifted object). More precisely, these "extra" subject and object positions can give rise to transitive expletive constructions (21), object shift (22) and multiple inflectional affixes, as they are attested in Icelandic.

(21) *það málað stúdent húsið   vandlega rautt.* (transitive expletive)
there painted student the-house carefully red (Icelandic)
'A student carefully painted the house red.' (Jonas, 1996: 178)

(22) a. *Eg las þrjár bækur$_i$ ekki t$_i$.* (object shift) (Icelandic)
I   read three book-PL not
'I didn't read three books.'

b. *Eg las ekki þrjár bækur*
I   read not three book-PL
'I didn't read three books.' (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998: 53)

This naturally entails that the inventory of functional projections is not universal, hence, is subject to parametric variation. Furthermore, Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) argued that the verb needs to raise out of VP and move to T^0 in a split IP structure but does not need to raise to I^0 and may remain in VP throughout the derivation in an unsplit IP structure. They opted for a structural account rather than one that relies on differential feature strength. Consider the following two structures (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998:37):

(23)   Unsplit IP

IP
├── Infl
└── VP
    └── V

(24)   Split IP

AgrSP
├── Spec
└── AgrS′
    ├── AgrS
    └── TP
        ├── Spec
        └── T′
            ├── T
            └── AgrOP
                ├── Spec
                └── AgrO′
                    ├── AgrO
                    └── VP
                        ├── AdvP
                        └── VP
                            ├── Spec
                            └── V′
                                └── V
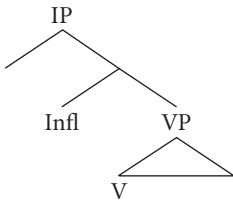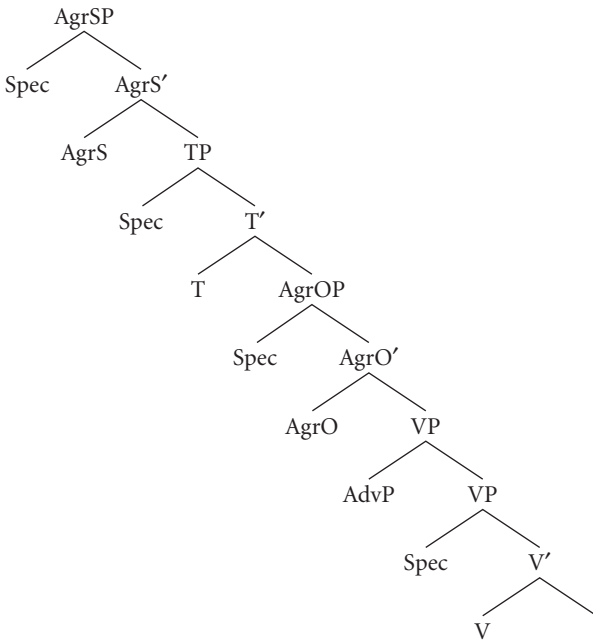
They pointed out that in the unsplit IP structure in (23), the VP headed by the V^0 is the complement of I^0. If an AdvP is adjoined to VP, it does not alter that relationship because it does not create any new projection intervening between VP and I^0. If one assumes that the complement of a head is in its checking

domain, then the verb does not have to move to check features present in I (Tense or other features).[9] Bobaljik & Thráinsson proposed, however, that when other projections intervene between the verb and the head(s) it has to check features with, the verb must raise to get into a checking relationship with the relevant head. This is illustrated in (24). In that structure, the verb is required to at least check features with T^0, but the lower Agr intervenes, so the verb must raise overtly to T^0. Bobaljik & Thráinsson's line of reasoning reflected a move away from the correlation between V-raising and "rich" agreement morphology and focused instead on the more general structure of the verbal morphology (i.e., the presence or absence of multiple inflectional morphemes on the finite verb stem). They draw a correlation that is not directly between verbal morphology and verb movement *per se*, but rather between split IP structure and a cluster of potential properties including verbal morphology, verb movement and specifier positions.

Bobaljik (2000) presents a critical evaluation of the "Rich Agreement Hypothesis," which argues for a direct relation between verbal morphology and verb movement (Rohrbacher, 1999) and demonstrates that such proposals are untenable in the light of dialect comparisons, diachronic changes, speaker variation and acquisition data. He offers a change in perspective and proposes that morphology reflects rather than drives the syntax. He also makes it explicit that *in order to have more than one identifiable inflectional affix on a verb stem* [his emphasis], a language must have a split IP. However, if a language only has one affix on the inflected verb, (hence, is morphologically poor), it does not mean that the language has an unsplit IP (Bobaljik, 2000:14). This one-way implicature is a generalization that has proved empirically tenable and is supported, for example, by data from Kronoby, a dialect of Swedish that has poor inflection and yet displays verb raising.[10] This implicature found an

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9. See also Groat (1997).

10. As noted earlier, there is an alleged correlation between rich verbal inflection and verb movement. However, it has been conceded that the Swedish dialect of Kronoby (spoken in Finland), which has no subject–verb agreement, still displays obligatory V^0-to-I^0 movement (Vikner, 1992:6, fn.4). The example in (i) illustrates a Kronoby sentence where the verb precedes Negation in an embedded clause. This cannot be interpreted as a V2 phenomenon, because V2 occurs in Danish and standard Swedish in matrix clauses only; hence if this is impossible in Danish and Swedish, there is no reason why it should occur in Kronoby. Compare the Kronoby example in (i) to the analogous Danish example in (ii) where Negation must precede the verb, showing that the verb has not moved and cannot move in the Danish case:

earlier echo in Thráinsson (1996:279) who was the first to inquire whether a language with little or no inflectional morphology but with a split IP could be found.[11] I suggest in this chapter that CVC may be such a language and argue that although CVC is endowed with minimal inflectional morphology on the verb stem (the single suffix *-ba*), it gives evidence of a split IP and overt V-raising.

Bobaljik (2000:14) identifies five properties of Germanic languages which generally cluster together and are diagnostics of a split IP. He argues that any one of them may be a trigger but none of them may be viewed as a direct cause of the split:

(25)   a.   The availability of two subject positions between CP and VP
       b.   The possibility of transitive expletive constructions
       c.   The availability of a VP-external derived object position
       d.   Obligatory raising of the verb to Infl in non-V2 environments
       e.   The possibility of multiple inflectional morphemes on the verb stem

Bobaljik (2000:27) further adds that proper identification of any one of these properties by the child can count as a trigger for the split IP parameter in their language. Such observations led him to assume that morphology is not the cause of syntax but rather a reflection of syntactic structure.

The preceding theoretical assumptions can be summarized as follows:

a. certain scholars (e.g., Chomsky, 1993) argued that movement or lack thereof reflects feature strength, but it is worth noting that the concept of strength does not really explain but simply codes the movement trigger technically. Why should some languages have "strong" verbal features on certain heads and others "weak" features?

(i)   *He va bra et an **tsöfft int** bootsen.* (Kronoby)
      it   was good that he bought not book-the
      'It was good that he did not buy the book.' (Platzack & Holmberg, 1989:74)

(ii) a. **Det var godt at han **købte ikke** bogen.*   (Danish)
          it   was good that he   bought not book-the
      b. *Det var godt at han **ikke købte**   bogen.*
          it   was good that he   not bought book-the
          'It was good that he did not buy the book.' (Vikner, 1995b:135)

No account of the Kronoby case has been attempted so far. Rohrbacher mentioned that the Kronoby facts may be due to the influence of Finnish but offers no real explanation for the phenomenon.

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

b. Other scholars have tried to define "strong I" versus "weak I". Pollock, Vikner, Rohrbacher, Roberts, Holmberg and Platzack have tried to do so by relating "strength" to overt verbal morphology. However, this does not really explain why it should be that only certain person distinctions (cf. Rohrbacher's view) determine verb movement. On this issue, Bobaljik (2000) provides strong counterarguments to Rohrbacher (1999) on the basis of evidence from dialectal difference, diachronic change, idiolectal variation and acquisition data.

c. A third approach was suggested by Thráinsson (1994, 1996), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000). Their approach predicts that if there are independent projections (i.e., not just adjunction structures) between the VP and the functional head(s) the V has to check features with, V-movement will occur. This opens up the possibility that these projections may not simply involve agreement (as do AgrSP or AgrOP), but could be auxiliary projections (or even a NegP, as opposed to an adjoined Negation). We consider in Sections 7.5 and 7.6 the predictions this approach makes for CVC, given the clausal architecture we assume.

On this issue, CVC presents an intriguing situation where evidence of verb movement may be present in the absence of both "rich" verbal morphology and subject–verb agreement.

In this chapter, the assumed triggers of verb movement proposed by authors like Vikner, Holmberg, Platzack, and Rohrbacher are shown not to account for CVC data. On the other hand, Thráinsson (1996), Bobaljik (1995), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000) could offer a more promising account for the language under discussion.

In the next section, we turn to the first diagnostic for V-raising, Negation, in CVC and we examine the distribution of verbs and TMA markers vis-à-vis *ka*.

7.2   Verb and TMA markers position with respect to the negative morpheme *ka*: A brief recapitulation

In Chapter 4, we already examined the position of verbs with regard to the negative marker *ka* and observed that all verbs in CVC are and must be post-Neg, as exemplified by (26):

(26) a. *Anos   nu **ka** fronta-l.*   (RS-ST)
          NONCL CL NEG attack-him
          'We did not attack him.'

b. **Anos   nu fronta-l   **ka.**
    NONCL CL attack-him NEG

In Section 4.10, I examined in detail the position of TMA markers with regard to *ka* and in Section 4.5, paid particular attention to the copula-like morpheme *e*, which is the only Cape Verdean verb (let us call it a light verb) that is found in a pre-Neg position in most varieties.

The facts exemplified in (26) clearly show that Negation cannot be used as a diagnostic for verb movement in CVC given that lexical verbs always occur in a post-Neg position. Let us now turn to the position of the verb with regard to adverbs which will prove a more promising diagnostic.

7.3   Cape Verdean Creole verb position with regard to adverbs[12]

In Chapter 4, Subsection 4.11.2, I identified six classes of adverbs in CVC and based that positional classification on Jackendoff's (1972) adverbial typology and Rochette's (1990) analysis of selectional properties of adverbs. Class VI adverbs are the focus of this section, as members of this class provide us with a good diagnostic for verb movement.

As was discussed in Subsection 7.1.1, it is generally assumed that whether the finite verb is in V^0 or not can be determined from its position relative to a sentence-medial adverbial (i.e., an adverbial that follows the subject but precedes the complement of the verb). The medial adverbial is assumed to left-adjoin to VP.

The test for VP-internal adverbials is to look for adverbials that clearly take scope over, and adjoin to, VP or one of its extended projections. If the verb precedes the adverbial, it has left VP, whereas if the verb follows the adverbial, it must still be in V^0.

CVC has a class of adverbs that can occur in some dialects (including my own) in a postverbal position, and in others sentence finally, as illustrated by the examples (27)–(28).

(27) a. *João prende **ben** se lison.*
          João learn   well his lesson
          'João learnt his lesson well.'

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12. This section greatly benefited from extensive discussions with Michel DeGraff. I thank him for his many insights on this issue.

      b. *_João_ **_ben_** _prende se lison._
           João well learn   his lesson

      c. *__Ben__ _João prende se lison._
           well João learn   his lesson

      d. _João prende se lison_ **_ben._**
           João learn   his lesson well
           'João leant his lesson well.'

(28) a. _João prende_ **_mal_** _se lison._
           João learn   badly his lesson
           'João learnt his lesson badly.'

      b. *_João_ **_mal_** _prende se lison._
           João badly learn   his lesson

      c. *__Mal__ _João prende se lison._
           badly João learn   his lesson

      d. _João prende se lison_ **_mal._**
           João learn   his lesson badly
           'João leant his lesson badly.'

These examples show that this class of adverbs (_ben_ 'well', and _mal_ 'badly') occur postverbally, as we see in the (a) examples; the ungrammaticality of the (b) examples shows that these adverbs cannot occur between the subject and the verb. The (c) examples show that they cannot occur sentence initially. The (d) examples show that sentence-final occurrence of these adverbs is also possible in some dialects. On this issue, I propose that there is a dialect split in CVC whereby some varieties or idiolects allow V-raising to a preadverbial position, hence a split IP structure, whereas others do not, which seems to reflect a setting for a simple IP structure. This is reminiscent of Jonas's (1996) observation of a dialect split in Faroese: she showed that one dialect displayed a simple IP structure (hence no V-raising) patterning with languages such as English whereas another one displayed a split IP structure and showed clear symptoms of verb movement like Icelandic. In the case of CVC, I suspect that such split may be more due to differences in language register; bilingual speakers (Kriolu/Portuguese) may be more likely to display V-raising than monolinguals.

      Examples of V-raising also abound in the written literature, typically produced by bilingual speakers of CVC and Portuguese. Consider the sentence in (29) already mentioned in Chapter 4 and 5:

(29) *Propi abitu dikiridu di le   na purtuges   ta   privini **pisikulojikamenti***
      very habit acquired of read in portuguese ASP prevent psychologically
      grandi nunbri di ledores kontra letura   na Kriolu kauberdianu.
      great   number of readers against reading in Criolu Cape Verdean
      'The very habit of reading in Portuguese psychologically prevents a great
      number of readers from reading in Cape Verdean Creole.'
      (T. V. da Silva, 1990: 13)

In this case, *pisikulojikamenti* takes scope over VP and cannot be plausibly taken
to modify *grandi nunbri di ledores*.

  Another instance of V-raising may be found in (30):

(30) *El ta   benba pisadu di dinheru ki   ta   konpensaba **materialmenti***
      he ASP come loaded of money that ASP compensated materially
      tenpu gastadu.
      time   wasted
      'He would show up full of money that would materially compensate for
      wasted time.' (T. V. da Silva, 1990: 28)

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

(31)
```
              AgrP
             /    \
          Spec    Agr′
                 /    \
               Agr    AuxP
                     /    \
                  Spec    Aux′
                         /    \
                       Aux    TP
                                \
                                 T′
                                /  \
                               T   VP
                                  /  \
                              AdvP    VP
                        materialmenti  /  \
                                    Spec  V′
                                         /  \
                                        V   NP
```
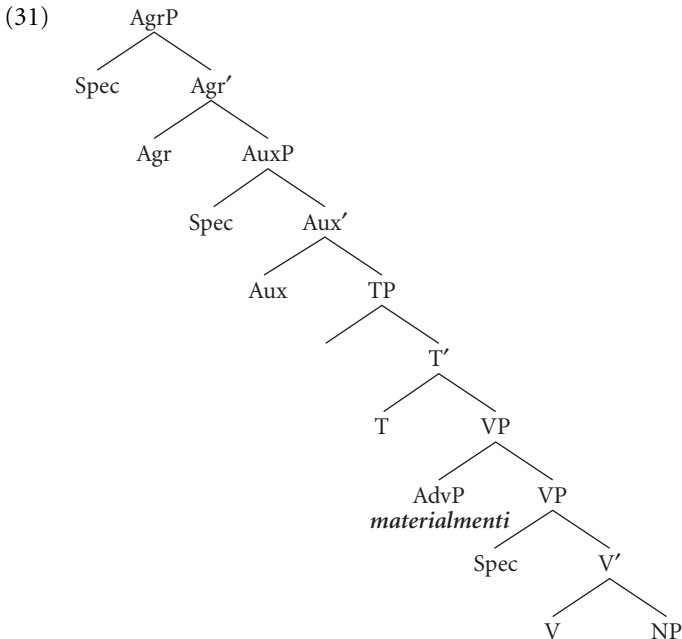
Assuming that these adverbs are base-generated left-adjoined to VP and that adverbs are not subject to movement, the preadverbial position of the verb would indicate that the verb has moved to T^0.[13] The only other way to derive this word order would be to say that the object was shifted to the right, as it occurs in heavy NP shift constructions. However, an NP like *tenpu gastadu* in (30) is not the kind of heavy NP or new-informational NP one would expect to move to the right, so this is not an option.[14] Consequently, this type of adverb crucially provides us with the test showing that the verb has moved to T^0.

There is, however, an important observation that should be made regarding the placement of such adverbs with respect to CVC auxiliaries. Consider (32), the analog to (27) except for the presence of the auxiliaries *sta* and *ta* and the anterior marker *-ba.*

(32)   a.   *João **staba**   *ta*   *prende **ben** se lison.*
             João be+ANT TMA learn   well his lesson
             'João was learning his lesson well.'
       b.   **João **ben** staba   *ta*   *prende se lison.*
             João well be+ANT TMA learn   his lesson
       c.   **Ben *João* **staba**   *ta*   *prende se lison.*
             well João be+ANT TMA learn   his lesson

---

13. If one objects to the assumption that adverbs do not move, there are two possibilities for reordering the verb and the adverb. One is to move the verb to the left across the adverb and adjoin it to some head position like T^0. This would yield the order V-Adv-NP (Obj.). The other possibility is to move the adverbial phrase rightward and right-adjoin it to VP. This would yield the order V-NP (Obj.)-Adv. For the adverbs under discussion, this is non-preferred. So even if one assumed that adverbs could move to the right, one could not account for the current facts; whereas if one assumes verb movement, the right order is naturally derived. Note that left-adjoining the adverb to the NP-object would not be allowed under standard assumptions about movement and adjunction. First, it would involve lowering into a constituent. Second, it is standardly assumed that adjunction to arguments does not occur.

14. Evidence that heavy NP shift has not occurred is usually provided by the presence of a clause-final pronominal, as pronominals are not candidates for heavy NP shift. Unfortunately, CVC does not provide such a test, as is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (i):

(i)   **João odja txeu **el**.*
        João see   a lot him/her

Instead, the clitic moves with the verb to a preadverbial position, as in (ii):

(ii)   *João odja-**l**   txeu.*
        João see-him/her a lot
        'João see-him/her a lot.'

    d. *João* **staba**   **ta**   *prende se lison* **ben.**
       João be+ANT TMA learn   his lesson well

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

    Recall that in Subsection 7.1.1, where the position of adverbs in Icelandic and French was introduced (example (2) for Icelandic and example (5) for French), we noted that in these two languages, the adverbial appeared in compound tenses (involving auxiliaries) between the finite auxiliary and the past participle. It was observed that if the relevant functional head position (T^0 or Agr^0) is filled with an auxiliary element, then the main verb remains *in situ*, but if no such auxiliary element is present, then the main verb moves to that functional head position in core (noncompound) tenses. In other words, verb movement in French and Icelandic affects main verbs only when no auxiliaries are present. The reason for this is that auxiliary verbs in Icelandic and French are inflected for tense and agreement, just like ordinary verbs, so it is these verbs that check the relevant features when they are present. Hence, it is important to emphasize that contrary to the case in Icelandic and French, the CVC verb does not behave differently in compound and noncompound tenses, as shown by example (27) where auxiliaries are absent and example (32) where auxiliaries are present. First, we argued in Chapter 4 that the element *ta* is a nonverbal auxiliary (it cannot carry *-ba*). Hence, there is no reason to expect that it will interfere with the raising needs of the main verb. Second, given the biclausal structure we assumed in Chapter 6, there is some evidence that the element *sta* takes a clausal complement (which can take its own *ta* and *-ba* markers). So it is possible that checking in the complement of *sta* would still need to be done by the main verb. These assumptions explain why, contrary to the case in French and Icelandic, the presence of auxiliary elements like *ta* or *sta* does not have any effect on the raising possibilities and raising needs of the main verb. Note that CVC is not an oddity in not realizing word order difference between auxiliaries and main verbs, German and Swedish, for example, lack such a distinction as well.

    In this respect, Class VI adverbials can be regarded as providing a good diagnostic for verb movement.

    To summarize, we have seen in this section that CVC has a class of adverbs that provide a good diagnostic for verb movement. We have observed that these adverbs can be consistently postverbal, even in constructions involving auxiliaries. The position of the verb with regard to these VP-adjoined adverbs indicates that

the verb has moved overtly to T^0. The only other way to derive the observed word order would be to assume that heavy NP shift has occurred, but the light NPs used in selected examples such as (27), (28) and (30) should not be legitimate candidates for heavy NP shift.

At this point, it would be reasonable to assume that the presence of the verbal inflection -*ba* can be a trigger accounting for V-raising past the adverbial. Note, however, that V-raising occurs whether or not the verb is "overtly" inflected, as shown in examples (27) and (28). This Stray Affix Filter, first labeled as such by Lasnik (1981), was criticized by Koopman (1984), as she noted that movement to satisfy a phonological property (i.e., check a tense feature in this case) occurs whether the phonological affix is present or not. This observation seriously challenges proposals that draw a direct link between morphology and verb movement (cf. DeGraff, to appear, for an extensive discussion).

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

7.4   The theory of quantifier float: Sportiche (1988), Bobaljik (2001)

7.4.1   Quantifier float and the VP-internal hypothesis

In the first part of this section, I examine the competing proposals of quantifier float (Kayne (1975), Sportiche (1988) and Bobaljik (2001)). In the second part, I relate the position of adverbs to that of floating quantifiers, as this is an important correlation to draw in order to provide an accurate account of CVC verb syntax. We then consider quantifier float in CVC as a diagnostic for overt verb movement.

In this subsection, we assume the VP-internal subject hypothesis, which argues that the subject is generated inside VP and raises to SpecIP (in Sportiche's framework, and SpecAgrP in ours) to check case (cf. Koopman & Sportiche, 1988; Speas & Fukui, 1986; Burton & Grimshaw, 1992; McNally, 1992). Koopman & Sportiche (1988) assumed that when SpecVP (or SpecV″, in their framework) is a caseless position, the NP in it that requires case must move. If, on the other hand, that same position is a case position, movement is not necessary (Koopman & Sportiche, 1988: 14–15). Given that CVC subjects never appear in SpecVP (unlike Arabic, Welsh and Irish subjects which may appear in this position), we have grounds to believe that the Cape Verdean

subject moves to SpecAgrP to check case.[15] The inference is that Agr^0 is a case assigner, which is a viable assumption. The tree in (33) illustrates the assumed DS position of the subject. Eliminating the extra VP layer that Sportiche & Koopman originally proposed, we will adopt for ease of exposition the structure assumed by Burton & Grimshaw (1992).

(33)

```
            IP
          /    \
        Spec    I'
               /  \
              I    VP
                  /  \
               Spec   V'
                |     /  \
                |    V    NP
             subject verb object
```
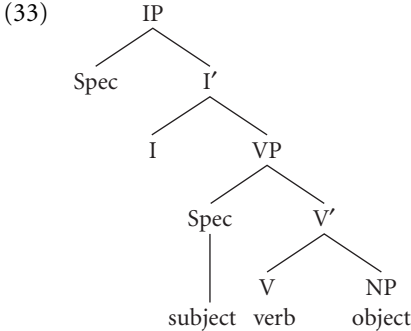
By assuming the VP-internal subject hypothesis, Sportiche (1988) made the crucial assumption that quantifiers modifying subjects are base-generated with the subject in SpecVP. These quantifiers can be stranded, either in SpecVP or in some intermediate position that the subject moves through.

Consider the floating quantifier in the French sentence in (34) and (35). The quantifier may appear in two different positions:

(34) *Tous les enfants ont vu ce film.* (French)
       all   the children have seen this movie
       'All the children have seen this movie.'

(35) *Les enfants ont tous vu ce film.*
       the children have all seen this movie
       'All the children have seen this movie.' (Sportiche, 1988:426)

Sportiche assumed that there is a syntactic dependency in (34)–(35) between the quantifier *tous* 'all' and the NP *les enfants* 'the children'. He argued that in both (34) and (35), the quantifier *tous* is adjoined to the left of the NP it modifies. For this stipulation to hold, the VP-internal hypothesis must be assumed. After the subject raises to SpecIP, the structure in (36) results:

---

15. In this respect, CVC falls into Koopman and Sportiche's Class I of languages, as do English and French, which also exhibit subject-raising.

(36)

```
              IP
            /    \
          NP      I'
       les enfants  /  \
                   I    VP
                      /    \
               [_NP tous NP]  VP
```
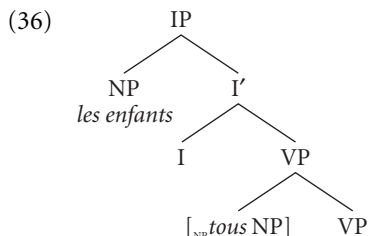
One of Sportiche's (1988) crucial assumptions is that the cluster of properties just discussed can be explained if the FQ forms a constituent with the NP at D-structure and the phenomenon of Q-float is actually seen as the stranding of the Q in a position adjacent to the trace of the NP. These are the working assumptions that we adopt with a few modifications to analyze the Cape Verdean data in Subsection 7.4.3.

We first relate the position of adverbs to that of floating quantifiers.

7.4.2   Relating the position of adverbs with the position of floating quantifiers: Kayne (1975), Pollock (1989), Doetjes (1997) and Bobaljik (1995)

Kayne (1975) first observed that floating quantifiers and adverbs may occur in the same position, between I and VP (in his framework). This allowed Kayne to argue that floating quantifiers have, to some extent, adverbial properties.[16] In Kayne (1975), the quantifier was assumed to be base-generated adjacent to its NP and moved rightward, hence undergoing a lowering movement.

If, on the other hand, we assume the VP-internal hypothesis, we may say that when the subject raises to SpecIP to get case, the floating quantifier may remain stranded at the left periphery of VP where it was generated.[17] Similarly,

---

16. Sportiche (1988: 431) argued against the adverbial properties of quantifiers on two bases. First, he observed that although the behavior of subject-oriented adverbs has been compared to that of quantifiers, the former do not always appear adjacent to the subject. Hence, their distribution is difficult to predict. Second, he noted that in some languages like Moore (a Gur language from Burkina Fasso), a floating quantifier appears between I and VP but no adverb may. Although Sportiche's arguments are defensible, we follow Kayne (1975) and Bobaljik (1995) in emphasizing the positional relation between adverbs and quantifiers, as such a relation is clear in the Cape Verdean case. This is discussed in Subsection 7.4.3.

17. An account of quantifier float within the VP-internal hypothesis has the advantage of eliminating lowering and thereby keeps the simplest generalization: all movement is to a c-commanding position.

VP-internal adverbs are assumed to be generated at the left edge of VP. Hence, the effects of verb movement to the left of floating quantifiers or VP-internal adverbs will be similar. As a result, these classes of adverbs and quantifiers are both used as diagnostics for verb movement.

Pollock (1989) observed that while English finite verbs remain in VP at S-structure, French finite verbs raise to Infl. The distributional fact is that a certain class of adverbs must precede finite verbs in English and follow them in French. Examples (37a) and (37b) show that the French verb raises past the adverbial and the quantifier. In English, however, the adverb and the quantifier remain in a preverbal position ((37c) and (37d)).

(37) a. *Jean embrasse **souvent** Marie.*
         Jean kisses   often   Marie
         'Jean often kisses Marie.'
      b. *Mes amis   aiment **tous** Marie.*
         my friends love   all   Marie
         'All my friends love Marie.'
      c. John **often** kisses Mary.
      d. My friends **all** love Mary.

The pairs adverb/quantifier (a,b) for French and (c,d) for English clearly show that floating quantifiers pattern with the left-edge of VP adverbs, which led to the assumption that floating quantifiers occupy adverbial positions. While Pollock uses adverbs, floating quantifiers and Negation to diagnose the left edge of the VP, Sag (1978) observed that FQs pattern with adverbs (and not with Negation) in tests involving VP ellipsis. This observation is important as in CVC, FQs and VP internal adverbials may be used to diagnose the left edge of the VP but Neg does not provide a valid diagnostic.

Doetjes (1997) has argued that FQs are indeed adverbial in their distribution but she challenges the notion that they are related to the DPs they appear to quantify.

The main core assumption we will retain from Sportiche (1988), Pollock (1989) and Doetjes (1997) is that the distribution of FQs patterns with that of adverbials. In this respect, we see in the next subsection that the distribution of floating quantifiers coincides with that of VP-initial adverbs in CVC.

7.4.3 Cape Verdean Creole quantifier float

CVC displays the same type of quantifier float as French; hence, a floating quantifier may be postverbal, as in (38b), or preverbal, as in (38a-c).

(38) a. ***Tudu*** *alunu   fika la   pa fora.*
         all   student stay there outside
         'All the students stayed out there.'

     b. ***Alunu*** *fika **tudu** la   pa fora.* (RS-ST)
         student stay all   there outside
         'The students all stayed out there.'

     c. ***Minizu tudu fika ta   fla: "Ka bu   bai Praia!"*** (MAR-MA)
         children all   keep TMA say   NEG you go Praia.
         'All the children kept saying:"Don't go to Praia!."'

(38b) provides us with crucial evidence that the verb has moved at least to T^0, given that the verb precedes the floating quantifier which has remained in its DS position. We return to this issue when we give representations in trees (43) and (44). Note that if the floating quantifier immediately precedes the inflected verb, this also yields a grammatical output, as illustrated by (38c).[18]

    Partitive quantifiers of the 'each of' type show the same distribution as *tudu* 'all' in CVC constructions like (39):

(39) a. ***Kada un di***[19] *nhas amigu **da-m**   un karta.*
         each one of   my friends give-me a letter
         'Each one of my friends gave me a letter.'

     b. *Nhas amigu **da-m**   kada un un karta.*
         my   friends give-me each one a   letter
         'Each one of my friends gave me a letter.'

---

18. It is of interest that in the presence of a pronominal subject, the quantifier may immediately precede the verb, as illustrated by the grammaticality of (i-a):

(i) a. *Es   **tudu** txiga na mismu tenpu.*
      they all   arrive at same   time
      'They all arrived at the same time.'

   b. *Es   **txiga tudu** na mismu tenpu.*
      they arrive all   at same   time
      'They all arrived at the same time.'

19. I consider *di* to be the phonological spelling out of Case, assuming the same function that Vergnaud (1974), Chomsky (1986a), and Sportiche (1988) accorded the French analog *de*.

The partitive quantifier *kada un* has a determiner quantifier counterpart, *kada*, which does not float, as is shown in (40).

(40) a. ***Kada** studanti **ben**   odja-m.*
          each   student come see-me
          'Each student came to see me.'
      b. ***Studanti **ben**   **kada** odja-m.*
          students come each see-me

As pointed out by Sportiche (1988: 426), French shows a similar distinction between the partitive quantifier *chacun de* 'each one of' (which can float) and *chaque* 'each', a determiner quantifier (which cannot float). This is illustrated in (41) and (42), respectively:

(41) a. ***Chacun des**   étudiants **est** venu me voir.* (partitive quantifier)
          each   of+the students has come me see   (French)
          'Each of the students came to see me.'
      b. *Les étudiants **sont chacun** venus me voir.*
          the students have each   come me see
          'Each of the students came to see me.'

(42) a. ***Chaque** étudiant **est** venu   me voir.* (determiner quantifier)
          each   student has come me see   (French)
          'Each student came to see me.'
      b. ***Etudiant **est chaque** venu   me voir.*
          student has each   come me see

Let us now return to the example in (38) and adapt Sportiche (1988) and Belletti (1990) with some modifications to the Cape Verdean case. The contrast between (38a–c) and (38b) can be accounted for by assuming that verb movement has taken place. This assumption is based on the hypothesis that the floating quantifier occupies a VP-initial position, as do adverbs (as already discussed). In this respect, Belletti (1990: 68) noted that it is possible to assimilate the distribution of floating quantifiers to that of VP-initial adverbs in a straightforward way by adopting Sportiche's (1988) analysis of the quantifier float phenomenon. The subject NP is base-generated in SpecVP and the modifying quantifier *tudu* is adjoined to the NP subject *konbidadu*. This is illustrated in (43).

(43)

```
                    IP
                  /    \
              Spec      I'
                      /    \
                    I       VP
                          /    \
                       NP       V'
                      /  \     /  \
                     Q    NP  V    PP
                     |    |   |    |
                  tudu konbidadu txiga  na mismu tenpu
```
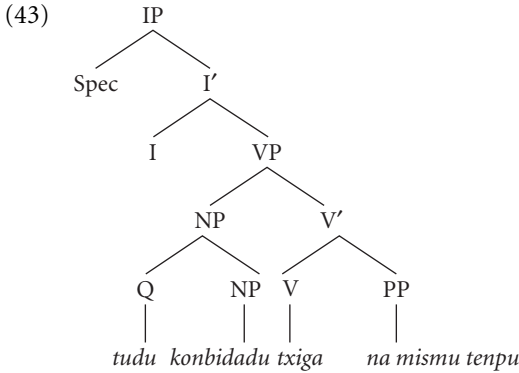
The assimilation of the behavior of a floating quantifier to that of VP-initial adverbs follows from the fact that they have the same DS location. In Sportiche's account, the NP *konbidadu* must move at SS to a position where it can be case-marked. That is why, at SS, it fills the typical subject position that has been identified with SpecIP (or SpecAgrSP). As the subject moves, the modifying quantifier may remain in place;[20] this is illustrated in (44).

---

20. Alternatively, the floating quantifier may move with the subject NP to SpecIP, as shown in (i):

(i)

```
                              IP
                          /        \
                     NP_i           I'
                    /   \          /   \
                   Q     NP       I     VP
                   tudu konbidadu txiga_j  /  \
                                         NP    V'
                                         t_i  /  \
                                             V    PP
                                            t_j   na mismu tenpu
```

(44)

```
                    IP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            NP              I′
            │          ┌─────┴─────┐
       konbidadu_i    I           VP
                      │       ┌────┴────┐
                   txiga_j   NP        V′
                        ┌─────┴──┐   ┌──┴───┐
                        Q       NP  V      PP
                        │        │   │      △
                      tudu      t_i  t_j  na mismu tenpu
```
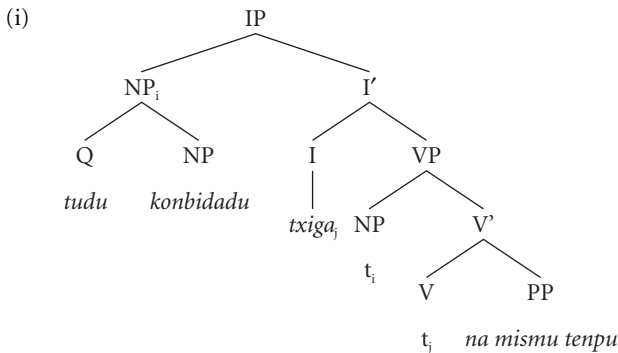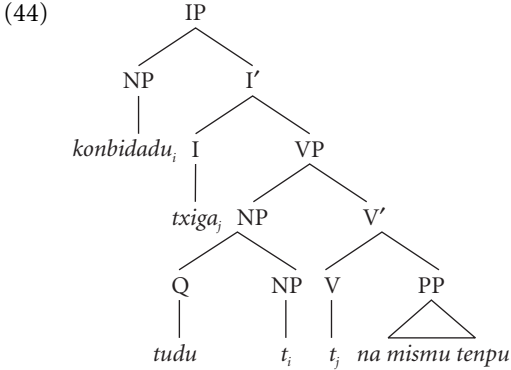
The tree in (44) crucially shows that the verb has moved to I^0 (or to T^0), past the quantifier. In this respect, floating quantifiers, just like VP-adjoined adverbs, provide clear evidence of V-raising in CVC.

There are further Cape Verdean data that enable us to fine-tune the structures proposed in (43) and (44). Indeed, it is not possible to have a floating quantifier and a VP-initial adverb adjacent to one another, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (45):

(45) *Studanti prende **tudu ben** lison.
      students learn   all   well lesson

The ungrammaticality of (45)[21] shows that the order quantifier-adverb is impossible. If a floating quantifier is actually left behind in SpecVP and an adverb like *ben* is left-adjoined to VP, then the order quantifier-*ben* can be predicted to be ungrammatical, as an adverb adjoined to VP will precede a quantifier in SpecVP. This is illustrated in the tree in (46):

(46)

```
              VP
          ┌───┴────┐
        Adv        VP
                ┌───┴────┐
              Spec       V′
            ┌──┴──┐    ┌──┴──┐
            Q    NP    V
```

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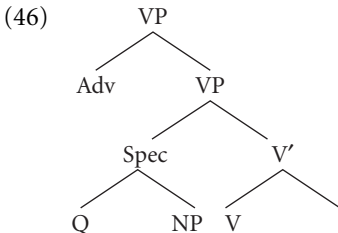
21. The sentence in (45) is ungrammatical under the reading in which the quantifier modifies the NP *studanti* and not the adverb *ben*.

Note, however, that given this state of affairs, one would anticipate the order V-Adv-FQ to be acceptable. This word order does not, contrary to expectations, yield a grammatical sentence, as illustrated in (47):

(47) *Studanti prende **ben tudu** lison.
         students learn   well all   lesson

The sentence in (47) is ungrammatical, as *tudu* cannot have scope over *studanti*; however, the utterance would be fine if *ben* modified *prende* and *tudu* modified *lison* (and were in SpecNP). This shows that some sort of complementary distribution is involved between VP-adjoined adverbs and floating quantifiers.[22] This state of affairs finds some support in Bobaljik (1995), where it is argued that floating quantifiers are generated in an adverbial position adjoined to VP. The structure he assumes is in (48):

(48)
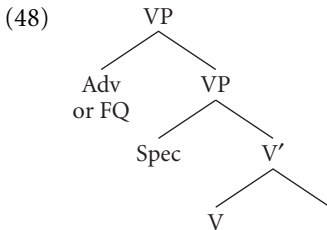
If one assumes that VP-adjoined adverbs are generated in the same position as floating quantifiers, this would account for the complementary distribution between these two lexical items in CVC.

To conclude, adverbials and floating quantifiers provide clear diagnostics for overt V-raising in CVC, and we are now in a position to propose a tentative analysis of V-raising in this particular language and to consider the implications of these findings. Such findings will concern the clausal architecture of CVC which will be corroborated by further empirical evidence and will address the theory of verb movement in general.

---

22. Recall that such a case of complementarity between the adverb *senpri* and the quantifier *tudu* did not emerge when we considered the distribution of these two lexical items in Chapter 6, Section 6.3. We assumed that *senpri* was base-generated in SpecAuxP. If the position of the floating quantifier is in a VP-adjoined position, as illustrated in the tree (48), there would indeed be no reason to expect any case of complementary distribution arising.

7.5   A tentative analysis and its implications

7.5.1   A few stipulations

The analysis I propose in this subsection is structured in three main parts. First, I follow to some extent Bobaljik (1995), Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000), adopting a few of their assumptions to account for the Cape Verdean facts. Second, I attempt to account for the different behavior of the verb in Cape Verdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole. I explore the possibility that the presence in CVC of the suffix *-ba*, whereas no such suffix exists in GBC, is the element responsible for the different verbal behavior in these two creoles. I show, however, that such predictions are not always borne out and that the difference in their verbal behavior is related more specifically to the projection of different functional categories. Finally, I stipulate that the development of suffixation possibilities, no matter how minimal and limited these possibilities may be, could be the real trigger to V-raising. More precisely, I argue that just as the loss in English and Mainland Scandinavian of V^0-to-Agr^0 movement is contemporary with the loss of "rich" morphology, a language may develop verb movement with the development of minimal suffixation. On this matter, the comparison between GBC and CVC will lead to interesting and potentially enlightening stipulations.

Recall the proposed clausal architecture for CVC in Chapter 6, Section 6.3, repeated here for convenience as (49):

(49)   *João ta   staba   ta   kumeba.*
       João TMA be+ANT TMA eat+ANT
       'João would have been eating.'

(50)

```
                    AgrP
                  /      \
               Spec      Agr'
                        /    \
                      Agr    AuxP
                            /    \
                         Spec    Aux'
                                /    \
                              Aux    TP
                                   /    \
                                Spec    T'
                                       /   \
                                      T    VP
                                          /   \
                                       Spec   V'
                                             /   \
                                            V    AuxP
                                                /    \
                                             Spec    Aux'
                                                    /    \
                                                  Aux    TP
                                                        /   \
                                                     Spec   T'
                                                           /   \
                                                          T    VP
                                                              /   \
                                                           Spec   V
                                                                  |
                                                                  V
```

| João | ta | -ba | sta | ta | -ba | kume |
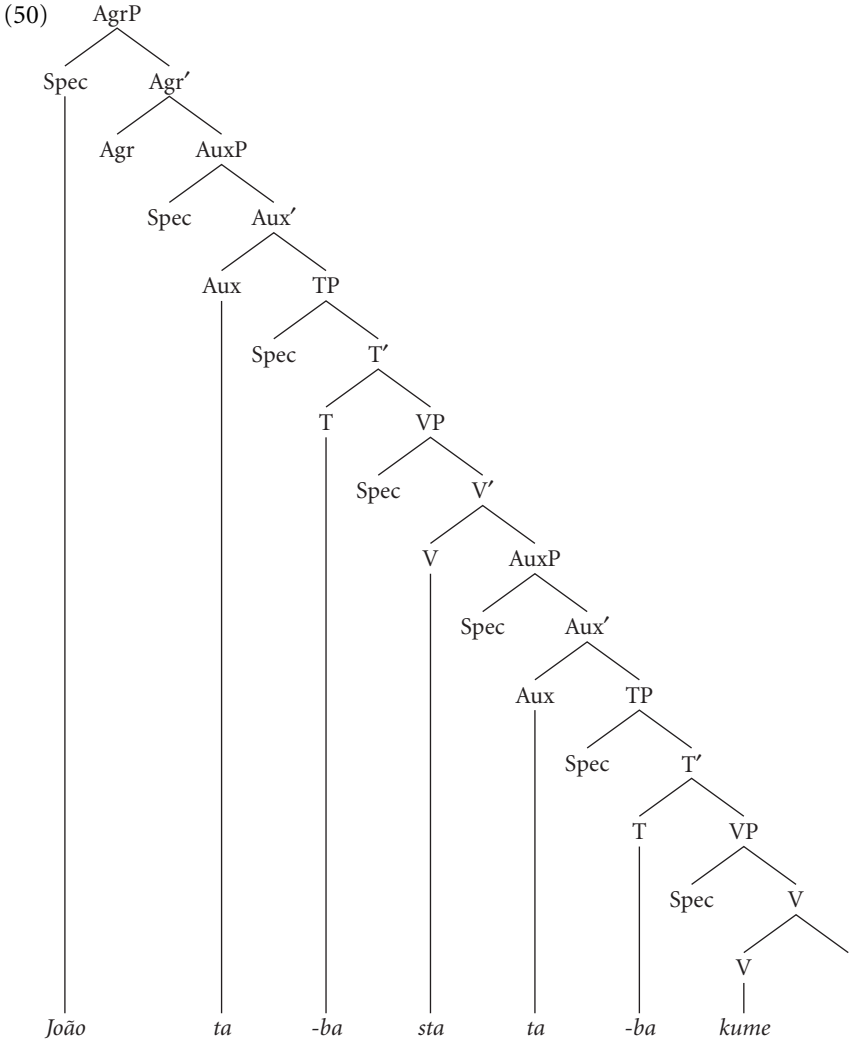
A natural question that comes to mind is why the Cape Verdean verb should need to raise overtly to T^0. We have seen ample evidence for this movement in the previous section with regard to adverbs and floating quantifiers; let us now compare CVC to GBC, as we can derive interesting theoretical hypotheses from such a comparison.

7.5.2 A comparison between Cape Verdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole

Just like CVC, GBC has a postverbal Tense marker, *ba*. However, the major difference between CVC *-ba* and GBC *ba* is that *-ba* is a verbal inflection found exclusively bound to verb stems in CVC, whereas *ba* is a non-inflectional (unbound) Tense marker in GBC found not only after verbs (51), but also after nominal and adjectival predicates, as shown in (52) and (53).

(51) *I   kunpra **ba**   pon.*   (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
s/he buy   [+PAST] bread
'S/he had bought bread.' (Kihm, 1994: 108)

(52) *I   kunpra pon   **ba.***   (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
s/he buy   bread [+PAST]
'S/he had bought bread.' (Kihm, 1994: 108)

(53) *I un procesu difisil   **ba.***   (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
it a   process difficult [+PAST]
'It was a difficult process.' (Kihm, 1994: 108)

The unbound nature of GBC *ba* leads us to predict that the GBC verb remains *in situ* and does not move past NEG and crucially does not move past VP-internal adverbials, as it has no features to check in T^0. Indeed, as described in Kihm (1994), GBC does not have V-raising past NEG, as shown in (54) or VP-internal adverbials like *txiw* 'a lot' or *kwas* 'almost', as in (55).

Negation
(54) *Ze **ka riba**   inda.* (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
Ze NEG return yet
'Ze has not returned yet.' (Kihm, 1994: 42)

adverbial
(55) a. *Jon ta   **kiri** Eliza txiw.* (Guinea-Bissau Creole)
Jon TMA like Eliza a lot
'Jon likes Eliza a lot.'
b. **Jon ta   **kiri** txiw Eliza.*[23]
Jon TMA likes a lot Eliza

---

23. The examples in (55a–b) and (56) were provided by Alain Kihm (personal communication).

c.   *I* **kwas** *bindi si karu.*
he almost sold   his car
'He almost sold his car.' (Kihm, 1994:272, fn. 18)

d.   **I bindi* **kwas** *si karu.*
he sold   almost his car

Such predictions are, however, only partially borne out. While NEG and VP-internal adverbs diagnostics for verb movement (or lack thereof) in GBC do hold, such predictions fail to be realized with regard to floating quantifiers. Indeed, the GBC quantifier *tudu* can be stranded and the verb can raise past it, just as in the case of CVC. This is shown in (56):

(56)   a.   *Konbidadu* **txiga** **tudu** *na mismu tenpu.* (GBC)
guest   arrive   all   at same   time
'The guests arrived all at the same time.'

b.   *Konbidadu* **tudu** **txiga** *na mismu tenpu.*
guest   all   arrive at same   time
'The guests arrived all at the same time.'

The example in (56a) shows that the verb can raise past the quantifier *tudu* but also has the option of remaining *in situ*, as illustrated in (56b). The data in (56) challenges the predictions we had made about the GBC verb not moving, as it does not have any feature to check in T^0.

This leads us to two hypotheses, neither of which can be corroborated at this point: we may assume that GBC is in the process of developing more functional projections such as TP, but does not have yet as many specifier positions as CVC. The absence of Tense features (a suffix *-ba*) in T^0 would inhibit any overt movement or even the projection of TP (in the spirit of Thráinsson & Bobaljik's proposal). This would be in keeping with one of Kihm's passing observations regarding the status of *ba*. Indeed, Kihm (1994:105) states that "*ba* is not a verb, and neither is it a verbal affix, except possibly in an *"advanced"* [his emphasis] variety of the language". Such a statement could lead us to postulate that GBC is in the process of developing more functional projections; such a transitory state would account for the lack of verb movement with regard to NEG and VP internal adverbs but would allow for the possibility with regard to quantifiers. Second, we could venture to say that VP-internal quantifiers and floating quantifiers do not occupy the same position, contrary to our previous conclusions for CVC. This would explain why in GBC, the verb may be found in a prequantifier position but not in a preadverbial position. Such thorny issues will be set aside for further research.

It remains, however, that the difference in verbal behavior between CVC and GBC would at first seem to be due to the suffix *-ba* in CVC, which is (currently) nonexistent in GBC. This would lead us to view *-ba* as the trigger for the syntactic movement of the verb to T^0. This is not an uncontroversial issue. As already discussed in Section 7.3, Koopman (1984) and Bobaljik (1995) noted that the property [+affix] as a trigger for syntactic movement (in this case V-movement) is a problematic assumption, as movement occurs regardless of the morpho-phonological content of the affix. More precisely, raising occurs even when the supposed affix trigger is not phonologically realized. That is indeed the case in CVC, where the bare stem of nonstative verbs gets a simple past tense reading (as described in Chapter 4) and does raise in spite of the lack of suffixation. This is illustrated in (57), adapted from T.V. da Silva's example in (29).

(57) *Abitu ta   privini(ba)   pisikulojikamenti ledores…*
      habit ASP prevent+ANT psychologically   readers
      'The habit used to psychologically prevent the readers…' (Cape Verdean Creole)

(58)
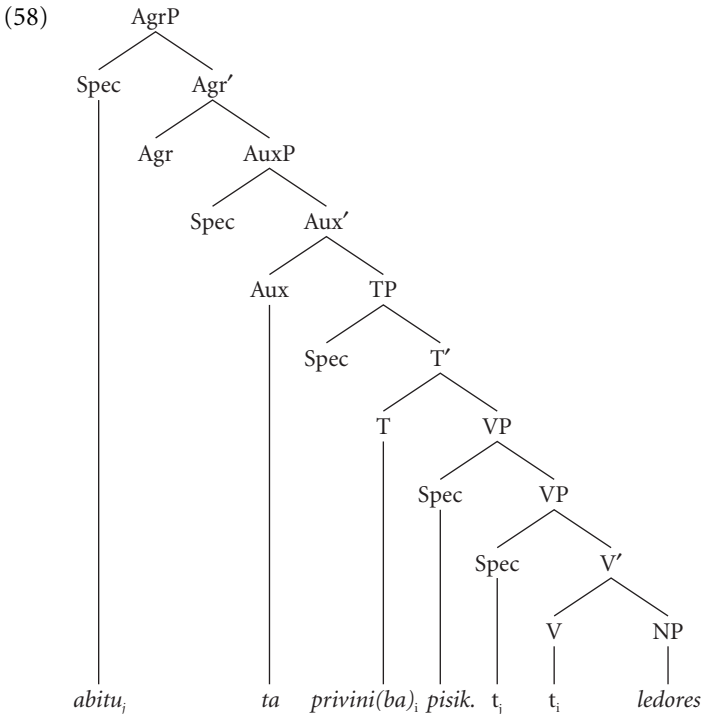
This leads us to explore Bobaljik & Thráinsson's alternative approach.

Let us first discuss the Cape Verdean case. If one assumes the structure suggested in (58), with a TP and an AuxP as different functional projections, and if one assumes furthermore that the verb in the VP needs to check some features with the Aux-head, then it will have to move to T^0 to do so. The fact that the temporal marker -*ba* behaves differently from *ta* may suffice as evidence to the language learner that different elements, and hence plausibly different functional heads in the syntax, are involved. In GBC on the other hand, it is possible that the auxiliary element *ba* is just the head of an AuxP, as in (59):

(59)   Guinea-Bissau Creole

```
              AgrP
             /    \
         Spec     Agr'
                 /    \
              Agr      VP
                      /   \
                  Spec     V'
                          /   \
                         V     AuxP
                              /    \
                          Spec      Aux'
                                   /    \
                                Aux      NP
                                        /   \
                                    Spec     N'
                                              |
                                              N
                                              |
      João        kunpra      ba            pon
```
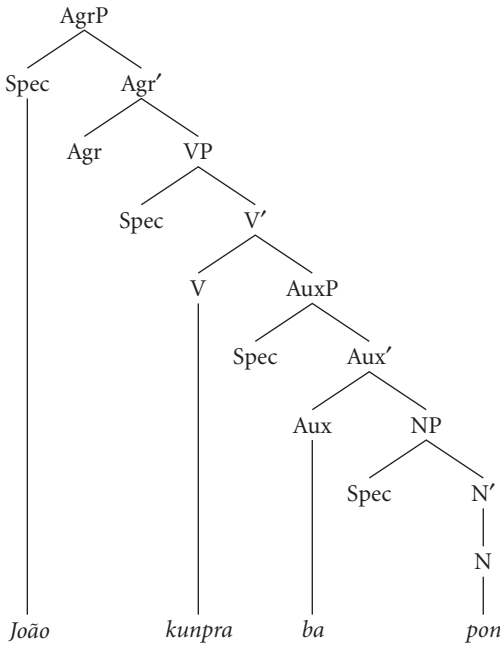
In a structure like (59), V in VP would head the complement of the head(s) of the AuxP, so it would not have to raise anywhere to check its features against them, assuming Bobaljik & Thráinsson's checking theory. This means that there is no evidence for an independent TP in GBC, whereas there is in CVC.

This crucial difference between CVC, on the one hand, and GBC, on the other, is similar to the difference between French or Icelandic, on the one hand, and English and Mainland Scandinavian, on the other. In CVC, French and Icelandic, we have evidence for several kinds of functional projections above the VP, namely, an AuxP, a TP and an AgrP. Therefore the verb has to raise out of the VP in order to check features against the highest of these functional heads.

In English, Mainland Scandinavian, and GBC, there is no such evidence. In those languages there may be just IP, and the V^0 checks features against the I^0 without moving out of the VP (because VP is the complement of I^0). In GBC, it could be assumed that even though there may be an AuxP with multiple heads for other TMA markers over V, they may all be of the same category (possible adjoined). Then, the VP would be the complement of the Aux and could check its features against it without moving.

The last step in this analysis is to look at V-raising in CVC from a developmental perspective. In the same way that the loss of V^0-to-Agr^0 movement in English and Mainland Scandinavian is a relatively contemporary phenomenon to the loss of verbal inflection (Roberts, 1993), CVC may have gained short V-movement after acquiring a verbal suffix, an unusual trait among creole languages. It would be interesting (but challenging, given the scarcity of old texts in this creole) to ascertain the existence of such constructions in earlier stages of CVC to confirm the link between the appearance of suffixation and verb movement. The study of future stages of GBC (particularly the behavior of the morpheme *ba*) may also hold the answer.

In the next section, I consider further correlates of the V-raising symptoms CVC displays. More precisely, I examine a variety of properties usually associated with the Split-IP parameter hypothesis, where I argue for "extra" argument positions in CVC: such evidence is found in specific syntactic constructions such as postverbal and post-Neg subjects. The existence of the extra argument positions can be predicted by Bobaljik & Thráinsson's framework which highlighted a strong correlation between the Split-IP parameter and other morphosyntactic phenomena.[24] The next section will clearly show that if one assumes a split IP, such assumption makes at least two predictions: first, it predicts that the verb raises out of VP, (as has been clearly demonstrated) regardless of the inventory of functional projections making up the IP complex;[25] second, it correlates with other properties indicative of the Split-IP parameter.

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24. Bobaljik & Thráinsson demonstrated that the Split-IP parameter in Icelandic could be correlated to extra subject and object positions predicting the existence of transitive expletive constructions and multiple inflectional affixes. In the case of CVC, the Split-IP parameter predicts the possibility of postverbal and post-Neg subjects, as will be shown in Section 7.6.2.

25. The inventory of functional categories includes unbound aspect and mood markers in CVC, which naturally differs from the set found in Icelandic for instance. The symptoms may be similar, but the heads and the resulting syntactic configurations may be different.

7.6 The Split-IP parameter and the extra-argument positions

7.6.1 Inflectional anterior marker

The first piece of evidence was already introduced and resides in the inflectional verbal marker. If one assumes the structure suggested in (60), with a TP and an AgrP[26] as different functional projections, and if one assumes furthermore that the verb in the VP needs to check some features with the Agr-head, then it will have to move at least to T^0 to do so. The tree in (60) illustrates such movement.

(60)

dinheru   *konpensaba*$_i$ *materialmenti* t$_i$ *tenpu gastadu*
money compensate+ANT materially   time wasted
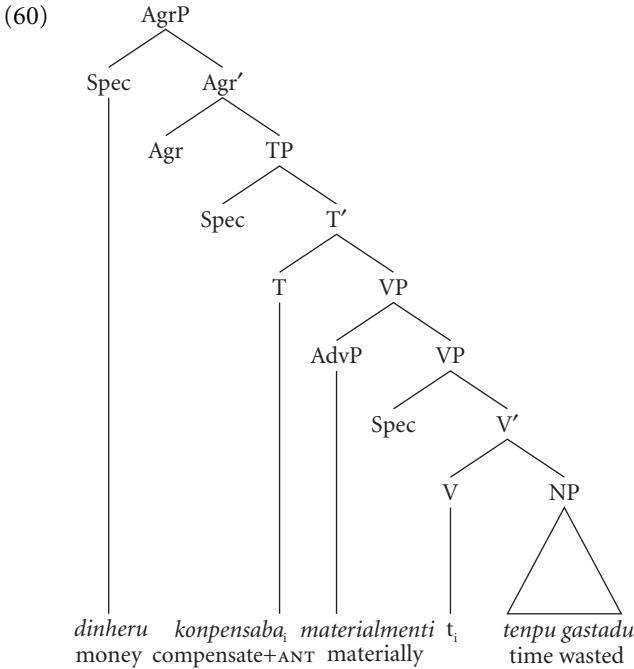
7.6.2 Additional argument positions

The split-IP structure proposed in (60) not only predicts that the verb can raise out of the VP into the IP complex but also that the additional functional pro-jections in the split IP languages provide additional specifiers. This prediction is supported by empirical evidence as there may be two subject positions in

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26. Note that Iatridou (1990) claims that AgrP is not necessary to account for those facts.

CVC, one in SpecAgrP and the other in SpecTP. This would account for atypical syntactic constructions in the realm of creole languages such as postverbal subject positions with full DPs and post-Neg subjects, as illustrated by the examples in (61) and (63), respectively.

Consider (61), where the subject and the verb have been inverted (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1 for more instances of subject–verb inversions):

(61) *Es   ba   konbida Nho Lobo un badju na Ilheu.* **Ba   kruja, ba   ranha,**
      they went invite   Mr. Wolf a   dance at Ilheu went owl   went spider
      ba   korbu, ba   otu   pasu.
      went crow   went other birds
      'They went to invite Mr. Wolf to a dance at Ilheu. The owl went, the
      spider went, the crow went, the other birds went.' (Meintel, 1975:247)

Assuming that the verb has moved to Agr^0, the subject can be then argued to be in SpecTP, a possible subject position, as has been proposed in Jonas & Bobaljik (1993). This is shown in the tree in (62).

(62)

```
            AgrP
           /    \
        Spec    Agr'
               /    \
             Agr    NegP
              |    /    \
              |  Spec   Neg'
              |        /    \
              |      Neg    TP
              |           /    \
              |         Spec    T'
              |               /    \
              |              T      VP
              |              |     /  \
              |              |   Spec  V'
              |              |         |
              |              |         V
              |              |         |
             ba_i          kruja  t_i      t_i
```
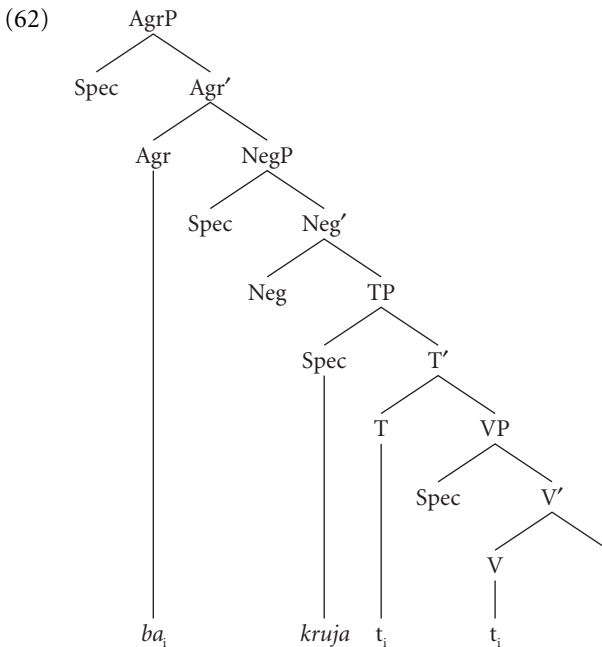
Note that in this type of syntactic construction, we assume that the verb moves all the way to AgrS. To assume that the verb only has moved to T^0 would imply that the subject remains in SpecVP, which is problematic, as it is a caseless position.

In the Imperative mood, the subject is obligatorily found in the non-canonical post-Neg position, as illustrated by (63):

(63)   a.   *Ka **bu** bai!*
            NEG you leave
            'Don't leave!'
       b.   **Bu ka   bai!*
            you NEG leave

Once again, to accommodate this word order, one needs to postulate that the pronominal subject is in SpecTP and the verb in V, as there are no Tense features to be checked higher up in the tree. This is illustrated in (64):

(64)

```
              AgrP
             /    \
          Spec    Agr'
                 /    \
              Agr    NegP
                    /    \
                 Spec    Neg'
                        /    \
                     Neg    TP
                           /   \
                        Spec    T'
                               /   \
                              T    VP
                                  /   \
                               Spec   V'
                                     /  \
                                    V
                                    |
              ka     bu            bai
```
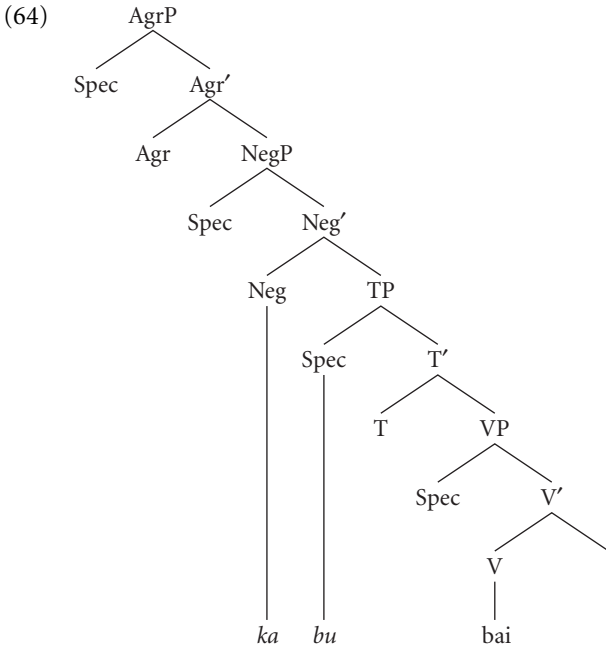
Several subject positions are symptomatic of several specifier positions to accommodate the distribution we have observed.

To summarize this tentative analysis, we have explored Bobaljik (1995) and Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998), and I have proposed that a structural account for V-raising is more adequate than an account relying on strength of features to trigger V-movement. Bobaljik & Thráinsson argued that if there is an extra projection intervening between the V^0 and the head against which the V^0 has to check features, then the V^0 must raise out of the VP. Otherwise, it does not.

There is evidence for TP in CVC but there is no such evidence in GBC. Hence, Bobaljik & Thráinsson's theory predicts that there should be a difference in V-movement between CVC and GBC, and we have shown that this difference does exist.

Finally, I proposed that the development of verbal suffixation in CVC may be related to verb movement, no matter how minimal verbal morphology may be in this language. This leads me to the last subsection of this chapter, where the implications of these observations for the general theory of verb movement are examined.

7.7 Implications for the theory of V-raising and concluding remarks

The implications of the observations presented here for the theory of V-raising are twofold. First, we show that the concept of "rich" verbal morphology may be misleading in predicting V-raising. A more minimalist definition of the morphology required to trigger verb movement is needed. What seems to be a better approach is one in which separate and clearly separable tense and agreement markers serve as evidence for the language learner for hypothesizing a split IP, as discussed by Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (1995). In other words, this type of morphology would serve as evidence to the learner for different functional projections. Once one has more than one functional projection above the VP containing verbal features that the V needs to check, the V must raise out of the VP to do so. Otherwise, it does not have to raise, under Bobaljik & Thráinsson's theory. The kind of structure that Bobaljik & Thráinsson propose would entail that if the verb in the VP needs to check a feature in Aux^0, it will have to move at least to T^0 to do so. Note that Bobaljik & Thráinsson need not assume that V^0 has to move to the highest functional head. It simply has to be in or move into the checking domain of the highest head. Once it has moved to T^0, it will head the complement of Aux^0 and thus be able to have its features checked by Aux^0 without adjoining to *ta*, which is the correct prediction.[27]

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27. A couple of facts still must be explained: one is that on the one hand, there seems to be no real meaning associated with the lower *ta*. Hence, there does not seem to be any semantic distinction between *el sta kume* and *el sta ta kume*. We proposed in Chapter 4 that *ta* in the cluster *sta ta* is most likely an infinitival marker. On the other hand, we showed that if the higher *ta* is present, (we proposed in Chapter 4 that the higher *ta* is an aspect/mood marker)

A second obvious implication is that the explanation for V-raising may be more structural (number of heads above V^0) than morphological. However, morphology must still play a role as a trigger, given its importance from the learnability perspective. Indeed, the Cape Verdean child presumably uses V-raising because s/he is provided with the -*ba* cue, whereas the child speaking GBC will not, in the absence of such a cue.

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

To summarize, we have explored Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000), who proposed that a structural account for V-raising serves as a better explanation for the triggering of V-movement than does an account relying on strength of features. Bobaljik & Thráinsson's main assumption is that if there is an extra projection intervening between the V^0 and the head against which the V^0 has to check features, then the V^0 has to raise out of the VP. Otherwise, it does not. More precisely, they propose that separate and clearly separable tense and agreement markers count as evidence for the language learner for hypothesizing a split IP and different functional projections.

Interestingly, Bobaljik & Thráinsson argued that the availability of extra subject positions is crucial in accounting for Transitive Expletive Constructions in Icelandic. I would like to depart from such a claim by stating that extra positions can result in different types of constructions involving not necessarily transitive expletives or object shift, but instead postverbal and post-Neg subjects, as illustrated by CVC. The distribution of subjects and word-order variations are good empirical evidence for the "extra" specifier positions. The Cape Verdean case demonstrates that extra specifiers may result in extra subject positions without resulting in extra object positions. Hence, a split IP language may lack AgrOP, and may lack the ability of shifting a full DP object. This is in keeping with Thráinsson & Bobaljik's (1998:61) statement that a split IP is a necessary but not sufficient condition for phenomena such as object shift. This is also compatible with Thráinsson's (1996) view that from a learnability perspective, a child must find in a given language evidence for each functional projection. Assuming Chomsky's (1991) proposal that Agr-Phrases are the locus of case-

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the lower one must appear as well (*El ta sta kume* vs *el ta sta ta kume*). Another fact that remains unaccounted for is that no element may intervene between *ta* and *sta* or a following main verb, although in the proposed structure, I have two maximal projections following *ta*, namely, TP and VP.

checking,[28] one can say that in CVC, case-checking occurs between the verb and the object *in situ* and does not require the object to raise to any IP-internal Spec position.

A second point of departure from Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000) concerns their claim that languages with only one IP are restricted to a single inflectional affix on the verb stem, in contrast to split-IP languages endowed with more heads (Icelandic for instance allows the expression of both tense and agreement by discrete morphemes). CVC, however, has only one inflectional affix on the verb stem, *-ba*, which is a sufficient cue to trigger verb movement.

Finally, in principle, Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998:60, fn. 27) do not rule out the possibility that a language with poor verbal inflection may be endowed with a split IP (diagnosed with verb raising or extra argument positions). I hope to have shown that creoles may instantiate just such a case. Crucially, from a learnability perspective, we could argue that a mere contrast between an inflected verbal form and a non-inflected counterpart may be all the cue the child needs to trigger V-raising in creoles such as CVC.

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28. Some linguists (cf. Diesing, 1990) think on the contrary that object shift being optional, AgrOP has more to do with the mapping from syntax to semantics than with case.

The syntax of pronominals

8.0 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is two-fold: the first objective is to provide a detailed syntactic analysis of pronominals in Cape Verdean Creole and focus in part on verbal clitics, i.e., subject and object clitics whose domain of cliticization is V. The second goal is to design a typology of Cape Verdean clitics and nonclitics according to their morphological, distributional and semantic properties.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: the first section examines Cape Verdean pronominal paradigms for clitics and nonclitics and focuses on their distribution. The second section introduces a working definition of clitics and standard tests for clitichood (Kayne, 1975). The third section contrasts three main theories of clitic placement: the movement theory which argues that clitics land in their surface position via a movement rule (Kayne, 1975; Haverkort, 1993; Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999; Poletto, 1999); second, the theory claiming that clitics are base-generated (Rivas, 1977; Jaeggli, 1983; Roberge, 1990; Cummins & Roberge, 1993); and third, Klavans' (1985, 1995) parametric theory of clitics which proves instrumental in designing a refined typology of Cape Verdean clitics. The fourth section presents a four-way classification of Cape Verdean verbal clitics based on their syntactic and phonological properties. The fifth section examines licensing conditions on cliticization in CVC and discusses notable constraints such as a ban on clitic clustering, as well as the incompatibility of the suffixation and cliticization processes. I show that in the light of other data in the language, it would be more accurate to view such a ban as a double clitic constraint. The sixth section discusses the pro-drop parameter and the position of Cape Verdean clitics and proposes that subject clitics are syntactic clitics in this particular creole. More precisely, I put forward the hypothesis that subject clitics in CVC are in AGR, following a proposal by Rizzi (1986a), Brandi & Cordin (1989), and Poletto (1996, 1999) for Northern Italian dialects, and DeGraff (1993b) for Haitian. Based on these findings, I make a few assumptions about the pro-drop status of CVC and present a different approach

to this issue. The seventh section discusses Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1996, 1999) whose pronominal typology is essential in designing an accurate typology of Cape Verdean pronouns accounting for a complex set of empirical data. Concluding remarks are provided in the last section.

8.1   Cape Verdean Creole pronominal paradigms: A brief recapitulation

In Chapter 3, we introduced the two paradigms of clitics (Section 3.3.1) and nonclitics (Section 3.3.2) and discussed thoroughly the distribution of subject clitics (Section 3.3.1.1), object clitics (3.3.1.2), subject nonclitics (Section 3.3.2.1) and object nonclitics (Section 3.3.2.2.). The clitic paradigm is listed in Table 1 and the nonclitics in Table 2.

As in a number of languages (e.g., Romance languages), clitics and non-clitics are morphologically distinct and also display different syntactic and semantic properties.

Their distribution was thoroughly discussed in Chapter 3 and was summarized in Table 6, repeated here for convenience as Table 3.

Table 1. Clitics

Clitics	Subject	Object	Prepositional
1st sg	*N (M)*	*-m*	NA
2nd sg	*bu*	*-bu/-u*	
3rd sg	*e*	*-(e)l*	
3rd formal	*nho/nha*	*-nho/nha*	
1st pl	*nu*	*-nu*	
2nd pl	*nhos*	*-nhos*	
3rd pl	*es*	*-(e)s*	

Table 2. Nonclitics

Nonclitics	Nonprepositional	Prepositional
1st sg	*mi/ami*	*mi*
2nd sg	*bo/abo*	*bo*
	nho/nha (formal)	*nho/nha*
	anho/anha	
3rd sg	*el/ael*	*el*
1st pl	*nos/anos*	*nos*
2nd pl	*nhos/anhos*	*nhos*
3rd pl	*es/aes*	*es*

Table 3. Distribution of clitics and nonclitics

Distribution of Clitics and Nonclitics	Clitics	Nonclitics
Subject Position	+	+ (short form)
Object Position On Bare Stem Verb	+	− (short form)
Prepositional Complements	−	+ (short form)
Object Position On Inflected Verb (with -*ba*)	−	+ (short form)
Left-Dislocated Position	−	+ (short/long form)

The focus of the next section is to provide further evidence, using Kayne's (1975) classical tests, that the pronominals listed in Table 1 are indeed clitics.

8.2   On the nature of clitics and tests for clitichood

8.2.1   What is a clitic?

Defining the nature of clitics is not uncontroversial: are they words or affixes? This is a question that Klavans (1979), among other linguists, attempted to clarify, as clitics are generally recognized as having properties of both words and affixes. However, Klavans (1979:69) defined clitics as words that can be differentiated from affixes in that they are to some extent syntactically free. The position vis-à-vis the verb varies, depending on the verb tense and mood; and under some conditions, they can move up from a lower clause to a higher clause. As first noted in Kayne (1975), this is a type of movement typical of words but not of affixes. As a result, cliticization is often interpreted as an instance of a movement transformation.

8.2.2   Tests for clitichood

The tests for clitichood were first designed by Kayne (1975), who referred to Gross (1968) and Schane (1967). The tests are the following: no element may intervene between the clitic and the verb, clitics cannot be modified, they cannot be conjoined with another NP or with another clitic, and they may not

be contrastively stressed; they cannot appear as prepositional objects where other full NPs or nonclitics may occur and finally, clitics cannot occur in isolation. In contrast, full NPs and nonclitics are not subject to any of the preceding prohibitions (Kayne, 1975: 81–85). We see in the next section that the pronouns in Table 1 pass all tests for clitichood.

8.2.2.1   *Clitic dependency on the verb*

We already showed in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.1.1 that in CVC, subject clitics immediately precede the verb (1), TMA markers in affirmative sentences (2), or the negative marker *ka* in negative sentences (3).

(1)   *N nase   ligo, N kria ligo me.* (ELV-BR)
      CL was born here I raise here itself
      'I was born here, I was raised right here.'

(2)   *N ta   lenbra   kuma nu tinha falta.*   (BEL-BR)
      CL ASP remember COMP we had   necessity
      'I remember that we had necessities.'

(3)   *N ka   baba   pamo mi   e   mas nobu.* (BEL-BR)
      CL NEG go+ANT because NONCL COP more young
      'I hadn't gone because I am the youngest.'

No element may intervene between the subject clitic and its host. Note that in contrast with the clitics listed in Table 1, the nonclitic short forms and full NPs may be separated from verbs, TMA markers, or the negative marker by adverbs, as shown in (4), (5), and (6) respectively:

(4)   a.   *Ami   senpri ben ta   trabadja pa djuda mai*
           NONCL always come ASP work   to help   mother
           kria filhu pikininu. (JOM-BR)
           raise child little
           'I have always worked to help my mother raise the smaller children.'
      b.   *Joana senpri ben   ta   trabadja pa djuda mai*
           Joana always come ASP work   to help   mother
           kria filhu pikininu.
           raise child little
           'Joana has always worked to help her mother raise the smaller children.'

(5)   *El/Joana   senpri ta trabadja pa djuda mai   kria filhu pikininu.*
      NONCL/Joana always ASP work   to help mother raise child little
      'He/Joana always work to help mother raise the smaller children.'

(6) **El/Joana   nunka ka** trabadja pa djuda mai   kria filhu pikininu.
NONCL/Joana never NEG work   to help mother raise child little
'He/Joana never worked to help mother raise the smaller children.'

As for object clitics, unlike languages such as French and Spanish, where the object clitic precedes the verb (as is discussed in Section 8.3), the Cape Verdean object clitic immediately follows the verb, as discussed in Chapter 3, and illustrated in example (7):

(7) *Un e   femia, el   ta* **uza-m** *ben.* (JOM-BR)
one COP female NONCL ASP treat-me well
'One of them is a girl, she treats me well.'

It is important to observe that object nonclitics do not display the same distribution as object full NPs, as their appearance in a postadverbial position is not grammatical, as witnessed by (8b):

(8) a. *João bebe senpri* **grogu di Santo Antão.**
        João drink always liquor of Santo Antão
        'João always drank hard liquor from Santo Antão.'
    b. **João bebe senpri* **el.**[1]
        João drink always it
    c. *João bebe-***l** *senpri.*
        João drink-it always
        'João always drank it.'

In summary, subject clitics have been shown to require strict adjacency with the verb, the TMA marker, or the negative marker they cliticize to. Subject nonclitics and full NPs contrast with clitics in that they may be separated from these elements by an adverb. As for object clitics, they may cliticize only to the verb itself. We also showed that nonclitic objects do not behave in the same way as their full NP object counterparts. I offer an explanation for the behavior of object clitics in Section 8.6.

8.2.2.2 *Clitics cannot be modified*
In CVC, clitics cannot be modified, as shown in (9); only nonclitics may, as shown in (10):

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1. We offer a tentative explanation for this discrepancy in Section 8.7.

(9) *_Era mi ku   nha mai,   **nu dos.**_
      was me with my mother CL two

(10) _Era mi ku   nha mai,   **nos   dos.**_ (ALE-ST)
      was me with my mother NONCL two.
      'It was my mother and me, the two of us.'

As for full NPs, they may be modified by a numeral as long as the numeral is accompanied by a quantifier:

(11) _João i   Paula gosta **tudu dos** d' Eliza._
      João and Paula like   all   two of Eliza
      'João and Paula both like Eliza.'

8.2.2.3   _Clitics cannot be conjoined_

Clitics cannot be conjoined with full NPs, as is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (12), or with each other, as in (13). Nonclitics, on the other hand, are like ordinary NPs and can be conjoined with full NPs (14) or each other (15):

(12) *_N ku   **Brankinha** arge._
      CL with Brankinha get up

(13) *_N ku   **bu** nos   e   dos omi._
      CL with CL NONCL COP two men

(14) _**Mi**   ku **Brankinha** arge._ (RS-ST)
      NONCL with Brankinha get up
      'Brankinha and I got up.'

(15) _M**i**   ku **bo**   nos   e   dos omi._ (RS-ST)
      NONCL with NONCL NONCL COP two men
      'You and I are two men.'

8.2.2.4   _Clitics cannot carry stress_

Clitics cannot be stressed contrastively, as shown in (16b), whereas nonclitics and full NPs can bear contrastive stress, as in (17b) and (17c), respectively.

(16) a. _Kenhi ki   ten se kaza na dja Braba?_ (ARA-BR)
          who   COMP have his house in dja Braba
          'Who has her house in dja Braba?'
      b. *_N   ten kaza   na dja Braba._
          I (stressed) have house in dja Braba

(17) a. *Kenhi ki   ten   se kaza   na dja Braba?* (ARA-BR)
          who   COMP have his house in dja Braba
          'Who has her house in dja Braba?'
      b. **Mi**   N ten   kaza na dja Braba.
          NONCL CL have house in dja Braba
          'I (stressed) have a house in dja Braba.'
      c. **João** ten   kaza   na dja Braba.
          João have house in dja Braba
          'João has a house in dja Braba.'

8.2.2.5   *Clitics cannot occur in isolation*
Clitics cannot occur in isolation, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (18), and
this is again in contrast with nonclitics and full NPs, which can occur alone, as
evidenced by (19) and (20), respectively.

(18) – *Kenhi ki   toma un banhu vespra di San João Baptista?* (COL-BR)
         who COMP take a bath eve   of saint João Baptista
        'Who bathed on the eve of Saint John the Baptist?'
      – **N.*

(19) – *Kenhi ki   toma un banhu vespra di San João Baptista?* (COL-BR)
         who COMP take a bath eve   of saint João Baptista
        'Who bathed on the eve of Saint John the Baptist?'
      – *Ami/Mi.*

(20) – *Kenhi ki   toma un banhu vespra di San João Baptista?* (COL-BR)
         who COMP take a bath eve   of saint João Baptista
        'Who bathed on the eve of Saint John the Baptist?'
      – *João.*

In this section, I have established that the pronominals in Table 1 are indeed
clitics, based on the battery of tests provided in the literature.

In the next section, I introduce three competing theories of clitic place-
ment, including Klavans' parametric approach to cliticization, which I adapt in
designing a complete typology of Cape Verdean clitics.

8.3 The competing theories of clitic placement

8.3.1 The movement of clitics

The clitic movement theory (first proposed by Kayne (1972,1975,1984)) assumes a transformation rule whereby object clitics are generated in an NP position and land in their surface position via a movement rule. In this process, the clitic leaves a trace in the original position that is subject to locality requirements. Such a movement rule is intended to account for the preposing of object pronouns before the verb in Romance languages like French (Kayne, 1975:66), as illustrated in (21). Under this approach, the sentence in (21a) would be derived from (21b):

(21) a. *Marie **nous** connaît.* (French)
Marie us   knows
'Marie knows us.'
b. **Marie connaît **nous**.*
Marie knows us (Kayne, 1975:74)

This approach is also adopted by Haverkort (1993), Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), and Poletto (1999) among others. Haverkort (1993) argues additionally that clitic movement is an instance of head movement that does not obey the strict locality conditions imposed by the Head Movement Constraint. The nonlocal character of cliticization and the fact that clitics violate selectional properties of verbs was an original motivation for positing a movement rule. Consider the following:

(22) a. *Jean **nous** est fidèle.*   (French)
Jean to us is   faithful
'Jean is faithful to us.'
b. *Jean **le**   fait   manger.*
Jean him makes eat
'Jean makes him eat.' (Haverkort, 1993:12)

Haverkort observed that in (22), the clitic does not cliticize to the element that selects it, the adjective *fidèle* 'faithful' in (22a) and the verb *manger* 'to eat' in (22b). It cliticizes to the highest verb in the same clause in (22a) and to the highest finite verb in (22b). In Spanish, this nonlocal dependency can occur over even greater distances.

(23)   ***Te   lo*** *quiero permitir hacer.* (Spanish)
       you it I want allow   to do
       'I want to allow you to do it.' (Haverkort, 1993: 12)

In (23), the nonlocal behavior is not constrained to one clause; the object clitic *lo* 'it' cliticizes two clauses above that headed by the verb selecting it, *hacer* 'to do'. As for the clitic *te*, it cliticizes one clause higher. Such examples illustrate the nonlocal behavior of cliticization and support a movement approach.

8.3.2   The base generation of clitics

On the other hand, Rivas (1977), Jaeggli (1982), Roberge (1990) and Cummins & Roberge (1993) basically assumed that clitics are base-generated in their surface position and from there license and identify a pronominal argument position. The data that Jaeggli adduced against a clitic movement hypothesis involve clitic doubling in Spanish. Observe the following Spanish sentence:

(24)   ***Lo   vimos   a   el.***   (Spanish)
       him we saw to him
       'We saw him.'

Jaeggli (1982) argued that this type of data shows that the clitic has not moved, because had it moved, the complement position would be empty.[2]

The movement and the base-generation approaches to cliticization are schematically illustrated in (25):

(25)   a.   …clitic$_i$ + V…t_i …
       b.   …clitic$_i$ +V…[+pron]$_i$ …

(25a) suggests that in languages like French, the clitic has moved from a postverbal position to a preverbal position, leaving a trace behind. (25b), which represents the base-generation approach, suggests that clitics are generated in their surface position and from there may identify a pronoun in an argumental position, as in the case of clitic doubling in Spanish (Haverkort 1993: 12).

I stipulate, based on several types of empirical evidence in CVC, that clitics move; for subject clitics, I adopt the VP-internal hypothesis which assumes that

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2. Jaeggli found further support for his approach in the position of benefactive clitics in Spanish, which cannot be accounted for by positing a transformational derivation (cf. Jaeggli, 1982: 19).

the subject starts out in the VP and moves upward. For object clitics, I assume that the clitic originates in the VP complement position and incorporates to V. When the verb raises across a VP-internal adverbial, a topic examined in depth in Chapter 7, the object raises with it, as illustrated in (26b):

(26) a. *Jizus Kristu da senpri **se pon** di kada dia.* (S-ST)
          Jesus Christ give always his bread of every day
          'Jesus Christ always gave (us) daily bread.'
      b. *Jizus Kristu da-**l** senpri.*
          Jesus Christ give-it always
          'Jesus Christ always gave it.'

Another case where the clitic moves with the verb is that of a left-dislocation construction, as in (27):

(27) *Spia-l, bu pode ma mexe-l bu ka pode.*
      look-it you can but touch-it you NEG can
      'You can look at it but you cannot touch it.'

This type of Cape Verdean data can be derived only via a movement rule, by positing incorporation to V and movement. I elaborate on the nature of subject and object clitic hosts in Sections 8.5 and 8.6.

In the next section, I introduce Klavans' parametric approach to clitics, which proves instrumental in designing an accurate typology of Cape Verdean clitics.

8.4   A parametric approach to clitics: Klavans (1985, 1995)

8.4.1   Introduction to former theories of cliticization

Under earlier theories of cliticization, there were only two strategies for clitic positioning. These two strategies involved second position cliticization (Wackernagel's Law, Wackernagel, 1892) and cliticization to a specified lexical class, most commonly V.

Let us first observe Wackernagel's Law. Consider the following examples from Ngiyambaa, an Australian language (Klavans, 1995: 104–107). In (28), the clitic appears in second position after an adjective; in (29), its host is a verb; and in (30), its host is an adverb. The common feature in each case is that the adjective, the verb, and the adverb are the first constituents in the domain of cliticization. The clitic consistently follows the first constituent and thus appears in second position:

(28)   S   (Ngiyambaa)

    Adj   N′   V′   Adv

               N   V

 *ŋadhay = **ndu***   *guya*   *dha-yi*   *gambira*

  tasty = 2NOM   fish   eat+PAST   yesterday

(29)   S

        V′   Adv   N′

  *dha-yi = **ndu***   *gambira*   *ŋadhay guya*

  eat+PAST = 2NOM   yesterday   tasy fish (Klavans, 1995: 105)

(30)   S

    Adv   N′   V′

 *gambira = **ndu***   *ŋadhay guya*   *dha-yi*

 yesterday = 2NOM   tasty fish   eat+PAST (Klavans, 1995: 105)
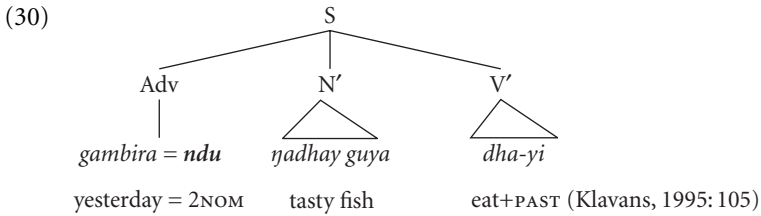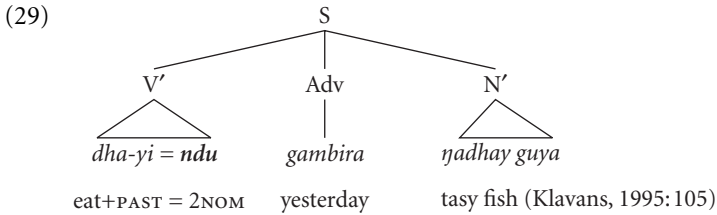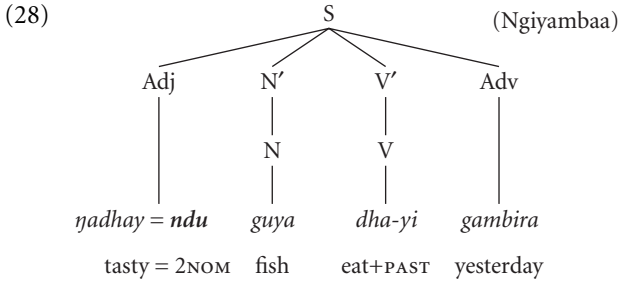
In short, the clitic encliticizes phonologically to any free-form constituent occurring in first position. In this respect, Ngiyambaa clitics instantiate Wackernagel's Law.

In this chapter, however, I focus on verbal clitics. Spanish presents an interesting case, discussed in the next subsection.

8.4.2   Domain of cliticization: V

Spanish pronominal clitics provide us with good examples of cliticization to the specified lexical class V (Klavans, 1985: 96). Consider the examples in (31) and (32):

(31)   **Te lo** *digo   ahora.* (Spanish)
       you it tell 1SG now
       'I say it to you now.' (Klavans, 1985: 96)

(32) *Dí*   ***me lo** ahora.* (Spanish)
tell IMP me it now
'Say it to me now.' (Klavans, 1985:96)

In (31), the clitics *te* '(to) you' and *lo* 'it' occur before the tensed verb and are proclitic to that verb. In (32), they occur after a [−Tense] verb and are enclitic. In this regard, it has been assumed that if a clitic is associated with a host syntactically, then its phonological attachment is with that host, as in the case of Spanish pronominal clitics. Indeed, looking at such examples, one might assume that a clitic that occurs before a particular phrase must be phonologically proclitic and that a clitic occurring after a particular phrase must be phonologically enclitic.[3] Spanish proclitics and enclitics are schematically represented in (33):

(33)

X'
|
X
/
proclitic(s) = X

(host)

lo=hace 's/he does it'
Proclitics

X'
|
X
\
X = enclitic(s)

(host)

haz=lo 'do it'
Enclitics (Klavans, 1985:97)
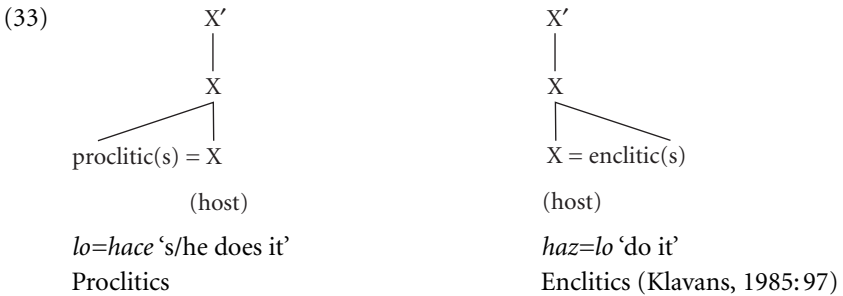
In these examples, the domain of cliticization is V, and the feature [tense] affects clitic positioning, as is seen in (34) and (35) (Klavans, 1995:103).

(34)

S
/   \
N'   V'
| |
Ø   V
            / \
           V   [+clitic]
        [−tense] |
           | *vío*
          me=

'Tell me!' (Klavans, 1995:103)

---
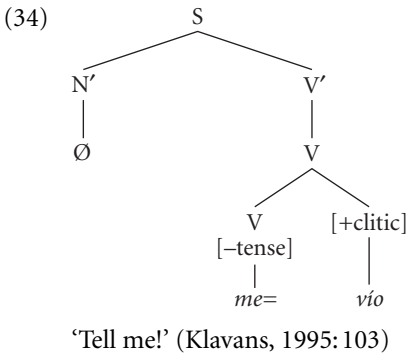
3. However, Klavans' framework, introduced later, captures the situation more accurately, in that in some languages, a given clitic may not have the same phonological and syntactic host.

(35)

```
                    S
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             N′           V′
              │            │
              N            V
              │            │
              Ø       ┌────┴────┐
            [+clitic]       V
                │        [−tense]
                │            │
               me=          vío
```
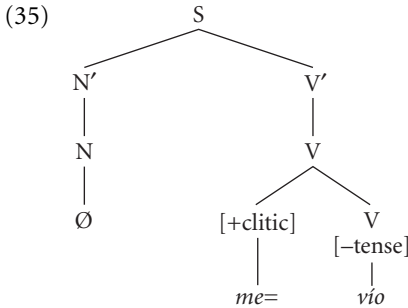
'Juan saw me.' (Klavans, 1995: 103)

In each of (34) and (35), the effect of the feature [Tense] is distinct. With Spanish clitics, the feature on the dominating node actually determines whether the clitic is proclitic or enclitic.

It is worth observing at this point that in contrast with Spanish, such a feature does not affect clitic placement in CVC, as is illustrated in (36) and (37):

(36) *Ami, tratamenti di la   ka **da-m**   obra.* (MN-MA)
      NONCL treatment of there NEG give-me work
      'As for me, the treatment there did not work for me.'

(37) *Mama **da-m**   kafe!   Mama **da-m**   kadernu!* (ISA-ST)
      mum   give-me breakfast mum   give-me notebook
      'Mum, give me breakfast, mum, give me a notebook!'

Let us now consider how Klavans accounted for clitic positioning cross-linguistically. Klavans (1985) adopted a parametric approach to cliticization and claimed that there are three parameters governing clitics, two structural ones and a phonological one.[4] Klavans (1995) went further and proposed five parameters: P1 is Clitic Identity, P2 is the domain of cliticization, P3 is Initial/Final, P4 is Before/After and P5 is Proclitic/Enclitic. Regarding P1, contrary to

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4. Klavans (1985) originally proposed three parameters: two structural parameters, which were Dominance (initial/final) and Precedence (before/after), and a phonological parameter, the Phonological Liaison (proclitic/enclitic). They were labeled P1, P2, and P3. Parameter 1 specifies whether a clitic attaches to the initial or final constituent dominated by a given phrase. Parameter 2 specifies whether a clitic occurs before or after the host chosen by P1. The need for Parameter 3, according to Klavans, arises when the structural host to a clitic is not the same as the phonological host, a point we expand on later and return to in Section 8.5, when we consider the typology of Cape Verdean clitics.

Kayne (1975),[5] Klavans argued that clitics can be identified by the feature [+clitic]; in other words, cliticization rules can recognize clitics on the basis of lexical specification (Klavans, 1995: 101).

As for P2, a node is the domain of cliticization if the syntactic position of a clitic is determined with respect to the immediate constituents of the designated node. In some cases, the relevant node is S; in others it is N; in others it is V. As already stated, in this chapter, we focus on the domain of cliticization V.

P3, the parameter Initial/Final, refers to the first or last constituent under the domain of cliticization; it involves the host phrase relevant for clitic attachment. Consider once again a Ngiyambaa example, in which the domain of cliticization is S:

(38)

$$\text{ŋadhay guya} = \textbf{\textit{ndu}}^{7} \quad \textit{dha-yi} \quad \textit{gambira}$$

tasty fish = 2NOM   eat+PAST   yesterday
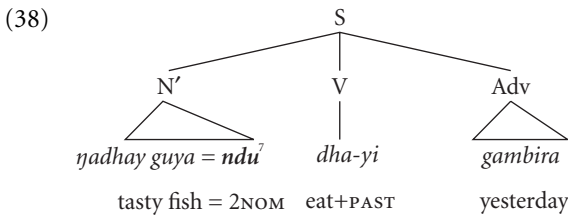
'You ate a tasty fish yesterday.' (Ngiyambaa) (Klavans, 1985: 99)

In the example in (38), the constituent to which *ndu* cliticizes is N'. N' is the initial constituent under the domain of cliticization S; in this case, P3 is initial.

In Spanish, the domain of cliticization is V, as is illustrated in (34) and (35). In (35), P3 is initial because it attaches initially under the domain of cliticization V. In (34), however, P3 is final because the clitic is final under the domain V. P4 Before/After refers to the locus of clitic attachment. If the clitic occurs on the right side, it occurs after the initial constituent; if it occurs to the left, it occurs before the initial constituent. To clarify this, consider the English genitive in (39), for which we consider the parameters described thus far (Klavans, 1995: 106):

---

5. According to Kayne (1972), clitics can be identified by a clitic node.

(39)

the King of England 's hat (Klavans, 1995:106)
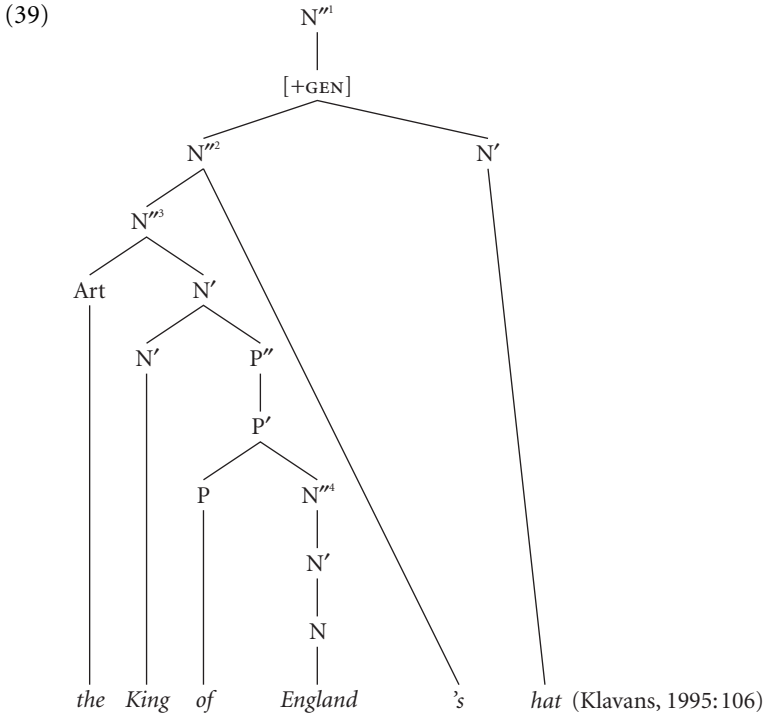
The clitic identity is the genitive (P1), the domain of cliticization is N'''^1 (P2), the host phrase is initial under the domain of cliticization (P3), and the clitic attaches to the right of the initial constituent N'''^4 (P4). This is summarized in (40) (Klavans, 1995:107):

(40)   P1: English possessive *'s*
       P2: N''
       P3: Initial
       P4: After

The last parameter is P5: Proclitic/Enclitic. It refers to the place where phonological liaison occurs. For instance, the English possessive *'s* is an enclitic, so liaison occurs to the left of the clitic.

Regarding Parameter 5, Klavans argued that the structural host and phonological hosts need not be the same, so that clitics can attach syntactically to a structural host while attaching independently to a different phonological host. This is illustrated in examples (41) and (42):

(41)

```
              X′
           ╱     ╲
       clitic      X
                    ↑
              syntactic host
```

Syntactically positioned before a host

(42)

```
           ╱     ╲
        Y′         X′
        |        ╱    ╲
        Y   =clitic     X
        ↑_____|
      phonological host
```

Phonological enclitic to a (different) host
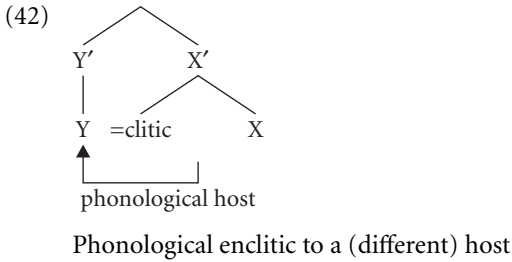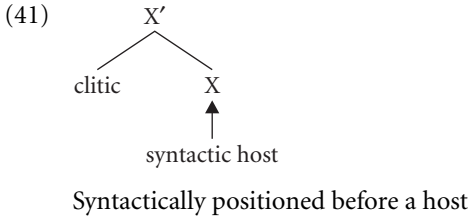
(42) shows the surface phonological host Y to be different from the structural host X. We see in the next subsection that such examples abound in CVC. Klavans remarked that the mirror image of this can also be motivated, namely, that a clitic may be a syntactic enclitic to a given constituent but a phonological proclitic to a different host. As will be demonstrated in the next section, Cape Verdean object clitics in double object constructions illustrate such a case.

The values of the parameter constrain possible clitics to eight types of clitics cross-linguistically in Klavans' framework and yield four types of verbal clitics in CVC, the topic of the next section.

8.5   The Cape Verdean Creole clitic typology

In this section, I focus on clitics whose domain of cliticization is V. Subject clitics are clearly proclitics (as in (43)).

(43)   *N ba sukundi.* (Y-ST)
       →
       I   go hide
       'I went and hid.'

However, in some environments such as embedded clauses, the subject clitic can be a syntactic proclitic while being phonological enclitic to a different host;

this is illustrated in (44).[6]

(44) *Kantu **k'e***   *ben, e ben di trinta tre   dia.* (RS-ST)
           ←
when comp-he come he come of thirty three day
'When he came, he came after thirty three days.'

Evidence that the type of cliticization illustrated in (44) is purely phonological is provided by the fact that nonclitics also undergo such phonological cliticization, as shown in (45):

(45) *El ta pensa **m'**   **ami**   nada   N ka ten.* (RO-ST)
he asp think comp noncl nothing I   neg have
'He thinks that I don't have anything.'

Note that clitics such as *bu*, 'you' (sg.), (as well as *nu* 'we' and *nhos* 'you' (pl), characterized by the syllabic structure CV instead of V(C) for *e, es*, or the nasal velar *N*), do not behave as phonological enclitics when post-posed to complementizers like *ki* and *pa*. This is illustrated in (46):

(46) *Bo   tudu kabu ki   **bu** ba, bu sta livri.* (Y-ST)
noncl all   place comp you go you are free
'As for you, wherever you go, you are free.'

As for object clitics, they are typically enclitics in most environments, as in (47):

(47) *N atxa bonberu   dja   da-**m**   bonba na kasa.* (RS-ST)
                              ←
cl find exterminator perf give-cl spray in house
'I found that the exterminator had sprayed my house.'

However, in double object constructions such as (48), when the object clitic (in this case, *m*) is followed by another pronominal (a nonclitic, in this case, *el*), it is syntactically an enclitic to V but also a phonological proclitic to the following pronominal. In Klavans' framework, clitics such as -*m* in (48) are clitics with dual citizenship:

(48) *N atxa bonberu   dja   da-**m**-**el**   na kasa.*
                             →
cl find exterminator perf give-cl-noncl in house
'I found that the exterminator had given it to me in my house.'

---

6. The arrow in (44) indicates the direction of phonological cliticization.

The concept of clitics with dual citizenship is further illustrated by examples such as (49), (50) and (51). (49) and (50) show that the host may not be strictly V. For instance, in (49), *e* syntactically cliticizes to NEG but phonologically cliticizes to the complementizer *pa*.

(49)   *N fla-l   p' e ka da bonba.* (RS-ST)
                    ←
       CL tell-him for he NEG give spray
       'I asked him not to spray.'

In (50), the transformation of *ki > k'e* shows that the enclitic phonologically binds to the left, i.e., to the complementizer C^0 due to phonotactic requirements, although the syntactic host occurs to the right, in this case the aspect marker *ta*.

(50)   *Modi k'e   ta   torna bibu?* (T. V. da Silva, 1987: 135)
       how COMP+he TMA turn alive
       'How would he still be alive?'

Finally, in (51), *e* phonologically cliticizes to C^0 and syntactically cliticizes to V.

(51)   *Góra k'e   mara-l.* (T. V. da Silva, 1987: 135)
       now COMP+he tie-it
       'Then he tied it up better than ever.'

Unlike simpler models of cliticization that described clitics as falling into two categories, proclitics and enclitics, Klavans' framework accounts for the fact that a clitic may be simultaneously a syntactic proclitic and a phonological enclitic, or vice versa. The examples in (49)–(51) show that the surface phonological host, in this case, the complementizer, is different from the structural host V. This is represented in the figure in (52):

(52)
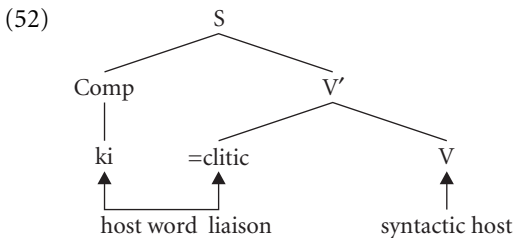
Evidence that such examples illustrate phonological cliticization to the left and not syntactic cliticization resides in the behavior of nonclitic pronominals when they undergo the same process, as illustrated in (45) above.

To summarize, Klavans' framework allows for the classification of Cape Verdean verbal clitics into four types: proclitics, enclitics, and subject and object clitics with dual citizenship. Table 4 represents the four types of clitics just illustrated, following Klavans' parametric system.

Table 4. Cape Verdean Creole clitic typology

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
P1	subject CL	subject CL	object CL	object CL
P2	V	V	V	V
P3	initial	initial	final	final
P4	before	before	after	after
P5	proclitic	enclitic	enclitic	proclitic

In the next section, I examine the licensing conditions on cliticization in CVC.

8.6 Licensing conditions on cliticization in Cape Verdean Creole: An analysis

So far, one of the properties of Cape Verdean verbal clitics that has been observed is their dual citizenship. A second property is a ban on clitic clusters. The ban on clitic clusters in CVC may be observed in sentences with ditransitive verbs hosting two pronominals. (53a) shows that a clitic/nonclitic sequence is acceptable, whereas a clitic-clitic sequence yields ungrammaticality (53b).[7]

(53) a. *Bu Avo   da-**nu** bo.*   (Cape Verdean Creole)
          your grand-mother give-CL NONCL
          'Your grand-mother gave you to us.'
      b. **Bu Avo   da-**nu** bu.*
          your grand-mother give-CL CL

---

7. As far as double object pronominal constructions are concerned, Continental Portuguese merges the indirect and direct object pronouns in the same sequence as CVC, as shown in (i):

(i) *Ele vendeu-**lho**.*   (Continental Portuguese)
     he sold to him+it (MASC)
     'He sold it to him.'

This point contrasts Cape Verdean clitics with French clitics for instance that do allow such cluster formation. Indeed, in French, the only element that may intervene between a clitic and a verb is another clitic, as illustrated in (54):

(54) a. *__Il   souvent__ *voit Paula et   Alexandra.* (French)
          CL often   sees Paula and Alexandra
      b. __Il   les__   *voit souvent.*
          he them sees often
          'He often sees them.'

As far as object clitics are concerned, they may appear only to the right of the verb in CVC. This copies the position of object clitics in Continental Portuguese, as shown in (55):[8]

(55) *Ele conhece-__me__.* (Continental Portuguese)
          he knows me
          'He knows me.'

The ban on clitic clusters observed in (53b) leads to the following generalization: object clitics must appear immediately adjacent to the right of a verb stem; hence, only one clitic is allowed adjacent to the right of the verb.

At this point, it is worth observing that it may be potentially problematic to reduce the data in (53) to strictly a ban on clitic clustering. Indeed, a similar phenomenon is displayed by the copula-like morpheme *e*, which only selects nonclitics in subject position, as shown in (56) (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5 for an extensive treatment of this phenomenon in the area of copular predication).

(56) a. *Sin, __mi__   e   un karpinteru.* (RS-ST)
          yes NONCL COP a   carpenter
          'Yes, I am a carpenter.'
      b. *__Sin, N e__   un karpinteru.*
          yes CL COP a   carpenter

Such a ban should not a priori apply to the data in (56), given that *e* displays verbal properties. As a copula, it should be able to take a clitic in subject position. We may resolve this puzzle by proposing that *e* is a verbal clitic and as

---

8. Interestingly, Brazilian Portuguese only displays pre-verbal object clitics, as shown in (i).

(i)   *Ele __me__ conhece.* (Brazilian Portuguese)
          he me knows
          'He knows me.'

such, cannot lean against another clitic. In viewing this as some type of double clitic constraint, we may account for other data in the language involving clitics and affixes. Indeed, another type of double clitic constraint may be observed between affixes and clitics. More precisely, when the verb stem is bare, the clitic object cliticizes to it, as shown in (7) above and (57) below:

(57) *E bota-**m**   un ajudinha sin.* (RS-ST)
      CL throw-me a   little help yes
      'Yes, she gave me some little help.'

However, when the verb is inflected with the anterior marker *-ba*, cliticization is blocked, as no clitic may be generated to cliticize onto the verb; this is shown in (58b/c). Instead, a nonclitic *must* appear in the complement position, as illustrated in (58a):

(58) a. *Nha xefri   dja   fraba   **mi**.* (RS-ST)
          my   leader PERF tell+ANT me
          'My leader had told me so.'
      b. **Nha xefri   dja   fra-**m**-ba.*
          my   leader PERF tell+me+ANT
      c. **Nha xefri   dja   fra-ba-**m**.*
          my   leader PERF tell+ANT+me

(58b) and (58c) show that cliticization and affixation are incompatible processes in CVC, and on a rule ordering hierarchy, affixation must occur first and precludes cliticization, as schematized in (59a). If cliticization occurred first, this would yield the wrong sequential output in (59b). Instead, affixation occurs and triggers the appearance of a nonclitic, as illustrated in (59c).

(59) a. *[[verb+inflection] clitic]
      b. *[[verb+clitic] inflection]
      c. [[verb+inflection] nonclitic]

This state of affairs shows that in CVC, object cliticization occurs under strict locality conditions to V. It is not possible to have a nonclitic object adjacent to a verb stem. Only clitics may appear in such positions.

One way of accounting for the data in (57)–(58) is to assume that the basic configuration of the object clitic is as represented in (60):

(60)
```
            V
           / \
          V   CL
```
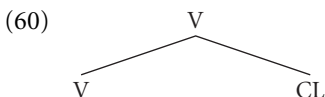
At PF, the clitic needs to be adjacent to the verb, obeying strict adjacency constraints. Hence, configurations like (61) are ruled out in CVC.

(61)

```
                        *T
                ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                T                      clitic
          ┌─────┴─────┐
          V           T
                      │
                     -ba
```
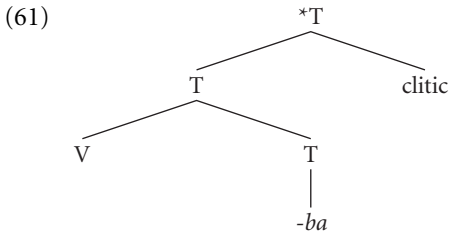
In order to account for (61), it is necessary to postulate that suffixation occurs at Spell-out, whereas the cliticization of the object occurs between Spell-out and PF.

In summary, the two types of clitic doubling constraints can be described as follows: CVC bans clustering between pronominal clitics, and it also bans cliticization of a clitic to an affix.

Some of the properties characteristic of CVC are in this respect reminiscent of those of Hebrew (cf. Schlonsky, 1994). There are naturally differences between the two languages and the following reflect CVC clitic properties.

(62)   Properties:
   a.   Subject clitics occur immediately to the left of a host that may be V, NEG or a TMA marker; object clitics occur immediately to the right of V.
   b.   As a result, object clitics always cliticize to the closest c-commanding head, which is V.
   c.   Subject clitics may cliticize syntactically onto lexical categories such as V, functional heads such as TMA markers or Neg. They may also cliticize phonologically onto C^0 in embedded clauses.
   d.   Clitics do not manifest case distinctions.
   e.   Clitics never cluster, entailing a single clitic per host.
   f.   Clitics bear no morphological resemblance to nominal determiners, contrary to languages such as Portuguese or French, in which the determiner is homophonous with the object clitic.[9]

---

9. The homophony between the determiner and the object clitic is illustrated in (i) for Portuguese and (ii) for French:

(i)   a.   *João viu **o** caro.* (Portuguese)
           João saw the car
           'João saw the car.'

The emerging pattern is that CVC clitics must be licensed by affixation directly onto the category governing them. There is indeed in all examples considered above, a consistent pattern of local affixation to the governor. In other words, clitics must be sisters to their hosts.

The strict locality on clitic attachment, i.e., the fact that object clitics and Cape Verdean clitics in general are manifested on their 'closest' host, could be viewed as a Head Movement Constraint. This accounts for the incompatibility between suffixation of an inflectional Tense marker and cliticization, as the Tense marker disrupts the locality condition required for cliticization to take place. As discussed in Chapter 6, I assume that TP is located between AgrP and VP and postulate a biclausal architecture for CVC. Hence, the sentence in (63) is represented by the tree in (64). I have added to the tree in (64) one more morpheme *ta* to illustrate the biclausal structure I propose:

(63) *Yvo **staba** ta buaba. E larga se pai,   e larga se mai.*   (YV-ST)
    Yvo was   TMA fly+ANT he leave his father he leave his mother
    'Yvo was flying, he left his father, he left his mother.'

---

    b. *João viu-**o**.*
        João saw it
        'João saw it.'
(ii) a. *Jean mange **le** plat de bouillabaisse.* (French)
        Jean eat   the dish of bouillabaisse
        'Jean eats the bouillabaisse dish.'
    b. *Jean **le** mange.*
        Jean it eats
        'Jean eats it.'

(64)   AgrP
        /   \
     Spec   Agr′
     Yvo   /   \
           Agr   AuxP
                  /   \
               Spec   Aux′
                       /   \
                    Aux   TP
                    ta   /   \
                         Spec   T′
                                /   \
                               T   VP
                               ↑   /   \
                                  Spec   V′
                                         /   \
                                        V   AuxP
                                     staba   /   \
                                            Spec   Aux′
                                                   /   \
                                                Aux   TP
                                                ta   /   \
                                                     Spec   T′
                                                            /   \
                                                           T   VP
                                                           ↑   /   \
                                                              Spec   V
                                                                     / \
                                                                    V
                                                                 buaba
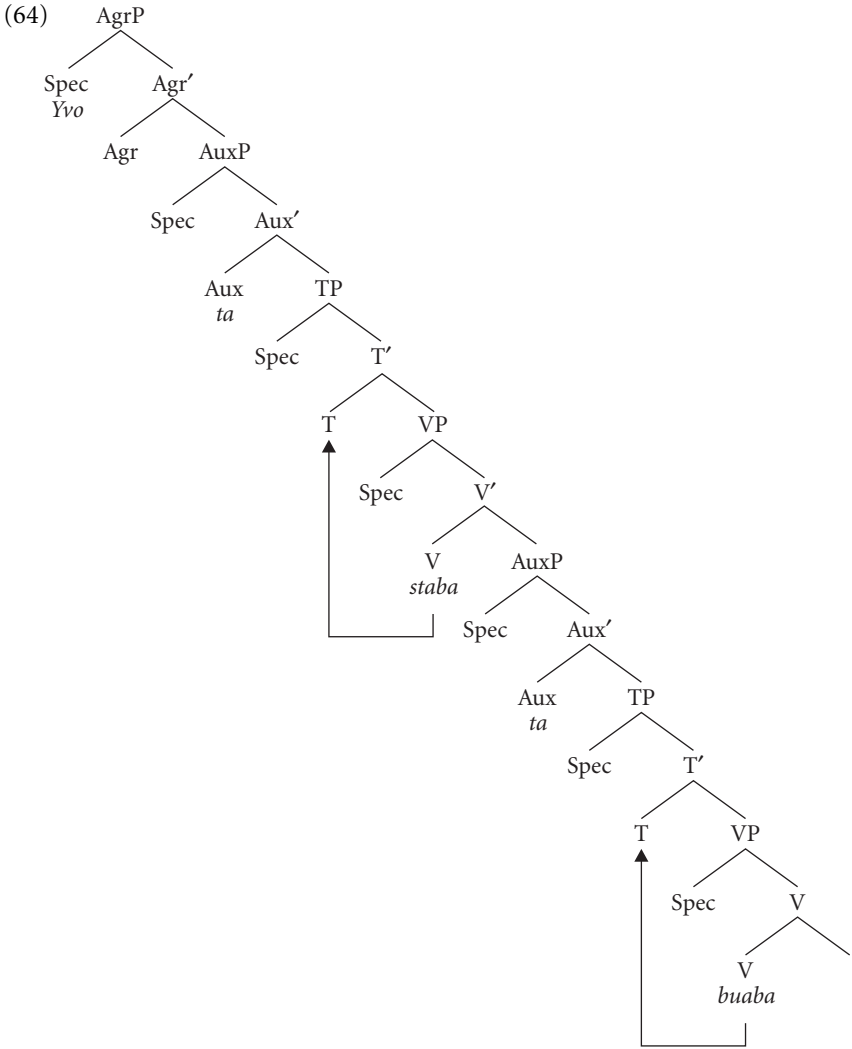
In the case of transitive verbs (like *kume* 'to eat') involving clitic objects, the impossibility of (65a), where the clitic could not occur adjacent to the tense inflection, shows that V-raising, hence Tense feature checking, occurs prior to cliticization and precludes the latter. The presence of the anterior marker requires the appearance of a nonclitic, as shown in (65b).

(65)   a. *_João ta   sta**ba**   ta   kume-**l-ba**._
           João TMA be+ANT TMA eat-it (CL)+ANT

b. *João ta   staba   ta   kumeba el.*
João TMA be+ANT TMA eat+ANT it (NONCL)
'João would have been eating it.'

In summary, we have identified the licensing conditions on cliticization including two types of clitic doubling constraints operating in the language: CVC bans clustering between pronominal clitics, and it also bans cliticization of a clitic to an affix.

In the next section, I elaborate on the exact structural positions of the various types of pronominals in the language. A new and more comprehensive typology of CVC pronominals will be designed, based on Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1996, 1999).

8.7 Toward a typology of pronominals

8.7.1 Three classes of pronominals: Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1996, 1999)

Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1996, 1999) assumed that there are not two but three types of pronominals cross-linguistically: strong pronouns, weak pronouns and clitic pronouns. They use the term deficient to refer to both clitic and weak pronouns. This innovative proposal has a significant impact on describing more accurately the pronominal properties of Romance and Germanic languages but also, as will be seen below, the pronominal system of natural languages such as CVC.

8.7.1.1 *Theoretical assumptions*
The core of Cardinaletti & Starke's proposal is that there is only one system of pronominals involving strong, weak and clitic pronouns; languages differ with respect to which class they lexicalize, or they may lexicalize all three. Cardinaletti & Starke argued that what determines the choice of one class of pronominals over another is the Choice Principle. The Choice Principle represents an effort to account for the choice ordering among strong and deficient pronouns: clitics are chosen over weak pronouns and weak pronouns are in turn chosen over strong pronouns. The strong form is impossible where the deficient form is possible and the strong form is possible where the deficient pronoun is excluded due to contrastive stress, coordination or c-modification (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999: 153). This hierarchy is represented in (66) and the tripartition diagrammed in (67):

(66)   Clitic < weak form < strong form (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999: 175)

(67)
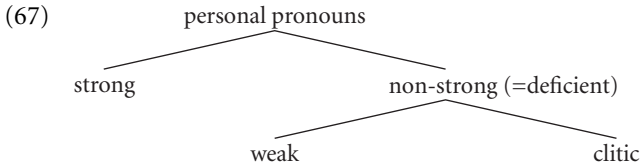
(Cardinaletti, 1999: 62)

Cardinaletti & Starke specified that the Choice Principle is not a primitive; instead, the Economy of Representation must be the underlying primitive. The properties of the underlying system governed by the Choice Principle are listed in (68):

(68)   a.   Choice among pronoun classes
        b.   Coordination with shared subject pronouns
        c.   Facts about human reference
        d.   XP versus X^0 positions of pronouns

        (68a) stipulates that a rule hierarchy dictates the use of clitics over weak pronouns and that of weak pronouns over strong pronouns.
        (68b) stipulates that only strong pronouns may be coordinated or modified.
        (68c) stipulates that only strong pronouns can refer to humans.
        (68d) stipulates that strong and weak pronouns can occupy XP positions whereas clitics can only be X^0.

In this section, I explore to what extent Cardinaletti & Starke's system applies to the Cape Verdean case.

        In languages like CVC, where deficient and strong personal pronouns exhibit different morphology, a sentence such as (69) may in theory have two variants for the object pronoun, a strong form or a deficient form. However, only one variant is available, and that is the most reduced one:

(69)   a.   *João odja-**bu**.*
              João see-CL
              'João saw you.'
        b.   **João odja *bo*.*
              João see   NONCL

Interestingly, the strong pronoun *bo* in (69b) can be replaced with a full NP and yield a grammatical output, as shown in (70):

(70)   *N odja bonberu.*   (RM-ST)
       I   see   exterminator
       'I saw an exterminator.'

This state of affairs is problematic for the original generalization that strong pronouns have an identical distribution to full noun phrases. It is, however, important to remember that strong pronouns cannot appear in object position of bare stem verbs (71a) but must appear as objects of inflected verbs (72), rescuing the prediction that full NPs and strong pronouns may have the same distribution:

(71)   a.   **João odja **ami/mi**.*
            João see   me
       b.   *João odja-**m**.*
            João see-me
            'João saw me.'

(72)   *João odjaba   **mi**.*
       João see+ANT me
       'João had seen me.'

This leads us to question whether the full object NPs hold the same position as object nonclitics when (Tense) feature checking occurs and whether a hierarchical placement may favor the appearance of a clitic over that of a nonclitic in object position. Let us temporarily set this issue aside, as we will revisit it in Section 8.8.

Furthermore, as Cardinaletti & Starke originally observed, the strong variant is not altogether excluded from an object position; it may appear in coordinated constructions or in cases where the pronominal is modified, as illustrated in (73a) and (73b), respectively.

(73)   a.   *Se pai   sota **bo** ku   bu   irmon.*
            his father beat you with your brother
            'His father beat up you and your brother.'
       b.   *Se pai   sota **bo** so.*
            his father beat you only
            'His father beat up only you.'

In summary, the strong variant can be used only if the deficient variant is not accessible in the contexts of coordination or c-modification. The most deficient form must be used otherwise. Hence, if a clitic is available, it must be used, as illustrated in (69a) or (74) below. Regarding the contrast displayed by the examples (75) and (76), it is worth asking why *el* in (75) is disallowed after the

adverb but is allowed in the same contexts where a strong pronoun would appear, as for instance in coordinated structures (76).

(74) *João konbida-l senpri.*
João invite-him always
'João always invited him.'

(75) **João konbida senpri el.*
João invite   always him

(76) *João konbida senpri el   ku   se irmon.*
João invite   always him with his brother
'João always invited him and his brother.'

Cardinaletti & Starke (1996:34) accounted for this by means of the Choice Principle and argued that a pronoun like *el* is ambiguous between two distinct entities, a weak form and a strong counterpart.[10] The weak *el* in (75) cannot appear in isolation but its strong homophonous counterpart (which can be coordinated) may surface (76).

The Choice Principle predicts that a strong pronoun can surface only if the weak one is independently impossible. On this issue, it is worth adding to Cardinaletti & Starke's assumptions that some type of heavy NP shift principle is also operating. (76) shows that a coordinated constituent can be shifted to the right due to its heaviness. In contrast to (76), the pronoun in (75) cannot undergo heavy NP shift due to its lightness.

Another prediction of the underlying pronominal system Cardinaletti & Starke propose is that strong pronouns can refer only to humans, whereas clitic and weak pronouns can refer to humans and nonhumans. Consider the sentences in (77). In (77b), if the strong pronoun refers to a nonhuman, the sentence turns out to be ungrammatical.[11] On the other hand, if it refers to a human, the output is grammatical, as shown in (77a).[12]

(77) a. ***Ael/el**, N gosta d'el.*   [+human]
him   I like of+him
'Him, I like him.'

---

10. Cardinaletti & Starke (1994) noted that the German pronoun *ihn* 'him' (ACC.MASC.SG) displays the same ambiguity.

11. A demonstrative would be used instead (ex: *N gosta di **keli*** 'I like this one').

12. This is a feature found in a variety of languages. As noted in Cardinaletti & Starke (1999:181), the Spanish dummy marker *a* and the Rumanian *pe* force a [+human] interpretation.

    b. *__Ael/el__, N gosta d'el.* [−human]
        it   I like of+it.

Cardinaletti & Starke also noted that strong pronouns like *el* do not need to remain in a local relation to the verb to which they are linked due to the presence of a [+human] entity. However, if the referent of *el* changes to [−human], then nonlocal movement becomes impossible, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (77b).

    Another fact that these authors observed is that strong pronouns cannot be coordinated if they refer to nonhumans, as shown by the Cape Verdean sentence in (78a). It is important to emphasize that in (78a), *el* is used deictically. If the referent is nonhuman, demonstratives must be used instead, as shown in (78b).

(78) a.   *N po __el__   ku __el__   riba di kama.* [*−human] [+human]
          I put him/*it and him/*it top of bed
          'I put him and him on top of the bed.'
      b.   *N po __kel-li__   ku __kel-la__   riba di kama.* [−human] [*+human]
          I put this one and that one top of bed
          'I put this one and that one on top of the bed.'

Recall that in Cape Verdean coordinated constructions, long forms of strong pronouns cannot appear; only short forms may (cf. Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2.2). If those short forms refer to nonhumans, the output will be ungrammatical; only if they refer to humans will the output be acceptable. Note that noncoordinated *el* can refer to either a human or a nonhuman, as illustrated by (79):

(79) a.   *João, N gosta d'__el__.*
          João I like of+him
          'João, I like him.'
      b.   *Kel kaza, N gosta d'__el__.*
          that house I like of+it
          'That house, I like it.'

In summary, the asymmetry between the *el* that can be coordinated but cannot refer to nonhuman entities and the *el* that cannot be coordinated but can refer to nonhuman entities is a direct consequence of the proposed underlying pronominal system, given that *el* is ambiguous. Strong *el* can be coordinated, modified, is not subject to locality constraints and must refer to humans. In contrast, weak *el* cannot be coordinated, cannot be modified, is subject to

locality constraints, and can refer to both humans and nonhumans.

These properties are summarized in Table 5 (adapted from Cardinaletti & Starke, 1994: 26).

Table 5. Properties of Cape Verdean Creole pronominal typology

Strong	Weak	Clitic
el/ael	*el*	*-(e)l*
[+human/*−human]	[−human/+human]	[−human/+human]
no locality constraints	locality constraints	locality constraints
modification	*modification	*modification
coordination	*coordination	*coordination

Such properties have positional, structural and case correlates, which we examine in the next subsection.

8.7.1.2   *Structural deficiency*

Cardinaletti & Starke (1994: 26) argued that a more deficient pronoun is morphologically lighter than a stronger pronoun because it contains fewer underlying morphemes, and it contains fewer morphemes because it realizes fewer syntactic heads. As Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 177) put it, given that inflectional morphology has been demonstrated to have an impact on syntax, the morphological asymmetry between weak pronouns and clitics can easily be predicted. This is schematized in (80):

(80)   a.   clitic < weak < strong
       b.   morph(clitic) < morph(weak) < morph(strong)
       c.   struct(clitic) < struct(weak) < struct(strong)

They argued further that the syntactic structure of deficient pronouns is itself deficient. This is represented in (81), where γ is an abstract primitive (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1994: 26, 1999: 179).

(81)   *Structural deficiency*
       γ = lacking a set of functional heads.

The distinction between weak and clitic pronouns can be expressed in terms of their X-bar theoretic status. At the end of the derivation, weak pronouns are deficient maximal projections occurring in specifier positions, whereas clitic pronouns are heads, adjoined to a functional head (Cardinaletti, 1999: 63).

These authors' underlying assumption is that a strong pronoun is endowed with a CP layer, and just as a weak element lacks the superior layer of strong elements CP, clitic elements lack the superior layer of weak elements ΣP. The resulting structures of the three classes are illustrated in (82) (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999: 195). In the following diagrams, Σ^0 stands for a nominal and L for any lexical category:

(82)   a.   strong pronoun

$$
\begin{array}{c}
C_L P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
C_L^0 \qquad \Sigma_L P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\Sigma_L^0 \qquad I_L P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
I_L^0 \qquad LP
\end{array}
$$

(LP = DP)

b.   weak pronoun

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\Sigma_L P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\Sigma_L^0 \qquad I_L P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
I_L^0 \qquad LP
\end{array}
$$

c.   clitic pronoun

$$
\begin{array}{c}
I_L P \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
I_L^0 \qquad LP
\end{array}
$$
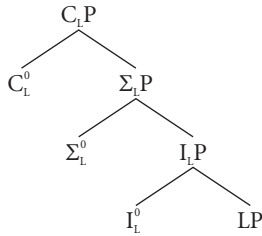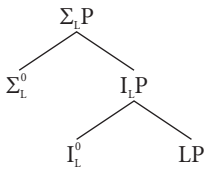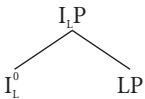
The agreement can take place within two possible configurations with an X: Spec–Head agreement and incorporation. In this regard, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 196) provide the following derivation:

(83)

FP
├── $X^0_i + F^0$
└── GP
    ├── XP_i
    └── •
        ├── G^0
        └── VP
            └── XP_i
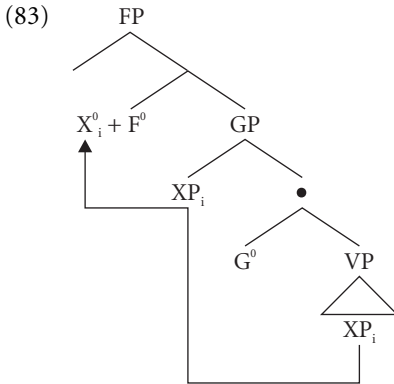
In the spirit of minimalism, this state of affairs is assumed to be governed by the principle in (84) (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999: 198):

(84)   Economy of Representation
       Minimize Structure

In the next section, I propose three types of structures for strong forms, weak forms and clitics in CVC.

8.8   The structural typology of Cape Verdean Creole pronominals

In this subsection, I lay out two possible analyses to account for the distribution of strong forms, weak forms and clitics in CVC.

First, I attempt to account for the distribution of CVC pronominals in terms of case properties, following Cardinaletti & Starke's (1994) assumptions about the structural representation of each type of pronominal. I then show the problems that this analysis raises for the distribution of full NPs in CVC and other languages such as Spanish.

Second, I explore the more promising lead offered by the Choice Principle and show how it accounts in a more natural way for the distribution of Cape Verdean pronominals.

Let us turn to the first lead. It has already been observed that neither object short forms nor long forms may receive accusative case directly in object position (when adjacent to the bare stem of the verb) (cf. Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2.2). This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (71), repeated here as (85):

(85) *João odja **ami/mi.**
      João see   me

One can account for such distributional facts if one postulates that *a* in the long form may be a preposition assigning inherent case to the nonclitic; if it is a preposition, this would explain why it cannot be preceded by another preposition, as that preposition would be a case-assigner. On the other hand, such explanation cannot hold for the short form of the nonclitic in the absence of a preposition, a topic I will revisit shortly.

Incidentally, the CVC *ami/mi* pair has an Italian counterpart in *a loro/loro* 'to them'. On this issue, Cardinaletti & Starke have argued that the dummy preposition *a* in Italian is syntactically projected and the correlate to this assumption is that a more deficient pronoun is morphologically lighter than stronger pronouns, as they contain fewer underlying morphemes, hence, realize less syntactic heads. In this view, just like *loro/a loro*, the CVC strong pronoun could be viewed as being composed of the weak pronoun and the preposition *a*. Interestingly, in Italian, the presence of the dummy marker *a* correlates with the possibility of coordination and c-modification[13] but in CVC, a different picture emerges as a strong long form pronoun cannot be coordinated with another strong long form pronoun. Only a weak pronoun or what looks like a weak pronoun may appear as the second component of the coordinated structure:

(86) a. **abo ku ael*
          you and him
      b. *abo ku el*
          you with him
          'you and him'

The apparent puzzle in (86) can, however, be resolved if we hold to the previous postulate that *a* in *abo* is a preposition. As such, it will not tolerate being adjoined as a second component to another preposition such as *ku* 'with', as the prepositional slot would already be occupied with *ku*. If strong pronouns are indeed endowed with a CP layer, one can postulate that when two strong pronouns are coordinated the first C^0 would be occupied by *a* and the second C^0 by a preposition like *ku*. The slot being already filled with a preposition, one

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13. Interestingly, Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) observed that *a* in Italian pronominals also has the property of referring to humans exclusively. Hence, they assume that *a* is lexically specified [+human] and that this may be a default feature in natural languages. Structurally speaking, C^0 may contain [+human] specification which accounts for the fact that only strong pronouns endowed with the CP layer refer exclusively to humans whereas in contrast, weak pronouns, deprived of the C^0 do not. Cape Verdean pronouns have displayed the same property, as long forms of strong pronominals (ex: *ami*, *ael*…) refer exclusively to humans.

would predict that *a* could not appear on the second component of the coordinated structure. This would account for the apparent asymmetry in (86).

As noted by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999: 183), a dummy marker like *a* always appears topmost (leftmost in SVO languages) in nominal phrases, hence they project the highest functional projection in the tree. As a result, the presence or absence of *a* is connected to structural strength or deficiency.

Returning to the example in (85) (***João odja ami/mi*), an account is quite transparent in the case of the long form, if one assumes that the ungrammaticality is due to the fact that the pronoun has already received case from the preposition. However, the source of the ungrammaticality is not as clear for the short form. Cardinaletti & Starke offer a solution for the Italian pair *loro/a loro* that is readily adaptable to CVC: they assume that in the case of *loro*, the preposition may be null. Any strong element will contain such a complementizer-like preposition, whether realized or not. Hence, the long form would have the structure in (87), where the preposition is realized:

(87) strong long form

```
          CP
         /  \
       C⁰    XP
        a     mi
```
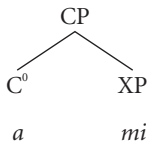
Strong elements appearing without a lexically realized preposition would be assigned the structure in (88):

(88) strong short form

```
          CP
         /  \
       C⁰    XP
        Ø     mi
```
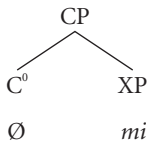
The projection of the phonologically null preposition would prevent case assignment from the bare stem of the verb.[14]

Let us now turn to the structure of weak pronouns. Due to the absence of a CP layer, weak pronouns are structurally deficient. Since deficient elements

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[14] Note, however, that this analysis still does not explain why *mi* may appear after the verb when the latter is inflected with the Anterior marker *-ba*, as in *João odjaba-mi* 'João had seen me.' We revisit this apparent problem further down in this section.

lack C^0, they do not contain any (functional) case-feature (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1994:31). Assuming that every NP must be associated with a case-feature, then, we can infer that deficient, but not strong, elements must undergo some process allowing them to be associated with the case-feature. In this context, the natural interpretation of X, if associated with α, is that either X contains α or X is in a local configuration with an element containing α. If one makes the traditional assumption that AGR is necessary for case-assignment, this explains why deficient elements need to occur in a local structural configuration with AGR. This also explains why weak pronouns need to remain in a local relation to the verb. If a weak pronoun is displaced, the displacement destroys the local configuration with AGR and the deficient pronoun lacks case, which yields an ungrammatical sentence. Hence, the local relation between the weak pronoun and AGR must be maintained. In the case of object clitics, it is reasonable to assume that they get case via incorporation to the verb stem. However, in the cases where the verb checks tense features overtly (via the inflection -*ba*), the intervention of T prevents direct incorporation of the clitic and case assignment from the verb. In such a situation, a nonclitic appears and gets case from T.

The ban on coordination of deficient pronouns could be treated similarly: being embedded inside a coordination, the deficient pronoun is not in an adequate local configuration with AGR^0, is thus not associated with case, and is consequently uninterpretable. Because weak pronouns are XPs, they establish a local relation with AGR^0 by appearing in SpecAgrP, as illustrated in (89).

(89) weak form
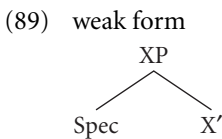
Within a traditional X-bar model, local configurations with X^0 may mean one or two things:

Spec–Head agreement with X^0, or incorporation into X^0, as stated in (90).

(90) Spec–Head Agreement with X^0, or incorporation into X^0.
      (Cardinaletti & Starke (1994))

Hence, weak pronouns appear in a Spec–Head agreement relation with a case-assigner, whereas strong pronouns incorporate a case-assigning preposition.

There are, however, two problems regarding the proposal that nonclitic long forms cannot appear in positions where they would get case from the verb,

presumably because they are already receiving the case they need from the preposition *a*. In the case of topicalized NPs, as in (91), one would wonder how the NP *João* is getting case, given the absence of a preposition.[15]

(91)　*João, N odja-l.*
　　　João I　see-him
　　　'João, I saw.'

The second problem rises for languages like Spanish, in which animate NPs in object position are preceded by a presumably case-assigning preposition. This type of construction is shown in (92):

(92)　*Juan vió　a Raina.* (Spanish)
　　　Juan saw a Raina
　　　'Juan saw Raina.'

My analysis ruled out the appearance of Cape Verdean long forms in a position where they could get case on the grounds that the preposition had already assigned case to them. This would be in violation of the case theory, as the nonclitic would be assigned case from two sources: the verb and the preposition. This analysis would not hold for Spanish constructions like (92). This suggests a second approach to the problem.

　　　We now turn to a more promising lead offered by a combination of the Choice Principle (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1996) with the double-clitic constraint (previously mentioned in Section 8.6). In Subsection 8.7.1.1, we discussed the Choice Principle as representing an effort to account for the choice ordering among strong and deficient pronouns: it basically states that clitics are chosen over weak pronouns and weak pronouns are in turn chosen over strong pronouns. Such a principle accounts for why in (93), the occurrence of the weak or strong pronoun is impossible (93b): as the clitic is available, it must be used (93a).

(93)　a.　*João odja-**m**.*
　　　　　João see-CL
　　　　　'Joao saw me.'
　　　b.　**João odja-**mi**.*
　　　　　João saw-NONCL

On the other hand, the strong forms must appear in dislocated positions, as in (94), because weak forms and clitics are not available in such positions:

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15. One could then argue that it gets case from a null preposition, as would the short forms of nonclitics.

(94) a. ***Abo/bo, N gosta di bo.***
          NONCL I like of you
          'You, I like you.'
    b. ****Bu, N gosta di bo.***
          CL I like of you

For the same example, one can explain why the clitic cannot occur after the preposition (*N gosta di bu) if one assumes that prepositions cannot support clitics. Now, consider the example in (95):

(95) a. *El odjaba   **mi.***
          he see+ANT me
          'He had seen me.'
    b. **El odjaba-**m***
          he see+ANT-CL

The ungrammaticality of (95b) is accounted for by assuming that *-ba* behaves like a clitic, as it cliticizes to the verb stem. Hence, *-ba* obeys the double-clitic constraint and as a result, no clitic is available to appear after it. As for the example in (96), we can hypothesize that the clitic is not available in such constructions for the following reason: *mi* is the weakest form available because the copula *e* is too light to support a clitic (96b).

(96) a. ***Mi   e   skerdu,   N ta   skrebe ku   skerda.***   (DI-ST)
          NONCL COP left-handed I TMA write with right-hand
          'I am left-handed, I write with my left hand.'
    b. ***N e   skerdu***
          CL COP left-handed

To sum up this analysis, we have shown that a combination of the Choice Principle and the double-clitic constraint account for the full range of pronominal distribution in CVC.

The three-fold objective of this chapter can be summarized as follows: first, I have described the distribution of Cape Verdean clitics and nonclitics and accounted for their distributional properties in terms of constraints and licensing conditions. Second, following Klavans' (1985,1995) parametric approach to cliticization, I designed a four-category classification of Cape Verdean clitics. Third, using Cardinaletti & Starke's (1994, 1996, 1999) framework, I have shown that the typology of Cape Verdean pronominals involves not two, but three classes: clitics, weak and strong forms. Cardinaletti & Starke's proposal greatly facilitated the otherwise difficult task of describing both

empirically and theoretically the Cape Verdean pronominal system. Such a framework is instrumental in accounting for the morphological, phonological, semantic and syntactic properties of such a rich and complex set of data.

In the next section, I use a variety of empirical evidence and propose that subject clitics in CVC are heads in AGR; hence, subject clitics are syntactic clitics. I also discuss the pro-drop status of this particular creole: the study of the corpus compiled between 1997 and 2001 reveals that arguments endowed with first and second person features may participate as frequently in the pro-drop phenomenon as arguments endowed with the third person feature.

8.9   On the position of subject clitics in Cape Verdean Creole and the implications for its pro-drop status

In this section, I consider the position of subject clitics, as this will determine the pro-drop status of CVC. I claim that on a par with Northern Italian dialects (Rizzi, 1986a; Brandi & Cordin, 1981,1989; Poletto, 1996) and possibly Haitian (DeGraff, 1993b), CVC has subject clitics that are heads in AGR. We see that they are in complementary distribution with full NPs and strong forms that are both XP and occupy SpecAgrSP. We have recourse to two types of tests to back up this hypothesis and compare CVC to French, Fiorentino, Trentino, Basso Polesano and Haitian. We then consider the implications of these findings for the pro-drop status of CVC. We argue that, like the Northern Italian dialects and possibly Haitian, CVC is a pro-drop language that is closer in the distribution of its subject clitics to Basso Polesano than the other Italian dialects.

We begin by considering the basic assumptions behind the pro-drop parameter.

8.9.1   A brief overview of the theory of pro-drop

An early form of the pro-drop theory, articulated in Chomsky (1981), stipulated that a [−anaphoric, +pronominal] null category (*pro*) is allowed in the subject position of a finite clause if the Agreement features on the verb are rich enough to enable its content (the phi-features) to be recovered (cf. Taraldsen's generalization in Jaeggli & Safir, 1989: 241). The difference between pro-drop languages (e.g., Italian) and non-pro-drop languages (e.g., English) is assumed to follow from this basic assumption. Thus Italian allows *pro* in subject position of finite clauses because Agreement features are rich enough. In contrast, English does not because Agreement features are not sufficiently rich.

Huang (1984,1989) noted, however, that in languages like Chinese, *pro* is possible in subject position of finite clauses even though, by hypothesis, AGR is absent. By *no AGR*, we mean that no Agreement morpheme is generated under AGR, as Huang assumed in a pre-Pollock, non-split-IP framework. We must make it clear that absence of Agreement morphology on verbs is not equivalent to absence of AGR in the syntax. The distribution of *pro*, however, is strictly determined by the availability of the closest antecedent. The basic observation is that there is no morphological subject–verb Agreement in Chinese, hence no rich AGR. This led to an interesting addition to the theory, whereby *pro* is permitted in the subject position of a finite clause only if an antecedent or a rich AGR is present. This is still consistent with the basic assumption of the standard pro-drop account based on the principle of Recoverability. In this respect, Rizzi (1986a) distinguished between licensing and identification of *pro*. Licensing of *pro* is syntactic, whereas identification of *pro* is semantic, insofar as reference of *pro* is recovered from previous discourse.

At this point, it would be worthwhile to clarify the typology of pro-drop: first, a language can have genuine subject pro-drop only if it allows referential null subjects without an overt antecedent, as do Italian and Spanish. Consider the following example from Spanish, where the first person singular subject may be absent:

(97)   *(Yo) hablo francés.* (Spanish)
       (I)   speak French
       'I speak French.'

Second, a language may allow only nonreferential null subjects, that is, null expletives, as in Modern Icelandic and, to some extent, German. Such languages are sometimes referred to as semi-pro-drop languages. Consider the following example from German, where only null expletives are allowed, as in (98a), but referential subjects are obligatorily overt and yield otherwise ungrammaticality, as illustrated by (98b):

(98)   a.   *Er sagte, dass ___ ihm scheint, dass Hans den Hund getotet hat.*
            he said   that   him seemed that Hans the dog   *killed has*
            'He said that (it) seemed to him that Hans killed the dog.' (German)
       b.   *Er sagte, dass ___ den Hund getotet hat.* (Haegeman, 1994: 480)
            he said   that   the dog   killed has

Third, a language may allow null topics (either as subjects or as subjects and objects); it is then a topic-drop language. The general idea is that in languages

without rich Agreement morphology, identification of a dropped subject or object is possible through association with an antecedent that is possibly just a discourse-antecedent.

　　Let us consider the following example from Chinese:

(99)　*Zhangsan shuo* [*(ta) lai   le*]. (Chinese)
　　　Zhangsan say   *pro* come ASP
　　　'Zhangsan said that *pro* came.' (Huang, 1989: 188)

In (99) *pro* cannot refer to *Zhangsan* but only to someone else introduced in the previous discourse.[16]

　　　The theory of pro-drop, whether in its standard or modified form, therefore predicts that in the absence of a rich AGR or of an antecedent, *pro* should be excluded as the subject of a finite clause.

　　　There is, however, a last category of languages that have been argued to be pro-drop although they are endowed with overt pronominals. These are the Northern Italian dialects. Rizzi (1986a), Brandi and Cordin (1981, 1989), and Poletto (1996) argued that in those dialects, the clitic pronominals are not in SpecAgrP but in AGR itself. Consider the two representations in (101) and (103) for the Trentino sentences in (100b) and (102):

(100)　a.　*Mario e   parla.* (Fiorentino)
　　　　　Mario he speaks
　　　　　'Mario speaks.'
　　　b.　*La Maria la   parla.* (Trentino)
　　　　　the Maria she talks
　　　　　'Maria talks.' (Brandi & Cordin, 1989: 116)

(101)

```
              Infl″
             /     \
          NP        Infl′
          /\        /    \
         /  \    Infl     VP
        /    \     |      /\
   la Maria  la  parla
```
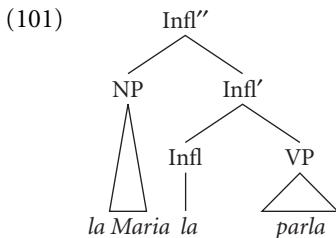
(102)　*Tu parli.* (Trentino)
　　　you speak
　　　'You speak.' (Brandi & Cordin, 1989: 116)

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16. However, Wu (1992) has shown that this is not a general fact of Chinese.

(103)

```
            Infl″
           /    \
         NP      Infl′
          |      /   \
          |    Infl   VP
          |     |      △
        pro    tu    parli
```
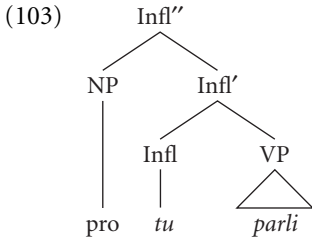
In (101), the subject clitic *la* is described as the spelling out of AGR and bears, as a result, the same features as the subject NP *la Maria*. Brandi and Cordin argued that given the presence of a lexical NP subject, the theta-role is assigned to it, and because the subject clitic is simply the morphological realization of the pronominal features of Infl, it has no argument status, hence does not require any theta-role.

In (103), the subject clitic, as the spelling out of AGR, is able to license and give content to *pro* in subject position. The representation in (103) shows that the subject position is not filled lexically. Because the null subject cannot express the theta-role usually assigned to the subject position, it is the clitic *tu* coindexed with *pro* that expresses the theta-role of subject (Brandi & Cordin, 1989);[17] hence the subject clitic acquires argument status and functions as a referential pronoun.

These examples explain why clitics in Northern Italian dialects like Fiorentino and Trentino have been described as the spelling out of AGR. DeGraff (1993b) made a similar proposal for Haitian.[18] His proposal was based on two observations: first, Haitian exhibits null expletives in weather, existential and raising predicates of the type in (104).

(104)   *Genlè Jak damou.* (Haitian)
        seem Jak in love
        'It seems that Jacques is in love.' (DeGraff, 1993b: 71)

Second, he noted that subject clitics are not in SpecIP (in his framework) but in Infl to spell out AGR features and identify *pro* in SpecIP. Hence, a sentence like (105) is represented as in (106) (DeGraff, 1993: 76):

---

17. Note, however, that contra Brandi and Cordin, it has been shown that Japanese and Korean null subjects can express the theta-role assigned to the subject position.

18. See Déprez (1994) for a different perspective.

(105)   *Li ale.* (Haitian)
     he left
     'He left.'

(106) $[_{AgrSP}[_{NP} pro_i][_{Agr} li_i][_{VP} ale]]$ (adapted from DeGraff, 1993:76)

Clitic AGR in INFL may license *pro* in [NP,S] and subject *pro*, when argumental, is identified by the phi-features of the clitic. In the absence of a preverbal clitic, INFL contains anaphoric null AGR, which requires a binder in [NP,S]. This binder may be null only when the subject position is nonthematic, as in the case of expletives.

    I propose in this section that CVC patterns after the Northern Italian dialects and Haitian. We therefore examine the position of the clitics in CVC as the focus of the next subsection.

8.9.2   Positional properties of subject clitics in Cape Verdean Creole and its pro-drop status

It has already been observed in Section 8.2 that in a number of cases, clitics are in complementary distribution with full NPs and strong forms (or nonclitics). I have recourse to further empirical evidence in the rest of this chapter to sustain the claim that subject clitics are in AGR, whereas full NPs and nonclitics are in SpecAgrSP or topicalized. I will propose that, like the Northern Italian dialects and possibly Haitian, CVC is a pro-drop language.

    In this section, I will also recapitulate a few earlier observations on expletives and argumental pronouns in CVC and propose that CVC subject clitics are syntactic clitics.

    Chapter 3, Section 3.3.8 clearly demonstrated that there are no overt expletives in CVC in weather predicates, as in (107), existential predicates (108), in raising predicates (109), or in impersonal passives (110):

(107)   ***Sta** faze   kalor oji.*
     is   make heat today
     'It's hot today.'

(108)   *Ba podu na prizao, **ten**   sinku dia ka   kume.* (RS-ST)
     go put in jail   have five day without eat
     'We were put in jail and spent five days without eating.'

(109)   *Ma gosi n'es   tenpu, **parse** ki   ta   nase   mas.* (RS-ST)
     but now in this time   seem COMP TMA be born more
     'But it would seem that in these times, more are being born.'

(110)   ***Ta   txomadu*** *so   di noti.* (RS-ST)
    TMA called   only of night
    'We were called only at night.'

Constructions with adjectival predicates, however, require the presence of the morpheme *e*, as shown in (111):

(111)   *E difisi   pa konta nha.* (RS-ST)
    e difficult to tell you
    'It is difficult to tell you.'

DeGraff (1993b, fn. 29: 86) noted a similar dichotomy in Haitian where *li* is obligatory before adjectival predicates but does not appear before the other types of predicates. *Li* in Haitian is clearly an expletive, whereas *e* in CVC in this context behaves more like a copula; the past tense counterpart of (111) is (112):

(112)   *Era difisi   pa konta nha.*
    was difficult to tell you
    'It was difficult to tell you.'

The null expletives in (107)–(110), as null NPs or *pro*, are not assigned thematic roles, hence are not arguments.

  Interestingly, argumental subject pronouns may also be null in CVC. Let us consider the third person singular pronoun: it is optional but in most cases null with an individual-level predicate, and it is also optional but predominantly present with a stage-level predicate, as illustrated in (113) and (114), respectively.

(113)   a. *(El) e nha pai.* (RS-ST)
      he COP my father
      'He is my father.'
    b. *(El) e   spertu.*
      s/he COP smart
      'S/he is smart.'

(114)   a. *Bu sta livri.* (RS-ST)
      you are free
      'You are free.'
    b. *sta   livri.*
      is/are free

A crucial observation is that in (113), the null argument can only be interpreted as third person singular whereas in (114b), the null argument could be interpreted as first person, second or third person singular or plural according to the context. This leads us to the following descriptive generalization about CVC:

(115)   Null subjects of individual-level predicates are recoverable as 3rd person singular argumental pronouns *el* or *e*. In contrast, null subjects of stage-level predicates may be interpreted as 1st, 2nd or 3rd person.

The data in (113) is crucial in showing that the third person features present in both *el* and *e* license in most cases a null argument in CVC. In Baptista (1999), I proposed that if *e* is derived from the third person singular pronominal clitic and has kept among its nominal properties the person and number features of the clitic, this accounts for how the presence of *el* in (113) in SpecAgrSP is redundant, hence optional. As *e* in AGR is endowed with the third person features, the third person feature of the null element *el* (*pro* in SpecAgrSP) is recovered and the sentence is interpreted as having a third person singular subject. On this issue, the Haitian equivalent of *e*, i.e., *se*, has also displayed a double life as a pronoun and as a copula and has been the topic of an interesting debate (cf. DeGraff, 1992a, and Déprez, 1994, to appear). It has also been observed that in languages such as German for instance, the 3rd person neuter pronoun *es* has unique properties that make it distinct from all other pronouns in the language (cf. Cardinaletti, 1999).

In the case of CVC, more empirical evidence seems to suggest that clitics may be in AGR and their nonclitic counterparts canonically (but not necessarily) in SpecAgrSP.

Consider the following data: the clitic may occur on its own, as in (116), amalgamate to the nonclitic with no pause, as in (117), or occur in a position where it has been clearly topicalized and separated from the nonclitic by a pause, as in (118):

(116)   *N ka   sabe kuse ki   tene-m duenti.* (RC-ST)
         cl neg know what comp has-me sick
         'I don't know what has got me sick.'

(117)   *Mi   N bai te   ki'N   txiga.* (RS-ST)
         noncl cl go until comp+I arrive
         'I went until I got there.'

(118)   *Mi,   N fika ku   nha maridu.* (RS-ST)
         noncl cl stay with my husband
         'As for me, I stayed with my husband.'

The data in (117) give us good reason to assume that when the nonclitic and clitic co-occur with no pause, the nonclitic (which "intonationally" speaking, is clearly not topicalized in those cases) occurs in SpecAgrSP and the clitic in AGR.

Alternatively, when a pause occurs (as in (118)), the nonclitic may appear above SpecAgrSP presumably in TopP, while the clitic remains in AGR, identifying and spelling out agreement features, more precisely, person features.

An additional piece of empirical evidence that the nonclitic may occur in SpecAgrSP is that nonclitics always occur in complementary distribution with full NPs, as shown in (119). This leads to the conclusion that both nonclitics and full NPs can be generated in SpecAgrSP. (119c) is ungrammatical due to co-occurrence of the full NP and the nonclitic in the same structural position.

(119) a. *João odja bonberu   ta   ben.*
           João see   exterminator TMA come
           'João saw the exterminator coming.'
       b. *El   odja bonberu   ta   ben.* (RS-ST)
           NONCL see   exterminator TMA come
           'He saw the exterminator coming.'
       c. **João el   odja bonberu   ta   ben.*
           João NONCL see   exterminator TMA come

Naturally, if there is an "intonational" pause between the full NP and the nonclitic, this means that the full NP has been topicalized and is located further up in the tree in TopP. This is illustrated by the example in (120):

(120) *João, el   odja bonberu   ta   ben.*
       João NONCL see   exterminator TMA come
       'João, he saw the exterminator coming.'

This leads us to propose the structure in (122), where the nonclitic canonically occurs in SpecAgrSP and the clitic in AGR. In the absence of nonclitics, the clitics in AGR spell out agreement features.

(121) *Mi   N odja bonberu.*   (RS-ST)
       NONCL CL see   exterminator
       'I saw the exterminator.'

(122)

```
                    AgrSP
                   /     \
               Spec       Agr′
                |        /    \
                |     Agr      VP
                |      |      /   \
                |      |   Spec    V′
                |      |          /   \
                |      |         V     NP
                |      |         |      △
               Mi      N       odja   bonberu
```
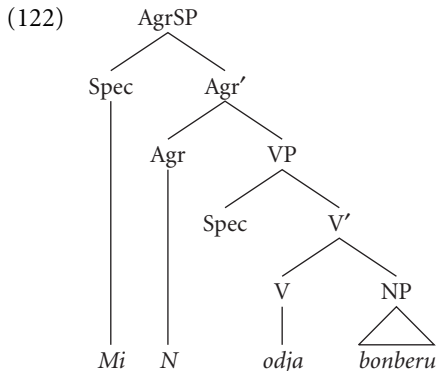
This is reminiscent of Haitian (DeGraff, 1993b) in which pronouns have been argued to be heads and not true NPs.

Finally, further evidence that CVC could even be a genuine pro-drop language is provided by utterances where argumental clitics and nonclitics are entirely dropped, as shown by the examples in (123)–(124).

(123) *Kantu ki   Lion di matu ben   góra, Ø txiga, Ø fla:…*
when COMP lion of wood came then   arrive   say
'When the Lion came from the woods, he arrived and he said…'
(T. V. da Silva, 1987: 123)

(124) *Nho   Lion ka   faze almusu, dja   Ø ba faze pastoría.*
mister Lion NEG make lunch   PERF   go do field
Mister the Lion did not make lunch, he had gone to the fields.'
(T. V. da Silva, 1987: 123)

The data in (123) and (124) are instrumental in showing that the argumental subject may be null and AGR empty, whenever abstract 3rd person features are checked in AGR. The null argumental subject of the verb *txiga* 'arrive' in (123) is represented in (125).

(125) $[_{\text{AgrSP}}[_{\text{NP}} pro_{\text{i}}][_{\text{Agr i}}{}^{3rd}][_{\text{VP}} \text{txiga}]]$

Except for (114), all null subjects mentioned so far are in the third person, which would lead us to think that third person feature is default. Further evidence from the large corpus compiled between 1997 and 2001 shows, however, that in monolingual speech data, 3rd person argumental subjects are not the only ones that may be dropped.

Consider the examples in (126) and (127) in which the 1st person argumental subject is null:

(126)   *Ami   pur akazu, N tene oitente sinku anu, Ø nase   me mil*
        NONCL incidentally I have eighty five year   was born itself thousand
        novsenti kinzi, Ø tene oitenti sinku anu (JDP-FO)
        nine hundred fifteen   have eighty five   year
        'I, incidentally, am eighty five years old, I was born in nineteen fifteen, I
        am eighty five years old.'

(127)   *N bai nha kaza   dja, N bai pega na vivensia   pa konta na nha kaza.*
        I go my house then I go take in livelihood to count in my house
           Panha lenha na montadu, bende… Ø Bende kel fixinhu di lenha,
        Ø took   wood in grove   Ø sell   that piece   of wood,
        Ø ba trabadja djenti, Ø ganha kel   dinhirinhu, Ø ben   kunpra kel
          go work   people   earn that little money come buy   that
        kafizinhu. (IB-BR)
        little coffee
        'I went to my own house then, and went to seek a livelihood relying on my
        home. I would take the wood in the grove and would sell it. I would sell that
        little piece of wood, I would go to work over people's houses, I would earn a
        small sum, I would buy a little coffee.'

Further study of the corpus revealed that second person singular may also be
dropped, as shown in (128):

(128)   *Bo   bu ta   konxe bibla, Ø ta   konxe bibla sagrada, Ø ta   konxe-l.*
        NONCL CL ASP know bible   TMA know bible sacred   TMA know-it
        'You, you know the bible, you know the sacred bible, you know it.'
        (DM-FO)

It is also possible to drop argumental pronouns with plural features. Consider
(129):

(129)   *Mo la   e   sima Merka, kes arvi, si txuba sta ku   bentu, si arvi*
        say there COP like   America the trees if rain   is with wind if trees
        rebenta, da na bo, la   me bu fika. (DM-FO)
        collapse fall on you there itself you stay
        'I tell you, over there it is just like America, the trees, if the rain comes with
        strong winds, if the trees collapse and they fall on you, there you stay.'

The context of the utterance clearly designates the plural word *kes arvi* 'the
trees' as the antecedent of *da na bo* 'fall on you', hence, it can be reasonably
argued that given the right context, arguments with plural number may also be
dropped. This does not preclude us from assuming, however, that third person
feature in CVC is truly the default person, as it is overwhelmingly dropped.

The proposal that Cape Verdean subject clitics are in AGR, is further supported by two tests that were implemented for the Northern Italian dialects (Rizzi, 1986a, Brandi & Cordin, 1981, 1989; Poletto, 1996). The first test involves the behavior of clitic subjects with the negative marker in the imperative, and the second one, VP conjunction.

Let us consider the first test involving cliticization in a post-Neg position in the negative Imperative. Although subject clitics usually occur in a pre-Neg position, as shown in (130), a clitic subject must be post-Neg in the negative Imperative. As noted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.9), the negative imperative in CVC is formed by inverting the clitic and the negative marker, yielding the order in (131):

(130)   **Bu ka** *odja* algen.   (RM-ST)
        you NEG see   someone
        'You did not see anyone.'

(131)   **Ka bu/nu/nhos**   *bai!*
        NEG you/we/you (PL) leave
        'Don't leave/let's not leave/don't leave (PL)!'

This test is crucial in showing the different positions of full NPs and pronominals. Although subject clitics may be inverted with the negative morpheme, such inversion is banned with full NPs, as witnessed by the ungrammaticality of (132):

(132)   *__Ka João__ *bai.*
        NEG João leave

Similar observations about the Northern Italian dialects led Rizzi (1986a) to assume that the negative morpheme and the subject clitic are members of the same cluster, both being in AGR.[19] Hence, we may argue that in (131), both the subject clitic and the negative morpheme are in AGR.

The second test involves VP conjunction. Although a full NP subject may not be repeated in a conjoined clause, as shown in (133), the subject clitic cannot be deleted, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (134b):

(133)   *João bebe se vinhu i   bai se kaminhu.*
        João drink his wine and go his way
        'João drank his wine and went his way.'

---

19. I argued in Chapter 6 that the negative marker *ka* heads the projection NegP; *ka* might then raise to AGR in the same way that the Italian negative morpheme *non* has been said to raise to AGR (Belletti, 1990).

(134)   a.   *E bebe se vinhu i   e bai se kaminhu.*
             he drink his wine and he go his way
             'He drank his wine and went his way.'
        b.   **E bebe se vinhu i   bai se kaminhu.*
             he drink his wine and go his way

Following Rizzi, we may argue that these subject clitics occupy a position strictly associated with the verb. This shows once more that subject clitics and full NPs are in different positions, which corroborates the conclusion that subject full NPs are in SpecAgrSP and clitics in AGR.

Regarding the VP conjunction test, it is worth pointing out that the explanation of the facts in (134) may also lie elsewhere. Indeed, in many languages, cliticization occurs only with a single zero-level V^0. Hence, one could view the ungrammaticality of (134b) as being due to a ban against cliticization to a bracketed constituent of the type [[V and V]]. In other words, *e* cannot appear in (134b) because it cannot cliticize to a bracketed constituent; it must cliticize to a head.[20]

The next question is: what is the function of the clitic in AGR? For Fiorentino and Trentino, the subject clitics have been argued to spell out agreement features in AGR. We follow Poletto (1996), however, in assuming that they do not necessarily serve such a function for other Italian dialects like Basso Polesano or for creoles like CVC. Indeed, in Basso Polesano, it is possible for the subject clitic to be absent and yield a grammatical sentence.

Consider (135), where the subject clitic may be present, as in (135a), or absent, as in (135b); both versions are grammatical:

(135)   a.   *Mario e magna tanto.* (Basso Polesano)
             Mario he eats   a lot
             'Mario eats a lot.'
        b.   *Mario magna tanto.*
             Mario eats   a lot
             'Mario eats a lot.' (Poletto, 1996: 275)

In light of such cases, Poletto noted that if subject clitics were to be assimilated to Agreement morphology, as they have been for the other two dialects, they should be present in every context. In this respect, CVC patterns more like Basso Polesano than the other two dialects, as examples patterning like (135b)

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20. I thank Susumu Kuno (personal communication) for this valuable observation.

are the only ones possible without a pause. I therefore suggest that Cape Verdean clitics are in AGR and that they absorb the theta-role and license a *pro* through a chain that transmits the person and number features (Cape Verdean clitics do not show gender features) of the null subject.

I would propose the representation in (136) to account for the Cape Verdean subject and object clitic position and movement in general. For the sake of clarity, I have numbered each step of the derivation.[21]

(136)

AgrSP
Spec (pro)   AgrS′
AgrS   TP
Spec   T′
T   VP
DP   V′
V   DP
CL
4 3 2 1
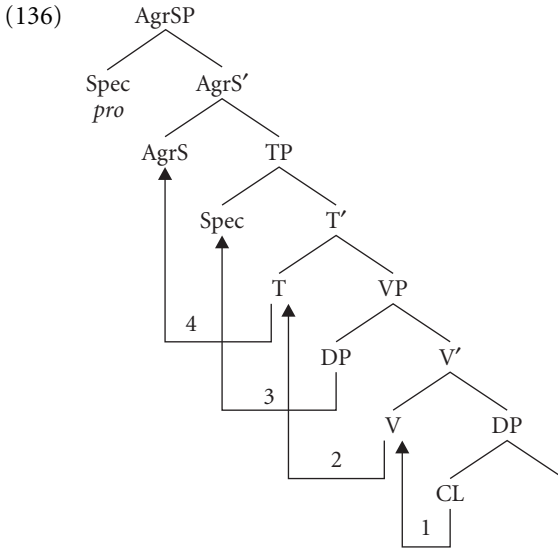
Content of AGRS at the end of the derivation

AgrS
AgrS   T
$CL_{subj.}$ AgrS   T   V
V $CL_{obj.}$
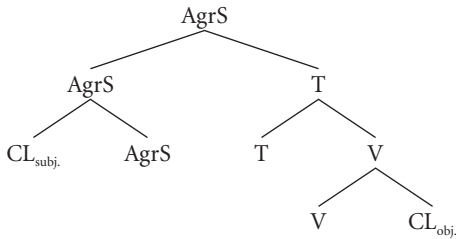
(1) Incorporation of object clitic to V (head)
(2) Overt V^0-to-T^0 raising (head)
(3) Movement to SpecTP to check Nominative case (XP) (following Jonas, 1993)
(4) T^0 to AGRS (possibly covert)

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21. I thank John O'Neil for a fruitful discussion on this issue.

The empirical evidence examined in this section allows us to propose that CVC is a pro-drop language: non-argumental pronouns (expletives) must be dropped. The third person pronoun is preferably dropped with individual-level predicates; the first and second person arguments may be dropped with the proviso that their antecedent be recoverable in the discourse. The pro-drop argument is further supported by assuming that subject clitics occur in AGR and their nonclitic counterpart in SpecAgrP or higher up in the tree. In the event that AGR is morphologically empty, abstract features in AGR are recoverable from the antecedent or context.

8.10 Summary

The goal of this chapter was three-fold: first, it described the distribution of Cape Verdean clitics and nonclitics and accounted for their distributional properties in terms of the Choice Principle and a double-clitic constraint.

Second, following Klavans' (1985, 1995) parametric approach to cliticization, a four-category classification of Cape Verdean clitics was designed. Furthermore, following Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1996, 1999), we argued for the existence of three classes of pronominals in CVC: strong forms, weak forms and clitics.

Third, regarding the structure of these pronominals, we proposed that nonclitics are XPs in SpecAgrP, and using a few tests, I proposed that subject clitics in CVC are heads in AGR; hence, subject clitics are syntactic clitics. Noting that the subject clitics are in AGR, I proposed that CVC is a radical pro-drop language and has, in this respect, the same status as the Northern Italian dialects and possibly Haitian.

8.11 A general conclusion

By investigating a wide range of issues in the morpho-syntax of Cape Verdean Creole, the primary objective of this work has been to provide a comprehensive and exhaustive description of the language. The second objective has been to bring to light the full complexity of the examined morpho-syntactic features using a considerable body of primary source data gathered in the course of my three field trips to the Sotavento islands.

Given the particular historical circumstances in which creole languages emerge, Chapter 2 was dedicated to a brief sociohistorical sketch evaluating the

early conditions of language and population contacts leading to the genesis of CVC. This chapter demonstrated that by being strategically located at the crossroads of the European, African and American continents, Cape Verde played a major role in the 15th and 16th century slave trade. The archipelago was used not only as a plantation colony but also as a turning plate or slave depository from which Africans were exported to Europe and the Americas. The role of middle men like *lançados* and *ladinos* in transmitting the language from the archipelago to the main African continent (Guinean coast) was also clearly emphasized. The examination of the slaves' multi-ethnic backgrounds revealed the languages that contributed to the formation of a *Proto-Kriolu*. This *Proto-Kriolu* led in turn to the emergence of the creole spoken in Cape Verde and on the coast of Guinea that could have emerged as early as the 17th century.

Chapter 3 investigated various aspects of the Cape Verdean NP including the determiner system, bare NPs, pluralization strategies, pronominal paradigms, expletives and other types of pronouns. In the realm of null determiners, our findings revealed that they showed a high degree of interpretational variability in that the NP they modify may be interpreted as generic, indefinite plural, indefinite singular, definite singular or definite plural. The relevant interpretation is captured through cotextual or textual cues or situational constraints familiar to language users. Furthermore, the study showed a distinction in the interpretation of bare plural nouns and bare singular ones: bare plurals may get a definite or indefinite interpretation according to the context. As for singular bare NPs, it is often the case that they are interpreted as definite. If the NP is indefinite, it is interpreted as referential or non-referential, depending upon its position in the sentence. Definite singulars tend to be found in subject positions (older information) and indefinite singulars (new information) tend to appear in object positions. In the domain of plural inflection, two tentative generalizations were formulated: number inflection primarily targets [+human/+animate] entities. Animacy and definiteness are the two features that identify them as prime candidates for plural marking. The marking of inanimate objects is sensitive to definiteness and Tense (episodic tense versus generic tense). In addition to showing that plural suffixation in monolingual speech is sensitive to variables such as [±animate, ±human] and [±definite], the data at hand has also revealed that monolingual speech is not a monolithic whole and that multiple grammars exist among speakers. Finally, the study of clitics and nonclitics revealed striking distributional differences depending on whether these pronouns are in subject or object positions and whether they

appear after a bare verb stem or an inflected verb. Such findings have important theoretical repercussions in Chapter 8.

Chapter 4 offered an in-depth analysis of the Cape Verdean VP in the domains of the notoriously complex system of Tense, Mood and Aspect markers. The study of these markers in isolation and in combination revealed that the different semantic interpretations they convey may be due in part to the multi-functionality of markers such as *ta*, for instance, which can act as a non-verbal auxiliary, aspect or modal marker. Such multi-functionality was also found in the realm of copular predication where the morpheme *e* was shown to have both nominal and verbal properties. In the area of passivization strategies, the corpus revealed both impersonal and agentive passive constructions, a fact never noticed before in the literature on this topic. Furthermore, the long neglected issue of serial verb constructions in CVC showed that strings of up to three adjacent (including grammaticalized) verbs exist in the language. Finally, the study of quantifiers and adverbs showed a wide range of distributional properties, which in the case of adverbs enabled us to design a typology following the lines of Jackendoff (1972) and Rochette (1990).

Chapter 5 revealed that in the domain of syntactic patterns, CVC displays unusual word orders in the realm of creoles such as subject verb inversion, preadverbial (i.e., VP internal adverbs) verbs and post-Neg subjects (Chapter 4, Section 4.9). In addition, quantifiers and *wh*-words displayed unexpected distributional patterns. Such observations have had important implications for the clausal architecture assumed in Chapters 6 and 7.

The goal of Chapter 6 (on functional categories and clausal architecture) was to provide evidence for the biclausal structure of CVC. This proposal was based on the distribution and duplicated patterns of Tense, Mood, and Aspect markers and the other functional categories (AgrP and TP) present in the language.

Chapter 7 was concerned with providing an in-depth treatment of the verbal syntax of CVC. This chapter presents a serious challenge to the theory of V-raising, which links verb movement to the richness of verbal morphology. CVC is shown to represent a language in which a verb may move in spite of minimal verbal morphology and the absence of subject verb agreement. In an attempt to account for the Cape Verdean empirical facts, I followed Bobaljik & Thráinsson (1998) and Bobaljik (2000) who proposed that a structural account for V-raising is more explanatory than an account relying on strength of features to trigger V-movement. Their main assumption is that if there is an extra projection intervening between V^0 and the head against which V^0 has to check features, then V^0 has to raise out of the VP. Otherwise, it does not. In

other words, if there is more than one functional projection above the VP containing verbal features that the V needs to check, the V must raise out of the VP to do so. Interestingly, Bobaljik and Thráinsson argued that the availability of extra subject positions is crucial in allowing Transitive Expletive Constructions in Icelandic. I departed from this claim by stating that extra positions can result in different types of constructions involving not necessarily transitive expletives or object shift, but instead post-verbal and post-Neg subjects, as illustrated by CVC. The Cape Verdean case demonstrates that extra specifiers may result in extra subject positions without resulting into extra object positions. Hence a split-IP language may lack AgrOP, and may lack the ability of shifting a full DP object. This is in keeping with Thráinsson & Bobaljik's (1998:61) statement that a split IP is a necessary but not sufficient condition for such phenomena as object shift. This is further compatible with Thráinsson's (1996) view that from a learnability perspective, a child must find in a given language evidence for each functional projection. Assuming Chomsky's (1991) proposal that Agr-Phrases are the locus of Case-checking, one can say that in CVC, case-checking occurs between the verb and the object *in situ* and does not require the object to raise to any IP-internal Spec position. Another strong theoretical implication of the findings in this chapter is that the presence of a single inflectional affix on the verb stem (*-ba*) is a sufficient cue to trigger verb movement. From a learnability perspective, it could be argued that a mere contrast between an inflected verbal form and a non-inflected counterpart may be the single cue the child needs to trigger V-raising in creoles such as CVC.

In Chapter 8, licensing conditions of clitics and nonclitics were identified: their distributional properties were accounted for in terms of the Choice Principle and a double-clitic constraint. Second, following Klavans' (1985, 1995) parametric approach to cliticization, a four-category classification of Cape Verdean clitics was designed. Furthermore, in support of Cardinaletti & Starke (1994, 1996, 1999), I argued for the existence of three classes of pronominals in CVC: strong forms, weak forms and clitics. This three-way classification allowed for an elegant account of otherwise puzzling empirical data as far as the distributional properties of these pronouns are concerned. Third, regarding the structure of these pronominals, I proposed that nonclitics are XPs in SpecAgrP, and using a few tests, I proposed that subject clitics in CVC are heads in AGR; hence, subject clitics are syntactic clitics. Noting that the subject clitics are in AGR, I proposed that CVC is a radical pro-drop language. Indeed, the large corpus at hand revealed that non-argumental pronouns (expletives) must be dropped. The third person pronoun is preferably

dropped with individual-level predicates; the first and second person arguments may be dropped with the proviso that their antecedents allow for the recovery of their features. These highly unusual characteristics in the realm of creole languages allowed me to propose that Cape-Verdean is a pro-drop language with a status similar to the Northern Italian dialects and possibly Haitian.

I hope that the current volume has contributed to a better understanding of Cape Verdean Creole basilectal varieties by displaying the full complexity and subtleties of a language that still has much to reveal about itself.

Appendix

The ALUPEC

The ALUPEC (Alfabetu Unificado para a Escrita do Crioulo Caboverdiano, translatable as the 'Unified Alphabet for the Writing of Cape Verdean Creole') was officialized by the Cape Verdean government in July 1998, on a trial basis.

One of the goals of the new script is to establish a one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol. There are, however, a number of orthographic inconsistencies such as *es* 'they/this' or *nhos* 'your/you', as such words are frequently pronounced [ezi] and [nhozi] respectively. It is possible that such discrepancies may be due to the influence from the Portuguese orthographic convention and have yet to be resolved.

The following are the orthographic symbols and their phonetic transcriptions.

A	B	S	D	E	F	G	I	J
[a]	[b]	[s]	[d]	[e]	[f]	[g]	[i]	[ʒ]
DJ	**L**	**LH**	**M**	**N**	**NH**	**Ñ**	**O**	**P**
[ʤ]	[l]	[lʲə]	[m]	[n]	[ñ]	[ŋ]	[o]	[p]
K	**R**	**T**	**U**	**V**	**X**	**TX**	**Z**	
[k]	[r]	[t]	[u]	[v]	[ʃ]	[ʧ]	[z]	

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32 MB or more of installed RAM	32 MB or more of installed RAM
Windows Shockwave-supported browsers	**Macintosh Shockwave-supported browsers**
Netscape 4.0 or greater (Netscape 6.0 coming soon)	Netscape 4.0 or greater (Netscape 6.0 coming soon)
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