Appendix: test stimuli with language mixing

For each example, the point of transition from one language to the other language is indicated by ||. The transition marker is placed between the two words where the transition happens, or at the end of the word within which the transition occurs.

Key to glosses:

1 = first person
2 = second person
3 = third person
ACC = accusative
DES = deserative
DET = determiner
DIM = diminutive
COMP = complementizer
COP = copula
DES = desiderative
f. = feminine gender
FUT = future
GEN = genitive
HAB = habitual
IMP = imperfective
ING = ingressive
LOC = locative
m. = masculine gender
NEG = negator
PERF = perfective
PL = plural
PP = past participle
PROG = progressive
Q = interrogative element
REFL = reflexive
S = singular
SUBJ = subjunctive
TOP = topic
VAL = validator

Language marking conventions
Quichua: regular font
Media Lengua: italics
Spanish: regular font
Palenquero: italics
Portuguese: italics
Items with ambiguous language source: regular font, underlined.
Quichua-Media Lengua
(Quichua in normal font, Media Lengua in italics)

N. B. All system morphemes (underlined) are common to both Quichua and Media Lengua;

EXPERIMENT #1: ACCEPTABILITY

Transition after personal pronoun (pronoun in small caps):

*Media lengua >> Quichua*

```
YU-ka || kay-pi  partera-kuna-wan  nazi-shka-ni-mi
1S-TOP  here-LOC  midwife-PL-with  born-IMP-1S-VAL
'I was born here with midwives'

BUS-pak  mamita-ka || may-pi-tak  nasi-rka?
2S-GEN  mother-TOP  where-LOC-Q  born-PERF
'Where was your mother born?'

aki-pi-ka  YU-ka ||  na  rigsi-ni-chu  kin-ta-pash
here-LOC-TOP  1S-TOP  NEG  know-1S-NEG  who-ACC-also
'I don’t know anyone here'

YU-ka ||  randi-ngapa  anda-rka-ni  Utabalu-man
1S-TOP  buy-SUBJ  go-PERF-1S  Otavalo-to
'I went to Otavalo to go shopping'

YU-ka ||  na  usha-ni-chu  kichwa-ta
1S-TOP  NEG  able-1S-NEG  Quichua-ACC
'I don’t speak Quichua'

NUTRU-ka ||  kausa-nchik  Utabalu-pi
1PL-TOP  live-1PL  Otavalo-LOC
'We live in Otavalo'

IL-ka  MIU-ta ||  rigsi-n
3S-TOP  1S-ACC  know-3
'He/she knows me'

IL-ka  YU-ta ||  rigsi-n
3S-TOP  1S-ACC  know-3
'He/she knows me'

IL-ka ||  rigsi-wa-n-mi
```
3S-TOP know-1S-3-VAL
‘He/she knows me’

BUS-ka || may-pi-tak kausa-ngi?
2S (familiar)-TOP where-LOC-Q live-2S
‘Where do you live?’

USTI-ka || may-pi-tak kausa-ngi?
2S (formal)-TOP where-LOC-Q live-2S
‘Where do you live?’

Quichua >> Media Lengua

KAN-KUNA-ka || kuzina-hu-ngichi papa-ta
2-PL-TOP cook-PROG-2PL potato-ACC
‘you (pl.) are cooking potatoes

ÑUKANCHIK-ka || bibi-nchik Utabalu-pi
1PL-TOP live-1PL Otavalo-LOC
‘We live in Otavalo’

PAY-ka || miu-ta kunuzi-n
3S-TOP 1S-ACC know-3
‘He/she knows me’

PAY-ka || yu-ta kunuzi-n
3S-TOP 1S-ACC know-3
‘He/she knows me’

PAY-ka || kunuzi-wa-n
3S-TOP know-1S-3
‘He/she knows me’

PAY-ka || miu-ta rigsi-n
3S-TOP 1S-ACC know-3
‘He/she knows me’

PAY-ka || yu-ta rigsi-n
3S-TOP 1S-ACC know-3
‘He/she knows me’

KAN-ka || undi-pi-tak bibi-ngi?
2S-TOP where-LOC-Q live-2S
‘Where do you live?’

Transition after interrogative (interrogative in small caps):
**Media lengua >> Quichua**

**INKI-ta-tak || tarpu-rka-ngi?**
what-ACC-Q plant-PERF-2S
‘What did you plant?’

**INKI-AZI-shpa-tak || shamu-rka-ngi wasi-man?**
how-make-COMP-Q come-PERF-2S house-to
‘Why did you come home?’

**KWANTU || churi-kuna-ta chari-ngi?**
how many son-PL-ACC have-2S
‘How many children do you have?’

**INKI-AZI-shpa-tak || macha-shka puri-hu-ngi?**
how-make-COMP-Q drunk-PP walk-PROG-2S
‘Why are you wandering around drunk?’

**INKI-ta-tak || rura-hu-ngi?**
what-ACC-Q do-PROG-2S
‘What are you doing?’

**UNDI-pi-tak || kausa-ngi?**
where-LOC-Q live-2S
‘Where do you live?’

**KWANTU || wawa-kuna-ta chari-ngi?**
how many child-PL-ACC have-2S
‘How many children do you have?’

**chikitu ka-shpa-ka UNDI-pi-tak || kausa-rka-ngi?**
small COP-COMP-TOP where-LOC-Q live-PERF-2S
‘When you were young where did you live?’

**bus-ka UNDI-pi-tak || kausa-ngi?**
2S-TOP where-LOC-Q live-2S
‘Where do you live?’

**Quichua >> Media Lengua**

**IMA-ta-tak || sembra-rka-ngi?**
what-ACC-Q plant-PERF-2S
‘What did you plant?’

**IMA-RURA-shpa-tak || bini-rka-ngi kaza-man?**
what-do-COMP-Q come-PERF-2S house-to
`Why did you come home

MASHNA || ihu-kuna-ta tini-angi?
how many son-PL-ACC have-2S
`How many children do you have?'

IMA-RURA-shpa-tak || chuma-shka anda-hu-ngi?
how-make-COMP-Q drunk-PP walk-PROG-2S
`Why are you wandering around drunk?'

IMA-ta-tak || azi-hu-ngi?
what-ACC-Q do-PROG-2S
`What are you doing?'

IMA-ta-tak || bibi-ngi?
where-LOC-Q live-2S
`Where do you live?'

uchila ka-shpa-ka MAY-PI-tak || bibi-rka-ngi?
small COP-COMP-TOP where-LOC-Q live-PERF-2S
`When you were young where did you live?'

kan-ka MAY-PI-tak || bibi-ngi?
2S-TOP where-LOC-Q live-2S
`Where do you live?'

**Transition after lexical item (noun, verb, adverb, adjective; in small caps):**

*Media lengua >> Quichua*

yu-ka KASTEYANO-ta || na rima-ni-chu
1S-TOP Spanish-ACC NEG speak-1S-NEG
`I don’t speak Spanish’

nu BINDI-shpa || shamu-rka-nchik
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
`We came without selling [anything]’

nu COMPRA-shpa || shamu-rka-nchik
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
`We came without buying [anything]’

IHU-kuna-ta || na chari-ni-chu
son-PL-ACC NEG have-1S-NEG
`I don’t have any children’
'I don’t have any children'

`In past times there were no schools’

`In the past, I worked in Ibarra’

`In the past there were no tractors’

`Why did you come home?’

`Why did you come home?’

`When you were young where did you live?

`I want to learn Quichua’

`There are animals in the mountains’

`Children, come in and go to bed’
Children, come in and go to bed’

`I live in María’s house’

‘Why are you wandering around drunk?’

‘I don’t speak Quichua’

‘We came without selling [anything]’

‘We came without buying [anything]’

‘I don’t have any children’

‘In the past I worked in Quito’
In past times there were no schools.

In past times there were no threshing machines.

Why did you come home?

Why did you come home?

When you were young where did you live?

I want to learn Quichua.

There are animals in the mountains.

Children, come in and go to bed.

Children, come in and go to bed.

I live in Gabriel’s house.

Why are you wandering around drunk?

All-Quichua stimuli

man ha-tu-shpa shamu-rka-nchik
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
‘We came without selling [anything]’

ñuka-ka kichwa-ta na rima-ni-chu
1S-TOP Quichua-ACC NEG speak-1S-NEG
‘I don’t speak Quichua’

tunda-kuna-ka yachanawasi na tiya-rka-chu
time-PL-TOP school NEG exist-PERF-NEG
‘In past times there were no schools

uchila ka-shpa-ka may-pi-tak kausa-rka-ngi?
small COP-COMP-TOP where-LOC-Q live-PERF-2S
‘When you were young, where did you live?’

kichwa-ta yacha-hu-ngapa muna-ni
Quichua-ACC learn-PROG-SUBJ want-1S
‘I want to learn Quichua’

mashna churi-kuna-ta chari-ngi?
how many son-PL-ACC have-2S
‘How many children do you have?’

may-pi-tak kausa-ngi?
where-LOC-Q live-2S
‘Where do you live?’

ñukanchik-ka Utabalu-pi kausa-nchik
1PL-TOP Otavalo-LOC live-1PL
‘We live in Otavalo’

wawa-kuna shamu-ngichi puñu-ngapa
child-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
‘Children, come in and go to bed’

Gabriel-pak wasi-pi-ni kausa-ni
Gabriel-GEN house-LOC-VAL live-1S
‘I live in Gabriel’s house’

ima-rura-shpa-tak wasi-man shamu-rka-ngi?
what-make-COMP-Q house-to come-PERF-2S
‘Why did you come home?’

ima-rura-shpa-tak macha-shka puru-hu-ngi?
how-make-COMP-Q drunk-PP walk-PROG-2S
‘Why are you wandering around drunk?’
ima-ta-tak rura-hu-ngi?
what-ACC-Q do-PROG-2S
‘What are you doing?’

na miku-navan-chu
NEG eat-DES-NEG
‘[I] don’t want to eat’

ima-ta-tak tarpu-rka-ngi?
what-ACC-Q plant-PERF-2S
‘What did you plant?’

kuy-kuna-ka hiwa-ta miku-n
cuy-PL-TOP grass-ACC eat-3
‘cuyes [Guinea pigs] eat grass’

kayna-ka may-man-tak ri-rka-ngui
yesterday-TOP where-to-Q go-PERF-2S
‘where did you go yesterday?’

All-Media Lengua stimuli

inho-kuna bini-ngichi durmi-ngapa
son-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
‘Children, come in and go to bed’

inho-kuna-ta nu tini-ni-chu
son-PL-ACC NEG have-1S-NEG
‘I don’t have any children’

isi tiempo-pi-ka iskwila nu abi-rka-chu
that-time-LOC-TOP school NEG sit-PERF-NEG
‘In past times there were no schools’

kichwa-ta aprindi-ngapa kiri-ni
Quichua-ACC learn-PROG-SUBJ want-1S
‘I want to learn Quichua’

chikitu ka-shpa-ka undi-pi-tak bibi-rka-ngi?
small COP-COMP-TOP where-LOC-Q live-PERF-2S
‘When you were young, where did you live?’

kwantu ihu-kuna-ta tini-ngi?
how many son-PL-ACC have-2S
‘How many children do you have?’
undi-pi-tak bibi-ngi?
‘Where do you live?’

nutru-ka Utavalu-pi bibi-nchik
1PL-TOP Otavalo-LOC live-1PL
‘We live in Otavalo’

inki-ta-tak azi-hu-ngi?
what-ACC-Q do-PROG-2S
‘What are you doing?’

Biktur-pak kaza-pi-mi bibi-ni
Victor-GEN house-LOC-VAL live-1S
‘I live in Victor’s house’

inki-azi-shpa-tak kaza-man bini-rka-ngi?
what-make-COMP-Q house-to come-PERF-2S
‘Why did you come home?’

inki-azi-shpa-tak chuma-shka anda-hu-ngi?
how-make-COMP-Q drunk-PP walk-PROG-2S
‘Why are you wandering around drunk?’

nu kumi-nayan-chu
NEG eat-DES-NEG
‘[I] don’t want to eat’

inki-ta-tak sembra-rka-ngi?
what-ACC-Q plant-PERF-2S
‘What did you plant?’

nu kumpra-shpa bini-rka-nchik
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
‘We came without buying [anything]’

yu-ka kichwa-ta nu abla-ni-chu
1S-TOP Quichua-ACC NEG speak-1S-NEG
‘I don’t speak Quichua’

sirru-pi-ka animal-kuna-ka abi-n
mountain-LOC-TOP animal-PL-TOP exist-3
‘There are animals in the mountains’

bus-pak mamita-ka undi-pi-tak nazi-rka?
`Where was your mother born?'

'I was born here with midwives'

`the friends are coming here'
**EXPERIMENT #2: MEMORY-LOADED REPETITION**

**Media Lengua (in italics) as base language (key elements in small caps)**

PAY-ka || bibi-n familia-kuna- wan Ibarra-pi  
3S-TOP live-3 family-PL-with Ibarra-LOC  
‘He lives in Ibarra with his family members’ {after pronoun}

MANA-pi-ta || no konosi-ni-chu  
NEG-LOC-ACC NEG know-1S-NEG  
‘I don’t know anyone’ {after pronoun}

PI-tak || bibi-n ese kaza-pi?  
who-Q live-3 that house-LOC  
‘Who lives in this house?’ {after interrogative}

IMA-ta-tak || kompra-gri-ngi San Pablu-man i-shpa-ka?  
what-ACC-Q buy-ING-2S San Pablo-to go-COMP-TOP  
‘What will you buy when you go to San Pablo?’ {after interrogative}

IMA-ta-tak || sembra-shka tini-ngi?  
what-ACC-Q plant-PP have-2S  
‘What do you have planted?’ {after interrogative}

kichwa-ta YACHA-hu-ngapa || kiri-ni  
Quichua-ACC learn-PROG-SUBJ want-1S  
‘I want to learn Quichua’ {after lexical item}

UCHILA ka-shpa-ka || bibi-rka-ni Angla-pi  
small COP-COMP-TOP live-PERF-1S Angla-LOC  
‘When I was young I lived in Angla’ {after lexical item}

wawa-kuna SHAMU-ngichi || durmi-ngapa  
child-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ  
‘Children, come in and go to bed’ {after lexical item}

**Quichua (regular font) as base language (key elements in small caps)**

NUTRO-ka || kausa-pchik Cascu-pi  
1PL-TOP live-1PL Cascu-LOC  
‘We live in Casco’ {after pronoun}

BUS-KUNA-ka || tarpu-ngichik sara-ta  
2S-PL-TOP plant-2PL corn-ACC  
‘You (pl.) plant corn’ {after pronoun}
IL-ka || mashi-kuna-wan kausa-n Utabalu-pi
3S-TOP friend-PL-with live-3 Otavalo-LOC
'(s)he lives in Otavalo with his/her friends’ {after pronoun}

INKI-ta-tak || tarpu-shka chari-ngi?
what-ACC-Q plant-PP have-2S
‘What do you have planted?’ {after interrogative}

KIN-tak || chay wasi-pi kausa-n?
who-Q that house-LOC live-3
‘Who lives in this house?’ {after interrogative}

CHIKITU ka-shpa-ka || may-pi-tak kausa-rka-ngi?
small COP-COMP-TOP where-LOC-Q live-PERF-2S
‘When you were young where did you live?’ {after lexical item}

inho-kuna  BINI-ngichi || puñu-ngapa
son-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
‘Children, come in and go to bed’ {after lexical item}

kichwa-ta  APRINDI-ngapa || muna-ni
Quichua-ACC learn-SUBJ want-1S
‘I want to learn Quichua’ {after lexical item}

All-Quichua stimuli

pay-kuna-ka Ugsha-pi churi-kuna-wan kausa-n
3S-PL-TOP Ugsha-LOC son-PL-with live-3
‘They live in Ugsha with their children’

pay-kuna-ka chagra-pi trigu-ta tarpu-rka
3S-PL-TOP farm-LOC wheat-ACC plant-PERF-3
‘They planted wheat on their farm’

ñukanchik-ka Angla-pi causa-nchik
1PL-TOP Angla-LOC live-1PL
‘We live in Angla’

kan-kuna-ka papa-ta tarpu-nguichi
2S-PL-TOP potato-ACC plant-2PL
‘You (pl.) plant potatoes’

ima-ta-tak tarpu-shka chari-ngi?
what-ACC-Q plant-PP have-2S
‘What do you have planted?’
I don’t know anyone

Who lives in that house?

Whose sheep is this?

All-Media Lengua stimuli

He lives in San Pablo with his friends

What do you have planted?

What will you buy when you go to Otavalo?

I don’t know anyone

Who lives in that house?

Whose sheep is this?

I want to learn Quichua
Palenquero-Spanish
(Palenquero items in italics; Spanish in regular font)

{Spanish stimuli reflect local pronunciation}

EXPERIMENT #1: ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF LANGUAGE MIXING

Transition involving Spanish subject pronoun (in small caps) + Palenquero verb

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{ku}} || & \quad \text{ELLO} || \quad {\text{hwe ke ané kriá mi}} \\
\text{with 3PL was} & \quad \text{COMP 3PL raise 1S} \\
\text{‘It was with them that I was raised’} & \\

ané & \quad \text{asé ablá pa} || \quad \text{NOSOTRO} || \quad \text{bai} \\
\text{3PL HAB talk for 1PL go} & \\
\text{‘They are asking us to go’} & \\
\text{bo a sabé ke} || & \quad \text{ELLO} || \quad \text{ta miná mi} \\
\text{2S know COMP 3PL PROG look 1S} & \\
\text{‘You know that they are looking at me’} & \\
i & \quad \text{a kombl un kasa pa} || \quad \text{ELLO} || \quad \text{kelá} \\
\text{1S PERF buy DET house for 3PL stay} & \\
\text{‘I bought a house for them to stay in’} & \\
\text{NOSOTRO} || & \quad \text{ta kuchá lo ke hende ta kombesá} \\
\text{3PL PROG hear COMP people PROG talk} & \\
\text{‘They are listening to what the people are saying’} & \\
i & \quad \text{a kombl pekao ku koko pa} || \quad \text{NOSOTRO} || \quad \text{kumé} \\
\text{1S PERF buy fish with coconut for 1PL eat} & \\
\text{‘I bought fish and coconut for us to eat’} & \\
\text{NOSOTRO} || & \quad \text{tan nda bo ele} \\
\text{1PL FUT give 2S 3S} & \\
\text{‘We will give it to you’} & \\
\text{¿Cuándo TÚ} || & \quad \text{a miní akí Palenque?} \\
\text{when 2S PERF come here Palenque} & \\
\text{‘When did you come here to Palenque’} & \\
\text{YO} || & \quad \text{konosé ané nu} \\
\text{1S know 3PL NEG} & \\
\text{‘I don’t know them’} & \\
yo sé que TÚ || & \quad \text{a miná sahino lendro monde} \\
\end{align*}
\]
I know that you saw a wild pig in the woods.

They know that we are watching them.

They ate rice with coconut today.

Her siblings are staying in Cartagena.

If they are not working, we have problems.

We can speak Palenquero with outsiders.

My friends go wild listening to what they are saying.

If you want 500 pesos (worth), I’ll sell it to you.

When I first remember Palenque, we could sleep in the streets.

If you leave the windows open, flies will enter.
Nosotros || tan pelé lengua suto nu
1PL  FUT  lose language  1PL  NEG
‘We will not lose our language’

Transitions involving Palenquero subject pronoun (small caps) + Spanish verb

Suto || tenemo cuatro pelao
1PL  have.1PL  four child
‘We have four children’

Ele || no conseguía una mujer
3S  NEG  find.IMP.3S  DET  woman
‘He didn’t find a wife;’

Suto || te lo damo
1PL  2S  3S  give.1PL
‘We will give it to you’

Suto || memo ñamamo || ané || y todo se arregla
1PL  same  call.1PL  3PL  and  all  REFL  arrange.3S
‘We ourselves call them and everything is taken care of.’

Suto || no lo dejamo poque || Suto || converamo || lengua suto
1PL  NEG  3S  leave.1PL  because  1PL  speak.1PL  language  1PL
‘We don’t give up [our language] because we speak our language everywhere’

Bo || comite || masamola awé
2S  eat.PERF.2S  corn stew  today
‘You ate corn stew today’

Suto || dependemo de raza canosa
1PL  depend.1PL  of  race  gray.haired
‘We descend from gray.haired people’

Poro  si  ané || no tiene trabajo || Suto || pasamo trabajo aquí
but  it  3PL  NEG  have.3S  work  1PL  pass.1PL  work  here
‘But if they don’t have a job, we have a hard time here’

I  a miná ke bo || montate sobre mujé
1S  PERF  look  COMP  2S  mount.PERF.2S  on  woman
‘I saw that you got on top of that woman’

Bo || me dice || bendé mi ele
‘You tell me “sell it to me”’

‘Whatever you ask for, we’ll give it to you’

‘We don’t want to buy fish’

‘They don’t know me’

‘When did you arrive here in Palenque?’

‘I don’t know you’

‘You ate plantains today’

‘I am not looking at you’

‘We have a lot of children’

‘You caught a wild pig in the woods’
Transition following lexical item (in small capitals)

SPANISH TO PALENQUERO:

VOY || andi kombilesa mi asé nda mi un mano topocho
go.1S LOC friend 1S HAB give 1S DET hand plantain
‘I’m going to a friend’s house so that he can give me a bunch of [small] plantains’

ante la mujere sabían di a BUSIÀ || jundo ku
before DET woman.PL know.IMP.3PL go to dive together with
ma ombre
PL man
‘In the past women went diving [for fish] along with the men’

eollo fueron muy conforme conmigo me complacieron
3PL COP.PERF.3PL very happy with me 1S please.PERF.3PL
TAMBIÉN y || yo a komplasé ané tambié
also and 1S PERF please 3PL also
‘They were happy with me, they pleased me and I pleased them too’

eollo no SABEN || ké hende ta kombesá
3PL NEG know.3PL what people PROG speak
‘They don’t know what people are saying’

yo te CONO(Z)CO || nu
1S 2S know.1S NEG
‘I don’t know you’

cuándoyo tengo FRIO || i asé echálo ensima
when 1S have.1S cold 1S HAB throw it over
‘When I’m cold I throw [a sheet] over me’

la primera casa de material lo que hacé aquí
DET first house of material COMP make COP.PERF.3S here
fue CASA || ma tatá mi
COP.PERF.3S house PL father 1S
‘The first cement block house that was built here was my parents’ house’

eollo se quedan loco poque no SABEN || ké hende
3PL REFL stay.3PL crazy because NEG know.3PL what people
ta kombesá
PROG speak
‘They go crazy because they don’t know what people are saying’

los CHIQUITO || tan pelé lengua pero suto ma bieho nu
DET small FUT lose language but 1PL PL old NEG
'The kids will lose [Palenquero] but not us old folks'

Esa MUJER || asé ñamá Paula
that woman HAB call Paula

‘That woman is named Paula’

si yo saigo a vendé COCADA|| ku muhé mi antonse
if 1S leave.1S to sell candy with woman 1S then

i tan ablá ke poné ponchera má ngande
1S FUT speak COMP put bowl more big

‘If I go out to sell coconut candy with my wife, I’ll tell her to put on a larger bowl [on her head]’

si ello no te AGARRAN || bo a mini poné cazón
if 3PL NEG 2S grab.3PL 2S PERF come put pants

‘If they don’t catch you, you can come and put on your pants’

**PALENQUERO to SPANISH:**

a ten sinko ría AWÉ ke || no viene un poquito agua
have five day today COMP NEG come.3S DET little water

‘It’s been five days today that not even a little water is available’

bo konoselo nu PORO || lo puedes conocé
2S know.3S NEG but 3S able.2S know

‘You don’t know [about] it but you can find out’

i A TEN || cinco año que no hago ná
1S have five year COMP NEG do.1S nothing

‘I haven’t done anything for five years’

ablá mi ké utere kelé Mí y|| yo lo repondo
talk 1S what 2PL want more and 1S 3S answer.1S

con mi lengua
with my language

‘Tell me what you want and I’ll answer in my language’

i a ten ke bae ANDI || esa niña
1S have to go LOC that girl

‘I have to go to that girl’s house’

i ta kombidá utere PERO || le digo que monte é lejísimo
1S PROG invite 2PL but 3S say.1S COMP garden COP far

‘I’m inviting you but I’m telling you that [my garden plot] is far away’

kuand mamá mi taba bibo || me tocó do dia
when mother 1S COP.IMP alive 1S touch.PERF.3S two day
take.3S in canoe
‘When my mother was alive I had to take her for two days in a canoe’

[i ASINA || te cuento que || i akoddá ri ma nombre de
and so 2S tell.1S COMP 1S remember of PL name of
to ma lo ke asë mí kasa mi nu
all PL COMP HAB come house 1S NEG
‘And so I’m telling you that I don’t remember the names of everyone who has come to my house’

[i komblá mi ELE || yo te pido plata
but 1S 3S 1S 2S ask.1S silver
‘buy it from me, I’m asking you for money’

[kuando é MINI || la primera casa lo que conocí
when 3S come DET first house COMP know.PERF.3S
fue mi casa
COP.PERF.3S my house
‘When he came the first house he came to was mine’

[sí uno ta trabajá po ayá y uto ta trabajá PO AKI ||
if one PROG work for there and other PROG work for here
la empresa no camina
DET business NEG walk.3S
‘If one person is working here and another is working there, things don’t happen’

[i a KOMBLÁ || una casa pa mis hijo
1S PERF buy DET house for my(pl.) son
‘I bought a house for my children’

[ele tan nda MINDO || una cerveza fria
3S FUT give 1S DET beer cold
‘He will give me a cold beer’

**All-Palenquero stimuli**

[i kelé chitiá ku bo
1S want talk with 2S
‘I want to talk to you’

[suto asë ablá lengua ku guarumá nu
1PL HAB talk language with outsider NEG
‘We don’t speak Palenquero with outsiders’

[ola polé semblá kaña andi ma losa nu
now able plant cane LOC PL field NEG
‘Now it’s not possible to plant sugar cane in the fields’

Bo a kumé masamola awé
2S PERF eat corn stew today
‘You ate corn stew today’

ané konosé mi nu
3PL know 1S NEG
‘They don’t know me’

bo a bibí andi María
2S PERF live LOC Maria
‘You lived in Maria’s houses’

kuando ané miní i resibí ané nu
when 3PL come 1S receive 3PL NEG
‘When they come I don’t receive them’

koká lo ke suto asé prepará é muy bueno
1PL COMPL HAB prepare COP very good
‘The coconut candy that we prepare is very good’

bo tan pa kasa si, i tan pa kasa mi
2PL go for house 2S 1S go for house 1S
‘You’re going to your house, I’m going to my house’

kuando bo a yegá akí Palenque?
when 2S PERF arrive here Palenque
‘When did you arrive here in Palenque?’

suto tan nda bo ele
1PL FUT give 2S 3S
‘We will give it to you’

ele a ten muhé nu
3S have woman NEG
‘He doesn’t have a wife’

e muhé asé ñamá Paula
DET woman HAB call Paula
‘That woman is named Paula’

e mujé ngolo kelé bibí Katagena
DET woman fat want live Cartagena
‘That fat woman wants to live in Cartagena’
The girl is fat

I won’t marry a white woman

People were open-mouthed

I don’t know them

People are looking at me

The woman is fat

My mother’s corn stew was very tasty

Palenque has good land for us to plant

I’m looking at a white house

He will give me a beer

I’m going to tell you something

Children of now have respect NEG
‘Kids nowadays have no respect’

ma chikito tan pelé lengua pero suto ma bieho nu
PL small FUT lose language but 1PL PL old NEG
‘The kids will lose [Palenquero] but not us old folks’

suto akí Palenge a ten mucho kuagro
1PL here Palenque have many kuagro
‘We here in Palenque have many kuagros [youth groups]’

ma guarumá ta bisitá Palenge
PL outsider PROG visit Palenque
‘Outsiders are visiting Palenque’

suto a ten kuatro moná
1PL have four child
‘We have four children’

bo siribi pa hende salí ku bo nu
2S serve for people leave with 2S NEG
‘You’re not fit to go out with people’

ané kelé pagá mi lo ke kotá nu
3PL want pay 1S COMP cost NEG
‘They don’t want to pay me what it costs’
EXPERIMENT #2: CLOSE-SHADOWING

Palenquero (in italics) to Spanish (first three after subject pronoun)

kuandi BO || me da sei mango lo recibo  
when 2S 1S give six mango 3S receive.1S  
‘When you give me six mangoes, I’ll take them’

kuando ané asè mini akí ma afrikano SUTO || kaminamo ku ané  
when 3PL HAB come here PL African 1PL walk.1PL with 3PL  
‘When the Africans come here, we walk with them’

poro si ANÉ || no tiene trabajo || suto asè pasá trabaho akí  
but if 3PL NEG have.3S job 1PL HAB pass work here  
‘If they don’t have a job, we have a hard time here’

kuand’i konosé Palenge || uno podía dormir en la calle  
when.1S know Palenque one able.IMP.3S sleep in DET street  
‘When I first remember Palenque, we could sleep in the streets’

i a ten sinko año || que no hago ná || pokke i  
1S have five year COMP NEG do.1S nothing because 1S  
enfemmá ri kolumna  
sick of spine  
‘I haven’t done anything for five years because I have a bad back’

si bo a kelé 500 peso || yo te lo vendo  
if 2S want 500 peso 1S 2S 3S sell.1S  
‘If you want 500 pesos’ worth, I’ll sell it to you’

Spanish to Palenquero (in italics); first three after subject pronoun

YO || ta trabajá po akí i uto ta trabajá po ayá  
1S PROG work for here and other PROG work for there  
‘I am working here and someone else is working there […]’

NOSOTROS || asè prepará koká ku leche i koko rayao  
1PL HAB prepare candy with milk and coconut grated  
‘We prepare coconut candy with milk and grated coconut’

cuando abieto || ta bisitá Palenge  
when 3PL PROG visit Palenque PL people HAB stay with mouth  
open  
‘People are open-mouthed when they visit Palenque’

yo con la edad que yo tengo || i tan nda bo
At my age I’m giving you an explanation

I take care of them as though they were my own children

They go crazy because they don’t know what people are saying
Spanish to Portuguese

VOH || tem que perguntar na loja de artesanato
2S have.3S COMP ask in.DET store of handicrafts
‘You have to ask in the handicrafts store’ {after pronoun}

cuando NOSOTROS || falamos misturamos as línguas
when 1PL speak.1PL mix.1PL DET language.PL
‘When we speak we mix languages’ {after pronoun}

si hablamos portuñol ELLOS || dizem que não é pra
if speak.1PL Portuñol 3PL say.3PL COMP NEG COP.3S for
speak
‘If we speak Portuñol they say it shouldn’t be spoken’ {after pronoun}

ELLOS || misturam as línguas quando falam
3PL mix.3PL DET language.PL when speak.3PL
‘They mix languages when they speak’ {after pronoun}

DÓNDE || fica a casa do prefeito?
where stay DET house of.DET mayor
‘Where is the mayor’s house?’ {after interrogative}

QUIÉN || quer estudar hoje na tarde?
who want.3S study today in.DET afternoon
‘Who wants to study this afternoon?’ {after interrogative}

CUÁLES || de estos brinquedos tu vai comprar hoje?
which.PL of these toy.PL 2S go.2S buy today
‘Which of these toys are you going to buy today?’ {after interrogative}

no PUEDO || ficar hoje porque a gente vai pra o Brasil
NEG able.1S stay today porque 1PL go.3S for DET Brazil
‘I can’t stay today because we are going to Brazil’ {between modal and infinitive}

en la escuela no PODEMOS || falar brasileiro com os professores
in DET school NEG able.1PL speak Portuguese with DET teacher.PL
‘In school we can’t speak Portuguese with the teachers’ {between modal and infinitive}

yo nací en Brasil pero VINE A || morar aquí
I was born in Brazil but I came to live here four years ago. 'I was born in Brazil but I came to live here four years ago {between modal and infinitive}.

I am going to do some work in school. 'I am going to do some work in school' {after lexical item}.

At home we all speak German with our grandparents. 'At home we all speak German with our grandparents’ {after lexical item}.

The town of [25 de Mayo] still has no classes in Portuguese. 'The town of [25 de Mayo] still has no classes in Portuguese’ {after lexical item}.

What did you buy today in the market? Who can count from zero to 100 backwards? 'What did you buy today in the market?’ {after interrogative}. 

I don’t know which ones are the best products. 'I don’t know which ones are the best products’ {after interrogative}.

Who can count from zero to 100 backwards? 'Who can count from zero to 100 backwards?’ {after interrogative}.
faz muito tempo que não falo castelhano mas vou
make.3S much time COMP NEG speak.1S Spanish but go.1S
hablar un poquito
speak DET little
'I haven’t spoken Spanish for a long time but I’m going to speak a little’ {between modal and infinitive}

faz muito TEMPO que || no hablo portugués
make.3S much time COMP NEG speak.1S Portuguese
'I haven’t spoken Portuguese for a long time’ {after lexical item}

alguns brasileiros ENTENDEM || lo que nosotros hablamos
some.PL Brazilian.PL understand.3PL COMP 1PL speak.1PL
'Some Brazilians understand what we say’ {after lexical item}

ainda me lembro da primeira CASA || que tuvimos
still remember.1S of.DET first house COMP have.PERF.1PL
'I still remember the first house we had’ {after lexical item}

os guri SABEM que || las personas mayores no hablan
DET kid know.3PL COMP DET person.PL old.PL NEG speak.3PL
Spanish
'The kids know that older people don’t speak Spanish’ {after lexical item}

na nossa ZONA || la vida es muy cara
in.DET our zone DET life COP.3S very expensive
'In our region life is very expensive’ {after lexical item}

All-Portuguese stimuli

as mulheres grávidas precisam duma alimentação especial
DET women.PL pregnant.PL need.3PL of.DET food special
'Pregnant women require a special diet’

fais tres ano que moremo perto do porto
make.3S 3 year COMP live.1PL near of.DET port
'We have lived close to the port for three years’

milho e mandioca ficam pra os porco
corn and cassava stay.3PL for DET pig
'Corn and cassava are for the pigs’

não existem mais aquelas coisinha
NEG exist.3PL more those thing.DIM
'Those things don’t exist any more’
We were married in Brazil but now we live in Argentina.

I like to play with my friends.

The children speak to the teacher in Portuguese and he answers in Spanish.

In school we only speak Spanish with the teacher.

Only my husband and I live here.

I know a lot of cities in Argentina but few in Brazil.

The animals make a lot of noise and I can’t sleep.

Mario is going to marry my sister.

In our family even the women work on the farm.

In school we only speak Spanish with the teachers.
In the schools there are no Portuguese language classes'

In the past we only worked with citronella'

I think that the kids like to play with their friends'

We were raised in [Colonia] Alicia Baja

The kids are watching television

I know a lot of places in Brazil but I don’t know Paraguay yet’

Where were you born?

The pigs are [raised] for the meat and the cows for milk

My parents had a lot of animals but they sold them all’

In the afternoon we work on the farm with our parents’

Speaking Portuguese isn’t allowed in the classroom’
I think that Brazilian schools are also very good.

The corn is only for our animals.

At home we all speak Portuguese.

In winter not many tourists come, and we stay in town.

We go to school in the morning and stay until the afternoon.

On the farm we plant tobacco and soybeans and sell them to the co-op in Além.

All-Spanish stimuli

My grandparents live in the same house since they were married.

We learn to read in the first two grades.
lo que le dicen portuñol tiene castellano mezclado con portugués

‘What they call Portuñol has Spanish mixed with Portuguese’

mis hermanos y yo nacimos en Brasil pero ahora vivimos en Misiones

‘My siblings and I were born in Brazil but now we live in Argentina’

no viajamos mucho fuera de la provincia

‘We don’t travel out of the province very much’

en el centro del pueblo hay muchos edificios grandes

‘In the center of town there are many large buildings’

me voy a quedar acá con mis tíos por unos diez meses

‘I’m going to stay here with my aunt and uncle for around ten months’

¿dónde vivís ahora?

‘Where are you living now?’

cuando íbamos a la otra escuela teníamos que subir por un barranco

‘When we went to the other school we had to climb up an embankment’

a mi mamá le gustan más las novelas brasileras que las argentinas

‘My mother likes Brazilian soap operas more than the Argentine ones’

en los árboles hay muchas naranjas pero están verdes todavía

‘There are lot of oranges in the trees but they are still green’
Me gusta mirar los dibujos animados por la mañana.

‘I like to watch cartoons in the morning.’

Vivo cerca del pueblo pero a veces vengo en colectivo.

‘I live near town but sometimes I come by bus.’

En jardín aprendemos sobre los animales y las plantas.

‘In kindergarten we learn about animals and plants.’

En casa jugamos mucho con los hermanos menores.

‘At home we play with our younger siblings.’

Hay buenas tierras en Misiones para los que tienen la plata.

‘There is good land in Misiones for people who have the money.’

En la aduana de Irigoyen revisan los camiones que cruzan la frontera.

‘At the customs post in [Bernardo de] Irigoyen they search trucks crossing the border.’

Ya no conseguimos ni dorado ni pacú en el río.

‘There are no more dorado or pacú [fish] in the river.’

No me acuerdo de mis primeros años en este pueblo.

‘I don’t remember my first years in this town’

decímel cómo se conocieron tus padres.

‘Tell me how you came to know your parents.’
Tell me how your parents met each other

Here we’re used to working hard all day

I’m not living with my parents at this time

On the buses there are seats for pregnant women

I bought these things for you

Portuguese is written with different letters and sometimes I get confused and can’t write well

At home we all speak Portuguese with our grandparents

The colors of the Brazilian flag are quite striking

On the farm we have onions, lettuce, carrots, cabbage, and many other things

My parents went to Posadas and left me alone at home
EXPERIMENT #2: LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

Spanish to Portuguese

cuando NOSOTROS || falamos misturamos as línguas
when 1PL speak.1PL mix.1PL DET language.PL
‘When we speak we mix languages’ {after pronoun}

si USTED falam PORTOUGAL || dizem que não é pra
if speak.1PL Portuñol 3PL say.3PL COMP NEG COP.3S for
falar
speak
‘If we speak Portuñol they say it shouldn’t be spoken’ {after pronoun}

ELLOS || misturam as línguas quando falam
3PL mix.3PL DET language.PL when speak.3PL
‘They mix languages when they speak’ {after pronoun}

que YO || saiba os uruguaios não podem falar guaraní
that 1S know.SUBJ DET Uruguayan.PL NEG able.3PL speak Guarani
‘As far as I know Uruguayans can’t speak Guarani’ {after pronoun}

NADIE || ficou na escola depois da última aula
no one stay.PERF.3S in.DET school after DET last class
‘Nobody stayed in school after the last class’ {after pronoun}

QUÊ COSA || você comprou na loja?
what thing 2S buy.PERF.3S in.DET store
‘What did you buy in the store?’ {after interrogative}

DÓNDE || fica a casa do prefeito?
where stay DET house of.DET mayor
‘Where is the mayor’s house?’ {after interrogative}

QUIÉN || quer estudar hoje na tarde?
who want.3S study today in.DET afternoon
‘Who wants to study this afternoon?’ {after interrogative}

CUÁLES || de estos brinquedos tu vai comprar hoje?
which.PL of these toy.PL 2S go.2S buy today
‘Which of these toys are you going to buy today?’ {after interrogative}

Maria NO || vai pr’o Brasil hoje
Maria NEG go.3S for.DET Brazil today
‘María isn’t going to Brazil today’ {after negative}
Yo no || estive na aula ontem
1S NEG COP.PERF.1S in.DET class yesterday
‘I wasn’t in the classroom yesterday’ {after negative}

No || ficamos na escola depois da classe
NEG stay.1PL in.DET school after of.DET class
‘We didn’t stay in school after class’ {after negative}

no PUEDO || ficar hoje porque a gente vai pra o Brasil
NEG able.1S stay today porque 1PL go.3S for DET Brazil
‘I can’t stay today because we are going to Brazil’ {between modal and infinitive}

en la escuela no Podemos || falar brasileiro com os profesores
in DET school NEG able.1PL speak Portuguese with DET teacher.PL
‘In school we can’t speak Portuguese with the teachers’ {between modal and infinitive}

yo no QUIERO || me aposentar agora
1S NEG want.1S REFL retire now
‘I don’t want to retire now’ {between modal and infinitive}

yo voy a HACER || trabajos na escola
1S go.1S to do work.PL in.DET school
‘I am going to do some work in school’ {after lexical item}

los camiones Hacen || barulho na noite e não posso
dormir
DET truck.PL make.3PL noise in.DET night and NEG able.1S sleep
‘The trucks make noise at night and I can’t sleep’ {after lexical item}

nos casamos en Brazil pero AHORA || moramos na Argentina
REFL marry.1PL in Brazil but now live.1PL in.DET Argentina
‘We were married in Brazil but now we live in Argentina’ {after lexical item}

En la tarde me gusta HABLAR || com os vizinhos
in DET afternoon REFL like.3S talk with DET neighbor.PL
‘In the afternoon I like to talk with the neighbors’ {after lexical item}

Mis padres se fueron para Posadas y yo me quedé
my.PL father.PL REFL go.PERF.3PL for Posadas and 1S REFL stay.PERF.1S alone.DIM in.DET house
‘My parents went to Posadas and I was left alone at home’ {after lexical item}

vivo cerca del puebl pero a veces Vengo || em ônibus
live.1S near to the town but at time.PL come.1S in bus
‘I live near the town but sometimes I come on the bus’ {after lexical item}

**Portuguese to Spanish**

NÓS || siempre vendemos los productos en Além
1PL always sell.1PL DET product.PL in Além
‘We always sell our products in Além’ {after pronoun}

quando || se quedan en casa, sólo hablan alemán
when 3PL(f.) REFL stay.3PL in house only speak.3PL German
When they (f.) stay at home they only speak German’ {after pronoun}

ELA || quiere mostrar el amor que tiene para su nieto
3S(f.) want.3S show DET love COMP have.3S for GEN grandson
‘She wants to show her love for her grandson’ {after pronoun}

NINGUEM || llegó a festa de Maria
no one arrive.PRET.3S for.DET party of Maria
‘No one arrived for Maria’s party’ {after pronoun}

VOÇÊ || tenés que entregar las tareas hoy
2S have.2S COMP turn in DET task.PL today
‘You have to turn in the homework today’ {after pronoun}

O QUÊ || compraste hoy en el mercado?
what buy.PERF.2S today in DET market
‘What did you buy today in the market?’ {after interrogative}

Não sei || son los mejores productos
NEG know.1S which.PL COP.3PL DET best.PL product.PL
‘I don’t know which ones are the best products’ {after interrogative}

QUEM || puede contar de zero a cien al revés?
who able.3S count from zero to 100 backwards
‘Who can count from zero to 100 backwards?’ {after interrogative}

ONDE || puedo comprar un diccionario de inglés?
where able.1Sbuy DET dictionary of English
‘Where can I buy an English dictionary?’ {after interrogative}

a gente NÃO || se quedó en casa durante el fin de semana
DET people NEG REFL stay.PERF.3S in house during DET end of week
‘We didn’t stay home on the weekend’ {after negative}

NÃO || tenemos suficiente dinero para comprar una casa
NEG have enough money for buy DET house
‘We don’t have enough money to buy a house’ {after negative}

eu NÃO || quiero viajar a Posadas hoy
1S NEG want.1S travel to Posadas today
‘I don’t want to travel to Posadas today’ {after negative}

faz muito tempo que não falo castelhano mas VOU ||
make.3S much time COMP NEG speak.1S Spanish but go.1S
hablar un poquito
speak DET little
‘I haven’t spoken Spanish for a long time but I’m going to speak a little’ {between modal and infinitive}

eu não POSSO || decir el nombre del presidente de El Salvador
1S NEG able.1S say DET name of.DET president of El Salvador
‘I can’t say the name of the president of El Salvador’ {between modal and infinitive}

eu VIM || hacer trabajos acá en Misiones
1S come.PERF.1S do work.PL here in Misiones
‘I came to do some work here in Misiones’ {between modal and infinitive}

o milho é SÓ || para nuestros animales
DET corn COP.3S only for our.PL animal.PL
‘The corn is only for our animals’ {after lexical item}

eu gosto de BRINCAR || con mis amigos
1S like.1S of play with my.PL friend.PL
‘I like to play with my friends’ {after lexical item}

fais tres anos que MOREMO || cerca del puerto
make.3S three year.PL COMP live.1PL near of.DET port
‘We have lived near the port for three years’ {after lexical item}

os ônibus têm bancos ESPECIAIS || para las mujeres embarazadas
DET bus have.3PL seat.PL special.PL for DET woman.PL pregnant.PL
‘The buses have special seats for pregnant women’ {after lexical item}

na nossa família ainda as MULHERES || trabajan en la chacra
in.DET our family even DET woman.PL work.3PL on DET farm
‘In our family even the women work on the farm’ {after lexical item}

All-Portuguese stimuli

se casemo no Brasil mas agora moremo na Argentina
REFL marry.1PL in.DET Brazil but now live.1PL in.DET Argentina
‘We were married in Brazil but now we live in Argentina’
The animals make a lot of noise and I can’t sleep.

In our family even the women work on the farm.

Only my husband and I live here.

The children speak to the teacher in Portuguese and he answers in Spanish.

In the past we only worked with citronella.

We were raised in [Colonia] Alicia Baja.

Pregnant women require a special diet.

We have lived close to the port for three years.

I like to play with my friends.

Where were you born?

The animals make much noise in the night and I cannot sleep.

In our family the women still work on the farm.

Our family still the women work on the farm.

The children speak to the teacher in Portuguese and he answers in Spanish.

In the past we only worked with citronella.

Pregnant women require a special diet.

We have lived close to the port for three years.

I like to play with my friends.

Where were you born?

The animals make much noise in the night and I cannot sleep.

In our family the women still work on the farm.

Our family still the women work on the farm.

The children speak to the teacher in Portuguese and he answers in Spanish.

In the past we only worked with citronella.

Pregnant women require a special diet.

We have lived close to the port for three years.

I like to play with my friends.

Where were you born?

The animals make much noise in the night and I cannot sleep.

In our family the women still work on the farm.

Our family still the women work on the farm.

The children speak to the teacher in Portuguese and he answers in Spanish.

In the past we only worked with citronella.

Pregnant women require a special diet.

We have lived close to the port for three years.

I like to play with my friends.

Where were you born?
passado venderam todos
past sell.PERF.3PL all.PL
‘My parents had a lot of animals but they sold them all’

o milho é só pra nossos animais
DET corn COP.3S only for our.PL animal
‘The corn is only for our animals’

na casa tudo nós falemos brasileiro
in.DET house all 1PL speak.1PL Brazilian
‘At home we all speak Portuguese’

na escola só falamos castelhano com os professores
in.DET school only speak.1PL Spanish with DET teacher.PL
‘In school we only speak Spanish with the teachers’

All-Spanish stimuli

lo que le dicen portuñol tiene castellano mezclado con portugués
3S 3S say.3PL Portuñol have.3S Spanish mixed with Portuguese
‘What they call Portuñol has Spanish mixed with Portuguese’

no viajamos mucho fuera de la provincia
NEG travel.1PL much outside of DET province
‘We don’t travel out of the province very much’

Mis abuelos viven en la misma casa desde que se casaron
my.PL grandfather live.3PL in DET same house since REFL marry.PERF.3PL
‘My grandparents live in the same house since they were married’

vivo cerca del pueblo pero a veces vengo en colectivo
live.1S near to the town but at times come.1S in bus
‘I live near town but sometimes I come by bus’

en los dos primeros grados aprendemos a leer
in DET two first.PL grade.PL learn.1PL to read
‘We learn to read in the first two grades’

en casa jugamos mucho con los hermanos menores
in house play.1PL much with DET sibling.PL younger.PL
‘At home we play with our younger siblings’
Hay buenas tierras en Misiones para los que tienen plata.
‘There is good land in Misiones for people who have the money’

no me acuerdo de mis primeros años en este pueblo.
‘I don’t remember my first years in this town’

cuando íbamos a la otra escuelamenos que subir por un barranco.
‘When we went to the other school we had to climb up an embankment’

En la chacra sembramos tabaco y vendemos en la cooperativa de Além.
We grow tobacco on the farm and we sell it to the co-op in Além’

En los colectivos hay asientos para las mujeres embarazadas.
‘On the buses there are seats for pregnant women’

Mis padres se fueron para Posadas y yo me quedé solo en la casa.
‘My parents went to Posadas and left me alone at home’

En casa todos hablamos brasilero con los abuelos.
‘At home we all speak Portuguese with our grandparents’
transition after subject pronoun

cuando NOSOTROS || falamos misturamos as línguas
when 1PL speak.1PL mix.1PL DET language.PL
‘When we speak we mix languages’ {after pronoun}

ELLOS || misturam as línguas quando falam
3PL mix.3PL DET language.PL when speak.3PL
‘They mix languages when they speak’ {after pronoun}

VOH || tem que trabalhar na chacra com os irmãos
2S have.3S COMP work on.DET farm with DET brother.PL
‘You have to work on the farm with your brothers’ {after pronoun}

NINGUEM || llegó || pr’a festa de Maria
no one arrive.PRET.3S for.DET party of Maria
‘No one arrived for Maria’s party’ {after pronoun}

transition after interrogative

DÓNDE || fica a casa do prefeito?
where stay DET house of.DET mayor
‘Where is the mayor’s house?’ {after interrogative}

CUÁLES || de estos brinquedos tu vai comprar hoje?
which.PL of these toy.PL 2S go.2S buy today
‘Which of these toys are you going to buy today?’ {after interrogative}

transition between modal and infinitive

no PUEDO || ficar hoje porque a gente vai pra o Brasil
NEG able.1S stay today because 1PL go.3S for DET Brazil
‘I can’t stay today because we are going to Brazil’ {between modal and infinitive}

faz muito tempo que não falo castelhano mas VOU ||
make.3S much time COMP NEG speak.1S Spanish but go.1S
hablar un poquito
speak DET little
‘I haven’t spoken Spanish for a long time but I’m going to speak a little’ {between modal and infinitive}

transition after lexical item

o milho é SÓ || para nuestros animales
DET corn COP.3S only for our.PL animal.PL
The corn is only for our animals’ {after lexical item}

1S like.1S of play with my.PL friend.PL

'I like to play with my friends’ {after lexical item}

En la tarde me gusta HABLAR || com os vizinhos

In the afternoon REFL like.3S talk with DET neighbor.PL

'My parents went to Posadas and I was left alone at home’ {after lexical item}

All-Portuguese stimuli

se casemo no Brasil mas agora moremo na Argentina

‘We were married in Brazil but now we live in Argentina’

na chacra nois plantemo fumo e soja e vendemo na

on.DET farm 1PL plant.1PL smoke and soy and sell.1PL in.DET

cooperativa de Além

co.op of Além

fais tres ano que moremo perto do porto

make.3S three year COMP live.1PL near DET port

‘We have lived close to the port for three years’

quando nós ia na outra escola nós tinha que subir

when 1PL go.IMP.3S in.DET other school 1PL have.IMP.3S COMP climb

‘When we went to the other school we had to climb up an embankment’

antes nós só trabalhávamo nas chacra dos vizinho

before 1PL only work.IMP.1PL in.DET farm DET neighbor

‘In the past we only worked on our neighbors’ farms’

Na chacra nós tínhamos porcos vacas e cavalos

on.DET farm 1PL have.IMP.1PL pig.PL cow.PL and horse.PL

‘On the farm we had pigs, cows, and horses’
quando nós morávamo no Brasil a vida era mais difícil.

`When we lived in Brazil life was harder'

No inverno nós ficava na casa do avô.

`In the winter we stayed in our grandfather’s house’