

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 = desiderative
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-ngi?
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?`

MAY-PI-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`

nu *TINI-ni-chu* || *wawa-kuna-ta*
NEG have-1S-NEG child-PL-ACC
'I don't have children'

NU || *chari-ni-chu* *wawa-kuna-ta*
NEG have-1S-NEG child-PL-ACC
'I don't have any children'

isi tiempo-pi-ka *ISKWILA* || *na* *tiya-rka-chu*
that-time-LOC-TOP school NEG sit-PERF-NEG
'In past times there were no schools'

antis-ka || *Ibarra-pi* *yanka-rka-ni*
before-TOP Ibarra-LOC work-PERF-1S
'In the past, I worked in Ibarra'

antis-ka *TRAKTUR-ka* || *na* *tiya-rka-chu*
before-TOP tractor-TOP NEG sit-PERF-NEG
'In the past there were no tractors'

inki-azi-shpa-tak *BINI-rka-ngi* || *wasi-man?*
what-make-COMP-Q come-PERF-2S house-to
'Why did you come home?'

inki-azi-shpa-tak *KAZA-man* || *shamu-rka-ngi?*
what-make-COMP-Q house-to come-PERF-2S
'Why did you come home?'

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?'

kichwa-ta *APRINDI-ngapa* || *muna-ni*
Quichua-ACC learn-SUBJ want-1S
'I want to learn Quichua'

sirru-pi-ka *ANIMAL-kuna-ka* || *tiya-n*
mountain-LOC-TOP animal-PL-TOPO sit-3
'There are animals in the mountains'

iho-kuna *BINI-ngichi* || *puñu-ngapa*
son-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
'Children, come in and go to bed'

IHO-kuna || *shamu-ngichi* *puñu-ngapa*

son-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
'Children, come in and go to bed'

Maria-pak *KAZA-pi-mi* || *kausa-ni*
Mary-GEN house-LOC-VAL live-1S
'I live in María's house'

inki azi-shpa-tak *CHUMA-shka* || *puri-hu-ngi?*
how-make-COMP-Q drunk-PP walk-PROG-2S
'Why are you wandering around drunk?'

Quichua >> *Media Lengua*

ñuka-ka *KICHWA-ta* *na* || *pudi-ni-chu*
1S-TOP Quichua-ACC NEG able-1S-NEG
'I don't speak Quichua'

mana HATU-shpa || *bini-rka-nchik*
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
'We came without selling [anything]'

MANA || *kumpra-shpa* *bini-rka-nchik*
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
'We came without buying [anything]'

mana RANDI-shpa || *bini-rka-nchik*
NEG sell-COMP come-PERF-1PL
'We came without buying [anything]'

CHURI-kuna-ta || *nu* *tini-ni-chu*
son-PL-ACC NEG have-1S-NEG
'I don't have any children'

WAWA-kuna-ta || *nu* *tini-ni-chu*
chile-PL-ACC NEG have-1S-NEG
'I don't have any children'

mana CHARI-ni-chu || *ihu-kuna-ta*
NEG have-1S-NEG son-PL-ACC
'I don't have any children'

ÑAWPA-ka || *trabaha-rka-ni* *Kitu-pi*
front-TOP work-PERF-1S Quito-LOC
'In the past I worked in Quito'

PUNDA-kuna-ka || *iskwila* *nu* *abi-rka-chu*

time-PL-TOP school NEG exist-PERF-NEG`
`In past times there were no schools`

ÑAWPA PACHA-pi-ka || *triyadura* *no* *abi-rka-chu*
front time-LOC-TOP thresher NEG exist-PERF-NEG
`In past times there were no threshing machines`

ima-rura-shpa-tak SHAMU-rka-ngi || *kaza-man?*
what-make-COMP-Q come-PERF-2S house-to
`Why did you come home?`

i ima-rura-shpa-tak WASI-man || *bini-rka-ngi?*
what-make-COMP-Q house-to come-PERF-2S
`Why did you come home?`

UCHILA 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?`

kichwa-ta YACHA-hu-ngapa || *kiri-ni*
Quichua-ACC learn-PROG-SUBJ want-1S
`I want to learn Quichua`

URKU-pi-ka || *animal-kuna-ka* *abi-n*
mountain-LOC-TOP animal-PL-TOP exist-3
`There are animals in the mountains`

wawa-kuna SHAMU-ngichi || *durmi-ngapa*
child-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
`Children, come in and go to bed`

WAWA-kuna || *bini-ngichi* *durmi-ngapa*
child-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
`Children, come in and go to bed`

Gabriel-pak WASI-pi-mi || *bibi-ni*
Gabriel-GEN house-LOC-VAL live-1S
`I live in Gabriel's house`

ima rura-shpa-tak MACHA-shka || *anda-hu-ngi?*
how-make-COMP-Q drunk-PP walk-PROG-2S
`Why are you wandering around drunk?`

All-Quichua stimuli

mana hatu-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`

punda-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-mi 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 puri-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-nayan-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
'*cuy*s [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

iho-kuna bini-ngichi durmi-ngapa
son-PL come-2PL sleep-SUBJ
'Children, come in and go to bed'

ihu-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-LOC-Q live-2S
'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?*

2S-GEN mother-TOP where-LOC-Q born-PERF-3
`Where was your mother born?`

yu-ka *aki-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`

amigu-kuna-ka *aki-man* *bini-hu-n*
friend-PL-TOP here-to come-PROG-3
`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-nchik* *Cascu-pi*
1PL-TOP live-1PL Casco-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}

iho-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?'

mana-pi-ta na rigsi-ni-chu
NEG-who-ACC NEG know-1S-NEG
'I don't know anyone'

pi-tak chay wasi-pi-ka kausa-n?
who-Q that house-LOC-TOP live-3
'Who lives in that house?'

pi-pak-tak kay yama-ka?
who-GEN-Q this sheep-TOP
'Whose sheep is this?'

All-Media Lengua stimuli

il-ka San Pablu-pi amigo-kuna-wan bibi-n
3S-TOP San Pablo-LOC friend-PL-with live-3
'He lives in San Pablo with his friends'

inki-ta-tak sembra-shka tini-ngi ?
what-ACC-Q plant-PP have-2S
'What do you have planted?'

inki-ta-tak kompra-gri-ngi Utabalu-man i-shpa-ka?
what-ACC-Q buy-ING-2S Otavalo-to go-COMP-TOP
'What will you buy when you go to Otavalo?'

kin-ta-pash no konozi-ni-chu
who-ACC-also NEG know-1S-NEG
'I don't know anyone'

kin-tak ese kaza-pi-ka bibi-n?
who-Q that house-LOC-TOP live-3
'Who lives in that house?'

kin-pak-tak este borrego-ka?
who-GEN-Q this sheep-TOP
'Whose sheep is this?'

kichwa-ta aprindi-ngapa kiri-ni
Quichua-ACC learn-SUBJ want-1S
'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

ku || ELLO || *hwe ke ané kriá mi*
with 3PL was COMP 3PL raise 1S
'It was with them that I was raised'

ané asé ablá pa || NOSOTRO || *bai*
3PL HAB talk for 1PL go
'They are asking us to go'

bo a sabé ke || ELLO || *ta miná mi*
2S know COMP 3PL PROG look 1S
'You know that they are looking at me'

i a kombl un kasa pa || ELLO || *kelá*
1S PERF buy DET house for 3PL stay
'I bought a house for them to stay in'

ELLO || *ta kuchá lo ke hende ta kombesá*
3PL PROG hear COMP people PROG talk
'They are listening to what the people are saying'

i a kombl pekao ku koko pa || NOSOTRO || *kumé*
1S PERF buy fish with coconut for 1PL eat
'I bought fish and coconut for us to eat'

NOSOTRO || *tan nda bo ele*
1PL FUT give 2S 3S
'We will give it to you'

¿Cuándo TÚ || *a miní akí Palenge?*
when 2S PERF come here Palenque
'When did you come here to Palenque?'

YO || *konosé ané nu*
1S know 3PL NEG
'I don't know them'

yo sé que TÚ || *a miná sahino lendro monde*

1S know.1S COMP 2S PERF look pig inside woods
'I know that you saw a wild pig in the woods'

ané *a sabé ke* || NOSOTROS || *ta watiá ané*
3PL know COMP 1PL PROG watch 3PL
'They know that we are watching them'

ELLO || *a kumé aló ri koko awé*
3PL PERF eat rice of coconut today
'They ate rice with coconut today'

Ma numano || ELLA || *ta kelá Katahena*
PL sibling 3S PROG stay Cartagena
'Her siblings are staying in Cartagena'

si ELLO || *ta makaniá nu, suto a ten problema*
if 3PL PROG work NEG 1PL have problem
'If they are not working, we have problems/

NOSOTRO || *polé chitiá lengua ku ma hend ri hwela*
1PL able talk language with PL people of outside
'We can speak Palenquero with outsiders'

YO || *a kriá ané andi posá mi*
1S PERF raise 3PL LOC house 1S
'I raised them in my home'

kuandi || ELLO || *miní akí Palenge suto asé recibí ané*
when 3PL come here Palenque 1PL HAB receive 3PL
'When they come to Palenque, we receive them'

ma kombilesa mi ta kelá loko kuchando lo ke || ELLO || *ta kombesá*
PL friend 1S PROG stay crazy listening COMP 3PL PROG speak
'My friends go wild listening to what they are saying'

Si TÚ || *a kelé kiniento peso, i tan bendé bo ele*
if 2S want 500 peso 1S FUT sell 2S 3S
'If you want 500 pesos (worth), I'll sell it to you'

kuand'i *konosé Palenge,* || NOSOTROS || *poleba ndrumíandi kaya*
when 1S know Palenque 1PL able.IMP sleep LOC street
'When I first remember Palenque, we could sleep in the streets'

si TÚ || *lehá bentana abieto ma mokka tan lendrá*
if 2S leave window open PL fly FUT enter
'If you leave the windows open, flies will enter'

NOSOTRO || *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 || convesamo || lengua suto*
 1PL NEG 3S leave.1PL because 1PL speak.1PL language 1PL
andi || *sea*
 LOC COP
 `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*

2S 1S say.3S sell 1S 3S
`You tell me "sell it to me"'

lo ke bo ke pedí SUTO || damo || bo ele
3S COMP 2S SUBJ ask 1PL give.1PL 2S 3S
`Whatever you ask for, we'll give it to you'

SUTO || queremos || komblá pekao nu
1PL want.1PL buy fish NEG
`We don't want to buy fish'

ANÉ || me conoce || nu
3PL 1S know.3S NEG
`They don't know me'

¿Kuándo BO || llegó aquí en Palenque?
when 2S arrive.PERF.3S here in Palenque
`When did you arrive here in Palenque?'

I || te cono(z)co || nu
1S 2S know.1S NEG
`I don't know you'

BO || comió || planda awé
2s eat.PERF.3S plantain today
`You ate plantains today'

I || no cono(z)co || ané
1S NEG know.1S 3PL
`I don't know them'

I || estoy mirando || bo nu
1S COP.PROG.1S looking 2S NEG
`I am not looking at you'

SUTO || tiene || un chochá moná
1PL have.3S DET lot child
`We have a lot of children'

BO || cogió sahino || lendro monde
2S catch.PERF.3S pig LOC woods
`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 BUSIÁ || *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'

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

ello 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'

cuando yo tengo FRÍO || *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 hacía 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'

ello 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 puede 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 MÁ 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 día
when mother 1S COP.IMP alive 1S touch.PERF.3S two day

llevala en canoa
 take.3S in canoe
 'When my mother was alive I had to take her for two days in a canoe'

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'

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 asé miní 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'

kuando é MINI || la primera casa lo que conoció
 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'

si uno ta trabahá po ayá y uto ta trabahá PO AKÍ ||
 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 ceveza fría
 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 asé ablá lengua ku guarumá nu
 1PL HAB talk language with outsider NEG
 'We don't speak Palenquero with outsiders'

aola 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 María'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
candy COMP 1PL HAB prepare COP very good
`The coconut candy that we prepare is very good'

bo tan pa kasa sí, 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 Palenge?
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'

Changáina a sendá ngolo
girl COP fat
'The girl is fat'

i tan kasá ku muhé kolorao nu
1S FUT marry with woman red NEG
'I won't marry a white woman'

ma hende asé kelaba ku boka abieto
PL people HAB stay-IMP with mouth open
'People were open-mouthed'

i konosé ané nu
1S know 3PL NEG
'I don't know them'

ma hende ta guatiá mi-ndo-ba
PL people PROG watch 1S
'People are looking at me'

muhé a sendá ngolo
woman COP fat
'The woman is fat'

masamola mamá mi hweba muy sabroso
corn stew mother 1S COP-IMP very tasty
'My mother's corn stew was very tasty'

Palenge a ten tiela bueno pa suto sembrá
Palenque have land good for 1PL plant
'Palenque has good land for us to plant'

i ta miná un kasa blanco
1S PROG look DET house white
'I'm looking at a white house'

ele tan nda mindo un sebbesa
3S FUT give 1S DET beer
'He will give me a beer'

i tan ablá bo un kusa
1S FUT say 2S DET thing
'I'm going to tell you something'

mahaná ri aola ten repeto nu
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 cuatro moná
1PL have four child
`We have four children`

bo siribí 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* *asé* *miní* *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* *asé* *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* *trabaha* *po* *akí* *i* *uto* *ta* *trabaha* *po* *ayá*
 1S PROG work for here and other PROG work for there
 `I am working here and someone else is working there [...].`

NOSOTROS || *asé* *prepara* *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 *ELLO* || *ta* *bisita* *Palenge* *ma* *hende* *asé* *kelá* *ku* *boka*
abieta
 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*

1S with DET age COMP 1S have.1S 1S FUT give 2S

un ekplikasió

DET explanataion

'At my age I'm giving you an explanation'

yo atiando || *ané como si hweba ané moná mi i parí*
1S attend.1S 3PL as if COP.IMP 3PL child 1S 1S Sbear

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

ello se quedan loco poque no saben ||*ké hende ta*

kombesá

3PL REFL stay.3PL crazy because NEG know.3PL what people PROG
speak

'They go crazy because they don't know what people are saying'

Spanish-Portuguese in Misiones, Argentina

{Portuguese stimuli in local vernacular Portuguese; key items in small caps}

(Spanish in normal font, Portuguese in italics)

EXPERIMENT #1: TRANSLATION

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
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}

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*

1S born.PERF.1S in Brazil but come.PERF.1S to live here
faz quatro anos
 make.3S four year.PL

'I was born in Brazil but I came to live here four years ago {between modal and infinitive}

yo voy a HACER || *trabalhos na escola*
 1S go.1S to do work.PL in.DET school

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

em la CASA || *falamos alemão com os avós*
 in DET house speak.1PL German with DET grandparent.PL

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

el MUNICIPIO DE 25 || *ainda não tem aulas de português*
 the town of 25 still NEG have.3S class.PL of Portuguese

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

Portuguese to Spanish

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}

antes NÓS || *sólo trabajábamos con la cebolla*
 before 1PL only work.IMP.1PL with DET onion

'Before, we only worked with [planted] onions' {after pronoun}

quando ÊLES || *hablan mezclan las lenguas*
 when 3PL(m.) speak.3PL mix.3PL DET languages

'When they talk they mix languages' {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}

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 QUAIS || *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}

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* *maiores* *no* *hablan*
 DET kid know.3PL COMP DET person.PL old.PL NEG speak.3PL
 castellano
 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'

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`

eu gosto de brincar com os amigo
 1S like.1S play with DET friend
 `I like to play with my friends`

as criança falam com o professor em brasileiro e
 DET child speak.3PL with DET teacher in Portuguese and
 3S(m.)
contesta em castelhano
 answer.3S in Spanish
 `The children speak to the teacher in Portuguese and he answers in Spanish`

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`

aquí só eu e meu esposo moremo
 here only 1S and my husband live.1PL
 `Only my husband and I live here`

eu conheço muitas cidades argentinas mas poucas no
 1S know.1S many.PL city.PL Argentine.PL but few.PL in.DET
 Brazil
 `I know a lot of cities in Argentina but few in Brazil`

os animal faz muito barulho na noite e não posso
 DET animal make.3S much noise in.DET night and NEG able.1S
 sleep
 `The animals make a lot of noise and I can't sleep`

o Mário vai se casar com minha irmã
 DET Mario go.3S REFL marry with GEN sister
 `Mario is going to marry my sister`

na nossa familia ainda as muié trabaia na chacra
 in.DET our family still DET woman work.3S on.DET farm
 `In our family even the women work on the farm`

nas escola não tem aulas de língua brasileira

in.DET school NEG have.3S class.PL of language Brazilian
'In the schools there are no Portuguese language classes'

antes nós trabalhava só com essência
before 1PL work.IMP.3S only with essence
'In the past we only worked with citronella'

eu acho que as crianças gostam de brincar com os amigos
1S find.1SCOMP DET child.PL like.3PL play with DET friend.PL
'I think that the kids like to play with their friends'

nós se criamos em Alicia Baixa
1PL REFL raise.1PL in Alicia Baixa
'We were raised in [Colonia] Alicia Baja'

os gurí tá olhando a televisão
DET kid COP.3S watching DET television
'The kids are watching television'

eu conheço muitos lugares do Brasil mas ainda não conheço Paraguai
1S know.1S many.PL place of.DET Brazil but still NEG know.1S
Paraguay
'I know a lot of places in Brazil but I don't know Paraguay yet'

onde é que tu nasceu?
where COP.3S COMP 2S born.PERF.3S
'Where were you born?'

os porcos são pra carneá e as vacas pra tirá leite
DET pig.PL COP.3PL for get meat and DET cow.PL for draw milk
'The pigs are [raised] for the meat and the cows for milk'

os pais tinham muitos animais mas o ano passado venderam todos
DET parent.PL have.IMP.3PL many.PL animal.PL but DET year
past sell.PERF.3PL all.PL
'My parents had a lot of animals but they sold them all'

na tarde nós trabalhamos na chácara com os pais
in.DET afternoon 1PL work.1PL on.DET farm with DET parent
'In the afternoon we work on the farm with our parents'

nas aulas não tá permitido falar português
in.DET classroom NEG COP.3S permitted speak Portuguese
'Speaking Portuguese isn't allowed in the classroom'

eu acho que as escolas brasileiras são muito boas
 1S fine.1S COMP DET school.PL Brazilian.PL COP.3PL very good.PL
 também
 also

'I think that Brazilian schools are also very good'

o milho é só pra nossos animal
 DET corn COP.3S only for our.PL animal
 animal

'The corn is only for our animals'

na casa tudo nós falemo brasileiro
 in.DET house all 1PL speak.1PL Brazilian

'At home we all speak Portuguese'

*no inverno não chegam muitos turistas e nós
 ficamos no povo*
 in.DET winter NEG arrive.3PL many.PL tourist.PL and 1PL
 stay.1PL in the town

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

*a gente vai pr'a escola na manhã e fica até a
 tarde*
 1PL go.3S for.DET school in.DET morning and stay.3S until DET
 afternoon

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

*na chacra nois plantemo fumo e soja e vendemo na
 cooperativa de Além*
 on.DET farm 1PL plant.1PL smoke and soy and sell.1PL in.DET
 co.op of Além

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

All-Spanish stimuli

*Mis abuelos viven en la misma casa desde que se
 casaron*
 my grandparent.PL live.3PL in DET same house since REFL
 marry.PERF.3PL

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

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'

lo que le dicen portuñol tiene castellano mezclado con
 portugués
 that which 3S say.3PL Portuñol have.3S Spanish mixed with
 Portuguese

'What they call Portuñol has Spanish mixed with Portuguese'

mis hermanos y yo nacimos en Brasil pero ahora vivimos
 en Misiones
 my.PL brother.PL and 1S born.PERF.1PL in Brazil but now live.1PL
 in Misiones

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

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'

en el centro del pueblo hay muchos edificios grandes
 in DET center of.DET town exist.3S many.PL building.PL large.PL

'In the center of town there are many large buildings'

me voy a quedar acá con mis tíos por unos diez meses
 REFL go.1S to stay here with my.PL uncle.PL for DET 10 month.PL

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

¿dónde vivís ahora?
 where live.2S now

'Where are you living now?'

cuando íbamos a la otra escuela teníamos que subir por un
 barranco
 when go.IMP.1PL to DET other school have to.IMP.1PL climb for DET
 ditch

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

a mi mamá le gustan más las novelas brasileiras que las
 argentinas
 to my mother 3S like.3PL more DET novel.PL Brazilian.PL than DET
 Argentine.PL

'My mother likes Brazilian soap operas more than the Argentine ones'

en los árboles hay muchas naranjas pero están
 verdes todavía
 in DET tree.PL exist.3S many.PL orange.PL but COP.3PL
 green.PL still

'There are lot of oranges in the trees but they are still green'

me gusta mirar los dibujos animados por la mañana
1S like.3S watch DET drawing.PL animated.PL for DET morning
'I like to watch cartoons in the morning'

vivo cerca del pueblo pero a veces vengo en
colectivo
live.1S near of.DET town but at time.PL come.1S in
bus
'I live near town but sometimes I come by bus'

en jardín aprendemos sobre los animales y las plantas
in garden learn.1PL about DET animal.PL and DET plant.PL
'In kindergarten we learn about animals and plants'

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'

En la chacra sembramos tabaco y vendemos en la cooperativa
de Além
on DET farm plant.1PL tobacco and sell.1PL in DET co.op
of Além
We grow tobacco on the farm and we sell it to the co.op in Além'

Hay buenas tierras en Misiones para los que tienen
la plata
exist.3S good.PL land.PL in Misiones for 3PL COMP have.3PL
DET silver
'There is good land in Misiones for people who have the money'

en la aduana de Irigoyen revisan los camiones que
cruzan la frontera
in DET customs of Irigoyen search.3PL DET truck.PL COMP
cross.3PL DET border
'At the customs post in [Bernardo de] Irigoyen they search trucks crossing the border'

Ya no conseguimos ni dorado ni pacú en el río
now NEG get.1PL nor dorado nor pacú in DET river
'There are no more dorado or pacú [fish] in the river'

no me acuerdo de mis primeros años en este pueblo
NEG REFL remember.1S of my.PL first.PL year.PL in this town
'I don't remember my first years in this town'

decime cómo se conocieron tus padres
tell.me how REFL know.PERF.3PL your.PL father.PL

`Tell me how your parents met each other`

aquí estamos acostumbrados a trabajar fuerte durante todo el
día
heere COP.1PL accustomed.PL to work strong during all DET
day

`Here we're used to working hard all day`

en este momento no estoy viviendo con mis padres
in this moment NEG COP.1S living with my.PL father

`I'm not living with my parents at this time`

En los colectivos hay asientos para las mujeres embarazadas
on DET bus.PL exist.3S seat.PL for DET woman.PL pregnant.PL

`On the buses there are seats for pregnant women`

compré estas cositas para vos
buy.PERF.1S these thing.DIM.PL for 2S

`I bought these things for you`

El portugués se escribe con distintas letras y a veces
me confundo y no puedo escribir bien
DET Portuguese REFL write.3S with different.PL letter.PL and at times
1S confuse.1S and NEG able.1S write well

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

En casa todos hablamos brasilero con los abuelos
in house all.PL speak.1PL Brazilian with DET grandfather.PL

`At home we all speak Portuguese with our grandparents`

los colores de la bandera brasilera son muy llamativos
DET color.PL of DET flag Brazilian COP.3PL very striking.PL

`The colors of the Brazilian flag are quite striking`

en la chacra tengo cebolla lechuga zanahoria, repollo y
muchas otras cosas
on DET farm have.1S onion lettuce carrot cabbage and
many.PL other.PL thing.PL

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

Mis padres se fueron para Posadas y yo me quedé
solito en la casa
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 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 *hablamos* *portuñol* ELLOS || *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* *uruguayos* *não* *podem* *falar* *guaraní*
that 1S know.SUBJ DET Uruguayan.PL NEG able.3PL speak Guaraní
'As far as I know Uruguayans can't speak Guaraní' {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}

QUÉ 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}

María 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 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 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 || *trabalhos* 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
 SOLITO || *na* casa
 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 *ELAS* || 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 ||pr'a festa de Maria
no one arrive.PRET.3S for.DET party of Maria
'No one arrived for Maria's party' {after pronoun}

VOCÊ ||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 *QUAIS* || 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 COMPNEG 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 || trabalham 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'

os animal faz muito barulho na noite e não posso
DET animal make.3S much noise in.DET night and NEG able.1S
sleep

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

na nossa familia ainda as muié trabaia na chacra
in.DET our family still DET woman work.3S on.DET farm

'In our family even the women work on the farm'

aquí só eu e meu esposo moremo
here only 1S and my husband live.1PL

'Only my husband and I live here'

as criança falam com o professor em brasileiro e êle
DET child speak.3PL with DET teacher in Portuguese and 3S(m.)
contesta em castelhano
answer.3S in Spanish

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

antes nós trabaiaiva só com esência
before 1PL work.IMP.3S only with essence

'In the past we only worked with citronella'

nós se criemo em Alicia Baixa
1PL REFL raise.1PL in Alicia Baixa

'We were raised in [Colonia] Alicia Baja'

as mulheres grávidas precisam duma alimentação especial
DET women.PL pregnant.PL need.3PL 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 DET port

'We have lived close to the port for three years'

eu gosto de brincar com os amigo
1S like.1S play with DET friend

'I like to play with my friends'

onde é que tu naceu?
where COP.3S COMP 2S born.PERF.3S

'Where were you born?'

os pais tinham muitos animais mas o ano
DET parent.PL have.IMP.3PL many.PL animal.PL but DET year

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 animal
 DET corn COP.3S only for our.PL animal
 `The corn is only for our animals`

na casa tudo nós falemo 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
 la plata
 exist.3S good.PL land.PL in Misiones for 3PL COMP have.3PL
 DET silver

'There is good land in Misiones for people who have the money'

no me acuerdo de mis primeros años en este pueblo
 NEG REFL remember.1S of my.PL first.PL year.PL in this town

'I don't remember my first years in this town'

cuando íbamos a la otra escuela teníamos que subir por un
 barranco
 when go.IMP.1PL to DET other school have to.IMP.1PL climb for DET
 ditch

'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
 on DET farm plant.1PL tobacco and sell.1PL in DET co.op
 of Além

'We grow tobacco on the farm and we sell it to the co.op in Além'

compré estas cositas para vos
 buy.PERF.1S these thing.DIM.PL for 2S

'I bought these things for you'

En los colectivos hay asientos para las mujeres embarazadas
 on DET bus.PL exist.3S seat.PL for DET woman.PL pregnant.PL

'On the buses there are seats for pregnant women'

en este momento no estoy viviendo con mis padres
 in this moment NEG COP.1S living with my.PL father

'I'm not living with my parents at this time'

Mis padres se fueron para Posadas y yo me quedé
 solito en la casa
 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 left me alone at home'

En casa todos hablamos brasilero con los abuelos
 in house all.PL speak.1PL Brazilian with DET grandfather.PL

'At home we all speak Portuguese with our grandparents'

EXPERIMENT #3: MEMORY.LOADED REPETITION

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* *traballar* *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 porque 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 COMPNEG 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}

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}

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
SOLITO || *na casa*
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}

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'

na chakra 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
por um barranco
when 1PL go.IMP.3S in.DET other school 1PL have.IMP.3S COMP climb
for DET ditch
`When we went to the other school we had to climb up an embankment'

antes nós só trabaiávamo nas chakra dos vizinho
before 1PL only work.IMP.1PL in.DET farm DET neighbor
`In the past we only worked on our neighbors' farms'

Na chakra 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 1PL live.IMP.1PL in.DET Brazil DET life COP.IMP.3S more
difficult

`When we lived in Brazil life was harder`

No inverno nós ficava na casa do avô
in.DET winter 1PL stay.IMP.3S in.DET house of.DET grandfather0

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