

Adverbial clauses in Guinea-Bissau Kriol: An overview

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Goals

- Introduction to Guinea-Bissau Kriol
 - The linguistic ecosystem of Guinea-Bissau
 - Genetic affiliation
 - Intralinguistic variation
- Subordination in Kriol
 - Adverbial clauses
 - Subordinating conjunctions
 - Position of adverbial clauses
 - Linguistic examples from the corpus *CoKri*
- Summary of findings

Map of Guinea-Bissau



Source: <https://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/africa/political-map-of-Guinea-Bis.gif>

Kriol and its ecosystem

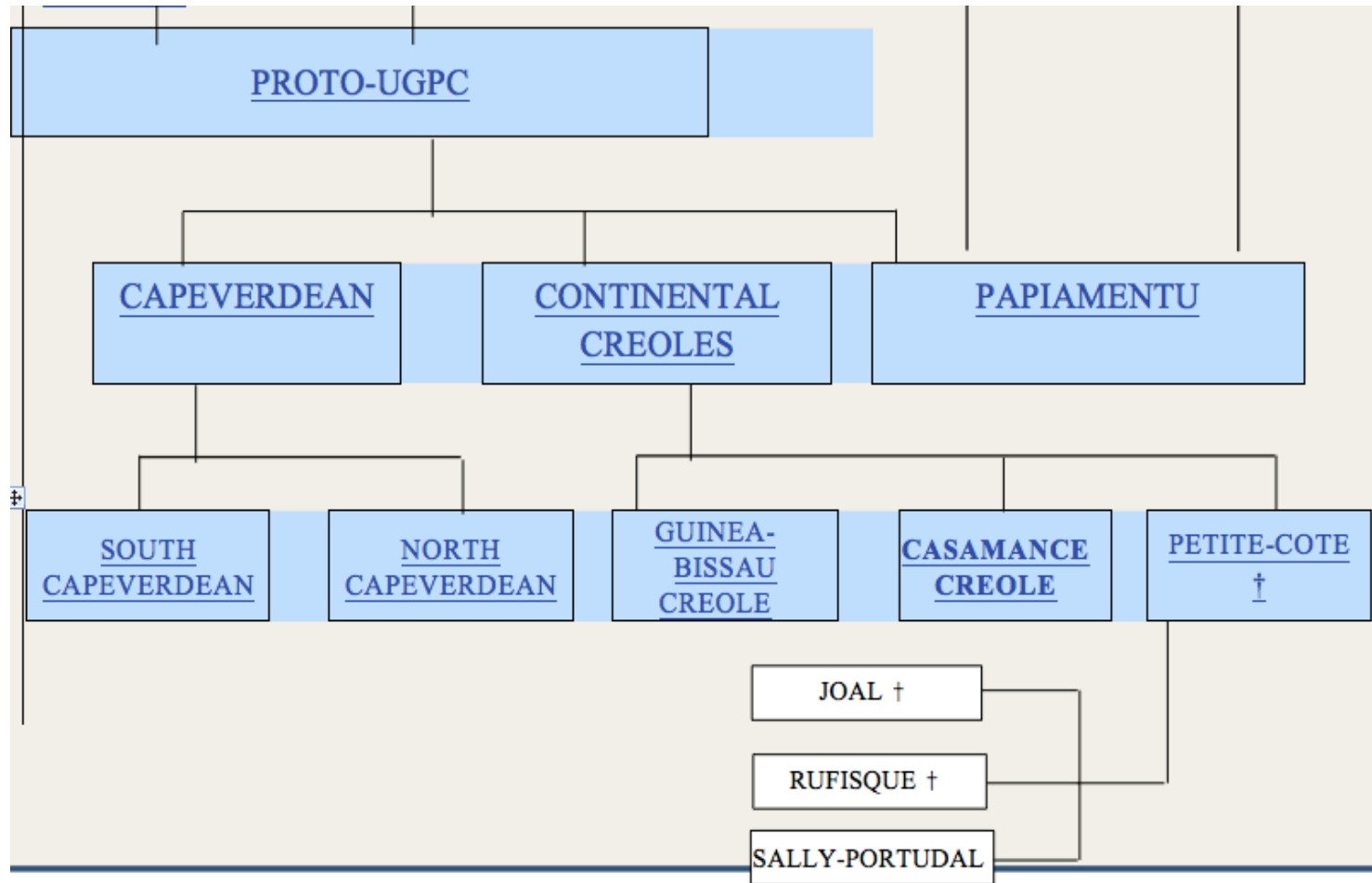
- Kriol — or *Ginensi* '(Bissau-)Guinean' — is a Portuguese-related creole spoken in Guinea-Bissau, Upper Guinea, West Africa
 - It is the **majority** language, the language of **national identity** and the **lingua franca**
 - Also language of the **diaspora** communities in several countries in Europe and worldwide (Portugal, Italy, Germany, Brazil, etc.)
- **Official language** of Guinea-Bissau: **Portuguese**
 - Language of education and institutions > prestige
 - Spoken by a minority (ca 25% of the population), mainly as L2
- In the country, approximately **21 Atlantic and Mande languages** are spoken (Ethnologue 2016)
 - **National languages**, frequently considered as dialects
- Kriol is not allowed at school and in general in the education system; nonetheless, it is used along with Portuguese
- Kriol is frequently not considered a separate language, but a broken variety of Portuguese — *portugis mal faladu* 'badly spoken Portuguese'
- Although various orthographic proposals have been done since the 1980s, there is no fixed/implemented orthography
- **Multilingualism** (Kriol + national languages) and **diglossia** (Portuguese)

Upper Guinea creoles

- The following creole languages belong to the Portuguese-related Upper Guinea Creole group (UGCs):
 - Caboverdean Creole varieties (Cape Verde);
 - (Bissau-)Guinean Creole (Guinea-Bissau);
 - Casamancese Creole (Ziguinchor, Lower Casamance region, Southern Senegal);
 - Papiamentu — a Caribbean Spanish-based creole spoken on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao — is also considered as belonging to this group (see e.g. Quint 2000 and Jacobs 2012)



Genetic affiliation



from Biagui, Nunez & Quint (to appear), adapted there from Biagui (2012)

Languages contributing to the emergence of the UGCs

- (European) Portuguese > lexifier
- Mandinka (Mande) and Wolof (Atlantic) > substrate of the UGCs (see, e.g., Quint & Moreira 2019; Truppi 2021b)
- The role of Temne (Mel, Sierra Leone) as a substrate language is still debated (see, e.g., Quint & Moreira 2019; Truppi 2021b)
- Atlantic languages such as Fula, Biafada, Nyun, Manjaku, Mankanya, Balanta, Diola, and Pepel > possible adstrate of continental UGCs (see, e.g., Truppi 2021b)
- Further possibility: areal influences (Truppi 2021b)

Kriol intralinguistic variation

Kriol historical varieties

- Bissau and Bolama — central variety
- Cacheu and São Domingos — northern variety
 - Ziguinchhor > 17th-century Cacheu variety (Casamancese)
- Geba and Bafatá — eastern variety

- Kriol varieties are mentioned in Wilson (1962), although they are said to be nearly extinct because of the spread of the dominant central variety (see e.g. Kihm 1994)
- Nowadays we can observe a certain degree of lexical and morpho-phonological variation — remnants of Kriol historical varieties and/or due to the contact with other local languages

CoKri — A corpus of Guinea-Bissau Kriol

Annotated and searchable corpus of about 37 hours of transcribed audio materials, recorded during interview sessions with Kriol native speakers in Guinea-Bissau between 2018 and 2019 (Truppi 2022)

<http://teitok.clul.ul.pt/cokri/>

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POS Tag <input type="text"/> matches <input type="button" value="↓"/>	Age <input type="text"/> [select] <input type="button" value="↓"/>
Lemma <input type="text"/> matches <input type="button" value="↓"/>	Education <input type="text"/> [select] <input type="button" value="↓"/>
<input type="button" value="Add token"/>	Occupation <input type="text"/> [select] <input type="button" value="↓"/>
	Birth Place <input type="text"/> [select] <input type="button" value="↓"/>
	Residence <input type="text"/> [select] <input type="button" value="↓"/>
	Speaker Status <input type="text"/> [select] <input type="button" value="↓"/>
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Subordination

Relative clauses

- Introduced by *ke/ki/ku* < Pt. *que* 'that'
- Subject-modifying
- Object-modifying
- PP-modifying

Complement clauses

- Introduced by *kuma* 'that' — complementizer, verb of saying, and quotative marker; followed by REL, *wh*- item 'how'

Adverbial clauses

- Introduced by a quite large set of conjunctions, either specified for that function or derived from other lexical categories (mainly from adverbials) in conjunction with the relative *ke* or the preposition *di* 'of'
- Most subordinators need the relative *ke*

Adverbial clauses

We follow here the typology of adverbial clauses as in Thompson, Longacre & Hwang (2007) with some adjustments

- Circumstantial and absolute clauses are not treated as separate types
 - Kriol does not have gerunds or specified markers in order to introduce such clauses
 - It expresses the semantic relation between the subordinate and the main clause through an overt marker, i.e. a subordinating conjunction
- Simultaneous clauses will be considered along with temporal clauses

Types of adverbial clause

1. Temporal
2. Locative
3. Manner
4. Purpose
5. Causal (or Reason)
6. Conditional
7. Concessive
8. Substitutive
9. Additive

Subordinators

SCONJ	Function(s)	Syncretism (not considering homophony)	Origin
O(ra) ke/ki/ku ‘when’ SCONJ+ REL	Temporal	N ‘hour’	Pt. <i>hora</i> > hour * <i>agora que</i> > when
Otcha (=CL) (ke/ki/ku) ‘when’ SCONJ (+REL)	Temporal (PST)	V ‘to find’	*Kr. V <i>otcha</i> ‘to find’ > PT. <i>achar</i> ‘to find, to think’
Kontra (=CL) (ke/ki/ku) ‘when’ SCONJ (+REL)	Temporal (PST)	V ‘to meet’ P ‘against/opposite to’ ADV ‘against/de facto’	*Kr. V <i>kontra</i> > Pt. <i>encontrar</i> ‘to meet’
Antis di ‘before’ ADV + P	Temporal	ADV ‘formerly’	Pt. <i>antes</i> ‘formerly, before’ <i>antes de</i> ‘before’
Dipus di/ke/ki/ku ‘after’ ADV + P/REL	Temporal	ADV ‘later’	Pt. <i>depois</i> ‘later, after’ <i>depois de/que</i> ‘after’
Tok(e/i/u) ‘until’ SCONJ (+REL)	Temporal	—	Pt. <i>até que</i> ‘until’
(A)te (ke/ki/ku) ‘until’ SCONJ (+REL)	Temporal	PREP <i>ate/te</i> ‘until’	Pt. <i>até que</i> ‘until’
Di(s)na (ke/ki/ku) ‘since’	Temporal	PREP <i>di(s)na</i> ‘since’	Pt. <i>desde</i> ‘since/from’
(E)nkwantu/(i)nkwantu (ke/ki/ku) ‘while’ SCONJ (+ REL)	Temporal (simultaneous)	—	Pt. <i>enquanto</i> ‘while’

Subordinators

SCONJ	Function(s)	Syncretism	Origin
Nde ke/ki/ku SCONJ + REL	Locative	INT <i>nde ke/ki/ku</i> 'where'	Pt. <i>onde</i> 'where'
Suma (ke/ki/ku) SCONJ (+REL)	Manner/Causal	CCONJ <i>suma/sima</i> 'like/as'	?
(Suma) mane(ra) (ke/ki/ku) (SCONJ) + manner + (REL)	Manner	N <i>mane(ra)</i> 'manner'	Pr. <i>maneira</i> 'manner'
Pabia ((di) kuma) 'because' SCONJ ((+P) +SCONJ)	Causal	P <i>pabia (di)</i> 'because (of)' INT <i>pabia di ke</i> 'why'	Pt. <i>por via de</i> 'by way of' (Cardoso 2019)
Purke 'because' SCONJ	Causal		Pt. <i>porque</i> 'because'
Si/s' 'if' SCONJ	Conditional/temporal		Pt. <i>se</i> 'if'
(E)mbora (ke/ki/ku) 'although' SCONJ (+REL)	Concessive		Pt. <i>embora</i> 'although'
Mbes di/Enves di 'instead of' ADV + P	Substitutive		Pt. <i>em vez de</i> 'instead of'
Alen di ADV + P	Additive	P <i>alen di</i> 'beyond'	Pt. <i>além de</i> 'besides'

Embedding a relative clause or not

Temporal
Locative
Manner
Causal
Concessive



> SCONJ + Relative clause introduced by *ke*

Purpose
Conditional



> Simple SCONJ followed by finite V (\approx Pt.)

Substitutive
Additive



> Complex SCONJ > ADV + P (\approx Pt.)

Wh-items and SCONJ: need for REL

Wh-items:

- *Kandu ke/ki/ku* ‘when’ vs. Pt. *quando* (é que)
 - *Nde ke/ki/ku* ‘where’ vs. Pt. *onde* (é que)
 - *Kuma ke/ki/ku* ‘how’ vs. Pt. *como* (é que)
 - *Kin ke/ki/ku* ‘who’ vs. Pt. *quem* (é que)
 - *Ke ke/ki/ku* ‘what’ vs. Pt. *o que* (é que)
 - *Pabia di ke/ki/ku* ‘why’ vs. Pt. *porque* (é que)
 - *Kal ke/ki/ku* ‘which’ vs. Pt. *qual* (é que)
-
- Portuguese influence
 - Need to check this in the substrate/adstrate, in order to see whether these languages may have reinforced the input of the lexifier

Position of adverbial clauses

- According to Diessel (2001: 433–434), when both orders are available (i.e. the subordinate clause may be both before and after the main clause), “[t]he position of an adverbial clause varies with its meaning and function: conditional clauses usually precede the main clause/predicate; temporal clauses may precede or follow it; causal clauses tend to occur in sentence-final position, but occasionally they are preposed; and result and purpose clauses almost always follow the associated element”.
- Furthermore, “right/left asymmetry in the distribution of adverbial clauses is due to discourse-pragmatic factors that favor the use of certain types of adverbial clauses in sentence-initial position [...]. [A]dverbial clauses are often used to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse” (448).

Temporal clauses

Ora ke/ki/ku ‘when’

- (1) a. **Ora ku u pila=l, bu na tira ki si kuku.**
When REL 2SG.CL crush=3SG.CL 2SG.CL PROG pull DEM.DIST POSS.3SG pit
‘When you crush it, you pull its pit out.’ [KR22_01]
- b. **I na djubi=n si n ta furta, ora ki n na laba si ropa.**
3SG.CL PROG watch=1SG.CL if 1SG.CL HAB steal when REL 1SG.CL PROG wash POSS.3SG cloth
‘She is observing whether I steal, when I wash her clothes.’ [KR62_01]

Tok/toki/toku; (a)te (ke/ki/ku) ‘until’:

- (2) a. **No ta tchoki=l reya tok i intchi.**
1SG.PL HAB fill=3SG.CL sand until 3SG.CL fill
‘We fill it with sand until it is full.’ [KR50_05]
- b. **Djintis luta te sol mansi.**
people fight until sun rise
‘People fight until dawn [lit. the sun rises].’ [KR50_05]

Temporal clauses

Di(s)na (ke/ki/ku) ‘since’

(3) a. **Disna** *k'i* *padi-du,* *i* *ta* *kume ku* *garfu ku faka.*
Since REL+3SG.CL be.born-PASS 3SG.CL HAB eat with fork with knife
‘Since he was born, he eats with fork and knife’. [KR60_04]

d. *Otcha e* *sai,* **dina** *sai* *la,* *e* *bin,* *n* *fala* [...].
when 3SG.PL go.out since go.out there 3PL.CL come 1SG.CL say
‘When they went out, since they left that place [went out from there] and came [here], I said [...]’.
[KR59_01]

(E/I)nkwantu (ke/ki/ku) ‘while’

(4) e. *I* *ta* *persunifika ki-la,* *animais,* **enkwantu** *ki* *na* *konta ba* *kuza-s* [...].
3SG.CL HAB personify DEM.DIST-there animals while REL PROG tell PST thing-PL
‘She used to personify them, the animals, while she was telling things [...]’. [KR61_01]

f. **Enkwantu** *n* *k'otcha* *bolsa di studu,* *n* *bai pa* *universidadi X.*
while 1SG.CL NEG+find bag of study 1SG.CL go to university X
‘While I had no scholarship [lit. while I did not find a scholarship (yet)], I attended the university X’.
[KR08_01]

Temporal clauses: past tense

Otcha ‘when’ — the subordinated clause is in the past tense

- (5) a. **Otcha** *n tchiga na Bissau, n ta sara ba sempri.*
when.PST 1SG.CL arrive in Bissau, 1SG.CL HAB close PST always
‘When I arrived in Bissau, I used to isolate myself always’. [KR45_01]
- b. *Mas i falsi otcha=n ku dus anu di idadi.*
but 3SG.CL die when.PST=1SG.CL with two year of age
‘But he died When I was two-year old’. [KR01]
- c. **Otcha** *ke indipendensia da-du, n lembra kuma nha infancia i*
When.PST REL Independence give-PASS 1SG.CL remember that 1SG.CL childhood 3SG.CL
foi muytu felis.
COP.PST.PFV very happy
‘When we got the Independence (lit. When the Independence was given), I remember that my
childhood was very happy’. [KR55_01]

Kontra ‘when’ — the subordinated clause is in the past tense

- (6) a. **Kontra=n** *pikininu, e fala=n kuma n ta pabia ba fula muytu ben.*
when= 1SG.CL small 3PL.CL say=1SG.CL that 1SG.CL HAB speak PST Fula very well
‘When I was a child, they say I used to speak Fula very well’. [KR03_01]
- b. *Ami, kontra ke n lanta na ilha di Unhocomo, n fasi manga-s di trabadju.*
1SG.NCL when REL 1SG.CL grew.up in island of Unhocomo 1SG.CL do a.lot-PL of work
As for me, when I grew up on the island of Unhocomo, I did a lot of jobs’. [KR42_01]

Temporal clauses

Antis di ‘before’

- (7) a. *Enton i foi un speriensia durantei dois anos e meyu, antis di*
Then 3SG.CL COP.PST.PFV INDF experience during two years and half before of
n sai li na Bissau.
1SG.CL go.out here in Bissau
‘So, it was an experience during two years and a half, before I left Bissau’. [KR02_03]
- b. *Pabia dantis, antis di n tarbadja n’e muzew, n tene ba nde ke*
because formerly before of 1SG.CL work in+DEM.PROX museum 1SG.CL have PST where REL
na tarbadja.
PROG work
‘Because formerly, before I came to work here, I had another job.’ [KR01]

Dipus di/ke ‘after’

- (8) a. *Dipus di e muzew kria-du, no odja manga-s di kuza ke na bin*
After of DEM.PROX museum create-PASS 1PL.CL see a.lot-PL of thing REL PROG come
dja pa Cacheu.
already to Cacheu
‘After this museum was created, we saw a lot of things coming to Cacheu.’ [KR01]
- b. *E na ria na Mata, dipus k’e bin sta na Mata, e sai.*
3PL.CL PROG go.down in Mata after REL+3PL.CL come be in Mata 3PL.CL go.out
‘They got off [the boat] in Mata, after they had settled in Mata, they left’. [KR01]

Locative clauses

Nde ke/ki/ku

- (9) a. *Grumetu-s i ginti-s [...] ke ta vivi na bera riw i na rua-s*
Grumetu-PL COP.PRS people-PL REL HAB live in bank river and in street-PL
nde ke komersianti-s mas ta pasa.
where REL merchant-PL more HAB pass
'Grumetes are people who used to live by the river bank and in the streets where merchants used to pass by'. [KR01]
- b. *Pabia i un rua nde ku komersianti-s ta sirkula ba tantu.*
Because COP.PRS INDEF street where REL merchant-PL HAB circulate PST much
'Because it is a street where merchants used to circulate a lot'. [KR01]

Manner clauses

Suma (mane(ra)) ke/ki/ku; mane ke/ki/ku ‘as, like, the way that’

- (10) a. *I dipindi, **suma ke** mankanh ta fala.*
3SG.CL depend like REL Mankanh HAB say
‘It depends, as Mankanyas say’. [KR04_05]
- b. *Grumetu-s i ginti-s, **suma mane ke** n na fala=u,*
Grumetu-PL COP.PRS people-PL like manner REL 1SG.CL PROG tell=2SG.CL
i ginti-s ke ta vivi na bera riw [...].
COP.PRS people-PL REL HAB live in bank river
‘The *grumetes* are people, as I was telling you, people who live by the river bank [...]’. [KR01]
- c. *Agora, **suma manera k’i** bin li, i k’obi kriol driti [...].*
now like manner REL+3SG.CL come here 3SG.CL NEG hear Kriol right
‘Now, the way she has come here, she doesn’t understand Kriol very well [...]’. [KR62_01]

Purpose clauses

Pa 'for, to'

- (11) *E fala=nu, mbon, pa no pera ma un anu, no imbachada,*
3PL.CL say=1PL.CL well for 1PL.CL wait more one year, POSS.1PL embassy
pa djubi s'e ta konsigi ki univerisdadi memu di lisensiatuara,
for see if+3PL.CL HAB get DEM.DIST university proper of bachelor
pa toma=nu, pelo menos, pa no kaba-nta.
for take=1PL.CL at least for 1PL.CL finish-CAUS

'They told us, well, to wait one more year, our embassy, in order to see whether they can convince that university, for the bachelor degree, to accept us, at least for us to finish [the course]'. [KR08_01]

Negative: **pa + ka** (NEG)

- (12) *[...] Si ki prumeru kriol falha=nu, ma e sigundu kriol pa ka i*
If DEM.DIST first Kriol fail=1PL.CL but DEM.PROX second Kriol for NEG 3SG.CL
falha=nu.
fail=1PL.CL

'[...] For this second Kriol not to fail us, although that first one did [lit. If that first Kriol fails us, for this second one not to fail us]'. [KR50_01]

Causal clauses

Pabia (kuma); purke ‘because

- (13) a. *Pedra sta la, ma gos bu ka na pudi odja=l, [...], pabia yagu bin.*
Stone be there but now 2SG.CL NEG PROG can see=3SG.CL because water come
‘The stone is there, but you cannot see it now [...], because there is water’. [KR62_01]
- b. *N sibi kuma bo tarbadja ke mi, pabia kuma bo sta pertu di mi.*
1SG.CL know that 2PL.CL work with 1SG.OBL because that 2PL.CL be close of 1SG.OBL
‘I know that you have worked with me, because you are close to me’. [KR04_06]
- c. *Kuza=s k’e ta fasi, e ka na pudi fasi=u, purke abo i mininu.*
Thing-PL REL+3PL.CL HAB do 3PL.CL NEG PROG can do=2SG.CL because 2SG.NCL COP.PRS
child
‘The things they do, they cannot do them to you, because you’re a child’. [KR08_04]

Causal clauses

Suma (ke/ki/ku) ‘as, because, since’

- (14) a. **Suma** *i k'odja nada, entaw, i dibi di ba dianti mas.*
since 3SG.CL NEG+see nothing then 3SG.CL must of go ahead more
‘Since he didn’t see anything, he must go beyond’. [KR04_05]
- b. *Argélia, suma ku n ka sibi s’u tene ideya, elis e tene*
Algeria since REL 1SG.CL NEG know SCONJ+2SG.CL have idea 3PL.NCL 3PL.CL have
se sosiedadi diferenti ku di nos.
POSS.3PL society different with of 1PL.OBL
‘Algeria, since I don’t know if you have any idea, they have their own society which is
different from ours’. [KR08_01]
- c. *I pudi sedu suma i k'ami ba tan ke ta konduzi.*
3SG.CL can COP since COP.PRS NEG+1SG.NCL PST also REL HAB drive
‘It can be also because it was not me who was driving’. [KR02_01]

Conditional clauses: Realis

Present habitual : *si (ka)..., (ka) ta*

Present progressive : *si (ka)..., (ka) na*

- (15) a. *S'i djopoti tok i tchiga, bu ta panha=l ku mon.*
if+3SG.CL walk.slowly until 3SG.CL arrive 2SG.CL HAB catch=3SG.CL with hand
'If it walks slowly until it arrives, you catch it with your hands'. [KR62_01]
- b. *Ma s'i ka djopoti, s'i bin vr, bu na kuri.*
But if+3SG.CL NEG walk.slowly if+3SG.CL come ONOM 2SG.CL PROG run
'But if it doesn't walk slowly, if it comes fast, you run'. [KR62_01]
- c. *S'i parti=n, n na ba toma, ma s'i ka parti=n,*
if+3SG.CL offer=1SG.CL 1SG.CL PROG go take but if+3SG.CL NEG offer=1SG.CL
n ka na ba toma.
1SG.CL NEG PROG go take
'If she offers me, I take it, but if she doesn't offer me, I don't take it'. [KR62_01]

Conditional clauses: Past and irrealis

Realis in the past: **ba** as a past marker

- (16) *N ka na sibi ba, si n ka teve e pusubilidadi.*
1SG.CL NEG PROG know PST if 1SG.CL NEG had DEM.PROX possibility
'I wouldn't know it, if I didn't have this possibility'. [KR02_03]

Irrealis: **ba** as an irrealis marker

- (17) a. *Pabia si es i un pais dizinvolvi-du ba nan, si no luta ba tchiw,*
because if DEM.PROX COP.PRS INDF country develop-PRT PST really if 1PL.CL fight PST much
pa pais, kada kriansa ba nan tene si dinheru mensal na skola.
for country each child PST really have POSS.3SG money monthly in school
'Because, if this were a developed country, if we had fought a lot for this country, every child would have money for the school monthly rate'. [KR18_06]
- b. *Si k'el ba, n na mostra=u ba ki pedra.*
if NEG+3SG.NCL PST 1SG.CL PROG show=2SG.CL PST DEM.DIST stone
'If it wasn't for that, I would show you that stone'. [KR62_01]

Concessive conditional clauses

Me(s)mu ke ,even if‘

- (18) a. *Kila na pirmi=nu bin~bin konta storia [-] no fidju,*
DEM.DIST-there PROG allow=1PL.CL come~come tell story POSS.1PL child
memu ke no ka sta dja fizikamenti k'elis.

same REL 1PL.CL NEG be already phisically with+3PL.OBL

,That allows us to tell stories to our children, even if we are not phisically with them‘.

[KR58_04]

- b. *Ki panu-s tudu na pu-du, memu ki ka pudi bai na kacha.*

DEM.DIST cloth-PL all PROG put-PASS same REL NEG can go in box

,Those clothes are put [on the body], even if not all of them fit in the coffin‘. [KR69_05]

Concessive clauses

Si ben ke; apezar (di); (e)mbora (ke/ki/ku) ‘although’

(19)

- a. *Purtantu, i ka ten nesesidadi di no diverji, si ben ke Cabral luta pa unidadi nasiunal.*
Therefore 3SG.CL NEG have need of 1PL.CL diverge if well REL Cabral fight for unity national
‘So, there is no need for us to disagree, although Cabral fought for the national unity’. [KR58_04]
- b. *Nunka n tarbadja ke ki tipu di mininu-s, apezar n tarbadja ke criancas.*
Never 1SG.CL work with DEM.DIST type of child-PL although 1SG.CL work with children
‘I have never worked with that kind of children, although I have worked with children’. [KR70_03]
- c. ***Apezar di*** *i na da=u ki tudu tarbadju, no ta fala na kriol*
Although of 3SG.CL PROG give=2SG.CL DEM.DIST all work 1PL.CL HAB say in Kriol
«*i sombra di kasa*».
COP.PRS shadow of house
‘Although [elders] give us much to do, we say that they are the shadow of the house’. [KR08_04]
- d. *Ami n mora sempri na Bissau, embora n nasi i ka n’es bayru [...].*
1SG.NCL 1SG.CL live always in Bissau although 1SG.CL be.born COP.PRS NEG in+DEM.PROX neighborhood
‘I have always lived in Bissau, although I was not born in this neighborhood [...]’. [KR13_01]
- e. *Regulu amonton i ka na pudi da di kume familia, embora ke djinti-s ta bin ba*
king lazy 3SG.CL NEG PROG can give of eat family although REL people-PL HAB come PST
djuda regulu trabadju.
help king work
‘A lazy king cannot sustain his family, although people would help him with their work’. [KR04_03]

Substitutive clauses

Enves di / Mbes di 'instead of'

(20) a. *Koba reya enves di bu tira=l suma ostra di tarafi.*

Dig sand instead of 2SG.CL pull=3SG.CL like oyster of mangrove

'Dig in the sand instead of pulling it out like a mangrove oyster'. [KR30_04]

b. *Enves di fala pega di martelu, u ta fala pega kontinental.*

Instead of say handle of hammer 2SG.CL HAB say handle continental

'Instead of saying "hammer handle", you say "continental handle"'. [KR41_03]

Additive clauses

Alen di 'besides'

- (21) a. **Alen di** *vida sta un bokadinhu mas asesivel a relason a Bissau,*
Beyond of life be a bit more accessible in relation to Bissau
i ka tene stresi di Bissau.

3SG.CL NEG have stress of Bissau

'Besides being a bit more accessible than Bissau, it does not have the stress of Bissau'.

[KR26_03]

- b. *Kil ke sta na manifesta dentru di mi, i sta alen di*
DEM.DIST REL be in manifest inside of 1SG.OBL 3SG.CL be beyond of
ami n spresa=l na nha fala.

1SG.NCL 1SG.CL express=3SG.CL in POSS.1SG speech

'What is going on with me is besides expressing it with my voice'.

[KR45_05]

Summary

- Most SCONJ are derived from Portuguese adverbials and often need to embed a relative clause in order to introduce a subordinated clause
- However, Kriol shows a certain degree of innovation with respect to its lexifier (e.g. ***otcha*** and ***kontra***)
 - Very likely influence from Portuguese: Kriol has followed the pattern of the lexifier
 - We need to check this in the substrate/adstrate in order to understand whether they may have contributed to this embedding strategy
- As to the position of adverbial clauses with respect to the main clause, this preliminary work has shown that:
 - i. Kriol patterns similarly to what discussed in Diessel (2001)
 - Temporal, manner, concessive, substitutive, and additive clauses: before/after main clause
 - Locative, purpose, and causal (except for *suma*): mainly after
 - Conditional: usually before
 - ii. whenever there is variation, it seems to depend on cues related to information structure / discourse organization
- A more in-depth study is still needed in order to confirm these findings

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Obrigadu!
N misti gardisi bos pa atenson ku bo dan!
Thank you for your attention!

Bijagós, Guinea-Bissau — March 2018

