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DOMINIKA SWOLKIEN

# THE CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE OF SÃO VICENTE: ITS GENESIS AND STRUCTURE

Tese de Doutoramento em Língua Portuguesa: Investigação e Ensino,  
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# **THE CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE OF SÃO VICENTE: ITS GENESIS AND STRUCTURE**

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This Dissertation is Lovingly  
Dedicated to Cape Verde and Its People



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## Abstract

Although the Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) has been the subject of numerous linguistic works, the second major variety of the language, i.e. the São Vicente variety of CVC (CVSV), has hardly been described. Nevertheless this lack of studies and given its striking differences, on all linguistic levels, from the variety of Santiago (CVST), the implicit explanation for such divergences, echoed for decades in the literature on CVC, has been the presumably decreolized character of CVSV.

First, this study provides a comprehensive fieldwork-based synchronic description of CVSV major morpho-syntactic categories in the intent to document the variety. Second, it aims to place the study of CVSV within a broader scope of contact linguistics in the quest to explain its structure. Based on analyses of historical documents and studies, it reconstructs the sociohistorical scenario of the emergence and development of CVSV in the period of 1797-1975. From the comparison of the current structures of CVSV and CVST, the examination of linguistic data in historical texts and the analysis of sociohistorical facts it becomes clear that the contemporary structure of CVSV stems from the contact-induced changes that occurred during the intensive language and dialect contact on the island of São Vicente in the early days of its settlement in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and ensuing early 19<sup>th</sup> century development, rather than from modern day pressure of Portuguese. Although this dissertation argues for multiple explanations rather than a single theory, by showing that processes such as languages shift among the first Portuguese settlers, L2 acquisition, migration of the Barlavento speakers and subsequent dialect leveling as well as language borrowing at a later stage were at stake, it demonstrates the usefulness of partial-restructuring model proposed by Holm (2004).

**Key-words:** Cape Verdean Creole, São Vicente variety, contact linguistics, partial restructuring, morpho-syntax, descriptive linguistics

## Resumo

A variedade de Santiago do cabo-verdiano (CST) tem sido objeto de numerosos trabalhos de investigação enquanto a segunda maior variedade da língua cabo-verdiana, a de São Vicente (CSV), continua quase desconhecida. Não obstante esta falta de estudos, as diferenças marcantes, a todos os níveis linguísticos, entre o CSV e o CST, têm sido implicitamente fundamentadas, durante décadas, pelo suposto carácter descrioulizado da variedade vicentina.

O primeiro objetivo desta tese é o de documentar o CSV fornecendo, com base num extenso trabalho de campo, uma exaustiva descrição das mais importantes categorias morfo-sintáticas desta variedade. O segundo objetivo é o de situar o estudo do CSV num paradigma mais amplo da linguística de contacto com fim de explicar a sua estrutura contemporânea. Com base na análise da documentação e pesquisas históricas, o estudo reconstrói o cenário socio-histórico da génese e desenvolvimento do CSV no período entre 1797-1975. Da comparação das estruturas sincrónicas do CSV e CST, da análise dos dados linguísticos contidos nos textos históricos e da examinação dos factos socio-históricos depreende-se claramente que a estrutura sincrónica do CSV resulta das mudanças induzidas pelo contacto de línguas e dialetos aquando da colonização da ilha de São Vicente nos finais dos setecentos e durante a evolução da variedade no início dos oitocentos e não da recente pressão da língua portuguesa. Embora o presente estudo opta por várias explicações não defendendo uma teoria única, a análise mostra que os processos tais como: mudança de língua no seio dos primeiros colonos portugueses, aquisição da L2, migração dos falantes de outras ilhas de Barlavento conducente a nivelamento dialetal e o processo de empréstimo na fase posterior da formação do CSV determinaram a sua estrutura contemporânea, confirmando a pertinência do modelo teórico de reestruturação parcial proposto por Holm (2004).

**Palavras-chave:** Crioulo de Cabo Verde, variedade de São Vicente, linguística de contacto, reestruturação parcial, morfossintaxe, linguística descritiva

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## Abbreviations and Symbols<sup>1</sup>

<b>1,2,3</b>	first, second, third person
<b>AAE</b>	African American English
<b>APICS</b>	<i>Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures</i>
<b>ADJ</b>	adjective
<b>ADV</b>	adverb(ial)
<b>ALUPEC</b>	<i>Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-verdiano</i>
<b>ART</b>	article
<b>AUX</b>	auxiliary
<b>BN</b>	bare noun
<b>BVP</b>	Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese
<b>c</b>	coda
<b>CVSA</b>	Cape Verdean Creole of Santo Antão
<b>CVSN</b>	Cape Verdean Creole of São Nicolau
<b>CVSV</b>	Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente
<b>CVST</b>	Cape Verdean Creole of Santiago
<b>CL</b>	clitic
<b>COMP</b>	complementizer
<b>COND</b>	conditional
<b>COP</b>	copula
<b>CP</b>	Creole Portuguese
<b>CVC</b>	Cape Verdean Creole
<b>DEF</b>	definite
<b>DEM</b>	demonstrative
<b>DET</b>	determiner
<b>DIM</b>	diminutive
<b>DOBJ</b>	direct object
<b>DVP</b>	Dundo Vernacular Portuguese
<b>DUR</b>	durative
<b>EP</b>	European Portuguese
<b>ENG</b>	English
<b>F</b>	feminine
<b>FC.</b>	Forthcoming
<b>FF.</b>	following
<b>FO</b>	Foreign Office
<b>FOC</b>	focus
<b>FUT</b>	future
<b>GBC</b>	Guiné Bissau Creole
<b>INDF</b>	indefinite
<b>INF</b>	infinitive
<b>INTENS</b>	intensifier
<b>INTER</b>	interjection
<b>IMP</b>	imperative
<b>IPA</b>	International Phonetic Alphabet

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations for interlinear glosses are accordingly to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008 version) and listed below. In cases where the Leipzig Glossing Rules did not offer an abbreviation such as BN for ‘bare noun’, the abbreviation was added.

<b>IPFV</b>	imperfective
<b>IOBJ</b>	indirect object
<b>JPCL</b>	<i>Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages</i>
<b>LIT.</b>	literary
<b>M</b>	masculine
<b>MS.</b>	Manuscript or unpublished source
<b>N</b>	noun
<b>N/D</b>	no date or no data
<b>NEG</b>	negation
<b>N/N</b>	no name
<b>NO.</b>	number
<b>NOS.</b>	numbers
<b>NONCL</b>	nonclitic
<b>NP</b>	noun phrase
<b>N/P</b>	no place of publication
<b>O</b>	onset
<b>OBJ</b>	object
<b>PASS</b>	passive
<b>P.C.</b>	personal communication
<b>PFV</b>	perfective
<b>PL</b>	plural
<b>POSS</b>	possessive
<b>PP</b>	prepositional phrase
<b>PREP</b>	preposition
<b>PRO</b>	Public Record Office
<b>PROG</b>	progressive
<b>PRS</b>	present
<b>PST</b>	past
<b>PT.</b>	part
<b>PTCP</b>	participle
<b>PTG</b>	Portuguese
<b>QT</b>	quantifier
<b>QUOT</b>	quotative
<b>REFL</b>	reflexive
<b>REL</b>	relative
<b>SG</b>	singular
<b>St.</b>	Santiago
<b>Sv.</b>	São Vicente
<b>SVO</b>	subject-verb-object word order
<b>SUBJ</b>	subjunctive
<b>TMA</b>	tense-mode-aspect marker
<b>V</b>	vowel
<b>VOC</b>	vocative
<b>VOL.</b>	volume
<b>VOLS.</b>	volumes
<b>VP</b>	verb phrase
<b>VR.</b>	variation
<b>VS.</b>	versus



+	word boundary
[...]	omission in cited or transcribed text
ˊ	unstressed vowel deletion
*	ungrammatical

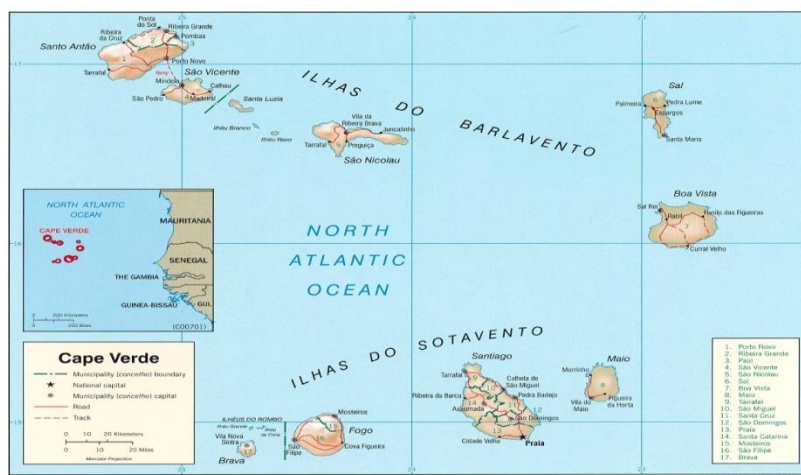
# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Preliminary notions

The archipelago of Cape Verde, a republic which has been independent from Portugal since 1975, lies 570 miles west off the coast of West Africa. The country covers an area of approximately 4,000 km<sup>2</sup>; its ten islands are divided into two groups: Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava – the Leeward or Sotavento group – and Boavista, Sal, São Nicolau, Santa Luzia (uninhabited), São Vicente, and Santo Antão – the Windward or the Barlavento group.

Map 1.1 Cape Verde <sup>1</sup>



Resident population in 2010 totaled 491,683 (INE, 2010).<sup>2</sup> The number of speakers of Cape Verdean Creole (Ethnologue code: KEA; CVC in this dissertation), including the Diaspora in Europe and the United States, surpasses 954,000.<sup>3</sup> The major urban centers are Praia, the capital of the country on the island of Santiago and Mindelo, on the island of São Vicente.

Cape Verdean Creole is the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of the population. CVC is officially recognized as the national language and efforts have been made towards its standardizing though the majority of the initiatives have remained proposals only (Baptista et al. 2010, Lopes 2011). CVC is the predominant language in intimate and informal contexts though nowadays the language is being extended into more formal settings, which

<sup>1</sup> Retrieved on 31.08.2011 from <http://www.geographicguide.net/africa/cape-verde.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Contemporary statistical data on Cape Verde can be obtained from the site of *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (INE) <http://www.ine.cv>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.ethnologue.com> It should be underlined that Creole is often preserved even among the third generation of emigrants while only those living in Portugal speak Portuguese.

previously have been reserved for Portuguese (Lopes 2011). Moreover, CVC is used more and more in the media, though there is still no newspaper, radio, or television channel that uses Creole only and schooling remains officially in Portuguese.

The degree of proficiency in Portuguese varies considerably among the population. According to the 2010 census, 82.8 % of Cape Verdeans aged 15 years and older were literate.<sup>4</sup>

Portuguese is spoken in Cape Verde as an L2 and it diverges, on all linguistic levels, from standard European Portuguese (EP) due to, among other factors, CVC influence. However, the Cape Verdean variety of Portuguese is poorly described and pioneering works on this topic have appeared only very recently (Lopes 2011, chapter 4, Jon-And 2011).

### Map 1.2 São Vicente Island<sup>5</sup>



São Vicente (area approximately 227 km<sup>2</sup>) belongs to the Barlavento or Leeward Islands. It is characterized by a very dry and windy sub-Saharan climate that since the beginning of its colonization at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been responsible for the failure of its agriculture-based economy. The life of the island has evolved around the urban center of Mindelo and its

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<sup>4</sup> On the national level, the gender related gap in education is around 12 %, i.e. 77.3% of women and 88.5 % of men are literate. These general literacy figures still reflect the inheritance of the Portuguese colonial regime as the picture among post-independence-born Cape Verdeans differs significantly. In the 15-24 years age range, 97.4% of women and 96.4 % of men are literate. Significantly, more women than men attend higher education institutions and hold bachelor degree.

<sup>5</sup> Retrieved on 05.12.2011 from <http://maps.google.com/>

deep and safe Atlantic port. Its population (76,107 inhabitants in 2010) is highly urbanized as over 90% live in the city. The rural population is scattered around fishing villages (such as Calhau, Salamansa, and São Pedro) and a very few sources of water in the interior (e.g. Norte de Baía, Lameirão, Mato Inglês, and Madeiral).

Mindelo, due to its location at the one of the safest and deepest bays in the North Atlantic, is a port city with a service-based economy and a considerable number of resident foreigners. The city has been traditionally considered a cultural center of Cape Verde.<sup>6</sup>

## 1.2 The goals and the structure of the dissertation

The idea of this study originated with Pereira's (2000a) article on the São Vicente variety (CVSV hereafter) verb phrase in which Pereira analyzed a series of inflected-like verbs quite unusual for creole languages and which make this variety seem rather different from the southern varieties of CVC, especially that of Santiago (CVST hereafter). The implicit explanation was the decreolized character of CVSV, an idea that for decades has been echoed in the literature on CVC (e.g., Lopes da Silva 1957 [1984]<sup>7</sup>, Almada 1961, Cunha 1981, Pereira 1993a, 1996, 2000b and Veiga 1982 and 1995).

My initially limited goal to answer the question why São Vicente variety exhibits this particularity of the verb phrase grew progressively into a much wider project. I realized that given a nearly total lack of updated and fieldwork-based descriptions of CVSV it was necessary to describe the variety synchronically, before any conclusion could be reached.

Differences between CVST and CVSV, on all linguistic levels, have been tackled in several works (e.g., Soares 1947, Almada 1961, Veiga 1982, 1995 and 2000a, Fanha 1987, Pereira 2000a, Jacobs 2011b). However, CVSV has always been treated in a subordinate fashion in relation to the better documented Santiago variety, considered 'base' or 'genuine and true', and the linguistic features of CVSV discussed in the literature gave a highly fragmented and incomplete picture of its actual structure.

Since the development of the concept of continuum and implicational scale by DeCamp (1971) claims related to decreolization resulted traditionally in variationist studies (such as, for instance, Escure 1981). However, while variationist methodology serves well an analysis of a fairly limited set of features (such as, for instance, the development of definite article in CVC as

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<sup>6</sup> The current linguistic situation in São Vicente is analyzed in chapter 3 (section 3.5).

<sup>7</sup> Cited hereafter as Lopes da Silva (1957).

in Albino 1994, or CVC plural marking strategies analyzed in Ferreira 2004), it would be unfeasible in the case of numerous morpho-syntactic categories in an undocumented language. For that reason, I have decided to address the decreolization hypothesis from a different angle, discussing the role that sociohistorical factors might have played in the development of this variety.

Given the lack of data-based description of CVSV the first goal of this dissertation is, therefore, a thorough synchronic documentation of this largely undescribed variety. The description focuses on basic nominal and verbal morpho-syntactic categories and the nomenclature used follows the most neutral and widely accepted terms.

The second goal of this study is to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the emergence and development of the São Vicente variety and of social and historic factors that might have been responsible for the present-day divergence from the Sotavento varieties. By offering fieldwork-based linguistic data, it aims to examine CVSV linguistic structure within a broader context of language and dialect contact on the island from the early days of its settlement in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to the present day rather than attempting a quest for a single theoretical model to account for it.

In order to understand what sociohistorical and linguistic factors have shaped the modern structure of CVSV this dissertation is divided into the following chapters.

After the introductory matter in chapter 1 (*Introduction*), chapter 2 (*Overview of the Literature*) provides an outline of the literature on Cape Verdean Creole in general (section 2.2) and on São Vicente variety in particular (section 2.3). Subsequently, chapter 2 surveys recent tendencies in the field of contact linguistics (section 2.4), mainly in the literature on restructuring, and it delimits the theoretical scope of this dissertation.

Chapter 3 (*The Sociolinguistic History of the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente*) analyzes in detail the sociohistorical scenario of the development of CVSV from the beginning of its colonization at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the independence of Cape Verde in 1975 in order to evaluate how the historical settings and other social factors were likely to have affected the structure of present-day CVSV. Section 3.2 analyzes the sociohistorical context of the formation and the early decades of the settlement of São Vicente with a special focus on the demographics in 1797 and development until the foundation of Mindelo in 1838. Also, it evaluates the linguistic impact of Portuguese convicts and population's access to Portuguese via schooling in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Section 3.3 presents the historical background of

the rapid economic and demographic growth of the city of Mindelo from 1850 to 1910. It analyzes the first historical comment regarding the variety as well as the possible linguistic consequences of the abrupt populational increase triggered by intense inter-island migration. In addition, the changes in the structure of the society, the role of the British and the state of education and potential levels of bilingualism in São Vicente in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are examined in order to evaluate the likelihood of decreolization. Section 3.4 focuses on the development of CVSV in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In subsection, 3.4.1 the economic situation and demography are discussed and, in subsection 3.4.2, there is an analysis of the general state of education until 1975, with a focus on literacy rates and probable levels of bilingualism in São Vicente in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, section 3.5 provides an assessment of the current linguistic situation in São Vicente and 3.6 concludes the chapter.

Chapter 4 (*The Noun Phrase in the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente*) has two goals. First, it presents a description of the selected nominal categories in modern CVSV. It starts by describing the determiner system in section 4.2 (focusing on demonstratives in subsection 4.2.1 and articles in 4.2.2), then possessives and possession are discussed in section 4.3, number in section 4.4, and adjectives in section 4.5. Section 4.6 is dedicated to gender and section 4.7 to pronominals. Section 4.8 presents nominal conjunctions and, finally, section 4.9 summarizes and concludes the chapter. This description of current morpho-syntactic categories in the CVSV noun phrase is complemented with an examination of the probable paths of their diachronic development and analyses of several of their differences from the Sotavento varieties as they are described in the literature. The second goal of chapter 4 is, therefore, to present possible explanations for these divergences.

Like chapter 4, the goal of chapter 5 (*The Verb Phrase in the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente*) is two-fold. First, it describes selected verbal categories of CVSV. Section 5.1 focuses on the unmarked verb while the system of tense, mood, and aspect markers (TMA) and their possible combinations are analyzed in section 5.2. In sections 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 periphrastic tenses, serial verbs, and complementizers are presented while section 5.6 discusses stativity and modality with a special focus on the inflection-like variation of the verb stem. Imperatives are described in section 5.7, copular constructions in 5.8 while negation and passive constructions are discussed in 5.9 and 5.10 respectively. Section 5.11 concludes the chapter. Its second goal is to contrast the verbal categories in CVSV with their Sotavento counterparts (especially those of the Santiago variety), whenever possible referring to available historical texts to find out what factors might have caused its synchronic structural divergence from the Sotavento varieties.

Finally, chapter 6 (*Conclusions*) relates the findings of the five preceding chapters. It attempts to provide a comprehensive explanation of sociohistorical and linguistic factors that led to the development of the São Vicente variety, defending the thesis that processes consistent with partial restructuring contact-induced changes, which occurred at the time of the variety's genesis, are largely responsible of its present day structure.

It is to be hoped that given the current debates on the standardization of CVC and its introduction in schooling in Cape Verde, this dissertation will contribute to the documentation of the regional dialectal variation of Cape Verdean Creole and to our better understanding of the genesis of its divergences, adding to our knowledge of the rich and multifaceted Cape Verdean language and culture.

### **1.3 Field work**

Given the scarcity of works on the São Vicente variety based on direct interviews with its speakers, a crucial importance has been given to fieldwork. This section will briefly present the methodology of data collection: the informants will be discussed in section 1.3.1, the places in section 1.3.2, and the representation of the data in section 1.3.3.

#### **1.3.1 The people**

This section discusses the methodological procedures that guided the choice of informants and the way the interviews were conducted.

The core of the data presented in this dissertation comes from 73 free or semi-directed interviews conducted in the city of Mindelo and São Vicente's villages and hamlets during three sessions of fieldwork completed between 2003 and 2005 adding up to seven months in total.

The interviews varied in length between 20 to 30 minutes. Interviews done in 2003 were recorded with an analogical cassette recorder and digitalized. Later recordings were made on a solid-state recorder in WAV format which improved their quality. Of all these 2003-2005 recordings, 65 were transcribed in full. The remaining interviews were set aside due to their inferior quality caused by factors such as background noises, third persons' interference, and unclear pronunciation. The data provided by the interviews has been further complemented with linguistic elicitations and natural speech examples from eleven speakers from my personal social network collected through my observation and participation in the daily life of the São Vicente speech community since I moved to São Vicente in 2006. Finally, I have used occasionally the few available oral stories written in the São Vicente variety by native speakers of CVSV and

other texts published in CVSV.<sup>8</sup>

All informants were told that due to the lack of grammars and dictionaries for the São Vicente variety I needed to record their speech in order to learn the language and to write a book about São Vicente Creole. The informants were openly asked for their consent to be recorded and for the data to be used in the present dissertation. The idea of the project of a book on CVSV was received with amused astonishment, but also with pride and satisfaction.

Conscious of the contact between the São Vicente variety and other dialects of the Barlavento area, especially of São Nicolau and neighboring Santo Antão, I was particularly careful to choose informants born and raised on the island, preferably those with São Vicente-born parents. Also, being aware of the contact with the Portuguese language, I initially targeted basilectal speakers though the traditional concept of basilectality has sometimes proven to be quite vague as on a few occasions, I found potentially basilectal speakers (i.e. elderly people with little or no formal education in Portuguese) showing a significant competence in that language. This was usually due to several individual factors revealed in the course of the interview such as employment by a Portuguese family house during colonial times or prolonged and daily contact with a Portuguese priest. The examples from the speech of those speakers, which often show code mixing, have been used with caution and the particularity of their linguistic history is noted throughout the dissertation.

I found Cape Verdeans extremely open and willing to participate in interviews and contrary to Braga's experience (1982: 34), I had no major difficulties in obtaining interviews solely in creole and not in Portuguese. Nonetheless, given the fact that I was particularly interested in linguistic forms that might indicate a restructuring towards Portuguese in this variety, avoiding the situation in which the informants would produce a Portuguese version of creole due to external linguistic factors such as my race, status, language, and the formality of the situation, was one of my chief methodological concerns.

I solved this problem in two ways. First, the overwhelming majority of the interviews were conducted by a young, urban female, a native speaker of the variety and a university student from the city of Mindelo. The presence of the local interviewer created a very good

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<sup>8</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Manuel Figueira for beautiful loud readings of his manuscripts of two traditional folk stories *Blimund* and *Mnina Vaidóza* in CVSV. Though they do not represent spontaneous speech, I decided to include them in the corpus because of the richness of various preverbal marker combinations in these texts.



dynamic for conversation while my interference was reduced to the minimum. Moreover, I presented myself as a Polish student of Cape Verdean language and culture and avoided showing my knowledge of Portuguese. My status of a Polish citizen proved to be an asset due to the figure of the late Pope John Paul II whose figure, revered among the population, constituted an excellent first topic.

Second, the interviews were scheduled at a time of the day that was chosen as the most convenient for the speaker, and were held in the familiar contexts of the speakers' home, creating the most informal and friendly atmosphere possible.

The presence of a local native speaker as the interviewer certainly helped in gaining the speakers' confidence and reducing the level of formality, but presented the problem of potentially basilectal informants trying to produce acrolectal speech in face of an educated urban middle class student. I dealt with this constraint by omitting in analyses any speaker responses in which clearly acrolectal morpho-syntactic features or instances of 'false starts' in Portuguese appeared directly after the speech of the interviewer.<sup>9</sup>

On several occasions, more than one session was scheduled with the same informant at different periods. I found this procedure extremely rewarding both linguistically, as I could test problematic structures that had been transcribed previously, and personally as I could establish emotional relationships with the community, the benefits of which have greatly surpassed the goals and temporal scope of this research.

As to the topics, elderly informants talked passionately about past times constituting a mine of cultural and historical information while younger speakers focused on issues related to education issues and present day problems. Female informants were more likely to discuss household issues and economical difficulties while men tended to talk about their professional life and politics though there was no clear gender division of topics. For instance, the most vivid account of independence day in 1975 was narrated by a female informant.

The corpus is proportionally divided between female and male speakers but given that I was concerned with the documentation of CVSV, there is preponderance of speakers that might

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<sup>9</sup> The fact that on few occasions the informants initiated the conversation in Portuguese does not imply their proficiency in the lexifier, but is rather related to symbolic language projection. Graham (2006), in his study of social network and linguistic interactions in Praia, Santiago, has shown that a high percentage of social events in Cape Verde start in Portuguese while in the course of the conversation the participants systematically tend to switch to Creole.

traditionally be labeled as basilectal, i.e. elderly, rural, with little or no formal education in Portuguese and with reduced access to the lexifier.

Finally, a short justification as to my choice of a label for CVSV is in order. In tune with Pratas's (2004: 17-20) observations on the negative connotations of the term 'creole' *per se* I have, however, opted to label the variety as 'Cape Verdean Creole' of São Vicente (CVSV). This designation combines the term Cape Verdean Creole, widely used among linguists, with the native speakers' perception of the unmistakable distinctiveness of this variety which they label *kriol de Sonsent* 'Creole of São Vicente'. This native speakers' insight should not be dismissed as 'unscientific' but rather accepted as a legitimate. It shows that the dialectalization of CVC in at least two large 'umbrella' groups, Sotavento and Barlavento, is not merely a theoretical 'myth' of often foreign linguists (as implied by, for instance, Pereira 2006a), but a linguistic reality that stems from the different social, cultural, and historical scenarios of creolization in Cape Verde. Lastly, the term 'variety' is understood here as:

A variety [...] of a language distinguishes itself by the fact that it combines a set of features – lexical, syntactic, and phonological – nuclear to the language with a set of characteristics, on one or more linguistic levels, particular to this variety. Obviously, these characteristics must represent some stability over a reasonable period of time, and, above all, must be rooted in a minimally representative linguistic community. (Peres and Móia 1995: 34).

### 1.3.2 The places

The interviews were conducted in the following São Vicente localities:

#### i. *Fishing villages*: São Pedro, Salamansa, and Calhau

São Pedro is a village located on the southwest coast of the island, near the international airport, some 14 km from Mindelo, being well connected to the city by an asphalt road. The population is composed largely of fishermen, many of whom worked on the airport's construction in the 1960's. In São Pedro, I was lucky enough to meet speakers who had been born and raised in Calheta, today an abandoned hamlet on one of the isolated bays of the southern coast, and whose contact with the lexifier was extremely reduced until their adulthood.

Salamansa, on the northeast coast, is the most populous village on the island and the most important fishing community, already figuring in 19<sup>th</sup> century statistical records (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3). Originally populated by inhabitants from Santo Antão, its speech is perceived by

Mindelo's urban dwellers as a 'different way of speaking', a perception which is often associated with the low status of this community in social terms.

Calhau, a fishing village on the north coast, lies at the mouth of a riverbed with a string of oases stretching from the highest peak on the island, Monte Verde, to the sea. Its population is a mixture of agricultural laborers and fishermen and it seems to be of fairly recent origin.

ii. *Interior: Mato Inglês, Lameirão, Madeiral, and Norte de Baia das Gatas*

Mato Inglês is probably the oldest inhabited oasis in the interior, being an important agricultural center in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nowadays, it is nearly completely deserted due to the overexploitation of its underground water resources. I found only one elderly woman who had been raised and was still resident there, while the majority of people living in Mato Inglês are newcomers, caretakers of the country houses of Mindelo's urban elite. The small village of Madeiral on the road to Calhau is centered around a functioning spring and was most probably founded by farmers from Santo Antão. The same applies to the hamlet of Lameirão on the road to Baia das Gatas, a leisure seaside village.

Norte de Baia das Gatas, located on the newly built road connecting the Baia das Gatas with Calhau on northern coast of the island, was most likely the best place for interviews. The hamlet made up of a dozen isolated houses concentrated around a small spring. Interviewed informants, whose main occupation is stone production for roads and construction sites in Mindelo, claimed being the third generation living there. The hamlet received electricity only in 2002 and at the time of the interviews, only a dirt road connected this community with the main road to Mindelo.

In all the villages there is today a primary school providing six compulsory years of education but not many families can offer their children further study in the city due to the transport costs and other expenses.

iii. *Urban and suburban settings: Mindelo and Lazareto*

In Mindelo, I interviewed mainly young acrolectal speakers, students of secondary and higher education and middle aged and elderly suburban speakers. This urban setting was complemented with interviews conducted in Lazareto, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century functioned as the place for quarantining the steam-ship passengers; today it constitutes a suburb of the city.

### 1.3.3 The data

This subsection will explain in more detail the options followed in the representation of the data, focusing particularly on spelling.

In this dissertation, linguistic examples, tables, maps, and figures are numbered consecutively throughout the chapters. In the numbering system, the first number corresponds to the chapter number; the second is the number of the example or table within that particular chapter. For instance, (5.35) indicates the sample sentence 35 in chapter 5. This system allows each example, table, map, or figure to have its unique identification throughout the dissertation and to avoid lengthy algorithms. Within the text, the numbers of the sentences discussed are between parentheses – e.g. (4.1) – in order to distinguish them from section numbers – e.g. 4.1.

In order to protect the privacy of the informants, the identity of speakers of sentence example are coded by acronyms that nonetheless permit their being located in the corpus. When a number appears after a slash in the acronym, it indicates the number of the interview in cases where more than one session was recorded with the same informant. Examples with no acronym are of my own devise and have been confirmed as grammatical by at least two native speakers.

Grammatical glosses are provided according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (2008) and are listed in the list of abbreviations (p. 14). For the ease of the reader and due to the limitation of space, they have been kept as general as possible and are detailed only when referring to a feature analyzed in a given section. For example, DET is a general label for various determiners which are specified (e.g. INDEF.SG) only in sections focusing on determiners.

Abbreviations in the text are given in full when occurring for the first time and are also listed on p. 14. All translations of non-English sources are my own unless otherwise stated. All language examples from written sources have been quoted according to the authors' original spelling and transcriptions. Phonetic transcriptions of the examples from the Santiago Island variety follow Lang et al. (2002) unless stated otherwise.

#### 1.3.3.1 CVSV sounds and spelling options

In 1998, an alphabet for CVC – *Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Crioulo Caboverdiano* (ALUPEC) – was approved by the Cape Verdean government on a trial basis. In

2009, the government issued a decree instituting the ALUPEC as the official alphabet for CVC.<sup>10</sup> This Latin-based alphabet is composed of 24 letters and the four digraphs listed below:

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

ALUPEC was originally intended to be as a phonological alphabet where one symbol would correspond to one sound. However, given the substantial differences between CVC regional varieties and natural language change, this principle is often unattainable. Moreover, ALUPEC is a contentious issue among Cape Verdeans and has been opposed especially by the São Vicente intellectual elite who advocate so-called ‘etymological’ writing system based on Portuguese spelling<sup>11</sup> for reasons that cannot be discussed here but which are critically analyzed in Veiga (1979 [2000b]), Batalha (2004) and Rosa (2010).

In this dissertation, I have followed ALUPEC. Given that ALUPEC is based on the Sotavento varieties and given that CVSV has a different phonological inventory and syllabic structure, I have introduced a few changes to facilitate the reading of the examples although many problems posed by the representation of the data remain unresolved satisfactorily. It should be emphasized that these adaptations serve exclusively the goal of this research and by no means constitute a proposal for a standardized spelling for CVSV.<sup>12</sup>

On some occasions, transcriptions in ALUPEC are followed by International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols when it was necessary to show important distinctions in the features under analysis, such as between *es* [es] and *es* [eʃ], singular and plural demonstratives respectively (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2).

The inventory of eight oral vocalic phonemes in IPA, followed by a graphic symbol in ALUPEC and an example word is presented below:

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<sup>10</sup> The label was changed to ‘Alfabeto Cabo-verdiano’. *Decreto-Lei* No. 8/2009, 16<sup>th</sup> of March 2009, published in *Boletim Oficial* No. 11, I *Série*.

<sup>11</sup> Spelling, for instance: *qrê*, *cama* ‘want’, ‘bed’ (Portuguese: *querer*, *cama*) instead of *kre*, *kama* as stipulated by the ALUPEC.

<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, owing to the already advanced stage of the writing of this dissertation, I was unable to introduce here the spelling suggestions for CVSV proposed in Veiga’s (2011) dictionary.

i. *Oral tonic vowels in CVSV*

	front	central	back
<b>close</b>	/i/ <i> <i>midj</i> ‘corn’		/u/ <u> <i>mut</i> ‘a lot’
<b>mid</b>	/e/ <e> <i>pera</i> ‘pear’	/ɐ/ <a> <i>ma</i> ‘but’	/o/ <o> <i>po</i> ‘dust’
<b>open</b>	/ɛ/ <é> <i>kabésa</i> ‘head’	/a/ <á> <i>káza</i> ‘house’	/ɔ/ <ó> <i>pórta</i> ‘door’

All vowels presented above can be stressed but open vowels /ɛ/, /a/, and /ɔ/ are always tonic. The status of mid central /ɐ/ as a separate phoneme is problematic in CVSV. In the Santiago variety, there are minimal pairs opposing /ɐ/ and /a/ such as *karapati* [kəɐ'pəti] ‘to cling’ and *karapáti* [kəɐ'pəti] ‘a tick’ (Lang et al. 2002: xxiv) and Quint observes that the opposition between /a/ and /ɐ/ in CVST constitutes a particularity among other CVC dialects (Quint 2000: 19). In fact, when a mid central tonic /ɐ/ appears in Santiago *animal* [ɛni'mɐl], in São Vicente it is often an open central /a/ as in [ɛni'mal] ‘animal’. Also, the ending of verbs in open central /a/ in CVSV leads Carvalho (1962 [1984]: 14) to state that /ɐ/ does not exist in São Vicente with phonemic status, an opinion shared by Veiga (1995) and Rodrigues (2007).<sup>13</sup> However, there are in CVSV minimal pairs that contrast /a/ and /ɐ/ or /ɐ/ and /o/ (e.g. the past imperfective marker *tá* [ta] and the non-past imperfective marker *ta* [tɐ], the comitative *má* [ma] ‘with’ and the disjunctive conjunction *ma* [mɐ] ‘but’, or the preposition *na* [nɐ] ‘in’ and second person plural pronoun *no* [no] ‘we’), which suggests that this vowel has phonemic status, albeit marginal and limited to functional words.

Following Lang et al. (2002) open stressed vowels are marked with an acute accent (/a/ <á>, /ɛ/ <é>, /ɔ/ <ó>), both in monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, in order to distinguish them from mid vowels (/ɐ/ <a>, /e/ <e>, /o/ <o>) as in *bói* [boj] ‘ball’ vs. *boi* [boj] ‘ox’. This notation permits the indication of important grammatical distinctions in CVSV such as *e* [e] present copula ‘to be’ and *é* [ɛ] past copula ‘was, were’ or *ta* [tɐ] non-past imperfective marker and *tá* [ta] past imperfective. Also, the circumflex ^ is used to indicate the vowel quality (mid) in cases where the stress falls on a syllable other than the penultimate as in *kodê* [ko'de] ‘the youngest child’.

<sup>13</sup> Rodrigues (2007: 151), in her vocalic phonemic inventory for CVSV, interprets it as shwa /ə/, rather than /ɐ/.

The representation of unstressed vowels is particularly problematic as they are often reduced or deleted in CVSV<sup>14</sup> but maintained in the Sotavento varieties, triggering differences in phonological and syllable structures. For instance, the deletion of the word-final unstressed vowels /u/ and /i/ in the Sotavento varieties have triggered changes in the preceding stressed vowels in the CVSV making them higher and more rounded, as in (CVST) *gatu* ['gatu], *póbrī* ['pɔbri], *xatiadu* [ʃe'tjadu] vs. (CVSV) *gót* ['gɔt] 'cat', *pobr* ['pɔbr] 'poor', *xatiód* [ʃe'tjɔd] 'irritated'. This deletion, which is one of the distinctive traces between the Sotavento and the Barlavento varieties of CVC, results in what Rodrigues calls 'a phonic zero' (Rodrigues 2007: 167).<sup>15</sup>

In reducing to close central vowel as in *terser* [tɨr'ser] 'third' or deleting unstressed vowels, CVSV seems to follow a general tendency of European Portuguese (EP), which in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century started to reduce unstressed vowels (Teyssier 1982). This process must have also influenced the development of other Barlavento varieties over the last 200 years. In addition, Rodrigues (2007) suggests that the southern EP dialects may have had crucial influence on the São Vicente and Santo Antão vocalic systems. However, these influences, though fitting well into the time and socio-linguistic scenario of the inception of CVSV varieties, have not yet been systematically examined.<sup>16</sup> Thus, in the notation of unstressed vowels, I have opted to reflect the speakers' often varying pronunciation by spelling *fjĩ* ['fʒi] ~ *fujĩ* [f(u)'ʒi] 'to run away' and *depos* [d(ɨ)'pɔʃ] ~ *txpos* ['tʃpɔʃ] 'after'.

Finally, as explained in the footnote 15, I have decided not to introduce the 'mute e' symbol which had been suggested by the authors of ALUPEC for the Barlavento varieties.<sup>17</sup> First, it would oblige me to insert a graphic symbol for vocalic sounds existing only in the Santiago variety; second, native speakers of CVSV, in spontaneous writing (on-line chats and

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<sup>14</sup> For example, in function words such as the imperfective marker *ta* [tɐ], which in rapid speech becomes *te* [tɨ], with a close central vowel that can only appear in unstressed position in CVSV.

<sup>15</sup> This is one of the reasons why the 'mute e' symbol suggested by ALUPEC (1998) and its authors (for instance, Veiga 2006) was not used in transcriptions here. In order to justify the introduction of 'mute e', ALUPEC creators adduce arguments such as "avoiding rough consonantal clusters" in the Barlavento, spelling '*sóbede*' and not '*sóbd*' 'Saturday' and "making syllable structure correspond between varieties" of CVC, spelling '*bunitu/benite*' 'beautiful' for Sotavento and Barlavento respectively (*Decreto-Lei* 1998, Veiga 2006: 172). Notwithstanding the intention of standardizing of CVC, this proposal creates a rule that would oblige the speakers of CVSV to introduce graphic symbols for sounds inexistent in their speech (phonetically, 'beautiful' is [bnit] in CVSV) in order to avoid consonantal clusters that may sound 'rough' and 'unaesthetic' to the ears of the Sotavento speakers but which, nevertheless, constitute an inherent feature of their mother-tongue variety.

<sup>16</sup> Rodrigues (2007) constitutes, to my knowledge, the only available fieldwork-based description of modern CVSV's phonology while a comparative study of southern varieties of EP and the Barlavento varieties of CVC is yet to be done.

<sup>17</sup> An exception is made in the representation of nasal consonants in final position discussed below.

mobile messages), clearly do not represent these inexistent sounds in their speech. Thus, I transcribe: *kmê* (not *kemê*) ‘eat’, *ftxód* (not *fetxóde*) ‘close’ and *oió-b* not (*oió-be*) ‘saw you’.

In accordance with ALUPEC, the nasality of vowels is represented by the oral vowel symbol followed by an <n> which indicates the nasality of the preceding vowel as in *bon* [‘bõ] ‘good’.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, following ALUPEC and Veiga’s (2011: 15) suggestion, the tilde is exceptionally used to indicate nasal vowel in words such as *irmã* [ir’mẽ] ‘sister’, and diphthongs such as *mãi* ‘mother’ [‘mẽj] or *nasãu* [ne’sẽw] ‘nation’.

The nasal counterparts of the oral vowels in CVSV are presented below:

ii. *Nasalized tonic vowels in CVSV*

	front	central	back
<b>close</b>	/ĩ/ <in> <i>ptin</i> ‘chicken’		/ũ/ <un> <i>mund</i> ‘world’
<b>mid</b>	/ẽ/ <en> <i>ben</i> ‘come’	/ẽ/ <an> <i>dansa</i> ‘dance’	/õ/ <on> <i>pon</i> ‘bread’
<b>open</b>	/ẽ/ <én> <i>ménza</i> ‘table’	/ã/ <án> <i>kánja</i> ‘broth’	/õ/ <ón> <i>ónra</i> ‘honor’

The phonemic status of nasal vowels in CVC in general is not a clear-cut matter. For the Santiago variety, Lang (2001) admits nasal vowels, noting however that “in relation to vowels the ‘oral/nasal’ opposition is restricted to the word-final position” (Lang 2001: 233) while Lang (2007) clarifies the previous position postulating the existence of vocalic nasal phonemes (Lang 2007: 137). Quint considers that Santiago variety shows ‘semi-nasalized’ vowels and which are not, “from the strictly phonological point of view” nasal (Quint 2000: 25).<sup>19</sup> Couto and Rodrigues de Souza (2006: 136-138) summarize several works on nasality in the Santiago variety defending the position that CVST does not have nasal vowel phoneme.

Far less literature is available on nasality in the Barlavento varieties. Carvalho (1962 [1984]: 9) admits the existence of nasal phonemes ‘at least’ in final position. In the internal position, Carvalho proposes for the Barlavento varieties a vocalic phoneme followed by an archiphoneme /aN/ or a heterosyllabic consonant /ana/ (Carvalho 1962 [1984]: 9). Veiga states

<sup>18</sup> This notation is not free of problems. In syllables with nasal coda such as *óne* [‘õn] ‘year’ where the preceding vowel is oral, the letter <e> was exceptionally introduced (the ‘mute e’) to avoid suggesting the pronunciation [õ] which does not occur.

<sup>19</sup> “Les voyelles nasales badiasais sont en fait des voyelles semi-nasalisées, par contraste avec les voyelles nasalisées du portugais ou du français. [...] D’un strict point de vue phonologique, le badiasais ne connaît pas de voyelle nasale, mais seulement de suites /Vn/.” (Quint 2000: 25).



“that all oral vowels can be nasalized” but he does not specify the variety of CVC this comment refers to (Veiga 1982: 61), while his 1995 comparative study (Veiga 1995) does not discuss nasality. Therefore, in relation to CVSV, the only available synchronic fieldwork based analysis is Rodrigues (2007), who finds that nasal vowels in CVSV exist only on the phonetic level and does not include them in the inventory of CVSV vocalic phonemes (Rodrigues 2007: 151).

In fact, CVSV shows minimal oral-nasal pairs in final position such as *fine* [fin] ‘sophisticated, fine’ vs. *fin* [fĩ] ‘the end’, *bo* [bo] ‘you’ vs. *bon* [bõ] ‘good’ or *po* [po] ‘dust’ vs. *pon* [põ] ‘bread’. It should be stressed that unlike CVST (Lang 2001: 233) CVSV does not have final nasals followed by a velar nasal /ŋ/. Moreover, there are pairs where the nasal vowel in final position alternates with a vowel-nasal consonant sequence as in *son* [sõ] ‘sound’ vs. *son* [son] ‘sleepiness’ or *sen* [sẽ] ‘without’ vs. *sene* [sen] ‘*senna*, a laxative herb’. It should be noted, however, that CVSV shows clearly contrastive oral-nasal minimal pairs not only in the final but also in the word-internal position such as *mud* [ˈmud] ‘mute’ vs. *mund* [ˈmũd] ‘world’, *brók* [ˈbrɔk] ‘hole’ vs. *bronk* [ˈbrõk] ‘white’, *kantá* [kẽˈta] ‘to sing’ vs. *katá* [kɛˈta] ‘to pick’. These coexist with sequences such as *aónt* [ɐ.ˈɔnt] ‘yesterday’ where the oral vowel is followed by a nasal consonant (cf. *tónt* [tõt] ‘how much’).

Since the goal of this introductory section is merely to present spelling options, I leave the issue of the nature of nasality in CVSV for further research, simply labeling the vowels as ‘nasalized’.

CVSV’s consonantal phonemic inventory with corresponding ALUPEC graphic symbols is presented below:

iii. *Consonants in CVSV*

		bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
<b>plosive</b>	unvoiced	/p/ <p>		/t/ <t>			/k/ <k>	
	voiced	/b/ <b>		/d/ <d>			/g/ <g>	
<b>nasal</b>		/m/ <m>				/ɲ/ <nh>		
<b>trill</b>								/ʀ/ <r>
<b>tap</b>				/ɾ/ <r>				
<b>fricative</b>	unvoiced		/f/ <f>	/s/ <s>	/ʃ/ <x>			
	voiced		/v/ <v>	/z/ <z>	/ʒ/ <j>			
<b>affricate</b>	unvoiced				/tʃ/ <tx>			
	voiced				/dʒ/ <dj>			
<b>lateral</b>				/l/ <l>		/ʎ/ <lh>		

As in the case of vowels, the above inventory differs in several points with respect to its Santiago counterpart as presented in the literature (cf. Quint 2000, Lang 2001, and Rodrigues 2007). First, contrary to Rodrigues (2007: 145) who attests the nasal velar /ŋ/ for São Vicente, present in the CVST in words such as *ñuli* [ˈɲuli] ‘to kill with an eyesight’ (Quint 2006: 83), or in words of African or onomatopoeic origin (Lang 2013), the phoneme does not seem to occur in CVSV.

Second, the entire class of Santiago prenasalised homorganic consonants (e.g. *nbárka* [ˈmbar̥kə] ‘to emigrate’, *ntendi* [ˈntendi] ‘to understand’) does not exist in CVSV. There is an ongoing debate whether in CVST these segments should be analyzed as monophonemic (Lang 2007) or biphonemic (Couto and Rodrigues de Souza 2006).<sup>20</sup> Notwithstanding this discussion, it is contended here that the pre-nasalization of consonants, a marked substrate, non-Indo-European feature in the CVST (Quint p.c. 2011) was lost in the course of the genesis and evolution of CVSV.

Rodrigues (2007), the only available fieldwork-based phonological study that makes reference to CVSV, proposes a biphonemic analysis of the prenasalized consonants in CVC.

<sup>20</sup> There is not to my knowledge a study that would analyze prenasalized consonants in other Sotavento varieties. As to the Barlavento varieties, Carvalho attests ‘initial consonantal groups’ such as *mp*, *mb*, *nt*, etc. only for the São Nicolau variety, analyzing them as generally resulting from the aphaeresis of the Portuguese initial vowels and stressing their ‘absolute strangeness’ in comparison to the Portuguese consonantal system (Carvalho 1962 [1984]: 29). Given the absence of these groups in São Vicente and, as far as I know, Santo Antão, this is another fact that confirms a hybrid character of the São Nicolau variety.

These, according to her, contrast with monophonemic West African prenasalized consonants and are most likely a result of the aphaeresis of the EP initial nasal vowel as in *endireitar* > *ndreta* ‘straighten’ (Rodrigues 2007: 216-219). This interpretation does not seem satisfactory given the fact that, as observed by Lang (2007: 519), there are numerous lexemes in the Santiago variety which start with a prenasalized consonant with no possible etymological Portuguese initial vowel *nzámi* ['nzami] < Ptg. *exame* ‘exam’, *nliona* ['nljone] ‘to become furious’ (no Portuguese etymon), *mbruga* [ʔ~brugɐ] < Ptg. *verruca* ‘wart’ (Quint 2006: 81). Another argument for the biphonemic interpretation presented by Couto and Rodrigues de Souza (2006: 139) is the existence in the Santiago variety of pairs such as *nguli* ~ *inguli* ‘to swallow’ where in the initial position the prenasalized consonant may alternate with a nasal vowel in the speech of acrolectal CVST speakers. However, of these two variants, the one without an initial vowel clearly violates the CVSV phonotactic rules. Contrary to Rodrigues, who states that “pre-nasalized segments are common in both (dialectal) groups” of CVC (Rodrigues 2007: 218), forms such as \**npregada* ‘maid’ and \**ngrot* ‘ungrateful’ do not occur in CVSV in spite of the fact that CVSV tolerates several types of complex onsets (cf. section 1.3.3.2 below).<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, there is a difference in nasality in the vowel-headed acrolectal CVST forms and their CVSV counterparts – in Santiago, there is clearly perceptible nasality of the consonant in the onset of the second syllable as in *inbarka* [ĩ.ˈbar.kɐ]. Independently of the debate among phonologists as to the nature of this trace, it is absent in CVSV, where sequences such as *entrá* [ẽ.ˈtra] ‘to enter’, *inglí* [ĩ.ˈgli] ‘to swallow’, and *inbarká* [ĩ.bɛr.ˈka] ‘to emigrate’ are best interpreted as an nasal vowel followed by an oral consonant.<sup>22</sup> It is probable that precisely these acrolectal CVST forms had migrated to São Vicente where nasality was restructured (note that CVST *mbruga* in CVSV is *bruga* ‘wart’) while dozens of CVST lexemes starting with prenasalized consonants such as *nlíona* (*maluká* ‘to lose one’s head’ in CVSV) that were unusual for Portuguese settlers and speakers of the Santo Antão variety shared the fate of the nasal velar phoneme /ŋ/ and were eliminated or substituted by lexemes closer to the lexifier.

Apart from divergences within the nasals, CVSV with its series of voiceless and voiced alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives (/s/ /z/ /ʃ/ /ʒ/) with fully productive phonemic value seems to have developed quite far away from the basilectal Santiago variety which due to the substrate

<sup>21</sup> In CVSV: *inpregáda* [ĩ.pre.ˈga.dɐ], *ingrót* [ĩ.ˈgrɔt].

<sup>22</sup> I would like to thank the multidialectal group of the 4<sup>th</sup> year students majoring in English at the University of Mindelo who during the course on Cape Verdean Language and Culture in 2010/2011 discussed with me this and several other features of the São Vicente and Santiago varieties.

influence of West African languages had devoiced etymological /z/ and /ʒ/ (Quint 2000: 113; cf. (CVST) *kása* ['kasɐ] vs. (CVSV) *káza* ['kazɐ] 'house', (CVST) *mixa* ['mifɐ] vs. (CVSV) *mijá* [mi'ʒa] 'to piss').

In the transcriptions, the symbol <s> represents a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in onsets when followed by a vowel as in *mása* ['ma.sɐ] 'pasta', *sin* ['sĩ] 'yes'. The same symbol <s> represents also the contextual allophones of /s/ (absent in the Santiago variety) such the voiced alveolar fricative [z] in onsets before voiced consonants *sbí* ['zbi], the voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] before voiceless consonants *skóla* ['ʃkɔ.lɐ] and in final position *kes* ['keʃ] 'those'. As noted above, this notation is not ideal as voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ may also appear in final position in CVSV: *kais* ['ka.is] 'pier', *negós* [ne.'gɔs] 'business'.

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is represented by <z> (*zóna* ['zɔ.nɐ] 'area', *buz* ['buz] 'sea snails').

The voiceless palatal fricative /ç/ is represented by <x> as in *xá* ['ʃa] 'tea'. Voiced palatal fricative /ʒ/ <j> in CVSV results often from the simplification of the Sotavento affricate /dʒ/, such as in (CVST) *djánta* ['dʒante] vs. (CVSV) *jantá* [ʒɛ'ta] 'to have supper'.

As to affricates /tʃ/ <tx> and /dʒ/ <dj>, while Santiago retains Old Portuguese voiceless post-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ (Quint 2000: 110), in CVSV it often alternates with the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/ as in *txuva* ['tʃu.vɐ] ~ *xuva* ['ʃu.vɐ] 'rain'. The voiced post-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ is a marginal phoneme in CVSV, being iotacized, e.g., (CVST) *pádja* ['padʒɐ] vs. (CVSV) *páia* ['pajɐ] 'straw' – or simplified to a fricative (see above). However, it is kept in CVSV core vocabulary such as *amdjer* [ɐm'dʒɛr] 'woman', *bedja* ['bedʒɐ] 'old.F', *midj* ['midʒ] 'corn', *fidj* ['fidʒ] 'son, child' (but cf. recent lexeme *filha* ['fiʎɐ] 'daughter') and in by nature conservative toponyms such as *Djeu* ['dʒew] 'islet'.

Another marked difference from the Sotavento varieties is the fact that in words where conservative CVST preserved the Portuguese etymological plosives such as *nobu* or *bizínhu* (Jacobs 2011b), CVSV displays modern standard EP voiced labio-dental fricative as in *nov* ['nov] 'young' and *vzinh* ['vzĩɲ] 'neighbor'. Notwithstanding the alternation between the labiovelar voiced fricative /v/ and bilabial stop /b/ as in *vasora* ~ *basora* 'broom', the first is the unmarked form in CVSV while in Santiago it is reserved for the acrolectal varieties.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Veiga (1982) has suggested that pronunciations with labio-dental fricative /v/ and not bilabial stop /b/ such as *vaka* 'cow', *vent* 'wind', *txuva* 'rain' and *kavól* 'horse' is typical of a variety that "in this or another way is in contact with Portuguese, or in urban settings and in the students' idiolect" of which São Vicente, according to Veiga, is an

As to the vibrants, pace Veiga (1982: 30)<sup>24</sup> who suggests an apical-dental trill and in accordance to Rodrigues's (2007: 145), the trill in CVSV is clearly uvular, and present in initial *ronká* [rõ'ka] 'to snore', intervocalic *korê* [ko're] 'to run', and final *katxór* [kə'tʃɔɾ] 'a dog' position. In the medial and final position it alternates with dental tap.<sup>25</sup> Because of the very few contrastive pairs in medial and final position (such as *kór* ['kɔɾ] 'expensive' vs. *kór* ['kɔɾ] 'a car') I use the same symbol <ɾ> in all contexts, spelling *orivel* [o'riɐl] 'horrible' and not *orrivel* as suggested by ALUPEC and in, for instance, Veiga (2011). The presence of uvular trill in CVSV, which emerged in EP in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Teyssier 1982), is consistent with the time and scenario of the contact language situation in which CVSV variety emerged. Rhotacism (i.e. development of a segment into a rhotic as in *film* ~ *firm* 'film' *klas* ~ *kras* 'class'), a process traditionally considered to be typical to Fogo (Veiga 1982: 39, an opinion shared by Rodrigues 2007: 180) is not infrequent in São Vicente and has been transcribed in accordance to the speaker's pronunciation as a possible indicator of the speaker's place in the creole continuum. The same applies to the rare cases of metathesis of /r/ such as *durmí* ~ *drumí* 'to sleep'.

CVSV presents two glides which make part of several raising and falling diphthongs. These are illustrated below followed by ALUPEC's symbols and example words:

### iii. Glides in CVSV

<b>voiced labio-velar approximant</b>	/w/	<u>	<i>amuá</i>	'to become cranky'
<b>palatal approximant</b>	/j/	<i>	<i>poial</i>	'kitchen table'

The palatal lateral approximant /ʎ/ may alternate with the palatal glide /j/ as in *trubaiá* [tru.bɛ.'ja] ~ *trubalhá* [tru.bɛ.'ʎa] 'to work'.

### 1.3.3.2 CVSV syllable and stress patterns

CVC is a (O)V(C) language where the nucleus is obligatory while onset and coda are optional (Rodrigues 2007: 184). In the Sotavento varieties there is a preponderance of disyllabic CVCV words, complex onsets may contain up to three consonants (*spreta* [spre.tɛ] 'to look

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example (Veiga 1982: 36). However, I have registered these pronunciations also in the speech of elderly rural informants with little or no contact with Portuguese.

<sup>24</sup> In later publications, Veiga suggests the uvular trill for both the São Vicente and Santiago variety as an allophone of the apical trill (Veiga 2000a: 97).

<sup>25</sup> As noted by Rodrigues (2007: 146), the tap may be realized as a trill, but the latter is extremely rare. Carvalho notes that in São Vicente the /ɾ/ is not only uvular but also may be more fricative than vibrant (1962 [1984]: 27) which suggests /ʁ/.

secretly'),<sup>26</sup> there are no complex codas and only /r/, /l/, /s/ are admitted in coda position (Lang 2013).

CVSV shows more varied syllable patterns as both complex onsets and complex codas are admitted diverging from the Sotavento. In three-consonantal onsets, the first element is always a fricative followed by a stop and a liquid such as in *skrevê* [ʃkre.'ve] 'to write'.<sup>27</sup> CVSV admits also cases of four-consonantal onsets in derived words such as *dstrai* [dʃtrɐ.'i] 'to distract' (Rodrigues 2007: 164).

As to the codas in CVSV, unlike the Santiago variety, all consonantal phonemes may appear in this position (*makók* [mɐ.'kɔk] 'monkey', *surd* ['surd] 'deaf', *gót* ['gɔt] 'cat', *kartux* [kɐr.'tuʃ] 'kartridge', *prigoz* [pri.'goz] 'dangerous', *fidj* ['fidʒ] 'son' etc.). Codas can total three consonants in the same order as in the onset, i.e. a fricative, a stop, and a liquid (*monstr* ['mõ.ʃtr] 'a monster', *muskl* ['mu.ʃkl] 'a muscle'). This is based on the sonority scale constraint in CVSV, which certainly requires further research; however, it can explain why certain [+human] nouns such as *amdjer* 'woman' never take the plural morpheme -s [ʃ] (cf. chapter 4 section 4.4).

CVC is a free stress language. However, although stress is not fixed, it is predominantly on the penultimate syllable. As noted by D'Andrade and Kihm (2000), stress in both the Sotavento and Barlavento varieties is assigned to the final syllable if it is heavy, i.e. if its coda is a sonorant, an approximant, or an /s/. This rule has, however, been extended in the Barlavento 'encompassing all consonants' (D'Andrade and Kihm 2000: 99).<sup>28</sup> Also Rodrigues (2007) shows that the Barlavento varieties show a greater propensity for stressing the final syllable.

The assignment of stress in verbs constitutes one of the most marked features differentiating the Santiago variety from other of Cape Verdean varieties. In the CVST, stress falls on the penultimate syllable in verbs.<sup>29</sup> However, in CVSV verbs are categorically stressed

<sup>26</sup> Quint (2006) shows several examples of epenthesis and aphaeresis of Portuguese etymons that created words obeying CVCV West Atlantic pattern in CVST such as (Ptg.) *escutar* >(CVST) *sukuta* 'to listen'. Quint adds that many of the initial /sC/ clusters such as in *skóla* 'school' present in the modern Santiago variety coexist with the original /CV/ onsets such as *spánta* ~ *pánta* 'to frighten' (Quint 2006: 81).

<sup>27</sup> Rodrigues suggests also a nasal (2007: 172); however, this stems from her analysis of sequences such *intra* as headed by a prenasalized consonant [nt]. It is contended here that prenasalized consonants are unattested in CVSV. Hence, the verb *intrá* [i.'tra] 'to enter' is analyzed here on a phonetic level as a disyllabic word, the first syllable of type V constituted by a nasal vowel, the second with a /CC/ stop-liquid complex oral onset.

<sup>28</sup> Note however that the addition of the plural morpheme -s [ʃ] does not shift the stress to the final syllable: *mnininhas* [mni.'ni.ɲɛʃ] 'young girls', *dámas* [da.mɛʃ] 'ladies'.

<sup>29</sup> The placement of stress on the penultimate syllable in verbs is responsible for the existence of the morpho-phonological process in the Santiago variety where in pairs such as *pena* 'to pluck' - *péna* 'a feather' the vowel height indicates the word's grammatical class, i.e. verbal or nominal (Quint 2001, Lang 2001).

on the final syllable (cf. (CVST) *odja* [o.dʒɐ] vs. (CVSV) *oiá* [o.'ja] ‘to see’) with the exception of non-present forms of copular verbs and stative verbs (such as *éra*, *táva*, *tinha* cf. chapter 5, section 5.6) which are stressed on the penultimate syllable. According to Quint, the verbal stress on the final syllable must have existed in the early stages of the Santiago creole, a vestige of which can still be found in the speech of conservative rural speakers (Quint 2001).<sup>30</sup> The hypothesis of an original oxytone verbal stress, consistent with the lexical stress of Portuguese infinitives, is reinforced by its presence in the closely related GBC verbs (D’Andrade and Kihm 2000).<sup>31</sup> Already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this older oxytone form must have been taken to Fogo, in chronological terms the second variety to develop in Cape Verde, where oscillation in stress assignment between the penultimate and final syllable is very common as attested by Rodrigues’s contemporary data (Rodrigues 2007: 186) and then to the Barlavento islands, of which it is characteristic. In 2009, I recorded verbal stress assigned to both last and penultimate syllable in the rural areas of São Nicolau, the oldest (probably late 16<sup>th</sup> century) Barlavento variety, considered by Bartens-Adawonu (1999, based on Cardoso 1989) an intermediate variety of CVC.<sup>32</sup> There is also evidence that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the already paroxytone pattern was taken from Santiago to Curaçao establishing itself in Papiamentu, a fact that constitutes one of a series of arguments adduced by Jacobs (2011b) of the Cape Verdean origin of the language. However, the reasons for the initial stress displacement in Santiago verbs from the last, etymologically logical, to the penultimate syllable are not yet fully understood though Quint suggests that the “stress shift took place, probably due to the influence of a dominant /'CVCV/ pattern” in the Santiago variety (Quint 2001: 66). Moreover, substrate influence from Wolof where oxytone forms in polysyllabic words are rare might have been at stake (Quint 2001: 77).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> In CVST, verbs are stressed on the final syllable when the object pronoun is attached, preserving the original thematic vowel as in *kónpu* ‘repair’ but *konpó-l* ‘repair it’. In addition, elderly people still pronounce *kume* not [‘kumi] ‘to eat’ preserving the initial thematic vowel (< comer Ptg.) (Nicolas Quint p.c. 2011).

<sup>31</sup> The oxytone stress in verbs in the Santiago variety is also suggested by Brito’s (1887[1967]) grammar (cf. Swolkien et al. 2009 translation) and Napoleão Fernandes’s manuscript (Swolkien 2009).

<sup>32</sup> Also Carvalho in his analysis of the vocalic system of CVC underlines the separateness of São Nicolau from other Barlavento varieties (Carvalho 1962 [1984]: 9).

<sup>33</sup> D’Andrade and Kihm (2000) discuss the case of stress displacement in GBC where, parallel to the Barlavento varieties on CVC, the verbs are stressed on the final syllable. However, in sequences such as *N ntíndi* ‘I understood’, where the 1sg pronoun *N* proclitizes to a verb beginning with a prenasalized consonant creating a heavy syllable, stress moves to the left (2000: 102-106). It is possible that, given the same form of 1sg and the presence of prenasalized consonants, a similar process occurred in CVST in the initial stages of creolization and was later extended to all verbs.

Following ALUPEC (1998) and Veiga's (2011) proposal, the stress on verbs in CVSV is indicated by diacritics ´ and ^ (the second indicates the mid vowels) as in: *dá* [da] 'to give', *kmê* [kme] 'to eat', *konpô* [kõ.'po] 'to repair', *uví* [u.'vi] 'to hear', *psú* [psu] 'to get messed up'.<sup>34</sup>

In CVSV, apart from verbs, stress falls systematically on the final syllable in words ending in sonorants (i.e. approximants *marél* [mɐ'rɛl] 'yellow', trill *kór* [kɔɾ] 'car', or tap *amdjer* [ɛm'dʒɛr] 'woman', and nasals e.g. *grinhasin* [gri.nɐ.'sĩ] 'now') following a general tendency in CVC. These are not marked by a diacritic unless the stressed vowel is open as in *midjór* [mi.'dʒɔɾ] 'better'. In case of other oxytone words ending in consonants (*sapót* [sɐ'pɔt] 'shoe', *buzód* [bu'zɔd] 'naughty') or vowels (*kafê* [kɐ'fe] 'coffee', *diazá* [djɐ'za] 'long ago') the stress is marked by a diacritic indicating the vowel opening (mid or open).

Much less frequent in CVC are three-syllabic and four-syllabic words that are also generally stressed on the penultimate syllable (*madrugáda* 'dawn'). The deletion of the final unstressed /u/ and /i/ commented above is responsible for the fact that many Sotavento dissyllabic words became monosyllabic words in Barlavento such as (CVST) *dedu* vs. (CVSV) *ded* 'a finger' (Rodrigues 2007: 190) while Sotavento three-syllable words are dissyllabic in Barlavento, e.g. (CVST) *abóbra* vs. (CVSV) *bóbra* 'pumpkin', creating in CVSV words with fewer syllables but whose structure is more complex (Rodrigues 2007: 201).<sup>35</sup> In polysyllabic words diacritics are used to indicate stress (and vowel opening) on the ante-penultimate (*fábrica* 'factory') or the final syllable (*rezolvê* 'to solve' or *malumoród* 'bad-tempered').

CVSV presents several diphthongs that are rising (starting with a glide: *moia* [mo'je] 'to wet') or falling (ending with glide: *séu* [sɛw] 'sky'). Rodrigues (2007: 171) observes that hiatus is a common feature in CVSV; for instance, there is no glide formation in the sequence of vowels in words such as *tia* [ti.a] 'aunt'.

Given the considerable monophthong ~ diphthong variation in the speech of informants, I have opted to reflect this variation in the transcription (spelling *not* ['not] ~ *noit* ['nojt] 'night', *irmon* [ir'mõ] ~ *irmãu* [ir'mẽw] 'brother', *ága* ['agɐ] ~ *água* ['agwɐ]) as this feature seems to be an indicator of the acrolectal or basilectal speech.

<sup>34</sup> In CVC rare verbs ending in /u/ are of African origin. In CVSV they are reduced to a few items (cf. chapter 5 section 5.1).

<sup>35</sup> There exist cases of extreme phonological erosion where three-syllable Sotavento words have become monosyllabic in CVSV such as (CVST) *sábadu* vs. (CVSV) *sóbd* 'Saturday' (Rodrigues 2007: 202).



### 1.3.3.3 Other considerations on data representation

This subsection presents additional issues related to spelling options.

#### i. *Morphemic division*

Following ALUPEC, the hyphen is used to separate the direct object pronoun from the verb stem. The capital letter *N* ‘I’ indicates the first person pronoun and the letter *y* is used to represent conjunction ‘and’ as in the following example:

- (1.1) *N dá-l un mánga y un papáia.*  
 1SG give-3SG DET mango and DET papaya  
 ‘I gave her/him a mango and a papaya.’

In cases when morphemic parsing presented a problem in fossilized words such as *destazóra* ‘at this time’, *plumanhan* ‘in the morning’ the basic criterion was the occurrence of the morphemes separately in other contexts. I have also relied on the consultants’ native speaker intuition and suggestions.

An apostrophe is used to indicate the deletion of an unstressed vowel in rapid speech.<sup>36</sup> Given that São Vicente is an autonomous linguistic system, deletion is not marked in relation to the Santiago variety or Portuguese, which has been a common practice in the literature, but shows where CVSV vowels that appear in slow speech are deleted. This applies especially to close central vowel in TMA markers such as non-past imperfective *te* [tɨ] as in *t'kmê < te kmê* ‘eat’, in prepositions such as *de* [dɨ] ‘of’, frequently contracted as in *d'not < de not* ‘at night’, comitative *ke* [kɨ] ‘with’ e.g. *k'es* ‘with them’ or in the conjunction *se* [sɨ] ‘if’ as in *S'N sabê* ... ‘If I knew...’.

#### ii. *Representation of geographic, social, and individual variation*

I have attempted to indicate faithfully any possible interference from other varieties of CVC present in the speech of the informants or indicators of social factors such class, age or rurality. Regressive assimilation, characteristic of Santo Antão, (e.g. *éra* ~ *ára* ‘was’, *merid* ~ *marid* ‘husband’) or typically Santo Antão forms such as *busis* ‘you (formal)’ are preserved according to the actual speech. Other varying forms such as *ari*, *alê* ~ *ri*, *lê* ‘laugh, read’, *aont* ~ *ont* ‘yesterday’, *durmí* ~ *drumí* ‘sleep’, *xuva* ~ *txuva* ‘rain’, *tanben* ~ *tanbe* ‘also’ are preserved in transcription at the cost of the spelling coherence but avoiding the selection of one form over another.

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<sup>36</sup> These contractions are indicated by + in the glosses (e.g. *d'not* at + night ‘at night’).

iii. *Representation of proper names, toponyms and foreign borrowings*

In the representation of proper names, toponyms and foreign borrowings, I have followed ALUPEC and the speakers' pronunciation. Therefore, *Solánj* stands for Solange, *Mindél*, *Kóva d'Ingléza*, *Sonsent* stand for Mindelo, Cova de Inglesa, and São Vicente in official Portuguese orthography. Phonologically integrated loans, especially from English (e.g. *nais* 'nice', *uek* 'weak', *springá* 'to pop out', *tanks* 'thank you', or *mersí* from French) are also spelled using the symbols proposed by ALUPEC. In the case of recent loans from Portuguese that have not been integrated the actual pronunciation of the speaker is represented according to ALUPEC as in, *en relasão a* 'in relation to' (< Ptg. *em relação a*).

## Chapter 2

### OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is two-fold. First, it reviews critically the existing literature on Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) in general (section 2.2) and on the variety of São Vicente (CVSV) in particular (section 2.3). Second, it presents a brief overview of the literature on pidgin and creole languages from the broader perspective of contact linguistics examining current debate on issues such as degrees of restructuring of creole languages and defining the theoretical scope of this dissertation (section 2.4).

#### 2.2 The study of Cape Verdean Creole

This section discusses and summarizes the most relevant work on Cape Verdean Creole from the discovery of Cape Verde until the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It should be stressed that the theoretical approaches of these studies cannot be separated from the ideological climate of their time of publication. It starts with a short overview of travelers' comments on CVC in 2.2.1. Subsequently, the 19<sup>th</sup> century grammars and the commencement of the scientific study of CVC are commented on in subsections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. Finally, 20<sup>th</sup> century works are analyzed in 2.2.4 while subsection 2.2.5 discusses the current lines of investigation on CVC.

Of the general bibliographies on Cape Verde's history, culture and economy, McCarthy (1977) Gowan (1983) and Shaw (1991) and are the most comprehensive. The first one includes very detailed and helpful information about the contents of many of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese colonial periodical publications which are otherwise unavailable on electronic databases. The last one contains a short section (pp. 65-69) on works specifically on CVC and publications in Creole (pp. 141-142). Reinecke et al. (1975) is the most specialized, though quite dated, source for the topic of CVC. A useful updated bibliography on restructured Portuguese in Africa is Madeira (2008), especially pp. 66-98 dedicated to recent publications on CVC. Moser and Ferreira (1983) is a good starting point in searching for scattered oral and literary texts written in Creole and contains very useful biographical information about the authors. As to the complementary sources of publications specifically on CVC, Vasconcellos (1898) and (1929) contain some bibliographical references to the few earlier grammars (i.e. 19<sup>th</sup> century) and texts written in CVC (from various islands). Morais-Barbosa (ed.1967) is a good source as well. Pires (1936) is short miscellanea of publications on Cape Verde in general up to that date.

### 2.2.1 From discovery till 1800's: travelers' comments on CVC

The colonization of the islands of Santiago and Fogo started soon after the discovery of the archipelago in 1460. During the first cycle of colonization (between 1461 and the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Correia e Silva 2002) the islands became an experimental field station where various plants such as indigo, cotton and sugarcane were introduced. Moreover, the crucial strategic position of Cape Verde in the triangle between Europe, West Africa and the Americas quickly transformed Santiago into a slave entrepôt and its capital, Ribeira Grande (today Cidade Velha), into a busy international port of complex commercial network (Russell-Wood 1998). However, although numerous vessels, both Portuguese and foreign, visited the Cape Verdean islands and narratives and travel diaries were written by travelers as famous as Vasco da Gama, Dampier, Cook, Foster and Darwin,<sup>1</sup> early descriptions of the islands with any indications (however indirect) of their linguistic situation are rare.

The narration of an Anonymous Pilot (1551-1552), the description by Francisco de Andrade (1582), the report of the Indian Council and the account of Father Barreira (both from 1606) describe in detail the products of Santiago, its ports and its defensive points and give some hints about its demography but pay no attention to the linguistic situation of the archipelago (all cited in Carreira 1982: 56-59). To date not a single early record of CVC has been discovered which is comparable to, for instance, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Dutch Court records from Suriname, which have been a valuable help for creolists doing diachronic research and reconstructing earlier stages of creole languages.<sup>2</sup>

According to Carreira (1972 [2000]: 316) the first attestation of slaves speaking creole in Cape Verde is contained in a document from 1558 that concedes to the *corregedor* (i.e. chief magistrate) of Cape Verde, Luis Martins Avangelho, the right to have two slaves to serve him that would “know how to speak the Portuguese language well”. Carreira believes that the ‘Portuguese language’ should be interpreted as Portuguese-based creole and, subsequently, dates the emergence of CVC to as early as at least 1546 when a group of 14 or 15 *baços* ‘mixed race’ and *pretos* ‘black’ men asked the king of Portugal to be able to occupy the posts of the Council.

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<sup>1</sup> A good, though far from complete, critical summary of travelers' accounts of Cape Verde, most of them British, is Shaw (1991: 32-35). One should also add several pirates who, especially during the period (1580-1640) of the union between Spain and Portugal ravaged, principally, Santiago. The most notorious attack was certainly that of Drake in 1585. Carreira (1972 [2000]: chapter 9) lists and analyses pirates' attacks on Cape Verde and their impact on slave maroonage and settlement patterns on the islands of Santiago, Fogo and Santo Antão.

<sup>2</sup> Note, by way of contrast, how detailed the reports of Dutch administrators are on the demographic progress of the Cape Colony in the 1660's (cf. Holm 2004: 41-44).

These men were *vizinhos* and *moradores* of the town of Ribeira Grande and “they all could *read and write*, as can be verified by their signatures in the original text” (ibid.: 317). To what degree, however, their speech was likely to be restructured Portuguese will, probably, remain an open issue.

Soares’s (2006) analysis of ecclesiastic, especially Jesuit, testimonies suggests that as late as in 1697 there were slaves in Santiago who used African languages and that they were likely to be indoctrinated (by bilingual slaves) in Creole which by the 1700’s had become the general language of not only slaves and *forros* but also of the children of the elite (Soares 2006: 188-190). Unfortunately, not a single record of the language from that period is known to have survived.

There are abundant 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century records in Portuguese, British, French and Dutch archives that cast light on the social setting in which the restructured Portuguese in West Africa developed.<sup>3</sup> To give just one example, in 1685 a French director of the Company of Senegal, Jean Jajolet de La Courbe described the life style of the Afro-Portuguese living in West Africa, their customs and language use in following words:

[There] are between them some blacks and mulattoes *who say they are Portuguese because they are descendants of the Portuguese* that lived there before; these people, *apart from the language of the region*, also speak a certain *jargon* which resembles but remotely the Portuguese language and which is called *creole*. (cited in Pereira 1993a: 16; my italics)

This fragment is the first attested usage of the term ‘creole’ applied to a language (Holm 1988: 15). Unfortunately, this kind of attestation is much more sporadic as far as Cape Verde is concerned. Astley (ed. 1745, chapter VI) summarizes the commentaries of travelers to the Cape Verde Islands such as Dampier, Beeckman, Roberts, Hawkins, Dapper and Atkins and affirms:

[São Nicolau]...*The best Portuguese* is spoken here in all the Cape de Verde islands; and *as the natives resemble the Portuguese most in their language*, so are they like the vulgar sort of that nation errant thieves to strangers...” (Astley, ed. 1745: 669; my italics)

[Santo Antão]...Dapper speaks of a village at the North West End of the island, consisting of twenty huts, which about the middle of the last century<sup>4</sup> was inhabited by fifty families, governed by a captain, a priest, and *a school master, who all spoke good Portuguese*, but lived very poorly: but whether

<sup>3</sup> A comprehensive study of the commerce, social status, gender relations and religious practices among Luso-Africans in Western Africa between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century is Brooks (2003). For accounts of the Portuguese and Cape Verdean travelers to West Africa and the life style and linguistic habits of *lançados* and *tangomas* in the period 1500-1800, a good source of information is also Carreira (1972 [2000]: chapter 2).

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the 1650’s; it is not clear to which of Dapper’s accounts Astley is referring to.

this was the chief place at that time the author is silent.” (Astley, ed. 1745: 676; my italics).

As fragmentary as these comments might appear, the first suggests the existence of a geographical linguistic continuum in Cape Verde previous to 1745 and the second points out that reconstructing in detail early local social history may provide interesting insights and explanations for the various degrees of restructuring of CVC and for the acrolectal nature of the Barlavento varieties in general, which is so frequently referred to.

The most comprehensive linguistic comment on CVC before the 19<sup>th</sup> century seems to be that of a British navigator and adventurer, George Roberts, who stayed in the archipelago for a prolonged period in the 1720's.<sup>5</sup> Having left Plymouth in 1721, Roberts accidentally arrived at São Nicolau where he and his ship were taken by pirates; after many vicissitudes Roberts reached the island of Brava, where he was generously taken care of by hospitable and kind inhabitants while he tried to cobble a new vessel together from what was left of his wrecked ship. From the section on his prolonged stay on Brava comes the following passage on CVC's genesis:

They [i.e. the inhabitants of Brava] would have him to understand, that *they were not like the Terra Firma Preatoes*, (or Mainland Blacks). For although they were black, yet they believed there was a God and a Christ; and they thanked St. Antonio, and were beholden to him above all the Saints, even more than St. John, who was the Guardian of their island, and under whose care *they had been put by the Portuguese, when they first brought their fore fathers from the Terra Firma [...]*. They added, that a great many of them *could both read, write and cast accounts*. (Roberts 1721 [1745]: 617; my italics)

[...] The reader will perhaps wonder *how I came to be so perfect in their language* so soon, it being the first time I came among them. But I should inform that the land of *the origin of their language* is the same [...] as of the *Black Mandingos*. *They preserved well their dialect* and a lot of primitive words of this extended nation and of its well expanded language [i.e. Mandingo]; *the rest is a corrupted Portuguese* and other words that seem to have been created or invented after their settlement here and that were incorporated into *their mixed language*.<sup>6</sup> I had a good notion of *Portuguese language which makes an important part of their dialect*. Moreover, they use many *motions* [...] that by themselves and by the accent give life [i.e. meaning] to their conversation and of which I had some notion before [...] and which they use a lot to explain what they want to say. *I also understood a little the barbarous language of the Barlavento which is so close to the*

<sup>5</sup> Rodrigues (2002: 38) comments that this work has been attributed to Daniel Defoe, though this attribution is still contested. The precise details given by Roberts as to the place names, topography, winds and currents, isolation and economic conditions of the islands imply that this account was written by someone who spent an extended period of time on the archipelago.

<sup>6</sup> In this point, the editor Astley clarifies: 'creole language'.

*language of the Sotavento* therefore I had the necessary skills to understand what they said and we understand each other mutually. However, with so many difficulties that an interpreter would have been necessary if possible [...]. (Roberts 1726 [1984-85]: 4-6, my italics).

This fragment is a goldmine of information for a creolist. We have a coherent hypothesis of CVC genesis (i.e. convergence of substrate and superstrate features and subsequent innovation), information about the role of pragmatics in the creation of creole languages and the suggestion that already at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century even foreigners had a notion of the differences (though slight) between the Barlavento and the Sotavento varieties. As to the reliability of this account, according to Shaw (1991: 32), Roberts is a “well-qualified commentator on Cape Verdean life and culture”, a statement that is easily confirmed by a close reading of his narrative.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.2.2 The 19<sup>th</sup> century: colonial ideologies and the first grammars of CVC

Since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century a derogatory image of Cape Verdean Creole, absent in earlier accounts (Soares 2006), has often prevailed. An Anonymous account (1784) describes CVC as a ‘ridiculous corruption’ and states that “the whites from Santiago who could speak the Portuguese language with perfection are rare as they follow the *style of speech of the country*” (cited in Carreira 1982: 68; my italics). The ideological trend of demeaning creole languages, by no means a Portuguese peculiarity (cf. Holm 1988: 1) continued into the 19<sup>th</sup> century (and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Batalha 2004) with the consolidation of European colonial hegemony.

The number of descriptions, reports and traveler’s account on Cape Verde from the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be considered massive in comparison with the previous centuries. However, because there was no scientific interest in CVC, which was seen as a corruption of Portuguese, parallel to the degeneration of the superior Portuguese race, customs and culture among savage natives in the tropics, accounts of the linguistic situation on the islands are sporadic.

Most of these linguistic commentaries from the 19<sup>th</sup> century are embedded in accounts of the political and economic situation on the islands and combined with criticism of the way of life of the landowning elite of Santiago. Not surprisingly, the authors hardly ever mention the geographical variety of CVC they refer to and only by following their biographies can we

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<sup>7</sup> I had access to two versions of Robert’s account: the one contained in Astley (ed. 1745) and the other, translated by Desiré Bonnaffoux and published in the years (1984-85) in the Cape Verdean journal (out of print) *Ponto & Vírgula*, based on a 1726 edition of Robert’s narrative.

deduce that the majority of comments refer to Santiago. In 1797 Feijó comments:<sup>8</sup>

[The] Portuguese language, which spread so easily in Brazil, is despised by them; at the worst is that *it is despised by the Portuguese* who live there [Cape Verde], who, instead of generalizing the use of Portuguese, abandon it to speak the *ridiculous local Creole*. (Feijó 1797 [1986]: 7-8, my italics).

Also Chelmicki and Varnhagen (1841) mention in similar terms the Cape Verdeans' contempt for the Portuguese language and the abandonment of the Portuguese language by the Portuguese living in Cape Verde while Lopes da Lima relates the presence of Creole to the need for education in Cape Verde and for the creation of preparatory schools:

[but] these schools must be subjected to Government inspection, and be administrated by the *European teachers who pronounce Portuguese without the vice of African Creole*, which is a *ridiculous jargon and a monstrous mixture of Old Portuguese, and Guinean languages*. (Lopes de Lima 1844: 81; my italics).

These are just a selection of well known 19<sup>th</sup> century comments on CVC (cf. Carreira 1982: 68-71, Duarte 1998: 123-124). They tell us very little about the linguistic situation; by contrast, Robert's 1720's account is informative and sophisticated.

### 2.2.3 The beginning of scientific study of CVC

A modern scientific study of Cape Verdean Creole starts with works by Adolfo Coelho (1880-1886 [1967]; cited henceforth as Coelho 1880-1886), who wrote a series of short descriptions of the CVC variety of Santiago based on the letters of bilingual informants (cf. especially pp. 5-31), focusing on phonetics and lexicon rather than morphosyntax. This description was part of his ambitious project to compare the structural similarities observed in the world's creoles and which provided the foundation for his universalist theory.<sup>9</sup>

This was followed by the joint work of Joaquim Viera Botelho da Costa and Custódio José Duarte (Costa and Duarte 1886 [1967]: 237-327; cited henceforth as Costa and Duarte 1886) which is a rather amateur comparison of Sotavento and Barlavento varieties focusing on phonetics but with some interesting information on morphology among the lists of hypocorisms, proverbs and short texts in dialectal varieties of CVC.<sup>10</sup> This description was compiled with the help of several *cavalheiros* 'gentlemen', presumably bilingual speakers from Cape Verde. Generally speaking, their data appear to be much more acrolectal than the one presented by

<sup>8</sup> The linguistic commentaries by other authors such as Pusich (1810 [1956]) and Lucas de Senna (1818 [1987b]) are analyzed in chapter 3, section 3.2.

<sup>9</sup> Coelho's work, contemporary to that of Lucien Adam and Hugo Schuchardt, benefited from the intellectual climate of the flowering of scientific creole studies in the 1880's (cf. Holm 1988: 27-35).

<sup>10</sup> This study was offered to Hugo Schuchardt and served as the basis for his 1888 article on CVC.



António de Paula Brito (1887 [1967]: 331-383 cited henceforth as Brito 1887). Brito is the first grammatical description of CVC written both in Creole (in a coherent writing system) and Portuguese, by a native speaker, and an exceptionally reliable source of information on the variety of Santiago at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. also Quint's [2008a] analysis and Swolkien et al.'s [2009] translation).

José Leite de Vasconcellos was another Portuguese scholar who worked on CVC (cf. Vasconcellos 1898 and 1901[1970]). Vasconcellos was an outstanding Portuguese dialectologist who saw creoles in general, and Cape Verdean Creole in particular, from the perspective of the internal development of Portuguese. According to his superstratist position, most of the CVC characteristics are attributable to dialectal varieties of Portuguese and internal drift. Vasconcellos (1902), in a comment on his letter to Schuchardt, tells how Schuchardt, already an internationally famous linguist, had favorably evaluated his early work on the Mirandês language in 1882, stimulating him to continue his research on dialects. He adds that this area, i.e. dialectology, in which he included the study of creole 'dialects', had very little acceptance in Portugal in the 1900's and had had even less in the 1880's.

It is clear, in light of this comment, that though many of the perspectives and analyses contained in the works mentioned above are today unacceptable, these late 19<sup>th</sup> century authors were isolated pioneers of the scientific study of Cape Verdean Creole.<sup>11</sup>

#### **2.2.4 The 20<sup>th</sup> century**

After these first promising studies produced at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a long gap before the next studies of CVC appeared, especially in Portugal.

With the advent of the fascist regime of the Estado Novo (1926-1974), there was a proliferation of Portuguese monographs on colonies prepared for international expositions and periodical publications (such as *O Mundo Português*, *Anuario da Escola Superior Colonial*, *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colonias*) related to the Portugal's overseas possessions. However, most accounts of CVC from this period are of very little if any scientific linguistic value (cf. Lopes 1929, Feijóo 1944). Written by amateurs, military men or colonial bureaucrats of higher rank who were more often than not biased by racist ideology, they represent a step backwards in relation to publications of the 1880's.

There are two works from this period that certainly stand apart for their value to present day researchers. The first is the dictionary by Armando Napoleão Rodrigues Fernandes (1889-

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<sup>11</sup> For linguistic analyses of the works mentioned in this section cf. Holm and Swolkien (2009).

1969). This is an extraordinary work by an extraordinary self-taught man. Compiled over 40 years of travel from one island to another and published posthumously by his daughter, Ivone Ramos, in 1991, it documents the CVC lexicon during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, indicating very often the regional provenience of a word and illustrating its usage with examples (Fernandes 1991). This has been complemented by a handwritten rough draft of grammar (Fernandes n.d.) which still awaits editing and eventual publication (Swolkien 2009).<sup>12</sup>

The second is by a renowned American ethnographer, Elsie Clews Parsons, who in 1923 published a two-volume bilingual (CVC-English) collection of folk stories from Cape Verde. Though the material was collected from Cape Verdean immigrants in the United States who had probably undergone education in Portuguese, as literacy was one of the requirements for the legal entry into the country, its coherent writing system and rigorous methodology of gathering data make this publication a valuable source (Parsons 1923).

The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the rebirth of interest in Cape Verdean Creole largely due to the publication of *Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde* by a Cape Verdean author, Baltasar Lopes da Silva (1957 [1984]; cited henceforth as Lopes da Silva 1957).<sup>13</sup> This work is based on the author's native knowledge of the variety of São Nicolau but includes indications of other dialect equivalents. Most of the volume is dedicated to the exhaustive treatment of phonetics and to lexicon. Shortly after Lopes da Silva, another Cape Verdean author, Dulce Almada, published a description of CVC focusing on the variety of São Vicente and São Nicolau (Almada 1961).

Colonial ideology influenced the linguistic analysis contained in these works (cf. for instance a markedly superstratist point of view and a total refusal to recognize any possible influence of African languages on CVC), a shortcoming which is pointed out by Batalha (2004).<sup>14</sup> Another limitation of these two studies is the lack of fieldwork to serve as an empirical basis to their study. Both Lopes da Silva (1957) and Almada (1961) seem to be based on individual linguistic intuition (at least the reader is not informed of what other possible sources these studies are based on), which, in the case of educated speakers that had been immersed in a

<sup>12</sup> I would like to thank Nicolas Quint who in 2002 informed me about the existence of this manuscript.

<sup>13</sup> Baltasar Lopes da Silva (1907-1989), born in São Nicolau, was an eminent figure on the Cape Verdean cultural scene. A lawyer, a writer and a trained Romanist, he was the principal of the Liceu in São Vicente, and was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Lisbon (Moser and Ferreira 1983: 338).

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that while studying at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Coimbra, Almada was a student of Professor Manuel Paiva Boléo, a loyal supporter of the Salazar regime. It was under his guidance that her 1961 publication was written. Since then, Almada has changed dramatically her position, becoming one of the most energetic defenders of CVC's African heritage and its independence vis-à-vis Portuguese. Her 1998 *Bilinguismo ou diglossia* (cf. Duarte 1998) is a collection of articles published from 1977 to 1994 on cultural, historical, sociolinguistic and educational issues related to CVC.

Portuguese-speaking community for a prolonged period of time, may produce problematical data.

Meintel's (1975) concise description of the Sotavento variety of the island of Brava is certainly one of the scientifically most advanced descriptions from that period.<sup>15</sup> Though written by a non-native speaking anthropologist, her description is based on fieldwork, which makes it fairly trustworthy. It should be underlined that unlike the previous works, Portuguese is not taken as the starting point for her linguistic analysis; a fair amount of attention is given to syntax and the grammar is accompanied by a critical evaluation of the socio-linguistic situation on Brava and attitudes toward Creole and Portuguese.<sup>16</sup>

In the volume *Miscelânea Luso-Africana* edited by Valkhoff (ed. 1975), Ferraz and Valkhoff published a short comparison of São Tomense and Cape Verdean Creole (pp. 27-39).<sup>17</sup> Its interests lies in the fact that the authors systematically compare and contrast short passages in São Tomense, Principense and CVC, making clear the distinction between the Barlavento and Sotavento varieties. However, they arrive at a puzzling conclusion, which contradicts many of their examples, i.e. that the Sotavento Creole had remained the closest to Portuguese (Ferraz and Valkhoff 1975: 34).

In spite of the increase in international interest in pidgin and creoles since the 1960's, Portuguese-based creoles, (and creoles in general) received little academic attention in Portugal until the 1990's. There are two studies on CVC phonology by a Coimbra professor, José Herculano de Carvalho (1962 [1984] and 1969 [1984]) where the vowel system (with a special attention to unstressed vowels in the first) of the Barlavento varieties of São Nicolau, São Vicente and Santo Antão is contrasted with the Sotavento varieties establishing that, from a diachronic perspective, the Sotavento and the Barlavento varieties emerged from a common phase in the development of CVC, the former remaining closer to this earlier variety.

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<sup>15</sup> This 1975 article is complementary to Meintel's excellent 1984 book *Race, Culture and Portuguese colonialism in Cabo Verde* I will be referring to in chapter 3.

<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to notice how some of Meintel's statements differ from those of a socio-linguistic enquiry into Cape Verdean Creole made by Valkhoff in 1972 among educated bilingual speakers of high social status (Valkhoff 1975). Valkhoff's respondents did not notice the difference between varieties that are acrolectal (*crioulo levinho*) and basilectal (*crioulo fundo*) and, in his opinion, "bilingualism is indeed a reality" among his informants; on the other hand, Meintel's informants used to consciously shift within the continuum, seldom being able, however, to shift from Creole to Portuguese (Valkhoff 1975: 52; Meintel 1975: 235). These divergences could be explained by the methodology of data collecting, i.e. Valkhoff's brief fieldwork and a written questionnaire directed to literate informants versus a prolonged stay and participant observation in Meintel's case. See also Baptista et al. (2010) commentary on Valkhoff's study.

<sup>17</sup> In 1987 Ferraz published another comparison, this time of Upper Guinea (including CVC) and Gulf of Guinea creoles with the Portuguese-based creoles in Asia, defending their polygenesis and reciprocal diffusion (Ferraz 1987).

Subsequently, in the Barlavento system, two sub-systems emerged: that of Santo Antão and São Vicente, and that of São Nicolau.<sup>18</sup>

Another study on CVC phonology is by a descendant of Cape Verdeans in the United States, Mary Louise Nunes (1963) where the Santo Antão, Boa Vista, Brava and Fogo phonological systems are described. They are considered to be ‘dialects of Portuguese’. This work, with a rigorous description of its methodology, is based on fieldwork with Cape Verdean informants residing in the United States. Nunes attests several features in flux and concludes that ‘dialects’, i.e. the four varieties under study, are “gradually approaching the standard language” (Nunes 1963: 56).<sup>19</sup>

The problem with most of the works summarized above is that they were based on sporadic fieldwork (if any) with no clear indication of methodology or are based on informants dislocated from their mother tongue communities.<sup>20</sup> Authors seemed to rely on their native speaker intuitions or written enquiries or they simply omitted the information as to the sources of their examples. In a complex linguistic situation such as that of Cape Verde, where Portuguese and Creole co-exist entangled within regional and social continua, information about ‘who said what to whom when and where’ is crucial for the evaluation of linguistic data.

Another publication from this period is Jorge Morais-Barbosa’s (1975) short article comparing some of the features of the creoles of Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe, concluding that the explanation for the attested differences between them is socio-cultural in nature. In 1967 Morais-Barbosa re-edited a number of the 19<sup>th</sup> articles cited above (Morais-Barbosa, ed.1967).

Since the late 1970’s (cf. Andrade and Fanha 1979), Pereira [=Fanha] has been writing articles on a wide range of topics related to Cape Verdean Creole and to other Portuguese-based creoles. Her interests vary from the genesis of CVC and a possible origin of pidgin Portuguese in Portugal (Pereira 2001a) to aspects of the complex sociolinguistic dynamics of Creole and Portuguese in Cape Verde such as decreolization and the continuum (Fanha 1987, Pereira 1993a, 2000b), diglossia, bilingualism, ambiguity of cultural and linguistic identification (Fanha 1989a,

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<sup>18</sup> The sources of data were Lopes da Silva (1957) for São Nicolau and the Sotavento varieties, Almada (1961) and personal communication for São Vicente and two students from Santo Antão studying in Coimbra.

<sup>19</sup> This, however, could be merely an indication that her informants had undergone schooling in Portuguese before emigrating given that literacy was one of the conditions to obtain American visa. Some of the forms she attests such as *fikár* ‘to stay’ for Fogo (p. 33) are clearly Portuguese. Moreover, she notices (p. 6) that she was unable to control the problem related to the pronunciations considered prestigious and the use of Creole in general. In two cases her informants maintained that they were ignorant of CVC though they were reported to use it while on the Archipelago.

<sup>20</sup> Meintel (1975) is an exception, but as noted above, her article on the variety of Brava is rather a by-product of her anthropological investigation.

Pereira 1991, 1993a, 2001b) to CVC socio-linguistic history (Pereira 2006b). Apart from these issues and strictly linguistic analyses (Pereira 1992a, 1999, 2000c), Pereira has also been concerned with applied linguistics and matters such as adult bilingual education and language planning in Cape Verde. In 1989 she published a proposal for an alphabet for CVC<sup>21</sup> which does not differ substantially from the ALUPEC introduced by the Cape Verdean government in 1998 (cf. Fanha 1989b). She has also published more general works intended to make knowledge about creoles and, especially, of Portuguese-based creoles, more familiar to students and linguists in Portugal, in the period when this area of linguistics was still largely unknown in academic circles (Pereira 1992b, 1993b, 1996). It should be stressed that her focus, with the exception of (Pereira 2000a), has always been always the variety of Santiago.

After the independence of Cape Verde in 1975, Creole became the national language (but not the official language) and a new period of its valorization and standardization began, with the basilectal variety of Santiago taken as the point of reference (Lang 2005). This trend was reinforced by the first international colloquium on CVC in Mindelo in 1979 where many issues such as the role of its African substrate in its genesis (Santos 1979 [2000]) were debated publicly for the first time. It resulted in an increase of publications of oral and literary texts in Creole in the 1980's, a tendency that had timidly started with the cultural and literary Cape Verdean movement of *Claridade* in the 1930's.<sup>22</sup> The publication of Manuel Veiga's novel *Odju d'agu* (1987) written in a stylized basilectal variety of Santiago is one of the products of this development.

In the face of the scarcity of texts that would permit an analysis of the diachronic development of the varieties of CVC, these publications in the 1970's and 1980's are important.<sup>23</sup> However, literary texts written in Creole should be analyzed with considerable caution. Very often they represent idiolects of educated bilingual authors. Also, it must be underlined, once again, that in most cases of oral stories, compilation was done among speakers from the interior of the island of Santiago.

Manuel Veiga's 1982 *Diskrison structural di lingua kabuverdianu* has symbolic importance: nearly a hundred years after the publication of Brito (1887) in the *Boletim de*

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<sup>21</sup> The problems of designing a suitable writing system that would encompass all dialectal varieties of CVC was one of the main concerns of the 1979 Colloquium in Mindelo (cf. Veiga, 1979 [2000b]).

<sup>22</sup> Most of the literary works in CVC is dispersed through often unknown Cape Verdean, Portuguese and Brazilian publishers. Thus, a good starting point is Moser and Ferreira (1983), mentioned above.

<sup>23</sup> For instance Romano (1967) contains some texts and a glossary in Santo Antão. Cf. also Veiga (1995: 25 and 2000a: 10) who presents a detailed list of publications by Cape Verdean authors in and on CVC especially from the 1980's and 1990's.

*Sociedade Geográfica de Lisboa* this is another grammar written in the CVC variety of Santiago. Veiga's brief grammatical outline is a short description and comparison of four varieties of CVC: Santiago, Fogo, São Vicente and Santo Antão. It focuses on phonology, phonetics and some morpho-syntactic features. This work served as the basis for Veiga's 1995 grammar, which compares the variety of Santiago with that of São Vicente and European Portuguese.<sup>24</sup> Yet again, the main shortcoming of these works is the methodology. The 1982 work was based on an indirect written inquiry composed of 256 phrases or words, which, as the author admits, turned out to be largely insufficient, forcing him to "look for new informants to solve many of the difficulties" (Veiga 1982: 249). It is not specified under what conditions the second inquiry was conducted and nothing is said about the social and linguistic background of the informants. In the second work (Veiga 1995) there is a section on methodology, but it appears that, especially as far as the variety of São Vicente is concerned, the author's informants were bilingual colleagues and family members.

Several other works which appeared in the 1980's that need mentioning include Celso Cunha's *Língua, nação, alienação* (1981), containing two short essays on the linguistic situation and the notion of continuum in Cape Verde, and Carreira's *O crioulo de Cabo Verde, surto e expansão* (1982). The latter, written from the perspective of a historian, expands the hypothesis that the genesis of Guinea-Bissau Creole occurred on the Cape Verdean archipelago, originally proposed in Carreira 1972 [2000: 316-319]. The issue of the genesis of CVC and Guinea-Bissau Creole and their interrelation was subsequently debated in articles by linguists such as Rougé (1986 and 1995), Couto (1992), D'Andrade and Kihm (2000) and later Jacobs (2011b).

The doctoral dissertation of Silva (1985), based on interviews conducted in Cape Verde and 40 interviews with Cape Verdean emigrants in the United States, is a detailed examination of TMA system of CVC testing some of Bickerton's claims. Macedo (1989), a doctoral dissertation which analyzes Cape Verdean phonology within a Lexical Phonology framework, is the first work on CVC's phonology that clearly demarcates the language from Portuguese. Also in 1989 Eduardo Cardoso, a native speaker of the São Nicolau variety, published *O crioulo da ilha de S. Nicolau de Cabo Verde*, a monographic description of this variety, based on the fieldwork *in loco* and amply illustrated with examples from natural speech. Though one could object to some of his analyses (especially in the part on the verbal system) the merit of this work is to cast serious doubt on whether the traditional classification of the São Nicolau variety within

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<sup>24</sup> This publication was followed by Veiga's doctoral dissertation supervised by Robert Chaudanson and defended at the University of Aix-Marseille's in 1998 and, subsequently, by a descriptive and contrastive study of the varieties of Santiago, São Vicente, and European Portuguese, published in French in 2000 (Veiga 2000a).

the Barlavento group is valid since this variety presents many features typical of the Sotavento varieties, such as occurrences of the post-verbal TMA marker *-ba* or alveolar and not palatal realization of the fricative /s/ when followed by a voiceless consonant.

The 1990's saw a diversification of approaches to CVC. A series of new authors, some of them trained as creolists, became interested in CVC and published works focusing less on lexicon or phonetics and more on morphosyntax.

Jürgen Lang's articles from that decade centre on selected specific morphosyntactic categories of the Santiago variety, such as number (1990), and substrate influence (1994a, 2000, 2004) or are of a more general scope such as (1994b). Some of them served as the basis for his concise outlines of the grammar of the Santiago variety (Lang 2001) and the one included in Lang et al. (2002: XXII-XLIV).<sup>25</sup>

In 1994 Cristina Albino conducted a study within the Labovian theoretical framework on the variation and change in the article system of CVC. The goal of this investigation, based on fieldwork among Cape Verdeans (exclusively from Santiago) living in greater Lisbon, was to verify to what extent the language is undergoing decreolization. Albino concludes that as far as articles are concerned, CVC and Portuguese form separate systems, despite their 500 years of co-existence (Albino 1994: 154).

Angela Bartens-Adawonu (1999) and Bartens (2000) focus on the genesis and diffusion of the Sotavento and Barlavento varieties, stressing the need for more dialectological studies of CVC while her (2001) article discusses educational issues.

Moreover, since the late 1990's significant advances have been made in lexicographical studies of the Santiago variety with the publication of dictionaries by Nicolas Quint (Quint-Abrial 1998, Quint 1999) and his associates (Mendes et al. 2002). These are complemented by a comprehensive grammatical study of the variety of Santiago (Quint 2000).

It's also important to mention the work of Cape Verdeans involved in bilingual education programs among the Cape Verdean immigrant community in the USA. Some of the fruits of their activity are the foundation of the Cape Verdean Creole Institute (1995), the publication of the journal *Cimboa* and the first text book of CVC by Manuel Gonçalves and Leila Andrade (2002).

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<sup>25</sup> Recently Lang (in progress) has made available the first part of his much expanded *A gramática do crioulo da Ilha de Santiago (Cabo Verde)* in electronic format at:  
<http://www.opus.ub.uni-erlangen.de/opus/volltexte/2012/3544/pdf/PrimeiroCapCAituloIncluCAdo.pdf>

### 2.2.5 Current research on CVC

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century brought two milestones to research on Cape Verdean Creole: Lang et al. (2002) and Baptista (2002).<sup>26</sup> The first is the most complete and up to date dictionary of the variety of Santiago and one of the best dictionaries of any creole language. It is an impressive result of a ten-year project and team effort, based on fieldwork and previously published dictionaries, some of which have been mentioned above (for a detailed review of Lang et al. [2002] cf. Swolkien [2004a]). The dictionary of the Santiago variety is further complemented by the publication of an etymological dictionary of the Portuguese-based creoles in Africa by Rougé [2004]). Baptista (2002) is the most comprehensive and fine-tuned synchronic description of the morphosyntax of the Sotavento varieties (i.e. those of Brava, Fogo, Santiago and Maio) based on 187 interviews conducted on these four islands and analyzed within the theoretical framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program. This is followed by a further examination of the CVC nominal domain in Baptista (2007a) and a general description of CVC in Baptista et al. (2007), apart from several other articles written by Marlyse Baptista on a wide range of more specific topics related to CVC (e.g. Baptista 2003a and 2003b, 2004, 2006, 2007b and Baptista et al. 2010).

It is sufficient to consult the programs of academic meetings of the *Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages* or the *Associação: Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola* over the last decade to gauge the growing interest in Cape Verdean Creole. The approaches are diverse and the most current linguistic theories are being tested with CVC data. Also, there are a growing number of doctoral dissertations dedicated to the CVC verb phrase (Pratas 2007), phonology (Rodrigues 2007) and its syntax (Alexandre 2009), lexicon (Märzhäuser 2011a), historical links with other Iberian-based creoles (Jacobs 2011b) and sociolinguistic settings (Lopes 2011).<sup>27</sup>

Diachronic reconstructions of CVC have been underrepresented. One of the main obstacles in accomplishing this task is the fact that we lack detailed historical demographic data from the period when the colonization of Cape Verde started (i.e. since the 1460's), or texts in CVC or scientific descriptions of its grammar prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, historical information about the West African languages spoken by the 22 major ethnic groups brought to Cape Verde (Carreira 1972 [2000]) or the dialectal varieties of Portuguese that came into contact on Santiago in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>26</sup> This study is a much expanded version of Baptista's 1997 doctoral dissertation.

<sup>27</sup> This dissertation is analyzed in more detail in chapter 3.



However, as a result of a 2004 conference organized by Jürgen Lang at the University of Erlangen, a new set of articles focusing on the reconstruction of the socio-historic scenario of the genesis of the language (Pereira 2006b, Soares 2006,) and the impact of substrate on its structure (Baptista 2006, Quint 2006 and Rougé 2006) has been published (cf. Lang et al., eds. 2006).

With regard to African features in CVC, Quint (2008b) is the first book-length publication on the topic while Lang (2009) is the first book-length study to offer a comprehensive attempt of diachronic reconstruction of CVST, focusing on both sociohistorical data and synchronic linguistic evidence.

As far as anthropology or wider educational studies are concerned, Cape Verde seems to offer an excellent laboratory for testing all kinds of recent theories. These fields, however, have hardly been explored with the exception of Rodrigues (2002), Neves (2007) and Rosa (2010).

In spite of these significant advances in our knowledge of CVC, the overwhelming majority of the work listed above focus exclusively on the variety of Santiago while the monographs based on fieldwork that would combine detailed synchronic descriptions with the social histories of other dialectal varieties of CVC are yet to be done.

### **2.3 The study of Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente**

The Barlavento varieties of Cape Verdean Creole have been given much less attention than the Sotavento: they are clearly underrepresented in the existing literature. There is not, to my knowledge, a single modern publication that describes the current linguistic situation or the distinctive features of the varieties spoken on Sal and Boavista.<sup>28</sup> Our current knowledge about the grammar of the Santo Antão variety is limited to a short comparative description in Veiga (1982) and for the São Nicolau variety (CVSN) we have only Cardoso (1989) and Lopes da Silva (1957) and only Cardoso based his description on fieldwork. More recently, a master thesis on relative constructions in CVSN was defended (Lopes 2012). We still lack a comprehensive modern dictionary of the Barlavento varieties as the only works available are Fernandes (1991) and a lexical list in Lopes da Silva (1957); both indicate, though not systematically, usages typical to Barlavento varieties. Although Veiga's (2011) Cape Verdean – Portuguese dictionary refers to São Vicente variety, it takes the variety of Santiago as the starting point.

The bibliography on CVSV is limited to half a dozen works and texts published over a period of 140 years. The first attested mention of this variety can be found in Costa 1877-1880

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<sup>28</sup> Sal may represent a very interesting case of dialectal melting pot: due to the development of the tourist industry on the island, and subsequent migration from the other islands its population doubled during the last fifteen years.

[1980].<sup>29</sup> Parsons (1923) contains a couple of short folk tales written in CVSV and constitutes a good source of information. The best and most extensive corpus for CVSV are the poems written by Sergio Frusoni, which reflect the speech of the educated Mindelo elite in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Frusoni 1975 and 1979; especially the critical edition of his poetry by Mesquitela Lima 1992), although, once again, warnings about the author's bilingualism and relatively high social status apply.<sup>30</sup>

Albano Monteiro Soares' thesis (Soares 1947) *O dialecto crioulo de São Vicente* is, unfortunately, of very little value.<sup>31</sup> The general part on CVC is based entirely on the 19<sup>th</sup> century publications, some of which were mentioned in 2.2.3. The section related to São Vicente (pp. 89-130) is based on two letters written by students studying in Mindelo (born on other islands) and some poems. It concentrates on phonetics and some morphology, showing clearly that the author lacked much training or even linguistic intuition.

The main shortcomings of Almada (1961) and Veiga (1982, 1995 and 2000a) which make reference to CVSV were already mentioned in 2.2.4.<sup>32</sup>

Braga focuses her 1982 doctoral dissertation on two specific features of syntax: topicalization and left dislocation. This dissertation is based on extended fieldwork exclusively in São Vicente and offers a good source of natural speech examples in CVSV, especially since her careful system of encoding informants permits us to obtain such information as their sex, education, age and income (Braga 1982).

Pereira's (2000a) article on the inflection-like verbal forms in CVSV will be analyzed in detail in chapter 5. Swolkien (2004b) and Holm and Swolkien (2006) refer to CVSV sociohistorical settings while Swolkien (2013) is a concise outline of CVSV sociohistorical background, sociolinguistic situation and its synchronic structure.

## 2.4 Pidgins, creoles, and contact linguistics: an overview

This section outlines some of the definitions of pidgins and creoles and discusses the

<sup>29</sup> The comment is repeated in Costa and Duarte (1886). This is analyzed in chapter 3.

<sup>30</sup> Sergio Frusoni, (born in São Vicente in 1901, died in Lisbon 1975), a son of Italians living in São Vicente; after 1956 he published exclusively in the São Vicente variety (Moser and Ferreira 1983: 332).

<sup>31</sup> Albano Monteiro Soares began his studies at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra in 1938 and concluded them by presenting this thesis in Romance Philology in 1947. He probably stayed on São Vicente while doing his Portuguese military service during the Second World War.

<sup>32</sup> Most of the information on the linguistic situation of Cape Verde in Cunha 1981 was based on the comments of Dulce Almada. Very interestingly, Cunha states that Almada speaks "impeccable European Portuguese" (1981: 78). We are also informed that in her household it was prohibited to speak Creole. These facts could cast some doubts as to the trustworthiness of data in her 1961 publication. Once again, as in the case of Veiga, especially (1995) and (2000a) it seems that available data on São Vicente is confined to the linguistic intuitions of educated bilingual authors.

processes of pidginization, creolization and decreolization (subsection 2.4.1). Subsequently, two trends within the field of creolistics: the inclusion of pidgin and creole linguistics within the broader field of contact linguistics and the affirmation of the importance of socio-historic factors not only for the reconstruction of the scenario of the genesis of contact languages but also their relevance to their synchronic features are discussed. Also, in regard to the debate about the gradient nature of linguistic restructuring and the various outcomes of language contact, special attention is given to the theory of semi-creoles and to the analytic framework for partially restructured varieties as proposed by Holm (2004) in 2.4.2. Finally, subsection 2.4.3 relates the study of Cape Verdean Creole and the review of literature outlined above to the field of contact linguistics defining the theoretical scope of this dissertation.

### **2.4.1 Key concepts in pidgin and creole linguistics**

Though in describing the present-day morphosyntactic features of the variety of São Vicente I use conventional terms which are largely agreed upon among linguists, several terms related to the field of creole linguistics need specific definitions because of the various and often controversial ways they have been applied in the literature.

The definitions of pidgin and creole are intrinsically entangled with our understanding of the processes of their formation, i.e. pidginization and creolization. However, there is no consensus either as to the linguistic inputs and mechanisms of these processes or as to their linguistic results and the terminological issues have been “debated extensively (some would say *ad nauseam*) in the literature over the years.” (Winford 1997: 131).<sup>33</sup>

*Pidgin* has been defined as a reduced language with limited lexicon and grammar (though it may have fairly complex derivational morphology) that represents simplification of the linguistic systems of its source languages. The formation of a pidgin may be preceded by a jargon stage with no structural rules. The most important social factors that determine this particular language-contact outcome are prolonged contacts (though often discontinuous, as in a situation of trade) between two or more groups of people with no language in common where no group learns completely the native language of the other group. An early pidgin is a register which satisfies minimal communicative needs and is nobody’s native tongue. However, extended pidgins like Tok Pisin, which have developed over a number of generations as a *lingua franca* for multilingual communities as in Papua New Guinea, can become the first language of

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<sup>33</sup> Virtually all of the theoretical approaches to pidgins and creoles genesis labeled as substratist, superstratist and universalist positions and that have been proposed since the 1960’s were present in the writings of 19<sup>th</sup> century linguists such as Schuchardt, Coelho, Adam and Hesseling. For a detailed analysis of the historical development of these theories, cf. Holm 1988 (especially chapter 2).

the younger generation (Foley 1988). Pidgins often arise in situations of inequality of power in the multilingual setting of plantation society. As in the case of creoles, the social circumstances under which pidgins emerged play a major role, both in shaping their structure as well as lexicon (Holm 1988: 4-6, Bakker 1995).

In contrast to pidgins, *creoles* are contact languages which are the first languages (and often a social identity marker) of a speech community. Like pidgins, creoles draw most of their lexicon but not grammar from one of the languages involved in the contact situation from which they arise – the *lexifier* (Thomason 2001: 262). A creole is often the result of the stabilization of a pidgin and its lexical and grammatical expansion that occurs with its *nativization* as part of a life-cycle from jargon or pre-pidgin to pidgin or expanded pidgin. (Holm 1988: 6-9). However, as Bakker (1995: 27) notes, the criterion of nativization is not sufficient to account for the structural distinction between pidgins and creoles. Moreover, some creoles may arise abruptly with no well defined pidgin period while others arise gradually without a pidgin stage at all. (Thomason 2001: 160-161). These stages can be followed by a post-creole stage with the formation of a creole-continuum via decreolization, though, as discussed below, the possibility of formation of the continuum from the moment of the creole's inception is not to be disregarded.

According to Bickerton (1981) children play a crucial role in *creolization*, which is understood to be the grammatical, functional and lexical complexification of a pidgin and its acquisition as first language. Bickerton's influential and widely criticized Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) (Bickerton 1984) defines creoles as a product of humans' universal and innate capacity to overcome a deficit in linguistic input, dismissing the role the substrate languages might have played in their formation. Also, LBH implies that creolization is an abrupt process, which sharply contrasts with the gradualist explanations of creolization developed during the 1990's (e.g. Arends 1993, Arends and Bruyn 1995, Selbach et al. eds. 2009)<sup>34</sup> which suggest that creoles stabilized over several generations.

Bickerton (1981) proposed a list of linguistic features that would distinguish creole from non-creole languages, and in 1984 he combined historical and demographic facts crucial in the period of creole genesis in a 'pidginization index' that would quantify the radicalness of a creole in relation to other creoles.<sup>35</sup> Today, the advance in detailed descriptions based on fieldwork of

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Lang's (2010) analysis of the gradual hypothesis and different natures of dialectalization and creolization.

<sup>35</sup> This formula was evaluated as 'unworkable' by Singler (1990), who states that social, historical and demographic factors are crucial in creole genesis but they are insufficient in explaining the differences between creoles, in such

creoles little known in the 1980's has invalidated most of Bickerton's generalizations, e.g. the general article system proposed for creoles in Bickerton (1981) tested in detail against Cape Verdean Creole data in Baptista (1997: 21-31) or his predictions about TMA ordering re-examined for CVC in Thiele (1991). However, Bickerton's merit lies not only in triggering often heated debate about the extent to which creoles form a distinct group of languages and on distinguishing degrees of creolization, but also in incorporating, in his later publications, detailed data on the sociohistorical past of the varieties he concentrated on (e.g. Bickerton 1998).

Apart from universalist approach and currently unorthodox hypotheses of creolization such as monogenesis, popular in the 1960's, which explained similarities among the world's pidgins and creoles as originating in fifteenth century Portuguese-based pidgin, itself derived from the mediaeval Mediterranean Lingua Franca (summarized in Holm 1988: 44-52) or the theory of relexification representing an extreme substratist position (Lefebvre 1998) there are also various superstrate approaches to creole genesis, particularly in relation to the French-based creoles which perceive creoles as a continuity, or approximations of the approximations of regional, non-standard European dialects where the nautical jargon played an important role in diffusion (Chaudenson 2001).

Finally, there are definitions that see pidgins and creoles as contact languages, i.e. new languages that are extreme products of language contact and contact-induced changes which are essentially mixed linguistic systems with no genetic affiliation, in diachronic terms, to any single parent language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988 and Thomason 2001: chapter 7; cf. 2.4.2 below).

The ongoing debate about the nature of creolization is directly related to the question whether creoles form a structurally distinct language group synchronically. The recent advances in typological studies of the world's languages (e.g. Haspelmath et al. eds. 2005) has reinvigorated this issue, dividing creolists into those who defend the argument that creoles are structurally indistinguishable from other languages (e.g. DeGraff 2001 and 2003, Mufwene 1996 and 2000), questioning the very usefulness of the notions of 'creole' and 'creolization' (Ansaldi et al. eds. 2007, Ansaldi and Matthiew 2007), and those who contend that creoles do form a typologically distinct class based on common structural features (McWhorter 2000 and 2001, Bakker et al. 2011).

The final concepts that are important for the purpose of this study are *(post)-creole continuum* (DeCamp 1971, Bickerton 1973) and *decreolization*. Both terms were proposed in the

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matters as creoles' distance from their lexifiers, unless linguistic factors (such as the homogeneity of substrate and the degree of distance between the substrate and the superstrate) are taken into consideration (Singler 1990: 654).

1960's and have been initially developed mostly in connection with to English-based Caribbean creoles.<sup>36</sup> The creole continuum is a key concept in understanding the mechanism of change and the historical (and linguistic) connection between creoles and post-creoles (such as AAE; Holm 2000a: 50). It refers to the varieties of the same creole language spoken by different segments of a given linguistic community whose structures are closer to or more distant from the corresponding ones of lexifier languages with which it co-exists. Rooij (1995: 54) defines a creole continuum as being non-discrete and unidimensional with a basilect, mesolect and acrolect that shade into one another forming a gradient scale. The unidimensionality of this spectrum has to do with the fact that the varieties that compose it can be ordered along the single creole-lexifier dimension. However, this orderly vision contrasts with that of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, especially chapter 4) who proposed a multidimensional model based on their research on St. Lucia and Belize, which would take into account not only linguistic variables (as in Bickerton 1973) but also social ones (such as economic status, 'rurality' or schooling). On the other hand, Rickford (1987, chapter 1) defends the argument that it is a single dimension of the continuum model that makes it usable (for debate see also Sebba 1997: 210 – 227).

The construct of creole continuum is related to the concept of *decreolization*, i.e. a "gradual modification of a creole in the direction of the lexifier" which can be viewed as reflecting a generation change in the speech community or the modification of individuals' speech in their lifetime (Siegel 2008: 236 and 258).

By the end 1970's there was general agreement that decreolization explained the varying structural distance between different creoles and their lexifiers (Holm 2004: 7). Bickerton (1980: 109) asserted that "decreolization is a phenomenon which is found wherever a creole language is in direct contact with its associated superstrate language". However, this assumption of the omnipresence of decreolization within creole societies, like many other generalizations about pidgins' and creoles' structure which he proposed in the 1980's, has been challenged since then by a growing amount of data on particular creoles.

Bailey and Maynor's (1987) research on AAE shows that even in scenarios of intensive contact between a contact language and its lexifier not all linguistic changes can be explained as a movement of the former towards the latter. Also, a case study of Palenquero (Schwegler

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<sup>36</sup> Problems with classifying degrees of creoleness of languages with both creole and non-creole features that since the 1960's have given origins to the concepts of creole continuum, decreolization and semi-creoles were signaled in 19<sup>th</sup> century works on creoles (cf. Holm 1988: 52-60).

2000) suggests that a prolonged coexistence, bilingualism, and heavy code-switching between a Spanish-based creole and Spanish do not seem to have led to any structural changes interpretable on the axis of basilect-acrolect. The case of Palenque also contradicts the prediction by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that in an intense contact situation extensive structural borrowing will occur. Thomason and Kaufmann, who see decreolization as a case of language borrowing, an ordinary contact-induced language change, “akin (for both social and linguistic reasons) to dialect borrowing from a standard to a nonstandard dialect” (1988: 166) warn, however, that cases in which communities do not shift, borrow, or restructure their speech in spite of the existence of sociolinguistic factors favorable to such change, are yet to be explained. In addition, as noted by Holm (2000a: 50), decreolization is an areal contact phenomenon that “can result not only in creoles acquiring non-creole features, but also in non-creoles acquiring creole features”, a process which is attested in the Portuguese spoken in Cape Verde (Lopes 2011, Jon-And 2011).

Finally, Ansaldo and Matthews (2007) propose eliminating the term ‘decreolization’, which they associate with neo-colonial myths in linguistics such as the perception of creoles as ‘impoverished’, ‘simple’ languages resulting from the ‘broken transmission’ of a ‘higher’ lexifier (2007:13). Ironically, the real threat of decreolization and the ‘loss of autonomy’ of CVC is one of the chief arguments used nowadays by Cape Verdean intellectuals (Veiga 1995, 2006: 37, Duarte 1998) to advocate the research and teaching of CVC to fight the ‘neo-colonial’ hegemony of Portuguese.

Another issue related to creole continua is the fact that there exists a possibility of the formation of a creole continuum right from the beginning of the genesis of a creole due to a particular combination of social and historical factors (Alleyne 1971, Singler 1990, cf. also discussion of Melanesia in Siegel 2008). On the other hand, studies on the role that sociohistorical factors play in creole genesis have been an important part of the field of creolistics since its beginning (e.g. Mintz 1971) and the literature on this topic today is immense. The impact of political and historical colonial settings on linguistic outcomes of language contact has been discussed on a macro-scale (Faraclas et al. 2007) but also in micro studies. The case of Sranan shows that even in the most prototypical plantation scenarios slaves had a range of degrees of access to the lexifier network and some could acquire it with a considerable degree of proficiency (Arends 2001). Thus features that are considered acrolectal according to a continuum model are not necessarily best analyzed as a product of gradual decreolization. Thomason and Kaufman, commenting on Bickerton’s statement that the presence of

decreolization in Cape Verdean Creole “is quite apparent” (Bickerton 1981: 47), suggest that the similarities between a creole and its lexifier could be as well explained by the demographic composition of the linguistic community at the time of its inception (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 156).

To summarize, it seems that there is not yet a single theory capable of fully explaining the genesis and synchronic features of creole languages, though there seem to be at least a consensus among creolists as to the essential nature of sociohistorical criteria (Mufwene 2000).

Finally, some contact languages are not classifiable as either pidgins or creoles. This has given rise to the study of bilingual mixtures (Thomason ed. 1997) and the theory of semi-creolization or partial restructuring (Holm 2004), among others.

#### **2.4.2 Contact linguistics and the continuum of contact languages: semi-creolization or partial restructuring.**

At the opening of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Saussure marked the beginning of modern linguistic studies, shifting the main interest of linguists from diachronic language reconstruction to synchronic analysis. Weinreich (1953), on the other hand, launched a new field of contact linguistics, calling attention to an area which up to those days was largely ignored and little esteemed, though acknowledged since antiquity. Chronologically, this mid 20<sup>th</sup> century publication came together with the beginning of the scientific study of pidgins and creoles in the 1960's and their acceptance as a distinct area of linguistics (Holm 2000a: 3).

Only in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had the question of languages in contact become an area of scientific study. This process was influenced by the development of comparative historical linguistics and dialectology and the polemic as to the reasons for language change and language differentiation in which issues of substrate influence and lexical borrowing were raised (Oksaar 1996: 2).

The field split into two camps; on one hand, there were those who maintained that language mixture - and especially the mixture of grammars - was non-existent (such as Meillet cited in Weinreich 1953: 29). On the other there were those like Whitney and Schuchardt who posed a challenge to traditional Staummbaum theory (cited in Winford 2003:7). Schuchardt, claiming that there was no such thing as an unmixed language and calling for the study of mixed codes and mixed languages, was a pioneer not only of pidgin and creole linguistics but also of modern contact linguistics, being, far ahead of his time (Oksaar 1996: 3).

Weinreich (1953) made at least three main contributions to the field of contact



linguistics. First, he insisted on the use of consistent terminology for the study of language contact, a discipline he labeled as ‘interference study’ (1953: 29ff). Second, Weinreich constructed a systematized framework for the study of language contact, stressing the combining of linguistic analysis with social, psychological and socio-cultural factors. In Weinreich’s words, “a full account of interference in a language contact situation [...] is possible only if the extra-linguistic factors are considered” (Weinreich 1953: 3, and chapter 4). He interpreted ‘interference’ not as a deviation from a norm but as a result of language contact and a legitimate object of study. His insistence on considering socio-cultural factors to understand the structural outcomes of different types of contact situations (1953: 44) is probably his most significant contribution to the field of contact linguistics. Finally, perceiving language contact as a multidimensional phenomenon that calls for an interdisciplinary approach, Weinreich set that the goals of the discipline as “predicting typical forms of interference from the socio-linguistic description of a bilingual community and a structural description of its languages” (1953: 86).

If Weinreich (1953) was a milestone in establishing the field of contact linguistics, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) brought the already expanding field of pidgin and creole linguistics into its realm. While Weinreich had concentrated mostly on the processes that occur on all linguistic levels when two languages came into contact within the speech of a bilingual individual, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: chapter 3) proposed a framework for contact-induced processes occurring within an entire language community.

Thomason and Kaufman focus on the results of processes such as borrowing in language maintenance and contact-induced language change via shift. They distinguish between ‘interference through borrowing’, defined as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but it is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 37) and ‘interference through language shift’, defined as the result of imperfect learning of a new language by a group shifting away from their old language (idem: 212). While interference via borrowing starts with lexicon (though structural features may be and are borrowed as well), interference via shift affects primarily the phonology and morpho-syntax of the target language.

Like Weinreich, Thomason and Kaufman devote a lot of attention to the question of substrate interference, not so much from the perspective of a bilingual speaker but from the broader scope of historical linguistics, assuming that “foreign interference in grammar as well as lexicon is likely to have occurred in the histories of most languages.” Given that “the entire literature on this subject lacks a unified framework for the discussion” (Thomason and Kaufman

1988: 3), the main achievement of this book is to propose one.

Thomason and Kaufman define different degrees of intensity of contact and corresponding degrees of interference which lead to language shift with normal language transmission. As an example of shift without interference they cite the second or third generation of urban immigrants of European origin in the United States. Creolization ('abrupt' understood also as 'prototypical'), on the other hand, is a case of shift without 'normal' transmission.

One of the most passionately debated issues raised by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) is the question of how contact affects genetic affiliation, especially in the case of pidgins and creoles. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 11), departing from the standpoint of historical linguistics, distinguish between 'normal transmission' (where the language can be reconstructed via the comparative historical method as descended from a single parent via gradual internal change) and 'abnormal transmission', which applies to bilingual mixtures, creoles and pidgins, whose subsystems cannot all be traced back to a single parent. This assumption leads to Thomason's later wider definition of a *contact language* as "a new language that arises in a contact situation" and which is "identifiable by the fact that its lexicon and grammatical structures cannot all be trace back primarily to the same source language" (Thomason 2001: 262).

This historical definition of creoles does not make any assumptions about the typological characteristics of creoles, but it helps to distinguish the effects of processes such as borrowing and shift mentioned above, where the borrowing language or the target language of a shifting population changes via contact but maintains systematic correspondence with its sister and mother languages, unlike pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixtures where this correspondence is interrupted due to abnormal transmission. Given that virtually all human languages contain sectors of grammar and lexicon that are the result of language contact, the main problem is to clearly define how much change through contact is needed for a language to be considered a contact language, i.e. to lose its genetic affiliation.<sup>37</sup> Given that the intensity of language contact is a graded phenomenon, so are its outcomes. The historical comparative method is helpful in classifying them, but there is no clearly defined point where it stops being applicable.

Another important point in the later research of Thomason is the notion of a prototype for all three types of contact languages (pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixtures), making

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<sup>37</sup> One of the best studied problematic cases of languages that appear to be mixed languages but are not are English (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 263-341) and Hiberno English (Hickey 1997).

intermediate categories such as semi-creoles and koinés ‘deviations’ from the prototype, suggesting that they are best analyzed as such and not as a separate type or class of contact languages. Note that the notion of degree of contact is crucial in this analysis. However, it is important to try to systematize this continuum of a wide range of products of language contact because, as Thomason herself states, echoing in a way Weinreich’s call for the use of consistent terminology in contact linguistics, “classifying phenomena makes it easy to talk about them and especially to compare them” (Thomason 1997: 86).

As noted above, almost any topic in creolistics can be controversial. One issue that most creolists seem to agree on is that a definition of a creole must include both social as well as linguistic phenomena (Holm 2000a: 68-71).

But we still lack a coherent framework that would combine the many and heterogeneous social factors with linguistic ones and to create a formula such as ‘pidginization index’ (Bickerton 1984) that would predict the emergence of a creole or a pidgin and its degree of restructuring. Nor is there any strict sociohistorical metric that will identify every creole as such and reject every noncreole (Singler 1990) or that would correlate demographic data (for instance, the portion of native speakers of the lexifier) and the resulting degree of restructuring of a given creole (or contact language in general), though Parkvall (2000a) is a constructive attempt in this direction.

On the other hand, over the last two decades attempts have been made to propose an adequate formal theoretical model to account for the origin and synchronic structure of language varieties that combine features of creoles with those of non-creoles and to place them within a continuum of various language-contact outcomes.

This is how the development of semi-creolization theory started. Since the late 1980’s it was proposed and re-formulated by Holm in various articles which concentrated on five varieties, i.e. Afrikaans, African - American English (AAE), Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP), non-standard Caribbean Spanish, and Réunionnais (cf. Holm 1992, 2000b and 2001), culminating in a book-length comparison and analysis in Holm (2004).

The problem with the term semi-creole is related to a tendency among some creolists to abandon the term ‘creole’ altogether (cf. 2.4.1 above) and to objections that some creolists have to using technical terms such as ‘abnormal transmission’ and ‘simplification’ in relation to creolization, leading to accusations of neocolonial intellectual imperialism and racism in creole studies (DeGraff 2001, 2003 and Parkvall 2001). This problem is discussed in Holm (2004: xi-

xvi) and won't be elaborated here. However, it's important to note that this ideological rather than scientific debate has obliged Holm to re-baptized semi-creoles as 'partially restructured varieties'. Both will be used synonymously here.

A semi-creole is a language that never underwent full creolization, but rather was affected by partial restructuring which presupposes a population with different first languages shifting to a typologically distinct target language (itself an amalgam of contact varieties, including fully restructured ones, i.e. pidgins and creoles) under social circumstances that partially restrict access to the target language. In this language contact situation, the following linguistic processes can influence the final outcome: language drift, primary leveling, imperfect language shift, language borrowing and secondary leveling (Holm 2004: 143).

This theory of *partial restructuring* makes clear how particular sociolinguistic factors (such as the demographic balance of native vs. non-native speakers of the European source language and the length of contact) and particular linguistic processes determine the specific structure of partially restructured varieties (such as structural reduction at the level of morphological marking of person or tense on verbs and number or gender on elements in the noun phrase).

The concept of semi-creoles as proposed by Holm is not so much a claim that the five semi-creoles on which he focused are a separate type of contact language, which was objected to (cf. by Thomason above), but an attempt to make an orderly generalization about at least some segments (probably the most difficult ones) of this continuum of outcomes of language contact, i.e. the varieties that had fallen between the "cracks of theory, being neither unrestructured overseas varieties nor fully restructured creoles" (Holm 2004: 144). Moreover, Holm (2004: xiv) stressed that his standpoint is that the category to which creole languages belong is sociolinguistic rather than typological in the genetic sense.

Partial restructuring theory is not only an explanatory model that coherently combines sociohistorical and linguistic considerations but also an alternative for explaining the origin of varieties such as AAE and BVP as post-creoles, i.e. languages that were once fully creolized and acquired lexifier features via decreolization (Holm 2004: 2-10).

What distinguishes semi-creoles both from their lexical source languages and from creoles and post-creoles of the same lexical base is the fact that they emerge in a particular sociolinguistic setting in which, at an early period in their development, there was a more balanced ratio of native vs. non-native speakers of the lexical source language in a community of

speakers of different mother tongues. These speakers shifted to a typologically different target language to which they had only partial access due to social restrictions. The final product of partial restructuring is language varieties characterized by the retention of a significant portion of the European languages' morphosyntax as well as the introduction of substrate and interlanguage features.

An important point of partial restructuring theory is that it points out that explanations of creoles' linguistic structure based solely on decreolization are not the whole story and that a detailed re-examination of the socio-linguistic scenario of the creole (or its variety's) genesis may offer important insights. Thus, some of the grammatical features considered acrolectal and the product of an ongoing decreolization in post-colonial creole societies may, in fact, be the result of linguistic processes such as language borrowing and language shift right at a language variety's inception.

Although Holm assumes that partial restructuring refers to the restructuring, i.e. re-organization of the grammatical system of the European lexifier (cf. Holm 2004 table 9, p.138), the data in this dissertation have led me to believe that this process can work in two ways. A fully creolized language can also become partially restructured by re-organizing its grammar through contact with a non-restructured variety, where linguistic processes of language shift, borrowing and leveling take place. Thus, *restructuring* is understood here in a broad sense as "all structural modifications that a lexifier language undergoes in the selection and evolution of new linguistic elements, influenced by other, competing languages, in a contact situation. The final outcome of this process is a new linguistic code which consists of a variable, fairly subtle mixture of both substrate and superstrate features" (Neumann-Holzschuh and Schneider eds. 2000: 6), bearing in mind, however, that it may apply not only to a 'lexifier' but to a creole as well. The main factors that will distinguish this process from decreolization will be the social scenario and the speed of the process. Decreolization advances via wide-spread schooling and bilingualism and is a fairly gradual process, while partial restructuring can take place in the period of one or two generations. I will discuss this further in the final chapter.

Arends (2002) dismissed the importance of studying semi-creoles; his personal impression is "that it is the formation of creoles rather than semi-creoles that will keep attracting our main attention for some time to come" (Arends 2002: 140). However, this view is not shared by at least those creolists doing research on BVP. The literature on BVP's socio-linguistic past and on explanatory models for its present linguistic features is copious and controversial. Positions range from most astounding explanations such those who negate the role language

contact played in its formation (Naro and Sherre [2000], Parkvall [2000b]) to those claiming just the opposite (cf. Baxter and Lucchesi [1999], Ferreira [2004]). One of the problems with BVP lies in distinguishing the results of drift, i.e., internal changes in language structure resulting from structural ‘imbalance’ from changes via shift and other linguistic processes that occur during language contact. Partial restructuring offers a more coherent explanation of origin of such a variety.

The framework proposed for semi-creoles has had an impact on promoting debate on the gradient nature of the restructuring of creole languages in general and on triggering other proposals that aim to make the continuum of creoleness more discrete, such as the concept of ‘intermediate creole’ proposed by Winford (1997: 137, 2000, 2003), defined as a case of targeted shift with significant superstrate input and applied to Barbadian, urban Guyanese and Reunionnais.

The study of partially restructured varieties, which share a significant number of structural parallels with pidgin and creole languages, but retain enough similarity to their European lexical sources to indicate that they have never been fully creolized, continues the process of bringing creole studies into the broader field of contact linguistics.

### **2.4.3 Contact linguistics and the scope of this dissertation**

Contact linguistics today is a wide-ranging interdisciplinary area which studies language contact (on the macro-analytic level) as arising from cultural, economic and political encounters between various ethnic groups and on the micro-analytic level considers bi- or multi-lingual individuals. Given the fact that 70% of the world’s population is multi-lingual this, of course, calls for a re-thinking of most of the leading linguistic theories and methodologies which assume monolingualism and homogeneity of speech community as the norm (Oksaar 1996: 8).

The most recent general works and introductory textbooks that have been published on language contact, in which pidgin and creole languages occupy a prominent place, confer more visibility and relevance to the field (e.g. Thomason 2001, Winford 2003, Matras 2009). Winford, defining the main objectives of contact linguistics, the strength of which lies in its very interdisciplinary approach, states that one of the main goals of the discipline is to determine what combination of social and linguistic influences promote a given kind of outcome (Winford 2003: 5, 9).

As mentioned above (section 2.4.1) there has been a considerable advance in studies on the macro-level and micro-levels of demographic and sociohistorical background of contact

zones where pidgins and creoles emerged. Moreover, more studies of recently discovered historical texts are becoming available, allowing for the reconstruction of diachronic stages of the development of contact languages. Finally, findings regarding the actual linguistic mechanisms that led to creole formation are increasing, though this area of research, requiring precise knowledge of the linguistic input in creolization and obedience to strict comparative historical principles is, according to Winford (1997: 140) the most neglected one.

From the overview of the literature on CVC outlined in sections 2.2 and 2.3, it is quite clear that very little research on the emergence and structure of the Barlavento varieties within a more general theoretical framework of contact linguistics has been done.

To fill this gap in our knowledge, the present study provides and examines linguistic as well as sociohistorical evidence for the hypothesis that CVSV's synchronic differences from CVST are best explained by contact-induced changes consistent with the partial restructuring of the Sotavento varieties that occurred during the settlement period of São Vicente by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and during CVSV's early 19<sup>th</sup> century development.

In order to assess the hypothesis outlined above this dissertation will rely on an interdisciplinary approach, arguing for multiple converging explanations rather than a single one, with a special focus on the language contact framework as proposed by Thomason and Kaufman 1988 (up-dated in Thomason 2001) and the theoretical model of partial restructuring as defined by Holm (2004).

## **Chapter 3**

### **THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY OF THE CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE OF SÃO VICENTE**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of São Vicente's social history and demographics from its discovery until present-day. Section 3.2 analyses the socio-historic context of the formation and the early development of the colony on São Vicente with a special focus on the demographics of the 1797 settlement and the possible linguistic scenario of its development until the foundation of Mindelo in 1838. Moreover, it evaluates the linguistic impact of the Portuguese convicts and the access of the population to Portuguese via schooling in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Section 3.3 presents historical background of the rapid economic and demographic growth of the city of Mindelo from 1850 to 1910. It analyses the first historical comment regarding CVSV, in 3.3.2.2, as well as possible linguistic consequences of the abrupt demographic increase. Also, the role of the British and the state of education and potential levels of bilingualism in São Vicente in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are examined in order to evaluate the likelihood of decreolization. Section 3.4 focuses on the development of CVSV in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It discusses the economic situation and demography in 3.4.1 and, in subsection 3.4.2, there is an analysis of the general state of education until 1975, with a focus on literacy rates and probable levels of bilingualism in São Vicente. Finally, section 3.5 examines the current linguistic situation in São Vicente and 3.6 concludes the chapter.

#### **3.2 The sociolinguistic scenario of the colonization of the island of São Vicente, 1462-1850**

This section presents an outline of the history of São Vicente from its discovery in 1462 till the beginnings of its rapid economic and demographic growth in the 1850's focusing on the demographic pattern of the 1797 settlement, in 3.2.2.1, and the early development of the colony and its likely linguistic outcome in subsection 3.2.2.2. Subsequently, subsection 3.2.3, discusses the historical scenario of the founding of Mindelo, with the special focus on the possible linguistic impact of the Portuguese convicts in 3.2.3.1. Finally, in subsection 3.2.3.2, the state of education in Cape Verde in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is presented to show that access to Portuguese through schooling was extremely limited for CVSV speakers.



### 3.2.1 The island of São Vicente from its discovery till the 18<sup>th</sup> century

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the southern Sotavento islands had been inhabited for more than 300 years, the northern Barlavento island of São Vicente belonged, together with Santa Luzia and Sal, to the group called “the desert islands” which were used to raise livestock of the landowners from Santo Antão, São Nicolau, and Boavista (Baleno 2001: 146-147). The island of São Vicente had been discovered in 1462 and donated to the counts of Portalegre (Albuquerque 2001: 58). In 1696 it became a possession of the Portuguese crown (Barcellos 1902: 117). In 1727 the first study of the island’s agriculture and military potential was completed following a royal order (Leite 1929: 157-158) and in 1752 the first known official regulation (*regimento*) was given to the crown agent (*feitor*) of São Vicente and which aimed to halt all sort of abuses committed on the island and to control and augment the crown’s revenues proceeding from its natural resources such as cotton, amber, salt, wild goats’ hides, and cudbear<sup>1</sup> (Pereira 1986). This regulation, however, had no direct consequences on its colonization.

Although São Vicente was seasonally visited by inhabitants of the neighboring islands of Santo Antão and São Nicolau who gathered cudbear and amber, fished, and slaughtered livestock (Correia e Silva 2000: 23-24), its excellent port and climate (especially compared to malaria-infested Santiago) were not enough to attract settlers and compensate for the aridity of its soil, strong Saharan winds, the scarcity of water, and a general lack of agriculture potential.

Notwithstanding the lack of economic perspective, attempts at colonization were made starting in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; in 1734, a rich merchant, João de Távora, wrote a petition asking to be granted a license to populate São Vicente at his own expense. This petition was not considered by the government in Lisbon, although the Governor of Cape Verde had sent a letter to the king supporting Távora in order to “take away this shelter from the pirates without which they will not be able to endure in these seas.” (Pereira 1986: 89-90).

In fact, the neglect of São Vicente by the Portuguese crown together with its excellent strategic position on the routes between Europe and the Americas, and its deep and secure port, facilitated all kinds of illegal activities. The huge bay of São Vicente served as a refuge not only to shepherds and fishermen from the other Barlavento islands and to American whalers, but also to smugglers and captains of foreign fleets. For example, it was here that

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<sup>1</sup> Cudbear (*urzela* in Ptg.) is a reddish coloring matter from lichens that until the advent of chemical colorings in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century constituted one of the main exports of Cape Verde.

the powerful Dutch Armada anchored and remained for four months on its way to conquer Portuguese colonial city of Olinda in Brazil in 1629 (Correia e Silva 2000: 26-31).

São Vicente was also frequently visited by British and French fleets. Several travelers commented that they had found people on the island and a group of huts observing, however, that it is likely that these were seasonal workers employed in goat hides tanning and that the island was uninhabited (Astley, ed.1745: 672-674).<sup>2</sup> There were also seasonal visits of priests to attend the needs of the few fishermen and shepherds' families dispersed through the island who, on unknown date, created on the bay a small village called Nossa Senhora da Luz (Linhas Gerais 1984: 6-7). Nevertheless, it is not until 1797 that we can speak of the existence in São Vicente, of a community sufficiently stable to be analyzable from a linguistic perspective.

### **3.2.2 Official attempts at colonization, 1781-1830**

In Portugal, the post-Pombal period at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century gave rise to new ideologies to revitalize agriculture and to make better use of the colonies' natural resources. This trend, together with the fear that foreign powers might occupy São Vicente, led to the third and the last cycle of the colonization of Cape Verde<sup>3</sup> which started with an official attempt to populate São Vicente (Correia e Silva 2000: 33-5).

In 1781, Queen Maria I ordered the colonization of São Vicente and the archipelago's other uninhabited islands. The new settlers would be exempt from tax payment (the *foros* tax) for ten years (Linhas Gerais 1984: 5), among other benefits. This incentive was, however, not sufficient to attract the desired inhabitants from the Azores (Correia e Silva 2000: 37) and as Lopes da Lima affirms "[this] disposition had no effect" (1844: 66).

#### **3.2.2.1 1795 colonization and its linguistic impact**

Soon after this first failed endeavor, in 1793, Carlos da Fonseca Rosado, a rich landowner from the island of Fogo (born in Tavira, Algarve), proposed to settle the island of São Vicente at his own expenses by establishing 20 couples of freed men and his 50 slaves.<sup>4</sup> As

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<sup>2</sup> Correia e Silva (2000: 30) quotes a letter by a Frenchman called Naquart who in 1648 commented that the inhabitants of São Vicente "were good musicians" indicating that he found probably transient inhabitants there.

<sup>3</sup> Correia e Silva (2002) divides the colonization of Cape Verde into three cycles: during the first cycle (15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) Santiago and Fogo were colonized. Brava, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, Boavista and Maio were populated during the second cycle lasting through 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Sal and São Vicente were effectively settled during the last phase in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>4</sup> One of the reasons for the decision of Fonseca Rosado to colonize São Vicente (he was then in his sixties) might have been the frequent eruptions of the volcano on Fogo from 1680 till 1799 and subsequent periodical ruin of the

recompense, he would be named captain-major (*capitão-mor*) and a six-year income from the island and all its livestock would be his in exchange for a single payment of 60 thousands *reis*. The settlers would be exempt from taxes (*foros* and *dízimos*) for ten years and they would be given tools and provisions until the first harvest (Linhas Gerais 1984: 6). This proposal was accepted in 1795 (Lopes da Lima 1844: 66).

However, the Portuguese crown was particularly concerned with the racial composition of this new colony and in an attempt at ‘racial purification’ wanted to avoid the problem of having it populated by freed men of the Sotavento islands whom it considered ‘useless and dangerous’ (Correia e Silva 2000: 38-39).<sup>5</sup>

One of the results of this ‘*política de branqueamento*’ was the sending of successive waves of Portuguese convicts to Cape Verde and constant appeals to peasants in Portugal to settle the Barlavento islands which intensified towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Already in 1775 the governor of Cape Verde appealed to Lisbon for Azorean couples to be sent to Cape Verde in order to ‘replace the blacks’ (Barcellos 1906: 69).<sup>6</sup> Therefore, in her “Instructions as to what should be accomplished while populating the island of São Vicente, one of the desert islands in Cape Verde” Queen Maria I:<sup>7</sup>

[Openly] *prohibits that a large number of couples should be brought from other islands* since it is not considered convenient that this new settlement should be made up of only the inhabitants of these islands while, little by little, the *settlers from Portugal and the Azores could be brought there*. (Correia e Silva 2000: 38-39; my italics).

From the linguistic point of view, the fulfillment of the above order would be crucial to the future character of the variety of creole spoken on the island. However, the question that needs to be answered is whether these Portuguese settlers ever arrived in São Vicente.

The arrival of the Portuguese settlers in São Vicente is mentioned by both the creolists who in some detail have dealt with this variety and commented on the first decades of the island’s settlement: i.e. Bartens-Adawonu (1999) and Pereira (2000a: 27-28; 37-38). However, there are historical sources that might suggest the contrary. Firstly, Lopes da Lima affirms

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plantation (Lyll 1938: 138). In 1785, for instance, the eruption was so powerful that the ashes covered the island of Maio (Barcellos 1906: 97).

<sup>5</sup>It should be underlined that manumission in Cape Verde, crucial for the formation of CVC, had been in course since the beginnings of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Carreira 1985: 7-8).

<sup>6</sup> This demand of the Azorean settlers was consistent with economic and demographic situation on the Azores discussed below.

<sup>7</sup> “Instruções do que se deve praticar com a nova povoação da ilha de São Vicente, uma das desertas de Cabo Verde”.

(without quoting the source of his information) that the settlers from Portugal “were supposed to arrive from the kingdom [i.e. Portugal] but they never did” (1844: 66). Secondly, Correia e Silva (2000: 39) quotes a comment of a wealthy man of Santiago “that from those who came from Lisbon ...to be settlers [in São Vicente] there is no one left”. Unfortunately, the document cited by Correia e Silva is not dated so it is unclear if the settlers perished or deserted during a possible intermediate stop in Praia before even reaching São Vicente, or after having lived some years on the island.

On the other hand, a rather reputable and detailed source, Barcellos (1906: 122) attests that in March 1794, 19 convicts, tools and seeds were sent from the kingdom, on the ship *Bom Sucesso* to be used for the colonization of São Vicente. Moreover, Castilho presents a detailed list of these 19 convicts’ professions as well as a list of another group of Portuguese convicts sent a month later and an inventory of agricultural tools, arms, and seeds that arrived on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1795 destined for São Vicente (Castilho 1818 [1836]: 52, 124).<sup>8</sup> Further, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, 1794 the royal proviso informed the governor of Cape Verde “that 44 couples and convicts had left the kingdom [Portugal] on the ship *Senhor Jesus de Boa Morte* to settle on the island of São Vicente” (Barcellos 1906: 122). This fact is subsequently related in Brásio (1962: 83), Linhas Gerais (1984: 6, basing on Brásio 1962) and by Monteiro in his detailed notes to São Vicente’s administrator Joaquim Botelho da Costa reports from 1877-1880, where Monteiro states that among the first inhabitants of the small village of Nossa Senhora da Luz were “[20 couples] from the adjacent islands apart from others that had been sent from the kingdom, i.e. 19 convicts that came on the ship *Bom Sucesso* and 44 couples and convicts that came on the ship *Senhor Jesus da Boa Morte*” (Monteiro 1980: 197).<sup>9</sup>

There is also more evidence in the available literature that might indirectly corroborate the arrival of the Azorean settlers in São Vicente, i.e. historians’ analysis of the emigration patterns and economic and political situation on the Azores in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since the 1750’s the significant overpopulation of the islands combined with their obsolete economic structure (the bulk of the land belonged to a few feudal lords while there was no industry) led

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<sup>8</sup> It was thanks to late Prof. Jean-Michel Massa that I had access to this little known account. Castilho spent 27 days in Santiago in 1818. He underlines that though he did not travel in Cape Verde he copied a lot of varied in nature and detailed documents from the Province Secretary Department in Praia to which he had access. He mentions that the Portuguese and Azorean couples never came to São Vicente though he clearly did not have access to the 1794 proviso referred by Barcellos (1906).

<sup>9</sup> Neither Brásio nor Monteiro give the source of their information but most probably they took it from Barcellos (1906). Barcellos (1906: 129), referring to the conditions of the agreement between Fonseca Rosado and the state in 1795, observes “[there were] 20 couples from the adjacent islands (specified as Fogo on p. 132) ready and prepared, apart from others that had been sent from the kingdom in order to launch the basis for the aforementioned settlement.”

to most of the tenant farmers and landless wage-earners living in extreme misery. This situation, together with factors such as very bad agricultural years in the 1780's, provoked a massive emigration to Brazil. This is clearly seen in the demographics: between 1776 and 1791 the population of the Azores shrunk by about ten thousand people in spite of a very high birth rate (Reis Leite 1989: 57). Unlike the 19<sup>th</sup> century predominantly male illegal emigration, this exodus resulted in the departure of entire families that took place under the auspices of the crown which offered very attractive incentives to emigrants (Mendonça and Ávila 2002).<sup>10</sup> This policy, therefore, was perfectly in keeping with the crown's desire to colonize São Vicente with Azorean couples.

Finally, from the cultural point of view, there was an approximation between the two archipelagos. São Vicente was not unknown to the Azoreans due to whaling, in which Cape Verdeans had worked together with the Azoreans since the very beginning of this industry (Bettencourt 1998).

To sum up, it seems that in spite of the inefficiency of the Portuguese colonial administration, the wish of the Queen as to the composition of the new colony was fulfilled, albeit quite below the aims of the original plan.

In 1796 Fonseca Rosado was ordered to choose the freemen couples (Barcellos 1906: 132) and in July of 1797, a showy ceremony of establishment of the first 232 colonists took place in São Vicente.<sup>11</sup> The event was attended by the General Governor of Cape Verde (Correia e Silva 2000: 39) and ended with a mass, procession, and the artillery salute fired by the troops who had been sent from the capital (Barcellos 1906: 138).

The number of settlers seems to be another indirect confirmation of the arrival of the Portuguese, since the group that came from Fogo could not have exceeded 150 people. Barcellos confirms that Rosado, despite having promised 50 slaves, brought only 30, and that 20 free Fogo couples were equivalent to '112 souls' (Barcellos 1906: 208). This is consistent with Mendonça and Ávila (2002: 61) who calculate that in the same period (18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries) one Azorean emigrant couple was equivalent to four persons. There remains the question as to the exact number of Portuguese who reached São Vicente. Lucas de Senna

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<sup>10</sup> Mendonça and Ávila (2002) do not mention specifically emigration to Cape Verde, which is perfectly understandable as the emigration of a few dozen couples to Cape Verde constituted only an insignificant episode in the massive 18<sup>th</sup> century exodus of Azoreans to Brasil and, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to the United States. On the other hand, to my knowledge, no one investigating the history of Cape Verde has ever systematically researched the Azorean historical archives.

<sup>11</sup> The number is based on (Barcellos 1906: 138). Brásio (1962: 8) follows Barcellos' calculation.

(1818 [1987b]: 17) narrates a case of a ship with 400 Azorean settlers on their way to Brazil that arrived in Praia in 1813 in the rainy season having more than 200 of these passengers died. In fact, mortality on ships that in the same period carried Azorean emigrants to Brazil was comparable to that of the slave vessels (Ávila 1996).

Obviously, this first attested calculation of São Vicente population (232) did not include small children or workers brought from Santo Antão to help in the construction of barracks and visitors that came to assist the taking of power of the first captain-major (*capitão-mor*) of São Vicente.

By 1798 the project of colonization had advanced to the point that the land was divided among the settlers and the municipal and private pastures were demarcated (Brásio 1962: 83). The division of property among small tenant farmers created an economic base for a community radically distinct from that of the *morgado* and *capela* (i.e. large feudal land proprietries) of Santiago and Fogo. Soon, the small settlement of Nossa Senhora da Luz was renamed Dom Rodrigo (Valdez 1864: 119). A manuscript map from 1798 (Catálogo 1985), by Marcelino António Basto (the Governor of Cape Verde, 1796-1808) is probably the first map of D.Rodrigo village: there were a couple of houses around which the town of Mindelo developed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a fort in the place of the still existing derelict mid 19<sup>th</sup> century prison Fortin and place names such as Matiota that has survived to date.

The historical facts summarized above led to the creation of the first permanent linguistic community on the island. It would be useful, at this point, to make some hypothesis as to what languages or varieties might have been spoken then in São Vicente.

The 30 slaves brought from Fogo (and the slaves of the free couples if such existed) probably spoke a basilectal variety of Sotavento CVC with exception of the domestic slaves of Fonseca Rosado which might have also spoken L2 variety of Portuguese. Some of the slaves might have been recently acquired on the African mainland and thus might have spoken a West Atlantic African language (if not Guinea Bissau Creole, or its predecessor). Though compulsory *ladinização* was no longer in force, they must have constituted a minority that probably learned the Sotavento Creole even before being sent to São Vicente. Therefore, the direct influence of African languages on the first linguistic community in São Vicente could be considered insignificant. It is difficult to determine the variety spoken by the 20 free couples of *pretos forros* as we know nothing of their social origin. However, it is very probable, that they came from Fogo and spoke a variety of CVC that did not differ much from the one spoken by the slaves. Fonseca Rosado, born in the Algarve, spoke a southern Portuguese

dialect and, given widely attested practice of white colonizers, was most probably fluent in Creole.

The settler from the Azores and Portugal as well as the Portuguese convicts were likely to speak dialectal varieties of non-standard Portuguese since probably all came from the lower social strata.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, there were 150 speakers of more or less basilectal Sotavento Creole and some 80 to 100 speakers of non-standard Portuguese given that probably at least a quarter of the metropolitan settlers had not survive the trip. To this, we have to add an unknown number of children that were born on the island. This highly hypothetical estimate, (the only one possible given the fragmentary character of the documentation), may lead us to the figure of 232 settlers attested in sources such as Barcellos (1906). However, we don't know if this number reflects an influx of inhabitants from the neighboring populous island of Santo Antão that might had already begun.<sup>13</sup>

From the linguistic point of view this represented a situation of intense language contact in a small and isolated speech community probably composed exclusively of young people with an even ratio between the sexes and fairly balanced in economic and social terms. Having arrived on different occasions and being shepherd, farmers, and fishermen they must have stayed in different parts of the small island. The majority, however, must have concentrated around scarce springs, on Monte Verde, and around the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Luz forming a more compact nucleus on the bay of the port (Linhas Gerais 1984: 7). The Portuguese, though in a privileged position, were certainly dependent on Cape Verdean's knowledge of the local conditions. Since most of their descendents are racially mixed, it seems likely that there were mixed unions from the very beginning and that the children born of these unions were bi-dialectal and bi-lingual and actually did much of the leveling themselves while the challenge of surviving in inhospitably dry island clearly fostered solidarity between the two groups of this small 'homestead society' (Chaudenson 2001).

### **3.2.2.2 The early development of the colony**

While the scarcity of demographic and social data surrounding the first decades of colonization of Cape Verde at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century has obliged creolists to make

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<sup>12</sup> Azorean dialects form the same dialectal group (Southern) as Madeira and the Portuguese dialects of Algarve and Alentejo. It should be noted, however, that it's only very recently that their modern descriptions have been published (cf. for instance description of São Miguel phonetics and lexicon by Bernardo and Montenegro [2003]). The ethnographic and linguistic atlas of Azores is still under elaboration. (Cf. [http://www.clul.ul.pt/sectores/variacao/projecto\\_aleac.php](http://www.clul.ul.pt/sectores/variacao/projecto_aleac.php))

<sup>13</sup> Santo Antão is the second biggest island of Cape Verde and was the second most populous after Santiago until independence in 1975 (Gatlin 1990: 82). It has remained rural and of a difficult access until very recently.

speculations,<sup>14</sup> the statistics and testimonies from the 19<sup>th</sup> century allow us to track the demographic development of small community in São Vicente with a relative exactitude. According to Carreira, Cape Verde was the “only Portuguese ex-possession where, more or less efficiently, the method of statistical inquiry in population censuses has been applied since the 19<sup>th</sup> century” (Carreira 1985: 11-12), though Carreira (1984) warns against the subjective character of the Cape Verdean censuses regarding the racial classifications such as “white” or “mixed”.<sup>15</sup>

The census of 1807 (Carreira 1984: 57, Estêvão 1998) which is, to my knowledge, the first available for São Vicente, presents the following racial composition of the island: out of the total of 200 inhabitants, 1 white, 50 mulattoes, 140 *forros*, and 9 slaves. This data raises a series of questions. While it is easy to explained the decrease in the number of slaves who had arrived on the island from Fogo as they were simply sold by impoverished Fonseca Rosado (Barcellos 1906: 208), does this mean that all the whites, with the exception of Fonseca Rosado who died in 1815 (Barcellos 1906: 227),<sup>16</sup> perished during the colony’s first 13 years? Were the mulattoes the children born out of the unions between the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans? What was the racial designation of the *forros*? These facts may cast serious doubts as to the origin and number of settlers that reached São Vicente in 1797. On the other hand, Carreira (1984) observes that these figures, extracted from Chelmicki and Varnhagen (1841), are too rounded off and constitute a mere estimate obtained through indirect methods of inquiry.<sup>17</sup>

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century represented the final stage of the slow process of disintegration of the Portuguese old colonial regime and the end of the slave society established in Cape Verde in the 1500’s (Estêvão 1998). Cape Verde entered the period of social unrest and economic crisis which was aggravated by a prolonged period of drought and

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<sup>14</sup> See for instance Parkvall’s (2000a: 205) frequent question marks referring to Cape Verdean 16<sup>th</sup> century demographic data. Only recently Pereira (2006b) and Lang (2009) have provided possible historical and socio-linguistic scenarios for the CVC genesis.

<sup>15</sup> Analyzing white communities in the Portuguese colonies Newitt states that in general, the European community was continually being absorbed into the mixed population and that very often there was a tendency towards lack of coincidence of skin color with economic class (Newitt 1981: 148-149).

<sup>16</sup> Barcellos describes how ruined by the São Vicente enterprise Carlos da Fonseca Rosado was summoned to Praia in August of 1815 where he contracted ‘a fever’ and died a month later at the age of 80 (1906: 208). He was substituted in his post of captain-major by Manuel José de Oliveira (Barcellos 1906: 240).

<sup>17</sup> Carreira’s (1984) comparative analysis of the 1730 and 1807 Cape Verde’s demographic data shows three clear tendencies: the growth of the group of mulattoes and freed (*forros*), the diminishing of the number of slaves in the entire colony, and a quite spectacular growth (55.2%) of the population classified as ‘white’ in the entire Barlavento, especially in Santo Antão. The more detailed account as to the origins of this group and its linguistic impact on the present structure of the Barlavento varieties is yet to be studied.



subsequent famines as well as by the adverse international situation, i.e. the Napoleonic wars in Europe and a sharp decrease in commerce with the United States. The Portuguese court (exiled to Rio de Janeiro in 1807) paid little attention to the young colony in São Vicente (Correia e Silva 2000: 43-47).

This period was, thus, very difficult for the settlers in São Vicente. However, the demographic fluctuations of the first 35 years of colonization of São Vicente (cf. Table 3.1 below) were not directly caused by the dearth of rain, but rather by problems such as the fact that the livestock brought in 1810 by Manuel António Martins<sup>18</sup> from Boavista to São Vicente continually destroyed the settlers' cultivated areas and obliged them to abandon their farms (Barcellos 1906: 240).<sup>19</sup>

However, despite contemporary observers' comments such as "the colony of São Vicente has made little progress" (Ferreira 1812-1814 [1987a]: 70), it can be demonstrated that a small nucleus of the population lived in the village of D. Rodrigo (cf. Table 3.1 below). In 1810, Governor Pusich wrote "... there is a parish of 80 inhabitants, the remainder of the many that were sent to colonize this island but who gradually emigrated..." (Pusich 1810 [1956]: 627).

After 1813 the island was inhabited by a surviving small community of "adventurers, shepherds of somebody else's livestock, prostitutes, and convicts." (Correia e Silva 2000: 48). Some were Europeans, some Africans, but the majority of mixed race, all with a different linguistic past; left alone by the colonial administration they comprised an ideal micro-society for language restructuring.

There is a number of early 19<sup>th</sup> century testimonies regarding the lack of clear social and racial distinction in Cape Verde, the intimate contact between the slaves and their owners and the Sotavento vs. Barlavento regional social, racial and economic differences. One of the earliest and most reliable commentators in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was António Pusich, the governor

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<sup>18</sup> Manuel António Martins was a rich landowner, a very successful merchant and a man of unsurpassed influence on the Cape Verdean political scene in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On his not always above board businesses, see Brooks (1970: 149-150). A good account of his "uncivilized" household, where slaves took all kind of liberties, is Bowdich (1823 [1977]). Martins, for personal reasons, opposed vehemently the idea of the development of São Vicente.

<sup>19</sup> This issue was even topic of discussion in the Portuguese parliament in 1822 (Santa-Rita 1944).

of Cape Verde in the 1820's and a severe critic of the 'barbarous' way of living of the *morgados* in the interior of Santiago and Fogo:<sup>20</sup>

[Who] used to an idle and free life inside their estates [...] in ignorance, *surrounded by vice as well as by black slaves or servants, all of them belonging to the household.* (Pusich 1810 [1956]: 620; my italics).

On the social classes Pusich wrote:

[...] the inhabitants of these islands are reduced to *three classes*: the white, the mullato and the black; the *first class is the least numerous one and it is mixed with the second, which is numerous*, and these two classes make for more than a half of the inhabitants and they own nearly all property; the *third class is all made of black, some own property, the majority, however, are vagrants (vadios) or slaves, especially on the island of Santiago and Fogo, as on the other islands those who are not slaves, nearly all own some land.* (1810 [1956]: 611; my italics).

From the same period there is a narrative by Mrs. Bowdich who, while accompanying her husband on one of his voyages to Africa, spent a few weeks in the house of António Manuel Martins on Boavista and was shocked by the fact that during a procession "[all] social categories were mixed and at the side of most distinguished persons [...] rags of slaves and blacks could be seen." (Bowdich 1823 [1977]: 99).

In 1818 Lucas de Senna, a Portuguese artillery captain sent to Santiago, who according to Carreira (ed.1987b: 14), knew Cape Verdean society very well, presented a picturesque if not exaggerated description of the relationship between the master and the slave:

[In] Cape Verde everybody is served by a slave; the most humble plebeian has at least one slave, man or woman to serve him [...] Normally, it is the poor people who die during the drought years [...]. Nearly all of these free their blacks who, after having their *cartas de alforria*, [i.e. manumission deeds][...] save money to buy a slave. Here we have one black slave belonging to the other, poor as himself. (Lucas de Senna 1818 [1987b]: 62).

If this racial and social 'promiscuity' took place in Boavista and, especially, in Santiago, an island that in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century still had a slave society hierarchy, it can be deduced that the inter-racial and inter-class relationships between farmers, fisherman and shepherds must have been even more intimate (not to say egalitarian) in the recently colonized island of São Vicente.

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<sup>20</sup> Carreira observes that though Pusich had access to and copied parts of Feijó's 1797 *Memória Económica* he enriched the text with several information of events occurred after 1797 which he witnessed (Carreira ed. 1986: xxxiii).

The couples chosen for colonization had to be young and the children born on the island were exposed to at least three linguistic systems, i.e. the Sotavento variety of Creole (especially the one spoken on Fogo), dialectal Portuguese and the Barlavento variety of Creole spoken on Santo Antão. This fostered the rapid emergence of a restructured variety of Sotavento Creole, not necessarily more basilectal than the one spoken today on the island.

The intimate social contact promoted intensive language contact (and various levels of bilingualism) between the three main groups, i.e. the settlers from Fogo, Santo Antão and Portugal (including the Azores). Pereira rightly suggests that the recently arrived Europeans learned Sotavento Creole (2000a: 38). This combined with the native speakers discontinuing to use Portuguese with their mixed children and their subsequent shift to speaking Sotavento Creole, which had started undergoing influence from both Portuguese and the Santo Antão variety, has probably contributed significantly to the future acrolectal character of the CVSV.

Throughout the history of Cape Verde there are abundant attestation of the cultural and linguistic assimilation of whites and their widespread use of creole. As already mentioned, Lucas de Senna wrote the following, in 1818, while commenting on the hostility of Cape Verdeans towards the Portuguese and on the acculturation of the white elite:

[...] the evident proof of this is that the lower classes (*o povo miúdo*) as well as the powerful (*os grandes*) as a rule don't speak the Portuguese language. Anyone who wishes to communicate with them needs an interpreter (*prático*) if he doesn't know the language of the country, which does not happen in other provinces (*capitanias*) of our conquests. (Lucas de Senna 1818 [1987b]: 103).

Moreover, there are contemporary attestations of the existence of a regional creole continuum. For instance, Pusich in 1810 referred clearly not only to the general use of CVC among all social classes but also to the existence of geographical differences, at least on the phonetic and lexical levels:

[...] the language they use is a ridiculous creole, *differing from island to island in pronunciation and in many terms*, being considered a shame among them, and particularly among women, to speak and to use the language of the Kingdom (i.e. Portugal) that with such ease has expanded and been propagated in Asia and Brazil. (Pusich 1810 [1956]: 617; my italics).

Of course it is not completely clear whether this comment also refers to São Vicente. What is sure, however, is the fact that Pusich, a great enthusiast of the colonization of São Vicente, who spent more than 11 years in Cape Verde (Pusich 1824 [1987a]), knew the island very well.

Pereira, referring to São Vicente's colonization, states that:

[this] scenario cannot be taken as an absolute reference for the comprehension of the formation and development of São Vicente Creole. This is because the settlement of São Vicente was very irregular or because of the mortal consequences of drought or because of the abandonment of the island by the farmers due to lack of water. We know that in 1815 the island was nearly deserted and that in 1819 there were only 120 inhabitants. Who were they? The descendents of the slaves? What creole did they speak? (Pereira 2000a: 38)

Some of these questions must remain unanswered. However, a more detailed look at historical sources permits, at least, the conclusion that in spite of obvious numerical fluctuations, since 1797, there has always been a demographic (and, therefore, linguistic) nucleus on the island, as can be seen in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 The population of São Vicente, 1797-1830**

YEAR	POPULATION
1797	232
1807	200
1810	80
1819	120
1821	298
1827	205
1830	200

(based on: Barcellos 1906: 138; Carreira 1984: 57, 1985: 45; Correia e Silva 2000: 50; Pusich 1810 [1956]: 627)

In 1819, Governor Pusich changed the name of the village from D. Rodrigo to Leopoldina (Boléo 1953: 231) and in a decree announced a battle against the free ranging livestock in São Vicente which was destroying the crops, leading to the abandonment of the island by its inhabitants (Correia e Silva 2000: 48). This was to be achieved by requiring all inhabitants to fence off their allotments against the livestock and to till the land. In spite of the pessimistic commentaries by Lopes da Lima (1844: 67) that in 1819 there were “120 souls, poor and wretched, living in huts” in Leopoldina, the human nucleus in São Vicente existed and was steadily growing.

The best proof of this is the 1820 map of the urban nucleus that would become Mindelo drawn by two British hydrologists, Vidal and Mudge, and that shows considerable advances in relation to the 1798 map of Governor Basto. It includes a church with a small number of houses around it, the governor's house, a customs office and a military installation

(Linhas Gerais 1984: 8). Vidal and Mudge's visits signals the commencement of British interest in São Vicente.<sup>21</sup>

A year later, in 1821, Neves comments that in spite of several difficulties, there was in São Vicente a small village facing the harbor (Neves 1830 [1987]: 356). There was a judge,<sup>22</sup> a captain-major, a vicar and a teacher, i.e. "a minimum of the administrative infrastructure" (Correia e Silva 2000: 51). In this period Pusich recruited Santo Antão couples to come and settle in São Vicente. This explains the population jump from 120 in 1819 to 298 in 1821, when, according to Correia e Silva, the majority of inhabitants of Leopoldina were no longer descendants of the first colonizers but had come from the neighboring Santo Antão (2000: 50-51).

### 3.2.3 The founding of Mindelo in 1838 and its social composition

The attempts to establish a colony based on agriculture yielded rather bleak results. The future development of São Vicente however did not lie in farming. In the 1830's there emerged a plan to transfer the capital from Santiago, which was insalubrious and politically unstable, to São Vicente and to construct a major city there. The main reasons adduced by enthusiasts of this project were the excellent climate of the island and, more importantly, its huge, deep and safe harbor.<sup>23</sup>

During this period the village of Leopoldina continued to be a small agglomeration of fishermen and shepherds (Boléo 1953: 230). In 1834, after one of the most disastrous famines (1831-33) in the history of Cape Verde, which the inhabitants of São Vicente probably survived thanks to fishing, the village of Leopoldina counted 341 persons, five of whom were slaves (Lopes da Lima, 1844: 1).<sup>24</sup> Yet, this population was stable enough as to need a hospital (Barcellos 1910: 118). In a letter to the minister Sá de Bandeira, the Governor of Cape Verde, Pereira Marinho, conscious of the strategic advantages of the island, wrote: "[...] and therefore, this province [São Vicente] could immediately be considerable and there could be established all European and civilized population." (Boléo 1953: 237).

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<sup>21</sup> Gatlin argues that in the 1820's, a combination of a new British imperial interests and the advent of new technology compelled this imperial power "to seek out a new strategic enclave located in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Its purpose was to serve as a recoaling station mid-way between London and South America." (Gatlin 1990: 72).

<sup>22</sup> *Juíz vintenário*, i.e. a judge attributed to twenty households (Pusich 1824 [1987a]: 146).

<sup>23</sup> One of them was Antonio Pusich. Many of the descriptions of the island of the 1830's, as well as the opinions on the development of the colony and its potentials are difficult to assess as they are biased by the views of the lobbies for and against the transfer of the capital.

<sup>24</sup> By comparison, in the same year, the population of Santiago was 21.646 (with 1,714 slaves) and the second most populous island was Santo Antão with a population of 13.587 (with 180 slaves) (Lopes da Lima, 1844: 1).

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of June 1838, Queen Maria II decreed the foundation of Mindelo, ordering the construction of government buildings and the transfer of the Cape Verde administration from Santiago to São Vicente. As in 1794, in the draft of the decree the Queen expressed her recommendation regarding the racial composition of the future town which was to be populated with settlers from Madeira and the Azores who would be given land and tax exemptions, advising also that rules for land ownership should be the same for nationals and foreigners to avoid any type of monopoly (Boléo 1953: 231).

Much of the grandiose plan of the transfer of the capital from Santiago remained on paper due to a lack of the support by the Portuguese crown which was involved in civil wars and due to the opposition by elites of Santiago (Correia e Silva 1998).<sup>25</sup> But in spite of all these setbacks, the village of Mindelo was slowly growing (Boléo 1953: 241; cf. Table 3.2 below). The British played a major role in this process. Contemporary with the decision to found Mindelo was the visit to São Vicente of John Lewis, a lieutenant in the British Navy and the subsequent permission, in 1839, to establish fluctuating coal depots for the East India Company (Leite 1929: 162). After the visit of the British hydrologists Vidal and Mudge in 1820, this was one more proof of Britain's growing interest in the island.

**Table 3.2 The growth of São Vicente's population, 1830-1850**

YEAR	POPULATION
1831	250
1832	300
1834	341 <sup>26</sup>
1841	350
1844	400
1848	553
1850	700

(based on Carreira 1985: 45; Chelmicki and Varnhagen 1841: 318; Correia e Silva 2000: 118; Lopes da Lima 1844: 67)

### 3.2.3.1 The impact of Portuguese convicts

What was the demographic composition of Mindelo during the first years of its official existence? Apart from the influx of the immigrants from Santo Antão, mentioned above, there was a significant presence of Portuguese convicts and political exiles whose banishment to

<sup>25</sup> This lobbying finally succeeded and the capital of the archipelago was established in Praia in 1858.

<sup>26</sup> Chelmicki and Varnhagen (1841: 318) provide details for 1834 population: 336 freemen and 5 slaves formed 61 households (*fogos*).

colonies was a common feature of the Portuguese Empire from the 15<sup>th</sup> century to its end in 1974 (Newitt 1981: 151). Nearly exclusively male, they might have been partly responsible for the markedly mixed-race character of São Vicente's population. In 1844 Lopes da Lima estimated the proportion of whites<sup>27</sup> to blacks in Cape Verde to be 1 to 20. However, this proportion must have been significantly higher in São Vicente and in the Barlavento islands in general where "the black skin is very rare unless in slaves, freedmen and in the immediate descendants of these: there are also a lot of mulattoes that claim a not remote kinship with the white families that these do not deny." (Lopes da Lima 1844: 105). Moreover, while analyzing the demographic growth of Cape Verde, in spite of the recent 1831-1833 famine, Lopes da Lima comments: "[...] some settlers and adventurers and a lot of convicts (apart from civil servants) have arrived to this Province from the Kingdom" (1844: 6).<sup>28</sup> According to Carreira, it was precisely in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the process of sending Portuguese convicts (both criminal and political) to Cape Verde intensified.

[The] white (forced) immigration became more visible only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From 1802 to 1882 (though not every year) 2,422 convicts were sent to the island (2,352 men and 81 women), a mean of 38 individuals per year. [...] the convicts were distributed on various islands though the greatest number would have stayed in Santiago. They adapted easily and therefore had a relevant role in the process of miscegenation; we believe that those hundreds of individuals were responsible for the growth of the number of *mestiços*<sup>29</sup> much more than in any other period. (Carreira 1972 [2000]: 286)

It is, of course, very difficult to determine how many of these Portuguese speakers came to the young colony in São Vicente. They were mostly sent to the Santiago, where they created disturbances and even rebellions such as the one referred to by Bowdich (1823 [1977]: 96-97, 106) and from which they escaped abroad or to other islands such as Brava or São Nicolau (Chelmicki and Varnhagen 1841: 329). However, it is probable that they were also sent to the port of Mindelo for the better use of "the ill used Northern islands" (Lopes da Lima 1844: 110). In 1852, when Mindelo became an independent municipality and a series of reforms were undertaken, Portuguese convict labor was sent there from other islands (Barcellos 1913: 257). It should be noted that the importance of this social group is attested by

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<sup>27</sup> Note that this label cannot be taken as an indicator of native speakers of Portuguese as it included also '*brancos da terra*' who were born in Cape Verde and most likely spoke CVC as their L1.

<sup>28</sup> Lopes da Lima calculates that only in the seven years between 1837-1844, 336 Portuguese convicts were sent to Cape Verde (Lopes da Lima 1844: 127-A).

<sup>29</sup> The *mestiços* of Cape Verde greatly outnumbered, in proportional terms, those of Angola or Mozambique – a fact reflected in the linguistic situation in these countries. They were never subject to the labels such as *indígenas* and *civilizados*. (Newitt 1981: 143).

contemporary comments such as those of Governor Pusich who opposed the change of the provincial capital from Ribeira Grande to Praia adducing, among other reasons, the fact that in the municipality of Praia “even the convicts (*degradados*) voted” (cited in Correia e Silva 1998: 197).

The presence of the Portuguese convicts in Mindelo is mentioned not only by Portuguese but also by foreign sources. In 1843, Bridge, an official from the United States navy, visited São Vicente and commented on the presence of numerous political exiles on the island (Bridge 1845: 11).<sup>30</sup> Finally, Monteiro (1980: 143) mentions that only in 1873 and after a special royal edict did São Vicente stop being a ‘land of convicts’. Obviously, the linguistic impact of these speakers of Portuguese might have been insignificant on populous islands such as Santiago, but it could have been important in reinforcing the acrolectal character of the CVSV variety, spoken by only a few hundred people.

### 3.2.3.2 The state of education in Cape Verde the 1850’s

The two main groups responsible for the demographic growth of São Vicente shown in Table 3.2 were the Portuguese convicts and peasants from the neighboring island of Santo Antão.

The presence of the Portuguese administrative apparatus was also increasing on the island. In 1844, São Vicente had a garrison with seven soldiers, a chapel, a school and a customs house with a sub-director and a clerk (Lopes da Lima 1844: 69-A, 72-A, 86-A, 100-B). The presence of these individuals is a sign of the stabilization of the resident population.

As to the existence of the school, it seems likely that its linguistic impact, in case it actually functioned, was minimal. According to a contemporary observer in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, apart from the capital Praia “[...] there were no more than a few professors [...] who in the majority of cases could hardly read” (Valdez 1864: 214).

This criticism of the total lack of schooling on the islands in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century is a constant topic in contemporary accounts (e.g. Chelmicki and Varnhagen 1841).<sup>31</sup> These comments contributed, at least in part, to the formation of a negative image of CVC that had been developing since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Carreira 1982: 68-71, Batalha 2004).

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<sup>30</sup> Wrongly given as ‘Bridges’ by Shaw (1991: 33) and Gatlin (1990: 84).

<sup>31</sup> The creation, in 1866, of the Seminary-Lyceum on the island of São Nicolau formed an elite class of priests and bureaucrats who played an important role in transmission of colonial cultural models and values (Duarte 1979 (2000): 92). However, the impact of Portuguese taught exclusively in this school must have been insignificant in comparison to the majority of the population. Notwithstanding, the Seminar helped to create the ‘high literacy’ myth in Cape Verde (see also discussion in section 3.4).



However, they also attest to the occurrence of at least three linguistic phenomena: the general use of CVC by all social classes, the existence of a regional creole continuum and the abandonment of Portuguese by settlers arriving from Portugal.

A good illustration of this point is Lopes da Lima's commentary. In order to improve education, he proposed a series of reforms. One of these was the creation of preparatory schools:

[but] these should be supervised by the government and directed by *European professors* that would *pronounce correctly the Portuguese language* without the vice of African creole, a ridiculous jargon, a monstrous mixture of archaic Portuguese and of languages of Guinea which the population esteem so much and *even the whites take pleasure in imitating*; the Portuguese language *is [...] not in use in informal conversations either in towns and in the interior*: it is substituted [...] by what is called *lingua crioula*, without grammar or fixed rules *that vary from island to island*. The indigenous do not speak any other language: they pray in creole; *the parish priest explains the Christian doctrine to them in creole*; and *they creole talk to any authority* who, not being from this country, needs an interpreter to comprehend them. The majority of those who live in ports *understand Portuguese but they do not speak it*. *The whites themselves encourage its use, learning creole as soon as they arrive from Europe*, [...] and speaking it nearly *to the exclusion of pure Portuguese*. [...] Portuguese is still spoken during the meetings of men of some importance in towns; but *nhânhas* [ladies] always speak creole. (Lopes da Lima 1844: 79-81, my italics).

The existence of a regional continuum as well as the abandonment of Portuguese by Europeans are also attested by Chelmicki and Varnhagen:

[each] island has *its own corruption*; the worst is the one of Santiago, called by the islanders themselves *crioulo cerrado*. [...] even the *Portuguese established there* (i.e. Cape Verde) [...] *become quickly accustomed to this ridiculous language*. (Chelmicki and Varnhagen 1841: 192-197; my italics).<sup>32</sup>

From these testimonies it could be assumed that as the shift of the Portuguese to the São Vicente variety continued, the variety might have been perceived as distinct, and that there was probably a considerable proportion of bilinguals on the island.

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<sup>32</sup> Chelmicki was a Polish political expatriate engineer contracted in 1836 by the governor of the colony. Though he turned out to be incompetent and was sent back to Portugal (Barcellos 1910: 120), his comments on Creole might be of some value since he had some knowledge of linguistics from the time of his studies at the Sorbonne's School of Oriental Languages. Barcellos observes also that he knew only Santiago well as he spent a year in Praia and obtained information on other islands indirectly.

In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century various investments were undertaken to improve the infrastructure of the port of Mindelo (cf. Barcellos 1913: 255-258). Though the town suffered from a lack of water, periodic famines and uncontrolled urban growth, it was in Mindelo in 1850 that the British consul John Rendall established his residence and the first coal depot on land (Linhas Gerais 1984: 13).<sup>33</sup>

### **3.3 The golden age of Porto Grande, 1850-1910**

This section examines a period of 60 years of economic prosperity of São Vicente followed by the beginning of its decline. It starts by analyzing the rapid demographic growth of Mindelo (1850-1870) and the fluctuations in its population (subsection 3.3.1.1). In subsection 3.3.2, two decades of extraordinary prosperity are examined with the focus on the importance of the British community. Subsection 3.3.2.2 discusses the problem as to whether there existed a separate variety of creole on an island associated with intense inter-island migration. It will also be shown, in subsection 3.3.2.3, that access to standard Portuguese for the majority of the population became so reduced as to virtually exclude any significant decreolization during this period. Finally, subsection 3.3.3 analyzes demography and signs of economic crisis at the turn of the century.

#### **3.3.1 The beginning of the growth of Mindelo, 1850-1870**

The rapid development of Mindelo commenced in 1851, when the first steamer of the regular line of the Royal Mail Packet left Southampton, and on its way to South America, stopped off at Mindelo for refueling, watering, and taking on provisions. The workforce that loaded the coal was essentially made up of wage-earning peasants from Santo Antão (Correia e Silva 1999: 23). This date also marks the beginning of two linguistic processes in CVSV: the intensification of the influence of Santo Antão variety of CVC and lexical borrowing from English.

The spectacular development of Mindelo in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the result of a series of external conditions. The new political order after the Treaty of Vienna (1815), the independence of Brazil and Argentina leading to the growth of British interest in South America, the liberalization of the world's economy, the repression of the slave trade and the emigration of Europeans to South America, together with a technological revolution caused a boom in Atlantic maritime transport (Correia e Silva 1999: 21-22; Gatlin 1990, chapter 2). These factors transformed Mindelo in a little more than 50 years into the

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<sup>33</sup> Before that, the coal used for refueling chiefly British steamships was stored in fluctuating maritime depots.

archipelago's most populous city and its economic and cultural center. By the 1880's, São Vicente, had become the world's fourth busiest coaling station, ranking behind only Port Said, Malta, and Singapore (Lyll 1938: 76).

But this transformation was, nonetheless, gradual. In 1851 Mindelo still had "no more than 100 to 120 one-storey houses made of stone and clay [...] forming three streets. Apart from these, there were five high houses [...] nearly all of them inhabited by the English" (Barcellos 1913: 252-253). However, a year later, in 1852 São Vicente, became independent administratively from Santo Antão (Barcellos 1913: 255).

The description of Mindelo by Barcellos is illustrated by 1858 town map (Barcellos 1913: 99); there is a well-designed town center, several coal depots and a British Consulate. Also, the necessity of constructing a hotel was felt (Boléo 1953: 241). The progress that had been made since the 1820 map by Vidal and Mudge is obvious.

Foreign travelers' testimonies from this period are very often contradictory. Hadfield, describing his stop in São Vicente, analyzed the likely prospect of the port's development and believed that "[this] island must increase in importance." (Hadfield 1854: 81). Commenting on the port workers, he noticed that "[the laborers] here are chiefly free blacks and Kroomen, from the coast of Africa, most of whom speak English..." (p. 78).<sup>34</sup> This is, to my knowledge, the first direct comment on this language used on the island.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, Valdez (1864: 109) was of the opinion that the island would never develop due, in part, to a lack of water.

A Reverend Thomas who visited the island in 1855 commented on the American anti-slave African Squadron<sup>36</sup> operating out of São Vicente, noting that of the small stone huts, the only decent houses were those of the American and English vice-consuls and coal agents (Thomas 1860 [1969]: 331-333). However, a year later, John Rendall, the British consul in Mindelo, concluded his short description of the island by stating that "the place is improving daily, and will no doubt, in a short time, become the wealthiest of all islands." (Massa and Massa eds. 2004: 100).

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<sup>34</sup> Information about the importation of an African workforce from mainland Africa to Mindelo is confirmed by Gatlin (1990: 103) and consistent with Holm's (1989: 421-422) analysis of the Pidgin English speakers from the Kru ethnic group who helped to spread the language along the West African coast in the 19<sup>th</sup> century while employed by white traders.

<sup>35</sup> This idea of Mindelo's stevedores speaking English fluently is pervasive in São Vicente and attested by many testimonies (see for instance Gatlin 1990: 131). I myself was told stories about illiterate port workers being called to court to interpret from English to CVSV. The reality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century seems to be quite different though.

<sup>36</sup> On the ineffectiveness of this American Squadron, see comprehensive analysis by Brooks (1970).

### 3.3.1.1 Population fluctuation

In 1856, there was an outburst of cholera that had come from Fogo. Francisco Travassos Valdez, secretary of the colonial government of Timor, visited Mindelo in that year and described the desolate city (Valdez 1864: 110-111) where 643 of 1400 inhabitants had died and the island's administrator Joaquim Botelho da Costa commented that "the island of São Vicente, once again, became nearly deserted." The comment is surely an exaggeration as Costa himself added that in 1858 "after this disaster new settlers came and those who had fled returned" (Costa 1877-1880 [1980]: 143). This was the usual procedure in case of epidemics. On the island of Fogo in the same year, those who could escape in the first vessel did so, only to come back as soon as the danger was over (Pereira 1990: 4-5).

A year after the cholera epidemic, in 1857, it was prohibited to bring slaves to São Vicente (Barcellos 1913: 105). The 1856 slave census showed there were 32 slaves in São Vicente who had probably been brought there by Mindelo's port investors. Two slaves had been born in Bissau and five elsewhere in Guiné; the rest came from Cape Verde and had 14 different owners (Carreira 1972 [2000]: 462, 494). The presence of the slaves born on the continent is explained by the fact that though slave traffic had been prohibited in 1836, Portuguese owners were allowed to import and export their slaves while moving between colonies (Estêvão 1998: 195-197).<sup>37</sup> As in 1797, it's highly unlikely that these speakers of African languages had any impact on the CVSV variety at this late period.

The best proof that a fairly stable nucleus remained and that we cannot speak of the desertification or re-population of São Vicente in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century as suggested by Pereira (2000a: 38) is the rise of Mindelo in 1858 to the status of a town (*vila*) (Barcellos 1913: 129). This event marked the passage of Mindelo from the abandoned periphery of Portuguese empire to its integration into the international economy when "[...] nearly all vessels crossing the Atlantic on the North-South route were destined to stop at São Vicente", which also contributed to the social, ethnic, and cultural diversification (Correia e Silva 2000: 15-16).

This diversification was, without a doubt, also linguistic. The establishment in Mindelo of various British companies, the influx of foreigners and the progressive intensification of movement in the port made Mindelo an attractive destination for migrating peasants who came from the adjacent Barlavento agricultural islands (especially Santo Antão and São Nicolau), which were overpopulated and cyclically stricken by droughts and famines. The number of

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<sup>37</sup> The complete abolition of slavery in Cape Verde took place in 1878.

boats connecting the islands also grew and facilitated communication, especially between Santo Antão and Mindelo, which turned out to be a profitable market for farm products and water, which were re-sold to the passing ships (Linhas Gerais 1984: 32).

The migration back and forth from the other Barlavento islands lasted for many decades. In 1856, Governor of Cape Verde, António Arrobas commented “the workers ...that come to São Vicente to work return back to their home residence, as the Galicians do in Lisbon” (quoted by Correia e Silva 1999: 25). Also Valdez, who visited the island’s interior in the company of a black priest, emphasized the constant migrations of port workers and their families “in a continuous coming and going” between São Nicolau, Santo Antão and São Vicente (Valdez 1864: 126) and well into the 1890’s coal companies in São Vicente were fighting for workers during the farming seasons (Correia e Silva 1999: 25). Given that both CVSN and CVSA lack not only diachronic analyses but also general synchronic description, any hypothesis about the linguistic forces at work during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in São Vicente must remain incomplete. It seems likely, however, that there was intensive dialect leveling while the rural speakers were shifting to the urban variety spoken by the small number of descendants of the first settlers.

**Table 3.3 The growth of São Vicente’s population, 1850-1870**

YEAR	POPULATION
1856	1,100
1858	1,400
1860	1,141
1864 <sup>38</sup>	1,337
1870	1,802

(based on Boletim Oficial 1864, Carreira 1985: 45; Valdez 1864: 120, Costa 1877-80: 129)

### 3.3.2 The boom town, 1870-1890

In 1878 Mindelo became a city.<sup>39</sup> The growing investments of British companies, the most powerful economic and, indirectly, political lobby of the city, initiated a period of a rapid

<sup>38</sup> The Boletim Oficial (1864: 188) also indicates that in the 1860’s São Vicente was the only island on the archipelago where men outnumbered women.

<sup>39</sup> From this period comes one more traveler’s account. In 1873 one Albert Ellis visited São Vicente and left a most unsympathetic and prejudiced description of the city with its cindery-looking hills and ‘unclean half-caste’ port officials. According to Ellis, “there are ...six or seven white men in the place, all the remaining inhabitants having more or less negro blood in their veins”. He is also shocked by the fact that the policemen were black and that a mulatto waiter was insulted by being called Sambo instead of José. The island was ‘wretchedly poor’ and inhabited by prostitutes, beggars and pimps (Ellis 1885).

development of the port that continued until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from the coaling companies, established in the 1860's, British and Italian telegraph enterprises were also set up in São Vicente. In this way Mindelo, connected by cable to Las Palmas, Bolama, Pernambuco, Ascención, and Funchal, became the Atlantic center of communication (Linhas Gerais 1984: 56).

This economic development was followed by the spectacular demographic boom shown in Table 3.4:

**Table 3.4 The growth of the population of São Vicente, 1870-1890**

YEAR	POPULATION
1871	1,817
1874	2,436
1878	3,298
1879	3,717
1882	4,286
1887	5,200
1890	6,884

(Based on Carreira 1985: 45, Costa 1877-1880 [1980])

During this period, the administrator of the island, Joaquim Vieira Botelho da Costa, commented “this growth continues and the population is stabilizing, day after day individuals from other islands arrive here looking for a job.” (Costa 1877-1880 [1980]: 129). He added that “the island is made up, essentially, of people from other islands” (p. 132). Monteiro, who comments on Costa’s reports, has observed that the newly arrived migrants installed themselves in different neighborhoods according to their origin and that even in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these areas were distinguishable by the affinity of their speech to that of Santo Antão and São Nicolau (Monteiro 1980: 206).<sup>40</sup> However, the new inhabitants did not all come at once and the process of their settling down was gradual. As stated above, the linguistic impact of this process is not simple to evaluate. Most likely newly arrived peasants from rural islands accommodated linguistically to the Mindelo variety, which being markedly urban was likely to be more prestigious, and in so doing they influenced it. In modern times, anthropological analyses show the linguistic and cultural integration of migrants in São Vicente (Rodrigues 2002) and, as Veiga puts it: “speakers from other Barlavento islands who

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<sup>40</sup> Today, a vestige of this process is seen in Mindelo’s neighborhood names such as *Olt d’San Niklau* (from *Alto de São Nicolau*) or *Djitsal* (from *Ilha do Sal*).

come to São Vicente without picking up the linguistic expressions typical of this island are rare indeed.” (Veiga 2000a: 9).

To what extent these influences affected the phonology, lexicon and morphosyntax of the original variety remains unclear. This process does not contradict, however, the possibility that the variety of CVC created by the first settlers continued to exist in São Vicente, especially considering that in his report of 1880, Costa mentioned that João Carlos de Fonseca “came here bringing his slaves and some couples of which *there are still descendants*.” (Costa 1877-1880 [1980]: 141, my italics).

Pereira (2000a: 38) has suggested that only after 1875 can we speak of São Vicente having a stable variety of creole. However, it seems likely that it was precisely in this period of heavy migration and a demographic explosion that the original variety, already 70 years old (an amount of time sufficient for its stabilization) and which had undergone interference from Portuguese and Santo Antão creole from the very beginning of its colonization, entered into a process of intense dialect leveling while rural speakers were shifting to the urban variety.

### 3.3.2.1 The role of the British

Apart from the arrival of speakers of other varieties of CVC, a new linguistic force appeared in São Vicente in the 1850’s: the British.<sup>41</sup> The English community, linked with the growing number of coaling companies, represented a modern way of living and there is no doubt that its cultural influence on life in Mindelo was considerable.<sup>42</sup> In 1874, when Western Telegraph opened its offices on the island, there were more than 1500 Britons in Mindelo.<sup>43</sup> The British influenced the architecture of Mindelo; they introduced sport clubs (tennis, golf, soccer and cricket) as well as new eating habits (such as afternoon tea), European clothing and more importantly, a new work ethic (Linhas Gerais 1984: 62). They had their exclusive Masonic Lodge and British-only St. Vincent Lawn Tennis Club (Reis 2001: 112). They were responsible for the sense of exceptionality of São Vicente in Cape Verde, a cosmopolitan urban

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<sup>41</sup> One of the first and best known members of this community was a British consul, John Rendall. He came to São Vicente in 1851 and was involved in the coal business. Rendall founded a whole line of descendants on the archipelago, a thing “very few Englishmen did” (Massa and Massa eds. 2004: 27). Curiously, his annual reports written to Queen Victoria reveal that in spite of his prolonged residence in Cape Verde he never learned Portuguese and used French instead (see, for example, PRO- FO 63/571 1843). *Pace* Massa and Massa (eds. 2004: 28, 31, 109), there are several records of Rendall in the Foreign Office section of the London Public Record Office.

<sup>42</sup> Many of these English speakers were actually multilingual Jews from Tangiers that reached São Vicente via the English colony of Gibraltar (Serels 1997).

<sup>43</sup> A good account of the economic and military importance of São Vicente to the British is Gatlin (1990, chapter 3).

center which, according to Lyall, was the “creation of the English comparable to Hong Kong and Aden.” (Lyall 1938: 74).

However, they formed a closed, insular community becoming “[the] aristocracy of Mindelo and the butt of the hostility of the laboring population of the port, who were largely in their employ” (Newitt 1981: 213-214). Lyall underlines the isolationist character of the British community which clearly demarcated itself from both the local population and the rest of the archipelago by stating that “I have never met an Englishmen in St. Vincent who had ever been out of it, and I met Englishmen who had lived there for fifteen years.” (Lyall 1938: 74).

The linguistic impact of this ‘adstrate’ on the variety seems to be confined to lexicon, i.e. vocabulary related to two semantic fields: port jobs and sports. Some of those 19<sup>th</sup> century borrowings such as *kren* ‘crane’, *stim* ‘steamship’, *txon kriket* ‘cricket field’, *nais* ‘nice’, *seló* ‘sail off!’ are still present in the language of the older informants. However, several items from the list presented by Cruz (1950: 73-79) and that were in use in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century CVSV, such as *ovataime* ‘overtime’, *brêche* ‘the post of command (<bridge)’ or *chipechandra* ‘ship chandler’ are obsolete. Also, some of the old Anglicisms are substituted by etymologically Portuguese words (such as *pudin* ‘wedding cake’ from ‘pudding’ > *bol* from Ptg. *bolo* ‘cake’; note however that the old Anglicism *kek* ‘cake’ is still used) while new words are borrowed from English as a result of the globalization of media and music.

### 3.3.2.2 Issues regarding the existence of the variety

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mindelo, lively and cosmopolitan, contrasted sharply in many aspects (such as work relations, ethnic composition, gender balance, and population mobility) with rural Santo Antão on the other side of the channel. Between 1879 and 1889 the population grew nearly 75% yet unlike the rest of the archipelago, there were more men than women and prostitution became a problem. This cultural and social gap between feudal, patriarchal, and peripheral Santo Antão and worldly São Vicente was certainly also linguistic. Accordingly to Correia e Silva “even the creole itself was undergoing dialectalization in the diverse and frantic life of a maritime city.” (1999: 21).

The first comment on the São Vicente variety, paradoxically negating its existence, comes from this period:

[On] São Vicente island, *there is no a proper language*, or as it is said, *creole; the creole from all the other islands is spoken*. What is curious is that although this language is used by everybody, men at fight use only Portuguese. (Costa 1877-1880 [1980]: 185; my italics).



At first glance the credibility of the Portuguese administrator Costa who had lived more than 30 years in Cape Verde, cannot be questioned. However, it may actually attest to the rapid linguistic changes, related to dialect leveling and shift of speakers of other varieties to CVSV, whose direction he did not fathom. Correia e Silva and Cohen (1997: 72) sum up the 1880's as follows: "[...] the famous synthesis that São Vicente is so proud of having reached would come later. In the 1880's, the city was an authentic Cape Verdean Babel."

There are no more comments on the whites abandoning their Portuguese mother tongue from this period. The Mindelenses, open to the outside world, were learning foreign languages in the port (Correia e Silva and Cohen 1997: 73). The administrator Costa attests that "the people, in general, learn foreign languages easily; English, French and Italian are understood by many people and the first one is even spoken." (Costa 1877-1880 [1980]: 185).

However, as explained below, any significant decreolization in São Vicente in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be ruled out due to the minimal impact of schooling in Portuguese and the insignificant number of Portuguese native speakers residing on the island during that period. Though the comment cited above indicates code switching (and suggests the high status of Portuguese) which implies some degree of proficiency, it is likely that bilingualism at this period was less widespread than at the beginning of the colony in 1797 given the growth of the population and the emergence of a more stratified capitalistic society.

### **3.3.2.3 Likelihood of decreolization of CVSV, 1850 - 1900**

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by the introduction of a new colonial policy and the beginning of the effective colonization of continental Portuguese Africa. Cape Verde was affected by severe droughts that together with the increasing surplus of the population triggered systematic emigration to the United States and Dakar which, in turn, resulted in the accumulation of the capital that emigrants could invest back in the country. The end of the old regime provoked the 'recreation of a social pyramid' with a growing role played by the intermediate class of *mestiços* and *libertos*. This process was, however, slow and produced significant results only in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Estêvão 1998: 204-207).

However, the large scale social changes analyzed by Estêvão (1998) were accelerated in São Vicente. The possibility of quick riches attracted merchants from Portugal as well as Jews from Gibraltar and Morocco to Mindelo (Serels 1997, Lobban 1996). It was in this way

that the merchant aristocracy was born.<sup>44</sup> Those few well-to-do families, “made up of Europeans and their descendants” and that lived in Mindelo “following the uses and habits of their homeland” (Costa 1877-1888 [1980]: 151) constructed palatial homes, educated their children in Portugal, imitated the English life style and used Portuguese almost exclusively as a way of demarcating their social status. Also, in 1877, Costa attested that Mindelo “has a well behaved and well educated parish priest” (1877-1888 [1980]: 128). Though mass continued to be said in Latin, the priest no longer explained the doctrine in Creole as had been the case in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century Sotavento area (Soares 2006). Furthermore, the development of the port was accompanied by an increase in the civil servants necessary for the functioning of a complex bureaucracy.<sup>45</sup> These social changes might have resulted in formation of a linguistic continuum between the town dwellers in Mindelo’s center in direct contact with Portuguese and the mass of more basilectal speakers in the growing suburbs and scattered fishing villages.<sup>46</sup>

The administrator Costa proudly affirmed that “day by day the island is losing its African characteristics”. In 1880 there were more foreigners (125) than Portuguese (112) officially residing in São Vicente (1877-1880 [1980]: 178,181). This was partly due to the fact that Mindelo, though not a political or provincial capital, attracted consulates from all countries with an interest in the Atlantic routes (Correia e Silva 1998: 27). According to *Estatística Geral*, as late as in 1912 the British (154) outnumbered the Portuguese (126) in São Vicente.

Regarding education, detailed statistical data provided by Costa shows that the overwhelming majority of the São Vicente population remained illiterate throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1880, 219 pupils (5.9% of the population) were enrolled in three available schools, 205 of whom were receiving only basic primary education (1877-1880 [1980]: 168).

By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a new and stratified entrepreneurial society with a rich white and light-skinned mulatto bourgeoisie emerged, hampering earlier social mobility. Portuguese became established as the prestige language in a classical diglossic situation.

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<sup>44</sup> The so called *aristocracia de balcão* of Mindelo.

<sup>45</sup> It is difficult to calculate the members of the elite on the island. In 1900, there were 204 civil servants, military and ecclesiastic men in São Vicente out of a total of 8,780 inhabitants. This elite, though significant on the national scale (there were 793 civil servants in the entire archipelago in the same year), especially if we add liberal professionals, was still reduced (Mapas Estatísticos 1900).

<sup>46</sup> In 1880 the villages of Norte and Salamansa were already attested (see Map 1.2, chapter 1). Mapas Estatísticos (1900) presents the detailed number of inhabitants in each of the 25 hamlets and villages on the island. They constituted around 9% of the total population, a proportion that has been maintained until today.

Schooling (in Portuguese) was available only to an elite minority and only a minority of creole speakers (mostly civil and domestic servants) were likely to show some degree of proficiency in Portuguese. The growing social gap between the elite and the port's proletarian masses reduced the contact of creole speakers from the latter group with Portuguese spoken by the former, reducing the possibility of a generalized decreolization of CVSV.

### 3.3.3 Prosperity and crises

Due to a combination of several economic and technological forces, the boom in Mindelo soon ended (Gatlin 1990: 108). After 1889, despite occasional increases in port activity such as in 1900<sup>47</sup> when 1882 vessels entered the port, there was a slow decline in port activity as shown in Table 3.5:

**Table 3.5 São Vicente port activity, 1851-1959**

YEAR	VESSELS ENTERING THE PORT
1851	153
1861	287
1874	654
1888	1,711
1891	1,038
1900	1,882
1911	1,269
1921	752
1924	1,145
1940	873
1959	983

(Based on Gatlin 1990: 90-91, 179, 181 and Almeida 1938: 106)

Gatlin (1991), Almeida (1938), and Gomes da Fonseca (1934) present a detailed analysis of the internal factors (e.g. very high coal prices attributed to the British monopoly, high water prices,<sup>48</sup> lack of modern facilities and investment)<sup>49</sup> and external factors (e.g. the opening of Suez Canal, competition of the more modern ports of the Canary Islands and

<sup>47</sup> This was due to the war in Transvaal (Barjona 1905: 26). Barjona presents a detailed table with income from coal tax (1855-1903) showing the crucial importance of the port in the archipelago's economy. The same is true for the period 1900-1924 analyzed by Almeida (1938: 222-223).

<sup>48</sup> The price of water was "so high that commanders of vessels find it cheaper to distil their own water" (British Foreign Office 1920: 15).

<sup>49</sup> One of the minor causes adduced by Almeida is the lack of touristic attractions and the bad reputation of a city populated by all kinds of vagabonds and petty thieves as well as the policemen 'of color'.

Dakar,<sup>50</sup> and the introduction of wireless radio and other fuels (slowly replacing coal) that contributed to the decline of Mindelo's international port.

But in spite of this end of prosperity there was a continuous growth in São Vicente's population. Even in the years of diminished port activity, port revenues represented more than half of the archipelago's total income (Linhas Gerais 1984: 57).

**Table 3.6 The growth of São Vicente population, 1890-1910**

YEAR	POPULATION
1890	6,884
1895	6,211
1900	8,780
1910	10,086

(Based on Carreira 1985: 45)

These economic crises, together with uncontrolled population growth caused, starting in the 1890's, social unrest and frequent disturbances (Correia e Silva 1999: 28-30). One of the measures the government proposed was free transportation for those who wanted to go back to Santo Antão to work on public projects (Linhas Gerais 1984: 58).

At the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the heterogeneous society of Mindelo was deeply divided. In 1900, out of the island's 8,780 inhabitants 4,125 were workers and more than 2,500 had no profession at all (Mapas Estatísticos 1900). On the other hand, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a consciousness of a strong, local cultural identity had arisen (Correia e Silva 2000: 192). It is likely that this was reflected in a better defined ('focused') linguistic identity after a period of dialect leveling (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985).

By 1910 the population of São Vicente had surpassed 10,000. After that, the island's demographic growth and the intensity of port activity took separate paths (Linhas Gerais 1984: 59). This could indicate the beginning of the stabilization and integration of the population from São Nicolau and Santo Antão that had migrated to São Vicente.

### **3.4 The development of CVS in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

Subsection 3.4.1 discusses São Vicente's economic situation and demography in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Subsequently, in 3.4.2, there is an examination of the general state of education in Cape Verde and São Vicente until independence in 1975, with a focus on the possible levels of

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<sup>50</sup> The total neglect of Mindelo's port in 1936, lacking even a proper pier, is well described in Lyall (1938: 77).

literacy and bilingualism in São Vicente and linguistic impact of the *Liceu* established in Mindelo in 1917.

### 3.4.1 Economy and demography in the 20<sup>th</sup> century

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in São Vicente was marked by a slow though irreversible decline in maritime traffic as coal was replaced by other fuels ending Mindelo's position as a re-fueling station. Still, even in the years of the major crises in port activity (e.g. 1931) the importance of Mindelo in the colony's budget was indisputable (Linhas Gerais 1984: 75-76; Almeida 1938: 222).<sup>51</sup>

The cyclical droughts and famines continued to take a tremendous toll on Cape Verdeans leaving the rural population with few alternatives but to immigrate illegally, to go to São Tomé and Príncipe to work on plantations or to find a job on another island.<sup>52</sup> Thus, in spite of the decline of the port, peasants from São Nicolau and especially Santo Antão continued to come to São Vicente, 'a sad cinder-heap island' with a city 'parasitic on the sea', whose destitute population lived "on coaling, smuggling, begging, ship's chandlery and prostitution" as described by a traveler, Archibald Lyall, in 1936 (Lyall 1938: 75).

The oldest (1919) *Livro de Assentos de Baptismo* currently available in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Mindelo shows that in approximately half of the cases one or both of the parents of a baptized child were born in Santo Antão or São Nicolau. They represent the generation of the parents or grandparents of my elderly informants (i.e. those born from the 1930's to the 1960's). They did not go back, at harvest time, to their native islands as was the case in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Those who could find jobs as stevedores, fishermen, or domestic servants stayed. The others emigrated (according to Gatlin, during the 1920's São Vicente was among the leading contributors to Cape Verdean emigration [1990: 142]) or joined the 'port parasites' that grew to a point in 1927 that the authorities considered São Vicente "the refuge of all the miseries from Santo Antão, São Nicolau, and even from other islands" (Linhas Gerais 1984: 84).

By 1929 the population surpassed 18,000. The overpopulated city, which lacked even the most basic sanitation, was starving (Gatlin 1990: 140). This calamitous situation caused by the decline of the port and high unemployment obliged the authorities to introduce legal

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<sup>51</sup> There were also occasional 'good years' like 1929 when 1,346 vessels entered the port.

<sup>52</sup> For example, during the famine of 1920-22, 16% of Cape Verde's population died. See Lyall (1938), Meintel (1984) and Gatlin (1990) for analyses of the inaction of the Portuguese colonial government in dealing with this problem.

measures to stop inter-island migration (Linhas Gerais 1984: 84). This procedure, together with intensifying emigration, explains the decrease of the population in the 1930's.

**Table 3.7 The growth of São Vicente population, 1910-1970**

YEAR	POPULATION
1910	10,027
1912	9,929
1920	14,639
1927 <sup>53</sup>	17,835
1929	18,227
1930	12,887
1940	15,848
1950	19,576
1970	31,578

(Based on Reis 2001: 109-110 and Carreira 1985: 45-46)

After World War II and two disastrous famines in the 1940's (Carreira 1977: 10), Cape Verde began the 1960's with a period of generalized drought, the effect of the progressive environmental degradation and desertification of the archipelago. In 1958 the last British refueling company left São Vicente (Linhas Gerais 1984: 93). In spite of the profound economic crisis and widespread unemployment, Mindelo continued to attract inhabitants from rural Santo Antão and São Nicolau. As a result, the population of São Vicente doubled in the period between 1940-1970 (cf. Table 3.7 above) though Mindelo was often not the ultimate goal of migration but part of the route to voluntary, frequently clandestine, emigration to Europe and the United States, and often forced emigration to São Tomé and Príncipe (Carreira 1977).

In the two decades preceding independence, several infrastructures were built in São Vicente such as the São Pedro Airport, the new quay and military barracks and a desalination plant (opened in 1969); meanwhile, the city grew considerably due to construction fueled by the remittances of emigrants. Regarding education, the Technical Secondary School opened in 1956 (*Escola Técnica e Industrial*) as did a new Liceu in 1968 (Linhas Gerais 1984: 94-98).

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<sup>53</sup> As to the racial composition, Reis (2001) shows that in 1927, 33.1% of population classified as 'white' (1373) resided in São Vicente, though in absolute terms the 'whitest' island was Brava. The classification of 'white' was not synonymous with 'Portuguese'. In the same year, foreigners constituted only 0.6% of the archipelago's population. Reis underlines that the Portuguese who occupied administrative and military posts and had privileged status were often perceived as competitors and a target of mulattos' hostility (pp. 110-111).

However, these improvements of the Estado Novo regime tackled only the top of the iceberg of the real necessities of São Vicente's growing population. In 1972, three years before independence, despite the food relief that had been provided by Portugal, Meintel described unmistakable signs of starvation in São Vicente:

While no corpses were to be found on the roadside during this famine, every day saw tiny coffins borne in funeral processions through the streets of São Vicente. Physicians confirmed what no statistics were then available to demonstrate: namely that malnutrition was claiming lives, especially those of infants. (Meintel 1984: 68).

Despite the effort of the government to cover up the situation, the economy of the island was declining as “successive Portuguese governments from 1910 to 1974 steadfastly refused to take the steps to alter this decline” (Gatlin 1990: 241).

### **3.4.2 Education and literacy in São Vicente in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

It is widely believed that education in São Vicente was better than on other islands (e.g. Linhas Gerais 1984: 83, Pereira 2000a: 28). However, the data from the Boletim Oficial (1925) cited in Linhas Gerais suggesting that only 25% of São Vicente's population was illiterate (as opposed to 70% or 80% on the other islands) is highly unlikely.<sup>54</sup> According to other sources such as Estatística Geral (e.g. years 1930, 1931, and 1932) the population of São Vicente that was considered illiterate constituted approximately 73-78% of the total. Moreover, the definition of ‘literate’ had been very broad as one third of those labeled as such ‘could only read’ (cf. Table 3.8 below).

The lack of primary schools and the very poor state of those already in existence constituted a frequent topic of contemporary commentaries (e.g. Gomes da Fonseca 1929). Compulsory education for children aged 7 to 14, introduced in the 1920's, remained basically on paper only given the lack of buildings, teachers and the fact that it excluded all the children that lived two kilometers or more away from schools (Linhas Gerais 1984: 82). Also, professional schools and the Instituto Caboverdiano de Educação created by the government in 1925 were short lived due to, among other reasons, lack of enrollment (Reis 2001: 131). Thus, Reis affirms that most of republican reforms of education had little success and by the end of the first Portuguese Republic in 1926, illiterates constituted approximately 85% of the Cape Verdean population (2001: 131).

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. also Neves (2007: 85) who raises similar doubts regarding data suggesting high literacy rate from that period.

Furthermore, in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, even the historiographers of the Salazar regime admitted that though the percentage of illiterates in Cape Verde was lower than in any other colonies, and probably lower than in Portugal itself, those that counted as literate could barely “write their own name and spell a few words.” (Galvão and Selvagem 1950: 12). In fact, contrary to common belief, statistical records do not suggest that Mindelo stood out in any way in comparison to the rest of the country. For instance, statistical data from 1931 (Estatística Geral) shows that the absolute illiteracy rate in Praia was 69% while in Mindelo it was higher, i.e. 73%. Moreover, the perusal of the statistical data suggests that in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the division line lay not between São Vicente and the rest of the archipelago but rather between the populous and deeply rural interior of Santiago and Fogo, where illiteracy was rampant even according to Estado Novo propaganda statistics (e.g. that of Santa Catarina was at 83% in 1931), and the urban centers and small communities, in both the Sotavento and Barlavento areas, such as Brava (43% illiterate in 1931) or Sal (70% illiterate in 1931).<sup>55</sup>

In 1933, Cardoso observed a “lusitanization of genuinely dialectal [i.e. creole] sentences” which he attributed to the development of primary schooling (Cardoso 1933: 24). We don’t know to what extent these comments apply to São Vicente. It seems, however, that in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the access of the majority of the population in São Vicente to standard Portuguese via schooling was limited; the levels of bilingualism were low and that majority of the speakers were monolingual while CVSV continued to be an important symbol of local identity.

**Table 3.8 São Vicente literacy levels, 1900-1940**

YEAR	TOTAL	ILLITERATE	%	CAN READ	CAN READ AND WRITE
1900 <sup>56</sup>	8,780	6,168	88%	727	1,885
1912	9,588	8,641	90%	n/d	1,288
1916	11,237	9,501	85%	n/d	2,063
1928	17,142	13,936	81%	328	3,571

<sup>55</sup> A habitual caveat is at place as the statistics from the Estado Novo often “erred on the side of optimism” (Meintel 1984: 135). In these records, a significant proportion of those who were classified as ‘not illiterate’ could barely read and sign their name and figure under ‘can read only’ column.

<sup>56</sup> 1900 detailed census (Mapas Estatísticos) shows clearly that 120 years ago the population of São Vicente was as predominantly urban as it is now. Out of the total of 8,780 inhabitants, 8,095 lived in Mindelo. It indicates also that a significant redistribution of the population of the interior has taken place during the last 110 years, i.e. several locations were abandoned (for instance Paia Carga) or depopulated (Mato Inglês and Monte Verde) while others grew over the 20<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. the fishing villages of Calhau and São Pedro).



(continuation)

1930	12,554	9,152	73%	1,008	2,727
1931	12,880	9,377	73%	1,020	2,823
1932	13,097	9,461	72%	1,103	2,924
1940	15,848	10,164	64%	5,676	–

(Based on Mapas Estatísticos and Estatística Geral da Colónia de Cabo Verde)

With the advent of fascism in Portugal in 1926, promoting the “virtues of illiteracy” both in the metropolis and in the colonies became an important part of the political agenda. This policy was reflected in the state of education in Cape Verde as well. The numbers presented by Meintel (1984) speak for themselves. Between 1926 and 1946, the primary school enrollment in the country dropped from 6,693 to about 4,977 while the population increased, reaching 169,000. During the same period, the number of primary schools in the archipelago declined from 150 to 62 in the entire colony, contributing to the fact that access to schooling during the colonial period “remained hypothetical for most Cape Verdeans.” (Meintel 1984: 135).

Meintel also calculates that in 1972 truly functional literacy (and by implication active bilingualism) in the country was at about 15% (1984: 135). The perception that Cape Verdean population in general and São Vicente’s in particular was highly literate remained largely a myth.

### 3.4.2.1 The founding of the Liceu in 1917 and its impact on CVSV

The creation in 1917 of the Liceu Infante D. Henrique in Mindelo contributed to belief that there was widespread education in Portuguese in São Vicente and its alleged impact on the acrolectality of CVSV perceptible from the 20<sup>th</sup> century attestations of on the variety.

In 1934, Nascimento Moura, apart from his negative attitudes towards Creole (normal for the period)<sup>57</sup>, emphasized the lack of inter-comprehension among the various varieties of CVC, especially the rural ones, and added that “the dialects that are closest to Portuguese are those of São Vicente, Boavista, and São Nicolau” (Nascimento Moura 1934: 13). Subsequently, he comments on the habit of Europeans to learn and to stimulate the use of Creole, and considers the widespread use of CVC as “hampering the children’s development” and being the main cause of leaving school (Nascimento Moura 1934: 34-35). In the same

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. his comments such as the Portuguese language “gave way to corruption” or “it’s impossible to express abstract concepts in Creole” (Nascimento Moura 1934: 9, 129).

year, Almeida (1934: 6) reaffirms the regional differences in CVC stating that “each island has its different and well defined dialect.”

As noticed above, publications from the period of the Estado Novo (1926-1974) must be interpreted with caution because they tend to legitimize the official discourse and create an image of the cultural unity of the Portugal’s colonies with the metropolis, often exaggerating the number of Portuguese settlers and the unifying role of the Portuguese language. Therefore, one finds affirmations that in Cape Verde “...all the white and mixed (*parda*) population of any town of certain importance – and even a large part of the blacks – speak Portuguese ...” (Almeida 1934: 18),<sup>58</sup> which could not be true and reflects a “subtle type of racism, whereby any display of intelligence or intellectual achievement of people of color was to be viewed with wonder.” (Meintel 1984: 137). The myth of literacy was in fact convenient for both the colonial regime, which it made appear in a favorable light and could prove the alleged superiority of mulatto’s race in comparison to black Africans, and it was convenient for Cape Verdeans themselves who “could thus see themselves as different from and superior to ‘tribal’ Africans from Guinea and the rest of the continent.” (Meintel 1984: 152).

As in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the idea of a regional continuum emerges clearly from the analysis of 20<sup>th</sup> century work. Within this continuum, the notion of the variety of São Vicente as ‘*leve*’ (i.e. acrolectal) has been pervasive not only among contemporary speakers of CVSV (Rodrigues 2002) but also of other islands. Meintel, in her study of the dialect of Brava, recorded opinions such as that the variety of Brava is more acrolectal than the one spoken on Santiago and Fogo but more basilectal than that of São Vicente (Meintel 1975: 237).

Almada explicitly links the acrolectal character of CVSV to the foundation of the Liceu stating that “the creole (i.e. the variety of CVC) that receives the most influence from Portuguese is that of São Vicente where there is a focus on education – the Liceu” (1961: 23).

The creation of the Liceu after the decline of the Seminary-Liceu in São Nicolau (established in 1866) was the result of the reforms of the Portuguese republican government (1910-1926) (Reis 2001). The Liceu, which attracted students from the elite families on other islands and where the literary movement of *Claridosos* and *Certeza* originated<sup>59</sup> helped to create an aura of cultural sophistication in Mindelo compared to the rest of the archipelago. As

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<sup>58</sup> Note, however, the contradictions: the same author states “the creole is not only spoken by the lower classes of the Cape-Verdean population but even by the upper classes; among these, there are ladies and children that only speak creole [...]” (Almeida 1934: 20).

<sup>59</sup> A good analysis of these movements can be found in Gatlin (1990, chapter 6).

revealed by Rodrigues's contemporary anthropological research, this image of refinement of Mindelo which is built on evaluations based on the underlying degree of civilization and the dichotomy – Europeanization in Barlavento (São Vicente) versus Africanization in Sotavento (Santiago) – has survived colonial times until the present day (Rodrigues 2002).

The social impact of the Liceu was certainly important, not only in São Vicente but also in the entire colony. Education was a passport to upward social mobility for the petty bourgeois and the very few who finished their secondary schooling in the Liceu continued on to higher education in Lisbon and often became civil servants and liberal professionals (Linhas Gerais 1984: 82). Also, many of the Liceu's alumni ended up as middle rank civil servants in Portuguese Africa, given that chances of their employability in Cape Verde were low. Newitt, referring to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century emigration to mainland Africa, states that Cape Verdeans were considered "Portuguese-speakers, basically Portuguese in culture and mostly of mixed race". They were thus ideal employees of the Salazar régime in the African colonial possessions (Newitt 1981: 216). Notwithstanding its role in training Cape Verdeans to be 'proxy colonizers' (Meintel 1984, chapter 7), the Liceu was also the center of political and cultural resistance and it was here that the future leader of independence, Amílcar Cabral, studied.<sup>60</sup>

Nevertheless, it is important to evaluate realistically the linguistic impact that the Liceu and the "profoundly lusitanized cultural elite" that, according to (Pereira 2000a: 28), "it helped to create" had on the linguistic structure of the variety of creole spoken on the island. The Liceu's alumni certainly constituted a bilingual social group. Many came from upper-class families where creole was banned from home conversations, which was the case of the linguist Dulce Almada Duarte as related in Cunha (1981:78). They were, however, a small minority. The Liceu opened in 1917 with 43 students; 26 students came from São Vicente, the rest from other islands. Symptomatically, over 50% (23) abandoned the school or did not pass to the next grade (Estatística Geral 1918). Also in 1929, 80 out of 258 pupils came from other islands (Leite 1929: 188). These facts make their putative linguistic impact on the São Vicente variety seem less likely.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> For instance, in 1959 the students of Liceu were officially forbidden to speak Creole on school grounds (Meintel 1984: 141). Duarte (1998: 128) underlines however that students' resisted and systematically violated this prohibition.

<sup>61</sup> Officially, the Liceu was open to anybody who could pay (Meintel 1984: 137). However, the racial composition of the Liceu alumni, meticulously registered by colonial statisticians, is an excellent illustration of the inequality of opportunities under the colonial regime. Out of 178 students of the Liceu in 1926-1927, 31 were white – i.e. nearly 18% (Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias 1929). In the same period the overall percentage of whites in the total population of São Vicente was 7.9%.

In the school year 1926-1927 only 178 students were enrolled in the Liceu in all five grades. None of them was black, the ratio of male to female students was three to one and 50 were not promoted or left the school (Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias 1929). In 1936, after nearly 20 years of existence, 366 students were enrolled in the Liceu out of a population of some 15,000.

Another pervasive idea is that there were more Portuguese residents and thus more intensive contact with EP in São Vicente than on other islands. This probably comes from the fact that there was a massive but temporary deployment of Portuguese military forces to the archipelago during World War II (PRO-FO 371 [1943]) estimates the number of Portuguese troops in São Vicente to have been between 2,500 and 3,000] and during the last 15 years of the regime, due to the colonial war (Meintel 1984:127). Statistical data, however, show that although the Portuguese were in fact concentrated in two main urban centers of the archipelago, Mindelo did not differ in relation to Praia. In 1912, the number of Portuguese residing in Praia (158) was higher than in Mindelo (126) and even though it rose in São Vicente slightly towards the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mindelo did not stand out in this respect. For instance, in 1930 there were 194 Portuguese in Praia and 228 in Mindelo. It should be underlined, however, that the total population of Praia (6,074) was half the population of Mindelo.

Regarding race relations in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Meintel (1984) points out the existence of often subtle race and class barriers in everyday Cape Verdean life and reports that members of a certain social clubs in Mindelo claimed that they were recruited on the basis of community status and ‘background’. However, notwithstanding the existence of negative stereotypes of the Portuguese in Cape Verdean society, locally prominent persons of color were rarely asked to join, while Portuguese army officers could use the club facilities with no question as to their ‘background’ (1984: 111). This account is in keeping with Estêvão’s (1989) findings and suggests that racial fluidity has often been apparent and, as in the case of Brazil, the *lusotropical* myth of racial equality in the Portuguese colonial empire did not hold in Cape Verde either. Though statistical data clearly indicate that the majority of the population of São Vicente was considered to be of mixed race and the number of those classified as white equaled the blacks,<sup>62</sup> skin color has been an important factor in upward

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<sup>62</sup> In 1932, out of the total of 13,488 of São Vicente’s inhabitants, 1205 were white and 1280 black while the rest were classified as ‘mixed’ (Estatística Geral).

social mobility. Estêvão (1989: 57) shows that in 1940, a full 66.9% of the top professionals in Mindelo were white and only 0.9% black.<sup>63</sup>

It thus seems legitimate to affirm that given the low number of native speakers of Portuguese actually residing in São Vicente, the limited access to schooling and the existence of social barriers which were likely to create linguistic demarcation and diminish the possibility of linguistic interaction, the level of bilingualism was reduced and the overwhelming majority of São Vicente population remained monolingual and did not have regular contact with standard Portuguese via schooling, jobs, or other social networks. Therefore, until independence in 1975, any widespread decreolization of CVSV seems unlikely.

### 3.5 Current linguistic situation

On independence day, the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1975, the state of Cape Verde was critical. Agriculture was based on small tenants and sharecroppers with absentee owners owning most of the limited arable land which lacked basic investment for water retaining or preventing advances in environmental degradation. Animals were raised by subsistence, fishing was artisanal, industry inexistent and the country's road network was minimal. There were twelve doctors for the entire malnourished population, 60-75 % of the working force was unemployed, infant mortality was 103.9 per thousand and only 20% of the inhabitants had access to safe drinking water (Andrade 2002: 265-267).

Regarding education, Andrade, in tune with other analyses, states that “the levels of illiteracy improved only marginally during the twentieth century”. She adds that one of the difficult legacies of the colonial system was the fact that, in spite of the reforms that had been introduced a few years before independence, 75% of Cape Verdeans was illiterate and only 20% of the school-aged population was in primary school (Andrade 2002: 267). Furthermore, Afonso's analysis shows that secondary and higher education were available only to an insignificant minority of the population and functioned as one of the main tools for reproducing the upper-middle class (Afonso 2001).<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Reis (2001) shows that race was also relevant to the right to vote. While during the Republic, in the years 1914 and 1916, only 4.2% and 4% respectively of Cape Verdean population was eligible to vote, this figure rises to 8.5% while referring to the population classified as ‘white’ and decreases to 4.5% and 3.3% in relation to voters labeled as ‘mulattoes’ and ‘black’ (p.106).

<sup>64</sup> In the academic year 1974/75 merely 2,187 students were enrolled in various levels of the secondary education in the entire country (Afonso 2001: 129).

With independence, education became one of the main foci of the new government. In 1980, approximately 80% of children were enrolled in primary education though the level of drop-outs was high (Afonso 2001).<sup>65</sup> In addition, Afonso's analysis of the pupils' parents' professions shows that the changes in education in the 1980's were quantitative and not qualitative as the advanced levels of schooling continued to be available chiefly to the children of urban professionals and civil servants, perpetuating the colonial scenario for reproducing elites (2001: 121-123).<sup>66</sup> The new reform packet of the 1990's aimed to eliminate several challenges to the quality of the education system such as the lack of infrastructure, adequate curricula, qualified teachers and the existence of regional disparities.<sup>67</sup> Afonso underlines in her article that one of the main problems of education in Cape Verde is the low competence of students in Portuguese, the only vehicular language of schooling, a situation that gives an advantage to those who come from a background related to the state apparatus, especially the petty bourgeoisie, who are those principally "responsible for the definition and implementation of educational policies" (2001: 128). She concludes that this fact combined with the growing costs of education for families results in schooling continuing to function as a social filter (Afonso 2001).<sup>68</sup>

There is no doubt that in spite of several challenges secondary and higher education in Cape Verde has been democratized significantly since the time of Afonso's research over a decade ago. The reduction of government scholarships to study abroad in favor of easily accessible full grants to study in the country and the opening of several private and one state university has increased the number of university students. However, the quality of schooling continues to be a major challenge and the language of education remains an unsolved dilemma.

The Cape Verdean constitution of 1992 declared CVC a national but not an official language. However, it obliged the state to promote, develop, and eventually standardize CVC, meanwhile prohibiting any linguistic discrimination. Apart from the constitution, there have been a number of official resolutions and decrees regarding CVC and which are examined in

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. also Neves (2007) for a comprehensive analysis of the post-independence development in education.

<sup>66</sup> In 1989, only 13% of pupils completed secondary education (Afonso 2001: 123). This number has augmented considerably and in 2010, 35.9% of the Cape Verdean population completed secondary schooling.

<sup>67</sup> Note that from the data relative to the distribution of qualified teachers per municipality in 1990/1991 presented by Afonso (2001: 131) the division lay, as in colonial times, between the two main urban centers, i.e. Praia and Mindelo, were the only two *liceus* were located and the rest of the rural country, and not between São Vicente and the rest of Cape Verde as is the common belief.

<sup>68</sup> More recently, Rosa (2010) has argued that education exclusively in Portuguese continues to function as an effective block to social mobility.

Lopes (2011: 496-518) who also analyses the position of several prominent Cape Verdean intellectuals in relation to the linguistic policy in the country. Lopes concludes that, with exception of the devising of the alphabet ALUPEC (cf. chapter 1), which her survey has shown to be completely unknown to young respondents and either unused or openly rejected by adults, the majority of governmental decrees and proposals “have remained in the sphere of good intentions” (Lopes 2011: 520). Also Baptista et al. (2010), after having examined UNESCO’s recommendations for promoting of cultural and linguistic diversity, conclude that in Cape Verde, as in other creole speaking countries, these have been largely ignored and “no steps have been taken so far, in terms of language policy and practices, to concretely open up education to the Cape Verdean language.” (p. 274). As a result, CVC continues neither the means nor the object of teaching.<sup>69</sup>

Regarding levels of bilingualism in post-independence Cape Verde, a factor that might have been responsible for the acrolectal character of CVSV, the statistics have been contradictory. While Nunes (1991: 19) affirms the level of the speakers of Portuguese in Cape Verde to be around 70%-80%, Vieira da Silva (1994: 109) observes that the impression of widespread bilingualism in Cape Verde is fallacious, an opinion shared by Bartens (2000: 42) and Baptista et al. (2010).

Lopes (2011) is a much awaited comprehensive sociolinguistic study on bilingualism in Cape Verde. The research is based on an extensive sample of 1,780 secondary school students (9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> grades, 13-19 years old) evenly distributed between the Sotavento and Barlavento areas in the predominantly urban population<sup>70</sup> to whom a detailed questionnaire (118 questions) was given with the aim of obtaining data regarding personal details of the informants, their linguistic profile, their communication networks, the domains of their use of Creole and Portuguese and, finally, the attitudes towards both languages. The questionnaire was further complemented by 29 semi-directed interviews with teachers of the Portuguese language and ‘leaders’.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> In fact, there is a degree in Portuguese and Cape Verdean Studies and some of the degrees in humanities (such as History or English Studies) include in their program a course in Cape Verdean Language and Culture. However, given that CVC is not taught on the primary or secondary levels, these degrees tend to focus on Portuguese language and cultural components. Moreover, the majority of teachers lecturing in these courses do not have access to up-to-date but expensive international publications in English on CVC. The recently created Master’s Program in Creolistics and Cape Verdean Language (2010-2012) offered by the state University of Cape Verde aims to improve this situation and train teachers and researchers in this area.

<sup>70</sup> The rural population of the Sotavento area is, however, not represented in the sample.

<sup>71</sup> The group of ‘leaders’ in Lopes (2011) study was composed by the politicians and intellectuals who use Portuguese in their daily professional life. These interviews served as a corpus for the preliminary analysis of what might be called the standard Portuguese of Cape Verde (cf. also chapter 1).

Regarding the social profile of Lopes's informants, the majority of the students (born in the 1990's) comes from the emerging lower middle class whose parents completed four to six years of primary schooling (resulting from the large scale post-1975 educational reforms), with little or no contact with Portugal and strong (91%) motivation to pursue higher education. The group that claims to acquire Portuguese as L1 is insignificant (1.2%) and CVC is considered their mother tongue by an overwhelming majority.<sup>72</sup> The percentage of pupils who have heard Portuguese (especially in media and church) 'only sometimes' before entering the school system is much higher (56.2%) than those who have heard it 'frequently' (38.8%) (p. 111). It is clear that Portuguese is acquired in school though the data shows that teachers do use Creole in the classroom, especially in primary school (i.e. from the first to sixth grade).

One of the several important conclusions of Lopes's study is that, "contrary to what might have been assumed", the bilingual speakers do not show either divergent linguistic attitudes or behavior in the Barlavento and Sotavento areas (Lopes 2011: 493). Therefore, the results of the study can be safely considered as reflecting the contemporary linguistic attitudes and behavior of young bilinguals in São Vicente.

In São Vicente, the overwhelming majority of children learn the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente (CVSV) as their mother tongue, including the children of resident foreigners from mainland Africa, Asia, and Europe, while Portuguese is acquired via schooling. The situation in which parents would stop speaking Creole to their children from a certain age in order not to hamper their acquisition of the prestige language referred by Bartens as common in several creole speaking countries (Bartens 2001: 28) is sporadic in São Vicente and socially ridiculed.

As in the rest of the country, literacy rates have been growing steadily since independence. According to the statistics provided to me by the Delegação do Ministério da Educação in Mindelo, the illiteracy rate in São Vicente in 2002 for the population aged between 15-49 was 19% and 89% of children completed the compulsory six years of education on the island. According to the latest census (2010), São Vicente's literacy level was 86.1%, which is slightly below the national urban average – 86.3% (national average was 82.7%).<sup>73</sup> Its urban character facilitates access to secondary education. Moreover, a number of

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<sup>72</sup> The fact that there are no monolinguals in the group under analysis (Lopes 2011: 114) is directly related to the criteria for selecting informants.

<sup>73</sup> The island with the highest (91.6%) literacy level in 2010 was Sal, which is characterized by a young migrant population working in the tourism industry. The census clearly confirms what has been stated earlier in this chapter



institutes of higher education and universities are located on the island, serving the population of the entire Barlavento area and also receiving students from the Sotavento area, especially from islands other than Santiago.

The expanding group of educated bilinguals might be in fact responsible for the extensive borrowing of linguistic features from Portuguese during the last two decades, which is identified with the decreolization of CVSV. It should be stressed, however, that these tendencies are observed in the whole country and are in no way exclusive to São Vicente; 71% of Lopes's bilingual interviewees admitted lexical interference from Portuguese while speaking CVC (Lopes 2011: 281).

Yet, the level of school drop-outs is still high which is due, in part, to education being exclusively in Portuguese, leading to children forgetting the language, after some years of schooling, unless they have a job that implies its use (Duarte 1998: 139). My own professional experience in the Cape Verdean higher educational system fully confirms Duarte's opinion that only those few who went to university in a Portuguese-speaking country show an effective knowledge of the language (Duarte 1998: 139).<sup>74</sup> Thus, as in Cape Verde in general, the levels of proficiency in Portuguese of São Vicente's population may differ widely, especially in relation to their socio-economic status.

Lopes's analysis makes clear that bilingual speakers show considerable linguistic insecurity when speaking Portuguese. Regarding self evaluation of linguistic competence, only 6.3% of Lopes's respondents consider themselves as knowing Portuguese 'very well' while a majority (51.3%) assess their knowledge as merely 'sufficient' (p. 113). An overwhelming majority (91.3%) prefer to speak Creole and for 40.6% speaking Portuguese poses a problem (p. 115).

The variable 'formal schooling' is an important factor in determining language choice as the majority of informants chose to speak CVC with interlocutors with little schooling but use both languages when talking to educated people. More importantly, people with little formal education overwhelmingly use CVC (70.4% while compared to only 2.4% who use Portuguese) (Lopes 2011: 123-124). Interestingly, contrary to some of the historical attestations presented above, Lopes shows that currently gender plays no relevant role in language choice (p. 125).

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regarding pre-independence literacy levels in Cape Verde – only 30% of the contemporary Cape Verdean population over 65 years old is literate.

<sup>74</sup> In 2010, 5.6% of Cape Verdeans held university degrees, a very high number for the West-Africa region.

From Lopes's study it is clear that Portuguese is not the vehicular language in Cape Verde. CVC dominates oral interactions in both the Barlavento and Sotavento regions (Lopes 2011: 128) and while CVSV is the vehicular variety in the Barlavento, CVST fulfills this role in the Sotavento (p. 171).

Regarding domains, Lopes's data points towards extensions of both Portuguese and Creole which might be indicative of language change. Portuguese is used in formal domains but it is clearly predominant only in three formal situations: speaking to teachers, to bosses, and in prayer.<sup>75</sup> There is a slight tendency for the extension of Portuguese to informal domains (such as 'restaurants and bars'), a process in which the visiting relatives and friends from the Portuguese Diaspora play an important role (Lopes 2011: 146). Political rallies constitute another context where there is a tendency for the extension of Portuguese. Contrary to what is often assumed, Lopes observes that the extension of Portuguese to informal domains is more prominent in the Sotavento than in the Barlavento area (p. 173).

CVC is the dominant language of intimate and informal domains. However, the use of CVC is extending to formal domains such as talking to teachers or speaking in public institutions (e.g. banks) or during meetings of associations. Significantly, this tendency is more intensive than the extension of Portuguese to informal domains (Lopes 2011: 157). In Mindelo, this process is particularly striking within two spaces where CVSV is dominant: the Portuguese Consulate and the Portuguese Cultural Center.

Despite the common belief that CVC enjoys higher prestige in the more 'African' Sotavento while the more 'European' Barlavento uses more Portuguese, Lopes (2011) data demystifies this assumption. CVC is expanding to formal domains in the entire country even though there are slight regional differences: Sotavento speakers tend to expand the use of CVC to public institutions, hospitals, banks and religious places while Barlavento speakers extend the use of CVC to official ceremonies and meetings (Lopes 2011: 217).

Young speakers are crucial in extending CVC to formal domains (Lopes 2011: 149) and this is, according to Lopes, a sign "of the progressively increasing prestige of this language" (p. 218). Lopes (2011) also shows that events such as 'formal ceremonies' and

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<sup>75</sup> My participant observation suggests that in this particular context the use of Portuguese is often based on the repetition of memorized and fossilized structures and not on a real communicative proficiency in the language. Moreover, in Catholic churches, foreign missionaries often use L2 Portuguese and L2 CVSV. In addition, the expanding Protestant churches are run by missionaries who are often native speakers of Creole and tend to use their L1 and not Portuguese.

‘talking to bosses’ are the least likely to trigger the use of CVC. In these contexts Portuguese is still clearly used as a symbol of power and authority.

Regarding language choice, the socio-cultural status of the interlocutor is an important factor, though speakers in general tend to accommodate towards the speaker who joins the conversation (p. 182). Also, pace Bartens-Adawonu, who affirms that code mixing in Portuguese and Creole is much more common in the Barlavento region (1999: 71), Lopes’s study does not support the existence of two distinct bilingual communities in Cape Verde.

Lopes concludes that her sample shows a population with unbalanced bilingualism. There is a sharp division between orality, where the prevalence of CVC is indisputable, and writing, which is nearly exclusively in Portuguese.<sup>76</sup> This situation can be classified as ‘modal diglossia’ or forced diglossia where the choice of which language to speak and write has to do not with the individual or social option but the ‘lack of options’ (Lopes 2011: 215). Lopes stresses that bilingualism without diglossia is yet to be constructed (p. 495). Significantly, however, 87% of interviewees, independently of the region and setting, would like to learn to read and write in CVC and think that this should be taught in schools (p. 294). Lopes warns also that though Portuguese (L2) is the high language and CVC (L1) is the low language, the relation between them is not linear: while CVC is the ‘we code’, Portuguese is not ‘they code’ as it represents, for many, the language of national identity (Lopes 2011: 494).

Finally, this complex diglossic situation is unstable as there are clear signs of change, i.e. the extensions of the use of both languages. There are, however, no signs “of substitution of one language with monolingualism in the other”, and contrary to “what has been suggested in the literature as common in these situations, the results, both in relation to use and to attitudes, suggest the maintenance of both languages” (Lopes 2011: 494).

### 3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has examined in detail the sociolinguistic history of CVSV in order to answer the question as to what extent the social and historic past of the speech community and, particularly, the demographic patterns of the island’s late 18<sup>th</sup>-century colonization might explain the contemporary acrolectal character of CVSV.

The linguistic background of the founders and the early development of the colony after its establishment in 1797 show that, in accordance with what has been suggested in the

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<sup>76</sup> However, spontaneous writing in CVC is quickly expanding to the new technologies.

literature (Rougé 1995, Bartens-Adawonu 1999, Pereira 2000a), the Sotavento varieties are the main predecessors of CVSV. However, the present analysis of the available statistical data and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century attestations suggest also that in the first decades of the existence of the small community on São Vicente, the Portuguese and the Santo Antão CVC speakers must have played a major role in shaping CVSV's future structure.

Moreover, this chapter has shown that the rapid economic development of São Vicente in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and its integration into the international capitalistic economy resulted in the widening of the social gap between the bilingual elite and the port's proletarian masses. This process limited the contact of the majority of creole speakers with Portuguese and reduced the possibility of general decreolization of CVSV during that period.

It has also been argued that in spite of the common belief of widespread education in São Vicente, access to Portuguese via schooling remained the privilege of the very few throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century until independence in 1975.

The current post-independence linguistic situation in São Vicente is characterized by a widespread accessibility of primary and secondary schooling in Portuguese and there is a growing class of bilinguals that tend to extend CVSV use to more formal domains, a process that is responsible for intensive borrowing from Portuguese which, on the other hand, shows clear L1 interference and cannot be identified with EP. Moreover, the availability of media in (often Brazilian) Portuguese and the acrolectal creole heard in the radio and television may enhance this tendency.

However, these recent changes in the linguistic ecology of the community do not explain satisfactorily the depth of structural differences between the Sotavento varieties and CVSV and the existence in the latter of several morphosyntactic features traditionally considered as acrolectal or even decreolized in the speech of middle-aged or elderly, illiterate, and largely monolingual speakers who have had very limited access to and interaction with Portuguese throughout their lives. These speakers seem to use a variety that, due to the peculiar sociohistorical scenario of its genesis and early development is the product not of decreolization but of a partial restructuring of the Sotavento grammar from which it stemmed.

## Chapter 4

### THE NOUN PHRASE IN THE CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE OF SÃO VICENTE

#### 4.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is twofold. First, it aims to present a thorough description of the noun phrase in modern CVSV. It starts by describing the determiner system in section 4.2 (demonstratives in subsection 4.2.1 and articles in 4.2.2), then possessives and possession are discussed in section 4.3, number in section 4.4, and adjectives in section 4.5. Section 4.6 is dedicated to gender and 4.7 to pronominals. Section 4.8 presents nominal conjunctions and, finally, section 4.9 summarizes and concludes the chapter.

This detailed description of the linguistic features in contemporary CVSV noun phrase includes an examination of the probable paths of diachronic development of various selected categories and analyses of several differences from the Sotavento varieties as they are described in the literature. The second goal of this chapter is, therefore, to present possible explanations for these divergences.

#### 4.2 Determiners

This section describes the system of determiners in the CVSV noun phrase, focusing on demonstratives in subsection 4.2.1 and articles in 4.2.2, with special attention given to the development of the definite articles *kel* and *kes* and to the presence of Portuguese articles in CVSV.

##### 4.2.1 Demonstratives

This subsection deals with adnominal demonstratives, i.e. those that modify a co-referential noun and pronominal demonstratives, i.e. those that substitute a noun phrase.<sup>1</sup>

Demonstratives belong to a varied group of words which express deixis, i.e. a property of certain categories to indicate the relationship of things talked about within their spatial-temporal or extra-linguistic context (Lyons 1999: 17-18).

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<sup>1</sup> For demonstratives in CVSV cf. *APiCS* features 5, 32, and 33.

CVSV makes a two-way contrast in deictic distinctions. *Es* [es] ‘this’ (4.1) is the proximal demonstrative used to indicate relative proximity to the speaker; *kel* ‘that’ (4.3a) is the distal demonstrative and may denote either a referent which is close or at a greater distance, being combined with the spatial adverbs *li* ‘here’ and *lá* ‘there’ as in (4.4). It is important to note that this two-way deictic distinction is not necessarily spatial as it may be temporal (4.3a) or even emotional.

Adnominal demonstratives in CVSV always precede nouns. Both singular demonstratives can be inflected for plural, i.e. there exists a plural form of *es* [es] ‘this’, which is *es* [eʃ] ‘these’ (4.2a), and a plural form of *kel* ‘that’ which is *kes* [keʃ] ‘those’ (4.5). *Es* in its singular form can be combined only with the adverb *li* ‘here’. *Es* in its plural form can combine with both *li* ‘here’ and *lá* ‘there’. This demonstrative system contrasts with that of CVST, where *es* is invariant (Lang 2001: 246-247).

i. *Singular demonstrative: es* [es]

- (4.1) *Vint y tres d'es [es] mes N ta konpletá sinkuénta y oit.* (MFF)  
 twenty and three of+DEM.SG month 1SG TMA complete fifty and eight  
 ‘On the twenty third of this month I will be fifty eight years old.’

ii. *Plural demonstrative: es* [eʃ]

- (4.2) a. *Nau, es [eʃ] pédra n'e pa trubaia li.* (JSC)  
 NEG DEM.PL stone NEG+COP for work here  
 ‘No, these stones are not to be worked here.’
- b. *Ma d'uk k es lá [...] te vivê?* (LL/EL)  
 but of+what COMP DEM.PL there TMA live  
 ‘But of what those [people] there live...?’

iii. *Singular demonstrative: kel*

- (4.3) a. *Y kel altura asin, bosê tinha fidj?* (LL/OA)  
 and DEM.SG time like 2SG had child  
 ‘And at that time did you have children?’

- b. *Kel e nha féma.* (DR)  
 DEM.SG COP 1SG.POSS woman  
 ‘That [one] is my girlfriend.’

- (4.4) *Kel vapor lá k N táva, pásá prá lá.* (MLF)  
 DEM.SG steam there REL 1SG COP pass by there.  
 ‘That steamship that I worked on passed there.’

iv. *Plural demonstrative: kes*

- (4.5) *Kes jent lá k é buf, n'é?* LL/PJL  
 DEM.PL people there REL COP informer NEG+COP  
 'Those people that were informers, weren't they?'

The emergence of the plural form of the demonstrative *es* [eʃ], not attested in the Sotavento varieties, represents a new development in the variety of São Vicente. This form is present in texts in CVSV from the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century (for example, Frusoni 1979).<sup>2</sup> It is possible that, like some personal pronouns discussed below in section 4.7 and many other CVSV features, the occurrence of the plural form *es* in CVSV represents a case of inter-dialectal influence given that this form of the demonstrative is also attested for Santo Antão (Costa and Duarte 1886: 252 and Veiga 1982: 79 for contemporary CVSA). Though plural demonstrative *es* 'these' is homophonous with the plural third person pronoun *es* 'they' and marking of plurality with the third person plural subject pronoun is a widespread phenomenon in creoles attributed to substrate influence (Holm 2000a: 215), this is more likely a development best explained by the internal four-part proportional analogy within the variety.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in cases where nouns could be interpreted as either singular or plural, the emergence of the plural form of the determiner helps solve the ambiguity.

As shown in (4.2b) and (4.3b) above, pronominal demonstratives can occupy NP position and function as anaphors, i.e. referring to the previous discourse (4.6), being or not combined with adverbs (4.7 and 4.8).

- (4.6) *É so ijgá futbol k busis tá fazê?* (LL/PL)  
 FOC only play football REL you TMA do  
 'Was it only football that you used to play?'

*Sin, ára so kel.* (PL)  
 yes COP only DEM.SG  
 'Yes, it was only that.'

- (4.7) *Mi, kel li, mi N ka sabê-l.* (MGM)  
 1SG DEM.SG here 1SG 1SG NEG know-3SG  
 'I, that, I don't know it.'

- (4.8) *Es k éra nos divertiment.* (AMD)  
 DEM.PL REL COP 1PL.POSS entertainment  
 'These were our entertainments.'

<sup>2</sup> Frusoni (1979) uses a fairly consistent writing system and clearly distinguishes singular demonstrative *es* 'êss' from plural *es* which he spells 'êxe' (1979: 44).

<sup>3</sup> As defined by (Campbell 1998: 90) proportional analogical changes are those that can be represented by an equation  $a:b=c:x$ , where  $a$  is to  $b$  as  $c$  is to  $x$ , *es*.PL in this particular case.

Apart from the demonstratives listed above, there exist adnominal and pronominal forms such as *akel* (plural form *akes* [ɐ'keʃ]) that can also combine with *li* and *lá* as shown in (4.9) and (4.10) functioning as variants of *kel* and *kes*.

(4.9) ... *akel tenp lá k es táva fazê bóí, já oj non.* (GL)  
           that time there REL 3PL TMA make ball already today NEG  
           ‘...that time they used to make balls; today they don’t.’

(4.10) *Mi éra un d’akes...* (OA)  
           1SG COP one of+DEM.PL  
           ‘I was one of those.’

*Akel* is, according to Almada, common in all Barlavento islands. Its plural counterpart *akes* is typical of Santo Antão and São Vicente varieties (Almada 1961: 101). I have also found a sporadic occurrence of the demonstrative *akéla*, etymological feminine counterpart of the demonstrative *kel* (cf. Ptg. *aquele* vs. *aquela* ‘that (M)’ vs. ‘that (F)’). The demonstrative forms *akel* and *akéla* are also attested by Lang et al. (2002: 12; plural *akes* seems to be absent in CVST). Moreover, *is* [is] ‘this’ (cf. Ptg. *isso*) is used as a pronominal demonstrative (4.11).

(4.11) *Is e ver Paid.* (AL)  
           this COP true  
           ‘This is true.’

#### 4.2.2 Articles

Based on the existing analyses of the determiner system in the Sotavento varieties, this section focuses on the article system in CVSV.<sup>4</sup> It presents the distribution and meanings of the indefinite article in its singular and plural forms, in 4.2.2.1, and analyzes the arguments that favor the reading of demonstratives *kel/kes* ‘that/those’ as definite articles in CVSV, in 4.2.2.2. Finally, subsection 4.2.2.3 comments on the occurrences of the Portuguese articles in CVSV.

##### 4.2.2.1 The indefinite articles

The indefinite article is understood here as a free morpheme that signals indefiniteness of the following noun phrase (Lyons 1999: 1).

The development of the numeral ‘one’ into an indefinite article and its frequent phonological identity with the latter is well attested cross-linguistically (Givón 1981, Lyons 1999: 34-35, 95). In CVSV *un*, apart from functioning as the cardinal numeral ‘one’ (4.12) and (4.13) also functions as an indefinite article.

<sup>4</sup> For indefinite and definite articles in CVSV see also *APiCS* features 9, 10, 28, 29, and 30.



- (4.12) *N ten un pork so.* (AR)  
 1SG have one pig only  
 ‘I have only one pig.’

- (4.13) *Bo oiá un psoa o dos?* (DR)  
 2SG see one person or two  
 Did you see one or two people?

The indefinite article *un* presents several readings. It may have an indefinite and non-specific interpretation, i.e. denoting any unfamiliar member of the class, as in (4.14), or when used as a first mention in a narrative (4.15).

- (4.14) *Dpos, un vapor d'géra ben puxá-l prá lá.* (OA)  
 later INDF.ART.SG steam of+war come pull-3SG to there  
 ‘Later a war ship hauled it there.’

- (4.15) *Un ves tinha un pai y un mãi.* (FP/2)  
 one time had INDF.ART.SG father and INDF.ART.SG mother  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a father and a mother.’

However, it can have an indefinite but specific reading in cases where the particular referent is known to the speaker (4.16).

- (4.16) ... *k e un lingua k n'e tradisional.* (LMF)  
 that COP INDF.ART.SG language REL NEG +COP traditional  
 ‘...it is a language [São Tomé Creole] that is not like ours [language].’

*Un* as an indefinite article can be used with both countable and uncountable nouns and it establishes a contrast between the members of the same species (4.17).

- (4.17) ... *y un lenha k es tá txmá marséla.* (GL)  
 and INDF.ART.SG wood REL 3PL TMA call *marsela*  
 ‘...and a [kind of] wood for burning that was called *marséla* [a kind of bush].’

Moreover, *un* can convey generic meaning (4.18), expressing a generalization about the class as a whole with a singular noun (Lyons 1999: 179).

- (4.18) *Un om ka ta txorá.* (DR)  
 INDF.ART.SG man NEG TMA cry  
 ‘Men don’t cry.’

As in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 24, Baptista 2007a: 66), both the singular *un* and the plural indefinite article *uns* in CVSV behave like a quantifier (4.19a and b).

- (4.19) a. ... *dá pa trá un dnherin.* (LL/IS)  
 give for make QT money.little  
 ‘... [this] enables [one] to make some money.’

- b. *Purke entigament tinha uns jent tá dzê...* (AMD)  
 because in.the.old.days had QT people TMA say  
 ‘Because in the old days there were some people who would say...’

*Uns* can also stand for an indefinite pronoun (4.20). In this function, it must refer to human nouns.

- (4.20) *Uns te seíd na bark d’péska.* (AR)  
 QT COP left on boat of+ fishing  
 ‘Some [children] are gone fishing.’

Finally, *un* can occur not only with nouns but also with adjectives, functioning as a nominalizer (4.21), a common function of articles cross-linguistically (Lyons 1999: 60).

- (4.21) *Bo te gostá de un koitód...* (LF)  
 2SG TMA like of INDF.ART.SG poor  
 ‘[Sometimes] you fancy a poor man...’

All of the usages discussed above follow the functions and meanings of the indefinite articles in the Sotavento varieties as analyzed in Baptista (2002 and 2007a). In subsection 4.4.3 the interplay of the indefinite articles and bare nouns will be analyzed.

#### 4.2.2.2 The definite articles

This subsection starts by reviewing the literature on definite articles in CVC. Subsequently, it presents arguments that permit the analysis of the demonstratives *kel/kes* as definite articles in CVSV. Finally, the main meanings conveyed by the definite articles are analyzed.

The loss of inflectional morphology and other non-salient grammatical elements such as articles which are present in the lexifier languages encoding, though not always in a transparent way, grammatical information such as definiteness, number, gender or case has been assumed to be one of the processes influencing the shape of pidgin and creole languages (Bruyn 1995). This traditional postulation as to the simplicity of creoles repeated, in Farquharson’s words, by ‘generations of researchers driven by popular, non-empirical wisdom’ (2007: 21) has been seriously challenged. CVC, like many other creoles, defies many of these assumptions.

The existence of the definite article in CVC is, however, polemic. It has been repeatedly stated that CVC in general does not exhibit a definite article.<sup>5</sup> Authors either explicitly attest its absence (Lopes da Silva 1957: 129) or, like Almada (1961: 89) and Meintel (1975: 211), suggest

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed review of positions on the definite article in CVC in the 20<sup>th</sup> century literature, see Albino (1994: 103-111).

that in some contexts the demonstratives *kel* and *kes* may fulfill the function of a definite article. Also Veiga (1982: 87) is ambiguous as to its existence in CVC while Veiga (2000a: 148) states that the definite article does not exist. On the other hand, Lucchesi (1993) tests the CVC article system against the creole article system proposed by Bickerton and concludes that the definite article exists in CVC but its use is irregular and “related to discourse and/or stylistic factors” not constituting a part of its core grammar (1993: 94).<sup>6</sup>

Albino’s (1994) comparative study, in which a corpus collected among the CVC speakers in Lisbon is contrasted with the folk-tales collected by Parsons (1923) suggests that there is in fact an increase in the use of *kel* to mark specific presupposed NPs (29% against 7% in Parson’s texts) though the linguistic contexts have remained unchanged over nearly 80 years. Moreover, the zero determiner continues to be the most frequent device to mark definite specific NPs. Albino is very cautious to interpret this increase in the use of *kel* as a definite article as decreolization, stressing that the Portuguese and the CVC referential systems continue to be essentially dissimilar.

Baptista (1997) is the first publication on CVC to acknowledge that though the determiners *kel/kes* function primarily as demonstratives, there are instances when they act as singular or plural definite articles. Baptista, pace Lucchesi’s (1993), shows that their use is not merely stylistic as they are part of a complex referential system of CVC where “overt determiners interact with null articles in marking specificity and nonspecificity of NPs” (Baptista 1997: 10, 24-31). This study is subsequently expanded in Baptista (2002) where the double functions of *kel*, i.e. as a demonstrative and definite article, are analyzed. Moreover, Alexandre and Soares (2004) claim, in relation to the Santiago variety, that *kel/kes* in isolation (i.e. occurring without deictic *li* and *la*) might be interpreted as a definite article (what is particularly visible in partitive constructions). They observe that *kel/kes* as a definite article cannot co-occur with a possessive since both are marked for [Definiteness] while *kel/kes* functioning as demonstratives – combined with spatial adverbs – can (Alexandre and Soares 2004: 340).

Baptista (2007a), following Lyons (1999), underlines the cross-linguistic frequency of the process of the development of demonstratives into definite determiners, hence the

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<sup>6</sup> The main problem with Lucchesi’s study is that it is based on an extremely reduced corpus collected among CVC speakers that have been residing in Portugal for an extended period. One of the texts Lucchesi analyses is a transcription of a speaker of the São Vicente variety. The use of *bos* for the 2sg pronoun instead of *bo* and the use, by this speaker, of infinitives such as *tokar* or *dizer*, not only suggest decreolization as Lucchesi himself observes (1993: 106) but, in my opinion, put in question the speaker’s linguistic competence in Creole.

overlapping of forms and functions of both in CVC. Finally, Alexandre (2009) summarizes the debate and stresses that the process of change from demonstrative into a definite article in CVC is still far from complete.

Given the identity of form, distinguishing the definite article from the demonstrative has not been a clear-cut task in CVSV. The presence or absence of deictic adverbs is an important cue. For instance, (4.22) shows that *kel/kes* co-occurring with the ordinal numeral without *li/lá* can only be interpreted as a determiner:

- (4.22) ... *má bon duki kel primer semestr.* (FF)  
           more good than DEF.ART.SG first semester  
           ‘...better than the first semester.’

However, this cue is not always sufficient while definiteness itself is a problematic concept. One of the basic meanings of definiteness is the identifiability of the referent by the hearer. A referent can be identified by the hearer anaphorically when it has previously been mentioned in the discourse.

The anaphoric use of *kes* is patent in (4.23) where the interviewer asks the informant about her own children, the definite and specific topic of the preceding discourse. This contextual factor and the anaphoric reading of *kes* make its interpretation as a plural demonstrative (indicating spatial deixis), impossible.

- (4.23) *Y k manera k bosê tá mamentá kes mnin?* (LL/AR)  
           and what way REL 2SG TMA breastfeed DEF.ART.PL children  
           ‘And how did you breastfeed the children?’

Another context which can indicate that *kel/kes* is used unambiguously as a definite article and not a demonstrative is an associative context in which, in concord with Lyons (1999: 4), the definite article refers through cross-bridging reference to something that is identifiable through associative use. In (4.24a and b) *kel* and *kes* refer to referents that are not mentioned in the preceding discourse but that are identifiable by the hearer because of the associative relationship.

- (4.24) a. *Toi dá-m un anél ma mi N perdê kel pédra.* (DR)  
           Toi give-1SG INDEF.ART.SG ring but 1SG 1SG lose DEF.ART.SG stone  
           ‘Toi gave me a ring but I lost the/ \*that stone.’

- b. *Bo tinha un txina, el tá Perú bo tá bá*  
           2SG had INDEF.ART.SG sow 3SG COND farrow 2SG COND go

*k kes leiton...* (ASL)

with DEF.ART.PL piglet

‘You had a sow, it would farrow, you would go with the/\*those piglets [to the city].’

The main functions of definite articles in CVSV is to convey the meanings of definiteness and specificity as in (4.25), encoding also number as in (4.26).

- (4.25) *Ó amdjer, N ta kon fom, dá-m kel almós!* (IR)  
 VOC woman 1SG COP with hunger give DEF.ART.SG lunch  
 ‘O wife! I’m hungry, give me lunch!’

- (4.26) *Ma y bo má kes profesor, manera bo tá dá má es?* (LL/DP)  
 but and 2SG and DEF.ART.PL professor how 2SG TMA give with 3PL  
 ‘But you and the professors, how did you get along with them?’

However, similarly to the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002), and to numerous other languages where a definite article exists but is optional depending on, for instance, pragmatic factors often difficult to predict (Lyons 1999: 52-53) in CVSV the use of the definite article to encode specificity and definiteness is not obligatory as bare nouns may also take this reading (4.27).

- (4.27) *Ningen ben pa fésta.* (DR)  
 nobody come to party  
 ‘Nobody came to the party.’

The question that may be raised at this point is what are the reasons for this extension of the use of the demonstrative? The development of a numeral and a demonstrative into an indefinite and a definite article can be easily interpreted as instances of grammaticalization. The numeral and demonstrative lose their numeral and deictic features and become articles alternating with zero as long as they keep the previous values functioning both ways (Bruyn 1995). This process represents a common cross-linguistic development and is not easily attributable to decreolization. However, Lyons stresses that the marking of definiteness is often an ‘areal feature’ (Lyons 1999: 48). Heine and Kuteva (2005: 71-73) present the case of articleless West Slavic languages (such as Sorbian, Czech and Slovenian) which have grammaticalized demonstratives for use in patterns typical of definiteness, and use the numeral ‘one’ to mark indefinite reference as a result of prolonged contact with German. They conclude that “contact-induced language change is not an abrupt process, leading straight from one category or structure to another [...]” (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 78). Therefore, the hypothesis that *kel* in CVC and particularly in CVSV has developed into a definite article as a result of contact with Portuguese is not to be dismissed.

#### 4.2.2.3 Portuguese articles in CVSV

The Portuguese article system includes the indefinite masculine articles *un* (sg.) and *uns* (pl.), the indefinite feminine articles *uma* (sg.) and *umas* (pl.), the definite masculine articles *o*

(sg.), and *os* (pl.), and the definite feminine articles *a* (sg.), and *as* (pl.). The agglutination of Portuguese definite articles, product of morpheme boundary shifts, are attested in words such as *azagua* ‘the rainy season’ from the Portuguese *as águas* ‘the waters’ (Lopes da Silva 1957: 129). Lopes da Silva attests also cases of fossilization of the archaic Portuguese definite article system *lo, los, la, las* in Sotavento as *tulusanto* <*todos los santos* ‘all saints’ and in Barlavento *tulusdia* < *todos los dias* ‘everyday’ (Santo Antão) (1957 [1984]: 130). I attested this archaic feature in the speech of a fisherman from the village of São Pedro (4.28).

- (4.28) *N táva [...] k sók d’pex btód na kósta, k tudulu koza.* (OA)  
 1SG COP [...] with bag of+fish put.PTCP on back with all thing  
 ‘I was [there] with the bag full of fish on my back, with all the things.’

In contemporary CVSV, I have found the following instances of usage of Portuguese articles:

i. *Portuguese singular indefinite feminine article: uma*

Lopes da Silva (1957: 130) considers both *uma* and *umas* rare in CVC. An incidental occurrence of *uma* in Sotavento varieties is attested by Baptista (2002: 29); however, Baptista overlooks the fact that in the variety of Santiago *uma* does not function as a variant of the indefinite article but fulfills a special function of a augmentative particle (Alexandre 2009: 61). This is not the case in CVSV where occurrences of *uma*, as in (4.29) and (4.30), are interferences from Portuguese marginal to the grammar.

- (4.29) *Ma, ma bosê repará uma koiza...* (FC/AMD)<sup>7</sup>  
 but, but 2SG consider INDEF.ART-F thing  
 ‘But, but consider one thing...’

- (4.30) ... *kom N tinha un fidj na Fránsa y uma filha...* (JAL)  
 as 1SG had INDEF.ART son in France and INDEF.ART-F daughter  
 ‘...as I had a son and a daughter in France...’

ii. *Portuguese feminine singular definite article: a*

The Portuguese definite feminine article *a* occurs in the cluster *da* formed by the preposition *de* in adverbials designating place such as *da lá* ‘from there’ (4.31; the antonym is *de*

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<sup>7</sup> It should be underlined that FC is an educated bilingual speaker who uses Portuguese on a daily basis due to his profession. Moreover, the presence of the diphthong in *koiza*, instead of CVSV *koza*, suggests that *uma koiza* is an instance of intrasentential code mixing, an observation that applies to (4.30) as well.

*li* ‘from here’) and time (4.32). This cluster, inherited from Portuguese,<sup>8</sup> is fully integrated in the grammar as can be seen by the ungrammaticality of the starred forms.

- (4.31) *Ma dpos k N seí da lá, agóra es dzurí kel káza.* (AL)  
 but after REL 1SG leave of there now 3PL abandon DEM house  
 ‘But after I had left from there, then they abandoned that house.’  
 \* *de lá*

- (4.32) *El te trubaiá plumanhan y da tard.* (FF)  
 3SG TMA work in.the.morning and of afternoon  
 ‘He works in the morning and in the afternoon.’ \* *de tard*

The use of *da* in time and place adverbials discussed above should be distinguished from the code-mixing occurrence of *da* in the speech of educated bilingual speakers. This is often triggered, as in (4.33), by the formality of the topic of the conversation, i.e. the evaluation of teachers in one of the institutions of higher education in Mindelo.

- (4.33) ... *el fazê un esposison da matéria mut interesant.* (KS)  
 3SG make DET exposition of+DEF.ART.F content very interesting  
 ‘...she made the exposition of the subject very interestingly.’

iii. *Portuguese plural definite feminine article: as*

In CVSV, the Portuguese feminine definite article *as* appears in a time adverbial *asves* ‘sometimes’ (cf. Ptg. *as vezes*), a structure (4.34) which is parallel to the adverbials *un ves/kel ves* meaning ‘once upon a time, in the old days/ at that time’ (4.35).

- (4.34) *Asves, ten un mnin k ten kabésa...* (JCG)  
 sometimes have DET child REL have head  
 ‘Sometimes there is a clever child...’

- (4.35) *Es namor d’un ves!* (GL)  
 these love.affair of+DET time  
 ‘These love affairs of the old days!’

Other expressions in CVSV that preserve fossilized use of the feminine singular *a* and plural definite article *as* from Portuguese are lexicalized chunks such as adverbials: *astantas* ‘suddenly’, *destazóra* [diftɐ'zɔɾɐ] ‘at this time’ and a question word *kazóra* [kɐ'zɔɾɐ] ‘what time, when’. All these forms are pronounced with one primary stress and are not parsed by native speakers. They can’t be interpreted as recent developments triggered by contact with Portuguese; on the contrary, they are old items, with parallel structures well attested in other Portuguese based creoles (cf. *ezɔr* ‘(at) this time’ in Korlai Creole Portuguese (Clements and

<sup>8</sup> In accord with Lyons (1999: 66) the contraction of a noun–phrase–initial definite article with a preceding preposition constitutes a common process cross-linguistically.

Koontz-Garboden 2002: 210) and some of them are actually becoming obsolete such as the interrogative word *kazóra* which is being replaced by *kondê* ‘when’.

iv. *Portuguese singular masculine definite article: o* [u]

The Portuguese singular definite masculine article appears in CVSV in set expressions such as the discourse connector *usigint* ‘the following’ (4.36) or in question words *ukê* ‘what’ (4.37) and in the comparative particle *duki* ‘then’ (4.38) (cf. Ptg. *o seguinte, o que, do que*). It should be noted that these structures are common even among the most basilectal monolingual speakers.

- (4.36) *Nha infânsia li na Lonb Tank foi usigint...* (JAL)  
 1SG.POSS childhood here in Lonb Tank COP the.following  
 ‘My childhood here in Lonb Tank was the following...’

- (4.37) *Es ten grása d’konprendê ukê k un psoa te kontá-s.* (EL)  
 3PL have yearning of+understand what COMP DET person TMA tell-3PL  
 ‘They [the interviewers] want to understand what one is telling them.’

- (4.38) ... *es tenp li te amdjor duki kel lá...* (AL)  
 this time here COP better than that there  
 ‘...the time now is better than the one [colonial] before...’

### 4.3 Possessives and Possession

This subsection presents possessives paradigms and possession in CVSV.<sup>9</sup> CVSV presents two types of possessives: possessive determiners and possessive pronouns (cf. Table 4.1). CVSV possessive paradigms diverge in form and properties from their Sotavento counterparts analyzed in Veiga (1995: 165-168), Quint (2000: 173-176), Lang (2001: 245-247), and Baptista (2002: 59-61).

**Table 4.1 Possessives in CVSV**

POSSESSIVE DETERMINERS				POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS	
	Singular	Plural	Gloss		Gloss
1SG	<i>nha</i>	<i>nhas</i>	‘my’	<i>d’meu, d’minha</i>	‘mine’
2SG	<i>bo</i>	<i>bos</i>	‘your’	<i>d’bo, d’bósa</i>	‘yours’
2SG (polite)	<i>bosê</i>	<i>bozes</i>	‘your’	<i>d’bosê</i>	‘yours’
3SG	<i>se</i>	<i>ses</i>	‘her/his’	<i>d’seu</i>	‘hers/his’
1PL	<i>nos</i>	<i>nos</i>	‘our’	<i>d’nos</i>	‘ours’

<sup>9</sup> For possessives and possession in CVSV see APiCS features 2, 37, and 38.



(continuation)

2PL	<i>bzot</i>	<i>bzot</i>	‘your’	<i>d’bzot</i>	‘yours’
2PL (polite)	<i>bozes</i>	<i>bozes</i>	‘your’	<i>d’bozes</i>	‘yours’
3PL	<i>ses</i>	<i>ses</i>	‘their’	<i>d’seus</i>	‘theirs’

As in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 59), CVSV possessive determiners do not agree in gender with the NP they modify. They precede the NP and may co-occur with a numeral as in (4.39b). The choice of singular or plural possessive determiner indicates the number of the possessed (*nha bot* ‘my boat’ vs. *nhas fidj* ‘my children’ as in 4.39a). The modified noun takes, in this way, a plural reading without an additional overt morphological marking via morpheme -s.

- (4.39) a. *N fká napéska li napéska denha bot má nhas fidj.* (FD)  
 1SG stay on fishing here on fishing of 1SG.POSS.SG boat.SG with 1SG.POSS-PL child.SG  
 ‘I stayed here fishing in my boat with my children.’

- b. *Nhas dos irmã...* (DDL)  
 1SG.POSS-PL two sister.SG  
 ‘My two sisters...’

This process, however, is not obligatory, as the number of what is possessed can be inferred from the wider syntactic context. In (4.40a and b) both sentences are grammatical and synonymous.

- (4.40) a. *Es e nha amig.* (DR)  
 3PL COP 1SG.POSS.SG friend  
 b. *Es e nhas amig.*  
 3PL COP 1SG.POSS-PL friend  
 ‘They are my friends.’

The process of indicating the number of the possessive in CVSV differs significantly from the basilectal variety of Santiago where, according to Lang (2001: 246), the number of what is possessed is systematically marked on the noun while the number of the possessors is expressed by the corresponding possessives as in (4.41a) (cf. also examples in Veiga 1995: 167). Also Baptista (2002: 60) states that number in the Sotavento varieties can be expressed on the possessed (4.41b) and that cases of double plural marking are not uncommon (4.41c.).

- (4.41) a. *si kása* vs. *si kásas* (Lang 2001: 246)  
 3SG.POSS.SG house.SG 3SG.POSS.SG house-PL  
 ‘his/her house’ ‘his/her houses’

b. *nha*                      *fidjas*                      (Baptista 2002: 60)  
1SG.POSS                  daughter-PL

c. *nhas*                      *fidjas*                      (ibid.)  
1SG.POSS-PL          daughter-PL  
‘my daughters’

I haven’t registered in CVSV cases of the morphological marking of the plural on the possessed but not the possessive determiner. This is due to the general strong tendency in CVSV to indicate plurality on the left-most element in the NP (cf. section 4.4.1). Moreover, semantic constraints such as animacy of the noun and phonological constraints may explain why the possessed is unlikely to take the plural morpheme in CVSV. In (4.42) the form *\*fidjs* [‘fidʒʃ] would be unacceptable due to the creation of an invalid in CVSV type of coda cluster (i.e. a voiced affricate followed by a voiceless fricative; cf. also subsections 4.4.4 and 4.4.5 below).

(4.42) *Bo ta kriá bos fidj/\*fidjs k’ónra...* (AR)  
2SG TMA bring up 2SG.POSS-PL child.SG/\* child-PL with+honour  
‘You bring up your children to be decent...’

Ambiguity as to the number of the possessed arises in cases of multiple possessors (i.e. 1pl, 2pl, and 3pl persons), as illustrated in (4.43) and (4.44). This is generally solved by contextual information.

(4.43) *Uns ta morá na ses káza.* (SS)  
some TMA live in 3PL.POSS house  
‘Some live in their house/houses.’

(4.44) *Es tinha ses investment li.* (MLD)  
3PL had 3PL.POSS investment here  
‘They had their investment/investments here.’

As mentioned above, double plural marking with a possessive is possible in CVSV but is limited in the corpus to kinship terms such as (4.45).<sup>10</sup>

(4.45) *nhas irmons*                      ‘my brothers’  
1SG.POSS-PL brother-PL  
  
*nhas padrins*                      ‘my godparents’  
1SG. POSS-PL godfather-PL

<sup>10</sup> These nouns stand high in the Animacy Hierarchy, i.e. are more likely to be marked for plural than other [+human] nouns. However, I have not found a single occurrence of plural marking on highly frequent human nouns such as *amdjer* ‘woman’ or *fidj* ‘child’. This issue is discussed in more detail in sections 4.4 and 4.6.

Apart from adnominal possessive determiners CVSV displays also pronominal possessives linked to the possessed by adposition, with the adpositional phrase following the possessed (cf. Table 4.1). These comprise a preposition *de* ‘of’ (contracted to *d’*) and an independent personal pronoun (*d’nos* ‘ours’, *d’bzot* ‘yours’) or a preposition and a special pronominal form such as *d’meu*, *d’minha* ‘mine’ or *d’seu* ‘his, hers’. They express the number of the possessor and may function as pronouns (4.46) given that they appear independently where the possessed noun is not present but can be inferred from the context (4.46b). This characteristic of forming PPs is typical of full NPs (4.46d) and justifies the classification of postnominal possessives as pronouns. The main semantic function of these constructions is to emphasize the pronominal possessor.

- (4.46) a. *Es káza e d’kenhê?* (DS/NL)  
 DEM.SG house COP of+whom  
 ‘Whose house is it?’

- b. *(E) d’meu/d’minha* ‘(It’s) mine’  
 c. *\*Nha* ‘my’  
 d. *E d’Maria.* ‘It’s Maria’s.’

The first person singular prepositional form is derived from the Portuguese adnominal possessive (*minha* ‘my (F)’ and *meu* ‘my (M)’ where the gender of the possessive must agree with the possessed noun (*a minha casa* ‘my house (F)’ vs. *o meu tio* ‘my uncle (M)’). Contrary to Veiga (1995: 166), who claims that these forms agree in gender with the possessed in the São Vicente variety, my corpus and grammatical tests show that possessives do not agree in gender with the possessed in CVSV (4.47-48).

- (4.47) *N po-l lá na káza d’es irmã d’minha/d’meu.* (LSS/LL)  
 1SG put-3SG there in house of+DEM sister-F of+1SG.POSS  
 ‘I put her [my daughter] there in the house of my sister.’

- (4.48) *Enton, un tio d’meu/d’minha kriá-m.* (LMF/DR)  
 then DET uncle-M of+1SG.POSS bring.up-1SG  
 ‘Then, an uncle of mine brought me up.’

As to the non-pronominal expression of possession, creole languages present a wide range of structures (cf. Holm and Patrick, eds. 2007). These include:

- i. *Juxtaposition*: Possessor Ø Possessed *John book* or Possessed Ø Possessor *book John*
- ii. *Adposition or case*: *the book of John* or *John’s book*
- iii. *Possessor pro-Possessed*: lit. *John his-book*

Structure i. in creoles is likely to be modeled on substrate languages. Many Portuguese-based creoles, the CVC variety of Santiago and even some rural varieties of BVP present the constructions according to the juxtaposition pattern i.e. possessed Ø possessor, as in (4.49):

(4.49) *kaza* \_\_\_\_ *Maria* (BVP; Holm 2004: 104)

In contemporary CVST three constructions are possible (4.50a-c):

(4.50)a. Adposition (PREP *di*) ...*káza di prufesor* ‘the house of a teacher’ (Lang et al. 2002: 381)

b. Adposition (PREP *l*) ...*káza-l mai béntu* ‘the house of the wind’s mother’ (ibid: 689)

c. Juxtaposition ...*káza Ø Nhánha Tóri Fin di Mundu* ‘the house of the lady *Tóri Fin di Mundu*’ (Lang et al. 2002: 726)

It has been assumed that the oldest structure is (4.50c) while (4.50a and b) represent later evolution due to the contact with the lexifier, *-l* being a phonetic variation of *-d*. However, Lang (2009) in his comparison of the structures of West African languages (especially Wolof) with those of CVST has proposed a different development path suggesting that *-l* comes from a West African classifier and that all three structures may have coexisted since the inception of the Santiago variety (Lang 2009: 136-138).<sup>11</sup>

In CVSV, unlike the Sotavento varieties, simple juxtaposition of possessor and possessed is not possible. In the possessor noun phrases, the possessor follows the possessed; the construction is invariant and the presence of the preposition *de* ‘of’ is obligatory (contrast 4.51a and b):

(4.51) a. *N bá morá na káza de nha avô...* (LM)  
1SG go live in house of 1SG.POSS grandfather  
‘I went to live in the house of my grandfather.’

b. \**N bá morá na káza Ø nha avô...*

None of the earlier available texts on CVSV suggests that structures other than (4.51a) existed in the variety; for instance, in Frusoni (1979) prepositions are used systematically in structures such as *tanque d’ága* ‘a water deposit’ or *farnel d’garôte* ‘the picnic of the boy’ (Frusoni 1979: 133, 97). This fact also has implications on the morphology of compounds like adjunct nouns such as *na boka noti* ‘at dawn’, which are possible in the variety of Santiago (Jungbluth 2003) but are ungrammatical in CVSV:

<sup>11</sup> “À la rigueur, les trois ont pu coexister dès l’origine.” (Lang 2009 : 138).

- (4.52) ... *bá d'noit, bóka da not...* (AMD)  
           go of+night mouth of +night<sup>12</sup>  
           ‘...I went during the night, at dusk...’

#### 4.4 Number

The aim of this section is to present processes related to plural marking in CVSV. Firstly, in 4.4.1, basic pluralization strategies are presented. Secondly, 4.4.2 presents examples of morpheme *-s* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century CVC texts and grammars, data that have often been ignored or dismissed by creolists but which can cast light on the origins of plural inflections in CVC and the functions and distribution of the morpheme *-s* in modern CVSV. Then, the functions and meanings encoded by bare nouns in CVSV and their relationship to pluralization are discussed in 4.4.3 while double plural marking is analyzed in 4.4.4. Finally, the relationship between inflectional plural marking and decreolization will be tackled in subsection 4.4.5.

##### 4.4.1 Basic pluralization strategies in modern CVSV

The simplest and most common number system is based on the opposition singular-plural, plural referring ‘to more than one real - world entity’ (Corbett 2000: 20).<sup>13</sup>

Like many other creoles and partially restructured vernaculars such as BVP (Holm 2004), CVSV tends to mark plural number economically, i.e. on the first item in an NP. This first element can be any of the following (i. to vii):

- i. *The plural indefinite article: uns*

- (4.53) ... *dá-l uns kartux k tá jdá-l...* (MF/2)  
           give-3SG ART.INDEF-PL cartridge REL TMA help-3SG  
           ‘... (she) gave him some cartridges that would help him.’

- ii. *The plural definite article: kes*

Though the interpretation of *kes* as a plural demonstrative or plural definite article is not always straightforward (cf. subsection 4.2.2.2) in (4.54) the definite plural article *kes* used in an associative context gives a plural reading to the definite and specific noun.

- (4.54) *Es táva bá bská kmida d'txuk na káza d'kes purtuges.* (LL/MFF)  
           3PL TMA go bring food of+pig in house of+ ART.DEF.PL Portuguese  
           ‘They would go and bring food for the pigs from the house of the Portuguese.’

- iii. *The plural demonstrative: kes*

<sup>12</sup> Diachronically, the preposition *da* originated as a contraction of the Portuguese preposition *de* and the definite article *a*. It occurs in fixed prepositional phrases such as *da tard* ‘in the evening’ or *da not* ‘at night’ and is best explained as a variant of the preposition *de*. Cf. sub-section 4.2.2.3 on fossilized Portuguese articles in CVSV.

<sup>13</sup> For number related features in CVSV cf. *APiCS* features 14, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 27.

- (4.55) *Es rapás d'liseu, k tá fazê kes koza prá lá.* (EL)  
 DEM.PL boy of+high school REL TMA make DEM.PL thing up there  
 ‘These boys from the high school that used to make those things up there.’

iv. *The plural demonstrative: es*

- (4.56) *Mergulhadores, es mergulhador tá mufiná zóna d'péska.* (OA)  
 scuba.diver-PL DEM.PL scuba.diver TMA destroy zone of+fishing  
 ‘Scuba divers, these scuba divers have spoilt the fishing areas.’

v. *Plural possessive determiner*

- (4.57) ... *nhas fidj tanben ten fom.*<sup>14</sup> (FP/2)  
 1SG.POSS-PL child also have hunger  
 ‘...my children are also hungry.’

vi. *A numeral*

If the first element in the NP is a numeral, the noun tends not to be marked inflectionally for plural. This is a strong tendency independent of the nature of the noun, which can be [+human] as in (4.58) or [-animate] units of time (4.59), a currency or a measurement as in (4.60):

- (4.58) *N ten oit, N ten sink mótx, tres féma.* (FD/1)  
 1SG have eight 1SG have five male three female  
 ‘I have eight [children], I have five boys, three girls.’

- (4.59) ... *bo tá seí volta d'seis óra...* (AR)  
 2SG TMA leave about of+six hour  
 ‘...you/one would leave about six o'clock...’

- (4.60) *Y kel ot d'frent pezá kuát kil y mei.* (AR)  
 and the other of+front weigh four kilogram and half  
 ‘And the one [born] first weighed four and a half kilos.’

However, instances where a noun takes the inflectional plural marking in spite of the preceding numeral also occur. This, however, seem to be restricted to the noun *anus* ‘years’.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the form marked for plural *anus* can only refer to the age (4.62) and not a period of time (4.63) in which case singular form *óne* ‘year’ occurs.

- (4.61) *Nha mãi ben morê de oitent y sink anus.* (MGM)  
 1SG.POSS mother come die of eighty and five year-PL  
 ‘My mother died when she was eighty-five years old.’

<sup>14</sup> As noted in section 4.3, NP's where the possessive determiner is singular and the noun is marked inflectionally for plural are marginal in CVSV.

<sup>15</sup> In my whole corpus there is not a single instance of plural marking on time units such as *óras* ‘hours’ (attested in CVST, Baptista 2002: 40) or units of measurement such as *toneladas* ‘tons’, or *kils* ‘kilos’ used after a numeral.

- (4.62) *N ten un mótx te vivê na Portugal, diazá, vint y oit óne.* (VC)  
 1SG have one male TMA live in Portugal long.time.ago twenty and eight year  
 ‘I have a son living in Portugal, since a long time ago, twenty-eight years.’

The origin of this apparent exception to the rule is the set expression *fazê anus* ‘have a birthday’, borrowed from Portuguese (*fazer anos*), where the form of *óne* ‘year’ appears in plural as in (4.63). Note also that the plural form is not phonologically integrated: in this case \**ónes* ‘years’ would be the expected form.

- (4.63) *Un irmão d’minha konvidá-m, kom el fazê anus.* (JAL)  
 DET brother of+1SG.POSS invite-1SG as 3SG make year-PL  
 ‘A brother of mine invited me as it was his birthday.’

Though a numeral is generally followed by a noun not marked for plurality, the presence of a numeral does not prevent the plural marking of the preceding determiner, functioning in (4.64) as a quantifier.

- (4.64) *Es éra uns kuát rapás...* (SS)  
 3SG COP some four boy  
 ‘They were some four boys...’  
 \* *Es éra un kuát rapás...*

vii. *A quantifier*

- (4.65) *Alguns, alguns koza N ka sabia...* (SL)  
 some-PL some-PL thing 1SG NEG knew  
 ‘Some, some things I didn’t know.’

However, a quantifier may remain singular while the modified noun has the plural marking as in (4.66):

- (4.66) *Nãu, tinha algun psoas... nãu tuds.* (JSC)  
 NEG had some person-PL NEG all-PL  
 ‘No there were some people, not everybody.’

Note that the prenominal (4.67) or postnominal (4.68) position of the quantifier does not affect the morphological plural marking of the noun.

- (4.67) *Li ten txeu bot.* (JCG)  
 here have many boat  
 ‘There are many boats here.’
- (4.68) *Li, n’es kósta li, tinha váka txeu.* (AMD)  
 here on+this coast here had cow many  
 ‘On this coast here there were many cows.’

As in the case of numerals, the presence of a quantifier marked for plurality does not preclude the previous determiner from taking plural marking:

- (4.69) *N trabaiá n'uns poks vapor ma so na kzinha...* (AO)  
 1SG work on+some-PL few-PL steam but only in kitchen  
 'I worked on several steamships but only in the galley.'

Another factor that can trigger the plural reading of an NP not marked inflectionally for plurality is a wider syntactic context. In (4.70), the third person plural subject pronoun is co-referential with the noun phrase in the predicate, and in (4.71) the plural possessive *nhas* in the prepositional phrase conveys the plural reading not only of the noun it modifies but also of the whole NP.

- (4.70) *Es fui primer psoa e k txgá na Nórt d'Baia.* (VER)  
 3PL COP first person FOC REL arrive in Nórt of+Baia  
 'They were the first persons who arrived in Nórt d'Baia.'

- (4.71) *Amdjer k N ten e amdjjer de nhas fidj te fazê-m kmida.* (IS)  
 woman REL 1SG have COP woman of 1SG.POSS-PL son TMA make-me food  
 'The wife that I have are wives of my sons, preparing my food.'

Moreover, a bare noun not marked for plurality may be interpreted as plural as in (4.72), an issue that is discussed in more detail in subsection 4.4.3 below.

- (4.72) *Asves es tá kontrolá amdjjer grávida ma já non.* (SE)  
 sometimes 3PL TMA control woman pregnant but already NEG  
 'Some time ago they used to check pregnant women but not now.'

Finally, the strategy of marking plural number via reduplication or 3PL pronoun used as a nominal plural marker common to many creoles (Holm 2000a: 215, Holm and Patrick, eds. 2007) is absent in CVSV.

#### 4.4.2 The morpheme *-s* in CVC: a diachronic perspective

Until recently, most creolists assumed that an inherent part of restructuring was the loss of any inflectional morphemes from the lexical donor language in any pidgin or creole language. However, given recent counter-evidence, this characterization of restructuring is no longer tenable (Holm 2008).

The phenomena of number agreement and plural suffixation on nominal stems are not categorically absent in either CVSV or other CVC varieties. In the contemporary Sotavento varieties, inflectional plural marking constitutes a well-attested process (Lang 1990 and 2001; Baptista 2002, 2003a and 2007a).

In the Sotavento varieties, the form of the plural suffix is *-s* [s] after roots ending in a vowel: *ómi* ['ɔmi] 'man' vs. *ómis* ['ɔmis] 'men' or *-is* [is] after roots ending in a consonant:



*rapás* [re'pas] 'boy' vs. *rapásis* [re'pasis] 'boys' (Quint 2000: 153). In CVSV the form is *-s* [ʃ] in roots ending in a vowel like *ninha* ['niɲe] 'girl' vs. *ninhas* ['niɲeʃ] 'girls', and *-es* [ɛʃ] in roots ending in consonants, e.g. *profsor* [prof'sor] 'teacher' vs. *profsores* [prof'soriʃ] 'teachers'. Given the reduced character of the close central vowel and the general tendency for deletion of unstressed vowels in CVSV, the plural suffix can take the allomorph [ʃ] creating complex codas as in *petif* 'a scruffy person' vs. *petifs* 'scruffy persons'.

What is the explanation for the presence of this morpheme? Already in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Lopes da Silva noted that in CVC nouns may take plural inflection, but he attributed this fact to the 'educated influence' (1957: 130).<sup>16</sup> It has also been assumed that this process is more common in the Barlavento varieties, particularly in CVSV "due to the more intensive contact with Portuguese" (Veiga 1982: 140), and that it is best explained as a 'hypercorrection' (Veiga 1982) triggered by the superstrate pressure in a diglossic situation and indicative of decreolization, an impression that has been strengthened by the apparent variability of the marking.

This assumption is undermined by several facts. First, the inflection *-s* is well attested in what are considered more basilectal contemporary Sotavento varieties and in the closely related Portuguese-based creole of Guiné-Bissau (Holm and Swolkien 2009). Second, it is present in all available 19<sup>th</sup> century texts and grammars of the Santiago variety as can be seen in the following examples:

(4.73) <i>dôs fója_</i> vs.	'two sheet of paper' vs.	(Coelho 1880-86: 5)
<i>dôs companheiros</i>	'two companions'	(ibid.: 8)
<i>sês empregado_</i> vs.	'his servants' vs.	(Coelho 1880-86: 6)
<i>nha cabalos</i>	'my horses'	(ibid.: 17) <sup>17</sup>
<i>cuzás chéó</i>	'things many'	(Coelho 1880-86: 6)
<i>ghentes chéó</i>	'persons many'	(ibid.: 7)
<i>nubris</i>	'clouds'	(Brito 1887: 350).
<i>...qui brancos ta fassê li</i>	'that the whites do here'	(Schuchardt 1888: 313)

From the above examples it can be concluded that already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century animate nouns were more likely to take the plural inflection, and that the presence of the plural morpheme *-s* is by no means a recent phenomenon and that it could well have originated at the beginning of the formation of CVC in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, the contexts in which

<sup>16</sup> "O emprego, aliás esporádico, do substantivo no plural deve atribuir-se à influência culta".

<sup>17</sup> Note that this example is parallel to contemporary *nha katxoris* 'my dogs' in CVST (Lang *et al.* 2002: 744) and shows that the marking of the possessed noun and not possessor for plurality in the Santiago variety, discussed in section 4.3, is not a recent phenomenon.

inflectional plural marking occurs in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (4.73) do not differ essentially from those attested for the modern Sotavento varieties. It is also clear that the Animacy Hierarchy can explain why some nouns are more likely to take the plural marker –s.

#### 4.4.3 Plural marking and bare nouns in CVSV

Bare nouns and their interpretational variability in creole languages have received a lot of attention in recent years (e.g. Baptista and Guéron, eds. 2007) and bare nouns in the Sotavento varieties are the subject of some fine-grained analyses (Alexandre and Soares 2004, Baptista 2002 and 2007a).

In subsection 4.4.1 above, contexts in which the noun was not marked morphologically for number, the notion of plurality being conveyed by the modifiers or by the wider syntactic context, were presented. In this section, I will present cases where bare nouns, i.e. nouns without any modifier, may take plural readings. I will show the possible interpretation of bare nouns in relation not only to number but also to definiteness.

As has been shown in subsection 4.2.2 above, the use of articles is optional in CVSV as bare nouns can convey meanings such as:

i. *Singular definite specific*

- (4.74) *Kafê ta na ménza.*<sup>18</sup> (DR)  
 coffee COP on table  
 ‘The breakfast is on the table.’

ii. *Singular indefinite specific*

- (4.75) ... *k tá dsprendá agá txeu... k tá fazê posa.* (MGM)  
 COMP TMA fall water a.lot COMP TMA make puddle  
 ‘... that plenty of water used to fall down [the rocks]...that [the water] would form a puddle.’

In (4.75) there is a bare mass noun while *posa* ‘puddle’ has indefinite but specific reading known to the speaker.

iii. *Generic*

- (4.76) *Galinha ta kmê midj.* (DR)  
 hen TMA eat corn  
 ‘Hens eat corn.’

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<sup>18</sup> One of the contexts that favour the occurrence of bare nouns is prepositional phrases because the “specific identity of nouns inside PPs is often not important” (Bruyn 1995: 264) even if the noun has a definite reference. Lyons gives various examples of languages that favour bare nouns in prepositional contexts (Lyons 1999: 51).

iv. *Plural definite specific*

(4.77) *N fazê dos pósta... dá kriansa, kriansa tá spendê afórsa.* (AR)  
 1SG make two slice gave child child TMA grow with.power  
 ‘I used to make two slices [of tuna]...gave [them] to the children, the children would grow fast.’

(4.78) *Mnin d’agóra, kond no te na konversa, kel óra k es te ben!* (AMD)  
 child of+now when 1PL COP in talk this hour REL 3PL TMA come  
 ‘Today’s children they always come when we [adults] are talking!’

v. *Plural indefinite non-specific*

(4.79) *No tá konprá ropa, no tá konprá brink.* (GL)  
 we TMA buy clothes, we TMA bought earring  
 ‘We used to buy clothes, we used to buy earrings.’

Having examined the several possible readings of bare nouns in CVSV, cases where a bare noun takes a plural inflection will be analyzed.

In the monolingual speech of the *Rabeladu* community of Santiago, representing probably one of the most basilectal varieties of CVC, the plural marking on bare nouns (and on nominal stems in general) affects human nouns exclusively (Baptista 2002: 39). This observation is based on the Animacy Hierarchy, presented below, which is founded on the notion that “as we move rightwards along the Animacy Hierarchy, the likelihood of number being distinguished will decrease monotonically (that is with no intervening increase)” (Corbett 2000: 70).

**Figure 4.1 The Animacy Hierarchy**

speaker	>	addressee	>	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	>	kin	>	human	>	animate	>	inanimate
(1 <sup>st</sup> person pronouns)		(2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronouns)										

(Corbett 2000: 56)

In CVSV bare nouns denoting [+human] referents are also the most likely to carry the morpheme *-s*, as shown from (4.80) to (4.83).

(4.80) *Á N panhá senpr profsores e k te spresá dret.* (DD)  
 TMA 1SG get always teacher-PL FOC REL TMA express well  
 ‘I have always got teachers that express themselves clearly.’

(4.81) *...k psoas malkriód ka te prendê.* (AMD)  
 ...COMP person-PL rude NEG TMA learn  
 ‘...rude people don’t learn.’

(4.82) *Maltas te bá konvivê asin lá, ma es e tud kul asin.* (DP)  
 group-PL TMA go socialize this.manner there but 3PL COP all cool this.manner  
 ‘Well, we go there to socialize, but, well, they are all cool.’

- (4.83) *Kel tenp lá, es táva ranjá **namorods**<sup>19</sup> éra d'skundid.* (VER)  
 that time there 3PL TMA arrange lover-PL FOC of+hidden  
 'In that time, the love affairs were arranged secretly.'

The plural inflection appears also on inherently plural nouns (4.84-4.85) that are related to the kinship system.

- (4.84) *Es te ben d'kór, ben trazê **noivus** na káza.* (VC)  
 3PL TMA come of+car come bring newlywed-PL in house  
 'They come by car, [they] bring the newlyweds home.'

- (4.85) *Asin, N pdí **maióres**...* (PL)  
 this way 1SG ask elder-PL  
 'Therefore, I asked the elders...'

The second group of BNs that are likely to be marked for plural are those denoting [+animate] entities as in (4.86). Note, however, that here inflectional number marking is optional.

- (4.86) *Galinha, **pork(u)s**, e kes lá k no táva kriá.* (AR)  
 hen pig-PL FOC these there REL 2PL TMA rear  
 'Hens, pigs, these were [the animals] we used to rear.'

Finally, [-animate] BNs may carry the plural inflection as in (4.87) and (4.88). This process, which defies the principle of the Animacy Hierarchy discussed above, especially when BNs are not only [-animate] but also [-concrete], requires a more complete explanation.

According to Baptista (2002), Sotavento varieties other than *Rabeladu* speech, in which number inflection is expressed exclusively on human nouns, may mark inanimate nouns for plural when they are definite/specific or framed in the context of episodic tense "meaning that they are relevant to the speaker's past or present experience" (2002: 40).<sup>20</sup> This seems to be true for CVSV (4.87) as well, but there are also instances where this explanation does not apply. In (4.88) the noun is not definite or specific but rather generic and it is not framed within the episodic tense.

- (4.87) *Nãu, ka tinha más konpanhia, nãu send **konpanhias** d'oliu.* (JAL)  
 NEG NEG had more company NEG be company-PL of+oil  
 'There were no more companies here, only the oil companies.'

<sup>19</sup> *Namores* 'love affairs' is another [-animate] and abstract noun likely to appear in plural form as a bare noun. *Lá, bo tá fká k **namores**.* (VC) 'So, the love affair would be settled.'

<sup>20</sup> Baptista suggests that BNs such as *kondisons* 'conditions', *brokinhus* 'little holes', *kuzas* 'things', *lugares* 'places', take plural inflection because the episodic tense affects their interpretation as referential (2002: 40-41).

- (4.88) ... *konprá un bokód d'ropa bnit, fazê viajens, es koza asin.* (AGF)  
 buy DET a.lot of+cloths nice make travel-PL DEM things like.this  
 '... buy a lot of nice cloths, go traveling, well, things like these.'

There are, therefore, other factors that need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, abstract BNs marked for plural appear more frequently in the speech of bilingual speakers, such as students, which is partly due to more formal topics of conversation as the social issues discussed in (4.89a and b). As observed by Duarte (1994), Cape Verdean students develop significant linguistic competence in certain semantic domains in Portuguese but not in Creole. Therefore, it is difficult for this bilingual group "to find creole expressions for the logical constructions that have been elaborated in Portuguese." (Duarte 1994: 31).<sup>21</sup>

- (4.89)a. ... *meius d'komunikasãu tanben te transmití-l.* (FF)  
 mean-PL of+communication also TMA transmit-3SG  
 '...the media also transmit it [the idea].' (cf. Ptg. *meios de comunicação*)
- b. ... *tanben duénsas seksualment transmisível.* (FF)  
 also illness-PL sexually transmitted  
 '...also sexually transmitted diseases.' (cf. Ptg. *doenças sexualmente transmissíveis*)

This process of borrowing can also be observed in the professional technical jargon used by two nurses with higher education while delivering a talk in CVSV to a group of elderly patients in a local health centre in (4.90a and b) where the borrowing of Portuguese plural morpheme (not integrated phonologically) is clear.

- (4.90) a. *konplikasões de diábet* (FS)  
 'diabetes' complications' (cf. Ptg. *complicações de diabete*)
- b. *sináis de poliglisémia* (AB)  
 'signs of polyglycemia' (cf. Ptg. *sinais de poliglicémia*)

But [-animate] abstract BNs marked for plural are not exclusive to these more formal conversational contexts and topics as they occur also in the informal speech of basilectal speakers.

- (4.91) *N ka te oiá maneras, porke vivê na sidad...* (LSS)  
 1SG NEG TMA see way-PL why live in city  
 'I can't see the ways of living in the city...'

<sup>21</sup> Lopes (2011) study of bilingual students shows that though the use of CVC is extending to the formal domains, topics related to social issues are among those likely to be discussed in Portuguese.

However, in the available corpus there is not a single occurrence of a plural *-s* on some highly frequent and basic human nouns like *amdjer* ‘woman’ or *fidj* ‘child’ that would produce the forms *\*amdjer(e)s*, *fidj(e)s* parallel to the Sotavento forms *amdjeris* ‘women’, *fidjus* ‘children’ which are widespread. I do not find a convincing explanation for this apparent anomaly. What this may suggest is that apart from syntactic and semantic explanations, other factors, such as phonotactic constraints and possible fossilization of borrowed plural forms (cf. *nubris* ‘clouds’ attested for Santiago in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Brito 1887: 350 and quoted in 4.73) must be taken into account while analyzing plural inflections.

#### 4.4.4 Double plural marking in CVSV

In this subsection, cases where both the modifier and the noun are morphologically marked for number will be presented.

As observed by Baptista (2002: 38) in the Sotavento varieties, in rare instances, both the determiner and the noun carry the plural marker but only when their referent is [+human]. This tendency is also present in CVSV:

- (4.92) *Es tá fazê konvit kes dâmas y rapás tal dia tinha un fésta.* (VC)  
 3PL TMA make invitation DET.PL lady-PL and boy that day had DET party  
 ‘They would invite the ladies and on the given day the boys had a party [ready] ...’

- (4.93) *Enton, uví, tinha kes psoas k tinha kes livr...* (AMD)  
 then listen had DET.PL person-PL REL had DET.PL book  
 ‘Then, listen, there were the people who had those books...’

There are however a few cases where nouns from the bottom of the Animacy Hierarchy (i.e. concrete or abstract inanimates) carry the plural number forming canonical agreement (i.e. redundant rather than informative, Corbett 2006: 11).

One possible explanation of this process can be priming, where the use of an overt plural marking is triggered by the appearance of the morpheme *-s* on the preceding bare noun as in (4.94):

- (4.94) ... *vapor éra barkus, kes barkus d’fer inorm...* (JAL)  
 steam COP ship-PL DET.PL boat-PL of+iron huge  
 ‘...steamships were ships, those huge steel ships...’

Other are borrowed set phrases where the number agreement is directly transferred from Portuguese into CVSV.

- (4.95) ... *k nos pais [...]* *el ka ten asin grand(e)s fund(e)s.* (DP)  
 that our country 3SG NEG have this.way big-PL resource-PL  
 ‘... our country [...] it does not have many resources.’ (cf. Ptg. *grandes fundos*)

It seems that the frequency of the item is relevant as well. In (4.96) gender and number agreement is possible because the adjective *boa* ‘good.F’ is one of the most frequently used adjectives and together with the form *bons* ‘good.M-PL’ (4.97) represents one of the very few instances of number inflection on adjectives in CVSV.<sup>22</sup> Note that in (4.89 b) above, a borrowed and a relatively infrequent adjective *transmisível* ‘transmitted’ is kept singular.

- (4.96) ... *alen de grinhasin no ten boas relações k Portugal.* (DD)  
 apart from nowadays 2PL have good.F-PL relation.F-PL with Portugal  
 ‘...apart from [the fact that] nowadays we have good relation with Portugal.’ (cf. Ptg. *boas relações*)

- (4.97) *Bo tá konsultá, es tá pasó-b bons medikaments.* (PE)  
 2SG TMA consult 3PL TMA give-2SG good-PL medicine-PL  
 ‘You would consult [the doctor], you would be given good medicines.’ (cf. Ptg. *bons medicamentos*)

#### 4.4.5 Pluralization and decreolization

It seems that apart from the principle of the Animacy Hierarchy which, given the 19<sup>th</sup> century data presented in 4.4.2, has been operating for a long time in CVC, the occurrence of number agreement and plural marking on [-animate] BNs can be explained not only by syntactic and semantic reasons. Extra-linguistic factors such as contact with the lexifier and borrowings may explain why some nouns in CVSV are more prone to show singular vs. plural inflectional opposition and number agreement.

One of the sources of the spread of the morpheme *-s* to [-animate] and abstract BNs could be fixed and well integrated in CVSV Portuguese lexicalized expressions such as *grasas a Deus* ‘thanks to God’ (4.98) or proper names containing plurals such as (4.99).

- (4.98) *Nhas fidj, grasas a Deus, nunca durmí sin jantá.* (TR)  
 1SG.POSS-PL child thank-PL to God never sleep without supper  
 ‘My children, thanks to God, never went to bed without supper.’

- (4.99) ... *ma grinhasin el te trubaiá na Simentus d’Kab Verd.* (DD)  
 but nowadays 3SG TMA work in cement-PL of+Cape Verde  
 ‘...but nowadays she works for *Cimentos de Cabo Verde*’.

<sup>22</sup> In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lopes da Silva (1957: 130) asserted that adjectives in CVC are not inflected for number and he explained any such inflections as due to the influence of Portuguese.

In (4.100) the entire fixed expression is borrowed from Portuguese including the plural suffix and the Portuguese preposition *en* <*em* ‘in’. Moreover, in (4.101) the form of the plural suffix is borrowed from Portuguese as well. We would expect \**kondisãus* as a plural of singular *kondisãu* ‘condition’ and not stem alternation, as is the case. Interestingly in the whole corpus there is not a single occurrence of this noun in its singular form, which adds another argument in favor of the interpretation of this kind of noun as borrowings which are not easily explained by the Animacy Hierarchy.

- (4.100) *N podê ten prubema en termus d’adaptasãu...* (DD)  
 1SG can have problem in term-PL of+adaptation  
 ‘I can have problems in terms of adaptation...’ (cf. Ptg. *em termos de adaptação*)

- (4.101) *Vida, ka táva en kondisõis.* (JAL)  
 life NEG COP in condition.PL  
 ‘Life, there was no possibilities.’ (cf. Ptg. *em condições*)

This interpretation is further strengthened by the fact that in (4.102) it is modified by a singular determiner violating agreement in the speech of a bilingual student of Portuguese studies (note the Portuguese conditional verb form *teria*).

- (4.102) *N teria k pensánanha mãi, dá-l un kondisõis devidaamdjor.* (DD)  
 1SGCOND COMPhink in 1SG.POSSmothergive+3SGDETcondition.PLof life better  
 ‘I would have to think about my mother, provide her with better living conditions.’

This process of borrowing nouns together with their plural inflections is parallel to the adaptation of Anglicisms into CVSV as in (4.103a and b) where an English noun ‘boy’ is borrowed in its plural form ‘boys’ receiving, nonetheless, a singular noun treatment in CVSV.

- (4.103) a. *Bá txmá kel bois lá!* (NL)  
 go call DET.SG boy.SG there  
 ‘Go and call that guy there!’

- b. *un bois/tres bois* ‘one boy/three boys’ (DR)

It seems obvious that the analysis of the inflectional plural marking cannot be limited to syntactic and semantic criteria and dissociated from the communicative and pragmatic contexts of the individual interview from which the linguistic data is extracted, or from the socio-linguistic situation of the speakers. To illustrate this point consider the following two examples.

An eight-year-old girl from a Mindelo suburb came for the interview with a rigid formality appropriate for a school setting. When asked in CVSV what her teacher was teaching the children during the Portuguese classes she produced, as a response, sentence (4.104), which is not a case of code mixing (for which she does not yet have sufficient proficiency in



Portuguese) but rather a case of direct transfer and adaptation of Portuguese lexicon and morphology into CVSV structure.

- (4.104) *El te dá kes verbus, kes* (SFP)  
 3SG TMA give DEM.PL verb-PL DEM.PL
- pronomes kes nomes kolektivus, proprius y komuns.*  
 pronoun-PL DEM.PL noun-PL collective-PL proper-PL and common-PL  
 ‘She teaches [us] the verbs, the pronouns, the collective, proper, and common nouns.’ (cf. Ptg. *Ela dá os verbos, os pronomes, os nomes colectivos, próprios e comuns.*)

A very similar case is presented in (4.105); a four-year-old toddler from the suburbs with no access to Portuguese but who attends a kindergarten where the teacher (with varying success) insists on speaking Portuguese, when asked what he was learning answered:

- (4.105) *No te prendê nom d’tud kes ilhas de Kab Verd.* (WL)  
 1PL TMA learn name of+all DEM.PL island-PL of Cape Verde  
 ‘We learn the names of all the islands of Cape Verde.’ (cf. Ptg. *Aprendemos os nomes de todas as ilhas de Cabo Verde.*)

These examples illustrate the process analyzed in Duarte (1994). Due to schooling being exclusively in Portuguese, speakers from a very early age (but to a very variable degree) develop competence only in Portuguese in semantic areas related to education and find it difficult to separate the two codes and express in CVC concepts that have been studied exclusively in Portuguese. Also Lopes’s (2011) extensive sociolinguistic survey shows that CVC is extending to formal domains and that the majority of young bilinguals are conscious of the interference of Portuguese into their speech. This process, however, does not offer a satisfactory explanation of all cases of the inflectional plural marking discussed above.

Another case which shows that an individual’s sociolinguistic attitudes cannot be ignored is DP, a male teenager with eight years of education from the suburbs of Mindelo, who explicitly admits that “he likes speaking Portuguese” and in whose speech the *-s* marking is spreading to previously unattested contexts (such as plural marking on quantifier *txeu* in 4.106) which have been considered ungrammatical by other native speakers.

- (4.106) ... *El te dzê txeus koza asin pa abuz.* (DP)  
 3SG TMA say many-PL thing this.way for mockery  
 ‘...She says many things just to mock.’

How can we systematically relate these findings about the inflectional plural marking with what we know about decreolization in CVC? Ferreira (2004), working within a variationist approach in order to determine what linguistic and social factors may contribute to *-s* marking in

CVC (the Santiago varieties) and BVP, arrives at a series of conclusions, most of which confirm the descriptions and predictions in Baptista (2002). Its relevance to this section is that proficiency in Portuguese seems to indicate a tendency towards adopting the morphology of the lexifier, and Ferreira paid special attention to this issue. Her results suggest, however, that the differences in inflectional plural marking between educated and less educated speakers are not significant, and they are less important than those between older and younger speakers, which could indicate a possible change in apparent time toward Portuguese. However, as the author states, her sample was not large enough for the result to be conclusive.<sup>23</sup>

Duarte (1998: 55) considers that “apart from exceptional cases” (which she does not specify or exemplify) the nouns in CVC that carry the mark of plurality may be considered indicative of decreolization. However, cases of inflectional plural marking are not exclusive to CVC and are not necessarily best explained by decreolization. There are attested cases of extension of plural marking in other creoles and pidgins and according to Mühlhäusler, in Tok Pisin, “the route of the extension of plural marking to more and more contexts is not influenced by the lexifier or substrate language but rather reflects universal semantic and pragmatic factors, such as animacy and pragmatic relevance” (cited in Bruyn 1995: 262). Finally, Pereira (1992a) analyzes the way syntactic parsimony operates in CVC and suggests that:

[...] An issue to be studied in regard to the process of decreolization which, in spite of being limited to some more educated groups and, especially, to some more formal communicative situations, does exist in Cape Verde is: *to what extent do acrolectal speakers and the discourse they produce show or not less grammatical and lexical parsimony?* From the analysis of the discourse which represent an advanced stage of assimilation to Portuguese it seems possible to infer [...] that the Portuguese grammatical morphemes [...] are the last to be acquired. In this way, [...] we could foresee that the principle of parsimony formulated above will persist, even in markedly decreolized speech in Cape Verdean Creole. (Pereira 1992a: 150).

## 4.5 Adjectives

This section discusses the distribution and other selected properties of adjectives in modern CVSV, constituting an introduction to the issue of gender marking and agreement analyzed in section 4.6.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> This study presents some methodological problems being conducted among speakers born in Cape Verde but living on the East Coast of the United States and therefore uprooted from their natural speech environment and forming a particular social, cultural, and economical class not necessarily representative of speakers in Cape Verde.

<sup>24</sup> For adjectives in CVSV cf. also APiCS features 3, 8, 40, and 74 (on agreement).

Adjectives in CVSV occur in three syntactic contexts: attributive, i.e. directly modifying the noun (4.107a); predicative, i.e. as complement of the copula (4.107b), and as secondary predicates (4.107c.).

- (4.107) a. *Un rótxa **grand**.* (MDL)  
 DET rock big  
 ‘a big rock’
- b. *Bo téra e **mut** **sab**!* (JAL)  
 2SG.POSS land COP very nice  
 ‘Your country is very pleasant!’
- c. *Pátxa txá pórtá **abért**.* (DR)  
 Pátxa leave door open  
 ‘Pátxa left the door open.’

Adjectives may be preceded by a degree word like *mut* ‘very’ (4.107b). Like those in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 66), adjectives in CVSV do not agree with nouns in number.<sup>25</sup> Under specific conditions, they show, however, some agreement with nouns, an issue that will be analyzed in more detail in section 4.6.

In CVC in general, adjectives are typically placed post-nominally (Baptista 2007a: 85). Nonetheless, there is a small class of high frequency adjectives that can be placed pre-nominally. The change of the syntactic position of an attributive adjective affects its semantics: *un **grand** amig* ‘a good friend’ vs. *un amig **grand*** ‘a friend who is a big person’. It should be noted that this process is only possible with [+human] nouns. The reduplication of adjectives, which exists in the Santiago variety (Baptista 2002: 70-71), is not a productive word formation process in CVSV. The same applies to nominal reduplication in CVSV, hence the absence, in this chapter, of a separate section dedicated to this topic.

Reduplication of NPs shows several patterns in the Sotavento varieties (cf. Baptista 2002: 70-71, Baptista 2003b). However, this process, considered a hallmark of Creole languages (Farquharson 2007: 22), is practically absent in CVSV with the exception of onomatopoeic *kon-kon* ‘knock-knock’ or ablaut reduplication in expressions such as *zig-zag* ‘zig-zag’, *tik-tak* ‘tick-tock’ or productive reduplication used in the formation of nicknames (*nominha*) such as: *Sisí* < Maria Auxília, *Lulú* < Luis, *Bibia* < Maria, *Naná* < Juana, *Titín* < Celestino).<sup>26</sup> In CVSV, if the reduplication of adjectives occurs, it does not change the lexical meaning or word category and

<sup>25</sup> Exceptional cases were described in subsection 4.4 above.

<sup>26</sup> For a detailed discussion of the formation of hypocoristic forms in CVC cf. Baptista (2003b).

it has merely an intensifying function.<sup>27</sup> It can often be considered either a simple word repetition for emphasis (such as *Kel féma e bnita, bnita!* [DR] ‘This girl is pretty, pretty!, where *bnita* is repeated after a pause and each word is stressed independently, or an example of an interdialectal borrowing such as *faxi-faxi* ‘very quickly’ taken from commercial billboards written in the Santiago variety and used by younger speakers of CVSV.

#### 4.5.1 Comparative constructions

In CVSV, the comparative constructions are marked analytically by the use of one of a series of degree words or synthetically by suppletion. The third possible strategy is the combination of the two previous as shown in (4.110).<sup>28</sup>

There are three degrees of comparison. In comparative constructions of equality, the standard is marked by an adverbial *moda* ‘as’ and the adjective is unmarked as in (4.108):

- (4.108) *Kavála e kór moda atun.* (DR)  
 mackerel COP expensive as tuna  
 ‘Mackerel is as expensive as tuna.’

In comparative constructions of superiority the adjective is marked by an adverbial *má(s)* ‘more’ and the standard by one of the available degree words *diki/k/duki/d’k* ‘than’:<sup>29</sup>

- (4.109) *Atun e má(s) kór diki/k/duki/d’k kavála* (DR)  
 tuna COP more expensive than mackerel  
 ‘Tuna is more expensive than mackerel.’

In addition, there is a restricted class of adjectives such as *bon* ‘good’, *mau* ‘bad’ that may use suppletive forms (*amdjor* ‘better’, *pior* ‘worse’), often in co-occurrence with the adverbial ‘more’, to form comparative construction of superiority (4.110):

- (4.110) *Kel lá an’e más amdjor diki mi.* (JSM)  
 DEM.SG there NEG+COP more better than 1SG  
 ‘That one there is not better than me.’ (but cf. *má bon* ‘better’ in 4.22 above)

Like the Sotavento varieties (Lang 2013: 6) comparative constructions of inferiority are avoided. Superlative degree is expressed by the same construction as comparative with a universal standard marked by *k* ‘than’ or *de (d’)* ‘of’ as in (4.111):

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *APiCS* feature 26.

<sup>28</sup> For comparative constructions in CVSV see *APiCS* features 41 and 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Diki*, given its phonetic form that in diachronic terms incorporates the Sotavento preposition *di*, seems archaic to me. The preposition *de* ‘of’ can be omitted in the speech of younger speakers forming comparative constructions of superiority such as *El e más velha k bo*. ‘She is older than you.’ (LL/SFP/2).

- (4.111) *Atun e má(s) kór k/d' tud pex.* (JS)  
 Tuna COP more expensive than/of all fish  
 'Tuna is the most expensive of all fish.'

Superlative degree can also be expressed by suppletive forms such as *ótím* 'the best' and *pésim* 'the worst'.

## 4.6 Gender

It has been traditionally assumed that gender agreement is not a part of the grammar of the Atlantic creoles (Holm 1988-89: 195). However, given the growing development in our knowledge of the structure of pidgin and creole languages over the last twenty years, views on creole morphology, both derivational and inflectional, have shifted profoundly (Plag, ed. 2003 and Plag 2008, Farquharson 2007).

The issue of gender in Creoles is related to the ongoing debates as to the existence of inflectional morphology and the degree of linguistic maturation and complexity of creole languages (McWhorter 2001, Holm 2008). As in the case of article systems and inflectional plural marking, modern detailed descriptions of gender marking in CVC (cf. Baptista 2002: 42-43, 65-70) require us to modify the traditional view of the lack of grammatical gender in CVC.

The goal of this section is three-fold. First, it presents the forms, processes, and conditions related to gender marking and gender agreement in CVC as they are attested in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century literature. Following this, it describes gender agreement in modern CVSV. The CVSV data is contrasted, whenever possible, with the existing data on the Sotavento varieties. Finally, a possible relationship between decreolization and changes that have occurred in relation to gender marking in CVC since the earliest 19<sup>th</sup> century records is discussed.<sup>30</sup>

In discussing gender and agreement, I will adopt Corbett's widely accepted affirmation that the defining characteristic of gender is agreement. The evidence taken only from the nouns themselves (such as affixes) does not indicate that language has genders as this evidence must come from outside the nouns (Corbett 1991: 146). Following Corbett, agreement is defined here as referring to "systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another" (Steele 1978: 610 cited in Corbett 2006: 4); the element which determines the agreement is the 'controller' and the element whose form is determined by agreement is the 'target' (Corbett 2006: 4).

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<sup>30</sup> For gender in CVSV see also APiCS feature 117.

#### 4.6.1 Gender marking in CVC: a diachronic perspective

As has already been stressed in this dissertation, the importance of the few available historical records of CVC has often been overlooked in contemporary linguistic analyses.<sup>31</sup> This section will therefore present a short overview of the available historical records in relation to gender in CVC.<sup>32</sup>

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Coelho (1880-86: 7) observed that in the Santiago variety the natural gender of animate nouns was marked by free morphemes, e.g. *minino fêmea* 'child female', i.e. 'daughter' (ibid.) and that the variety of Santiago lacked adjective-noun gender agreement. He considered the Portuguese masculine form to act as the default gender in CVC. Coelho's observations are partially corroborated by the fact that gender agreement is absent from the short texts presented in Schuchardt where even [+human] nouns are modified by masculine adjectives as e.g. *qui tem móças fajhado* 'that have beautiful women' (1888: 314). However, Coelho overlooks (or omits for the sake of generalization), cases that preserve Portuguese agreement patterns such as (4.112) which are present in the texts on which he bases his analyses.

(4.112) a. *má scója* 'bad.F choice.F' (Coelho 1880-86: 6)

b. *máo tratós* 'bad-M treatments.M' (ibid.: 12)

c. *un caza branca* 'a white-F house.F' (ibid.: 14)<sup>33</sup>

Among the very few available historical descriptions of CVC, Brito (1887) is definitely the most valuable one. In his very lucid analysis of the Santiago variety Brito distinguishes three classes of nouns:

- i. nouns that distinguish natural gender by forming lexical pairs such as *galu-galinha* 'rooster-hen'
- ii. nouns marked for natural gender by free morphemes such as *mininu-machu*, *mininu-femia* 'boy-girl'
- iii. all other nouns (which Brito calls 'inanimate') that remain in the genderless class

Bruto claims that noun-adjective agreement in CVC does not exist (Bruto1887: 349-351). However, in his own translation of a Portuguese poem into CVST there is the construction:

<sup>31</sup> But see Pereira's articles on CVC (for instance 1993a and b) and Quint (2008a).

<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed analysis cf. Holm and Swolkien (2009).

<sup>33</sup> Example (4.112c) of agreement between the inanimate noun and an adjective is particularly striking given that it would be considered unacceptable even by modern speakers of allegedly decreolized São Vicente variety but comes from a supposedly basilectal riddle. We cannot exclude it being due to lack of attention of the transcriber - data supplier. Coelho himself points out that caution is needed when dealing with these texts.

*rapariga soltêra* 'a single-F girl (F)' (Brito 1887: 394). Sporadic occurrences of adjective agreement with animate nouns also appear in the riddles which one assumes to be basilectal: *nha baka preta* 'my black-F cow (F)' (Brito 1887: 398).

Some forty years later, probably in the 1920's, Fernandes, in his still unpublished manuscript of CVC grammar lists pairs such as *menina nóba* 'a young-F girl (F)', *mudjer bėjha* 'an old-F woman (F)', *rapariga bonita* 'a pretty-F girl (F)' where adjectives agree with [+human] nouns (Swolkien 2009).

From the above data it can be concluded that adjectival gender agreement in 19<sup>th</sup> century CVC might have been less widespread than the use of plural marking referred to in section 4.4.2 but it did exist. These first grammars of CVC attest, moreover, a tendency towards gender agreement between adjectives and animate (especially human) nouns.

#### 4.6.2 Gender in modern CVSV

This subsection describes gender marking and agreement in modern CVSV. It begins by presenting strategies of natural gender marking, i.e. denoting the sex of the referent in the real world (subsection 4.6.2.1) and, subsequently, conditions and constraints of gender agreement in CVSV (subsection 4.6.2.2) and the relation between gender and decreolization in 4.6.2.3.

##### 4.6.2.1 Natural gender marking

In natural gender systems the gender of the noun can be predicted "without reference to its form" based on its meaning (Corbett 1991: 9). In CVSV one way of indicating the gender of the referent is via lexical pairs such as *māi* 'mother' vs. *pai* 'father' denoting males and females. Another way to mark natural gender in CVSV is via pairs like those presented below in (4.115) which could be interpreted as instances of derivational morphology.

- (4.115) a. kinship terms    *tiu – tia* 'uncle – aunt'  
                                   *net – néta* 'grandson – granddaughter'  
                                   *noiv – nóiva* 'groom – bride'
- b. titles                *snhor – snhóra* 'Mr – Mrs.'  
                                   *duk – dukéza* 'duke – duchess'
- c. professions       *kuznher – kuznhéra* 'cook(M) – cook-F'  
                                   *funsionar – funsionára* 'civil servant(M) – civil servant- F'  
                                   *aguader – aguadéra~aguadéira* 'waterman – waterwoman'

- d. nationalities *kabverdiane – kabverdiána* ‘Cape Verdean (M) – Cape Verdean-F’<sup>34</sup>
- e. ethnic groups *mandják-mandjáka* ‘African (M) – African-F’

This limited number of examples presents a variety of suffixes, analysis of which surpasses the scope of this dissertation. It should be noted that majority of the pairs in (4.115) are doubly marked for gender due to the opening of the tonic vowel in the feminine forms (a tendency which is also present in EP morphology). Also, the pair *mandják – mandjáka* (a pejorative denomination for any person from continental Africa) presents an interesting case of a borrowed West-Atlantic root to which the CVSV suffix *-a* has been added, proving that it is clearly segmentable by native speakers and confirming the productivity of this morpheme in gender marking.

In addition, natural gender in modern CVSV can be marked not via bound morphemes but with the post-posed free morphemes *féma* ‘female’ and *mótx* ‘male’ as in *gót féma* vs. *gót mótx* ‘female cat vs. tomcat’. This process has been assumed to be an example of substrate influence in Atlantic creoles in general (Holm 2000a: 216, Holm and Patrick eds. 2007) and it is also well attested by the 19<sup>th</sup> century texts in CVC. However, in modern CVSV it is restricted to a few [+animate] nouns while [+human] pairs such as *\*vendedor mótx* vs. *\*vendedor féma* (JA) ‘male vendor vs. female vendor’ are evaluated as clearly ungrammatical in favor of grammatical pairs with a suffix for a female referent such as ‘*vendedor – vendedóra*’ (but cf. special case of *filha féma* ‘daughter female’ discussed below). The distinction between female and male human referents represents one of the basic distinctions in a language. It should be noted, however, that not all kinship terms in CVSV have female and male counterparts. *Vovo* is used to designate both grandfather and grandmother (cf. CVST *dónu – dóna* ‘grandfather – grandmother’) and does not admit free morphemes which are felt to be archaic by the native speakers. Instead of unacceptable forms such as *\*vovo mótx – \*vovo féma*, circumlocutions such as *pai de nha mãi* ‘father of my mother, i.e. my grandfather’, are used to clarify the sex of the referent.

In relation to natural gender marking with animal nouns, two strategies can be observed in modern CVSV. With domestic animals the sex distinction may be shown lexically through pairs such as *gól – galinha* ‘rooster – hen’ or *váka – bóí* ‘cow – bull’ or through post-posed sex-marking free morphemes *txukin mótx – txukin féma* ‘male piglet – female piglet’.<sup>35</sup> As to rarer

<sup>34</sup> Words designating nationalities may work both as nouns and adjectives triggering agreement as in: *O ken sabê, d’kultura kabverdiána* ‘And who knows, about Cape Verdean-F culture.F’ (DD).

<sup>35</sup> The word *txuk* ‘pig’ and *txukin* ‘piglet’ seem to be a CVSV creation from the Alentejo dialectal expression *Estás gordo como um texugo*. ‘You are fat as a badger.’



animals, it is expressed either via free morphemes *elefant mótx* – *elefant féma* ‘male elephant – female elephant’, which is the most common strategy, or via sex-marking suffixes borrowed from Portuguese such as *tigre* – *tigrésa* ‘tiger–tigress’ of limited productivity. It is also interesting to observe that compounds such as *makók mótx* – *makók féma* ‘male monkey – female monkey’ that refer to the sex of the animal while formed with free morphemes change their meaning and refer exclusively to a human being when a suffix is added: *makáka* ‘a woman who cheats’.

In CVSV, as in dialectal and archaic Portuguese, the lexemes *mótx* and *féma* can also stand alone (4.116). Moreover, instead of pairs such as *mininu fémia* ‘lit. child female i.e. daughter’, common in the Sotavento varieties (Quint 2000: 329), the double gender marking, such as *filha féma* ‘female daughter’ represents a very common strategy, even among basilectal speakers (4.117).

- (4.116) *N ten oit, N ten sink mótx y tres féma.* (FD/1)  
 1SG have eight 1SG have five male and three female  
 ‘I have eight, six sons and three daughters.’

- (4.117) *N ten kuát filha féma, N ten tres fidj mótx.* (MGM)  
 1SG have four daughter female 1SG have three child male  
 ‘I have four daughters, I have three sons.’

The strategies discussed above serve to denote natural sex of the referent and do not constitute a gender system in the language, as there must be morphosyntactic evidence outside the nouns themselves such as agreement as defined above in section 4.6. Next subsection will focus on the issue if the category of gender can be diagnosed in CVSV through word external evidence, i.e. agreement between nouns and adjectives.

#### 4.6.2.2 Agreement

The analysis of agreement begins with the behavior of adjectives in relation to the first group of controllers – human nouns. In contemporary Sotavento varieties agreement between an adjective and [+human] noun is optional (Baptista 2002: 66).

The situation is substantially different in modern CVSV where gender agreement is obligatory between adjectives and [+human] nouns as shown by the ungrammaticality of starred forms in (4.118)

- (4.118) *El ta stód senpr má un snhóra skura, un musin brónk piknin.* (LL/AR)  
 3SG TMA COP always with DET lady-F dark-F a boy.DIM white little  
 ‘He is always with a dark lady, a little white boy.’ cf. *un snhóra \*skur/\*brónk*.

The same is also true if the noun takes a plural suffix as in (4.119a and b) as gender agreement in CVSV is not constrained by number.

- (4.119) a. ... *ainda ten mnininhas nova/\*nov k ten fidj tanben.* (LL/AR)  
 ... still have girl.F-PL young-F/young(M) REL have child also  
 ‘...there are still young girls who have children.’
- b. *dos mnininha bnita \*bnit* ‘two pretty girls’

In CVSV adjectives agree in gender systematically with [+human] nouns even when they are not adjacent, i.e. in cases of long agreement as in (4.120).

- (4.120) *Ah, nha irmã d’dez óne, el e malándra.* (FF)  
 ah, 1SG.POSS sister-F of+ten year 3SG COP naughty-F  
 ‘Ah, my ten-year-old sister, she is naughty.’

In (4.121) the agreement controller is absent and the adjective agrees with the feminine [+human] noun (recovered from the context) referring to it anaphorically.<sup>36</sup>

- (4.121) *Ai! Koitáda!* (AR)  
 ai poor-F  
 ‘Ah, poor [woman]!’ cf. *Ai, koitód!* ‘Ah, poor man!’

Moreover, [+human] nouns tend to agree with lower ordinal numbers (4.122a and b), which according to Corbett can be considered a type of derived adjective functioning cross-linguistically as an agreement target (2006: 42). It should be stressed that cases of the agreement of an ordinal number with the [-animate] etymologically feminine noun as in (4.123a) should be considered a compound borrowed from Portuguese (note also that *primera* ‘first grade’, *sgunda* ‘second grade’ may function also as nouns cf. 4.122c).

- (4.122) a. *São k e sgunda filha.* (MFF)  
 ‘São, who is the second daughter.’
- b. ...*sgund óne d’insin superior* (DD)  
 ‘...the second year of higher education.’
- c. *Ál fazê sgunda.* (JA)  
 ‘She has already completed the second grade.’
- d. *Primer novéla k no kmesá te oiá lá...* (TR)  
 ‘The first soap opera that we started to watch there...’

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<sup>36</sup> This example can also be interpreted as a case of category change, i.e. from adjective *un amdjer koitáda* ‘a poor woman’ to noun *un koitáda* ‘a poor thing.F’, where the noun obligatorily agrees with the sex of the referent (cf. Baptista 2002: 67 for the Sotavento varieties).

- (4.123) a. *Kónd no tá trá quarta kras<sup>37</sup> es tinha k trá-nos de skóla...* (IF)  
 when 1PL TMA study fourth-F grade(F) 3PL had COMP take-1PL from school  
 ‘When we studied the fourth grade they [parents] had to take us out of school...’

b. cf. *Ivan e kuát fidj* (DR) ‘Ivan is the fourth child.’

As noted by Baptista (2002: 69), gender agreement of predicative adjectives in the Sotavento varieties is obligatory with subject pronouns to avoid ambiguity; this applies to CVSV as well, as in (4.124) and (4.125).

- (4.124) *Y bosê e bnita.* (FC/AMD)  
 and 2SG COP pretty-F  
 ‘And you are pretty.’ [referring to a female] cf. \**Y bosê e bnit*.

- (4.125) *El tiv so kuát fidj, el e kazáda.* (VC)  
 3SG had only four child 3SG COP married-F  
 ‘She had only four children, she is married.’

Moreover, an adjective modifying a potentially ambiguous noun must agree with the referent to avoid ambiguity; cf. (4.126), the speaker of which is female:

- (4.126) *Enton, desd mnin es dzê-m: bo podê dá un boa jornalista.* (KS)  
 then since child 3PL tell-1SG 2SG can give a good.F journalist  
 ‘Then, since I was a child I was told: You can be a good journalist.’ cf. \**un bon jornalista*

Example (4.126) contrasts clearly with Baptista’s findings, which show that in the Sotavento varieties in some contexts adjectives like *bon* does not tolerate agreement with human nouns (cf. \**Paula e un boa studanti* vs. *Paula e un bon studanti* ‘Paula is a good student’, Baptista 2002: 68).

As for gender assignment in conjoined NPs in CVSV, this is another feature which suggests that gender agreement in CVSV is not an unsystematic process. Adjectives agree with conjoined feminine [+human] nouns (4.127) but when a masculine and feminine noun are conjoined the assigned gender is the etymological masculine, independently of their semantic features, as in Portuguese; cf. (4.128) and (4.129):

- (4.127) *Maria má Floribéla e bnita.* (DS/NL)  
 Maria and Floribela COP pretty-F  
 ‘Maria and Floribela are pretty.’

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<sup>37</sup> Note how this apparently acrolectal syntactic feature is combined with a very basilectal pronunciation with the alternation of liquids. Note also that the lack of agreement would produce an ungrammatical structure \**kuat kras*.

- (4.128) *Nha káza y nha amdjer e bnit.\*bnita* (DS/NL)  
 1SG.POSS house and 1SG.POSS wife COP beautiful.M  
 ‘My house and my wife are beautiful.’

- (4.129) *Nha pai má nha mãi e bedj.\*bedja* (DS/NL)  
 1SG.POSS father and 1SG.POSS mother COP old.M  
 ‘My father and my mother are old.’

Another argument that corroborates the analysis that gender agreement in CVSV is becoming a productive feature is the process of coining new words and accommodating recent Anglicism. As shown in (4.130) native speakers naturally parse gender suffixes in CVSV and apply them to foreign roots.

- (4.130) *El e un amdjer xouénta!* (DS/NL)  
 3SG COP DET woman(F) showy-F  
 ‘She is a flamboyant woman!’ cf. *un óm xouent* ‘a flamboyant man’ (from Eng. ‘showy’)

Finally, gender agreement in CVSV between proper nouns and pronouns in subject position and past participle forms in the predicative position should be taken into consideration.<sup>38</sup> The masculine form works as the default gender and this rule applies without exception to [+/-animate] nouns and pronominal forms. This phenomenon is illustrated by the examples below, all with a female referent:

- (4.131) *N fui ben kriód.* (MJF)  
 1SG COP well raise.PTCP  
 ‘I was well raised.[female speaker]’ cf. *Ana/Nha filha fui ben \*kriada.*

- (4.132) *Á N tá txeu abituód.* (VER)  
 already 1SG COP much accustom.PTCP  
 ‘I was already much accustomed. [female speaker]’ cf. *Á N tá txeu \*abituada.*

- (4.133) ... *mamã tanben táva preokupód.* (MAF)  
 mother also COP worry.PTCP  
 ‘...mom was also worried.’ cf. ....*mamã tanben táva \*preokupada.*

The behavior of past participles contrasts sharply with that of adjectives, which agree with [+human] nouns as in (4.134):

- (4.134) *Senpr N foi un aluna aplikáda.* (DD)  
 always 1SG COP DET pupil.F diligent.F  
 ‘I was always a diligent pupil.’ cf. *Senpr N foi un aluna \*aplikód.*

<sup>38</sup> Participles are analyzed in section 5.1.2 in chapter 5.

The default masculine form of the past participle in CVSV may cast some light on the issue regarding the status of the passive morpheme *du* and *da* in the Sotavento varieties. In the Sotavento varieties, passives are formed by the use of the *-du* inflection on the verb stem (Baptista 2002: 112). Quint (2000) observes that the counterpart of the present passive morpheme *-du* in the Santiago variety is the past passive form of *-da* (2000: 235). However, Baptista considers forms with *-da* such as (4.135) infrequent and best explained as cases of hypercorrections reflecting agreement between subjects (with female referents) and predicates.

(4.135) *N **kiriada** dretu*. ‘I was raised well’ (Santiago, Baptista 2002: 112)

Given what has been said about the lack of this kind of agreement in CVSV even in the speech of bilingual, acrolectal speakers and in spite of the fact that passive constructions with participles in CVSV always include an overt copula (as in Portuguese; cf. section 5.10 in chapter 5), the analysis of Quint (2000) seems correct. Moreover, Lang et al. (2002) provide not a few examples of the usage of *-da* in past passive constructions (such as 4.136) in the Santiago variety, which excludes any possibility of interpreting them as cases of agreement.

(4.136) *Ma ses bens ta **konfiskáda**, ses txon ta **nasionalizáda*** (CVST ; Lang et al. 2002: 72)  
‘But their possessions were confiscated, their land nationalized.’

In CVSV, there exist also a group of adjectives that are uniform such as *grand* ‘big’ or *intelijent* ‘intelligent’. Moreover, in spite of the importance of the noun being [+human], other factors such as the frequency of a given adjective-noun pair or the pragmatic-semantic factors must be taken into account to explain seemingly variable agreement as in (4.137a and b).

(4.137) a. *un **amdjer** **bránka**, **préta**, **brumédja*** (JA)  
DET woman(F) white-F black-F red-F  
‘a white, black, red woman’

b. *un **amdjer** **kastónh**, **marel*** (JA)  
DET woman brown yellow  
‘a brown, yellow woman’ cf. *\*kastánha \*maréla*

The next group of controllers are animate but [-human] nouns. A quick perusal of Lang et al. (2002) permits us to select pairs as in (4.138a) that suggest a prevailing lack of concord with [+animate] nouns in the Santiago variety. Pairs in (4.138b) do not necessarily contradict the tendency; *letera* can only refer to female animals and has no male equivalent, *pintáda* designates a particular species of goat (as in *morêa pintáda* ‘a particular species of a morey’ Lang et al. 2002: 473).

- (4.138) a. *un báka nóbu* ‘a young cow’ (Lang et al. 2002: 485)  
           *un kábra disarmádu* ‘an untied goat’ (*ibid.*, p.139)
- b. *un báka letera* ‘a milk cow’ (Lang et al. 2002: 270)  
      *un kábra pintáda* ‘a kind of goat’ (*ibid.*, p. 508)

In CVSV, animate nouns agree with adjectives when they refer to animal story characters with human characteristics, for example, in the local folk tales such as *Galinha Preta* ‘Black Hen’ (cf. Corbett 1991: 9).<sup>39</sup> As for other animals, the number of the items in my corpus was too restricted to reach any definite conclusions. I performed some focused grammatical tests on this feature and as shown in (4.139); native speakers generally hesitate in evaluating the grammaticality of adjectives agreeing in gender with [+animate –human] nouns.

- (4.139) *Mós, bo ten un kadéla gord/?górda!* (JA)  
           man 2SG have DET bitch fat fat-F  
           ‘Man, you have a really fat bitch!’

*un kadéla bedj/\*bédja* (JA)  
           ‘an old bitch’

*un váka grandon/?grandóna* (NL)  
           ‘a very big cow’

Finally, regarding gender agreement with inanimate nouns, in the Sotavento varieties it occurs only sporadically among basilectal speakers and it is variable (e.g. *Ta ben un padre di kapa branka/kapa branku*. ‘There will come a priest in a white robe.’ Baptista 2002: 67). In CVSV inanimate nouns, as a rule, do not show gender agreement (4.140) and the etymologically masculine form functions as default.

- (4.140) ...*tud akel aventura prigoz.* (MF/2)  
           all that adventure dangerous(M)  
           ‘... all this dangerous adventure’

cf. *un amdjer prigóza* ‘a dangerous-F woman’

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<sup>39</sup> Corbett in his discussion of ‘natural gender systems’ observes that animals may be considered cross-linguistically as persons in folk tales; though there might be an additional morphological clue as to gender (such as agreement) this is just “an additional regularity since the meaning of a noun is sufficient in itself.” (Corbett 1991: 9).

Rare cases of adjective agreement in gender with [-animate] nouns in CVSV do exist, even in the speech of basilectal speakers.<sup>40</sup> Factors other than animacy such as the frequency of an adjective and borrowings should be taken into account to explain the data presented below.

Pairs that show formal agreement between adjectives and nouns are often compounds in toponyms (4.141).

- (4.141) toponyms *Areia Bránka* vs. *Mor Bronk*  
*Pédra Roláda*  
*Vila Nóva*

The frequency of the adjective might also play a role. *Bon* and *boa* are among the most frequent adjectives in my corpus. The feminine form of the adjective *boa* ‘good.F’ is very frequent and it not only agrees regularly with human nouns but it appears in lexicalized expressions borrowed from Portuguese such as *de boa vontade* ‘with good will’, *boa tard* ‘good afternoon’, *boa viagem* ‘bon voyage’(cf. *bon dia* ‘good morning’). It is to be expected that this will be one among the very few adjectives that agree with inanimate nouns as in (4.142) and (4.143), independently of the position in relation to the noun.

- (4.142) N *tinha kabésa boa* ma N *tá pasá kansód*.<sup>41</sup> (VC)  
 1SG had head(F) good.F but 1SG TMA pass tired  
 ‘I had a good head [for learning] but I was very tired.’

- (4.143) *Nos ága, es ága, el an'éra asin kel boa koza, el é saloba*. (TR)  
 our water DET water(F) 3SG NEG+COP well this good.F thing(F) 3SG COP salted(F)  
 ‘Our water, this water, it wasn’t such a good thing, it was brackish.’

Another source of agreement of adjectives with [-animate] nouns seem to be compounds borrowed directly from the Portuguese by educated bilingual speakers. In these cases, the nouns are most often related to the semantic fields of media, science and bureaucracy as in (4.144).

- (4.144) *Ka ten un próva [...], próva nacional, não, próva stérna....?* (LL/AGF)  
 NEG have DET exam exam national NEG exam(F) external-F  
 ‘Isn’t there an exam [...], a national exam, no, an external exam...?’

However, as in the case of number inflections on inanimate bare nouns, this feature can also appear in the speech of basilectal speakers. Note how the set expression in (4.145)

<sup>40</sup> Almada attests a case of adjective agreement with an inanimate noun: *un káza feia* ‘an ugly house’ (Almada 1961: 90). Almada is not specific as to which variety of CVC this structure occurred in. She was born in São Nicolau and educated in São Vicente and Coimbra, so it’s probable that it was in one of these two Barlavento varieties. Note, however, that many native speakers, including bilingual students, to whom I presented this structure considered it ungrammatical.

<sup>41</sup> *Kabésa* is a peculiar noun; it may function as a reflexive and it is used via synecdoche for the entire body, and shares, therefore, human semantic properties.

combines gender agreement with a [-animate] noun with basilectal rural pronunciation of the form of the past copula functioning as a focalizer (*ára*) while in (4.146) there is gender agreement with a noun related to daily life.

(4.145) *Dpos d'independensia já N táva ára trubaiá na **konta** **própria**.* (TR)  
 after of+independence TMA 1SG TMA FOC work on account(F) proper-F  
 'After the independence I was already working on my own account.'

(4.146) *Eh, ker dzer, karpintajen de **madera** **tórta**,...* (AMD)  
 want say carpentry of wood(F) curved-F  
 'Eh, that is, carpentry involving curved wood ...'

Nevertheless, even bilingual university students agree that *madera tort* would be perfectly acceptable forms whereas *káza própria* 'own house' or *konta própria* 'own account' are compounds that function only in their feminine form borrowed from Portuguese.

#### 4.6.2.3 Gender and decreolization

As in the case of inflectional plural marking, agreement in gender in CVC has been explained as a decreolizing phenomenon. In the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lopes da Silva (1957: 131) noticed that gender agreement between adjectives and feminine nouns was becoming more and more common and suggested that it was becoming a part of CVC morphosyntax, unlike number marking on adjectives. More recently, however, Duarte (1998: 55) considers cases of gender agreement even with [+human] nouns as clearly indicative of decreolization in CVC.

Nevertheless, vestiges of gender agreement of adjectives with human nouns are present in other Portuguese based creoles. For instance, in a not related to CVC Malacca Creole Portuguese, which has different substrates and less intensive contact with Portuguese (Baxter 2010). In addition, several French based creoles present gender distinctions based on animacy and gender agreement with adjectives, a process that is more common in varieties in contact with the base language (Neumann-Holzschuh 2006).

At this point it is useful to see how agreement in gender between nouns and adjectives is realized among speakers who could be considered agents of decreolization in CVSV, i.e. those who underwent fairly extensive schooling or who have regular contact with Portuguese (for instance, because of employment) and which they value as a symbol of social status.

These speakers (such as JAL, an elderly male who had very little formal education but who has intensive contact with Portuguese on a daily basis) may show agreement in gender and



in number such as (4.147).<sup>42</sup> These examples are, however, very rare. Though the adjective *bon* may occur sporadically in its plural form *bons* as in (4.148), (4.147) attests the only occurrence of the form *filhus* ‘child-pl’, which many other speakers considered ungrammatical and an interference from Portuguese.

- (4.147) *Purkê e bons filhus, n’e?* (JAL)  
 Because COP good-PL child-PL NEG+COP  
 ‘Because [they] are good children, aren’t [they]?’

- (4.148) ... *éra un português k tá fazê bons sapót li na São Visent.* (AL)  
 FOC DET Portuguese REL TMA make good-PL shoe here in São Vicente  
 ‘...it was a Portuguese who used to make good shoes here in São Vicente.’

Example (4.149) represents a case where agreement between an inanimate abstract noun and an adjective is the product of a technical borrowing from Portuguese by a bilingual speaker in a situation where the use of CVSV is extended to a formal situation and topic:

- (4.149) *No mestê un alimentação ekilibráda.* (FS)  
 1PL need DET diet(F) balanced-F  
 ‘We need a healthy diet.’ (cf. Ptg. *alimentação equilibrada*)

Moreover, examples (4.150) and (4.151) are additional illustrations of the process of borrowing of set expressions from Portuguese, which are often not yet integrated phonologically.

- (4.150) *Ker dzer, mi éra ajudánt d’kór de óbras públikas.* (AL)  
 want say 1SG COP assistant of+car of work.F-PL public.F-PL  
 ‘This is, I was a car helper at the public works.’ (cf. Ptg. *obras públicas*)

- (4.151) *En sertus sentidus, el n’éra amdjor.* (TR)  
 in certain.M-PL sens.M-PL 3SG NEG+COP better  
 ‘In certain aspects it [the colonial time] was not better.’ (cf. Ptg. *em sertos sentidos*)

## 4.7 Pronominals

This section presents an overview of personal pronouns paradigms in the Sotavento varieties as described in the available literature in 4.7.1. Subsection 4.7.2 describes the forms and the distribution of the personal pronouns in the São Vicente variety, and is divided into three parts: in 4.7.2.1 subject pronouns are presented; subsection 4.7.2.2 discusses null subjects and in 4.7.2.3 object pronouns are analyzed. The following parts of this section focus on reflexive, 4.7.3, and reciprocal strategies, 4.7.4, in CVSV.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Baptista observes that in the Sotavento ‘in more acrolectal varieties’ both the noun and the modifying adjective may agree in number (2002: 66).

<sup>43</sup> For pronominal and expletive subjects in CVSV see also APiCS feature 62, 63, 64, and 65.

#### 4.7.1 Personal pronouns in the Sotavento varieties

There are several descriptions available of the personal pronouns in the Sotavento varieties; however, the authors vary considerably as to their classifications and analyses of the pronouns' properties. I will briefly summarize these proposals in order to facilitate the comparison with the São Vicente variety.

Quint (2000: 161-172) divides Santiago personal pronouns into six different series. These are tonic ('*disjoints*') pronouns which are divided into 'initial tonic' (i.e. forms such as *ami*, *abo*, *ael* etc.) and 'simple tonic' (forms such as *mi*, *bo*, *el* etc.). Initial tonic pronouns cannot be followed by a verb: \**a-bo gosta di mi* 'you like me' (Quint 2000: 162) but can be followed by a copula or another pronoun *a-bo bu gosta di mi* 'you like me'. Quint stresses the optional character of the initial tonic pronouns (2000: 163) which can always be replaced by a simple tonic: *bo, bu gosta di mi*. The second main group of pronouns proposed by Quint are atonic 'preverbal or subject pronouns' ('*conjoints*') which are divided into free and enclitics (*libre* and *enclitiques*) and 'postverbal or object pronouns'. Object pronouns are further divided into pronouns that attach directly to the verb stem (*e fla-m* 'he told me') and pronouns attaching to other hosts such as another object pronoun (*e fla-u-el* 'he told you this').

Lang (2001: 244-245) proposes a classification of Santiago personal pronouns into tonic and atonic. Based on the example of *Ael e manda-l el*. 'He sent it to him' (p. 244), he divides tonic pronouns into proclitics (pre-verbal) fulfilling the role of subject (*ael* in the example above) and enclitics (post-verbal; *el* in the above example). Lang (2001) considers *a* in *ael* to be an optional marker of thematic function. Therefore, the structure *El e manda-l el* is also possible. Atonic clitics can be proclitic, like *e* above or enclitic, i.e. immediately after the verb, like *-l* above. Moreover, Lang (2009: 139-142) convincingly demonstrates that this tripartite division of pronouns in the Santiago variety is based on the parallel division in Wolof showing, from a historical perspective, how convergence in form between Portuguese and Wolof pronouns and processes such as analogy have shaped the present pattern of personal pronouns in the Santiago variety.

Baptista's (2002) analysis of pronominal paradigms in CVC constitutes a considerable expansion of her earlier (1997) work. Baptista (2002) accounts in detail for the distribution and nature of CVC personal pronouns (2002: 46-49, 64, 213-254) reaching a series of conclusions whose presentation is beyond the scope of this chapter. In general terms, Baptista (2002) classifies the Sotavento pronouns into strong, weak and clitics, testing the proposal of

Cardinaletti and Starke (1994 and other cited in Baptista 2002: 237). After a series of tests for cliticness (pp. 215-230), she groups clitics into four types: proclitics, enclitics and subject and object clitics with ‘dual citizenship’ (i.e. with different syntactic and phonological hosts, p. 231). As to the distribution of pronominals, in relation to strong, long subject non-clitic pronouns, also labeled as bi-morphemic, in contrast with Quint (2000: 162), Baptista suggests that they may appear in isolation as subject pronouns (*Ami pegá na kel livru li*. ‘I studied this book here.’ p. 50). Moreover, she shows that clitic clustering is banned and that clitics may not combine with an affix (p. 237). Finally, Baptista contends that CVC is a pro-drop language (2002: 263).

Pratas (2004) also bases her division on Cardinaletti and Starke’s (1994) typology but introduces modifications as to the CVC three partite classification proposed in Baptista (1997) in order to account for contexts in which weak pronouns/tonic clitics occur in the positions reserved for clitics and behave as such (Pratas 2004: 58) (cf. Table 4.2 below):

**Table 4.2 Personal pronouns in the Santiago variety** (Pratas 2004: 60)

	STRONG PRONOUNS	WEAK PRONOUNS/ TONIC CLITICS	ATONIC CLITICS
1SG	<i>ami</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>N/-m</i>
2SG	<i>abo</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bu/-u</i>
2SG (polite M)	<i>anho</i>	<i>nho</i>	<i>nhu</i>
2SG (polite F)	<i>anha</i>	<i>nha</i>	<i>nha</i>
3SG (F and M)	<i>ael</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>e/-l</i>
1PL	<i>anos</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>nu</i>
2PL	<i>anhos</i>	<i>nhos</i>	<i>nhos</i>
3PL	<i>aes</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>-s</i>

This is also the classification followed by Alexandre (2009). Finally, Pratas (2007) modifies and re-labels the previous proposal as presented in Table 4.3 below:

**Table 4.3 Personal pronouns in the Santiago variety** (Pratas 2007: 132)

	EMPHATIC FORMS	FREE FORMS	SUBJECT CLITICS	OBJECT CLITICS
1SG	<i>ami</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>-m</i>
2SG	<i>abo</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>-bu -u</i>
2SG (polite M)	<i>anho</i>	<i>nho</i>	<i>nhu</i>	
2SG (polite F)	<i>anha</i>	<i>nha</i>		
3SG (F and M)	<i>ael</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>-l</i>

(continuation)

1PL	<i>anos</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>-nu</i>
2PL	<i>anhos</i>	<i>nhos</i>		
3PL	<i>aes</i>	<i>es</i>		<i>-s</i>

#### 4.7.2 Personal pronouns in modern CVSV

The personal pronoun paradigms in CVSV (Table 4.4) differs significantly from those of the Sotavento varieties presented above.<sup>44</sup> In this subsection, these formal and functional divergences will be commented.

**Table 4.4** Personal pronouns in CVSV

	SUBJECT		OBJECT	
	FREE FORMS	CLITICS	CLITICS	FREE FORMS
1SG	<i>mi</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>mi</i>
2SG	<i>bo</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>-b</i>	<i>bo</i>
2SG (polite)	<i>bosê</i>	<i>bosê</i>		<i>bosê</i>
3SG	<i>el</i>	<i>el</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>el</i>
1PL	<i>nos</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>-nos</i>	<i>nos</i>
2PL	<i>bzot</i>	<i>bzot</i>		<i>bzot</i>
2PL (polite)	<i>bozes</i>	<i>bozes</i>		<i>bozes</i>
3PL	<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>es</i>

What can be observed at the first glance is the frequent lack of morphological distinctions between the different paradigms. I will start the analysis of the above data with subject pronouns.

##### 4.7.2.1 Personal pronouns in subject position

This section describes in more detail the distribution and properties of CVSV personal pronouns in subject position, starting by justifying the classification proposed in Table 4.4.

The free forms here, in concord with Siewierska (2004), are considered independent forms. These pronouns may constitute a separate word, not only from the morphological or

<sup>44</sup> For personal pronouns in CVSV see also *APiCS* features 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18.

prosodic point of view (they take a primary word stress) but also syntactically as they can constitute an utterance as a whole.<sup>45</sup>

The subject free forms in CVSV may be followed by a pause and a subject clitic (with the exception of the copular constructions discussed below) and they are optional as shown in Table 4.5 where example sentences of the use of subject free forms and clitics and their possible combinations in CVSV are provided.

**Table 4.5 Personal pronouns in CVSV: subject position**

	FREE FORMS AND SUBJECT CLITICS		
1SG	<i>Mi, N tmá kafê.</i>	<i>N tmá kafê.</i>	‘I had breakfast.’
2SG	<i>Bo, bo tmá kafê.</i>	<i>Bo tmá kafê.</i>	‘You had breakfast.’
2SG (polite)	<i>Bosê, bosê tmá kafê.</i>	<i>Bosê tmá kafê.</i>	‘You had breakfast.’
3SG	<i>El, el tmá kafê.</i>	<i>El tmá kafê.</i>	‘S/he had breakfast.’
1PL	<i>Nos, no tmá kafê.</i>	<i>No tmá kafê.</i>	‘We had breakfast.’
2PL	<i>Bzot, bzot tmá kafê.</i>	<i>Bzot tmá kafê.</i>	‘You had breakfast.’
2PL (polite)	<i>Boses, boses tmá kafê.</i>	<i>Boses tmá kafê.</i>	‘You had breakfast.’
3PL	<i>Es, es tmá kafê.</i>	<i>Es tmá kafê.</i>	‘They had breakfast.’

Free forms may be conjoined with full noun phrases (*mi má Adriane* ‘Adriane and I’), modified (4.152a) and topicalized as in (4.152b)

- (4.152) a. *Nos dos ten [...] vint y tal óne d’vivê.* (VB)  
 1PL.NONCL two have twenty and more year of+life  
 ‘We two have twenty and something years of life together.’
- b. *Ma el, ál ten más stória pa kontá.* (MGM)  
 but 3SG.NONCL already+3SG.CL have more story to tell  
 ‘But he, he has more stories to tell.’

Clitics are the second group of subject pronouns in CVSV. Standing between full words and bound inflections, clitics are one of the most debated categories in modern linguistic theories, particularly generative approaches. Like inflections, clitics may form a phonological unit with the host-word in enclitic or proclitic position and like full words they are often written separately and take lexical stress (Siewierska 2004: 26). Given that they combine both syntactic and phonological characteristics, what is meant by ‘clitic’ varies from study to study (Halpern 1998). Clitics in the Sotavento varieties have been the object of several theoretical debates and

<sup>45</sup> However, this criterion is according to Siewierska too restrictive (Siewierska 2004: 17).

detailed, fine-tuned analyses (Baptista 1997 and 2002, Pratas 2004 and 2007, Salas Barrena 2006). For the purpose of this section, I will follow more simplified criteria for clitic-hood as proposed by Siewierska (2004: 27-34).

Clitics belong to the group of dependent person markers. Dependent person markers can be classified as: weak >clitic >bound >zero based on their decreasing morphological independence and phonological substance (Siewierska 2004: 21). Dependent forms cannot be stressed, are reduced phonologically and distributionally in relation to independent forms and are often morphologically dependent on another element in the utterance (Siewierska 2004: 16). A clitic is relatively independent of its host, it may attach to different hosts and it is not phonologically integrated into its host. In distinguishing clitics from bound forms, Siewierska considers the variability of the host as the decisive criterion (2004: 34).

In CVSV, subject clitics precede a verb (4.153), a TMA marker (4.154) or a negator in declarative sentences (4.155) while in negative imperative sentences they follow the negator (4.156).

(4.153) *N        **ten**    set    fidj,    set.*    (GL)  
1SG.CL have seven child seven  
'I have seven children, seven.'

(4.154) *No        **táva**    **bá**    pa    mar.*    (OA)  
1PL.CL    TMA    go    to    sea  
'We used to go to sea.'

(4.155) *Se **bo**        **ka**    pud    dá    skóla...*    (AR)  
if 2SG.CL NEG could give school...  
'If you could not educate [your children]...'

(4.156) ***Ka**    **bo**        mordê-l!*    (IL)  
NEG 2SG.CL bite-3SG.CL  
'Don't bite him!'

Examples above show that subject clitics may attach to different hosts. For instance, in (4.153) the clitic is a proclitic attaching to the verb *ten* 'have' while in (4.155) it is an enclitic attaching to the particle *se*.

It is a well attested fact that the copula *e* 'to be' presents a particularity in relation to the pronominal selection in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002, Pratas 2004 and 2007) as it can select only non-clitic pronominals. In CVSV, this principle also applies as shown by the ungrammaticality of the starred forms in (4.157) and (4.158).

- (4.157) ...*k mi N ka ten merid, mi/\*N e viuva.* (VC)  
 ...that 1SG.NONCL 1SG.CL NEG have husband 1SG.NONCL/1SG.CL COP widow  
 ‘...as to me, I don’t have a husband, I am a widow.’

- (4.158) *Nos/\*no e dos no ka prendê alê.* (AMD)  
 1PL.NONCL/CL COP two 1PL.CL NEG learn read  
 ‘We are two [who] didn’t learn to read.’

It should be stressed that while the selection of non-clitic pronominals with the present form of copula *e* is obligatory, with suppletive copular forms it is only a tendency as both clitic and non-clitic pronominals can be selected, as in (4.159) and (4.160a and b):

- (4.159) *Mi foi últim..* (OA)  
 1SG.NONCL COP.PST last  
 ‘I was the last one.’

- (4.160) a. *Kond no éra nov.* (PA-1)  
 when 1PL.CL COP.PST young  
 ‘When we were young.’

- b. *N/Mi fui terser.* (DR)  
 1SG.CL/1SG.NONCL COP.PST third  
 ‘I was the third.’

Note that copula *ta* (used non-locatively with temporary states) selects the same pronominals as verbs and TMA markers in contrast to the copula *e*.<sup>46</sup>

- (4.161) *No/\*Nos ta kupód, Solanj!* (SS)  
 1 PL.CL/1PL.NONCL COP busy Solanj  
 ‘We are busy, Solanj!’

The pronominal paradigms in CVSV summarized in Table 4.4 differ from their Sotavento counterparts. After clarifying terminological options and explaining the distribution of free forms and clitics in subject position, I will comment on these divergences.

The first obvious difference between the Sotavento varieties and CVSV pronominal paradigms are the divergences in form. CVC in general presents a binary politeness distinction, i.e. there are two different pronominal forms in the 2SG and 2PL, one used with intimates and the other with non-intimates. The Sotavento polite pronominal forms *nha* (F) and *nho* (M) are unattested in the CVSV where *bosê* for 2SG (both F and M) and *bozes* for 2PL are used (from Ptg. third person pronoun ‘você’). Unlike the Sotavento varieties, these forms do not make any gender distinction. In addition, forms such as *se* (the equivalent of *bosê*) and *busis* (the

<sup>46</sup> The copulas and pronominal selection are further analyzed in chapter 5, section 5.8.

equivalent of *bozes*) also occurred in the speech of informants, indicating influence of the Santo Antão variety (Lopes da Silva 1957: 132) which is not surprising, given the role that CVSA has fulfilled in the formation of CVSV. In CVSV the forms *nho* and *nha* are used exclusively as nouns (titles) before proper names such as in *Nha Xika* ‘Madam Xika’ where they can be substituted by other formal or professional titles such as *snhóra* ‘madam’ or *profsor* ‘teacher’. The second person plural intimate form in CVSV is *bzot* (from Ptg. *vocês outros* ‘you others’), present also in both Santo Antão (Fernandes 1991) and São Nicolau (Cardoso 1989) varieties.

A striking difference between the pronominal inventories of the Sotavento varieties and CVSV is the absence of the entire paradigm of subject pronouns such as *ami*, *abo*, *ael* (cf. CVST pronouns summarized in Table 4.2 and 4.3). As discussed in section 4.7.1 different labels such as ‘tonic’, ‘strong’, ‘long’, ‘emphatic pronouns’<sup>47</sup> have been used in the literature to describe these forms. Lang considers the element ‘a’ as optional thematic vowel (Lang 2001). Baptista (2002) also designates them as ‘bi-morphemic’ pronouns basing on the fact that they may not be coordinated with another strong long pronoun: *\*abo ku ael* ‘you and him’. This creates a problem of analysis, as strong long pronouns are free forms that behave like words and, therefore, should be able to be coordinated. Baptista proposes to consider the element *a* in strong long, bi-morphemic pronouns – a preposition; since the preposition slot is already occupied by *ku* it cannot occur with *a* (Baptista 2002: 245). Still the term bi-morphemic does not seem to be adequate as these forms are not segmentable in synchronic terms though from the diachronic perspective, according to Quint’s analysis, the initial atonic *a* [ɐ] is derived from the Portuguese preposition *a* [ɐ] (Quint 2000). In addition, Quint suggests that initial tonic pronouns must have been present in CVC since the language’s genesis given their parallel usage in GBC, attestation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese *Língua de Preto* and the presence of dative constructions such as *a mim* in modern Portuguese (Quint 2000: 162-163).

Lipski (1991) in his detailed analysis of the origins of *(a)mi* in Iberian-base pidgins and creoles questions the frequent postulation that in the early stages of creolization the disjunctive object pronouns were assumed to be subject pronouns due to their ‘emphatic character’ and phonological saliency. He observes that both Spanish and Portuguese subject pronouns are optional and nonclitic. Hence, if emphasis is required the subject pronouns (*eu*, *yo*) are used and not disjunctive object pronouns (*mim*). The question that Lipski asks is why then *mi(m)* rather than *eu/yo* appear in subject position in Afro-Iberian pidgins and creoles but not in the later

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<sup>47</sup> This label has been used also in relation to their cognate pronouns in GBC (Holm and Intumbo 2009).



Asian and Latin American pidgins and creoles that adopted Spanish and Portuguese subject pronouns.<sup>48</sup> Lipski argues that it is not because *mi(m)* is emphatic but because several other pronouns are identical in the subject and disjunctive object form. In addition, he argues that other factors such as the well attested use of *mi* in both *Lingua Franca* and 15<sup>th</sup> century Italian dialects as subject pronouns explains the choice of this form. Moreover, there exist parallels between (a) *mi* and the first person singular subject pronouns in West African languages. In a broad cross-linguistic West African group, 1sg begins with /m/ or /n/ and the following vowel is often /i/ or /e/ [e.g. both Wolof (Lang 2009) and Balanta (Holm and Intumbo 2009) has /n/]. Moreover, many coastal languages of Benin, Nigeria and Biafra have *mi* and the strong forms *emi* or *ami*. Therefore, these forms are better interpreted as the result of substrate influence and convergence, rather than the ‘emphatic hypothesis’ (Lipski 1991).<sup>49</sup>

Since the lack of these subject pronouns in CVSV has been overlooked by linguists that refer to the variety (cf. Soares 1947, Lopes da Silva 1957, Almada 1961, Veiga 1982 and 1995, Braga 1982, Pereira 2000a and 2006a) the question that needs to be answered is how CVSV structures such as (4.162) should be parsed? The sequence seems ambiguous and may present two readings:

- (4.162) a. ***Abo***                    *konprendê?* (AL)  
                   ?2SG.NONCL understand
- b. ***Á***    ***bo***            *konprendê?*  
                   TMA 2SG.CL understand  
                   ‘Did you understand?’

A number of arguments suggest that the form in (4.162a) cannot be interpreted as a strong long pronoun *abo* but rather should be read as a cluster of a TMA marker *á* (a variant of *já* ‘already’) and a clitic subject pronoun *bo* (4.162 b).<sup>50</sup>

Phonetically, the initial vowel in the long pronouns in the Sotavento varieties is a close central [ɐ] while in São Vicente it is an open central [a], as in the reduced form of *já* [ʒa] – *á* [a]. Moreover, looking at historical records, from the analysis of Costa and Duarte (1886: 262-265),

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<sup>48</sup> According to Lipski (1991), the difference in form of the subject pronouns, explained by the unique contact with *Lingua Franca* and African languages, is one of the features clearly distinguishing the first group of pidgins and creoles, in which CVC is situated, from later Latin American and Asian contact languages.

<sup>49</sup> See also Kihm (1994: 251) for the similar explanation of the emergence of A-pronouns in GBC.

<sup>50</sup> The presence of *á*, the allomorph of *já*, has also been unnoticed. Development, status, and functions of the marker *já* are discussed in detail in chapter 5, subsection 5.2.4.

the only 19<sup>th</sup> century CVC grammar that makes reference to the Barlavento varieties, it is clear that strong long pronouns were found both in the Sotavento and Barlavento varieties, but the paradigm in the latter was already incomplete. In addition, grammatical tests with native speakers have revealed that the pairs such as in (4.163) are considered synonymous:

- (4.163) *Já bo konprendê?* vs. *Á bo konprendê?* DS/NL  
 ‘Did you understand?’

In addition, *já* and *á* appear alternatively within the range of the same sentence (4.164) or within clearly tensed semantic contexts (4.165).

- (4.164) *Já'l tinhabind d'San Tomé, n'es tenp á'l tinhabind d'San Tomé.* (MJF)  
 TMA+3SGhad come from+SãoTomé in+this time TMA+3SGhad came from+SãoTomé  
 ‘He had already come back from São Tomé; in this time, he had already come back from São Tomé.’

- (4.165) ... *á no ka ta panhá kel tont pex k no pudia panhá un ves.* (PJJ)  
 TMA 2PL.CL NEG TMA catch that much fish REL 2PL.CL could catch once  
 ‘...We can’t catch that many of fish [nowadays] as we could once.’

As shown (4.166) both forms can appear in contiguous position not separated by a pause. If we interpreted *el* as a clitic and *ál* as a strong long pronoun and therefore a non-clitic then the *el ál* sequence would be a violation of the \*clitic/non-clitic constraint proposed by (Baptista 2002: 51) which seems to operate in all CVC varieties.

- (4.166) *Ma el á'l ten más stória pa kontá.* (MGM)  
 but 3SG TMA+3SG have more story to tell  
 ‘But he, he still has more stories to tell.’

Finally, the occurrence of the time adverb *inda* ‘still, yet’ excludes the occurrence of *á* + pronoun sequence, which suggests that *á* is a TMA marker or an adverb meaning ‘already’, not attested in the previous literature on CVSV, followed by a subject clitic pronoun.

- (4.167) \**Á bo ten inda dnher?* (DS/NL)  
 TMA 2SG have still money  
 ‘Have you still got money?’

From the above analysis it is clear that a full paradigm of emphatic pronouns is lacking in CVSV and that with the exception of 1sg and 1pl forms, the free forms in the subject position are morphologically the same as the clitics, differing however by their prosody and syntactic position.

#### 4.7.2.2 Null subjects

The status of CVC with respect to the null subject (i.e. zero person markers) and pro-drop parameter within the generative framework is a much-debated and well studied issue. This subsection briefly summarizes different approaches to the question of null subjects in CVC in general and then presents an analysis of the data in relation to CVSV.

The pro-drop status of CVC was first proposed by Baptista (1997), who in a series of works (e.g. 1999 and 2002) has defended the pro-drop character of CVC based on the following premises:

- i. Expletives (non-argumental subject pronouns) are obligatorily dropped in weather predicates, existential predicates, raising predicates and impersonal passives;
- ii. The third person pronoun (argumental) is preferably dropped with individual level (permanent state) predicates;
- iii. The first and second person arguments may be dropped with stage-level (temporary state; cf. 4.168b) predicates if their antecedents are recoverable in discourse (Baptista 2002: 263).

Baptista's position on the pro-drop nature of CVC is based, among other arguments, on the fact that in the Sotavento varieties, where two distinct forms of 3sg subject pronoun exists, i.e. *el* (weak pronoun/tonic clitic) and *e* (atonic clitic), in copular constructions with *e* (individual-level), the subject pronoun is optional, rendering structures such as (4.168a and b):

(4.168) a. (*El*) *e nha pai*. 'He is my father.'

b. (*Bu*) *sta livri*. 'You are free.' (Baptista 2002: 255)

However, after a series of syntactic tests, Pratas argues that CVC is a non-pro-drop language (Pratas 2004: 102-111) and that in the case of structures such as (4.168a) we are facing a phonological agglutination of the 3sg clitic *e* and the homophonous present tense copula *e* (Pratas 2004: 105).<sup>51</sup> This interpretation is further corroborated by Salas Barena's (2006) analysis of the historical texts.

Pratas (2004) proposes that CVC is a semi-pro-drop language. Her position is based on the premise that only languages that admit referential null subjects could be considered pro-drop (for instance, EP). Languages that do not admit referential null subject but permit, for instance, null expletive subjects could be considered semi-pro-drop (such as BP and CVC) in contrast to

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<sup>51</sup> The issue of copulaless predicates in CVSV is analyzed in chapter 5, subsection 5.8.3.

strictly non-pro-drop languages such as English and French (Pratas 2004: 104). This position is further developed in Costa and Pratas (2006) and in Pratas (2007) which claim that there is a need to distinguish between null referential subjects which do not exist in CVC, from null expletive subjects (Pratas 2007: 255).

Pratas (2007) questions the coalescence hypothesis since the copula *e* systematically selects the free non-clitic forms within the pronominal paradigm, preventing clitics from occurring in the subject position (*Mi e spertu* vs. *\*N e spertu*; p. 259) and concludes that CVC is not a pro-drop language allowing for null referential subjects in finite clauses only in a few specific bound embedded contexts (Pratas 2007: 256). Finally, Alexandre summarizes the debate stating that CVC is an argumental non-null subject language (Alexandre 2009).

Though the scope of this chapter does not permit a detailed presentation of all the necessary tests usually applied in analyzing the pro-drop character of a language (for instance, embedding will not be considered here), the available CVSV data permit the following observations.

In CVSV, null expletive (non-argumental) subjects are possible with weather predicates (4.169a and b), existential constructions with verbs like *ten* ‘have’, *fka* ‘stay’, *falta* ‘lack’ (4.170), predicates with *parsê* ‘seem’ (4.171), and in impersonal constructions (4.172a).

(4.169) a. **Tá dá xuva senpr.**<sup>52</sup> (OA)  
TMA give rain always  
‘[It] always rained [in the old days].’

b. **Txuvê mut.** (DR)  
rain a.lot  
‘[It] rained a lot.’

c. **Txuva ti ta dá.** (DR)  
rain TMA TMA give  
‘It is raining.’

(4.170) **Ten un irmã e k bá pa Sal.** (AGL)  
have DET sister FOC REL go for Sal  
‘There is one sister [of mine] that went to Sal.’

(4.171) **Parsê k el ka bai.**<sup>53</sup> (DR)

<sup>52</sup> As in the Santiago variety (Pratas 2004: 104), CVSV does not admit pronominal expletive subjects *\*El txuvê txeu*. ‘It rained a lot.’ Pratas reports that some of her informants would admit a weather construction with a non-pronominal subject and a ‘weather’ verb such as *Txuba txobi txeu*. ‘lit. Rain rained a lot.’ (Pratas 2004:104). My consultants considered this construction possible in CVST but not in CVSV.

<sup>53</sup> The experiencer of the attitude is optional: *Parsê-m k...* ‘It seems to me that...’ is also possible.

seem COMP 3SG NEG go  
 ‘It seems that he didn’t go.’

- (4.172) a. *N’e pa flá na ménza.* (VLF)  
 NEG+COP for speak at table  
 ‘One should not speak at the table.’

b. *Jent ka te flá na ménza.*<sup>54</sup> (DR)  
 people NEG TMA speak at table  
 ‘People don’t speak at the table.’

- (4.173) *Ta kstá un rapaz fló-b un koza.* A/DS  
 TMA cost DET boy tell-2SG DET thing  
 ‘It is difficult for a man to tell you something [flattering].’

However, even in these typically pro-drop contexts overt subjects are possible in CVSV. In (4.172b) the overt subject *jent* ‘people’ is preferred and used impersonally for generic reference, while example (4.169c) shows that weather constructions with an overt non-pronominal subject are also possible, if not preferred.

With regard to null argumental subjects in CVSV, the discussion of the optionality of 3sg pronouns in copular (individual level) predicates, crucial to Baptista’s line of argumentation for the pro-drop character of CVC, is not applicable. This is due to the fact that the only available 3sg pronominal form is subject clitic *el* which is not homophonous and not agglutinatable with the copula *e* ‘to be’. Moreover, neither the 3sg pronoun nor any other (argumental) subject pronoun is optional in CVSV.

Like the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002) the 1sg and 2sg referential subject pronouns maybe be dropped with stage-level (temporal state) predicates in CVSV when the subject is clearly recoverable from the immediate context.

- (4.174) LL: *Bosê tá bá pa fésta?* (LL/EL)  
 2SG TMA go for party  
 EL: *Tá bá txeu.* (EL)  
 TMA go a.lot  
 ‘Would you go to the parties [where you were young]?’ ‘[I] used to go a lot.’

Given the examples above, it seems that the pro-drop character of CVSV can be ruled out even more clearly than in the case of the Sotavento varieties, as the contexts for null

<sup>54</sup> LL suggested a subjectless construction *Ka ta flód na ménza* ‘One should not talk a the table’. This construction, however, was interpreted by other CVSV informants as typical of the Santiago variety being preferred the structure in (4.147b).

referential subjects are more limited. This is due to the categorical obligatory nature of the presence of the copula *e* ‘to be’, clearly distinct from the 3sg pronoun *el* which is categorically present as an argumental subject. In addition, even in potentially subjectless expletive weather and impersonal constructions, an overt subject is often preferred in CVSV. Finally, CVSV lacks copulaless synthetic passive constructions and presents passives where the slot for the subject is occupied by the third person pronoun with generic reference (cf. discussion in chapter 5, section 5.10).

One conclusion that can be drawn is that despite the fact that Portuguese is a markedly pro-drop language and notwithstanding a general assumption of CVSV being a decreolized variety, the empiric data presented above does not suggest any clear movement towards the lexifier in this area of pronominal morphosyntax.

#### 4.7.2.3 Personal pronouns in object position

This section will describe in more detail the distribution and nature of CVSV personal pronouns in object position, starting with a presentation of example sentences of the use of object free forms and clitics after the verb stem and of the free forms as object of the preposition in Table 4.6 below

**Table 4.6** Personal pronouns in CVSV: object position

	OBJECT CLITICS AND OBJECT FREE FORMS	FREE FORMS AS OBJECT OF THE PREPOSITION
1SG	<i>El dá-m un</i> ‘S/he gave me a book.’ <i>livr.</i>	<i>El flá má mi.</i> ‘S/he spoke to me.’
2SG	<i>El dó-b un</i> ‘S/he gave you a book.’ <i>livr.</i>	<i>El flá má bo.</i> ‘S/he spoke to you.’
2SG (POLITE)	<i>El dá-bosê un</i> ‘S/he gave you a book.’ <i>livr.</i>	<i>El flá má bosê.</i> ‘S/he spoke to you.’
3SG	<i>El dá-l un</i> <i>livr.</i> ‘S/he gave him/her a book.’	<i>El flá má el.</i> ‘S/he spoke to her/him.’
1PL	<i>El dá-nos un</i> ‘S/he gave us.’ <i>livr.</i>	<i>El flá má nos.</i> ‘S/he spoke to us.’
2PL	<i>El dá-bzot un</i> ‘S/he gave you a book.’ <i>livr.</i>	<i>El flá má bzot.</i> ‘S/he spoke to you.’
2PL (POLITE)	<i>El dá-boses un</i> ‘S/he gave you a book.’ <i>livr.</i>	<i>El flá má boses.</i> ‘S/he spoke to you.’
3PL	<i>El dá-s un</i> <i>livr.</i> ‘S/he gave them a book.’	<i>El flá má es.</i> ‘S/he spoke to them.’

Personal pronouns in object position are all clitics with the exception of the 2sg polite *bosê* and 2pl *bzot* and *bozes* ('you' informal and polite) which are free forms illustrated additionally in (4.175) and (4.176).

- (4.175) *El kontá bosê k manera k...* (LL/DS)  
 3SG tell+1PL.CL 2PL.NONCL REL way COMP  
 'He told you [polite] the way that...'

- (4.176) *Es txmá bzot/bozes.* (DS/NL)  
 they call 2 PL.NONCL  
 'They called you.'

In CVSV object clitics present the same form independently if they are in indirect object position ('*El dó-b un livr.*' 'S/he gave you a book.') or direct object position ('*N oió-b.*' 'I saw you.'). Only free forms can fulfill the function of objects of prepositions (cf. Table 4.6). Personal pronouns as object of the preposition are the same as subject free forms and are used in comparative constructions after the comparative particle (cf. section 4.5.1 above).

The object pronouns categorically observe SVO word order and unlike the Sotavento varieties due to the absence of the post verbal marker *-ba* they cannot be separated from the verb stem (4.177).

- (4.177) *Ningen ka tá dzê-b nada.* (JSM)  
 nobody NEG TMA tell-2SG.CL nothing  
 'Nobody would tell you anything.'

However, there exist a small number of intensifiers that can occur between the verb and the object pronoun. In these cases, the pronoun is obligatorily a free form and not a clitic (4.178a and b).

- (4.178) a. *Es txmá justin bzot/mi!* (DR)  
 3PL.CL call precisely 2PL. NONCL/1SG.NONCL  
 'It was precisely you/me that they called!'
- b. *El panhá prop nos/es.!* (DR)  
 3SG.CL catch precisely 1PL.NONCL/3PL.NONCL  
 'It was precisely us/them whom s/he caught!'

Moreover, object pronouns after a small set of suppletive stative verbs are also non-clitic free forms as in (4.179) and (4.180):

- (4.179) *N tinha-el gordód.* (DR)  
 1SG have.PST-3SG. NONCL hidden  
 'I had it hidden.'

- (4.180) *El ka kris-mi/bo. más. (DR)*  
 3SG NEG want.PST-1SG.NONCL /2SG.NONCL more  
 ‘S/he didn’t want me/you anymore.’

This seems to be due to the exceptional phonological form of those verbs. In CVSV the overwhelming majority of verbs end in a stressed vowel and pretonic vowels are often reduced. However, in case of disyllabic verbs like *tinha* ‘had’, the stress is placed on the penultimate syllable and in the verb *kris*, the verb ends, exceptionally, in a consonant.<sup>55</sup>

Finally, in double object constructions, the indirect object pronoun is a clitic attached to a verb stem while the direct object is a non-clitic free form.

- (4.181) a. *N dó-b el. (DR)*  
 1SG give-2SG.CL 3SG.NONCL  
 ‘I gave it to you.’  
 b. *El trazê-m es. (DR)*  
 3SG bring-1SG.CL 3PL.NONCL  
 ‘He brought them to me.’

The same is true in double object prepositional constructions as in (4.182) where the recipient has a human referent:

- (4.182) *El trazê-s pa mi. (DR)*  
 3SG bring-3PL.CL for 1SG.NONCL  
 ‘S/he brought them for me.’

As in the case of subject pronouns, CVSV object pronouns diverge from the Sotavento varieties. One explanation for these changes might be new developments that have occurred within the variety. An example of such changes is the way object clitics interact with the verb stem.

- (4.183) a. *El dá-m* ['dam] *bo pasaport.* ‘He gave me your passport.’  
 b. *El dó-b* ['dɔb] *bo pasaport.* ‘He gave you your passport.’  
 c. *El dá-nos* [da'noʃ]<sup>56</sup> *bo pasaport.* ‘He gave us your passport.’  
 d. *El dó-n* ['dɔn] *bo pasaport.* ‘He gave us your passport.’

A comparison of (4.183a and b) shows that 2sg object clitic induces stem allomorphy. This might be considered, in accordance with typology of pronominals discussed in Siewierska

<sup>55</sup> I thank Nicolas Quint for calling my attention to this fact. Note that with suppletive verbs the object pronoun is clearly a stressed non-clitic: *kris-bo* [ˌkɾizˈbo] ‘wanted you’.

<sup>56</sup> Note that with the 1pl object pronouns the pronoun is stressed. In emphatic speech a secondary stress is possible [ˌdaˈnoʃ]. The pronominal is not prosodically treated as part of the host and the stress on the verb stem is in this case unacceptable \*[ˌdaˈnoʃ].



(2004: 32-33), an indication that the clitic is strengthening its connection to the host and is becoming a phonologically integrated affixal bound form.

Another example of a new development in the variety is the emergence of 1pl object pronoun *nos* (4. 183c). Until the 1980's, it was documented (cf. Veiga 1982: 80) as a clitic *-n* (4.183d) causing the same kind of the final verb stem vowel raising and rounding ([a] to [ɔ]) as the 2sg object clitic *-b* does in modern CVSV.<sup>57</sup> Similarly to modern *dá-nos* 'gave us' or *spiá-nos* 'saw us', is the form *dá-m* (with a verb stem ending in open central vowel [a]) which is also a recent innovation in CVSV. In Frusoni (1979), a collection of poetry written in the 1950's in CVSV, the now obsolete verb ending in [ɔ] with 1sg object pronoun *-m* is amply attested [for instance, *dóme* (modern *dá-m*) 'give me' or *dxóme* (modern *txá-m*) 'leave me'; Frusoni 1979: 138]. It seems that *dó-n* and *dó-b* come ultimately from the Sotavento forms *da-nu* and *da-bu* that were brought by the first colonizers from the Sotavento to the Barlavento islands and that the loss of final close back vowel [u] has triggered the raising of stem vowel.<sup>58</sup> Then, over the last half a century, the CVSV form *-n* was substituted by *-nos* due to the influence of Portuguese or CVSA where it is attested (Veiga 1982: 80).<sup>59</sup>

### 4.7.3 Reflexivity

Creole languages offer a 'bewildering' (Heine 2005: 201) range of constructions that may convey the reflexive meaning. CVC is not an exception. In this subsection, several ways of expressing reflexive relationships in CVSV are presented and contrasted with those of the Sotavento varieties.<sup>60</sup> Then, the relationship between reflexive structures and intensifiers is shown. In addition, this section tackles the relationship between reflexivity and degrees of grammaticalization and restructuring.

Following Heine (2005), reflexive markers are understood here in their "purely morphological sense to refer to an element that is used regularly for the expression of reference identity between a subject and another core participant within the same clause, typically the object referent in predications such as *John killed himself*" (Heine 2005: 203).

Reflexivity in the Santiago variety has been analyzed in several general works such as Quint (2000), Baptista (2002), and Lang (2009). Pratas (2004: 81-93) presents various

<sup>57</sup> Veiga (1982: 80) considers the object pronoun *nos* in CVSV as a 'free variant' of the form *-n*.

<sup>58</sup> However, the origin of *dó-m* attested by Frusoni is not clear to me. Given that it could not originated from the unattested Sotavento form *\*da-mu* it might be an example of an analogical change.

<sup>59</sup> I registered the form *-n* only once in the speech of an elderly Mindelo upper class speaker.

<sup>60</sup> For reflexivity in CVSV see also APiCS feature 87.

theoretical proposals as to the restrictions on co-reference in relation to anaphoric expressions in CVC and classifies predicates into two groups:

- i. Those in which a reflexive reading is improbable as they are most likely transitive and with which the anaphor SELF is necessary (Pratas 2004: 94) as in (4.184a and b):

(4.184) a. *Maria odja si kabesa na tilibizon.* (Pratas 2004: 94)  
‘Maria saw herself on the TV.’

b. *Djon ta papia mal di tudu algen ti di si kabesa.*  
‘John speaks badly about everybody, even of himself.’

- ii. Those which do not carry any lexical determination of reflexivity and in which reflexivity is merely possible and the anaphor SELF is null.

(4.185) a. *Pedru laba mó.* vs. *Pedru laba.* (Pratas 2004: 95)  
‘Peter washed his hands vs. Peter washed himself.’

b. *Pedru fri-l* vs. *Pedru fri.*  
‘Peter hurt him/her vs. Peter hurt himself.’

According to Fiéis and Pratas (2005, 2007) the anaphor of type SELF should be distinguished from the reflexive morpheme of SE type<sup>61</sup> which does not make part of CVC grammar as the reflexive reading in the contexts such as (4.186) has to do with the semantic properties of the predicate and not with the overt morphological marking. These two different types of reflexivity can be illustrated by the following example from Santiago variety:

(4.186) a. *Maria ngana na konta.* ‘Maria got the calculus wrong.’ (inherent SE-type reflexivity)

b. *Maria ngana si kabesa.* ‘Maria deluded herself.’ (SELF-type anaphor) (Fiéis and Pratas 2005: 3)<sup>62</sup>

This section will focus on the reflexive construction in which the patient (direct object) is co-referential with the agent (subject) and this co-referentiality is expressed morphologically. Therefore, the reflexive contexts that are not marked morphologically (such as those analyzed by Fiéis and Pratas 2007 in the Santiago variety) will not be discussed here in detail; however, they need to be mentioned as inherently/semantically reflexive verbs interplay with morphological

<sup>61</sup> SE-type verbal reflexives such as the clitic *se* in Portuguese constitute “the most strongly grammaticalized forms of reflexives” (Heine 2005: 211).

<sup>62</sup> The Portuguese translation illustrates this opposition more clearly: *Maria enganou-se nas contas* vs. *Maria enganou-se a si mesma*.

elements that express reflexivity. Moreover, they constitute the majority of expressions in CVSV (*el sentá* ‘s/he sat down’, *el kazá* ‘s/he got married’, which are inherently reflexive).

In classifying reflexive constructions in CVSV I will follow the taxonomy proposed by Heine (2005) who distinguishes six basic types of reflexive constructions in creole languages. These are:

- i. *A-reflexives* where personal pronouns are used for all three persons to express reflexivity.
- ii. *B-reflexives* where the first and second person pronouns are used reflexively, i.e. they denote a co-reference between the subject and the object, while the third person pronouns cannot be used as such.

CVSV is not an A-reflexive language <sup>63</sup> given that 3sg pronoun does not render a reflexive reading and co-referentiality in (4.187) was categorically negated by all informants.

- (4.187) *EL<sub>i</sub> oiá-l<sub>j</sub> na spei.* or *Maria<sub>i</sub> ijdá-l<sub>j</sub>.* (GM)  
 3SG see-3SG in mirror Maria help-3SG  
 ‘S/he saw him/her in the mirror.’ ‘Maria helped him/her.’

Heine (2005: 243) considers that CVC is neither an A nor B reflexive language noting, however, that more data is needed. In fact, as the data below suggest (4.188), CVSV could be considered a B-reflexive, i.e. with the first and second person object pronouns denoting reflexivity, though this issue requires a study in greater depth.

None of the works on the Sotavento varieties mentions the possibility of the first and second person pronouns being used reflexively. However, what CVSV data show is that there are cases where the 1sg, 2sg and 1pl pronoun in object position may receive a reflexive interpretation.

- (4.188) a. *N<sub>i</sub> fri-(m<sub>i</sub>).* (DR)  
 1SG hurt-1SG  
 ‘I hurt myself.’
- b. *N<sub>i</sub> sinti-(m<sub>i</sub>) un gzinha frók.* (DR)  
 1SG feel-1SG DET bit weak  
 ‘I felt myself a bit weak.’

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<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, Heine (2005) states that A-reflexives are widespread in creoles being “one of the first reflexives to evolve in the history of creoles” (p. 252) but not in non-creole languages. This would suggest a typological particularity of CVC. It should be noted that EP is not a A-reflexive language but a B-reflexive language i.e. the first and second person pronouns but not the third person pronouns are used to mark reflexivity: *Eu vi-m no espelho*, *tu viste-te no espelho*, *ele viu-se no espelho*. ‘I/you/he saw my/your/himself in the mirror’ but not \**ele viu ele*).

- c. *Noi fazê tud is pa animá-(nos<sub>i</sub>).* (DR)  
 1PL do all this to cheer-1PL  
 ‘We did all this to cheer ourselves up.’
- d. \**N lavá-m.*  
 ‘I washed myself.’

In (4. 188a-c.) the co-referential pronoun is optional as the semantics of the verb alone would suggest the reflexive reading;<sup>64</sup> (4.188d) is ungrammatical, indicating that the semantics of the verb in CVSV is crucial in determining if reflexivity will be expressed morphologically.

There are also cases, as in (4.189), in which the reflexive reading is unlikely and the presence of co-referential first and second person pronouns is obligatory to convey reflexivity.

- (4.189) a. *N<sub>i</sub> oiá-m<sub>i</sub> na tlivizon.*<sup>65</sup> (NL)  
 1SG see-1SG on television  
 ‘I saw myself on the TV.’
- b. *Bo<sub>i</sub> uvi-b<sub>i</sub> na rádiu?* (NL)  
 2SG hear-2SG on radio  
 ‘Did you hear yourself on the radio?’

Another possibility would be to use the pronoun + intensifier strategy *Bo uví bo mes na rádiu?* ‘Did you hear yourself on the radio?’ However, Poss + N reflexives present in CVST (cf. 4.186b) and discussed below are considered awkward in CVSV.

The third strategy proposed by Heine (2005) is:

iii. *Noun (N)-reflexives*

In N-reflexives the reflexive marker consists of a bare noun stem such as ‘body’ or ‘head’. The marking of reflexivity through a grammaticalized pronoun derived from a lexical item such as ‘head’ or ‘body’ is a widespread phenomenon in creoles, particularly those of an Ibero-Romance lexical base, raising many issues directly related to creole genesis (Muysken 1993). The use of ‘head’ is widely found in West Atlantic languages (Heine 2005: 247; Holm and Patrick eds. 2007).

The N-reflexive strategy is present in both the Sotavento varieties and GBC (Kihm 1994: 165-166) and its origin is looked for in substrate languages such as Wolof, where the term *bopp* ‘head’ is used to mark reflexivity (Lang 2009: 87, 184).

<sup>64</sup> A caveat is in order as consultants have disagreed in assessing the grammaticality of these structures.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *N odjá nha kabésa na spedju.* ‘I saw myself in the mirror.’ (Lang 2001: 245 in Santiago variety).

Heine (2005: 209, 236-238) observes that N-reflexive strategy does not seem to be productive in a number of creole languages as it involves highly predictable collocations being associated especially with actions that involve the physical body of the referent (such as 4.190 in CVC). Heine adds that N-reflexives constitute a special case of a more productive variant i.e. Poss + N strategy (see below) which he illustrates with data from CVC where the N-reflexive ‘*kabésa*’, which constitutes a fully grammaticalized reflexive, seems to be less productive than ‘Poss+*kabésa*’ (Heine 2005: 237, 243). Possessives can be omitted under special conditions, i.e. when there is no doubt as to the subject-object co-reference.

In the Sotavento varieties reflexivity can be marked with the anaphor (type SELF) *kabésa* ‘head’ (4.190a) that can also be preceded by a possessive determiner (4.190b) (Pratas 2004: 79):

(4.190) a. *Djon mata kabesa.*

b. *Djon mata si kabesa.* (CVST, Pratas 2004: 79)  
‘John killed himself.’

Similarly, in CVSV, N-reflexives are formed by a reflexive marker *kabésa* ‘head’ where the possessive is optional.

(4.191) *El matá (se) kabésa.* (LL/CLS)  
3SG kill 3SG.POSS head  
‘S/he killed her/himself.’

However, this strategy (with or without a preceding possessive determiner) seem not to be very productive in CVSV and is restricted to contexts such as (4.191) which could be considered an idiomatic expression; the basic meaning of the lexeme *kabésa* is that of a common noun and not of a reflexive marker. Reflexive construction with *kabésa* attested in the literature on the Santiago variety such as (4.192a-c) which suggest a fully grammaticalized use of an N-reflexive (i.e. not related anymore to the physical action of a body) are considered awkward or ungrammatical by CVSV speakers and are perceived as a feature typical of the Sotavento varieties:

(4.192) a. *droga kabésa* (CVST, Quint 2000: 177)  
‘to drug oneself’

b. *Bu korta kabésa?* (CVST, Quint 2000: 177)  
‘Did you cut yourself?’

c. *No(s) ta trata kabesa.* (CVST, Baptista 2002: 56)  
‘We take care of ourselves.’

It seems that the N-reflexive strategy in CVSV shows simultaneously different stages of grammaticalization (cf. Heine 2005: 222). In the majority of uses *kabésa* is used in its literal meaning (i.e. stage one), e.g. *El lavá kabésa* ‘He washed his head (hair)’ or *El kortá kabésa* ‘He cut his head (not himself)’. There are cases of what Heine (2005: 223) considers stage two of grammaticalization where *kebésa* is used reflexively but permits the literal reading as well, though creating ambiguity:

(4.193) *Maria oiá se kabésa na spei*. ‘Mary saw herself/her head in the mirror.’ (DR)

Finally, *kabésa* in CVSV is used as a reflexive in a very few contexts where the literal interpretation is impossible, which represents the most advanced, third stage of grammaticalization. This context is reduced to the verb ‘kill’ which is a trigger for a strongly reflexive interpretation (Heine 2005: 224). Heine, based on data from the Santiago variety, suggests that CVC’s *kabésa* is at the third stage of grammaticalization (showing cases of further grammaticalization than for instance GBC, which is at stage two), given that it may receive a reflexive reading without physical context restrictions (Heine 2005: 226). However, CVSV shows stage one; stage two is sporadic and more restricted than in the Sotavento varieties and stage three is idiomatic.

Another reflexive type proposed by Heine (2005: 210) is:<sup>66</sup>

iv. *Possessive + Noun (Poss+N) reflexives*

In Poss + N-reflexives the reflexive marker is composed of a possessive adjective and a noun (4.194). In literature on CVC this strategy has always been referred to as ‘optional’. The issue of optionality requires more data as the majority of my informants preferred the option with the possessive. Moreover, the whole structure in CVSV could be considered idiomatic. Note that the possessive is co-referential with the subject, agreeing in person and number.

(4.194) *Es matá ses/\*se kabésa.* (LL/CLS)  
 3PL kill 3PL.POSS /\*3SG.POSS  
 ‘They killed themselves.’

Only once have I recorded this form in the spontaneous speech of a speaker who, however, has spent a prolonged time on the island of Santiago:

(4.195) *No mestê protejê-l d’sé kabésa!* (CS)  
 2PL need protect-3SG of+ 3SG.POSS head  
 ‘We need to protect him from himself!’

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<sup>66</sup> Heine (2005) lists this strategy as the sixth one; I have changed the order for the sake of the argument here.

The next type of reflexives proposed by Heine (2005: 209) is:

v. *AI-reflexives*

In AI-reflexives, an intensifier (I) follows a personal pronoun (A) indicating the co-referentiality of the pronoun with the subject (4.196).

This is probably the most widespread strategy for marking reflexivity in CVSV. Already by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Costa and Duarte (1886) signals the difference in reflexive marking in CVC commenting that the equivalent of the Sotavento *Manel ferí sê cabeça* is *Manel ferí el mesmo* ‘Manel hurt himself’ in the Barlavento group (Costa and Duarte 1886: 265). This is not surprising given that cross-linguistically, intensifier strategy is “one the most common means of creating new reflexive forms” (Heine 2005: 218, 231). Moreover, while other strategies maybe ambiguous, the intensifier strategy signals an unambiguously reflexive interpretation (Heine 2005: 231).

The form of the intensifier in CVSV varies. The first is the form *mes* (4.196)<sup>67</sup> or *mesmu* (4.197) that must obligatorily follow a non-clitic personal pronoun:

- (4.196) *El matá el mes.* (DR)  
 3SG kill 3SG.NONCL INT  
 ‘S/He killed her/himself.’

- (4.197) a. *Ma kulpód é nos mesmu.* (AL)  
 But guilty COP 1PL.NONCL INT  
 ‘But we ourselves were guilty.’

- b. *Nha katxor el brí porta el só/mes \*mesmu.* (DR)  
 1SG.POSS dog 3SG open door 3SG. NONCL alone/INT  
 ‘My dog, he himself opened the door.’

As in many other creoles (Heine 2005: 229), they are retentions from the lexifier language. *Mesmu* (felt by consultants as acrolectal) can only refer to [+human] nouns and is invariant in number and gender as can be seen by the ungrammaticality of (4.197b and 4.198b):

- (4.198) a. *Nha filha, el fazê kel bol el mesmu.* (DS/NL)  
 1SG.POSS daughter 3SG make DET cake 3SG.NONCL INT  
 ‘My daughter, she made the cake herself.’  
 b. *Nha filha, el fazê kel bol el \*mesma.* (DS/NL)

<sup>67</sup> It corresponds CVST *me* (Pratas 2004: 80 and Baptista 2002: 56).

The forms *mesmu* and *mes* seem to occur in free variation, alternating in the speech of the same speaker:

- (4.199) *Es mesmu ta ranjá má bo, es mes ta ranjá má bo!* (AMD)  
 3PL.NONCL INT TMA flirt with 2SG 3PL.NONCL INT TMA flirt with 2SG  
 ‘They themselves will pick you up!’

Another element that functions as an intensifier in CVSV is *prop*. The intensifier *prop* in its function as a reflexive follows a personal pronoun, always a non-clitic as in (4.200),<sup>68</sup> but it may also precede an emphasized element so in this position it functions as an intensifying modifier (4.201). Observe the contrast in the following examples:

- (4.200) *Mi prop N tá bá vendê portugês pex na kortel.* (AR)  
 1SG.NONCL self 1SG.CL TMA go sell Portuguese fish at barracks  
 ‘I myself was selling fish to the Portuguese in the barracks.’

- (4.201) *Mi e prop peskador.* (AMD)  
 1SG COP INT fisherman  
 ‘I’m a real/proper fisherman.’

Moreover, the intensifiers *mes*, *mesmu* and *prop* can all function as adjectives meaning ‘the same’ as in (4.202) and ‘original, real, correct’ as in (4.203). This suggests that they are still in the intermediate stage of grammaticalization, i.e. having lexical meaning in some contexts and functioning as reflexives in others (Heine 2005: 232).

- (4.202) *Sin, tud na mesmu/mes dia.* (MGM)  
 yes all in the.same day  
 ‘Yes, [it was] all in the same day.’
- (4.203) *Prop nom de li e Lazaret.* (DP)  
 real name of here COP Lazaret  
 ‘The real name of this place is Lazaret.’

Table 4.7 below summarizes the reflexive strategies in CVSV.<sup>69</sup>

**Table 4.7 Reflexive strategies in CVSV**

TYPE (Heine 2005)	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
B	First and second person pronoun but not third person pronoun	<i>N oiá-m na tlivizon.</i> ‘I saw myself on TV.’ <i>Bo uví-b na rádiu?</i> ‘Did you hear yourself on

<sup>68</sup> Distinguishing the intensifier and the reflexive use is not always an easy task. According to Heine, one of the constraints on the order of elements in complex reflexive markers is that intensifiers never go first. (2005: 212).

<sup>69</sup> The last strategy of reflexive marking proposed by Heine (2005), i.e. Poss + Intens (PI)-reflexives in which the intensifier is preceded by a possessive adjective co-referential with the subject, is not present in CVC.



		the radio?’
N	<i>Noun</i>	<i>El matá kabésa.</i> ‘S/he killed her/himself.’
PN	<i>Possessive + Noun</i>	<i>El matá se kabésa.</i> ‘S/he killed her/himself.’
AI	<i>Personal pronoun + Intensifier</i>	<i>El matá el mes. El matá el mesmu. El matá el prop.</i> ‘S/he killed her/himself’

Heine (2005: 251) presents a series of conclusions as to the emergence, development and formal expression of reflexivity in creole languages. One of them is the fact creole language reflexives are very ambiguous between their reflexive and other meanings a sign of their being at the intermediate stage of grammaticalization. CVSV reflexive structures illustrate well this point and they seem to be less grammaticalized than those of the Sotavento varieties.

#### 4.7.4 Reciprocity

This subsection focuses on structures labeled as reciprocal constructions in CVSV i.e. constructions translated as ‘each other’.<sup>70</sup> Reciprocals in CVC are coded differently than reflexives. In CVSV, as in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 57, Pratas 2004: 80) reciprocal constructions are expressed by the form of 1sg, 2pl or 3pl of subject pronouns and the word *kunpanher* ‘companion, colleague’ in the object position as in (4.204):

- (4.204) *Es ben partá d’kunpanher.* (VER)  
 2PL come separate from+each.other  
 ‘They left each other.’

The origin of this strategy in CVC goes back to the languages of the Mandé language family such as Bambara, which uses the term *jɔgɔn* ‘companion’ to mark reciprocal constructions (Lang 2009: 87, 184). Interestingly, what the CVSV data suggest is that *kunpanher* can be used as a reciprocal marker with inanimate nouns, which might suggest a more complete desemanticization of this form and an advanced stage of grammaticalization. Moreover, (4.205) shows that a full noun phrase and not only pronominal forms (as suggested by Pratas 2004: 80 for CVST) may function as an antecedent in CVSV:

- (4.205) *Kes kórda ilhá na kunpanher.* (VLF)  
 DET line entangle on each.other  
 ‘The washing lines got entangled with each other.’

*Kunpanher* functions also as a common noun without any grammatical function (4.206), a fact that can produce potentially ambiguous sentences. Sentence (4.207) yields a reciprocal reading only when no more than two people are involved.

<sup>70</sup> For reciprocal constructions in CVSV see *APiCS* feature 89.

- (4.206) *Ses kunpanher inganá-l.* (SS)  
 3SG.POSS.PL companion betray-3SG  
 ‘His/her companions betrayed him/her.’
- (4.207) *Entre kunpanher no te falá kriol.* (DDL)  
 between colleague/each.other 1PL TMA speak creole  
 ‘Between colleagues/ourselves we speak creole.’

#### 4.8 Nominal Conjunctions

There are two nominal conjunctions in CVSV: *má* [ma] ‘and/with’ and *y* [i] ‘and’. Similarly to *ku* in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 132-135; *ku* is derived from the Portuguese preposition *com*, Quint 2000: 207) *má* as a coordinating conjunction overlaps with the comitative *má* ‘with’ in CVSV (4.208a). The overlap of the coordinating conjunction *ku* and comitative *ku* in the Sotavento varieties reflects substrate languages where coordinators are derived from comitatives (Märzhäuser 2011b).

Both *má* and *y* may combine full NPs (4.208b), Ns and a personal pronoun with a personal name (4.208a) or with other NP (4.208c).<sup>71</sup> Adjectives are combined exclusively by *y* as in (4.208d).

- (4.208) a. *Mi má Adriane trubaiá djunt n’un bark.* (IS)  
 1SG and/with Adriane work together in+DET ship  
 ‘Adriane and I worked together on a ship.’
- b. *un rei má/y un rainha* ‘a king and a queen’
- c. *mi y nha mãi* ‘my mother and I’
- d. *Kevin e ólt y mógr.* (VL)  
 Kevin COP tall and skinny  
 ‘Kevin is tall and skinny.’

*Má* in CVSV seems to come from the Portuguese adverb *mais* ‘more’ which in Central and Southern dialects of EP functions as a comitative ‘with’ equivalent to *com* (*Fui à festa mais a minha família* ‘I went to the party with my family’ (Liliana Inverno p.c. 2012).

#### 4.9 CVSV Noun Phrase: conclusions

This chapter has described in detail several categories and processes in CVSV Noun Phrase, and contrasted them with their equivalents in the Sotavento varieties. Contrary to

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<sup>71</sup> Only *y* is used to combine numerals *trinta y tres* ‘thirty three’. *Y[i]* is also a verbal conjunction (*el toká y el kantá* ‘he played and danced’). For nominal and verbal conjunctions in CVSV see also APiCS features 20, 70, and 71.

Pereira's (2006a) claims as to the lack of major linguistic divergence between the Sotavento and the Barlavento varieties, this chapter has revealed a number of non-trivial differences within the nominal domain.

What the data suggest is that although a significant portion of original Sotavento morpho-syntax was retained, several of its original features have been extended to other uses and meanings in CVSV (e.g. the use of demonstratives as definite articles in the associative context, subsection 4.2.2.1) or the use of reciprocal *kunpanher* with [-animate] nouns, subsection 4.7.4). Moreover, tendencies such as gender agreement of adjectives with [+human] nouns present in the Sotavento became categorical rule in CVSV. However, the data also reveals a loss of a number of Sotavento features such as augmentative *uma* (subsection 4.2.2.3), the elimination of the entire paradigm of long 'emphatic' subject pronouns (subsection 4.7.2), or the elimination of conjunction *ku* substituted by *má* (section 4.8). If the loss of some of the Sotavento characteristics (such as nearly inexistent in CVSV reduplication, section 4.5) can be explained as the elimination of substrate traces, the loss of gender distinction in the third person polite pronouns in CVSV cannot (cf. subsection 4.7.1).

The data also show that a number of probably interlanguage forms entered CVSV (e.g. fossilized Portuguese articles, subsection 4.2.2.3; retentions of the Sotavento degree word *diki*, subsection 4.5.1; lexicalized reflexive *kabésa*, subsection 4.7.3). Yet other structures were transferred from Portuguese (e.g. the obligatory presence of the preposition *de* in possessive construction, section 4.3). More importantly, several forms have been imported from other Barlavento varieties especially in the prominal domain (section 4.7). Finally, though the data reveal the existence of processes such as recent borrowings from Portuguese (e.g. the plural morpheme *-s* on [-animate] which appears in mainly technical terms in the speech of educated bilinguals, cf. subsection 4.4.5) there are also developments associated with natural language change within the variety [such as the emergence of plural proximal demonstrative *-es* (subsection 4.2.1)] which cannot be interpreted as the result of diglossic situation.

These divergences in core grammar cannot be satisfactory explained merely as a movement of CVSV towards the lexifier associated with decreolization, especially given the fact that the analysis of historical records suggests that the majority of these features is not recent. What they in fact suggest is an intensive language and varieties contact and contact-induced restructuring that goes back to the genesis of the CVSV confirming the socio-historic scenario presented in chapter 3.

## Chapter 5

### THE VERB PHRASE IN THE CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE OF SÃO VICENTE

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter describes and analyzes selected morpho-syntactic categories of the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente verb phrase. It focuses on the unmarked verb in section 5.1, and the system of tense, mood, and aspect markers (TMA) and their possible combinations in 5.2. In sections 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 periphrastic tenses, serial verbs, and complementizers are described while section 5.6 discusses stativity and modality with a special focus on inflected-like variants of the verb. Imperatives are presented in section 5.7, copular constructions in 5.8 while negation and passives are discussed in 5.9 and 5.10 respectively. Section 5.11 concludes the chapter.

This description of the linguistic features in contemporary CVSV verb phrase includes an examination of the probably path of diachronic development of selected categories and comparison with their Sotavento counterparts (especially those of the Santiago variety) in order to find out what factors might have caused structural divergences between the varieties.

#### 5.1 The unmarked verb

As in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 75-76) verbs in CVSV do not show any morphological variation for person or number.<sup>1</sup> Two phonological features distinguish CVSV verbs from the Santiago variety. Firstly, the verb stem in CVSV is stressed obligatorily on the final vowel, maintaining the original CVC verbal stress pattern of Portuguese infinitives.<sup>2</sup> This divergence is illustrated in (5.1):

(5.1) CVST	CVSV
<i>odja</i> ['odʒɐ]	<i>oiá</i> [o'ja] 'to see, to look'
<i>kume</i> ['kumi]	<i>kmê</i> ['kme] 'to eat'
<i>obi</i> ['obi]	<i>uví</i> [u'vi] 'to hear'
<i>konpo</i> ['kompu] <sup>3</sup>	<i>konpô</i> [kõ'po] 'to repair'

Secondly, CVSV verb stems ending in /a/ show final vowel rising and rounding when the object clitic *-b* 'you' is attached, as shown in (5.2). The /a/ > /ɔ/ change results from the deletion

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<sup>1</sup> For unmarked verbs in CVSV see also *APiCS* feature 51.

<sup>2</sup> Verb stress was discussed in chapter 1. Suppletive forms of stative verbs and copulas (discussed in sections 5.6 and 5.8) constitute an exception as they are stressed on the penultimate syllable.

<sup>3</sup> In CVST verbs ending in etymological /e/ and /o/ are pronounced /i/ and /u/. The original vowel is preserved when the suffix *-ba* is attached as in *kumeba* 'ate', *konpoba* 'repaired' (Quint 2000: 226-227). The CVST verbs of African origin ending in /u/ such as *bánbu* ['bambu] 'to carry on one's back' appear in CVSA (*banbú* [bã'bu]) but in CVSV are used only in a few lexicalized expressions.

of the unstressed final /u/ in the 2sg object clitic *bu* that must have been brought to São Vicente from the Sotavento area, leaving traces on the preceding vowel.<sup>4</sup>

- (5.2) *oiá* → *N oió-b* ‘I saw you’  
*amá* → *N amó-b* ‘I loved you’

The surviving Portuguese infinitive form is *ser* ‘to be’ (cf. section 5.8 on copulas). I have also recorded the limited use of the Portuguese infinitive *ter* ‘to have’. Moreover, there are a couple of verbs that can be traced to the Portuguese third person singular and not to infinitival forms such as *ten* ‘to have’ or to imperatives such as *ben* ‘to come’; these are also present in other CVC varieties.

An unmarked dynamic verb in CVSV is interpreted as a single perfective event (5.3) or a series of events (5.4) located in the past.

- (5.3) *N studá.* ‘I studied.’ (DR)  
*Bo studá.* ‘You studied.’  
*El studá.* ‘S/he studied.’  
*No studá.* ‘We studied.’  
*Bzot studá.* ‘You studied.’  
*Es studá.* ‘They studied.’

- (5.4) *El pegá na se kavakin, el toká y el kantá...* (MF/1)  
 3SG take.PST.PFV on 3SG.POSS guitar 3SG play.PST. PFV and 3SG sing.PST.PFV  
 ‘He took his guitar, he played and he sang...’

Given variation in languages as to the values and uses associated with the notion of perfectivity, a perfective verb is characterized here in accordance to Dahl’s (1985) definition, i.e. it typically denotes “a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded.” (Dahl 1985: 78). On the contrary, unmarked stative verbs tend to get a present reading as in (5.5).<sup>5</sup>

- (5.5) *N krê sink sebóla.* (DR)  
 1SG want five onion  
 ‘I want five onions.’

<sup>4</sup> A similar process must have affected combinations with the 1sg and 1pl pronouns creating today obsolete forms such as *txmó-m*, ‘called me’, *oió-n* ‘saw us’, (modern CVSV: *txmá-m*, *oiá-nos*,) analyzed in section 4.7 in chapter 4.

<sup>5</sup> Given several particularities in their morpho-syntactic behaviour, stative verbs are analyzed in more detail in section 5.6.

In addition, unmarked verbs appear in imperatives as analyzed in section 5.7 and in subordinate clauses (protasis) in potential conditionals, after the particle *se* ‘if’ as in (5.6).

- (5.6) *Se es falá má mi português, N t'intendê.* (LM)  
 if 3PL speak with 1SG Portuguese 1SG FUT+understand.  
 ‘If I am spoken to in Portuguese, I will understand. Lit. If they speak to me...’

### 5.1.1 Theme vowels

This subsection will discuss the nature of the final vowels in CVSV verbs as presented in (5.1). Luís (2010), in her analysis of contextual and inherent inflections in creole languages, observes that given the presence of the past marker *-ba* verbs in the Cape Verdean Sotavento varieties are “not entirely deprived of internal morphology” (Luís 2010: 327). However, because the inflectional suffix *-ba* shows neither allomorphic variation itself nor does it induce allomorphic variation in the stem, she concludes that in the Sotavento varieties the “stem-final vowels constitute indeed lexicalized theme vowels” (Luís 2010: 328).<sup>6</sup>

In CVSV, contrary to the Sotavento varieties, all markers are categorically preverbal and the post-verbal marker *-ba* is unattested (cf. section 5.2 below). Thus, with exception of fossilized inflected suffixes of stative and copular verbs and the productive past participle suffix *-d*, CVSV does not show any bound verbal morphemes.

The attachment of the past participle suffix *-d* shows, however, that CVSV distinguishes between roots, stems, and inflected forms as in (5.7):

(5.7) root	stem	past participle	
<i>limit-</i>	<i>limit-á</i>	<i>limit-ó-d</i>	‘to limit, limited’
<i>bib-</i>	<i>bib-ê</i>	<i>bib-í-d</i>	‘to drink, drunk’
<i>uv-</i>	<i>uv-í</i>	<i>uv-í-d</i>	‘to hear, heard’
<i>konp-</i>	<i>konp-ô</i>	<i>konp-u-d</i>	‘to arrange, arranged’
<i>pup-</i>	<i>pup-ú</i>	<i>pup-u-d</i>	‘to poop, pooped’

From the above examples it appears that CVSV encodes conjugation classes and shows inherent inflections, behavior that is not absent to other Portuguese-based creoles such as Korlai also discussed by Luís (2010).<sup>7</sup> This is notwithstanding the fact that the productivity of this feature is restricted – contrary to Korlai (Clements 1996), which shows a larger set of inflected forms, past participle suffix is the only productive verbal inflection in CVSV.

<sup>6</sup> Likewise Pratas assumes that in the Santiago variety “what, on historical or comparative grounds, could be considered a theme vowel [...] seems actually part of the stem for there is no morphological or phonological reasons to think otherwise.” (2007: 206). However both authors seem to overlook the fact that the attachment of *-ba* in CVST induces changes in the final vowel (cf. footnote 3).

<sup>7</sup> Luís’s (2010) analysis is largely based on data provided for Korlai by Clements (1996) and Clements and Koontz-Garboden (2002).

Regarding the productivity of the conjugation classes, the only verb ending in /o/ is *pô* ‘to put’ and its derivatives<sup>8</sup> while /u/ verbs of African origin have been lost in CVSV (cf. subsection 5.1.2). Similarly to EP, which inherited this feature from Latin (Mira Mateus et al. 2003: 931), the paradigm ending in /a/ is the most productive as it includes neologisms such as *drogá* ‘to take drugs’ and phonologically integrated loans such as those from English (e.g. *uotxá* ‘to watch out’, *springá* ‘to spring up’). Though the role of thematic vowels in CVSV grammar is limited, they behave as genuine conjugation classes, i.e. they are semantically opaque as their only function is to determine the form of the participle.

### 5.1.2 Participles

Holm and Swolkien’s (2009) analysis of the 19<sup>th</sup> century historical texts has shown that productive participles are by no means a recent phenomenon in the Upper Guinea Portuguese Creoles and, given their typological closeness to Papiamentu’s participles (Jacobs 2011a), this feature must have been present since the beginning of their formation.

Participles in modern Sotavento varieties and GBC have been described in several works (e.g. Quint 2000, Baptista 2002, and Kihm 1994). As to the Barlavento varieties, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Fernandes noted that in the “Barlavento the [participle] ending is *ade*, *ide*” (Fernandes n/d).<sup>9</sup> In contemporary CVSV, the past participle morpheme *-d* derives from the Sotavento /du/ (from the Portuguese past participle suffix *-do*) which has eroded due to the systematic loss of final unstressed /u/ in this variety (cf. chapter 1).

The form of past participles in CVSV is determined by the theme vowel: the addition of the inflection *-d* provokes formal allomorphic alternation in the stem as shown in (5.7). *Pupú* ‘to poop’ in (5.7) is probably of Portuguese onomatopoeic origin. African lexical items ending in /u/, retained from the Sotavento lexicon, are present only in idiomatic expressions in CVSV such as *á bo psu* ‘you messed up’ (from Santiago *busu* ‘to steal, to flay’ Lang et al. 2002: 105; note that participial form *\*psud* is unavailable). In most cases, though, they have been lost or substituted by etymologically Portuguese words. For instance, CVST *mininu bonbudu* ‘wrapped-up baby carried on one’s back’ (probably from the African verb *bónbu* ‘to carry on one’s back’ Lang et al. 2002: 91) vs. CVSV *bebé pust na kósta* ‘baby put on one’s back’ (from Ptg. participle *posto*). Also African /u/-verbs with a specialized meaning such as CVST *djorombu* ‘to separate big grains from small with horizontal movements’ (Quint 2000: 227) were substituted in CVSV by a Portuguese derived verbs e.g. *rolá* (from Ptg. *rolar* ‘to roll’).

<sup>8</sup> This is parallel to Portuguese where the verb *pôr* ‘to put’ is integrated into the second conjugation.

<sup>9</sup> This comment might suggest that the process of vowel raising (*ade* > modern CVSV *ód*) was not yet complete.

Moreover, the African verb *djongo* ['dʒɔŋgu] ‘to have a short siesta’ underwent a category change and functions exclusively as a noun in CVSV – *durmí un djonga* ‘to sleep a short siesta’. Finally, there are also examples of Santiago /u/-verbs that have been adapted to the São Vicente paradigm ending in /i/ such as CVST *konko* ['konku] vs. CVSV *kunkí* ‘to knock on the door’.<sup>10</sup> This adaptation seems to be another indicator that that conjugation classes are in fact a productive though a peripheral grammatical feature in CVSV.

Participles exhibit a mixture of adjectival and verbal characteristics. In CVSV they function as adjectives in the predicative position but show no gender agreement with the subject (cf. chapter 4); they also form periphrastic tenses and canonical passives with auxiliary verbs (discussed in sections 5.3 and 5.9). Apart from regular participles, there are also (often co-existing) irregular lexicalized forms such as in (5.8) that frequently appear in compounds such as *benfet* ‘well done’ or *benvind* ‘welcome’:

(5.8)	<i>skrevê</i>	>	<i>skrevid</i> ,	<i>skrit</i>	‘to write, written’
	<i>fazê</i>	>	<i>fizid</i> ,	<i>fet</i>	‘to do, done’
	<i>morê</i>	>	<i>morid</i> ,	<i>mort</i>	‘to die, died’
	<i>ben</i>	>	<i>bind</i> ,	<i>vind</i>	‘to come, came’
	(a) <i>brí</i>	>	<i>brid</i> ,	<i>abrid</i> , <i>abert</i>	‘to open, opened’
	<i>oiá</i>	>	<i>oiód</i> ,	<i>vist</i>	‘to see, seen’
	<i>pô</i>	>	<i>pud</i> ,	<i>pust</i>	‘to put, put’

Irregular participles are absent in GBC (Kihm 1994: 243). In the Santiago variety, Quint considers irregular participles a product of contact with Portuguese. He distinguishes forms that are largely integrated and used by the entire speech population such as *fetu* ‘done’ and *abértu* ‘open’ (Quint 2000: 279)<sup>11</sup> from those recently borrowed from Portuguese and typical of the urban speech of Praia, such as *sézu* <Ptg. *aceso* ‘lighted’ (Quint 2000: 283). As to CVSV, irregular forms such as *skrit* ‘written’ or *vist* ‘seen’ were already present in Frusoni’s texts (Frusoni 1979, Mesquitela Lima 1992).

## 5.2 TMA markers

After preliminary terminological issues, this section presents the forms, distribution, and functions of the tense, mood, and aspect markers (TMA) in CVSV (subsections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2).<sup>12</sup> Subsection 5.2.3 focuses on patterns of combining and subsection 3.2.4 discusses the

<sup>10</sup> Nicolas Quint (p.c. 2012) informed me that both forms exist in the Santiago variety and that the form *kunki* is present also in Casamance Creole Portuguese. This suggests that CVSV might have chosen the form which does not end in /u/ and which fits the more Portuguese-like paradigm.

<sup>11</sup> Quint labels them ‘deverbal adjectives’.

<sup>12</sup> The abbreviation TMA is used here for the sake of consistency of comparison with the literature on the Sotavento varieties and other creole languages since CVSV lacks a separate mood marker, and the abbreviation, strictly



problematic status of the particle *já*. When necessary, CVSV markers are contrasted with their Sotavento counterparts and when possible the paths of their development are traced to understand what factors have shaped the present day TMA system of the variety.

According to Dahl (1985: 20-26) imprecision in defining tense, mood and aspect is inherent to these categories, which are best analyzed as clusters of characteristics with a semantic nucleus and periphery. Thus, Dahl proposes the notion of prototype, i.e. the basic meaning of a TMA category as opposed to its secondary and peripheral meanings (p. 23). Apart from morphological expression (affixes, periphrastic constructions, or particles), the characteristic that define a TMA category may include whether it is obligatory, systematic, or lacks alternatives for its expression (Dahl, *ibid.*). Dahl goes on to suggest that languages differ on two levels: how they choose the TMA categories that exist cross-linguistically and how they specify and delimit these categories by choosing among available secondary usages (Dahl 1985: 33).

The difficulty in delimiting the semantics of TMA markers is well known in creole linguistics and has been commented on by several authors (e.g. Youssuf 2003). Winford observes that “no two descriptions appear to use the same terminology or framework of analysis.” (Winford 1996: 71). Moreover, creolists have often resorted to tense and aspect labels such as ‘anterior’, ‘nonpunctual’ (cf. for instance Bickerton’s use of ‘punctual’ when referring to perfective), or ‘irrealis’, which are not used outside creole studies and which pose serious difficulties for larger typological comparisons (Winford 1996).

The analysis of TMA markers occupies a prominent position in the literature on the Sotavento varieties (e.g. Silva 1985, Suzuki 1994, Quint 2000, Baptista 2002, Lang 2001, Pratas 2007, Lang 2009 and Jacobs 2011b). However, the interpretation of their functions and thus their labels are often conflicting. Since the goal of this section is not to discuss the nuances and the nature of aspectual and temporal categories but rather to offer a data-based description of the markers in CVSV, I will follow the definitions used in widely accepted large typological studies such as Dahl (1985).

In CVSV all markers are categorically preverbal. Their multifunctionality, phonological reduction, homophony with the locative copula, combinational patterns and, especially, the way

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speaking, should be TA. See also Pratas (2007: 69) for a similar line of reasoning. Following Dahl (1985) future is considered here as a tense category though modal reading may constitute its secondary meanings. For the markers in CVSV see also *APiCS* features 43-50.

they interact with adverbial expressions and inflected-like stative verbs make the correct analysis of CVSV markers particularly challenging.

### 5.2.1 The marker *ta/te*

This subsection focuses on the distribution and semantics of the marker *ta* [tə] and its allomorph *te* [tɪ] in CVSV. Both allomorphs are homophonous with the present form of locative copula (cf. section 5.8). Diachronically, the marker *ta* in CVSV derives from the Sotavento marker *ta* [tə] (analyzed, for instance, in Quint 2000: 236-238, Baptista 2002: 77-80, Pratas 2007: 61-86) which has its origin in the Portuguese and /or Spanish auxiliary verb and copula *estar* and which is one of the basic markers of imperfectivity (often progressivity) in the Iberian-based creoles (Lipski 1993). Quint traces its origin in CVST to the Portuguese progressive periphrasis: *(ele) está a cantar* ‘he is singing’ becoming CVST *e ta kanta* ‘he sings’, considering that the simplification of the Portuguese group /(i)st/ to /t/ and the integration of the particle *ta* in the language goes back to the origin of CVC (Quint 2000: 258).

The main meaning of *ta* in CVSV is imperfective aspect, though it functions also as a present tense marker. As a general imperfective marker *ta/te* has several more specific meanings. It may express habitual aspect, perceived as iterative processes of an unknown number of events of the same type (5.9) and (5.10a). It also refers to timeless generic sentences, where the notion of repetition is neutralized as in (5.10b):

#### i. *Present habitual*

- (5.9) *No ta falá más e kriol.* (FL)  
 1PL PRS.HAB speak more FOC creole  
 ‘What we speak more is Creole.’

- (5.10) a. *N te vendê, asin, pólv, lagósta, lula...* (VB)  
 1SG PRS.HAB sell well octopus lobster squid  
 ‘I sell, well, octopuses, lobsters, squids...’

- b. *Pex te nadá na ága.* (JS)  
 fish PRS.HAB swim in water  
 ‘Fish swim in water.’

The marker may cliticize to the following verb and the vowel [ɪ] is deleted, whether the verb starts with a vowel or a consonant (5.11):

- (5.11) *El t'falá e purtuges.* (SL)  
 3SG PRS.HAB+speaks FOC Portuguese  
 ‘What she [the teacher] speaks is Portuguese.’

The emergence of the allomorph *te* with a reduced high central vowel is consistent with a general phonetic reduction of CVSV markers typical of grammaticalization (Bybee et al. 1994). However, it has not been attested in the available descriptions of CVSV (Veiga 1982 and 1995) while Frusoni's orthography (*Arguí e pô t'andá*. 'Stand up and walk', ...*um ca t'otxá um cama* 'I don't find a bed...' vs. *M ta falá bzôt verdade* 'I tell you the truth' [Frusoni 1979: 77, 75, 103]) suggests that until at least the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the reduction took place only with verbs starting with a vowel.<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, the allomorph *te* is attested both as a marker and locative copula in CVSA (Veiga 1982: 91), hence it's possible that the form constitutes another example of the influence of CVSA on CVSV.

Contrary to the Sotavento varieties where *ta* may have conditional and past habitual readings (in the absence of the anterior marker *-ba* this is provided by the context, Baptista 2002: 78-80) the use of *ta/te* in CVSV with conditionals and past habits is ruled out since these functions are reserved for the marker *táva/tá* (cf. subsection 5.2.2).<sup>14</sup>

Both allomorphs may get a future reading, although this depends on several factors, as CVSV (and CVC in general) does not show any specific future marker. The future reading may be given by a conversational context as in (5.12) where the speaker makes an on-the-spot decision to end the interview, or by a linguistic context such as (5.13) or (5.14):

ii. *Future*

- (5.12) *N ka ta kontá más!* (SS)  
 1SG NEG FUT tell more  
 'I will not tell any more [stories].'

- (5.13) *Á N panhá-l, metê mon, bo ta sintí-l.* (EP)  
 already 1SG catch-3SG put hand 2SG FUT feel-3SG  
 'I have already caught it [the sparrow]; put your hand in [the trap], you will feel it.'

- (5.14) *Kond N ben N ta kmê-l.* (GL)  
 when 1SG come 1SG FUT eat-3SG  
 'When I come I will eat it.'

An important factor for a future reading of *ta/te* is the presence of temporal adverbials which play a crucial role in delimiting the meaning of the markers. In (5.15a), the speaker makes an on-the-spot decision to definitely move house the next day. The elimination of the adverb

<sup>13</sup> Moreover, nothing suggests that the locative copula, homophonous with the marker, displayed in Frusoni's time the contemporary reduced allomorph *te* [ti].

<sup>14</sup> Baptista's analysis is, however, contradicted by Pratas (2007: 85) who considers that *ta* in CVST, when intervening alone, cannot get past time reference.

*manhã* ‘tomorrow’ changes the aspectual and temporal scope of the situation – in (5.15b) the sentence is interpreted as a present imperfective and iterative situation.

- (5.15) a. *Manhã* *N* *te* *mudá d’káza.* (DR)  
 tomorrow 1SG FUT move of+house  
 ‘Tomorrow, I will move house.’
- b. *N* *te* *mudá d’káza.* (DR)  
 1SG PRS.IPFV move of+house  
 ‘[These days] I’m moving house.’

It should be noticed that probably the most frequent strategy to mark future in the variety is via the semi-grammaticalized motion verbs *ben* ‘to come’ and *bá* ‘to go’, which preceded by *ta/te* or progressive *ti ta* indicate a more remote (5.16a) or a very near intentional future (5.16b). It can also have a prospective inchoative value as in (5.16c):<sup>15</sup>

- (5.16) a. *N* *te* *bá* *mudá d’káza.* (DR)  
 1SG PRS.IPFV go move of+house  
 ‘I will move house.’
- b. *N* *ti* *ta* *bá* *mudá d’káza.* (DR)  
 1SG PRS.IPFV PROG go move of+house  
 ‘I am going to move house.’
- c. *N* *te* *ben* *mudá d’káza.* (DR)  
 1SG PRS.IPFV come move of+house  
 ‘I am about to move house.’

In the literature on CVC it has traditionally been assumed that the marker *ta* is [-progressive] (Jacobs 2011b). This assumption is also reflected in the few available descriptions of CVSV that contrast habitual *ta* with the progressive *ti ta* (e.g. Veiga 1982 and 1995).

However, the data suggests that this division is not clear-cut and that there are instances where the marker *ta/te* allows for a present progressive reading. In (5.17) the situation is a clearly on-going progressive activity (the interviewee becomes angry with her interfering son) while in (5.18) the speaker is making a question over the phone.

iii. *Progressive*

- (5.17) *Es ka te falá má bo!* (AR)  
 3PL NEG PRES.PROG speak with 2SG  
 ‘They are not talking to you!’

<sup>15</sup> The verbs *ben* ‘to come’ and *bá* ‘to go’ are in the middle of the process of grammaticalization, functioning still as lexical movement verbs. Note also that in EP analytic future *go + V* is substituting the synthetic *V + future inflection*. (*Vou viajar* vs. *Viajarei* ‘I will travel’). *Bá* in CVSV co-exists with *bai* ‘to go’ which can only indicate movement – *N te bá pdí krédit*. ‘I am going to ask for a loan.’ vs. \**N te bai pdí krédit*.

(5.18) *Uk bo te fazê?* (VL)

what 2SG PRES.PROG do

‘What are you doing?’

It should be stressed that in the examples above the present progressive *ti ta* would be perfectly acceptable. It seems that habitual vs. progressive opposition is neutralized, especially with culmination verbs. There is, however an asymmetry; in progressive situations with telic verbs, the marker *ti ta* can be substituted by *ta/te* but in habitual situations the progressive marker is not admitted.

The lexical aspect of verbs plays an important role as it interacts with various frequency or duration adverbials. For instance, with telic verbs, a frequency adverb such as *tud dia* ‘every day’ (or a wider context) is necessary to convey the habitual reading (5.19a) while *tud dia* cannot co-occur with the progressive. In the absence of this adverbial, the reading of *te* is progressive and can be substituted by progressive *ti ta/te* as in (5.19b):

(5.19) a. *Djon te fazê almós tud dia.* (DR)

Djon PRS.HAB make lunch every day

‘Djon cooks lunch every day.’ Cf. \**Djon ti ta fazê almós tud dia.*b. *Djon te fazê almós.* (DR)

Djon PRS.PROG make lunch

‘Djon is cooking lunch.’ Cf. *Djon ti te fazê almós.*<sup>16</sup>

*Ta/te* also gets a progressive reading in the past tense frame in embedded contexts as in (5.20) and (5.21):<sup>17</sup>

(5.20) *No táva bá te rolá, bá te rolá, bá pará lá dbóx.* (MDL)

1PL PST.IPFV go PROG roll go PROG roll go stop there down

‘We used to go rolling, rolling, [and] to stop down there [at the bottom of a sandy hill].’

(5.21) *Kes bruxa oiá-l te seí, es korê tras d’el.* (FP/2)

DET witch see.PST.PFV-3SG PROG leave 3PL run. PST.PFV after of+3SG

‘The witches saw him leaving [and] they ran after him.’

Note that there is a change of aspect in the verb chain in the above examples and that scope of progressive *te* is narrow and limited to the following verb.

The marker *ta/te* may occurs with both stative (5.22) and non-stative verbs:<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that the progressive *ti ta/te* is often reduce to the *t’te* [tti] sequence which makes it difficult to distinguish from the general imperfective *te* [ti].

<sup>17</sup> The progressive reading of *ta* in CVC in several types of complement clauses has been analyzed in detail in Jacobs (2011b) who challenges the traditional view of *ta* as [-progressive].

<sup>18</sup> Cf. section 5.6 for further discussion of this feature.

- (5.22) *Es te krê pô kel d'Práia [...] no ka ta krê kel d'lá!* (MAF)  
 3PL PRS.IPFV want put DEM of+Praia 1PL NEG PRS.IPFV want DEM of+there  
 'They want to introduce [in schooling] the one [creole] of Praia [...] we don't want that one!'

Finally, in spite of the phonological reduction and cliticization to the verb shown above, short adverbs may be introduced between the marker and the verb stem as in (5.23) and (5.24):

iv. *Tightness of connection with the verb*

- (5.23) *Asves, es ka te nen konxê ningen lá.* (IS)  
 sometimes 3PL NEG PRS. IPFV even.not know anybody there  
 'Sometimes they don't even know anybody there.'

- (5.24) *Ah, es ka ta peská, es ta so vendê.* (LL/AR)  
 ah 3PL NEG PRS. IPFV fish 3PL PRS. IPFV only sell  
 'Ah, they don't fish, they only sell [the fish].'

### 5.2.2 The marker *tá(va)*

This subsection focuses on the distribution and functions of the marker *tá(va)* and its possible evolutionary path.

The marker *tá(va)* ['tave] is a past imperfective marker that shows an allomorph *tá* [ta]. Both allomorphs may be used interchangeably in the speech of the same speaker as in (5.25):

- (5.25) *N táva injuá demas, N tá mariá, uff N táva mariá.* (JAL)  
 1SG PST.IPFV sick too.much 1SG PST.IPFV sick 1SG PST.IPFV sick  
 'I used to get very seasick, I was so sick uff, I was so sick [while working on a ship].'

*Tá(va)* is homophonous with the past locative copula forms *táva* and *tá* (cf. section 5.8) as in (5.26):

- (5.26) *Nen se N táva li, N táva mandá-s bá pa ospital.* (JSC)  
 even if 1SG COP.PST here 1SG COND send-3SG go to hospital  
 'Even if I were here [at home in the village], I would have sent them [women in labor] to the hospital.'

As past imperfective marker *tá(va)* shows specific meanings such as past habitual in (5.27) and (5.28):

i. *Past habitual*

- (5.27) *Jent táva bá pa már.* (OA)  
 people PST.IPFV go to sea  
 'We used to go to the sea.'

- (5.28) ... *kel ves no tá kuzinhá k'lenha.* (SS)  
 that time 2PL PST.IPFV cook with+firewood  
 'In those days we used to cook with wood.'

The contrast between the present habitual *ta* [tɐ] and past habitual *tá* [ta] is well illustrated in (5.29):

- (5.29) *Txeu jent ta dzê k es tá bská pex na Baia...* (LL/EL)  
 many people PRS.IPFV say COMP 3PL PST.IPFV look.for fish in Baia  
 'Many people say that they used to go to Baia to find fish...'

Like other markers, adverbial expressions play a crucial role in specifying the meanings of *tá(va)*. For instance, in (5.30) *tud dia* 'every day' conveys an iterative reading:

- (5.30) *El má rainha tá txorá tud dia...* (MF/1)  
 3SG with queen PST.IPFV cry every day  
 'He and the queen cried every day...'

Unlike the present imperfective *ta/te* that may get a progressive reading, *tá(va)* does not have past progressive meaning in CVSV.<sup>19</sup> *Tá(va)* may operate as a conditional marker in potential (5.31) and counterfactual conditionals (5.32), appearing in both protasis and apodosis, a function which is typical of past markers in creoles.

ii. *Conditional*

- (5.31) *N tá gostá se N táva bai.* (SL)  
 1SG COND like if 1SG COND go  
 'I would like it if I went to [secondary school] [but it's unlikely to happen].'

- (5.32) *Se N táva bá, es tá matá-m lá.* (IS)  
 if 1SG COND go 3PL COND kill-1SG there  
 'If I had gone [to the colonial war in Africa], I would have been killed there.'

Both *táva* and *tá* may also refer to the future in the past (5.33).<sup>20</sup>

iii. *Future in the past*

- (5.33) *Ál ka sabia gze k el tá fazê, el táva trist.* (MF/1)  
 already+3SG NEG knew what COMP 3SG COND do 3SG COP.PST sad  
 'He did not know what to do; he was sad.'

*Tá(va)* may combine with stative verbs (5.34a) often interplaying with inflected-like forms (cf. section 5.6 for further discussion; note that the change from *tá krê* 'wanted' to

<sup>19</sup> Silva's (1985: 170), in her analysis of the Barlavento markers, has suggested a past progressive reading for *tava* (cf. also Suzuki 1994: 76 who repeats Silva's example). The only example given by Silva implies, however, a habitual rather than a progressive reading of this marker.

<sup>20</sup> I use this term after Comrie's (1985) seminal work.

suppletive *kria* ‘would like to’ in (5.34b) would introduce a modal reading of unfulfilled desire which *tá krê* does not yield):

iv. *With stative verbs*

(5.34) a. *No tá krê oiá gzê k tá te pasá na mund fóra.* (TR)  
 1PL PST.IPFV want see what COMP PST.IPFV PROG happen in world out  
 ‘We wanted to see what was happening in the outside world.’

b. *No kria oiá gzê k tá te pasá na mund fóra.* (DR)  
 1PL wanted see what COMP PST.IPFV PROG happen in world out  
 ‘We wanted to see what was happening in the outside world [but we could not].’

Finally, the markers *tá(va)* may be separated from the verb stem by the introduction of short adverbs as in (5.35) and (5.36):

v. *Tightness of connection with the verb*

(5.35) *Na Olánda, Ailton táva so trubaiá.* (DR)  
 in Holland Ailton PST.IPFV only work  
 ‘In Holland, Ailton only worked.’

(5.36) *Funaná ka tá nen izistí.* (VC)  
 funaná NEG PST.IPFV even.not exist  
 ‘*Funaná* [a dance] didn’t even exist [in the old days].’

What is the possible etymology of this particle? In the Sotavento varieties, there is a post-verbal anterior suffix – *ba* rendering a simple past tense reading with stative verbs (5.37a) and a past perfect reading with non-stative verbs as in (5.37b):<sup>21</sup>

(5.37) a. CVST *Ami kunpadri N ka konxeba.* (Baptista 2002: 83)  
 me child’s godfather I NEG know+ANT  
 ‘As for me, I didn’t know my child’s godfather.’

b. CVST *Dj’e fudjiba dja.* (*ibid.*)  
 ‘He had already fled.’

In CVST, *ba* combined with *ta* indicates past habitual as in (5.38a), a structure that is parallel to CVSV *tá(va)* in (5.38b):

(5.38) a. CVST *Kantu Pedru era pikinoti e ta koreba txeu.* (Pratas 2007: 41)  
 when Pedru BE.PAST little.kid 3SG TMA run.TMA a.lot

b. CVSV *Kónd Pedru éra piknin el tá(va) korê txeu.* (JS)  
 when Pedru COP.PAST little.kid 3SG PST.IPFV run a.lot  
 ‘When Pedro was a little kid, he used to run a lot.’

<sup>21</sup> Baptista summarizes the main hypothesis as to its origin, i.e. Portuguese imperfective suffix-*va*, completive *kaba* and substrate languages (Baptista 2002: 83-84). For etymology and use of –*ba* in Santiago see also Quint (2006) and Lang (2009).



Costa and Duarte attest the form *táva* (as conditional marker) in Santo Antão in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and apparently *-ba* was absent in the Barlavento area already at that time (Costa and Duarte 1886: 278). To my knowledge, *-ba* is absent in the modern CVSA; it is however present in the variety of São Nicolau where it co-exist with the preverbal marker *táva*, suggesting the intermediate, between Sotavento and Barlavento, status of this variety (Cardoso 1989).<sup>22</sup>

The presence of allomorph *tá* in CVSV, with functions of a past habitual marker and past locative copula, is well attested in Frusoni's texts. Also, the opposition between the markers *tá* and *ta* in CVSV ([*ta*] and [*tə*]) has been attested in previous works by the use of a written accent (cf. Veiga 1995: 197 and Almada 1961: 110 and 115) but never systematically analyzed, though Lopes da Silva, while discussing ways of forming past imperfective, lists *tá*+V, *ta*+V+*ba* and *tába*+V as strategies available in CVC (Lopes da Silva 1957: 139-140).

Although Silva (1985) and Suzuki (1994) focus on the Sotavento area, they have attempted to explain the evolution of the Sotavento markers into the Barlavento ones.<sup>23</sup>

Suzuki considers that the Barlavento *taba/tava* derives from 'ta plus-ba' (Suzuki 1994: 77). This explanation would neatly explain the semantic parallel between CVST and CVSV shown in (5.38a and b). However, even if we envisage an unlikely scenario in which *-ba* had become detached from the verb stem in the Sotavento [it is still a movable particle in GBC but nothing suggests that it was movable in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Sotavento varieties where today it's a categorically bound inflection (Baptista 2002: 101)] and attached to the preverbal marker *ta*, forming a preverbal particle *taba/tava*, it does not, yet, explain the open vowel in CVSV marker *tá(va)*.

Silva (1985) considers '*tava/ta*' in the Barlavento varieties a 'later development' which did not make up part of the 'original stage [of development]' of the creole (Silva 1985: 167). She has suggested that the form derives from the Sotavento past progressive *staba ta* and results from the application of four rules: i) simplification of the consonant cluster *staba ta*>*taba ta* ii) a rule changing /b/ to /v/ iii) the semantic association of *ta* to the Portuguese 'a' (Ptg. *estava a brincar* 's/he was playing') and iv) deletion of *ta* leaving only *tava* before the verb (Silva 1985: 171).

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<sup>22</sup> I could confirm this information during my 2008 short stay on São Nicolau island.

<sup>23</sup> The fact that *tá* is an allomorph of *táva* and a past imperfective marker is overlooked by both Silva (1985) and Suzuki (1994). Also, Suzuki (1994), while analysing examples from Frusoni, seems to overlook the fact that *ta* and *tá* constitute two different markers in CVSV and assumes that *ta* can appear as *irrealis* in conditional constructions (1994: 105), a function that is confined to *tá(va)*.

The phonological reduction of *táva* to *tá* in CVSV could be added to this path. This account explains well the phonological shape of the marker (i.e. the preservation of the open stressed vowel from Sotavento past progressive *stába ta*). Moreover, as shown by Bybee et al. (1994: 142) the evolution of past imperfectives from progressive is a common path of development.

### 5.2.3 Combinations

The goal of this section is two-fold. Firstly, it describes the forms, distribution, and functions of the present and past progressive marker combinations in modern CVSV. Secondly, it presents the possible evolutionary pathway of these markers that might explain some of their idiosyncrasies.

#### 5.2.3.1 *Ti ta/te*

In the contemporary CVSV the combinations *ti ta* [titə] and *ti te* [titɨ] mark present progressive tense.<sup>24</sup> The marker displays several specific meanings. It can be used for an action in progress at the moment of utterance as in (5.39):

##### i. *Present ongoing action*

- (5.39) *Gatin, kze bo ten, k bo ti ta miá asin?* (IR)  
 kitten what 2SG have REL 2SG PRS.IPFV PROG meow this.way  
 ‘Kitten, why are meowing like this?’

Note that in (5.39), no assumption is made as to whether the action started before or will continue into the future. Nonetheless, *ti ta* may refer to an ongoing dynamic activity that has begun before the reference time and that will continue after, representing a changing and developing situation which is not in progress at the actual moment of utterance (5.40) and (5.41):

##### ii. *Changing and developing situation*

- (5.40) *Lá te k uns jent e k ti ta trá ot pos...* (OA)  
 there COP with DET people FOC REL PRS.IPFV PROG make other well  
 ‘There are people [on your land] that are drilling another well....’

- (5.41) *Ainda ten un na skóla, ti te fazê kurs d’prufsor.* (MJD)  
 still have one at school PRS.IPFV PROG do course of+teacher  
 ‘There is still one [child] at school, in a teacher’s training program.’

<sup>24</sup> Given that the form *ti* does not occur independently, the combination could be spelled *tita* similarly to the practice of writing Sotavento’s progressive *sata* as one word (cf. Pratas 2007). I have opted, however, to follow native speakers’ practice of representing it as two separate particles.

Contrary to the Santiago *sata*, *ti ta* never occurs in past contexts in which progressivity is expressed by the string *tá(va) te* or by *ta/te* in embedded contexts.<sup>25</sup>

Though progressives are generally combined with non-stative verbs cross-linguistically (Dahl 1985: 91)<sup>26</sup> and progressive particles tend not to mark stative verbs in creole languages, the marker *ti ta* in CVSV may combine with stative verbs:

iii. *With stative verbs*

(5.42) *Y na Prása, bosê ti ta lenbrá?* (LL/AL)  
 and in Prása 2SG PRS.IPFV PROG remember  
 ‘And on Prása [i.e. the main square], do you remember?’

(5.43) *Já oj N ti ta sintí es problema...* (AR)  
 already today 1SG PRS.IPFV PROG feel DEM problem  
 ‘Yet today I’m feeling all these [health] problems...’

The possibility of combining progressive markers with statives and the implication it poses for defining the properties of CVC’s statives has been debated in several works (cf. Silva 1985, Suzuki 1994, Baptista 2002, Pratas 2007 and 2010) and will be discussed in more detail in section 5.6. At this point, it should be noted that in CVSV the progressive sequence may combine with the overwhelming majority of stative verbs, ruling out only those that cannot be divided into phases, such as *ten* ‘to have’ referring to inherent properties and the copula *stód* ‘to be at’ as shown by the ungrammaticality of (5.44a and b):<sup>27</sup>

- (5.44) a. \**Ivan ti ta ten ói verd.* (DR)  
 Djon PRS.IPFV PROG have eye green  
 \*‘Djon is having green eyes.’
- b. \**Maria ti ta stód na moráda.* (SM)  
 Maria PRS.IPFV PROG be in city  
 \*‘Maria is being in the city.’

The string *ti ta* may also get near future reading, but this depends on other elements such as grammaticalized *bá* ‘to go’ expressing intention as in (5.45) or adverbials.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cf. CVST: *E sata koreba.* vs. CVSV: *El táva te korê.* ‘He was running’

<sup>26</sup> Dahl (1985) gives an example of Quechua as a language that combines progressive marking with statives. More significantly, in EP the progressive auxiliary periphrasis *estar + a + verb* also combines with statives as in *Estou a ter imensas dores de cabeça.* ‘I have terrible headaches.’ *Estas a querer dizer-me que...* ‘You want to tell me that...’

<sup>27</sup> These are the cases of ‘typical states’ (Pratas 2010) that cannot be phased.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Baptista (2002: 82) who underlines the role of adverbs in giving the Sotavento progressive marker *sta* future reading.

iv. *Intentions and future arrangements*

- (5.45) *Agóra, es ti ta bá konversá...* (AMD)  
 now 3PL PRS.IPFV PROG go talk  
 ‘Now they are going to talk...’

Finally, as to the tightness of connection with the verb, no linguistic material may be introduced between the chain and the verb. The chain itself may, however, be discontinuous as in (5.46a):

v. *Tightness of connection with the verb*

- (5.46) a. *No te so te brinká!* (VL)  
 1PL PRS.IPFV only PROG play  
 ‘We are only playing!’

- b. *No te lá te brinká.* (VL)  
 1PL COP.PRS there PROG play  
 ‘We are there, playing.’

The introduction of an adverb between the markers changes the phonological shape of the first element, suggesting a loose connection between them with the first one functioning more as an auxiliary, while the second is a genuine marker.<sup>29</sup> Yet, in spite of the homophony and parallel distribution of the first particle to the locative copula (5.46b), the adverbs disambiguate the readings.

Progressive aspect can be interpreted as a kind of imperfective. There is a strong tendency among the world’s languages for the progressives to be formed by periphrastic, most often auxiliary, constructions of which Portuguese *estar* + *a* + INF is an example (Dahl 1985: 91). Progressives often extend their functional domain into the marking of habitual aspect, constituting diachronic sources of the imperfectives (Bybee et al. 1994; this is the case of imperfective *ta* in CVC).

CVST shows a remarkable variety of strategies to mark progressive aspect. In CVST, there are four different markers: *sata* and *sta* (the latter used mainly in Praia’s urban setting) and *ata* and *aita*, which are used in conservative rural areas (Quint 2000: 240). Moreover, there is a combination of *sta ta* and a periphrastic construction *sta na* + V (*Bu sta na skrebi?* ‘Are you writing?’ Quint 2000: 264). Given that the progressive marker in GBC and Casamance is *na* and that there are several progressive markers in the Barlavento varieties, progressive is the most

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Jacobs (2011b) for a similar interpretation of *ti ta* and other complex progressive markers in CVC.

variable marker in the Upper Guinea and contrasts sharply with the imperfective *ta* used by all creoles in the area.<sup>30</sup>

There is an ongoing debate as to the etymology of *sta*, *sata*, and *sta ta* in CVST.<sup>31</sup> For the Barlavento area, clearly present progressive combinations *El tâ tâ* chegâ ‘He is coming’ and *Ês braço ti tâ duêm* ‘This arm is hurting me’ were attested by Costa and Duarte (1886: 273). Also, already in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *ta ta* and *ti ta* were considered typical of the Barlavento varieties (Fernandes n/d) and in mid 20<sup>th</sup> century Frusoni attested for CVSV the presence of *ti ta*, often contracted to *ti t’*, and the past progressive *tá ta* (Frusoni 1979 and Mesquitela Lima 1992). *Ta ta* is also present in contemporary São Nicolau variety (Cardoso 1989: 65). As to its etymology, Lopes da Silva (1957: 139) suggests that progressive is formed by a reduplication of *tâ tâ* “where the first functions as an auxiliary and the second, sometimes, as a preposition”, considering the first particle a variant of *sta*, thus deriving Barlavento *ta ta* from Santiago *sta ta* (1957: 139). Most importantly, he observes that in CVSA the first element is dissimilated forming the *tî tâ* sequence (Lopes da Silva 1957: 139). His explanations seems to be correct since the first particle has auxiliary properties and the Santo Antão *ti ta* form is a likely source of the modern present progressive in CVSV.<sup>32</sup>

### 5.2.3.2 *Tá(va) ta/te*

Another combination in modern CVSV is the past progressive *tá(va)/tá + ta/te*.<sup>33</sup> It combines past imperfective of *táva* or *tá* (discussed in 5.2.2) with the general imperfective *ta* or *te* which, as shown in section 5.2.1, may function also as a progressive marker.

The first element *táva* is often reduced to *tá* and the second – *ta* – to *te*.<sup>34</sup> *Tá ta* is still found in written texts as in (5.47) but it is disappearing from speech where *tá te* [‘tatɨ] is the most common form.

- (5.47) *Kóndjá’l tá ta konsegíoiákel bitx el pegánase kavakin...* (MF/1)  
 whenalready+3SGPST.IPFV PROGmanage see the animal 3SGtake on 3SG.POSS guitar  
 ‘When he finally managed to see that animal, he took his guitar...’

<sup>30</sup> I am grateful to Nicolas Quint for calling my attention to this contrast.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. for instance Quint (2000: 258-260), Pratas (2007) on differences between *sata* and *sta ta* in Santiago, Lang (2009) on the role of Wolof substrate in the origin of *sata* and Jacobs (2011b) for the summary of previous analyses.

<sup>32</sup> Also Pratas (2007: 64) observes that *ti ta* in São Vicente is equivalent to the Santiago urban *sta ta* combination.

<sup>33</sup> Silva has suggested that *táva ta* combination is used for past habitual in the Barlavento based on an example produced by a speaker from Santo Antão (1985: 169). However, I haven’t attested its marking habitual aspect in CVSV.

<sup>34</sup> In rapid speech the second element not only cliticizes to the following verb (the vowel is deleted) but may also become voiced before an initial voiced consonant as in *Kel mnina korê más fort, se emig tá d’gritá*. (IL/2) ‘The girl ran quicker, her friend was shouting...’

The combination may be used for a dynamic action that was in progress in the past (5.48a) or for two parallel progressive past actions (5.48b):

i. *Past progressive*

(5.48) a. *Kes trópa táva te korê...* (MLD)

DEM troop PST.IPFV PROG run

‘The troops were running...’

b. *Kes trópa táva te korê y pov táva te gritá.* (JS)

DEM troop PST.IPFV PROG run and people PST.IPFV PROG shout

‘The troops were running and the people were shouting.’

Also, it can designate a progressive action at the moment of inception or before inception, indicating intention (future progressive in the past):

ii. *Future progressive in the past*

(5.49) *Lori dzê-m pa N dzê-b k el tá te ben.* (LFL)

Lori tell-1SG COMP 1SG tell-1SG COMP 3SG PST.IPFV PROG come

[phone call message] ‘Lori told me to tell you that she was coming.’

In addition, *tá(va) te* may designate a period in the past, without a beginning or an end point which sets a background scenario for the story-line as in (5.50):

iii. *Background for the story-line*

(5.50) *Entrá independência, PAIGC táva te governá país, na sgunda*  
enter independence PAIGC PST.IPFV PROG rule country on second

*kanpanha d’ileisãu e k es ben pô luz.* (TR)  
campaign of+election FOC REL 3PL come.PFV put light

‘[When] independence came, PAIGC was ruling the country; it was during the second election campaign that the electricity was brought [here].’

This backgrounding function is particularly visible in narrative texts, where this combination is used to foreground story-line events expressed by perfective, unmarked verbs as in (5.51):

(5.51) *Kóndes tá te txgá pert d’moráda, mosin voltá pael, el dzê-l...* (MF/1)

when3PL PST.IPFV PROG arrive close of+town boy turn.PFV to 3SG 3SG say.PFV-3SG

‘When they got close to the town, the boy turned to him and told him...’

The combination may also be used in potential (5.52) and counterfactual conditionals (5.53), both in protasis and apodosis:

iv. *Conditionals*

(5.52) *Se bo tá(va) te studa grinhasin, N tá(va) te ijdó-b.* DR

if 2SG PST.IPFV PROG study now 1SG PST.IPFV PROG help-2SG

‘If you were studying right now, I would be helping you.’

- (5.53) *Se aont no tá(va) te trubaiá kond direktor txgá,*  
 if yesterday 1PL PST.IPFV PROG work when director arrive  
*no ka tá(va) te txorá grinhasin. (DR)*  
 1PL NEG PST.IPFV PROG cry now  
 ‘If yesterday we had been working when the director arrived, we would not have been crying now.’

The string *tá(va) te* may be used not only with dynamic verbs but also with stative, establishing a complex modal relationship with the suppletive forms (5.54a and b) analyzed in subsection 5.6.1.

v. *With stative verbs*

- (5.54) a. *N ka tá te podê rezistí mar dret. (JAL)*  
 1SG NEG PST.IPFV PROG could resist sea well  
 ‘I couldn’t resist the sea [sickness] very well.’ [lack of physical capacity].
- b. *N ka pudia rezistí kel amdjer. (DR)*  
 1SG NEG could resist DEM woman  
 ‘I could not resist [the temptation] that woman.’ [lack of mental capacity]

vi. *Tightness of connection*

No linguistic material can intervene between the chain *tá(va) ta/te* and the verb. What is striking is that unlike other creoles, where TMA particles in a string are adjacent, and like the present progressive *ti ta*, short adverbs intervene between particles in the chain (5.55):

- (5.55) *N tá so ta prokurá pa bzot... (OA)*  
 1SG PST.IPFV only PROG look.for for 2PL  
 ‘I was only looking for you...[I haven’t done anything else]’

The reasons for its discontinuous character of past progressive lies in its etymology. As in the case of present progressive, several structures may be used for past progressive in CVST (cf. for instance Baptista 2002: 87 and Pratas 2007: 67). One of these, along with *sata V-ba*, is a combination of progressive *sta* and anterior *ba* followed by the imperfective *ta* (*ba* may be optionally attached to the verb):

- (5.56) CVST *Ailton stába ta laba(ba) rópa... (CVST, Emanuel de Pina, p.c.)*  
 Ailton PROG.PST TMA wash.(PST) clothes  
 ‘Ailton was washing the clothes...’

Lopes da Silva (1957) has suggested that the process of marking past progressive is parallel to the present progressive with the difference that the auxiliary (i.e. the first element) comes from *stába*, becoming either *xtává* or *tává* in CVSV and CVSA (p.140). According to this

reasoning, also presented by Silva (1985) and Suzuki (1994), the development of the past progressive marker in CVSV might have followed the path: *stába ta* > *tá(va) ta* > *tá te*.

The fact that the suffix *-ba* which attaches to lexical verbs in CVST may also attach to progressive *sta*, but not to the progressive *sata* is, according to Pratas (2007) one of the arguments for postulating different nature of the two progressive markers (i.e. an auxiliary *sta* vs. a genuine verbal marker *sata*).<sup>35</sup> The development of *tá(va) te* from the Sotavento *stába ta* may explain the discontinuous character of the chain in CVSV and the possibility of introduction of adverbs between the morphemes as in (5.55) and (5.57a). The first element shows greater autonomy and as shown in (5.57b) may be substituted by a sequence: marker + *stód* ‘to be’ while the second *ta/te* is a ‘true’ progressive marker:

- (5.57) a. *No tá senpr te fazê konviv...* (VL)  
 1PL PST.IPFV always PROG do activity  
 ‘We were always organizing activities...’
- b. *No tá stód senpr te fazê konviv asin, senpr alegrá zona.* (DP)  
 1PL PST.IPFV be always PROG do activity always cheer.up area  
 ‘We were always organizing activities, always cheering up the neighborhood.’

Table 5.1 summarizes the main temporal and aspectual scopes of TMA markers in CVSV.<sup>36</sup>

**Table 5.1 TMA markers and their combinations in CVSV**

	TENSE			ASPECT		
	Past	Present	Future	Perfective	Imperfective	
					Habitual	Progressive
<i>zero</i>	+	+ <sup>37</sup>	– <sup>38</sup>	+	–	–
<i>ta/te</i>	– <sup>39</sup>	+	+	–	+	+
<i>tá(va)</i>	+	–	– <sup>40</sup>	–	+	–
<i>ti ta/ti te</i>	–	+	–	–	–	+
<i>tá(va) ta/te</i>	+	–	– <sup>41</sup>	–	–	+

<sup>35</sup> Other arguments for this distinction are: *sta* (an auxiliary) contrary to *sata* (verbal particle) may be separated from the main verb by adverbs such as: *sempri/tudora* ‘always’ (Pratas 2007: 61); *sta* functions as a copula and in addition to marker *-ba* it may also combine with other TMA marker – the preverbal *ta*. (Pratas 2007: 89).

<sup>36</sup> Adapted from Pratas’ (2007: 85) classification for CVST.

<sup>37</sup> With a restricted set of stative verbs, including copulas.

<sup>38</sup> Occurs in potential conditionals in protasis.

<sup>39</sup> Occurs in past contexts only as progressive and only in embedded clauses.

<sup>40</sup> Occurs in potential and counterfactual conditionals in protasis and apodosis.

<sup>41</sup> Occurs in potential and counterfactual conditionals in protasis and apodosis.



### 5.2.4 The status of (j)á

This section discusses the particle *já* [ʒa] and its allomorph *á* [a] in CVSV. It starts with terminological considerations and a brief overview of the literature on this marker in CVC in subsection 5.2.4.1. In 5.2.4.2, the distribution and semantics of (j)á in CVSV are analyzed in order to answer the question whether (j)á in CVSV can be considered as one of the TMA markers or whether it functions solely as an adverbial.

#### 5.2.4.1 The marker *dja/já* in CVC

The Sotavento varieties show two particles *dja* and *já*. There is a substantial divergence in the literature as to whether *dja* is a grammaticalized marker (and what its semantics is) or, like *já*, an adverb meaning ‘already’.

Lopes da Silva (1957: 147), Almada (1961: 129) and Veiga (1982: 160) all consider *dja* in the Santiago variety a time adverb, a position shared by Lang et al. (2002: 258). Quint, on the other hand, analyzes *dja* as a *marque l’actualisation* with a use similar to French *passé composé* (Quint 2000: 235) and does not mention its adverbial function while Veiga, in later publications, labels *dja* as indicating *aspecto realizado* (Veiga 1995: 197).

The first work to analyze *dja* (in the Sotavento varieties) as a TMA marker is Silva (1985) who within the bickertonian framework labels it ‘completive’ and concludes that *dja* plays a central role in CVC grammar (Silva 1985: 179).<sup>42</sup> Yet, according to Silva, *dja* has been weakening and narrowing its original completive marker role and, because of decreolization, is developing the semantics of the perfective and functioning “more and more like the Portuguese *já* (already)” (Silva 1985:166, 179). Suzuki observes, however, that what Silva considers ‘perfective’ should be labeled ‘perfect’ (Suzuki 1994: 63); thus, she defines *dja* as a perfect marker in Comrie’s sense<sup>43</sup> given the fact, among others, that *dja* may appear in uncompleted situations, combining with the present progressive marker *sa ta* as in (5.57):

(5.58) *Dja nhos sa ta 'ntendê cumpanhero midjor?* (Silva 1985: 178, cited in Suzuki 1994: 65)  
‘Are you beginning to understand one other better?’

Moreover, Suzuki observes the double status of this marker, i.e. a grammaticalized particle and an adverb (Suzuki 1994: 86).

<sup>42</sup> The label ‘completive’ has traditionally been used in relation to the marker *dja* in CVC (Bickerton 1981 and Holm 1988; also Holm and Patrick eds. 2007).

<sup>43</sup> According to Comrie’s definition “the perfect links a present state to a past situation, whether this past situation was an individual event, or a state, or a process not yet completed, so that there is nothing in the definition of the perfect to preclude combination with the imperfective or progressive.” (Comrie 1976: 62).

Baptista (2002), following (Suzuki 1994), underlines that ‘completive’ is only one of the functions fulfilled by *dja* in the Sotavento varieties. She defines *dja* as a ‘perfective marker’ that “allows a possible continuing relevance of the action or state to the present situation” (2002: 85).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, she records the presence of adverb *já* in the Sotavento varieties and, in accord with Suzuki (1994), observes that *dja* itself may function as both perfective marker and an adverb meaning ‘now, soon, and already’ (Baptista 2002: 86).<sup>45</sup>

Finally, Pratas states that *dja* has an ambiguous status between a temporal morpheme (and as such it contributes to the location in time and to the setting of perspective) and an adverb, especially in the sentence final position (Pratas 2007: 107).

Given the complex nature of this particle and the fact that some authors (e.g. Silva 1985) have assumed that the change operating on *dja* (such as development from completive to perfective marker) is indicative of decreolization, a brief outline of the etymology and evolution of this marker in CVC may cast some light on the issue of its status.

It is plausible that in a pidgin or pre-pidgin that developed on the Portuguese territory in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (*Língua de Preto*) the Portuguese adverb *já* was reanalyzed and subsequently grammaticalized as aspectual and temporal marker (Naro 1978). (5.59) presents some of the examples of the use of *já* in *Língua de Preto*:

- (5.59) a. ***Vosso mundo já pássaro;/bosso barba já cajaro*** (Kihm and Rougé fc.: 31)<sup>46</sup>  
 ‘Your world has already passed/your beard has already been whitewashed.’
- b. ***Ja mim diseo isso ja.*** (Naro 1978: 329)  
 ‘I have (already) said that.’
- c. ***Já vindimae turu turu.*** (Pereira 2001a: 266)  
 ‘They have picked the grapes.’

Bickerton (1981) has considered the final position (as in 5.59b) as the oldest construction involving a completive marker in several Atlantic creoles, representing the substrate influence in the initial stages of creole formation.<sup>47</sup> However, as observed by Pereira (2001a: 265), the particle *já* in *Língua de Preto* fills an adverbial and aspectual function parallel to EP. This is

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<sup>44</sup> However, Suzuki defines *dja* as ‘perfect’ and not as ‘perfective’ (Suzuki 1994: 61). Baptista (2002) herself is inconclusive as to the label, using also the term ‘perfect’ in relation to *dja* (for instance, on p. 94).

<sup>45</sup> Maurer (2006) in his review of Baptista (2002) suggests that *dja* in the Sotavento varieties should be interpreted solely as an adverb and not as a marker.

<sup>46</sup> Page number corresponds to the pre-published version available at: <http://www.llf.cnrs.fr/Gens/Kihm/index-fr.php>

<sup>47</sup> Bickerton proposed a gradual incorporation of the completive marker in TMA systems of creoles: in the initial phase, it can only appear in the sentence final position; in the subsequent phase it can occur pre-verbally and only in the final stage of development it can combine with other markers (Bickerton 1981: 90-94).

backed by the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century archaic Portuguese data where the mobility of the particle seems greater than in modern EP, a fact that *Língua de Preto* is likely to have reflected:

- (5.60) a. ...*mais o bispo que leixaran [...] enfermo acharon-no [...] ja morto...*(Mattos e Silva 1989: 430)  
 ‘... but the bishop that they had left ill [...] they found him [...] already dead.’
- b. ...*tiinha ja a sa alma obrigada (ibid., p. 441)*  
 ‘...he had his soul already lost.’
- c. ...*Pedro, non queiras ja cansar, ca o enfermo a que ias ja morto he (ibid., p.420)*  
 ‘...They told him: Pedro, you do not need to bother any more, the sick [one] you were heading for is already dead.’

In Portuguese-based creoles *já* is present from Macau to São Tomé, filling a variety of functions from a TMA marker (e.g. in Papia Kristang where it is an anterior tense particle with aspectual values of ‘completed and inchoative’ [Tomás 2004: 150-151]; or in Korlai, where it evolved from a past marker to an emphatic discourse marker and a proverb, [Clements 1996: 117-119]) or an adverb (for instance, in GBC, Kihm 1994: 74-75 and Peck 1988). Nevertheless, it seems that there is no clear correlation between the functions of *já* and the intensity of the contact with Portuguese. If in Daman the presence of Portuguese was constant until at least 1961 and the modern use of *já* as an adverb ‘already’ (Clements and Koontz-Garboden 2002: 196-197) can be interpreted as a result of this influence, in GBC *já* has an adverbial use as well, notwithstanding the far less significant Portuguese influence.

Therefore, given the mobility of *já* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese pidgin and its different functions in world-wide Portuguese-based creoles, which seems independent of their basilectal nature, only with difficulty we could fit *dja* into the scale of incorporation proposed by Bickerton (1981) and to consider its adverbial character in CVC as resulting from superstrate influence.

Also, a review of the available 19<sup>th</sup> century texts (see below), which include mostly Santiago data, has revealed a great heterogeneity of forms and functions of *dja/já* which oscillates between a TMA grammaticalized marker and an adverb.<sup>48</sup>

Lopes da Lima (1844: 109) considers that it marks ‘preterit tense’ while Coelho (1880-1886) presents examples that show the use of this particle oscillating between that of an adverb and a grammaticalized marker (5.61a-c).

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<sup>48</sup> In regard to the Barlavento varieties the only available 19<sup>th</sup> century texts consists of five strophes of translation of Camões’s Portuguese epopee into Santo Antão variety (Vasconcellos 1898) and some isolated commentaries and three short texts samples by Costa and Duarte (1886) (cf. also chapter 2).

- (5.61) a. *Prónóme ê sima já 'n esplicá-nhô na fója dôs.* (CVST, Coelho 1880-1886: 7)  
 ‘The pronoun is what I have already explained to you on page two.’
- b. *Jâ dura qui en ca ôja nhô.* (CVST, Coelho 1880-1886: 11)  
 ‘It has been a long time since I last saw you.’
- c. *Câ bu squêcê, já bu oubí?* (CVST, Coelho 1880-1886: 12)  
 ‘Don’t forget, have you heard?’

Costa and Duarte (1886: 293) and Brito (1887: 381) label *já* as a temporal adverb but the data presented suggest also grammaticalization (5.62) and (5.63):

- (5.62) *Bô armun ‘staba morto i agora jâl bibo.* (CVST, Costa e Duarte, 1886: 310)  
 ‘Your brother was dead and now he come alive’
- (5.63) *Nhôr Dês ki ka dâ buru chifre jh’ê sabê ‘pamodi.* (CVST, Brito 1887: 389)  
 ‘God knew why he did not give horns to a donkey.’

Finally, Schuchardt (1888: 312) labels it a ‘perfective marker’ and shows usage parallel to contemporary past perfect constructions in the Santiago variety as in (5.64):

- (5.64) *Bô armun jha mórêba já, e hojhe jhe torna bibo.* (CVST, Schuchardt 1888: 315)  
 ‘Your brother was dead and today he has come alive.’

Notwithstanding methodological problems posed by 19<sup>th</sup> century texts on CVC (Holm and Swolkien 2009), what seems clear is that divergent interpretations and attestation of multifunctionality of *dja/já* in CVC dates back to the beginning of the study of this language.

#### 5.2.4.2 (J)á in CVSV

From an analysis of sporadic mentions of *já* in the scarce 19<sup>th</sup> century literature referring to Barlavento, it can be deduced that *já* was perceived as an adverb (Costa and Duarte 1886: 293). Contemporary authors, though unanimous in considering it an adverb, give very few examples and little linguistic context [cf. Veiga (1982) in relation to Santo Antão and São Vicente and Veiga (1995) on São Vicente, Almada (1961) on São Vicente, Lopes da Silva (1957) and Cardoso (1989) on São Nicolau].

As noted above, *já* in CVSV shows an allomorph *á* – compare (5.65) and (5.66):

- (5.65) *Kónd es tá ben sabê éra tard, agora já ka tinha ramed.* (JSM)  
 when 3PL TMA come know COP.PST late now already NEG had solution  
 ‘When they [parents] came to know it was too late, there was already no solution.’
- (5.66) ... *txeu jent á dzê nha pai asin.* (MAL)  
 many people already say 1SG.POSS father this.way  
 ‘...many people have already told my father so.’

There are several possibilities as to the origin of *já* in CVSV. It could be derived from the Sotavento *dja*,<sup>49</sup> assuming that the Sotavento *já* is of a recent origin and it was not actually brought by the first settlers to São Vicente. It is also possible that CVSV *já* was incorporated from the Portuguese or brought from other Barlavento varieties to São Vicente. As for its allomorph *á*, it is not attested in any of the available texts or works on CVSV. This might suggest recent phonological erosion, which may have affected also other markers and the copulas in the variety. Cardoso, however, attests the existence of the form *á*, synonymous to *dja* (labeled as an adverb) in São Nicolau variety (Cardoso 1989: 37).<sup>50</sup> Given what we know about the early formation of CVSV and the role that CVSN variety might have played in its development, it seems legitimate to assume that *á* might constitute one of the imprints of this variety on CVSV.

- (5.67) *Ĵa-N bà nbòra (à-N bà nbòra)* (CVSN, Cardoso 1989: 113)  
 ‘Vou-me embora.’ ‘I am leaving.’

The basic question is whether this morpheme is an adverb or a grammaticalized morpheme. According to Auwera, an adverb shows four basic properties: (i) it is invariable; ii) it modifies the verb; iii) it is optional; iv) it occurs in a position that is reserved for adverbs (Auwera 1994). (*J*)*á* is invariable; it modifies the verb though in can modify the entire sentence as in (5.68):

- (5.68) *Já oj ka ta dá txuva na Kab Verd.* (JSM)  
 already today NEG TMA give rain in Cape Verde  
 ‘Yet nowadays, it doesn’t rain in Cape Verde.’

Optionality is according to Auwera the weakest of the above criteria (1994: 41). It implies that (*j*)*á* can be deleted without making the structure ungrammatical (as in 5.69); the semantics of the structure is, however, altered.

- (5.69) *Mamã, (á) bo ta pront?* (LL/LF)  
 mother already 2SG COP ready  
 ‘Mother, are you ready (yet)?’

As to its distribution, (*j*)*á* in CVSV shows similarities to but also some divergences from the Sotavento *dja*. It must follow the full noun phrases (5.70), precede a subject clitic (5.69) but it can either follow or precede non-clitic pronouns (5.71a and b).

- (5.70) *Nha tia (j)á fazê kus-kus?* (DR)  
 1SG.POSS aunt already do kus-kus  
 ‘Has my aunt done the *kus-kus* yet?’ Cf. *\*(J)á nha tia fazê kus-kus?*

<sup>49</sup> The correspondence between CVST initial pre-palatal affricate [dʒ] and fricative [ʒ] in CVSV is fairly systematic.

<sup>50</sup> A caveat is in order as Cardoso’s (1989) study is based on translations from Portuguese and not on natural speech examples.

- (5.71) a. *Bosê á táva kazód?* (LL/AO)  
2SG already COP.PST married

- b. *Á bosê táva kazód?*  
'Were you already married?'

As in the Sotavento varieties, it may combine with other TMA markers. However, unlike the Sotavento varieties, it cannot appear more than once in a clause and it does not form past perfect construction as in (5.72):

- (5.72) *Dj'e fudjiba dja.* 'He had already fled.' (CVST, Baptista 2002: 83)<sup>51</sup>

(*J*)*á* shows some restrictions in combining with certain types of adverbials and verbs with certain meanings. For instance, it is incompatible with habitual and iterative contexts (5.73b) or with verbs that designate permanent and non-phaseable states that would create meanings that contradict our knowledge of the world (5.74a; cf. 5.74b):

- (5.73) a. *Tud dia, el te tmá se pinga.* (NL)  
all day 3SG PRES.IPFV take 3SG.POSS drink  
'Everyday, he has a drink.'

- b. \**Tud dia, á'l te tmá se pinga.*

- (5.74) a. *Ivan \*já ten ói azul.* (NL)  
Ivan already have eye blue  
'Ivan has already blue eyes.'

- b. *Grinhasin, kuas tud jent já ten tlivizãu.* (DP)  
nowadays nearly all people already have television  
'Nowadays, nearly everybody already has a TV set.'

Moreover, applying some of the criteria used by Peck (1988: 218-222) in determining the adverbial character of *já* in GBC it can be observed that (*j*)*á* in CVSV appears not only clause initially and before verbs (a position typical of TMA markers) but also after the verb in an imperative construction as in (5.75) with a clear temporal adverbial use:

- (5.75) *Argi já!* (DR)  
get.up now  
'Get up immediately!'

In addition, it cannot be placed between a negator and a verb, which is a canonical position for TMA in CVC (5.76b). Also, the full form *já* can be stressed and phonologically independent (5.76c), though not in all contexts.

<sup>51</sup> As shown in section 5.3, CVSV forms past perfect in periphrastic auxiliary constructions with the verb *tinha* 'had'.

(5.76) a. *Ma li na Sonsent bosê á ka kontinuá skóla?* (LL/AL)  
 but here on São Vicente 2SG already NEG continue school

b. *Ma li na Sonsent bosê ka \*(j)á kontinuá skóla?*  
 ‘But here on São Vicente, you have not continue the schooling yet?’

c. *Nãu, nãu, li já nãu.* (AL)  
 NEG NEG here already NEG  
 ‘No, no, here I haven’t continued.’

Finally, *(j)á* is substituted by an adverb *ainda ~inda* ‘yet’ in negative contexts, which is a feature unlike TMA markers (5.77):

(5.77) *Mi ainda li, nanha káza [...] N ka ten eluz ma já el te previst.* (ASL)  
 1SG yet here in 1SG.POSS house 1SG NEG have light but already 3SG COP planned  
 ‘Me, here in my house, [...] I do not have yet electricity, but it is has already been planned.’

From the above, it seems that *(j)á* is syntactically an adverb and not a TMA marker. It covers a range of semantic values such as the temporal meaning of ‘immediately, now’ as in (5.75) and the aspectual meaning of perfect as in (5.78) and (5.79):<sup>52</sup>

(5.78) *Nãu kel ves el tá morá pré li [...] ma agóra á’l mudá.* (VC)  
 NEG DEM time 3SG PST.IPFV live here but now already+3SG move  
 ‘No, at that time she used to live here, [...] but now she has already moved.’

(5.79) *Tinha nha Nenê d’Téka ma á’l morê na Olánda,* (VC)  
 had lady Nene of+Téka but already+3SG die in Holland  
*k ses fidj mandá levá-l pa Olánda, el morê prá lá.*  
 REL 3PL.POSS child send take+3SG to Holland 3SG die there  
 ‘There was Madam Nenê d’Téka but she died in Holland; her children brought her to Holland, and she died there.’

In the above examples two resultative states emerge following two culminated events (i.e. ‘moving the house’ and ‘dying’). The person in (5.78) does not live in the area anymore and Nene de Teka is dead. *(J)á* specifies the internal structure and establishes a frontier and the change between one state and another – the resulting state in which the moment of speech is located.

However, *já/á* shows usages where the value of a frontier between two opposing states is attenuated (note that in 5.80 there is no passage from the unblocked state to the blocked pipe)

<sup>52</sup> For different uses of the term ‘perfect’ and discussion of distinction from ‘perfective’ cf. Dahl (1985, chapter 5).

and where it does not have a perfect of result but rather a completive meaning, introducing ‘new situation’ (Dahl and Velupillai 2005) where the notion of surprise and recency plays a role:<sup>53</sup>

- (5.80) *Ó papa kel tub á intpí!* (NL)  
 VOC father DET pipe already block  
 ‘Father, the pipe has got blocked.’

Apart from fulfilling a role in the temporal and aspectual system in CVSV, *(j)á* encapsulates several modal values. It can express appreciation of, for instance, degree (5.81) or show the modal value of a superlative as in (5.82).<sup>54</sup>

- (5.81) *El tem ki mandá na moráda[...] bem konprá kavala, kel za é dinheiro* (Braga 1982: 99)  
 ‘He must order [it] in the city, come buy mackrell, and this [already] is money.’

- (5.82) *Bo, á bo e bur!* (NL)  
 2SG already 2SG COP donkey  
 ‘You, you are a real jackass!’

*(J)á* also functions as a pragmatic operator, contributing in a more pragmatic than semantic way to the communication, which is not a surprise, given the fact that these are precisely tense adverbs and perception verbs as in (5.83) that due to the process of bleaching (development from concrete to abstract meaning) develop into pragmatic operators (Ariel 1994).

- (5.83) *Grinhasin N ten korenta y un óne, á bo oiá.* (ASL)  
 Now 1SG have forty and one year already 2SG see  
 ‘Now I am forty-one years old, you see.’

### 5.3 Periphrastic tenses

This section discusses periphrastic tenses in CVSV, i.e. uncommon in Atlantic creoles constructions in which tense and aspect are expressed by auxiliary verb *ten* ‘to have’ (5.84) and (5.85) or its suppletive form *tinha* ‘had’ (5.87) and a past participle of lexical verb (discussed in subsection 5.1.2) and not by any of the available pre-verbal TMA markers.

#### i. *Ten* + Past Participle

- (5.84) *N ten levód vida difísil.* (MJD)  
 1SG have carry.PTCP life difficult  
 ‘I have had a hard life.’

<sup>53</sup> Based on a large typological study Dahl (1985) is quite reluctant to admit the autonomy of aspectual category of completive considering it one of the values associated with perfect, but not its central one. Bybee et al. (1994: 54), on the other hand, associate completive with perfective.

<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, this use of *(j)á* in CVSV might have influenced structures such as *Esse homem já é feio!* ‘This man is really [lit. ‘already’] ugly’ which are considered by Costa Campos as typical of the Portuguese of Cape Verde (Costa Campos 1985: 96).



- (5.85) *Txeu    **ten**    **oiód**        *dvéra.*    (AMD)*  
          many   have   see.PTCP   truly  
          ‘Many [people] have really seen. [the aliens]’

These auxiliary constructions connect past with the present. A state (5.84) or an event (5.85) has a beginning (though not clearly determined) before the temporal reference point and it has continued up to the present and is likely to continue in the future. It may convey iterative reading though this depends on the aspectual type of the verb. In (5.84) the state of leading one’s life is seen as a continuous and the iterativity is lost, while in (5.85) the iterativity of spotting the presence of the aliens is maintained, i.e. the event takes place several times over an interval of time which extends up to the reference point (the moment of speech in this case). These constructions seem to fit neatly into the category of perfect, especially when used experientially (Dahl and Velupillai 2005).

The periphrastic structure *ten* + PTCP is just one of the available strategies as the similar perfect meaning may be expressed not syntactically but lexically by an unmarked verb and a temporal adverbial as in (5.86):

- (5.86) *N    **voltá** pa trabói dezaseis óne, N    **kaminhá** na trabói **até** **agóra.** (PL)*  
          1SG turn   to work   sixteen   year 1SG walk   on work   until now  
          ‘I started to work when I was sixteen and I have been working until now.’

Another periphrastic construction in CVSV is *tinha* + PTCP forming past perfect constructions as in (5.87):

ii. *Tinha* + Past Participle

- (5.87) *El    **divinhá** log    *kma*   *algén*        ***tinha*** ***jdód-el***        *fjí.*        (MF2)*  
          3SG deduce   at.once COMP somebody had   help.PTCP-3SG runaway  
          ‘He deduced at once that somebody had helped her to run away.’

Periphrastic tenses constitute one of the foci of Pereira’s (2000a) pioneering article on CVSV. According to Pereira, “the existence, in São Vicente, of structures with the conjugated auxiliary verb *ten* and the main verb in a form identical to the Portuguese past participle” (2000a: 31) constitute one of the five main differences from the variety of Santiago (pp. 30-31). In Pereira’s opinion, they are calques from Portuguese and a symptom of a change toward the lexifier, disrupting the original ‘economic’ CVC morphology, a situation typical of a post-creole continuum.

Pereira suggests that *ten* + PTCP (a recent and decreolized structure) coexists in CVSV with the original *ta* + Verb combination, absorbing it and taking on its iterative meaning (Pereira 2000a: 35). Confronted with a larger corpus, this analysis does not seem, however, to be the

most accurate one. In CVSV, the essentially imperfective marker *ta* (analyzed in subsection 5.2.1 above) continues independent of the periphrastic tenses whose main function is to convey a perfect reading.

Pereira presents a table where basic, original structures in CVSV are contrasted with new Portuguese-like constructions (2000a: 34). According to this line of reasoning, *tinha* + PTCP is one of the new forms, calqued from Portuguese, and that constitute ‘a mere formal alternative’ for the ‘basic’ CVSV *táva* + Verb. Hence, *tinha jdód* ‘had helped’ in (5.87) would function as a recent variant of older *táva jdá*. Given, however, that both grammaticalized *dja* and the suffix *-ba* which are used to form past perfect with dynamic verbs in CVST are absent in CVSV the periphrastic structure (*tinha* +PTCP) is the only one available in CVSV to construct this relative tense, i.e. when a situation is anterior to another past situation or state, typically represented by the unmarked verb (5.88) or suppletive form of the stative as in (5.89).

Examples as (5.88) and (5.89) show that the periphrastic construction does not ‘substitute’ *táva* + Verb sequence – whose basic meaning is habitual and iterative past imperfective, or potential and counterfactual (analyzed in subsection 5.2.2 above) – but fills a different function in the grammar. Frequently combined with *já* ‘already’, it encompasses perfect aspect, which imperfective *táva* never does, emphasizing that the past action was completed before another past action or a resulting state began.

- (5.88) *El bai, el ka otxá ningen, kes jent já tinharankód.* (FP/2)  
 3SGgo.PST.PFV 3SGNEGfind.PST.PFV anybodythesepeoplealreadyhad go.away.PTCP  
 ‘He went [there], he didn’t find anybody – these people had already gone away.’

- (5.89) *Kabeverdiane já tinhainvadid kortel k éra pa bátmá independénsia.* (MLD)  
 Cape Verdean alreadyhad invade garrisonCOMPCOP.PST COMPgotakeindependance  
 ‘The Cape Verdeans had already invaded the garrison in order to get independence.’

It should be noted that the past-before-past temporal localization depends on another point of reference, also past, which can be stated within the sentence as in (5.88) or inferred from the context as in (5.90).

- (5.90) *Já N tinha tród un pos lá.* (OA)  
 Already 1SG had dig.PTCP DET well there  
 ‘I had already dug a well there.’

The past-before-past can also be expressed by a bare verb, as in (5.91), but in this case there is no a clearly resulting perfect state.

- (5.91) ... *es tá dzê ma el bá pa Portugal.* (AER)  
 3PL PST.IPFV say COMP 3SG go to Portugal  
 ‘... they used to say he had gone to Portugal.’

To assess Pereira's line of post-creole continuum interpretation it might be useful to review the dating of the periphrastic constructions in CVSV and their presence in other CVC varieties. As far as participles are concerned, it has been commented in section 5.1.2 that they are a productive feature in Upper Guinea Creoles, and have been present in CVC probably from the time of its inception. As to the periphrastic tenses, Frusoni's texts (Frusoni 1979 and Mesquitela Lima 1992) suggest that they were well attested in CVSV at least as early as in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> Periphrastic tenses are also present in other contemporary Barlavento varieties, for instance, São Nicolau (Cardoso 1989).<sup>56</sup> Veiga (1982) gives examples of *ten* + PTCP: *ten oiód* 'have seen' and *tinha* + PTCP: *tinha bód* 'had gone' as being typical of CVSV, stating that "São Vicente shows an auxiliary conjugation that does not exist in Santiago" (Veiga 1982: 158).<sup>57</sup> The same position is maintained in Veiga's (1995) comparative study where structures such as CVST: *Dja N papia dja* vs. CVSV: *N ten falóde* 'I have spoken' (Veiga 1995: 208) are systematically contrasted.<sup>58</sup> Quint (2000: 283) considers them as modeled on modern Portuguese, infrequent and typical of Praia speech. He contrasts urban *nhós ka tinha fladu-mi* with rural *nhós ka flaba-mi* 'you had not told me' (Quint 2000: 283). In CVSV, given the absence of *-ba*, only the periphrastic strategy is available.

Finally, Pereira (2000a) registers for CVSV periphrastic constructions such as *tivese kmide* and *tiver kmide* that, according to her, similarly to *ten/tinha* + PTCP, occupy the space once reserved for *tava kme*, acting as variants. In the entire corpus I have registered only six occurrences of *tives* and *tiver* (in two different speakers and one written text). These forms represent, however, suppletive forms of locative copula (analyzed in subsection 5.8.2) or of existential *ten* and never a periphrastic tense construction.

It seems that two different processes are at issue. It is certainly correct to assume that structures such as *tives kmide* or *tiver kmide*, given by Pereira (2000a; modeled on Ptg. *tivesse comido*, *tiver comido*) are acrolectal and might be interpreted as signs of an ongoing

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<sup>55</sup> Frusoni, for instance, systematically uses *tinha* + PTCP for past perfect.

<sup>56</sup> Cardoso's corpus shows past perfect structures such as *Kànd no žga à-l tinâ said* 'When we arrived he had already left.' (Cardoso 1989: 46). However, Cardoso lists also forms with the past morpheme *-ba* such as *tenba* used for past perfect structures (Cardoso 1989: 52). This is just another feature that seems to suggest the mixed character of CVSN.

<sup>57</sup> Veiga (1982: 90-91) attests these structures also for Santo Antão variety, together with a wide range of inflected-like verbs derived from the Portuguese subjunctive.

<sup>58</sup> Yet, the periphrastic tenses have not been systematically accounted for in the Sotavento varieties. Interestingly, however, they pop up in grammars written by native speakers. For instance, Veiga attests *N ten kumidu* for Santiago 'I have eaten' (1995: 217) while Pina provides *N ten papiadu txeu na bo*. 'I have talked a lot about you.' (2006: 69) as an example of the use of *ten* as an auxiliary in the Santiago variety.

decreolization. However, they should be distinguished from the fully integrated periphrastic tenses, possibly reflecting the original socio-linguistic settlement pattern of São Vicente.

#### 5.4 Serial verbs

Serial verbs in CVC seem to be less productive than in, for instance, Gulf of Guinea São-Tomense (Hagemeijer 2000, Holm et al.1999), which might be explained by different substrates. Moreover, the creolists working on the Sotavento varieties are not unanimous as to the existence of this category in CVC. Baptista (2002: 113-115) and Baptista et al. (2007: 72) list a number of two-verb strings, labeled as serials, including : *torna* ‘to return’, volition verbs *kre* ‘want’, and directional serials with *bai* ‘go’ and *ben* ‘come’, most of which have equivalents in the CVSV variety.<sup>59</sup> The question to be answered is whether multi-verb constructions, such as (5.92), are in fact serial verbs?

- (5.92) *Jent bá gatxá lá na farmásia d’Nena.* (MDL)  
 people go hide there in drugstore of+Nena  
 ‘We went to hide in Nena’s drug store.’

Suzuki (1994), referring to serial verbs in CVC in general, observes that “most of them may not represent ‘true’ serial verbs in that the meaning of a combination seems to be readily deducible from the sum of the parts” (1994: 33). Pratas goes further and, after having analyzed a set of widely accepted criteria for serialization (cf. Hagemeijer 2000: 21),<sup>60</sup> she discards the possibility of serial verbs in the Santiago variety based, among other arguments, on the fact that in case of multi-verb strings, there is a “clear reference to more than one event, distinctly provided by each of the verbs involved.” (Pratas 2007: 299).

The same observation seems to apply to CVSV. There are no ‘take’ or ‘give’ serials in the variety while constructions with verbs expressing movement and directionality such as *bá*, *bai* ‘to go’ (5.93) or repetition *torná* ‘to turn’ (5.94) are interpreted as expressing two events.

- (5.93) *Enton, no bai enpregá lá.* (AMD)  
 then 1PL went work there  
 ‘Then, we went to work there.’

- (5.94) *Dpos no táva bá pa fazê konpra, no táva torná ben...* (MDL)  
 later 1PL TMA go COMP do shopping 1PL TMA return come  
 ‘Later, we would go shopping and we would come back once again...’

<sup>59</sup> For serial verbs constructions in CVSV see also *APiCS* feature 84, 85, and 86.

<sup>60</sup> (i) two (or more) verbs expressing a single event; (ii) a single overt subject; (iii) one tense marker on V1; iv) one negation marker on V1; (v) only one aspect marker on V1 or on both verbs; (vi) no subordinate or coordinate conjunction; (vii) no discourse pauses.

In other multi-verb combinations the aspect marker occurs obligatory on second verb (5.95) which rules out the possibility of the string being interpreted as a serial:

- (5.95) a. *El pô \*(te) txorá.* b. *El kmesá \*(te) kmê.* (DR)  
 3SG put PROG cry      3SG start PROG eat  
 ‘He started to cry.’      ‘He started to eat.’

In other cases yet, where the marker on the second verb is ungrammatical, the structure is perceived as two events, as in (5.96a and b):

- (5.96) a. *El trevê falá.* b. *El prendê andá.* (DR)  
 3SG dare speak      3SG learn walk  
 ‘He dared to speak.’      ‘He learned to walk.’

Thiele analyzes CVC multi-verb structures such as *Ami N ta torna volta* ‘I will return’ (Thiele 1994: 153) as examples of grammaticalized Portuguese lexical verbs that function as auxiliaries with repetitive or inchoative meaning in verbal periphrasis.<sup>61</sup> This seems to be the case in CVSV in the case of grammaticalized *ben* ‘to come/to do’ (5.97a) that also means ‘to happen, to accomplish’ (5.97b) and is used as inchoative particle expressing near future intention as in (5.97c).

- (5.97) a. *N ben txgá na káza d’not.* (DR)  
 1SG come arrive at home of+night  
 ‘I arrived home at night.’  
 b. *El ben morê.* (DR)  
 3SG come die  
 ‘He died.’  
 c. *N te ben bá Práia n’es dia.* (SM)  
 1SG FUT come go Praia in+DEM day  
 ‘I am about to go to Praia these days.’

## 5.5 Complementizers

CVSV shows five different complementizers: *(k)ma*, *k*, *pa*, and a zero complementizer.<sup>62</sup>

- (5.98) a. *N tá dzê kma sin o kma nãu.* (ID)  
 1SG COND say COMP yes or COMP no  
 ‘I would say yes or no.’

<sup>61</sup> Thiele in her analysis of verbal periphrases in CVC and Principense considers that the whole process is substrate motivated as it has affected verbs that do not occur in Portuguese verbal periphrasis, for instance, the verb *bí* from Ptg. *abrir* ‘to open’ that in Principense functions as an inchoative particle as in *Pedu bí gó* ‘Pedro started to cry.’ (Thiele 1994: 156). Interestingly, in CVSV there is a lexicalized expression *brí na txáda* ‘to run away lit. to open on the road’ that reflects similar usage of a grammaticalized *brí* ‘open’.

<sup>62</sup> For complementizers in CVSV see also APiCS features 95, 96, and 98. In CVST corresponding complementizer are: *ma/kuma*, *ki*, *pa* or zero (Baptista 2002).

- b. *Es tá dzê ma el bá pa Portugal.* (AER)  
 3PL PST.IPFV say COMP 3SG go to Portugal  
 ‘They used to say that he had gone to Portugal.’

- c. *N dzê-b Ø nha pai morê ...* (PL)  
 1SG TELL-2SG Ø 1SG.POSS father die  
 ‘I told you my father had died...’

(*K*)*ma* appears after verbs of knowing (*pensá* ‘think’, *otxá* ‘find’, *sabê* ‘know’) and speaking (*dzê* ‘speak’) where a zero complementizer is also possible (5.98a-c). However, the complementizer *k* is also possible with epistemic verbs (5.99), which seems to be a recent development in CVSV:<sup>63</sup>

- (5.99) *Nha pai [...] pensá k algun psoa tá te tranká na nos.* (IF)  
 1SG POSS. father think COMP some person PST.IPFV PROG beat on 1PL  
 ‘My father thought that somebody was beating us.’

(*K*)*ma* in CVSV seems to derive from the Sotavento complementizer *kuma* (<Old Ptg. *como*) present in all Portuguese-based Creoles in Africa and whose use with this specific subclass of verbs Rougé traces back to the particle *kò* in Mandinga. Rougé also observes that *kuma* is often present in its shorter form *ma* originating from the interpretation *ku* + *ma* (Rougé 2006: 67).<sup>64</sup> In light of this, it is possible that the form *k* in CVSV does not necessarily reflect the use of Portuguese complementizer *que* [ki] but is a result of a further phonetic reduction of the original *kma*.

A different complementizer *pa* is used after verbs of volition such as *krê* ‘want’ as in (5.100):

- (5.100) *Ma el krê pa bo kontá-l manera k e nos vida...* (LMF)  
 but 3SG want COMP 2SG tell-3SG way COMP COP 1PL.POSS life  
 ‘But she wants you to tell her how is our life...’

Apart from complementizers, there is a quotative marker *oli* that introduces direct reported discourse of a character in a story as in (5.101):

- (5.101) *El bai, oli-l: ‘Galinha Préta na bo konpánha.’* (FP/2)  
 3SG go QUOT-3SG hen black in 2SG.POSS company  
 He went, he said: ‘May the Black Hen accompany you.’

<sup>63</sup> In Frusoni’s texts *kma* is the most frequent complementizer after *sabê* ‘know’, *dzê* ‘say, tell’, *otxá* ‘opine’ while instances of *k* are sporadic.

<sup>64</sup> Note that in CVST *ku* functions as committative while in CVSV the committative *má* is derived from the Portuguese dialectal employment of *mais* ‘more’ and the function word *ku* is absent.

## 5.6 Stativity

This section begins with terminological issues and an overview of the behavior of stative verbs in CVST and CVSV. Next, it describes the inflected-like stative verb forms in CVSV in order to assess Pereira's (2000a) hypothesis as to the existence in this variety of two systems that, due to decreolization, represent two different stages of development. Given their relationship to the issue of inflected-like verbs, expressions of modality are discussed in subsection 5.6.1.

As in the case of determining the meanings of TMA categories, the distinction between a dynamic situation and a state may pose considerable problems. Comrie defined states as "static, i.e. [they] continue as before unless changed, whereas events and processes are dynamic, i.e. require a continual input of energy if they are not to come to an end." (Comrie 1976: 13).

Dahl notes that though this distinction is based intuitively on the idea of a situation that involves 'change or movement' from the one that does not, the 'impreciseness of the distinction' and the "exact borderline between 'stative' and 'dynamic' is bound to vary." Dahl also observes that, from the typological point of view, stative verbs often show several particular properties (for instance, special forms such as the morphologically marked past tense shown by the copula in Afrikaans) neutralizing several of TMA categories (Dahl 1985: 28-29).

Since Bickerton (1981), the division between stative and dynamic verbs, relevant for establishing their temporal reference, has been given special attention in creole studies. The tendency for Atlantic creoles is for the unmarked statives to have a non-past reference whereas unmarked dynamic verbs are likely to receive past-time interpretation (Holm and Patrick, eds. 2007).<sup>65</sup>

The behavior of stative verbs in the Sotavento varieties has been the object of several detailed studies (e.g., Silva 1985, Suzuki 1994, and Baptista 2002). Authors have presented divergent criteria in defining which verbs are, in fact, statives in CVC, establishing hotly debated classifications.<sup>66</sup> One of the issues is the possibility of combining statives with progressive marker. Baptista, following Comrie (1976) and Suzuki (1994) observes rightly that "the stative verb with *sta* refers not to a state but to a process developing in several stages" (2002: 81). Pratas (2007) has noticed that though imperfective morphology typically combines with statives

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<sup>65</sup> In some creoles dynamic and stative verbs take different markers altogether. It should be noted that Portuguese, contrary to substrate West-Atlantic languages, makes no morpho-syntactic distinction between stative and dynamic verbs.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. for instance Baptista's (2002: 95-101) critical analysis of Silva's (1985) and Suzuki's (1994) proposals. See also Pratas (2010) for summary of literature on statives in CVC.

while progressive morphology typically does not, this typological tendency “needs some interesting adjustments for Cape Verdean analyses” (2007: 54).

Pratas (2010) casts new light on the mixed behavior of CVC’s statives which, defying the traditional division, may behave like non-statives (‘eventives’) regarding their temporal interpretation, i.e. they may get a past reading for a non-overtly marked forms (5.102b) and may combine with both habitual *ta* (5.102c) and progressive *sata* as in (5.102d):

(5.102) a. *N sabe risposta.* (Pratas 2010: 2)<sup>67</sup>

1SG know answer  
‘I know the answer.’

b. (*Onti*) *N sabe ma bebe di Lurdesja nase.* (ibid.: 3)<sup>68</sup>  
yesterday 1SG know COMP baby of Lurdes just BE.born  
‘(Yesterday) I knew that Lurdes’ baby was born.’

c. *Tudu bes ki N ta pergunta-u, bu ta sabe/konxe risposta.*  
all time that 1SG HAB ask-2SG 2SG HAB know answer  
‘Every time I ask you, you know the answer.’

d. *Gosi ki N sata sabe ma bu txiga.*  
now that 1SG PROG know COMP 2SG arrive  
‘It is (only) now that I’m getting to know [finding out] that you arrived.’

Pratas argues that the notion of stativity requires rethinking and that the internal structure of the verbs must be taken into consideration to explain the contrast between (5.102a) and (5.102b-d) and the fact that most statives pattern with non-statives in CVC. She proposes that verbs such as *sabe* and *konxe* show complex structure and are best analyzed as derived states, differing from both eventives and stative bases.

Thus, based on possible combinations with several grammatical morphemes, Pratas (2010) divides CVC’s verbs into two groups:<sup>69</sup>

i. *Group I*

Verbs that show past reading for unmarked forms, complex reading with *ta* i.e. (habitual/future/conditional/), and ongoing reading with *sata*. To this group belong: a) all the

<sup>67</sup> Page number corresponds to the downloadable version available at: [http://www.clunl.edu.pt/resources/docs/grupos/linguistica\\_comparada/equipa/fernandapratas/fpratas\\_gr\\_secondversion.pdf](http://www.clunl.edu.pt/resources/docs/grupos/linguistica_comparada/equipa/fernandapratas/fpratas_gr_secondversion.pdf) retrieved in November 2012.

<sup>68</sup> Note that this example would be ungrammatical in CVSV where *sabê* cannot get a past reading from the context, suppletive form *sub* being used instead.

<sup>69</sup> Pratas refers generally to CVC but her data is drawn from the Santiago variety. Note also that I cite only selected examples from the classifications proposed by Pratas (2010).



eventives (e.g. *kore* ‘to run’, *lenbra* ‘recall’) b) aspectual auxiliaries (e.g. *kumesa* ‘begin’, *fika* ‘stay’) c) most stative bases: *kridita* ‘believe’, *skisi* ‘forget’, *ntende* ‘understand’.

ii. *Group II*

Verbs which may show idiosyncratic behavior such as present reading when there is no overt morpheme. To this group belong: a) verbs whose bare form is necessarily interpreted as present (some of which are modals): *kre* ‘want’, *gosta* ‘like’, *parse* ‘seem’, *meste* ‘need’, *ten* ‘have’, *tene* ‘have momentarily’, *sta* ‘be’, *e* ‘be’, *pode* ‘can’, *debe* ‘must’; b) lexical verbs that, when unmarked may be interpreted as present or past depending of the context provided: *sabe* ‘know’ and *konxe* ‘be familiar with’.<sup>70</sup>

Pratas observes that, contrary to Bickerton’s prediction, the division line between Group I and Group II is not based on stativity. She then focuses her attention on the analysis of the verbs from b) in Group II to answer the question of what feature triggers different behavior in relation to the interpretation of temporal morphemes.

Pratas proposes that basic stative verbs (such as those that form Group Ic) constitute a set that behave like eventives and support a process-like reading with a simple internal structure (they represent states that can be divided into phases). On the other hand, they may behave in certain contexts like telic events (culminations) and show complex event structure (which comprises culmination and the consequent state) as in *N sabe* ‘I got to know [found out]’. It is this features that is responsible for the present reading of their unmarked forms and their combination with *ta* and *sata*.

CVSV seems, at first glance, sensitive to stativity in Bickertonian terms. As shown in section 5.1, the unmarked non-stative verb in CVSV is interpreted as a perfective past event (5.103).

(5.103) *El levá-l kes kábra tud pa kónp.* (FP/1)  
 3SG take.PST.PFV-3SG DEM goat all to pasture  
 ‘He took all the goats to the pasture for him.’

On the other hand, unmarked stative and modal verbs such as *ten* ‘have’, *krê* ‘want’, *sabê* ‘know’ or *podê* ‘can’ and copulas (further discussed in section 5.8 below) tend to get present state reference (5.104).

(5.104) *N ten un pork so.* (AR)  
 1SG have one pig only  
 ‘I have only one pig.’

<sup>70</sup> Pratas notices that in Group II, with exception of *e* ‘be’ all verbs may take *ta* in certain contexts and some may combine with progressive *sata*. She also underlines that the list of verbs in IIb is an open one.

However, from the comparison of different classifications of CVST's stative verbs (Silva 1985, Suzuki 1994, Baptista 2002, and Pratas 2010) with CVSV, an important difference arises. In CVSV, the group of stative verbs that consistently behave as dynamic and combine with habitual *ta*, progressive *ti ta*, and categorically receive past reading when unmarked is larger and includes not only verbs from Group Ic (cf. Pratas's 2010 proposal above) but also some verbs from Group IIa (for instance *gostá* 'like') and Group IIb (*konxê* 'know') as in (5.105-110):

- (5.105) *N t'otxá k no te meresê mut más.* (AGF)  
 1SG PRS.IPFV+think COMP 1PL PRS.IPFV deserve much more  
 'I think that we deserve much more [from the government].'
- (5.106) *Mi, N ta lenbrá de kes rósa k N tiv na San Tmé.* (LMF)  
 1SG 1SG PRS.IPFV remember of DEM plantation REL 1SG COP in São Tomé  
 'I remember those plantations that I was on in São Tomé.'
- (5.107) *Vapor, N te konxê vapor moda nha káza.* (LF)  
 ship 1SG PRS.IPFV know ship like 1SG.POSS house  
 'Ships, I know ships like my [own] home.'
- (5.108) *No te presizá d'txeu apói.* (ID)  
 1PL PRS.IPFV need of+a.lot support  
 'We [young people] need a lot of support.'
- (5.109) *Oj N ta morá n'un káza, k el e d'or.* (FP/2)  
 today 1SG PRS.IPFV live in+DET house REL 3SG COP of+gold  
 'Today I live in a house that is [made] of gold.'
- (5.110) *No te gostád'falá más e nos kriol, no te sintímás ben...* (AGF)  
 1PLPRS.IPFVlike of+speake more FOC 1PL.POSS creole 1PLPRS.IPFVfeel more well  
 'What we like to speak more is our creole, we feel better...'

If unmarked, as in (5. 111a and b) they categorically receive past reference, contrasting with the behavior of their CVST counterparts (cf. for instance examples in Pratas 2007: 99).<sup>71</sup>

- (5.111) a. *...senpr N gostá d'Spánha.* (MAF)  
 always 1SG like of+Spain  
 '... I always liked Spain.'
- b. *N ka sintí-l, N uví séra ta será-m pérna.* (JAL)  
 1SG NEG feel-3SG 1SG hear saw PROG saw-1SG leg  
 'I didn't feel it, [but] I heard the saw sawing my leg off.'

Modal *mestê* 'need' presents a mixed behavior being alternatively unmarked and marked for the present tense reference as in (5.112a and b):

<sup>71</sup> Of course, like dynamic verbs, stative verbs are systematically unmarked in conditional or *pa* subordinate clauses. *Se bo sintí falta d'un koza...bo te konprá-l na Baia.* (VER) 'If you lack something... you will buy it in Baia.' *Pa N kreditá, N te bá oiá.* (OA) 'I order to believe [it], I will go to see [myself].'

- (5.112) a. *Nãu, nãu, bo ka mestê fervê-l!* (JSC)  
 NEG NEG 2SG NEG need boil-3SG  
 ‘No, no, you don’t need to boil-it!’

- b. *Pô-s na Béljika k N te mestê-s!* (OA)  
 put-3PL in Belgium as 1SG PRS.IPFV need-3PL  
 ‘Take them [the crew members] to Belgium as I need them [there]!’

There is however a clear tendency in the corpus for the unmarked *mestê* to occur in negative contexts which suggest modal readings (note that 5.112a is a negative imperative) that requires further investigation.<sup>72</sup>

Similarly to statives in the Sotavento varieties, statives in CVSV may appear with the progressive *ti ta*:

- (5.113) a. *N te mestê kel livr d’bósa.* b. *N ti ta mestê kel livr d’bósa.* (SM)  
 1SGPRS.IPFV need DEMbookof+2SG.POSS 1SGPRSPROGneed DEMbookof+yours  
 ‘I need that book of yours.’ ‘I need that book of yours [now].’

In (5.113a) we are dealing with current state that started before the reference time and that continues after. In (5.113b) the state is temporary and can end or change into another, similarly to a dynamic verb.

Table 5.2 summarizes the temporal reference of the stative verbs in CVSV.<sup>73</sup>

**Table 5.2 Temporal reference of stative verbs in CVSV**

UNMARKED = PRESENT		UNMARKED = PAST	SUPPLETION
I. Do not combine with TMA	II. Combine with TMA	III.	IV.
<i>e</i> ‘to be’[equative] <i>ta/te</i> ‘to be’[locative] <i>ten</i> ‘to have’[inherent properties] <i>devê</i> ‘should’ <i>ád</i> ‘shall’	<i>podê</i> ‘can’ <i>sabê</i> ‘know’ <i>krê</i> ‘want’ <i>ten</i> ‘to have’ <i>stód</i> ‘to be’ <i>parsê</i> ‘seem’ <i>mestê</i> ‘need’	<i>gostá</i> ‘like’ <i>sintí</i> ‘feel’ <i>lenbrá</i> ‘remember’ <i>konxê</i> ‘get to know’ <i>meresê</i> ‘deserve’ <i>morá</i> ‘live’ <i>otxá</i> ‘find’ <i>presizá</i> ‘need’ <i>txmá</i> ‘call’	<i>e</i> ‘to be’ [equative] <i>ta/te</i> ‘to be’[locative] <i>ten</i> ‘to have’ <i>podê</i> ‘can, may’ <i>sabê</i> ‘know’ <i>krê</i> ‘want’ <i>devê</i> ‘should’

<sup>72</sup> Modal *mestê* might be substituted by *devê* ‘should’ in negative context. Unlike *devê*, however, it does not show suppletive form.

<sup>73</sup> Modal verbs are included as a sub-type of statives.

			(continuation)
		<i>kreditá</i> ‘believe’	
		<i>skesê</i> ‘forget’	
		<i>intendê</i> ‘understand’	

Apart from the fact that CVSV displays a group of stative verbs that unlike some of their CVST equivalents, but like dynamic verbs, categorically take a past tense reading when unmarked (Group III),<sup>74</sup> there is a limited set of stative verbs that may take a present tense reading without overt marking (Groups I and II). Yet a more restricted and closed subset of these verbs (seven items, Group IV) displays stem suppletion rendering several temporal, modal, and aspectual readings possible, adding to the complexity of the system.

Suppletion is understood here as a “phenomenon whereby regular semantic relations are encoded by unpredictable formal patterns” (Veselinova 2005: 322). In CVSV verbs from Group IV may show both weak suppletive forms where “the paradigmatically related forms show some phonological material” (Veselinova 2005: *ibid.*) as in (5.114) and strong suppletive forms (e.g. *e* ‘to be’ vs. *foi* ‘was’) where no phonological material is shared.

(5.114) a. *Mi kes lá N ka sabê.* (EL)  
 1SG DEM there 1SG NEG know.PRS  
 ‘I don’t know those [stories].’

b. *Bosê ka sabia kes lá?* (LL/EL)  
 2SG NEG know.PST.IPFV DEM there  
 ‘Didn’t you know those [stories]?’

Pereira (2000a) is the first linguist to analyze the inflected-like forms in CVSV. According to Pereira, the Santiago and São Vicente verb systems share three basic underlying principles: i) the behavior of stative and non-stative verbs; ii) the absence of inflections indicating number or person; and iii) zero marking versus *ta* to distinguish between [+punctual] and [-punctual] aspects.<sup>75</sup> Departing from the standpoint that free TMA particles play a core role in creole grammar, Pereira hypothesizes that there are two co-existing systems in CVSV. One is older and stems from the Sotavento varieties where TMA categories are expressed by free morphemes (e.g. *tava pode*) the other one is newer, synthetic and decreolized, where these categories are expressed by inflected-like verb forms (e.g. *pudia, pudese*) labeled ‘irregular’ and

<sup>74</sup> This set is an open one as more examples could be added.

<sup>75</sup> The second and third points are beyond a doubt. As to the behaviour of statives and non-statives in CVC, it has been discussed above that the advances in our knowledge of the Sotavento varieties since 2000 has shown that stativity in CVC is a complex issue that defies traditional Bickertonian divisions.

that act as variants to the older analytic forms (Pereira 2000a: 30-34, cf. especially the table on p. 34).<sup>76</sup>

In an attempt to assess the validity of Pereira's interpretation, a comprehensive repertoire of the inflected-like verbs in CVSV is presented below while in subsection 5.6.1 suppletive forms of modal verbs are discussed (cf. Group IV in Table 5.2 above):

i. Ten 'to have'

The verb *ten* 'to have' when unmarked categorically takes a present tense reading (5.115) and it cannot combine with progressive *ti ta* when designating an inherently atelic property as in (5.44 above). It may however combine with conditional and iterative habitual *ta* as in (5.115):

- (5.115) *Es te ten k es krê!* (AR)  
 3SG PRS.IPFV have REL 3SG want  
 'They have [the number of] children that they want!'

The past tense is expressed by suppletive forms *tinha* and *tiv* as in (5.116) and (5.117):<sup>77</sup>

- (5.116) *N tinha más dos irmon.* (PM)  
 1SG have.PST.IPFV more two brother  
 'I had another two brothers.'
- (5.117) *No tiv nov fidj, no ten oit.* (SS)  
 1PL have.PST.PFV nine child 1PL have eight  
 'We had nine children, [now] we have eight.'

The forms conflate both tense and aspect (imperfective vs. perfective), although systematization of specific contexts in which these suppletive forms appear requires further research. As to the dating of these forms, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Fernandes attested, for the Barlavento, *tinha* as parallel to the Sotavento's *temba* and also *tive*, which he labeled 'past perfective' (Fernandes n/d, p. 32).

The verb *ten* also shows a suppletive forms *tiver* (< Ptg. past subjunctive *tiver*) and *tives* (<Ptg. future subjunctive *tivesse*), both attested for the Barlavento by Fernandes (n/d, p. 34) used in conditional clauses with the particle *se* 'if' (5.118) and in subordinate subjunctive-like clauses (5.119):

- (5.118) *Agóra, se bo tiver un kriansa, se bo tiver leit, pápa...* (AR)  
 now if 2SG COND DET child if 2SG COND milk porridge  
 'Now, if you had a child, if you had milk, porridge...'

<sup>76</sup> The periphrastic tenses that together with the inflected forms are considered by Pereira (2000a) as belonging to the newer system were analyzed in section 5.3 above.

<sup>77</sup> *Tiv* is homophonous with the suppletive form of the locative copula discussed in subsection 5.8.2.

- (5.119) *El tá gostá éra d'kazá k'un óm k tives dent y jenjib d'or*  
 3SG COND like FOC of+marry with+DET man REL SUBJ tooth and gum of+gold

*y ói azul.* (MF/2)

and eye blue

‘What she wanted was to marry a man with golden teeth and gums and blue eyes.’

It should be underlined that both forms, though present in the speech of basilectal speakers, are peripheral to the grammar (note that example 5.119 comes from a written register).

Pereira (2000a) has suggested that inflected forms (such as *tinha*) are variants of those with analytic verbal markers (such as *tá(va) ten*). However, *ten* marked with *tá(va)* does not show past imperfective meaning of *ten* which is essential to *tinha* but rather has an iterative (5.120a), conditional (5.120b) or future in the past reading where modality seems to play a role as in (5.121):

- (5.120) a. *Manera k busis táva ten kes mnin?*  
 how COMP 2PL TMA have DET child  
 ‘How did you use to deliver the babies?’

- b. *Tá ten un psoa k tá ben ijdá bosê na káza?* (LL/CR)  
 COND have DET person REL COND come help 2SG at house  
 ‘Would a person come to help you [with the delivery] at home?’

- (5.121) *N ka táva seí, nha avó tá ten jent tuddent d'káza.* (ESG)  
 1SGNEG PST.IPFV go.out 1SG.POSS grandmother COND have people all inside of+house  
 I didn’t use to go out; my grandmother would keep all the family members inside the house.’

Moreover, note also that in (5.120a) the verb’s semantics is altered, i.e. *ten* means ‘to deliver a baby’ which is a dynamic and telic event and as such is regularly marked by *tá(va)* (cf. dynamic *seí* ‘go out’ in 5.121).

In addition, *ten* and its suppletive form *tinha* participate in the formation of the periphrastic tenses discussed in section 5.3, interplay with the locative copula *ta* in marking inalienable versus temporary possession – discussed in section 5.7 below – and convey deontic modality in verbal periphrasis discussed in subsection 5.6.1. These suppletive forms seem, thus, fully integrated to the grammar.

- ii. *Sabê* ‘to know’

The bare verb *sabê* receives present tense reference as in (5.122a). When marked with *ta/te* it gets a future (5.122b) or habitual reading as in (5.122c):

- (5.122) a. *Más N ka sabê dzê boses.* (SS)  
 more 1SG NEG know say 2PL  
 ‘I don’t know what more to tell you.’

b. *Se es fazê kolker koza N te sabê. (SM)*  
 if 3PL do any thing 1SG FUT know  
 ‘If they do anything, I will know.’

c. *Asves bo ka ta sabê nen [...] por onde bo te kmesá... (KS)*  
 sometimes 2SG NEG PRS.IPFV know even.not where 2SG FUT start  
 ‘Sometimes, you don’t even know where to start...[because one has so much homework].’

It can also be preceded by the progressive *ti ta* as in (5.123):

(5.123) *N ka ti ta sabê dzê boses. (DR)*  
 1SG NEG PRS PROG know tell 2PL  
 ‘I can’t tell you.’

In (5.122a) *sabê* is perceived as a static and unchanging state. In (5.123) *sabê* is a process – the speaker does not know the answer but makes an effort to think about it. In (5.122c) *sabê* is also a process (it can be divided into phases and changed), and its habitual reading is strengthened by the adverbial *asves* ‘sometimes’.

In order to render past time reference, the suppletive forms *sabia* ‘knew’ and *sub* ‘found out’ (derived from the Ptg. past imperfective 1sg/3sg *sabia* and 1sg/3sg past perfective form *soube*) are used as in (5.124):

(5.124) *Mi N inkontrá kes trópa ta bai, ma mi N ka sabia uk k*  
 1SG 1SG meet DEM troops PROG go but 1SG 1SG NEG knew what COMP  
*tá te kontsê. Dpos,[...]N sub uk k tá te kontsê. (TR)*  
 PST.IPFVPROG happen later 1SG knew what COMP PST.IPFV PROG happen.  
 ‘I met those troops going, but I didn’t know what was happening. Later, [...] I found out what was happening [narration about independence day].’

Note that in the above example the perfective form *sub* has the meaning ‘I found out, I came to know’ and refers to an event which comprises a culmination and a subsequent state and which contrasts with the imperfective state of *sabia* ‘I knew’.

When marked by *tá(va)*, *sabê* gets future in the past reading. Observe the contrast between (5.125a) in which the suppletive form designates a past state and (5.125b) in which the analytic form has future in the past reading:

(5.125) a. ... *ma el ka sabia s’el éra un katxoróna. (SS)*  
 but 3SG NEG knew if+3SG COP.PST DET katxoróna  
 ‘... but she did not know if he was a *katxoróna* [a monster from folk tales].’

b. *Undê k ses pais ka tá sabê. (AMD)*  
 where that 3SG.POSS.PL parents NEG TMA know  
 ‘[she was hiding the love letter] Where her parents would not know.’

Moreover, the marked verb can also render a conditional reading as in (5.126) counterfactual structure:

- (5.126) *Se N táva bai N tá sabê se bo táva lá.* (LL/AMD)  
 if 1SG COND go 1SG COND know if 2SG COP.PST there  
 ‘If I had gone I would have known that you were there.’

As in the case of suppletive forms of *ten* ‘have’ and copulas (cf. section 5.8) the distribution of the suppletive forms of *sabê*, conflated in respect to tense and aspect, requires further investigation, chiefly due to the fact that *sub* is a rare token in the corpus. However, it seems clear that the suppletive forms do not function as mere variants of the marked forms but they fill different functions in the variety.

iii. *Krê* ‘want’

The volition verb *krê* ‘want’ when unmarked always has present tense reading (5.5). It can be, however, preceded by habitual and progressive marker as in (5.127) and (5.128):

- (5.127) *Asves el te krê insistí ma pa bo bai e kond bo kizer.* (MAL)  
 sometimes 3SG PRS.IPFV want insist but for 2SG go FOC when you wanted  
 ‘Sometimes, he wants to insist, but for you to go [to church] is when you want.’

- (5.128) *Kes jent prop d’oj ka ti ta krê sabê d’igreja...* (PA)  
 DEM people real of+today NEG PRS.IPFV PROG want know of+church  
 ‘Those people of today don’t want to know about the church...’

With past time reference the verb shows two suppletive forms in relation to tense and aspect – *kria* and *kris* ‘wanted’ (derived from Ptg. past imperfective 1/3sg *queria* and past perfective 1/3sg *quis*) as in (5.129a and b):

- (5.129) a. ... *mod Blimund kria p’es intregá-l kel mnininha.* (MF)  
 ...as Blimund wanted COMP+3PL give-3SG DEM girl  
 ‘...as Blimund [a monster] wanted them to give him that girl.’  
 b. *Kónd bo ka kris-el<sup>78</sup> bo tá mandá-l kes kárta...* (VR)  
 when 2SG NEG wanted-3SG 2SG TMA send-3SG DEM letter  
 ‘When you didn’t want it, you would send him those letters...’

As mentioned in relation to (5.34a and b) above, *kria* conveys a desire and sense of *irrealis* that *tá(va) krê* does not. In addition, there are less frequent suppletive forms *kizes* (< Ptg. 1/3sg past subjunctive *quisesse*) and *kizer* (< Ptg. 1/3sg future subjunctive *quiser*) used in

<sup>78</sup> Inflected verb forms, unlike other verb stems, select non-clitic object pronouns. The process seems to be phonologically conditioned as sequences such as *\*tiver-l*, *\*kris-l* would be ungrammatical.



subjunctive structures with *kond* ‘when’ (5.127), *konform* ‘accordingly’ (5.131) or with the particle *se* ‘if’ as in (5.130):

- (5.130) *Y kel mnina se el ka kizes kel kárta...?* (FC/AMD)  
 and DET girl if 3SG NEG COND DEM letter  
 ‘And the girl, if she didn’t want [to receive] that letter...?’

- (5.131) *Konform N kizer argí pa N bá panhá karangej.* (AMD)  
 accordingly 1SG COND get.up for 1SG go catch crabs  
 ‘Depending on when I wanted to get up to catch crabs.’

There is no indication that the above suppletive forms are in any way specific to younger educated speakers; on the contrary, they were mostly extracted from the speech of elderly basilectal informants. Moreover, as has been shown, the synthetic forms (*tinha*, *sabia* or *kris*) do not function as variants to the analytic forms (*táva ten*, *táva sabê* or *táva krê*) but show different semantics and functions.

It is important, at this point, to summarize briefly what we know about the inflected verb forms in other varieties of CVC.

The Sotavento varieties are not devoid of verbal morphology showing three fully productive flexional verbal suffixes (passive *-du*, *-da* and past *-ba*) and whose ‘genuine’ inflectional character has not been questioned. However, comments on other inflected-like forms in the Sotavento varieties are, at best, fragmentary.

Neither Lang (2001) nor Baptista (2002) analyze inflected like forms for the Sotavento though in sporadic cases Baptista’s data show forms such as *tinha* (cf. for instance, *tinha maneras* ‘had means’ in Baptista 2002: 41). Quint attests past forms such as *binha* ‘came’, *foi* ‘was’, and *tinha* ‘had’ for Santiago and considers them old borrowings representing “the first stage of the decreolization process” (2000: 280) while inflected-like forms from Portuguese imperfective (*devia*, *kria*, *pudia*, *sabia*) and perfective (*kis*, *stivi*, and *tivi*) constitute more recent borrowings typical of the Santiago variety urban speech (Quint 2000: 280-281).<sup>79</sup>

Pratas (2007) makes isolated comments on the existence of ‘irregular imperfective’ forms in CVST such as *sabia* ‘used to know’ and *tinha* ‘used to have’ which alternate with regular forms *sabeba*, *tenba*, or *teneba* (Pratas 2007: 210). She also notices that “two verbs *e* ‘be’ and *tene* ‘have momentarily’ may have in certain very specific cases, perfective forms: *foi* and *tevi*, respectively. These correspond to Portuguese forms *foi* and *teve*.” (Pratas 2007: 67).

<sup>79</sup> It is plausible that those forms were however already present in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and migrated to the Barlavento; given the loss of *-ba* they were adopted by the first speakers of CVSV.

Veiga (1982), in his comparative study of four CVC varieties, states that verb forms such as *kria*, *kriš*, *sabia*, *sub*, *suber*, *subés*, *podia*, *pud*, *puder*, *pudés* are exceptional and typical to CVSV.<sup>80</sup> Elsewhere, Veiga links São Vicente's inflected forms to decreolization; in the section on morphology, he affirms that "In São Vicente [...] the verb forms are not always invariant, what may be due to more influence of Portuguese inflections" (Veiga 1995: 117). He adds "in the area of Barlavento the flectional forms are more frequent due to the hypercorrections triggered by Portuguese, where the 'genuine' forms coexists with the hyper-corrected ones" (Veiga 1995: 189).<sup>81</sup>

Silva (1985) has analyzed in detail the variation of the verb *ten* and *tene* 'to have' accounting for regular, basilectal past forms *tenba* and *teneba* and acrolectal forms such as *tenha*, *tinha*, *tibe*, *tive*, *teve*, *havia*, and *houve* in CVC within the implicational model, based on directed interviews with adult speakers living in Cape Verde and the United States. One of her conclusions is that there is no significant statistical correlation between decreolization and education in Portuguese among speakers of the Barlavento varieties (1985: 273). The speakers of the Barlavento varieties "tend to be ranked higher (more acrolectal) on the scale than speakers from the Sotavento islands" even when the comparison of the data is narrowed to speakers of a single (low) educational status. (Silva 1985: 288).<sup>82</sup>

Summing up, while a more comprehensive description of the semantics and distribution of the inflected-like verbs in the Sotavento has yet to be done, they have been directly or indirectly associated with 'irregularity' and remodeling of grammar towards Portuguese.

In the Barlavento area, inflected verbs are not exclusive to CVSV. For instance, Cardoso attests for CVSN Portuguese-derived present participle forms such as *sind* 'being', *krind* 'wanting', *kurind* 'running', *kantónd* 'singing' (Cardoso 1989: 54-58). These gerundial forms, entirely absent in CVSV, seem to affect both stative and dynamic verbs. Also Veiga (1982) attests several suppletive verbs in CVSA used in conditionals such as *S'N subes k'bo tava lá* 'If I had known you were there...'. These inflected-like verb forms are already amply documented in CVSA in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Costa and Duarte (1886). Interestingly, the inflected-like forms

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<sup>80</sup> "In São Vicente, yet, there is one or another verb that do not make up part of the conjugation paradigm." (Veiga 1982: 159).

<sup>81</sup> However, inflected and, according to Veiga, 'hypercorrected' irregular forms such as *tive/tevi*, *sabia/kria/podia*, *stivi/stevi*, *foi* are also apparently present in the Santiago variety as can be deduced from a careful reading of Veiga's 1995 grammar (cf. for instance pp. 191-192 and 266 where these forms appear).

<sup>82</sup> A caveat is in order as Silva's implicational scale covers CVC as a whole. Silva calculates the occurrence of basilectal forms such as *temba/teneba* also for Barlavento, overlooking the fact that for instance in CVSV these simple are unattested, independently on the speaker's position within the continuum as the suffix *-ba* was lost in the genesis of the variety.

in Santo Antão seem to affect also dynamic verbs such as *ben* ‘come’: ...*y s’el bens ož* ‘and if he comes today’ (Veiga 1982: 91), a phenomenon by and large absent in CVSV. Although Veiga considers that “in São Vicente, sometimes forms such as *inbóra N kemese* ‘even if I had eaten’ [...] are heard” (1995: 218) and in spite of the fact that several inflected-like dynamic verbs that preserve Portuguese subjunctive suffixes, especially after the complementizer *pa*, such as *aliviass* ‘attenuate’ (from Ptg. *aliviasse* ‘), *dxáss* ‘leave’ (from Ptg. *deixasse*) *bscásse* ‘look for’ (from Ptg. *buscasse*) can be found in Frusoni’s texts (Frusoni 1979) these forms do not seem to be spreading but are rather disappearing. I have registered just a half a dozen such forms of fossilized Portuguese subjunctives with dynamic verbs (e.g. *dzes* <Ptg. *disses*; *fizes* <Ptg. *fizesse*) among six different elderly rural speakers. From my own participant observation, inflected forms seem widespread in the Santo Antão variety where they extend to dynamic verbs such as *konpras* (<Ptg. *comprasse*, CVSA *konprá* ‘to buy’) in, for instance, conditional structure such as *Se N konpras* ‘If I had bought...’.

It is possible that these sporadic inflected-like dynamic forms in CVSV are an example of inter-dialectal borrowing but any further hypothesis as to their origin and relationship to CVSA needs to await a fieldwork-based morpho-syntactic description of modern Santo Antão variety.

### 5.6.1 Modality

This section will focus on the expressions of modality in CVSV, i.e. the speaker’s attitude and judgments towards the possibility and necessity of the proposition.

As mentioned in section 5.2, CVSV displays no specialized mood markers though there are several constructions that may convey for instance, subjunctive mood: modal verbs, adverbials, or inflected-like stative verbs that have preserved fossilized Portuguese morphemes.

Moreover, apart from the debate whether the conditional is a subcategory of mood, the markers used in CVSV conditionals are the same as those used in the indicative mood. These issues are not discussed in detail in this research although imperative mood (and related hortative and prohibitive), which does show a clear morpho-syntactic specificity, are examined in section 5.7.

i. *Ád* ‘shall’

In CVST, there is a modal and aspectual particle *al* (Pratas 2007: 64)<sup>83</sup> used for expressing wish or probability as in (5.132):

- (5.132) *Ál txobe!* (Baptista 2006: 98)  
‘May it rain!’

The form shows double Portuguese and Wolof etymology, representing a possible case of convergence (Baptista 2006: 98).<sup>84</sup>

Veiga (1995) assumes that *al* in CVST shows a systematic correspondence to the particle *ád* in CVSV offering comparative examples such as: CVST *es al kumê* vs. CVSV *es a-de kemê* (Veiga 1995: 108). However, the data from the corpus suggest otherwise.

I have found the particle *ád* in a written folktale with the meaning ‘shall’ as in (5.133):

- (5.133) *El ád ser lenbród te últimu dia d’nos vida.* (MF/2)  
3SG shall be remember.PTCP until last day of+1PL.POSS life  
‘It shall be remembered till the last day of our life.’

In addition, *ád* conveys epistemic modality (5.134) and expresses the optative, where the accomplishment of a desired state of affairs is outside the speaker’s control as in (5.135):

- (5.134) *N ka sabê se bo ád ter sang franses...* (LF)  
1SG NEG know if 2SG might have blood French  
‘I don’t know if you might have French blood... [but I don’t like France].’

- (5.135) *Mi kazá? Deus ád defendê-m!* (AER)<sup>85</sup>  
1SG marry God SUBJ protect-3SG  
‘Me married? God protects me!’

As to the development of *ád* in CVSV, the marker *á* was attested for Barlavento by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Costa and Duarte as marking future alongside with *ta* (1886: 275). Frusoni systematically indicates future modal meaning with *há* ( ...*m há voltá um dia* ‘...I shall come one day’ Mesquitela Lima 1992: 110) while the form *há de* appears exclusively before the infinite *ser* (...*êss cidad há d’sêr un dia dstruíde* ‘...this city will be destroyed one day’ Frusoni

<sup>83</sup> Pratas acknowledges the understudied state of the art as far as modality in CVC is concerned, stating that “the categorical status of these units [modal particles] needs further investigation.” (Pratas 2007: 64). In fact, to my knowledge, Suzuki (1994) is the only author who, in some detail, has discussed modality in CVC observing also the modal function of inflected-like forms such as *devia* and *podia* in CVC (Suzuki 1994: 87-102).

<sup>84</sup> The particle *al* has received several labels in the literature on the Sotavento such as ‘optative’ or ‘potential’ (cf. discussion in Lang 2009: 170-172 on the possible diachronic development).

<sup>85</sup> The consultant has also suggested the form *avi* (from Ptg. *havia*) as in *Deus avi d’defendê-b se bo perdê-m es livr!* ‘God protect you if you lose this book of mine!’ (SM).

1979: 195). In modern CVSV, the form *á* seems to have been lost while the use of *ád* has been extended to all verbs.<sup>86</sup>

The cognates of this particle are widely registered in Indo-Portuguese Creoles and in contemporary Indian contact varieties of Portuguese. For instance, Cardoso attests the use of ‘invariable particle’ *a(d)* in the Indo-Portuguese language of Diu whose common function is to indicate future (Cardoso 2009: 136, 148).

In CVSV, *ád* seems to be an older feature and a retention from Portuguese. It conveys modal meanings but has never been fully grammaticalized into a mood marker. Contrary to Sotavento *al*, it does not combine with other markers and given its infrequent and often idiomatic use *ád* might be becoming obsolescent; it certainly does not display the productivity and systematicity of *al*.

ii. *Podê* ‘may, can’

The unmarked stative verb *podê* ‘may, can’ interplays with its marked counterpart *ta/te podê* in expressing different nuances of deontic possibility, i.e. in which a speaker “merely describes a possibility that exists in a given situation” (Auwera and Ammann 2005: 302).<sup>87</sup> In (5.136) *podê* expresses the speaker’s request for permission while in (5.137) *te podê* expresses the speaker’s physical internal ability of lifting a heavy weight.<sup>88</sup>

(5.136) *Á N dzokupá, N podê bai?* (MS)  
 already 1SG finish 1SG may go  
 ‘I have finished [house chores]; may I go?’

(5.137) *N te podê spendê sen kil.* (DR)  
 1SG PRS.IPFV can lift hundred kilo  
 ‘I can lift a hundred kilos.’

*Podê* may also convey epistemic possibility where the speaker expresses his evaluation of the truth and degree of certainty about the situation (Auwera and Amman 2005).<sup>89</sup>

(5.138) *Aoj el ka ben, ma el podê ben manhã.* (DR)  
 today 3SG NEG come but 3SG can come tomorrow  
 ‘He didn’t come today, but perhaps he will come tomorrow.’

*Podê* shows several suppletive forms such as past imperfective *pudia* in (5.139b):

<sup>86</sup> Interestingly, Cardoso attests *à* as a modal marker, expressing ‘eventual aspect’ for CVSN (Cardoso 1989: 60); given the ‘old’ character of the CVSN it may confirm that this morpheme existed and was productive in CVSV in Frusoni’s time (i.e. the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>87</sup> The term ‘deontic’ is synonymous with ‘situational’ (Auwera and Amman 2005).

<sup>88</sup> This modal opposition may at least partially explain the puzzling relationship between marked and unmarked stative verbs with present tense reference.

<sup>89</sup> For epistemic possibility in CVSV see also *APiCS* feature 55.

- (5.139) a. *Mod el ka tá te podê bá pa sidad.* (MAF)  
 as 3SG NEG PST.IPFV PROG can go to city  
 ‘As she couldn’t go to the city. [there was no transport]’

- b. *Mod el ka pudia bá pa sidad.* (DR)  
 as 3SG NEG could go to city  
 ‘As she couldn’t go to the city. [she was not allowed]’

The above example shows that contrary to Pereira’s (2000a) analysis, the suppletive forms are not mere variants but interact in a systemic fashion with marked counterparts in establishing different deontic modal readings. The external ability in (5.139a) contrasts with deontic permission in (5.139b above).

Moreover, the suppletive *pudia* may also indicate an epistemic possibility where the speaker is uncertain about the true value of the proposition given the available evidence:

- (5.140) *Na fóm d’korenta y seis N pudia ten uns kinz óne.* (DR)  
 in hunger of+forty and six 1SG could have some fifteen year  
 ‘During the hunger of ‘46 I could have been 15 years old.’

It is also used in subordinate clause after the complementizer *pa* as in (5.141):

- (5.141) ...*pa kel kren pudia trubaiá.* (JAL)  
 ...COMP DET crane could work  
 ‘...so that the crane could work.’

Other, though less frequent, suppletive forms are *pud* in (5.142)<sup>90</sup> and *puder* (from Ptg. 1sg past perfective *pude* and 1/3sg future subjunctive *puder*); the latter is used in subjunctive-like dependent clauses with the particle *se* ‘if’ as in (5.143):

- (5.142) *El ka dá-l dnher, k el ka pud...* (FP/2)  
 3SG NEG give-3SG money COMP 3SG NEG could  
 ‘He didn’t give him the money because he couldn’t...’

- (5.143) *Se bo puder dá skóla, bo dá skóla,...* (AR)  
 if 2SG SUBJ give school 2SG give school  
 ‘If you could provide [your children with] education, you provide education’

Marked *podê* may also convey a conditional reading as in (5.144a), where external ability is at stake, interacting with suppletive *puder* in (5.144b) which expresses deontic permission.

- (5.144) a. *Ma se bo tá podê votá, na ken k bo tá votá?* (LL/KS)  
 but if 2SG COND can vote on who REL 2SG COND vote  
 ‘But if you could vote, whom would you vote? [talking to an underage]’

<sup>90</sup> *Pud* and *sub* are too rare in the corpus to satisfactorily account for their interaction with *pudia* and *sabia*.

- b. *Ma se bo poder votá...* (DR)  
 but if 2SG could vote  
 ‘But if you could vote...[if you were allowed].’

It should be noticed that *podê*, when marked, may express different meanings than its suppletive counterparts as in (5.145) where *tá podê* means ‘to have power’.

- (5.145) *Es jent k tá poder kolker koza, éra tud gatxód.* (AL)  
 DEM people REL PST.IPFV can some thing COP.PST all hidden  
 ‘Those people who had any power were all hidden [on the independence day].’

Finally, similarly to other stative verbs, *podê* may be preceded by the progressive when there is a clear transition from one state to another, suggesting that the verb patterns as dynamic:

- (5.146) *N ka pudia bá pa Mérka ma ago N ti ta podê.* (DR)  
 1SG NEG could go to America but now 1SG PRS PROG can  
 ‘I couldn’t go to America but now I can. [I have been given the visa]’

- (5.147) *Ants N ka tá poder korê d’presá ma grinhasin à N ti ta podê.* (DR)  
 before 1SG NEG PST.IPFV can run quickly but now already 1SG PRS PROG can  
 ‘Before I was unable to run quickly but now I can.’

### iii. *Devê* ‘should

Unmarked *devê* ‘ought, should’ belongs to the very restricted subclass of stative verbs that never get a past reading when unmarked. Together with its suppletive form *devia* (less strong obligation) it expresses different degrees of deontic necessity as in (5.148a and b):

- (5.148) a. *Bo devê pará k’es vida.* vs. b. *Bo devia pará k’es vida.* (SM)  
 2SG should stop with+DEM life 2SG ought stop with+DEM life  
 ‘You should stop this life.’ ‘You ought to stop this life.’

In expressing deontic necessity *devê* interacts with a periphrastic construction *ten k/tinha k* ‘must’ that expresses a very strong obligation (5.149a and b):<sup>91</sup>

- (5.149) a. *Bo ten k pará k es vida!* (DR)  
 2SG have COMP stop with DEM life  
 ‘You must stop this life!’  
 b. *N tinha k lavá ropa...* (MJD)  
 1SG had COMP wash clothes  
 ‘I had to wash clothes...’

*Devia*, may also refer to past counterfactual situations as in (5.150):

<sup>91</sup> *K* might be substituted by *d* as in *N tinha d’lavá...* ‘I had to wash [clothes]’

- (5.150) *Es fazê mariód, ... k es devia invadí-l k'arma na mon!* (MDL)  
 3PL do wrong COMP 3PL should invaded-3SG with+arm in hand  
 ‘They acted wrongly, they should have invaded it [the Portuguese garrison] with arms at hand!’

Together with *podê* it establishes different types of epistemic modality. In (5.151a) the proposition is possibly true while in (5.151b) there is a higher degree of certainty and the proposition is in the realm of epistemic necessity (Auwera and Amman 2005):

- (5.151) a. *Júlia podê stód na káza.* vs. b. *Julia devê stód na káza.* (DR)  
 Julia may be at home Julia must be at home  
 ‘Julia may be at home.’ ‘Julia should be at home.’

Note that when marked by *ta/te*, *devê* loses its modal value and has the meaning of ‘to owe’ as in (5.152):

- (5.152) *El te devê-m mil skud.* (SM)  
 3SG PRS owe-1SG thousand escudo  
 ‘He owns me a thousand escudos.’

Together with suppletive forms of copulas analyzed in section 5.8 the above inflected-like forms seem to constitute the complete set of the available suppletive forms in CVSV (cf. Group IV in Table 5.2 above) which are summarized in table 5.3 below:

**Table 5.3 Suppletive forms in CVSV**

PRESENT	IMPERFECTIVE	PERFECTIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE	INFINITIVE	GLOSS
<i>e</i>	<i>éra</i>	<i>foi/fui</i>	<i>fos</i>	<i>ser</i>	‘to be [equative]’
<i>ta/te</i>	<i>tá(va)</i>	<i>tiv</i>	<i>tiver/tives</i>	—	‘to be [locative]’
<i>ten</i>	<i>tinha</i>	<i>tiv</i>	<i>tiver/tives</i>	<i>ter</i>	‘to have’
<i>sabê</i>	<i>sabia</i>	<i>sub</i>	—	—	‘to know’
<i>podê</i>	<i>pudia</i>	<i>pud</i>	—	—	‘can’
<i>krê</i>	<i>kria</i>	<i>kis/kris</i>	<i>kizes/kizer</i>	—	‘want’
<i>devê</i>	<i>devia</i>	—	—	—	‘should’

## 5.7 Imperative

This section will present the imperative, hortative, and prohibitive constructions in CVSV, which in contrast to other expressions of mood, do show clearly defined morpho-syntactic properties.<sup>92</sup> Imperatives and hortative are concerned with expressing “a wish of the

<sup>92</sup> For imperatives in CVSV see also *APiCS* feature 56.



speaker about a future state of affairs” and contrary to optatives “they convey an appeal to the addressee(s) to help make the future state of affairs true.” (Auwera et al. 2005: 294).<sup>93</sup>

Similarly to the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002: 115-116) the imperative in CVSV consists of two sets. First, the imperative for the 2sg is formed by using a bare verb stem with no overt subject pronoun, as in (5.153) and (5.154):

i. *Imperative*

(5.153) **Kalá**            *mós!*      (GL)  
               shut.up      boy  
               ‘Shut up, boy!’

(5.154) **Soltá-m!**            (IL/1)  
               loosen-1SG  
               ‘Let me go!’

For the 2pl the imperative is formed by using the overt pronoun *bzot* as in (5.155). Also in polite forms, both the 2sg and 2pl pronouns are obligatorily present (5.156):

(5.155) **Bzot**            *dskansá!*      (DR)  
               1PL/2PL    rest  
               ‘You rest!’

(5.156) **Bosê/Boses**            *ijdá-m*    *por favor!* (DR)  
               2SG.POLITE/2PL.POLITE    help-1SG    please  
               ‘Please help me!’

A special construction with *ser* is used for the imperative copula in (5.157):

(5.157) **Ser**            *óm!*            (DR)  
               be            man  
               ‘Be a man’

Related to imperative structure is the hortative construction where the person who could make the desired situation happen is not the addressee(s), as in the case of the imperative, but rather someone else (Auwera et al. 2005), as in (5.158):

ii. *Hortative*

(5.158) **No**            *dskansá!*      (DR)  
               1PL    rest  
               ‘Let’s rest!’

Prohibitive is formed by means of the negative particle *ka* that is followed by the overt subject pronoun (both informal and polite):

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<sup>93</sup> A good illustration of the optative elliptical construction in CVSV is the blessing in example (5.101).

iii. *Prohibitive*(5.159) *Ka bo/bosê mordê-! (IL/1/SM)*NEG 2SG bite-3SG  
'Don't bite him!'(5.160) *Ka bzot/bozes bá na kel kemin! (GL/SM)*NEG 2PL go on DEM way  
'Don't go this way!'Negative imperative of the copula 'to be' is constructed with *ser* as in (5.161):<sup>94</sup>(5.161) *Ka bo ser idióta! (SM)*NEG 2SG COP idiot  
'Don't be an idiot!'**5.8 Copulas**

This section presents the forms, distribution, and functions of copulas in CVSV.<sup>95</sup> In subsection 5.8.1 the copula *e* 'to be' and in 5.8.2 the locative copula *ta* 'to be at' are discussed. Subsection 5.8.3 focuses on copula deletion and the relationship between copula and pronominal selection. Finally, other verbs functioning as copulas are presented in subsection 5.8.4 with a special focus on the form *stód* (5.8.4.1).

Copulas are understood here as overt elements indicating the relationship between the subject and adjectival, nominal, or locative predicates.

**5.8.1 The copula *e***

The behavior and the origins of the copula *e* 'to be' in CVC and the related GBC has been one of the most debated topics in CVC morphosyntax (e.g. Ichinose 1993 and 2008, Baptista 1999 and 2002, Baptista 2004, Pratas 2004, Kihm 2006). As noted by Salas Barrena (2006), conflicting interpretations of this morpheme result from its homophony, in both the Sotavento varieties and GBC, to the third person singular pronoun and are related to the issue of the pro-drop parameter in CVC discussed in chapter 4.

Baptista (2002: 104-110) explains the idiosyncratic behavior of the copula *e* in relation to negation, tense, and pronominal selection by the dual nature of this morpheme that combines both nominal and verbal properties. She proposes an evolutionary path that originated in the copulaless construction and the subsequent reinterpretation of the 3sg clitic *e* as a homophonous copula *e* and its later development, due to the influence of Portuguese, into a focalizar. This

<sup>94</sup> Yet a different construction is the special copular negator *n* as in *N'e pa bo dzê bo mãi!* 'Don't tell your mother! Lit. 'It's not for you to tell your mother!' (VL).

<sup>95</sup> For features related to copulas in CVSV see also *APiCS* features 54, 73, 74, 75, 76, and 104.

pathway, according to Baptista, offers an explanation for the pronominal properties of the copula *e* in the Sotavento varieties and shows that both substrate and superstrate forces have played a role in its formation (Baptista 2002: 110).<sup>96</sup>

In CVSV, as in CVC in general (Baptista 2004: 97), copula *e* ‘to be’ introduces nominal (5.162) and adjectival (5.163) predicates.<sup>97</sup>

i. *The copula e and nominal predicates*

- (5.162) *Se pai d’fidj e peskadór.* (JCG)  
 3SG.POSS father of+child COP.PRS fisherman  
 ‘The father of her children is a fisherman.’

ii. *The copula e and adjectival predicates*

- (5.163) *Kel vez koza é más barót.* (EL)  
 DEM time thing COP.PST more cheap  
 ‘In that time things were cheaper.’

Similarly to other stative verbs, copula *e* in CVSV presents a range of both weak and strong suppletive forms. These can have past imperfective reference such as *éra* in (5.164).

iii. *Suppletive form: éra*

- (5.164) *Nos éra so rapaz dret.* (JSM)  
 1PL COP.PST only boy well  
 ‘We were all good boys.’

I have also attested a reduced form of the past tense copula *éra* i.e. *é* [ɛ], shown in (5.163); this allomorph, though widespread, has not been attested, to my knowledge, in the existing literature on CVSV. The form *é* seems to represent a recent development as in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Frusoni 1979, Mesquitela Lima 1992) the form *éra* was overwhelming. Other suppletive copular forms are *fui* (5.165) and *foi* (5.166):

<sup>96</sup> Salas Barrena (2006) questions this pathway by showing that according to Brito’s 1887 grammar, the copula *e* and the 3sg pronoun *e* were not homophonous. While Baptista attributes to Portuguese the development of copula into a focalizer (Baptista 2002: 110), Lang shows that the focalizing constructions in the Santiago variety often diverge from the EP by omitting the copula *e* and might have been modelled on substrate, for instance, Wolof patterns (Lang 2009: 177-179).

<sup>97</sup> Based on Dryer (2007) nominal predicates refer here to both true equational structures (*Eliza e direktóra d’ospital*. ‘Elisa is the director of the hospital.’), where subject and the predicate can be reversed (*Direktóra d’ospital e Eliza*. ‘The director of the hospital is Elisa.’), and true nominal predicates as in (5.162) which are non-referential and where the order cannot be reversed cf. *Peskadór e se pai d’fidj*. ‘Fisherman is the father of her children.’

iv. *Suppletive forms: fui and foi*

- (5.165) *Nunka N fui asin óm d'mar.* (JAL)  
 never 1SG COP.PST this.way man of+sea  
 'I have never been a (real) seaman.'

- (5.166) *Nosfoi mninkriód djunt naNórt, el foi, nos fui rapazin...* (JSM)  
 1PL COP.PST childraise.PTCP together in Nort 3SGCOP.PST 1PL COP.PST boy.little  
 'We were children raised together in Norte, he was, we were little boys...'

Both forms are present along the continuum and have their origin in the Portuguese past perfective forms (1sg *fui* and 3sg *foi* from the verb *ser* 'to be').<sup>98</sup> The form *foi* was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century attested for the entire Barlavento area by Costa and Duarte (1886: 275).<sup>99</sup> In CVSV they are allomorphs that do not show any person agreement pattern and may appear interchangeably in speech as in (5.166).<sup>100</sup> An exact determination of contexts in which perfective and imperfective (5.167) forms occur would require a broader corpus.

- (5.167) *Última foi/ éra nha tia.* (DR)  
 last.one COP.PST.PFV. COP.PST.IPFV 1SG.POSS aunt  
 'The last one was my aunt.'

Finally, there is a suppletive copular form *fos* (<Ptg. past subjunctive 1sg/3sg *fosse*) used in modal constructions (5.168a):

v. *Suppletive form: fos*

- (5.168) a. *N pudia fos un injenher.* (PL)  
 1SG could COP DET engineer  
 'I could have been an engineer [if I had been given a chance in life].'

- b. *Ma kel óra pudia ser un tres óra d'madrugada...* (IF)  
 but DET time could COP DET three hour of+dawn  
 'But at that time it could have been around three o'clock in the morning...'

*Fos* occupies the position after the modal where the infinitive form *ser* also occurs (5.168b), showing modal readings. The form, though marginal in the corpus (only two occurrences), does not seem to be recent: *fos* is attested for the Barlavento by Costa and Duarte (1886: 275) as an equivalent to the Sotavento *serba*.

<sup>98</sup> In CVSV, contrary to Portuguese, *foi* and *fui* function exclusively as suppletive copulas and never perfective forms of the verb *ir* 'to go'.

<sup>99</sup> The form is not absent in the CVST either. Pratas (2007: 125) mentions past perfective *foi* and underlines that it is 'much less productive' than *éa*.

<sup>100</sup> Moreover, interchangeable use of forms *foi* and *éa* suggest that suppletion in relation to tense and aspect is often blurred in CVSV.

Alongside *ter* ‘to have’, *ser* is the only CVSV form preserving a Portuguese infinitive.<sup>101</sup> It appears in prohibitives (cf. section 5.7), after modals (5.168b) and (5.169), preceded by markers expressing conditional or future meaning (5.170a) or in future periphrastic constructions with the verb *bá* ‘to go’ (5.170b).

vi. *Infinitive: ser*

(5.169) *N kris ser aeromósa.* (AGF)  
1SG wanted COP airhostess  
‘I wanted to be an airhostess.’

(5.170) a. *N tá ser un profesora amiga d’nhas alun.* (FF)  
1SG COND COP DET teacher friend of+1PL.POSS pupil  
‘I would be a friendly teacher for my pupils.’

b. *N te bá ser un profesóra...* (JS)  
1SG TMA go COP DET teacher  
‘I will be a teacher...’

Finally, the copula *e* and its suppletive forms function as a focalizer (5.171).<sup>102</sup>

vii. *Focalizer*

(5.171) *Éra mi k é féma más grand.* (LSS)  
FOC 1SG REL COP.PST female more big  
‘It was me who was the oldest daughter.’

I have also registered a gerundial form of the verb ‘to be’ *send* (from Ptg. *sendo*) in the fixed construction *a não send se* ‘unless’:<sup>103</sup>

(5.172) *A nãu send se ot inpréza k n’e kanbra agó te ben panhá...* (JSC)  
PREP NEG GERUND if other company if NEG+COP town.council now TMA come take  
‘Unless someone other than the town council company will come to buy [the stones].’

### 5.8.2 The copula *ta*

Another copular form in CVSV is *ta* [tə] which introduces locative predicates as in (5.173):

i. *Locative predicates*

(5.173) *El ta lá na kaldéra.* (IR)  
3SG COP.PRS there in pot  
‘It [the food] is there in the pot.’

<sup>101</sup> The form is present in CVC in general.

<sup>102</sup> CVSV presents a wide range of focus constructions which must be left for further research (cf. *APiCS* feature 104).

<sup>103</sup> Lílíana Inverno (p.c. 2011) has suggested that this structure might reflect the use of present participle *sendo* typical of the southern Portuguese dialects.

Derived from the Sotavento copula *sta* [stɐ],<sup>104</sup> *ta* is homophonous with the present imperfective marker analyzed in subsection 5.2.1 and it shows the same allomorph *te* [tɛ] as in (5.174):<sup>105</sup>

- (5.174) *Ten tres féma, es te na Itália.* (VC)  
 have three female 3PL COP.PRS in Italy  
 ‘There are three daughters; they are in Italy.’

The past forms of the locative copula are *táva* [ˈtave] and its allomorph *tá* [ta] (5.175),<sup>106</sup> derived from the Sotavento past forms of the locative copula *stába* [ˈstabe] and *stá* [sta].<sup>107</sup> Parallel to the present forms, they show a typologically common homophony with the imperfective marker (Dahl 1985).

ii. *Past forms: tá(va)*

- (5.175) *Nãu, N ka táva, dia d’independência N ka tá na moráda.* (EL)  
 NEG 1SG NEG COP.PST day of+independence 1SG NEG COP.PST in town  
 ‘No, I was not, on independence day I was not in town [Mindelo].’

The copula *tá(va)* introduces also adjectival predicates as in (5.176):

iii. *Adjectival predicates*

- (5.176) *N trá sapót... unha táva pret.* (JAL)  
 1SG take.off shoe nail COP.PST black  
 ‘I took off my shoe, the nail was black.’

There is an overlap between locative *ta* and *e* as they both may introduce adjectival predicates. However there exists a semantic contrast as *e* designates permanent states and qualities as opposed to temporary ones introduced by *ta* (5.177):

- (5.177) *Y bosê ta bnita.* vs. *El e bnita.* (FC/JS)  
 and you COP pretty 3SG COP bnita  
 ‘And you look pretty. vs. She is pretty.’

The copulas *e* and *ta* contrast also in experience constructions as in (5.178a and b):<sup>108</sup>

- (5.178) a. *Mi e xei d’dor d’kabésa.* (DR)  
 1SG.NONCL COP full of pain of head  
 ‘I have a headache. Lit. I am full of headache.’ [Frequently, constantly]
- b. *N te k dor d’kabésa* (DR)  
 1SG.CL COP with pain of+head  
 ‘I have a headache. Lit. I am with headache.’ [Now, temporarily]

<sup>104</sup> Note that Cardoso attests both forms, *sta* and *ta* for CVSN (Cardoso 1989: 26, 38).

<sup>105</sup> As to the allomorph *te* there are certain constraints as to its distribution – the reduced form cannot, for instance, appear in clause-final position *Ondê k el ta/\*te?* ‘Where is he?’

<sup>106</sup> This short form past copula *tá* is already abundantly present in Frusoni (1979).

<sup>107</sup> This shortened form is the product of the widespread deletion of intervocalic /b/ in the Sotavento varieties.

<sup>108</sup> For experiencer constructions in CVSV cf. also APiCS features 66, 67, and 68.

In addition, *tá(va)* may be used in counterfactual conditionals as in (5.179):

iv. *Conditional*

- (5.179) *Nha primer fidj, se el táva viv, já'l tinha trinta y tres óne.* (MJD)  
 1SG.POSS first son if 3SG COP.COND alive already+3SG had thirty and three year  
 'If my first son had been alive he would be thirty three years old.'

The locative copula presents suppletive forms in relation to tense and aspect such as *tiv* in (5.180) and (5.181):<sup>109</sup>

v. *Suppletive form: tiv*

- (5.180) *N tiv na Gdynia, N tiv na Gdansk...* (LMF)  
 1SG COP.PST in Gdynia 1SG COP.PST in Gdansk  
 'I have been to Gdynia, I have been to Gdansk...'

- (5.181) *N tiv na skóla un mes so.* (AMD)  
 1SG COP.PST in school one month only  
 'I was in school only for a month.'

*Tiv* conveys perfective aspect of clearly delimited past event whose punctual reading is often determined by a temporal adverbial as in (5.181). In the above examples imperfective *táva* would produce ungrammatical sentences.

The copula *ta* also shows the suppletive forms *tives* (5.182; note that the copula is combined with a locative adverb) and *tiver*, derived from Portuguese past and future subjunctive forms (1sg/3sg *estivesse*, 1sg/3sg *estiver*) used in counterfactual (5.182) and potential conditionals (5.183). Both forms are found among basilectal speakers.

vi. *Suppletive forms: tives and tiver*

- (5.182) *Se kel snhór tives li el e k tá ben kontá boses es stória más dret.* (MGM)  
 if DEM man COP here 3SG FOC REL COND come tell 2PL DEM story more well  
 'If that gentlemen [referring to a deceased husband] were here he would have told you these stories better.'

- (5.183) *...s'und'boses má nha mãi... tiver nakonvérsa N tá fká kontent.* (AMD)  
 if+one of+2PL with 1SG.POSS mother COP on talk 1SG COND become happy  
 '...if one of you and my mother were talking, I would be happy [and go out to play].'

Another function of copula *ta* is to express temporal predicative possession when followed by comitative *k* as in (5.184):

<sup>109</sup> In CVST the past locative copula is *stába*. As mentioned above, inflected forms such as *stivi* or *tivi* do exist in the acrolectal varieties in the Sotavento area though they have not been systematically accounted for in the literature.

vii. *Predicative possession*

- (5.184) *Kel pos d'bósa ta k água.* (AO)  
 DEM well of+your COP.PRS with water  
 'That well of yours has water.'

In the Santiago variety, the opposition between the verb forms *ten/tene* 'to have' indicates the distinction between permanent and temporary possession, a feature that according to Lang has been modeled on a similar distinction between the verbs *am/ame* 'to have' in Wolof (Lang 2009: 230-235). The same distinction in CVSV can be obtained by an opposition between comitative possession (temporary) and transitive possession (permanent) as in (5.185a and b). A similar contrast is obtained in experience constructions with 'fear' as in (5.186a and b):

- (5.185) a. *N te k un prublema.* (DR)  
 1SG COP.PRS with DET problem  
 'I have a problem.' [Now, temporality]  
 b. *N ten txeu prublema.* (DR)  
 1SG have many problem  
 'I have many problems.' [Permanently]
- (5.186) a. *N ten med d'katxór.* (SM)  
 1SG have fear of+dog  
 'I am afraid of dogs.'  
 b. *N te k'med d'es katxór.* (SM)  
 1SG COP.PRS with+fear of+DEM dog  
 'I am afraid of this dog.'

Copula *ta/te* may also be combined with the preposition *na* 'on' to indicate ongoing action.<sup>110</sup>

viii. *Progressive use of ta/te*

- (5.187) *Uk bo te na el?* (SM)  
 what 2SG COP.PRES on 3SG  
 'What are you doing?'

## 5.8.3 Copula deletion and pronominal selection

Non-verbal predicates have been a topic of debate in contact linguistics, especially in relation to AAVE and BVP as copula deletion is one of the hallmarks of partially restructured languages due to parallels with Atlantic creoles and African substrate languages (Holm 2004: 76-77, 82-83).

<sup>110</sup> Peck (1988) and Quint (2000) register this use also in GBC and CVST respectively. Peck attributes it to the Mandinka substrate (Peck 1988: 353-356). Kihm (2011: 63) attests the structure *sta na V* also in the conservative Casamance variety.



As to CVC, Baptista observes that “copulaless predicates are alien to Portuguese<sup>111</sup> but common in CVC under certain conditions, a trait that may have been inherited from substrate languages such as Wolof” (Baptista 2004:104). One of the contexts that favor copula deletion in CVST are present negative predicates as in (5.188a).<sup>112</sup>

- (5.188) a. *Wosvaldu ka riku.* b. \**Wosvaldu riku.* (CVST, Pratas 2007: 125)  
 Wosvaldu NEG rich Wosvaldu rich  
 ‘Wosvaldo (is) not rich.’ \*‘Wosvaldu rich.’

Baptista, basing on Cardoso (1989), has shown that copulaless negative predicates occurs not only in the Sotavento varieties but also in the Barlavento varieties, for instance in São Nicolau, where the copula may be optionally absent in “negated adjectival and possessive predicates” (Baptista 2004: 105), as in (5.189a and b):

- (5.189) a. *N ka kulpòd.*                      b. *Eka seu.* (CVSN, Cardoso 1989: 68 cited in Baptista  
1SG NEG responsible                      itNEGhis                      2004: 105)  
'I am not responsible for it.'                      'It is not his.'

In CVST the copula is also absent in passive constructions with past participles, discussed in section 5.10. However, in contemporary CVST, the deletion of copula in affirmative predicates such as (5.188b) is ungrammatical (Baptista 2004: 104; Pratas 2007: 123-128). Baptista explains this asymmetry by the fact that negative particle *ka* in CVC may still preserve verbal properties of substrate language's verbal auxiliaries from which it might be derived (Baptista 2004: 109-110). However, CVC historical records such as Costa and Duarte (1886: 274; they observe that the auxiliary verb such as 'to be' may be 'hidden' in the sentence and offer examples such as *Já **mi rico***! 'I am rich') and Fernandes (n/d, p. 100, *Jám **contente*** 'I became happy') show examples of clearly affirmative copulaless constructions in the Sotavento varieties with adjectival predicates. This may suggest that copula deletion was allowed in affirmative predicates in earlier stages of the language's development and that there is an ongoing change in the Sotavento varieties.

In modern CVS<sub>V</sub> copulaless constructions are ungrammatical; an overt equative copula ‘to be’, both present and past, must be present in all syntactic contexts, including those that allow copula deletion in CVS<sub>N</sub> or CVST.<sup>113</sup> However, from a closer reading of Frusoni’s (1979 and Mesquitela Lima 1992) where examples such as *bô falá **ca** ê d’Dêus, **ca** bôn* ‘your speech is

<sup>111</sup> It should be understood EP, as in BVP copula deletion occurs.

<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, past forms of copula (*era* and *foi*) are preserved in negative context in CVST as they are, according to Pratas, ‘phonologically heavier’ (Pratas 2007: 125).

<sup>113</sup> For copulas in CVS<sub>V</sub> see also *APiCS* features 66, 67 and 68. Overt locative *ta* 'to be' is also obligatory.

not God's, (is) not good' (Frusoni 1979: 121) it can be deduced that at least until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the copula *e* could be deleted in negative contexts in CVSV.

Similarly to the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 1999, 2002, and 2004) *e* in CVSV obligatorily selects non-clitic pronominals while clitics appear with the locative *ta*.<sup>114</sup> The past form *éra* also selects non-clitics but other past suppletive forms *fui/foi* may select both non-clitics (5.191) and clitics (5.192a and b); the latter behavior is clearly predominant in the corpus.<sup>115</sup>

- (5.190) *Mi éra un d'akes...* (OA)  
 1SG.NONCL COP.PST one of+DEM  
 'I was one of those...'

- (5.191) ... *k mi fui esin.*<sup>116</sup> (AMD)  
 REL 1SG.NONCL COP.PST this.way  
 '... [that] I was raised this way.'

- (5.192) a. *N foi un d'kes k bá panhá-l...* (OL)  
 1SG.CL COP.PST one of+DEM REL go catch-3SG  
 'I was one of those who went to fetch him...[from the bottom of the sea].

- b. *N fui kriód pa nha avó.* (GL)  
 1SG.CL COP.PST rise.PTCP by 1SG.POSS grandmother  
 'I was raised by my grandmother.'

#### 5.8.4 Other copular expressions

Similarly to CVST (Salas Barrena 2006) and other languages (Dryer 2007) there are several other verbs that function as copulas in CVSV linking the adjectival, nominal, and locative predicates with the subject.

One of these verbs is *fká* 'to stay', cross-linguistically a common source for grammaticalized copular elements (Dryer 2007) and which oscillates in CVSV between a lexical verb (5.193a) and a copula (5.193b):

- (5.193) a. *N fká má nha tia.* (AL)  
 1SG stayed with 1SG.POSS aunt  
 'I stayed with my aunt.'

- b. *N fká kansód.* (DR)  
 1SG COP tired.  
 'I became tired.'

<sup>114</sup> This behaviour is another indicator of the possible nominal origins of the equative 'be' in CVC as proposed by Baptista (2002) and the verbal origin of *ta* derived from the Portuguese *estar*.

<sup>115</sup> Example in Pratas (2007) *E (\*foi) ka \*(foi) simpatiku ku gentis ki txiga* 'He was not nice with the people who came' (2007: 125) suggests that in CVST the suppletive form *foi* also combines with clitics.

<sup>116</sup> What might trigger the use of non-clitic here is the embedded context.

The verb *fká* preceded by a marker may optionally occupy the position reserved for the locative copula *ta/te* as in (5.194):

- (5.194) *El te (fká) más prá bók.* (VC)  
 3SG PRS.IPFV remain more there down  
 ‘It is more down there.’

Another copula-like element is the verb *vrá* that also oscillates between a lexical verb ‘to turn’ (5.195a) and a copular element meaning ‘become’ (5.195b):

- (5.195) a. *Y se es mandó-b un mandót n'é pa bo vrá kára!* (AMD)  
 andif 3PL send-2SG DET task NEG+COP COMP 2SG turn face  
 ‘And if they [parents] sent you do a task it was not for you to turn your face!’
- b. ... *kel sómbra d'seu vrá más grand.* (MF/2)  
 ... DEM shadow of+3SG.POSS COP more big  
 ‘... that shadow of his became bigger.’

The verb *parsê* behaves in a similar way, i.e. as a lexical verb ‘to appear’ (5.196a)<sup>117</sup> or a copular one ‘seem’ (5.196b):

- (5.196) a. *D'ves inkuant parsê un trabói n'un bot.* (AMD)  
 of+sometimes appear DET job on+DET boat  
 ‘Sometimes there appeared a job on a boat.’
- b. *Ana parsê bedj.* (SM)  
 3SG COP old  
 ‘Ana seemed old.’

#### 5.8.4.1 The verb *stód*

Finally, a puzzling feature related to the locative copula *ta* but also to the TMA markers discussed in section 5.2 is the form *stód* [ʃtɔd] ‘to be at’ in CVSV. *Stód* shows both idiosyncratic form and behavior. On one hand, its form resembles participles (cf. section 5.1.2) but on the other it behaves as a main verb being obligatorily preceded by TMA markers (5.197), and forming imperative constructions as in (5.198) and not as a participle *per se*:<sup>118</sup>

- (5.197) *Mi, N ka tá stód nakáza, mi N tá pará nakáza ára d'not.* (TR)  
 1SG 1SG NEG PST.INPF be at home 1SG 1SG PST.IPFV stop in house FOC of+night  
 ‘I did use to be at home; it was at night that I used to come back home.’
- (5.198) *Stód kalód!* (DR)  
 be quiet  
 ‘Be quiet!’

<sup>117</sup> As shown in chapter 4, constructions with *parsê* are among very few contexts that allow for a null subject.

<sup>118</sup> I haven't attested a single occurrence of periphrastic (AUX+PTCP) combination such as *ten stód* or *tinha stód* but this does not preclude their existence.

*Stód* belongs to a very restricted group of stative verbs (copulas and *ten* ‘to have’ designating inherent properties) that cannot be preceded by progressive combinations [cf. (5.44b) above].

It constitutes the only available strategy to express future locative copula as in (5.199) and it functions as an auxiliary in future progressive constructions as in (5.200):

(5.199) *N ta bá stód na Praia.* (SM)

1SG FUT go be in Praia

‘I will be in Praia.’

(5.200) *Manhã, d’es óra, no ti ta bá stód te nadá na Laginha.* (JS)

tomorrow of+DEM hour 1PL PRS.IPFV PROG go be PROG swim

‘Tomorrow, at this time, we will be swimming at Laginha [beach]!’

It participates in constructions that combine habitual with progressive reading both in present – (5.201) and (5.202) – and past, as in (5.203):

(5.201) *Badiubo ka ta nen konprendêkze k es ta stód ta dzê!* (PJL)

badiu 2SG NEG PRS.IPFV even understand what COMP 3PL PRS.IPFV be PROG say

‘Badiu, you don’t even understand what they are saying!’

(5.202) *El te stód tud te brigá.* (FF)

3SG PRS.IPFV be all PROG fight

‘He is always fighting.’

(5.203) *Es táva stód te fazê petrulha pa lugar.* (JSC)

3SG PST.IPFV be PROG make patrol around place

‘They used to be patrolling the area.’

Moreover, it interplays with the locative copula *ta* in marking temporary vs. permanent localization as in (5.204a and b):<sup>119</sup>

(5.204) a. *El ta na Sant Anton.* (JS)

3SG COP.PRS in Santo Antão

‘He is in Santo Antão.’ [now, temporally]

b. *El ta stód na Sant Anton.* (JS)

3SG PRS.IPFV be in Santo Antão

‘He is in Santo Antão.’ [permanently]

It may appear after modal verbs (5.205) and in subordinate clauses after the complementizer *pa* as in (5.206) functioning as an auxiliary:

<sup>119</sup> Pereira (2000a:36) considers that *stód* is one of the products of ‘progressive linguistic assimilations’ where new forms (*stód*) are associated with old forms (*ta*) to fulfil an old function. However (5.204) suggests the differentiation is not only formal but also semantic.

(5.205) *N pudia stód nassid ma inda N ka tá vendê txuk.* (ASL)  
 1SG could be born.PTCP but yet 1SG NEG TMA sell pig  
 ‘[in the time of the Portuguese] I could have been born but I didn’t use to sell pigs yet.’

(5.206) *Dzê kes mnin pa es stód paród!* (AMD)  
 tell DEM child COMP 3PL be stop.PTCP  
 ‘Tell those kids to keep still!’

The form appears alongside the continuum and it does not seem to constitute a recent development as it is, for instance, attested by Frusoni’s texts (1979: 95; Bzôt *podê stód* cert... ‘You can be sure’). Moreover, *stód* is not exclusive to CVSV as Cardoso attests it for CVSN (Cardoso 1989: 53).

Given the homophony of the imperfective *ta* and the locative copula *ta* in CVSV (which is absent in CVST where there is an opposition *ta ~sta*) *stód* seems likely to have developed in the variety to distinguish between the imperfective marker *ta* and the copula/auxiliary *ta*. Formally, *stód* derives from the CVST past participle form *stádu* (from the copula/auxiliary *sta* ‘to be at’). Functionally, it patterns the use of the auxiliary *sta* in CVST adding to the debate as to the auxiliary character of the first element in CVC complex progressive markers (Jacobs 2011b).

## 5.9 Negation

This section will discuss negation in CVSV, focusing on its main divergences from the Sotavento varieties.<sup>120</sup>

In CVSV there are three negating particles. The negator *nãu* or *non*, present also in the Sotavento varieties (Pina 2006), is a sentential negator as in (5.207):

(5.207) *Nãu, no tá konprá kel tónt d’fazênda, no tá pô na kstura...* (GL)  
 NEG 1PL TMA buy DEM much of+fabric 1PL TMA put for sewing  
 ‘No, we used to buy the [necessary] amount of fabric, send it for sewing...’

The second negator, *ka*, is a predicate negator present in all CVC varieties, with the exception of CVSA (Rougé 2006: 66).<sup>121</sup> With the exception of negative imperatives (cf. section 5.7) this negator obligatorily follows subjects and precedes unmarked (5.208), marked (5.209), and suppletive verbs (5.210).

<sup>120</sup> For negation in CVSV see also *APiCS* features 100, 101, and 102.

<sup>121</sup> *Ka* is also present in other Upper Guine Portuguese-based creoles. It may represent a case of convergence between the Portuguese *nunca* ‘never’ and several substrate (Mandinga or Manjaku) negating particles (Rougé 2006: 67, Baptista 2007b: 44-47).

- (5.208) *N ka ten marid.* (DDL)  
 1SG NEG have husband  
 ‘I don’t have a husband.’
- (5.209) *Bosê ka táva bá senpr pa moráda?* (LL/EL)  
 2SG NEG TMA go always TO city  
 ‘Didn’t you use always to go to the town?’
- (5.210) *N ka kris fká un óne paród.* (FF)  
 1SG NEG wanted stay one year stop.PTCP  
 ‘I didn’t want to take a year off.’

However, there is an important difference in the distribution of the copula and the negator *ka* in CVC. In the Sotavento varieties, the copula *e* precedes the negator in the present tense while in the past it follows it (Baptista 2004).<sup>122</sup> In CVSV, the copula obligatorily follows the negator *ka*, similarly to main verbs and independently of tense as in (5.211):

- (5.211) *Koza ka e’éra ben asin.* (AMD/SM)  
 thing NEG COP.PRS/COP.PST well this.way  
 ‘Things are/were not really this way.’

Moreover, the use of negator *ka* with the copula is secondary in the CVSV grammar as the most commonly used negator is *n*.

- (5.212) *Nos k n’éra se fidj...* (AMD)  
 1PL.NONCL REL NEG+COP 3SG.POSS child  
 ‘We, who were not her children...’

Baptista (2004: 101) is, to my knowledge, the first to acknowledge the presence of this negator in CVSV; she rightly observes that *ne* is Portuguese derived. However, it seems that in CVSV the feature shows a clear influence of the Santo Antão variety, in which the negator *n* is used with both copular and non-copular verbs, rather than being an independent creation. In CVSA it is at least 150 years old: Fernandes gives an example *Bosote’n krê jantar* ‘Don’t you want a dinner?’ as typical of this variety (1991: 18).<sup>123</sup>

I have registered *n* with non-copular verbs in the speech of an elderly speaker in Salamansa whose parents were from Santo Antão (5.213a).

- (5.213) a. *Bo, bo n’ tá oiá-s, es tá fazê duk es krê.* (EL)  
 2SG 2SG NEG TMA see-3PL 3PL TMA do what 3PL want  
 ‘You didn’t see them [ghosts]; they were doing what they wanted.’

<sup>122</sup> This is one of the reasons that Baptista postulated the pronominal origin of this morpheme (Baptista 2002 and 2004).

<sup>123</sup> In the Santo Antão variety, the cliticization of the negator to the following verb or markers triggers assimilations which have yet to be accounted for.

- b. *Mi, N n'sbê.* (MS)  
 1SG 1SG NEG+know  
 'I don't know.'

In this non-copular usage, the negator *n* is a clear indication of CVSA origin of the speaker and constitutes a marginal feature in CVSV grammar. However, I have also recorded it among young Mindelo urbanites - used with the stative verb *sabê* 'to know' (5.213b). The reasons why this particular form of negator is used in negating precisely the copula *e* and not other predicates and why it is spreading from the copula to other stative verbs and what factors have triggered the change of the copula and negator order in CVSV must be left for further research.

Finally, an indefinite pronoun does not preclude the occurrence of a predicative negator, allowing for double negation constructions as in (5.214) and (5.215):

- (5.214) *N ka ten ningén má mi.* (PA)  
 1SG NEG have nobody with 1SG  
 'I don't have anybody here with me.'

- (5.215) *Es ka panhá náda.* (AR)  
 3PL NEG catch nothing  
 'They caught nothing.'

## 5.10 Passives

Passive morphology has been traditionally considered an un-creole-like superstrate influenced feature. However, like other areas of creole morphosyntax, new data and more finely-tuned analyses that have become available over the last decade shows that passive constructions are not alien to creole grammars (Holm 2008). For instance, Jacobs (2011a) in his research on the Upper-Guinea roots of Papiamentu has pointed out that contrary to other creole languages, both Papiamentu and Upper-Guinea Portuguese Creoles "are characterized by the heavy usage of morphologically marked passives in acrolectal as well as in basilectal varieties and in written as well as in spoken discourse" (Jacobs 2011a: 50). The goal of this subsection is to describe passivization strategies in CVSV and to compare them with their Sotavento counterparts.<sup>124</sup>

Constructions are defined as passives according to criteria listed in Siewierska (2005: 434).<sup>125</sup> Some structures which do not fulfill all of the prerequisites of prototypical passives will also be considered in this section.

<sup>124</sup> For passives in CVSV see also *APiCS* feature 90.

<sup>125</sup> Following Siewierska (2005) a construction is considered passive if: "(i) it contrasts with another construction, the active; (ii) the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly

The Sotavento passives have been analyzed in a series of works (cf. Quint 2000, Baptista 2002, Pratas 2007, Baptista et al. 2007, and Lang 2009).

CVST marks the passive synthetically with a post-verbal inflectional morpheme *du* (5.216) and *da* (5.217) in an auxiliary-less constructions with transitive verb. Oblique phrases are absent. As in the active voice, passive verbs may combine with TMA markers.

(5.216) *Nu podu tudu na trabadju.* (Baptista 2002: 113)  
 CL put all in work  
 ‘We were all put to work’

(5.217) *Dja-m fláda pa-m ka bába!* (Quint 2000: 235)  
 ‘I had been told not to go.’

Sotavento passives parallel GBC constructions as in (5.218):

(5.218) *Kil banadera pudu mesinyu.* (GBC, Kihm 1994: 245)  
 that fan be-put poison  
 ‘Poison was put on that fan.’ ‘Lit. That fan was put poison on.’

Quint traces the origin of the passive structures in CVST to the suppression of the Portuguese copula (Ptg. *ele foi cantado* > CVST *e kantadu* ‘He was sang’ Quint 2000: 234) and observes that CVST “has largely extended the use of passives to verbs that do not allow passive construction in Portuguese” (Quint 2000: 234). Lang (2009) shows that “some phonic and semantic affinities between the Wolof derivational suffix *-u* and the flexional suffix *-do* [du] in Portuguese might have contributed to the establishment of the synthetic passive in Santiago Creole.” (Lang 2009: 183).

Contrary to the Sotavento varieties, CVSV does not display synthetic passives. Passive voice is constructed analytically with the auxiliary verb and a participial form of the lexical verb. The function of the auxiliary is filled by the copula *e* ‘to be’ and its suppletive forms as in (5.219) and (5.220). The oblique phrase is absent.

(5.219) *Y manéra k bzot e tratód?* (LL/MJF)  
 and how REL 2PL COP.PRS treat.PTCP  
 ‘And how are you being treated?’

(5.220) ... *karvón fui btód dent d’kintal.* (JAL)  
 coal COP.PST throw.PTCP inside of+corral  
 ‘... the coal was thrown inside the corral.’

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expressed; (iii) the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active; (iv) the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active; (v) the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb.”(Siewierska 2005: 434).



Apart from the above prototypical passives with a copula and participle, whose use was attested in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century texts (Frusoni 1979), CVSV has a widely used active construction with the 3pl pronoun *es* ‘they’, which takes on an impersonal meaning rendering passive reading and which is by far the preferred strategy in the variety:

- (5.221) ... *k es tá tsmá nha Xikinha d’Pon.* (AMD)  
REL 3PL TMA call madam Xikinha d’Pon  
‘...who was called madam Xikinha d’Pon.’

- (5.222) *Es tá tmá jent d’madrugáda, levá, btá lá...* (SS)  
3PL TMA pick.up people at+dawn carry throw there  
‘We were picked up at dawn, carried and left there...’

- (5.223) *Es ka te dá sesta klas li?* (LL/DP)  
3PL NEG TMA give sixth grade here  
‘The sixth grade is not offered here?’

Moreover, CVSV shows TMA + PTCP structures that resemble the Sotavento passive (5.224a). These are used principally in prohibitions. However, some informants considered them as ‘an import’ from the Santiago variety, or typical to São Nicolau, and an active construction with an overt subject *jent* ‘people’ (5.224b), a strategy common cross-linguistically (Siewierska 2005: 435), was preferred.

- (5.224) a. *Ka te flód na ménza!* (NL)  
NEG TMA speak.PTCP at table  
‘One does not speak at the table.’ Cf. *Ka ta papiadu na méza.* (CVST, Eleutério Afonso p.c.)
- b. *Jent ka ta flá na ménza.* (VLF)  
people NEG TMA speak at table  
‘One [people] doesn’t speak at the table.’

Construction such as in (5.224a) might represent retention of the older stage of development as it appears as a set structure in written folk stories (5.225):

- (5.225) *Flód kma un vez tinha un mnina vaidóza...* (MF/2)  
speak.PTCP COMP one time had DET girl proud  
‘Once upon a time [lit. ‘spoken’] there was a proud girl...’

Finally, constructions that show some but not all characteristics of the prototypical passives such as (5.226) that have a subject that resembles a patient rather an agent may get passive reading:

- (5.226) *Es fazénda ta lizá fácil.* (DR)  
DEM fabric TMA iron easily  
‘This fabric irons easily.’

## 5.11 CVSV Verb Phrase: conclusions

In this chapter several features of CVSV verb phrase have been described and contrasted with their equivalents in the Sotavento varieties. Parallel to the noun phrase analyzed in chapter 4, the data suggest that though CVSV verb phrase roots can be traced back to the Sotavento morpho-syntax several contact-induced changes have occurred since the colonization of the island in 1797.

Among these changes there is transfer of Portuguese features (such as conjugation classes), that co-exist with retentions of Santiago varieties features (such as ancestral final-syllable verb stress pattern, section 5.1; or the syntax of imperatives, section 5.7). The copulas (section 5.8) have their formal origin in the Sotavento varieties; however, they are undergoing a significant phonological reduction typical of other functional morphemes in CVSV while suppletive forms from Portuguese, which show different properties in relation to subject pronoun selection, have been introduced. Moreover, the syntactic order of equative copula in relation to the negator *ka* has been inverted in CVSV and a new copular negator *n*, imported from the CVSA, was introduced.

A number of Sotavento features have been lost. African *-u* ending verbs (section 5.1) were eliminated, substituted or adapted. Also, CVSV seems to lack the category of serial verbs (section 5.4) and inherited from substrate *tene/ten* opposition found in CVST (section 5.8). Most importantly, all three core post-verbal Sotavento suffixes (past *-ba*, and passive *-du* and *-da*) disappeared while the modal *-al* was substituted by a Portuguese lexicalized *ád*. The marker *dja* (*já* in CVSV) developed a new allomorph *á* (probably due to CVSN influence) and extended its functions as an adverbial.

The loss of morphemes and simplification of the Sotavento varieties TMA system led to a greater multifunctionality of markers and reinforced the role of adverbs in determining tense and aspect in CVSV. This loss of features is also responsible for the integration in CVSV of Portuguese structures such as periphrastic tenses (section 5.3), analytic passives (section 5.10) and suppletive forms of stative verbs (5.6) that interact in systematic fashion with the forms preceded by TMA. There are also new developments within the variety such as the emergence of the copular form *stód* (section 5.8) and the fact that the *they*-passive has become the most common passive strategy in the CVSV (section 5.10).

Summing up, the divergences in core grammar between the Sotavento varieties and CVSV cannot be satisfactorily explained merely as dialectalization within the CVC cluster or the

movement of CVSV towards the lexifier associated with decreolization, especially given the fact that historical records indicate that for at least last three generations there have not been any dramatic changes in the variety. What the data suggest is that an intensive contact of different languages and varieties compatible with contact-induced partial restructuring in which processes such as SLA acquisition, active bilingualism and language shift combined with dialect leveling played took place. This restructuring, which could only happen during the genesis of the CVSV, is compatible with the socio-historic scenario presented in chapter 3. Finally, although some of the changes point to the approximation towards the lexifier, the contemporary analytic CVSV verb phrase continues to be typologically profoundly different from the Portuguese inflectional tense and mood paradigms.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

The divergences between the São Vicente and the Sotavento varieties have been hinted at in the literature on Cape Verdean Creole since at least the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but never systematically studied. Moreover, it has been assumed – though often in a quite impressionistic manner since, as shown in the review of the literature, CVSV lacks a detailed description (cf. 2.2 and 2.3 in chapter 2) – that CVSV is an acrolectal or even decreolized variety due to pressure from the lexifier triggered by factors such as wider access to schooling in Portuguese than on other islands and the impact of the Mindelo cultural elite.

This dissertation is the first attempt to combine an analysis of the social history of São Vicente variety (chapter 3) with a fieldwork-based description of its synchronic structure (section 1.3 in chapter 1 and chapters 4 and 5) in quest of an answer to the question of how and why this variety differs from the Sotavento varieties.

The aim of this chapter is to bring together these linguistic and the sociohistorical data and to discuss the theoretical implications of this broader picture.

#### 6.2 The linguistic evidence: a summary of chapters one, four and five

In chapter 1 (*Introduction*), after a discussion of introductory matters (sections 1.1 and 1.2), fieldwork procedures and the methodology of data collection and representation are presented with a particular focus on spelling options (section 1.3). Though the main goal of this section was to facilitate the reading of examples throughout the dissertation, it has revealed several important phonological divergences between CVSV and CVST which range from differences in phonemic inventories to changes in syllable structures and stress patterns. Among the former it is shown that that CVSV has retained the Sotavento voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/ only in core vocabulary, it lacks the velar nasal /ŋ/ with phonemic status and the mid central vowel /e/ plays only a peripheral role in the system while there are a fully productive series of voiceless and voiced alveolar and post-alveolar fricatives /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, a Portuguese-like contextual variation of /s/ and /ʃ/, and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/. In addition, CVSV shows differences within the realm of nasality (it lacks prenasalized consonants), a greater complexity of onsets and codas resulting from the deletion of unstressed

vowels (be it from the original Sotavento lexicon or from later loan words from Portuguese), and a predominant syllable-final stress pattern which contrasts with CVST stress on the penultimate syllable. Finally, several variants in the speech are indicative of CVSV approximation towards the lexifier (e.g. in the area of diphthongs, *pon* [põ]~[pẽw] ‘bread’) or show influence of the Santo Antão variety (e.g. regressive assimilations, such as *kazinha* [ke'ziɲɛ]~*kezinha* [ke'ziɲɛ] ‘little house’).

Though the phonology was tackled here very superficially, it seems legitimate to affirm that the present day phonological structure of CVSV is the product of several overlapping linguistic phenomena. On the one hand, markedly African substrate features present in CVST (e.g. the lack of a phonological opposition /ʃ/~/ʒ/ or pre-nasalized consonants) have been lost; on the other hand, features typical of modern Portuguese (contextual variation of /s/, /b/~v/ opposition, uvular trilled /R/, reduction or deletion of unstressed vowels) have been incorporated into the original São Vicente variety. Moreover, the data presented suggest a profound reorganization of Sotavento syllable and stress patterns, and the integration of characteristics derived from other Barlavento varieties, especially that of Santo Antão, whereas some speech variants might be indicative of more recent movement towards the lexifier.

In chapter 4 (*The Noun Phrase in the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente*) the analysis of the determiner system (section 4.2) reveals new developments within CVSV such as the existence of a plural proximal demonstrative *es* ‘these’ (subsection 4.2.1) due to internal analogical change within the variety. Moreover, it is shown that the singular and plural demonstratives *kel/kes* function as definite articles, especially when used in an associative context (subsection 4.2.2.1) though, as in the Sotavento varieties (Baptista 2002), their use is optional. This process, which is likely to have started more than a century ago, does not necessarily imply a movement towards the lexifier (Albino 1994) as it follows a well described cross-linguistic path of development (Lyons 1999). Also, with regard to the articles, the augmentative particle *uma* is absent in CVSV while the presence of Portuguese articles is marginal and limited to fossilized forms (subsection 4.2.2.2).

A comparison of possessive paradigms in CVSV and the Sotavento varieties establishes the existence of several differences in their form and behavior (section 4.3). The obligatory presence of the preposition *de* to mark possession in CVSV, by no means a recent development, is likely to be the product of contact with Portuguese at the time of the variety’s genesis. Other characteristics, however, are not easily explained as a change towards lexifier. Tendencies such as a consistent marking of number on the possessive determiner rather than

on the possessed noun, the use of a wider syntactic context in case of homophonous forms, the categorical lack of gender agreement of possessive determiners with the possessed noun and, as it seems, a greater marginality than in the Sotavento varieties of double plural marking involving possessives, have little to do with any movement of CVSV towards Portuguese and suggest restructuring at a formative stage of the variety.

With regard to number marking (section 4.4), CVSV displays a wide range of pluralization strategies based on a general tendency of marking number morphologically on the left-most element of the noun phrase. Moreover, the data suggest that the interpretation of the presence of the morpheme *-s* in CVSV as a result of decreolization does not stand up, not only due to the sociohistorical facts presented in chapter 3, but also due to other factors independent of the pressure of the superstrate's inflectional grammar. The morpheme *-s* is not only well attested in contemporary Sotavento varieties and other Portuguese-based creoles but it is also present in the 19<sup>th</sup> century texts and grammars of the Santiago variety (Holm and Swolkien 2009). These facts indicate that plural marking via the morpheme *-s* is not a recent phenomenon and that it could have been part of the variety since its creation in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the *-s* inflection in CVSV might be spreading from animate (particularly [+human] nouns) to inanimate nouns, this feature is still marginal to the core grammar and it is best explained as the product of recent borrowing (especially in administrative and technical contexts) by bilingual speakers. The recency of this process, which is a direct consequence of the expansion of CVSV use to formal contexts (Lopes 2011), is clearly visible in the lack of phonological integration of Portuguese loans. Furthermore, this analysis shows that apart from strictly semantic and syntactic conditions necessary for the noun to take a plural inflection *-s*, phonological constraints and pragmatic factors must also be taken into account.

As to adjectives and their comparison (section 4.5) while a markedly African substrate feature (present in CVST), i.e. productive adjectival reduplication, is nearly totally absent in CVSV (the same applies to nominal reduplication), the variety shows four different degree words which are likely to reflect different stages of its development.

In section 4.6 various strategies of natural gender marking in CVSV are described. Agreement has been considered a necessary criterion for the existence of morphological gender. In CVSV, there is no agreement between nouns and determiners or participles and no gender distinction in personal or possessive pronouns. Notwithstanding, like the Sotavento varieties, a fairly productive process of noun and adjective agreement does exist with the main

dividing line lying between human and non-human nouns. However, unlike the Sotavento varieties where it remains merely a tendency, the agreement of adjectives with human nouns is categorical in CVSV and not optional. This is not necessarily due to recent decreolization, but rather to the extension and systematization of the agreement rule according to the Animacy Hierarchy during the maturation of CVSV. This generalization was likely triggered by both contact with Portuguese speakers at the early stages of genesis and a cross-linguistic tendency. Though the agreement in gender in CVSV seems to be spreading from animate to inanimate nouns, this feature is still limited to a few adjectives and it remains marginal to the core grammar. Exceptional cases of agreement between adjectives and inanimate nouns are best explained by multiple factors such as the frequency of the adjective, the retention of Portuguese lexicalized forms and recent loanwords in the speech of bilinguals.

Pronouns are generally considered as resistant to diachronic change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 75-76, Matras 2009: 203-208). However, CVSV pronominal paradigms analyzed in section 4.7, apart from having eliminated gender distinction in polite 3sg pronouns and reduced the number of morphologically distinct pronominal forms present in the Sotavento varieties, show a profound restructuring in relation to their Sotavento original source. While the division into clitic and non-clitic sets have been maintained, the entire subset of subject strong or ‘emphatic’ pronouns, a markedly substrate feature present in the Sotavento and GBC (Holm and Intumbo 2009: 259-261) has been lost.

This new pronominal system, distinct from the Sotavento model, has also been marked by the introduction of forms derived from other Barlavento varieties, particularly Santo Antão, which is consistent with the sociohistorical data presented in chapter 3. In addition, CVSV data regarding null subjects suggest that overt subjects are preferred in contexts which are potentially expletive in the Sotavento varieties. This feature situates CVSV as being not nearer but rather further away from the pro-drop Portuguese lexifier. Finally, there are internal developments such as stem allomorphy which is triggered by some object clitics and might be indicative of their progressive grammaticalization and a movement towards the status of affixes (Bybee et al. 1994, Siewierska 2004).

With regard to reflexive and reciprocal strategies (subsections 4.7.3 and 4.7.4) CVSV shows, on the one hand, a restricted and idiomatic reflexive use of the substrate *kabésa* ‘head’, a retention of the original Sotavento Creole but also an expansion of other strategies, such as the use of reciprocal *kunpanher* ‘companion’ with inanimate noun phrases and a wide-spread use of intensifiers.

Finally, the nominal conjunction *má* ‘and’ (section 4.8) is likely to be derived from EP Central and Southern dialects, albeit under substrate influence.

Chapter 5 (*The Verb Phrase in the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente*) examines several aspects of the CVSV verb phrase. In section 5.1 it is shown that CVSV has retained the original final-syllable Sotavento verbal stress pattern and that given the presence of theme vowels that undergo allomorphic alternations, it is legitimate to speak of the existence of semantically opaque conjugation classes (*-a*, *-e*, *-i*, *-o*) while Santiago verbs ending in *-u* derived from West-Atlantic languages have been adapted or eliminated in CVSV. Though the productivity of the conjugation classes is limited, they are crucial in determining the form of past participles.

Conjugation classes constitute an example of inherent inflections which contrary to contextual inflections are more likely to survive creolization as they are more rapidly acquired in L2 acquisition than contextual inflections, such as gender (Luís 2010: 331). As in the case of Korlai (analyzed in Luís [2008] based on Clements [1996]) they may have survived in CVSV due to a specific sociolinguistic situation that enabled adult speakers of Portuguese to learn the TL to a considerable degree, contradicting the traditional assumption “that only semantically transparent and communicatively salient morphology can survive creolization” (Luís 2008: 95). In CVSV, as in the case of Indo-Portuguese creoles (Luís 2008), the existence of the theme vowels forming conjugation classes does not seem to constitute a product of decreolization, but rather a product of restructuring of the Sotavento varieties due to the adult L2 acquisition in an intensive language contact situation.

Section 5.2 describes pre-verbal TMA markers and their combinations which interact with adverbials and lexical aspects of verbs in forming the complex, mixed tense-aspect system of CVSV. Contact-induced loss of all post verbal suffixes central to the Sotavento verb phrase (the anterior *-ba* and passive *-du* and *-da*) and the loss of preverbal particles (the modal *-al* and grammaticalized perfect *-dja*) resulted in several far-reaching changes in CVSV such as a high level of semantic syncretism and multifunctionality of markers, homophony of forms and the introduction of, for instance, Portuguese-like periphrastic constructions. Moreover, this study shows that CVSV verbal markers and copulas are undergoing a significant morpho-phonological reduction in relation to their Sotavento counterparts, a process typical of grammaticalization (Bybee et al. 1994). This phenomenon, which seems to be internally motivated, might in future result in markers becoming prefixes



though the possibility of introducing short adverbs between the particle and the verb indicates that the process is not yet complete.

Also, based on an examination of the available literature, it seems that several forms of TMA markers in CVSV have been imported from neighboring Barlavento varieties though these influences remain speculative given that no up to date general descriptions of São Nicolau and Santo Antão morpho-syntax are yet available.

As to specific properties of CVSV verbal markers, it is shown that there is a clear opposition between the present imperfective *ta* and the past imperfective *tá(va)*, analyzed in 5.2.1 and 5.2.1. It is also suggested that the basic distinction between the habitual *ta* and the progressive *ti ta* maybe neutralized in specific contexts though imperfectivity remains *ta*'s core semantic trait. Subsection 5.2.3 describes combinations of present and past progressive markers that show a loose connection between the particles symptomatic of an auxiliary status of the first element. In addition, urban Sotavento *sta* and its combinations appear to be an important diachronic source for CVSV progressive strings.

Considerable attention has been given to the syntactic behavior of the particle *(j)á* in CVSV. The interpretations of *dja* in Sotavento oscillate between that of a verbal particle (marking completive, perfect, or perfective) and an adverb. From the analysis of the historical data and comparison with other creole languages, it seems that this oscillation is as old as CVC itself and is not easily attributable to decreolization. In CVSV, *(j)á* (whose form might be São Nicolau derived) shows predominantly adverbial syntactic properties. However, it also contributes to the aspectual semantics of perfect of result and the 'hot news' perfect. Moreover, *(j)á* contributes to a perfect reading of periphrastic tenses and functions as an emphatic marker and pragmatic operator in CVSV.

A particular complexity of the CVSV verb phrase lies in the fact that temporal and aspectual categories as well as modality may be expressed not only by verbal markers, a strategy typical of the Sotavento varieties (and a majority of creole languages), but also by periphrastic tenses (*ten/tinha* + PTCP) and suppletive forms of a limited set of very frequent stative verbs (cf. sections 5.3 and 5.6 respectively). Periphrastic structures, although interpreted by Pereira (2000a) as symptoms of decreolization, have been present in CVSV since at least the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and are widespread in the speech of elderly, basilectal speakers. Moreover, in the absence of the Sotavento tense suffix *-ba* and a grammaticalized verbal marker *-dja* (notwithstanding its complementary adverbial status) they do not function as variants of older CVSV constructions with TMA markers but,

synchronically, are the main way to convey, for instance, the perfect of experience and past perfect, and are fully integrated in the grammar.

In section 5.4 serial verbs are discussed and it is suggested that this category might be considered absent in the variety. Section 5.5 focuses on a set of complementizers which are the product of both retentions of ancestral Sotavento Creole features and contact-induced changes.

Section 5.6 discusses stativity and modality. In regard to the temporal reference of CVSV stative verbs it is shown that an overwhelming majority behave like dynamic verbs, i.e. when unmarked they have past tense reference. Moreover, they may also combine with progressive and habitual markers. There is also a closed set of stative verbs which get present reading when unmarked and show special suppletive forms to indicate past tense, conditional, and modal meanings.

These inflected-like stative verb forms, a feature uncommon in the world's creoles, has been considered the hallmark of the decreolized character of CVSV. Nonetheless, the data presented in section 5.6, challenges this assumption. Although the forms do indeed preserve fossilized Portuguese inflectional suffixes, these are integrated into the variety's phonotactics and none of them is productive in CVSV in synchronic terms. They are most frequently derived from the third person singular, which is a very frequent, minimally marked form (Bybee et al. 1994). Moreover, their idiosyncratic properties constitute typical features of world stative verbs (Dahl 1985: 28-29). In addition, the way those forms transferred from Portuguese behave *vis à vis* the verb stems preceded by TMA markers in making temporal, aspectual, and modal distinctions is not random, disruptive, or exceptional, but suggests that they are integrated into the analytic architecture of the CVSV verb phrase and cannot be easily attributed to the recent influence of the lexifier, though more peripheral and infrequent forms (such as *tives* or *tiver*) require further research based on a broader corpus. Moreover, the suppletive forms are present in the speech of the most basilectal speakers and are attested in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century grammars for the entire Barlavento area. Finally, there are no signs of their spread to other subclasses of verbs or of an undergoing change towards a more frequent use of suppletion by the younger speakers.

In regard to modality (subsection 5.6.1) it has been shown that given the loss of the Sotavento marker *al*, CVSV does not show a separate mood marker although several morpho-syntactic strategies may convey mood-related meanings such as the subjunctive. Also, it has been argued that, contrary to what has been suggested in the available literature, CVSV's *ád* cannot be considered an equivalent of the Sotavento *al*, as in CVSV it functions as a lexical

and not a grammatical item, the retention of a Portuguese modal verb, which seems to be becoming obsolescent.

The examination of modal verbs, conveying deontic and epistemic possibility and necessity has revealed that subtle modal nuances within, for instance, the deontic realm, are expressed by an interaction of analytic forms preceded by verbal markers (e.g. *te podê*, *táva podê*) and unmarked or suppletive forms (e.g. *podê*, *pudia*). It is this relation that might help to explain the opposition between analytic and synthetic forms in CVSV and not necessarily the decreolized and recent nature of the latter. Moreover, the fact that modal verbs in CVSV present several particularities such as special ‘irregular’ forms that distinguish them from other lexical verbs constitutes a typologically common feature (Auwera and Amman 2005). In addition, the attestation of the same base related forms with similar meaning in other creole languages suggests their ancestral character (cf. Principense, where forms such as *divya/pudya* ‘should’ are attested [Maurer 2013]).

Section 5.7 discusses imperative, prohibitive and hortative constructions which, unlike other mood expressions in the CVSV, show specific morpho-syntactic constructions.

In section 5.8 contact induced changes in the domain of the copular verbs in relation to the Sotavento varieties were analyzed. First, the copula *e* ‘to be’ is categorically present in all syntactic contexts in CVSV. The present *e* and its past suppletive form *é(ra)* transplanted from the Sotavento varieties still selects only non-clitic subjects, according to the old rule (Baptista 1999) but other suppletive forms may select both, weakening the ancestral principle, probably due to Portuguese influence. While a more comprehensive analysis of the distribution and functions of the less frequent suppletive copular forms (such as *fui*, *foi* or *fos*) require further research, they do not seem random or recent as they were already attested in the Barlavento varieties by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In relation to the negator *ka*, CVSV has restructured the syntactic order of the Sotavento varieties: the copula follows the negator, as do main verbs. Thus, it shows more verbal than nominal properties and represents the continuation of the evolution of the Sotavento copulas from pronominal to verbal categories (Baptista 2002). This is not necessarily due to superstrate pressure but it can be interpreted as an extension of a process common cross-linguistically that began within the Sotavento varieties centuries ago.

The locative copula *ta* and its suppletive forms overlap and contrast with equative ‘be’. Apart from designating temporary characteristics of adjectival predicates, it marks predicative possession contrasting with *ten* ‘have’ and might be used in progressive structures. Also it interplays with *stód* ‘to be at’ in distinguishing permanent versus temporary location. Given

the homophony of the imperfective marker *ta* and the locative copula *ta* (from CVST *sta*) the form *stód* developed in CVSV distinguishing between the imperfective marker *ta* and the copula/auxiliary *ta*. Formally derived from CVST past participle form *stádu* it behaves as a verb and often patterns the use of the auxiliary *sta* in CVST adding to the debate as to the auxiliary character of the first element in CVC complex progressive markers.

Analysis of negation in 5.9 shows a restructuring of the Sotavento word order of the negator *ka* and the copula *e* ‘to be’ as well as an importation into CVSV of the Santo Antão negator *n* that attaches to the copula *e*, adding to the idiosyncratic nature of this morpheme. It has been noted that there are signs of the spread of *n* to other stative verbs.

Section 5.10 discusses passives in CVSV. It is argued that nothing suggests that the prototypical periphrastic passives in CVSV – with an auxiliary and a participle, as in Portuguese – which are distinct from auxiliaryless inflectional passives marked with *-du* and *-da* in the Sotavento varieties, constitute a recent development in the variety. Moreover, it is shown that other passivization strategies are available and that an active non-Portuguese structure with the third person plural, non-referential personal pronoun *es* ‘they’ in subject position is the most frequent one.

### 6.3 The sociohistorical evidence: a summary of chapter three

Chapter 3 (*The Sociolinguistic History of the Cape Verdean Creole of São Vicente*) offers an examination of the sociohistorical setting of the development of CVSV from the beginning of its colonization in the 1790’s to the independence of Cape Verde in 1975 and the present day.

Section 3.2 analyzes the early decades of the settlement on São Vicente. Based on various kinds of personal and governmental records and historical research, it reconstructs the numerical make-up, ethnolinguistic background and pattern of interaction of the 1797 founding settlement where a ‘No Man’s Land’ type of contact (Thomason 2001: 20) took place and during the early development of the colony until the foundation of Mindelo in 1838.

This small linguistically heterogeneous community was responsible for contact-induced linguistic processes that led to the loss of African structures and the importation of Portuguese features into Sotavento Creole and the creation of a new code that was transmitted to future generations. The time in which those changes occurred must have been very short, given the disappearance of the original Portuguese settlers from demographic data by the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This scenario is nonetheless consistent with Thomason’s estimate

that the time required for abrupt contact-language genesis ranges “from a few years to twenty-five years...” (2001: 177) and is comparable, for instance, to the emergence of Pitcairinese, a non-plantation, two-language English-based creole which developed within one or two generations (roughly 1790’s-1820’s) on the small island of Pitcairn (Holm 1989: 546-51, Thomason 2001: 165, 178, 182 and 183).

Also, the linguistic impact of Portuguese political convicts, who were periodically sent to São Vicente until 1873, is assessed (subsection 3.2.3.1). Those speakers, given the reduced number of inhabitants and the likely egalitarian character of the early founding society, must have been engaged in daily linguistic interaction with the local population, reinforcing Portuguese features in the new variety.

Section 3.3 presents the sociohistorical background of the rapid economic and demographic growth of the city of Mindelo from 1850 to 1910, which led to the emergence of a new local economic and cultural identity. Also, the first historical comment on the variety, which is likely to have reflected a new wave of linguistic changes incorporating features typical of Santo Antão, is analyzed.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a change in the social setting: the early high-contact egalitarian environment which had led to contact-induced changes in the initial input languages was hampered by the establishment of a rigid urban capitalistic society. This was accompanied by the stabilization of the diglossic situation in which the use of Portuguese was limited to schooling, available only to a reduced elite, and formal situations while CVSV became the vehicular language of daily life. This situation persisted until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and independence in 1975.

Section 3.4 examines the development of CVSV in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The idea of the high level of education of the São Vicente population, indirectly taken as responsible for the supposedly decreolized character of the variety and its divergence from the CVST, does not stand up to the examination of colonial statistical data. Moreover, as questionable as literary data is, and contrary to what one might expect if rampant decreolization was indeed at stake, the morpho-syntax of Frusoni’s poetry, which reflects the speech of an educated bilingual speaker in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, does not differ dramatically from modern CVSV (internal developments and natural language change aside). In Thomason’s words, “a contact situation that has persisted without dramatic change for more than three or four generations and that shows no sign of incipient change may reasonably be considered stable” (2001: 23). Also, several supposedly decreolized features (e.g. inflected forms, inflexional plural marking,

periphrastic tenses, and a tendency for gender agreement with human nouns) were attested in the entire Barlavento area by Costa and Duarte already in 1887.

Section 3.5 analyzes the post-independence (1975) decades, which brought widespread access to Portuguese (which differs from standard EP due to contact induced L1 interference) through much improved schooling. The number of Portuguese-dominant speakers is, however, insignificant as the language is not systematically used outside school or other formal settings while the growing prestige of Creole and the extension of its use into formal domains is responsible for lexical (especially technical) and less often structural borrowing from the lexifier (e.g. borrowing Portuguese words with their plural suffix). Those borrowings from Portuguese represent frequently momentary (nonce-borrowings) and not yet assimilated single-word insertions (Matras 2009: 106-110), common especially among young monolingual children recently exposed to Portuguese who do not yet differentiate the two codes, and among young educated speakers who use Creole in formal contexts and styles. Thus, while it is true that CVSV lexicon receives a considerable input from Portuguese in specific semantic areas, these recent phenomena are by no means exclusive to the São Vicente variety (Lopes 2011). Also these recent ‘decreolizing’ developments cannot be used as an argument to justify the existence of profound morpho-syntactic divergences between CVSV and the Sotavento varieties. The data suggest that there is little evidence of two competing systems (‘old’ and ‘young’ or ‘decreolized’) in core areas of CVSV grammar; CVSV’s modern linguistic structure is a product of the complex sociohistorical past of the island as it reflects the layer upon layer of contact-induced influence of speakers of different languages and varieties over the last two centuries.

#### **6.4 Theoretical implications**

As shown by Holm (2004), it is the specific sociolinguistic setting at the early period of their development and the linguistic processes it triggers that distinguish partially restructured vernaculars such as Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese or Dundo Vernacular Portuguese (Inverno 2010) from their lexical source languages and (post)creoles of the same lexical base.

In this study, the linguistic evidence analyzed in the light of sociohistorical facts permits one to extend and invert the direction of Holm’s (2004) partial restructuring theory. Thus, it seems that fully-fledged restructured languages such as Sotavento Creole might, like any other languages, undergo contact-induced partial restructuring towards its lexifier, as it might towards any other language.

In the case of CVSV we are dealing with a variety that retains a substantial amount of the Sotavento Creole structure from which it stems (the ‘target language’ in Holm’s model) but also displays considerable contact-induced influences that operated via several linguistic mechanisms from a number of different sources (i.e. ‘substrate(s)’ in Holm’s model). These were the following:

- i. **Sotavento Creole speakers:** slaves and free couples with children (the majority coming probably from Fogo) constituted the core of the initial São Vicente settlement, but they were quickly outnumbered by the combined number of speakers of Portuguese and Santo Antão variety. Given the egalitarian social and economic character of this linguistically diverse speech community, they must have acquired a considerable degree of knowledge of Portuguese and the Santo Antão Creole through their daily interaction, resulting in the creation of several individual L2 idiolects. Their mixed offspring were likely bi-dialectal and possibly bilingual and their descendants became monolingual speakers of a new speech variety which through leveling, the stabilizing of forms and the reallocating of functions became a symbol of the new São Vicente society.
- ii. **Portuguese settlers:** both adults and children were speakers of a range of non-standard south-central EP (most probably Azorian) dialects. They constituted a significant minority and provided a ‘substrate’ for the initial settlement whose survival depended on the cooperation with the local Creole speakers, which implies linguistic negotiation. On both sides, there was probably some degree of bilingualism, imperfect learning and, especially, passive familiarity with the other group’s speech which is the mechanism often responsible for interference in scenarios where all languages involved shared much of their vocabulary (Thomason 2001: 139). During one or two generations, these Portuguese speakers shifted to the Sotavento Creole (already possibly influenced by CVSA), through unguided SLA processes because it was a symbol of their new social identity as Cape-Verdean settlers. This language shift left contact-induced interference in what was to become CVSV (e.g. Portuguese forms that were fossilized or extended to new contexts, Portuguese phonemes introduced to fill the apparent ‘gaps’ in the Sotavento Creole system, and the loss of African features present in Sotavento Creole such as *ten* vs. *tene* distinction or ‘exotica’ such as prenasalised consonants). Those speakers were also responsible for reinforcing Sotavento Creole’s internal language drift (for instance, by extending the

Animacy Hierarchy-based plural marking tendency to all human nouns), for primary leveling (preserving, for instance, the Sotavento archaic final syllable stress pattern) and for choosing from the available pool of variants those closer to their mother tongue. They did not cause a ‘break in transmission’, but their mixed descendants perpetuated shift-induced changes and spoke a new, partially restructured variety as defined by Holm (2004).

- iii. **Portuguese convicts:** this minority group of adult speakers of non-standard EP were like other Portuguese settlers in that they shifted to Creole, through intermarriages and unguided SLA processes during the formative period of CVSV (i.e. the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), introducing reductions and simplifications and reinforcing Portuguese features while eliminating African ones in their L2 interlanguages.
- iv. **Barlavento Creole speakers:** these often young adult speakers from São Nicolau and, especially, Santo Antão islands have influenced CVSV structure, with a varying intensity, over the last two centuries. Santo Antão Creole speakers rapidly became the majority group in the initial speech community and influenced the emerging variety through their bi-dialectalism and possibly through their L2 knowledge of Portuguese. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, due to their massive migration to São Vicente, the immigrant speakers from other Barlavento islands were responsible for the secondary leveling (Holm 2004: 143) of CVSV as they were shifting from rural varieties to urban Mindelo speech which was already more prestigious. This dialectal shift leveled out marked features (both of Sotavento and Portuguese) and introduced new Barlavento forms through dialect borrowing.

A caveat is in order given that, as Thomason warns, linguistic changes through contact-induced interference are not easily attributable to a single mechanism (Thomason 2001: 152). Also, the identification of the contact setting at the time of the variety’s emergence and the assessment of the impact of each group of speaker is certainly less challenging than the reconstruction of the exact structure of the input languages that participated in CVSV’s creation. For instance, a full understanding of the role of the Barlavento speakers in past and contemporary São Vicente linguistic ecology will only be possible with more detailed descriptions of the Barlavento varieties’ structure.

However, in spite of these unresolved issues, the presence of Portuguese-like feature in CVSV cannot be explained through decreolization alone. Just as the presence of creole-like features in semi-creoles such as BVP, AAE, or Afrikaans does not necessarily imply any



decreolization of an earlier fully fledged creole but rather results from the partial restructuring of the lexifier due to the specific social and historical setting during the genesis of these varieties (Holm 2004), the presence of Portuguese-like features in CVSV is indicative of the semi-restructuring of the Sotavento Creole at the time of CVSV's birth. This interpretation is further reinforced by the fact that in a number of cases, examination of historical records shows that the features that differentiate contemporary CVSV from the Sotavento varieties, which are labeled in the literature as 'acrolectal' or 'decreolized' are by no means a recent (i.e. late 20<sup>th</sup> century) product of access to education in Portuguese but were present in the variety already in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when any widespread decreolization was unlikely.

As outlined in chapter 2 (*Overview of the Literature*), there is a consensus within the contact linguistics that any attempt to account for the synchronic structure of a given contact variety must not only "describe and analyze the linguistic results of language contact" but also "correlate these results with certain fairly general kinds of social factors" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 36) and that "without a clear understanding of the history and social dynamics of the contact situation, we are in no position to explain anything." (Winford 2003: 25).

Not surprisingly thus – pace Pereira (2006a) who has defended that the divergences between the Barlavento and the Sotavento varieties are geographical and not linguistic – differences in periods of colonization, economy, demographics and social patterns of interaction, i.e. their different 'Creolization Space' (Faraclas et al. 2007: 239), must result in different linguistic outcomes.

There is a consistent correlation between CVSV's linguistic structure and São Vicente's social history which confirms that it was due to intensive contact-induced changes that CVSV emerged as a new, partially-restructured variety of CVC. This study also confirms the crucial importance of analyzing sociohistorical facts in order to interpret synchronic data. Moreover, it shows the usefulness of Holm's (2004) theory of partial restructuring (as extended here) in dealing with outcomes of language contact that are not otherwise readily explicable.

## 6.5 Questions needing further research

This dissertation has stressed on several occasions the need for further research in various areas. More data needs to be analyzed to describe the tense and aspect system of CVSV (especially adverbials) more fully. Mood and modality, notwithstanding the fact that the quality and scope of analyses of the Sotavento varieties have been progressing at a steady pace

over the last two decades, seem to be under-investigated in relation to CVC in general. Also, CVSV phonology and lexicon call for more in-depth research. More importantly, the task of establishing the exact nature of the linguistic input that gave rise to CVSV, given the present state of the art, is still fairly speculative. There is no doubt that joining the efforts of creolists and Portuguese dialectologists in a interdisciplinary project focused on a systematic fieldwork-based description of the Barlavento varieties and their comparison with southern EP dialects would cast further light on the genesis and development of CVSV and help to fill many gaps in our knowledge of the linguistic and social history of the human occupation of the Cape Verdean Islands.

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