Contextualizing a Creole language; A Comparison of Cape Verdean Creole; Barla Vento and Wolof

Gilda Christina Rodrigues
University of Leiden
Supervisor: Prof. dr. M.P.G.M. Mous
BA Afrikaanse talen en culturen
31 May 2021
s2381001

Table of Contents

Introduction

This thesis will discuss phonological and syntactical features of Cape Verdean Creole of Barla Vento, specifically the variant spoken on the island of Sao Vicente in comparison with Wolof. The topic for this thesis was sparked after reading different works on Cape Verdean Creole, and after noticing that many of the works written are mostly based on the Creole of Sota Vento (CVSV). There are a few works one CVBV, such as by Balatasar Lopes written quite early in time, and even though written by a Cape Verdean, it might be influenced by a colonial view in that period, since it considers that much of the vocabulary is distracted from Portuguese, which is true, but the other sections of the language and where it might come from is not considered.[1] In these works Cape Verdean Creole from Barla Vento (CVBV), might just be discussed shortly in the introduction often concluding that it would come closer to Portuguese, so further research comparing it to any African language would not necessary. However, being a speaker of CVBV it is noticeable that there are significant differences with Portuguese. What is clear, is that the largest part of the vocabulary is based on Portuguese, but the differences with regards to phonology and syntax are significant, and need further research. The way that Portuguese as well regarded the Creole language was discussed by Batalha (date), where was stated:

> "Judging from the Cape Verdean speaking, the Creoles in that archipelago are nothing but the Portuguese profoundly changed in the mouth of the Negroes, either in its phonetics, morphology, semantics or syntax."[2]

This quote shows that the Creole language given a different term by the Portuguese was not regarded the same, but rather inferior because of these changes. However, this narrative should be changed, and it is the time to discuss the other features that are not Portuguese, that as well added to the creation of the Cape Verdean creole language, if the statement above only considers the Sota Vento variant is not clear, so this is considered for this paper on Barla Vento as well.

In an effort to discover where these different features that occur in CVBV might originate from, the Atlantic language Wolof is researched and analysed. Wolof was the first language to be considered, based on geographical features, Wolof

---

1   Lopes Da Silva, Baltasar. O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde. Junta das missoes geograficas e de investigacoes do ultramar, centro de estudos politicos e socais. 1957.

2   Batalha, Luís. "THE POLITICS OF CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE." In Los Criollos De Base Ibérica, 101-10. Vol. 24. Frankfurt A. M., Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2019.

the most spoken language in Senegal which is the country closest to the island peninsula Cape Verde

To start some historical background will be discussed in effort to sketch a context of the development of the language. Second basic phonology of CVBV will be described, and after some striking resemblances with Wolof are analysed, and in the part of syllable structure a difference between CVBV, CVSV and PT caused by vowel deletion will be explained. In the last part of the paper some syntactical aspects of CVBV will be compared to Wolof, and how these same aspects are realised in Wolof. The information to conduct the analysis was available through sitting with a native speaker of CVBV, in this case Manuel Rodrigues 53 years old at the moment, and had lived until the age of 16 on São Vicente, and later again spent several years on the island. The Wolof comparison were available with the help of a Wolof-French dictionary, and by discussing some of the syntactical aspect with a native speaker that resides in Dakar.

Further why it is important to compare CVBV with a West African language is the fast conclusion that is often drawn, that it looks a lot like Portuguese, however by that judgement the language does not get fair recognition and research. Considering discourses of decolonisation, and considering the African side being oppressed away during colonial times, parts that come close to African languages do not get the research and consideration it does deserve. On this note it seemed appropriate to consider this quote from Wa'Thiongo;

> "In fact when the peasantry and the working class were compelled by necessity or history to adapt the language of the master, they Africanised it without any of the respect for its ancestry to be shown by Senghor and Achebe, so totally as to have created new African languages, like Krio in Sierra Leone or Pidgin in Nigeria, that owed their identities to the syntax and rhythms of African languages."[3]

---

3   Ngugi Wa Thiongo, Decolonising the Mind, 1981, p.23

Historical background

As mentioned above this paper will discuss the creole spoken specific on the island of São Vicente. The island of São Vicente is said to be first seen by Vicente Dias in 1445, however populating of the island was realised later in time due to the arid state of the island it was left inhabited.[4] However Marilia also states that perhaps in the past that Arabs and Africans had knowledge of the existence of the islands.[5] The island was officially claimed as discovered in 1462 by Diogo Afonso, but it was only in 1795 the serious efforts to populate the island were initiated by Portuguese couples a total of twenty people and their slaves, a total of 50 people.[6]

However archaeological research showed that there was previous presence before the proper populating the island, although Cardoso does not mention a proper date in his studies. However, archaeologist found fragments of a pot hat had similarities of similar pots made in the region of modern-day Senegal, although more research also showed previous European presence, which lead the authors of that article to conclude that there was a small occupation of slaves and slaveholders in the region of Salamansa before the island was populated in the 18th century.[7]

As mentioned Sao Vicente's dry state, compared to neighbouring islands Santo Antão, Sao Nicolau, caused the island to remain uninhabited. Until the 19 century, in the beginning the population was rather miniscule, in 1875, 472 people, however this nearly tripled to 1337 people in 1885. The reason for this, is an English coal company that manifested itself on the island and lead to economic and demographic growth of the island.[89] Further Barros as well comments on the rebellion that started to take place on the island, which lead for slavery to be abolished in 1856, 6 years after the island being approved for international navigation.[10]

Some important comments to make on the linguistic features is that the variant of the windward Barla Vento islands, is spoken by 35% of speakers of Cape Verdean Creole.[11] The variant of Sao Vicente has been influenced by the one spoken on Santo Antão since in 1820 many of the neighboring island settled in São Vicente.[12] Further the variant on São Vicente is a significant one since it wasn't until this variant that there was an

4   Marília E. Lima Barros, "S. Vicente: Prosperidade e Decadência (1850 – 1918)," CEAUP - Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto, 2008, https://www.africanos.eu/index.php/en/editions/working-papers/498-s-vicente-prosperidade-e-decad%C3%Aancia-1850-%E2%80%93-1918, p.6

5   e.g.

6   Manuel Nascimento Ramos, "Povoamento De São Vicente," Câmara Municipal de São Vicente, October 2003, https://www.cmsv.cv/index.php/povoamento-da-ilha-de-sao-vicente.

7   João Luís Cardoso,"A estação arqueológica de Salamansa (ilha de São Vicente, República de Cabo Verde)", Revista Portuguersa de Arqueologia, Vol. 13, 2010.

8   Marília E. Lima Barros, "S. Vicente: Prosperidade e Decadência , 2008, p.18.

9   T Bentley Duncan, Atlantic islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-century Commerce and Navigation, Studies in the History of Discoveries 053482956., Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

10   Marília E. Lima Barros, "S. Vicente: Prosperidade e Decadência , 2008, p. 28.

11   Enciclopedia

12   Dominika Swolkien, "Factores sociolinguisticos no povoamento da ilha de Sao Vicente de Cabo   Verde", Los criollos de base ibérica , 2004, .p. 175.

acknowledgment of a Barla Vento Variant in 1875[13], even though other Barla Vento islands were populated earlier in time, around the beginning of the 17th century.

Phonology

In the first part the phonological aspects of the São Vicente island variant of the Cape Verdean creole from the Barla Vento region, the island São Vicente to be precise, will be discussed. First, consonants will be discussed, followed by vowels, continuing with syllable structure. Followed by several phonological exceptions of this variant of CVC will be discussed separately. First vowel deletion that occurs only in CVBV causing a complex syllable to occur, and second two sounds and their distribution that occur in CVBV and Wolof are compared. Lastly stress will be commented on as well.

1. Consonants

This section discusses the consonants found in CVBV, starting with the overall consonant inventory, looking at existing consonant inventories from CVSV, Portuguese, and Wolof, the inventory of CVBV differs of every of them but comes closer to that of CVSV, however some phonemes that occur in CVSV and also occur in Portuguese, do not occur in CVBV, as the trill /ɾ/ and the tap /ʁ/, whereas in CVBV only the trill /r/ occurs, which does not in Portuguese. Comparing with Wolof inventory the /x/ occurs, as well as the /x/ in CVBV, the distribution of the /x/ will be analysed separately in chapter 4.

1.1 Consonant inventory

In the figure below, the consonant phonemes of CVBV are presented. In the figure below the IPA representation of the sounds that occur in CVBV can be found, although throughout the paper different representations may occur which is often used while writing CVBV, these other representations will be introduced while discussing the phonemes.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b		t d			c	k g
Nasal	m		n		ɲ		ŋ
Trill			r				
Fricative		f	s z	ʃ ʒ			x
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			
approximant						j	
Lateral approximant			l				

---

13   Natalia Czopek,   "De Uma Língua Oral Sem Escrita à Escrita De Uma Língua Oral: O Caso Do Crioulo Cabo-verdiano Das Ilhas Do Barlavento E Sotavento" , Études Romanes De Brno, no. 1, 2016, p.18.

Glide	w						

Figure 1 Consonant Inventory Cape Verdean Creole Sao Vicente.

Plosives

In CVBV the plosives /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /k/, and /g/ can be found. These plosives can occur in any position of the syllable accept for the k, for which no example of a position in the middle of a syllable could be found, and the /g/, which does not occur at the end of a syllable.

/p/
1.   a. pronta   /prɔnta/   'to make ready'
      b. kompra   /kɔmpra/   'to buy'
       c. cop   /kɔp/   'drinking glass'

/b/
2.   a. baba   /baba/   'drool'
      b. banda   /bandə/   'side'
      c. rob   /xɐb/   'tail'

/t/
3.   a. tra   /tra/   'take (out)'
      b. ate   /atɪ/   'untill'
      c. xôt   /ʃet/   'annoying'

/d/
4.   a. da   /da/   'give'
      b. corda   /kɔrda/   'to wake up'
      c.xtôd   /ʃtɐd/   'to stay' – passed tense/passive voice

/c/
5.   a. txa   /ca/   'leave'
      b. otxa   /ɔca/   'to find'
      c. butx   /buc/   'calf'

/k/-/g/

No minimal pair can be found, it seems like the /k/ and /g/ are in complementary distribution complementary, but the /g/ does not appear to be an allophone of the /k/ considering the native speaker. The native speaker was asked if there would be a major difference if /kria/ would be pronounced as /gria/, and he claimed that it would, that the /gria/ pronunciation would make no sense.

/k/
6.   a. corre   /kɔxɪ/   'run'
      b.

| | c. logo | /lɔk/ | 'right away' |

/g/

7.	a. ganha	/gaŋa/	'to win'
	b. agora	/agɐrə/	'right now'
	c-		

Nasals

The nasals /n/, and /m/ can be placed anywhere in the syllable. Whereas for the /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ it seems that they are in complementary distribution, the /ŋ/ is only found at the end of a syllable, whereas the /ɲ/ can be found in the middle and at the beginning of a syllable, but not at the end.

/n/

8.	a. nada	/nadə/	'nothing'
	b. aont	/aʷɔnt/	'yesterday'
	c. ano	/ɐn/	'year/years'

/m/

9.	a. manda	/manda/	'send/rule (over)'
	b. fama	/famə/	'fame'
	c. fôm	/fɔm/	'hunger'

/ɲ/

| 10. | a. nha | /ɲə/ɲa/ | 'mine' |
| | b. aranha | /araɲə/ | 'spider' |

/ŋ/

| 11. | a. bonhe | /bɔŋ/ | 'shower' |

Trill

The only trill found in CVBV is the /r/, this trill cannot be placed at the beginning of a syllable. In CVSV a trill can be placed at the beginning of a syllable, however in CVBV at this place and in often the same words the fricative /x/ is placed. For example [rua], 'street' in CVSV, is pronounced [xua] in CVBV.

/r/

| 12. | a. *lorg* | /lɐrk/ | 'wide' |
| | b. *dor* | /dɔr/ | 'pain' |

Fricatives
/f/

| 13. | a. *fralda* | /fraldə/ | 'diaper' |
| | b. *garafa* | /gaxafə/ | 'bottle' |

| | c. maf | /maf/ | 'nasty' (used for smell) |

/s/

14.	a. sabe	/sabɪ/	'to know'
	b. cansa	/kansa/	'to tire'
	c. doce	/dɔs/	'sweet'

/z/

15.	a. zanga	/zanga/	'to become angry'
	b. raza	/xaza/	'to pray'
	c.		

/ʃ /

16.	a. xma	/ʃma/	'to call'
	b. gosta	/gɔʃta/	'to like'
	c. box	/bɔʃ/	'low'

/ʒ/

| 17. | a. ja | /ʒa/ | 'already, in a minute' |

/x/

18.	a. rufna	/xufna/	'to throw'
	b. arros	/axɔʃ/	'rice'
	c. carne	/kax/	'meat'

Affricates
/dʒ/

| 19. | a. bedja | /bɛdʒə/ | 'old'(adjective) |
| | b. bedj | /bɪdʒ/ | 'old' |

Approximant
/j/

Lateral approximant
/l/

20.	a. lata	/latə/	'can'
	b. bolsa	/bɔlsə/	'bag'
	c. casal	/kasal/	'couple'

Glide
/w/

| 21. | a. vra | /wra/ | 'to become' |

b. gravata   /grawata/   'tie'

1.2. Consonant clusters

In CVBV consonant clusters occur often, however this is analysed as in the chapter that discusses vowel deletion, and causes the existence of a complex syllable, thus will be highlighted later on.

2. Vowels

2.1. Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
Close [high]	i		u
Close-mid [upper mid]	ɪ	ə	
Open-mid [lower mid]	ɛ	ɐ	ɔ
Open [low]			a

/i/

22.	a. inxna	/inʃna/	'to teach'
	b. frida	/fridə/	'wound'
	c. durmi	/durmi/	'sleep'

/ɪ/

23.	a. ess	/ɪs/	'this'
	b.sem	/sɪm/	'without'
	c.kré	/krɪ/	'to want'

/ɛ/

| 24. | a. cem | /sɛm/ | 'hundred' |

/ə/

| 25. | a. casa | /kasə/ | 'house' |

/ɐ/

| 26. | A. rôb | /xɐb/ | 'tail' |

/u/

| 27. | a. uril | /uril/ | board game |
| | b. kru | /kru/ | 'raw' |

/ɔ/

| 28. | a. ot | /ɔt/ | 'other' |
| | b. txom | /tʃɔn/ | 'floor' |

/a/
29.   a. anda   /anda/   'walk'

        b. mal   /mal/   'pain'
        c. kria   /kria/   'to grow'

2.2. Diphthongs
ai   pai   [paj]/[pay]   *father*
ãe   mãe   [mayn]   *mother* (I have to mention that this diphthong is only
                                    used with this word, it is probably borrowed form
                                    Portuguese)
oi   oi   [ɔj]   *eye*
ui   guita   [gujta]   *keep an eye on*
ie   paciencia   [pasiɛnsiə] ? [pasjensjə]

2.3. Rounded vowels
In CVBV there are vowels followed by the semivowel /w/ and causes vowel such as /e/ to
become rounded. These combinations of a vowel and the semivowel /w/ are often written
as diphthongs, however they are not diphthongs but rounded vowels, often written thus as
'eu', 'au', which can be found in Portuguese, but in Wolof as well.

	CVBV	Portuguese	Wolof
Ew	Txeu [cew] – many/ alot	Eu [ew] – I	Reew [rew] – country
Aw	Mau [maw] – mean	Mau [maw] – mean	Daw [daw] – to run

3.Syllable structure
3.1. Single syllable words
In CVBV the majority of the words consist of one syllable, this syllable is mainly structured
as CVC. Some examples of such words are given below;

carne [kax] ; meat

gôt [gɐt] ; cat

bôx [bɐʃ]; low

There are a few exceptions of singular syllable words that end with a vowel, these words
are often verbs and end with an [a] or [ɪ]

Vra [wra] ; to become

tra [tra] to take out

Txi [ci] to descend

txa [ca]; to leave

3.2. Words with two syllables

Words with two syllables are numerous as well, within these two syllable words we see different structures, eg. CV.CV, CV.CCVC, CCV.V, CV.CVC, VC.CV. There is one form where a syllable starts with a vowel, although words and or syllables that start with a vowel are not numerous.

Barre   [bɪxɪ]   bɪ.xɪ

ladron   [ladrɔn]   la.drɔn

cria   [kria]   kri.a

casa   [kasə]   ka.sə

catxor   [kacɔx]   ka.cɔx

anda   [anda]   an.da

3.3. Words with multiple syllables

In CVBV there are fewer words with three or more syllables, considering many vowels are deleted in CVBV in comparison to the underlying forms in CVSV and Portuguese, which will be discussed in the chapter below.

The words that are found with three syllables or more, occur all to end in the same vowel, namely the /ə/.

30. Baleia   [balejə]   ba.le.yə   'whale'

31. garganta [gargantə]   gar.gan.tə   'throat'

32. basora   [basɔrə]   ba.sɔ.rə   'broom'

The syllable structures one can note here are;

30. CV.CV.CV,

31. CVC.CVC.CV,

32. CV.CV.CV.

Further what is necessary to comment on is that several words that have two syllables, in either Cape Verdean creole from Sota Vento, or Portuguese, become one syllable words in Cape Verdean from Barla vento; these examples are taken from Quint (2001)

EN	CVSV	PT	CVBV
Sleep	Sónu [sɔ.nu]	Sono [sɔ.nu]	[son]
Meat	Karni [kar.ni]	Carne [kar.ni]	[Kax]
Donkey	Buru [bu.ru]	Burro [bu.ru]	[bux]

What can be distracted from the examples above is that the syllable structure in several words in CVSV and PT are the same; CV.CV, CV.CV, whereas in CVBV the last vowel is omitted and there is just one syllable CVC. More on vowel deletion, and how it causes words to be a syllable less in CVBV, compared to the underlying forms in CVSV and PT will be discussed in chapter 9.

3.4. Vowel deletion and the complex syllable in CVBV

3.4.1. Vowel deletion

Comparing words that have the same base in Portuguese, with words of CVSV, one can observe that in CVBV vowels in the stem as well as vowels at the end are often omitted. This phenomenon causes words in CVBV to often have a syllable less, compared to the forms in CVSV and Portuguese. In the table below some examples are given.

EN	CVSV	PT	CVBV
	Sakedu (CV-CV-CV)	Sacodir (CV-CV-CVC)	Sukdi (CVC-CV)
1)To leave	Dexa – CV-CV	Deixar – CVV-CVC	Txa – CV
2)To eat	Kumi – (CV- CV)	Comer- (CV- CVC)	Kme- (CCV)
3)book	/livru/ (CVC-CV)	/livru/(CVC-CV)	/Lifr/(CVC-C)

This occurrence might be caused by underlying phonological rules of CVBV. Although what often occurs in CVSV is the final vowel being a /u/ or an /i/ which as well can often be seen in Wolof, for example, tuuti (a little), gëstu (to research).

Below an example is shown from the word key, and the similarities between Wolof and CVSV in this case, one would be able to claim that the CVBV [caf] comes closer to the Portuguese example, however the final consonant /f/, is rather in harmony with Wolof phonology than the Portuguese. The /v/ consonant which occurs in Portuguese and does not in CVBV develops into a final for example, the word [caf] shares the same properties as the Wolof word *caaf* [caf], which means 'grilled peanuts'. In example 5, one can see how in CVBV the final vowel is omitted, and the /v/ becomes a /f/, the preceding /ɔ/ can be compared with the word *coof* in Wolof (a type of fish), [cɔf].

EN	CVSV	WOLOF	PT	CVBV
4)key	Txaabi [cabi]	Caabi [cabi]	Chave [ʃavə]	Txaf [caf]
5)Egg	Ovu [ɔvu]	-	Ovo [ɔvu]	Ovo [ɔf]

It does not mean that in CVBV the final consonant is always omitted, as mentioned previously the final /a/ occurs often, but in some cases the a final /i/ as well.

ENG	CVSV	PT	CVBV
To open	Abri [abri]	Abrir [abrir]	Abri [ɛbri]
To cover	Kubri [Kubri]	Cobrir [kɔbrir]	Kubri [Kubri]

 However the final /x/, and other final consonants often found in CVBV as well /b,f,w,m/ often occur in the same environments as in Wolof, in the next chapter the /x/ and the /ə/ will be further analysed. However, I would like to use an example given earlier with the word *carne* or [kax] in CVBV.

EN	CVSV	PT	CVBV
Meat	Karni [kar.ni]	Carne [kar.ni]	Carne [kax]

The word *carne* becomes [kax], the reason why it is not [kaxni] or [kaxn] is unclear, since this might not be completely impossible since the /x/ can occur before a nasal such as in the word 'leg', or *perna* [pexnə]. However the word [kax] and its environment can be compared to the environment of Wolof words such as baax [bax] (good), tax [tax] (cause to), etc..

Concluding in CVBV often a vowel is omitted, in the stem of the word or at the end, and consonants can often be developed into another consonant. The environments of these words in CVBV have a lot in common with environments of several words in Wolof, or to be more specific stops at the end of the words occur as often in CVBV as in Wolof, and hardly in PT and CVSV. The fact that some vowels are omitted in the stem in CVBV, allows certain consonants to be placed next to each other as can be seen in the first table of this section, which is not allowed in PT and CVSV.

3.4.2. Complex syllable

In the chapter below will be discussed how many vowels in the stem disappear causing some words to contain a syllable less than in CVSV, this as well causes consonant clusters to occur. The table below will show several of these words. For example the word to arrive, *txga* [tʃga] in CVBV, *txiga* [tʃiga] in CVSV, *chegar* [ʃɪgaʁ] in PT, the possible underlying forms of Portuguese and CVSV contain a vowel in the first syllable, which does not occur in CVBV. This vowel lacking in the first syllable causing the syllable to have an empty nucleus, thus suggests the presence of complex syllables in CVBV. The examples found during the research will be given below.

Word in CVBV	IPA	CVSV	Portuguese	English
Txi	[ci]	Dixi	descer	To go descend
Txa	[ca]	Dexa	deixar	To leave
Vra	[wra]	Bira	Tornar se/ virar a ser	To become
Xvria	[ʃfria]	Fria	esfriar	To cool down
Guarda	[gwarda]	guarda	Guardar	To keep
Dzonra	[dzɔnxa]	dezonra	Desonrar/xingar	To cuss out
Pxka	[pʃka]	Busca	procurar	To look for/ to get
Pxkos	[pʃ.kɔs]	piskos	pescoço	neck
Xkse	[ʃksɛ]	skeci	Esquecer	To forget
dzingashga	[dzingaʃga]	–	–	To comb out
dshvringanha	[dʃ.frin.ga.ɲa]	spadja	–	To spread out
Txga	[tʃga]	Txiga	chegar	To come/arrive
dzxma- zxma?	[dzxma]	dzeruma	dessarumar	To make a mess
Kdi	[k.di]	respondi	atender	answer [the phone]
elvanta/lvanta/levanta	[lwanta] [əlwanta]	labanta	levantar	To get up
txufti/txfti	[tʃfti]	fetifeti	–	Wash clothes by hand
Dxbdi	[dʃpdi]	dispidi	despedir-se	To say goodbye
turse/trse	[trsɪ]	torso	Torcer	To wring out
Sbi	[sbi]	Subi	Subir	To ascend
Kxta	[kʃta]	kusta	Custar	To cost
Dxkansa	[tʃkansa]	diskansa	Descansar	To rest

Txa	[ca]	Dexa	Deixa	To leave (something)
Kmida	[kmidə]	kumida	Comida	food
Arf	[arf]	arvore	arvore	tree
Kzinha	[kziŋə]	kuzinha	cozinha	Kitchen
Arruma	[xma]	ruma	Arrumar	To tidy up

4. The distribution of the x and the schwa, compared with Wolof

4.1. /x/

In the following part some examples will be shown, to compare several Wolof words with words from CVBV, to show in which the environment the phoneme /x/ occurs. These examples show how these environments in the two different languages are similar, even though the meanings of the words differ.

 Comparing these words, the common consonant in the environment is a plosive, either bilabial or velar, and as well often a vowel that is open low back, the /a/, and the /ɔ/ are most common to be found in front of the /x/, although there are examples like in example 2 where a front vowel is placed before and after the /x/. In example 6, something different occurs in the environment, but the words share the same domains where the /x/ is preceded by an open mid vowel and followed by the /l/, lateral approximant alveolar, which is again followed by a back vowel.
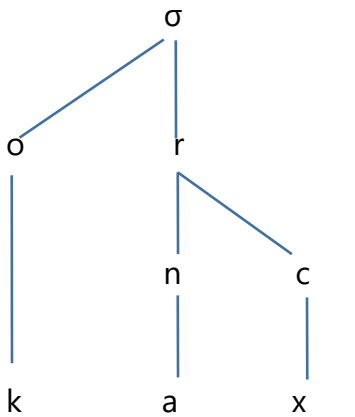
Summarising, the /x/ is often placed at the coda of the syllable or at onset of the second syllable. The /x/ is always proceeded by a vowel, however when placed in the middle it can be followed by a consonant, as seen in example 6 when the /x/ is followed by the /l/, and other examples can also be given from both examples where the /x/ is followed by a nasal, such as *soxna* [sɔxna], 'lady', in Wolof, and *perna* [pɛxna], 'leg', in CVBV. However, in CVBV examples can be found where the /x/ is preceded by a nasal, as in *dzonra* [dzɔnxa], 'to cuss' out, which I have not encountered in Wolof, however when preceded by a nasal the /x/ does not occur but rather the q, as in *janq* [janɣ], 'young lady'. This other sound, does not occur in CVBV , but is essential to mention because it could explain why where the /x/ can be found in CVBV and not in Wolof, might be because in Wolof they have this other sound /ɣ/ which has the same placing as the /x/.

When placed at the beginning of the word the /x/ is always followed by a vowel.[14]

---

14   An exception can be found in CVBV with the word [xma] to tidy up, perhaps this can be distracted by the frequency of heaving an /x/ in the area of a nasal, the phonology of this word is distracted from the Portuguese underlying 'arrumar' which in Portuguese is pronounced [aʀumar].

16

Following are some examples that show how the /x/ is distributed in the syllables.
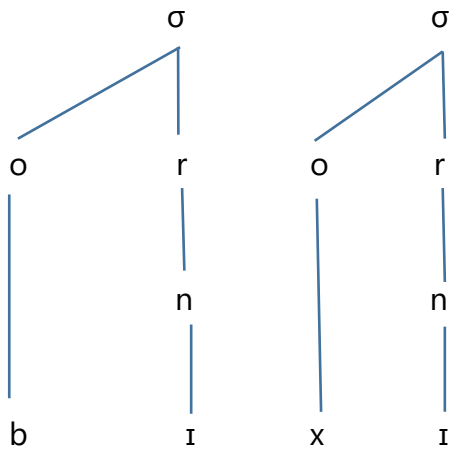
1) CV BV; Carne; meat [kax]   wolof; baax - good [bax]
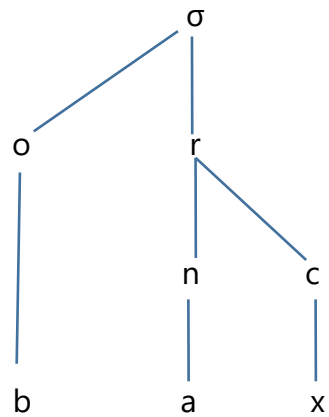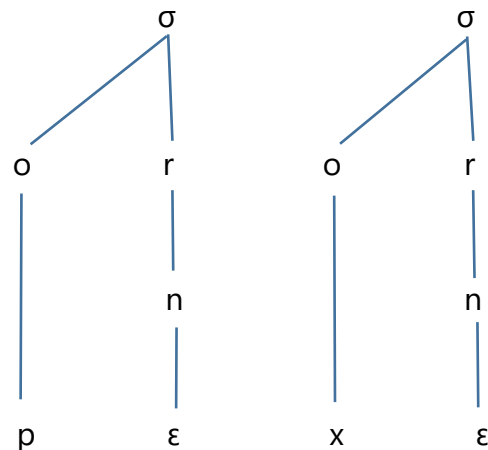

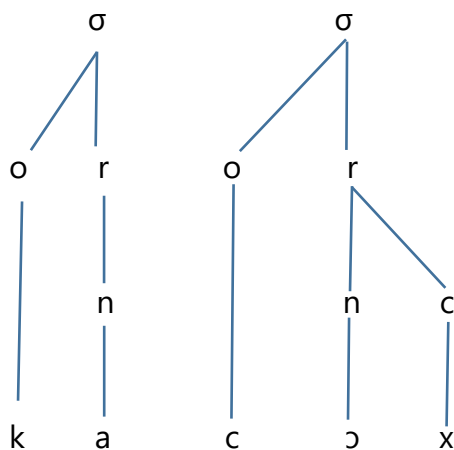2) CV BV; barre [bɪxɪ] – to sweep   Wolof; pexe [pɛxɛ] - know how to
                                               solve something

3) CV BV; catxor [kacɔx] – dog   Wolof; keccax [kɛcax] – dried fish
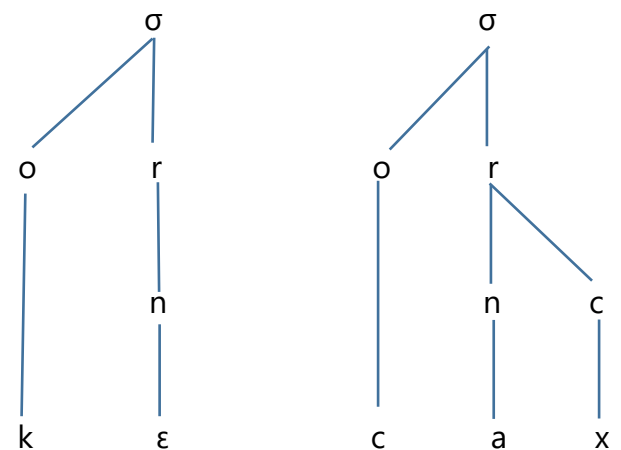
4) CV BV; rôb [xɐb] - tail
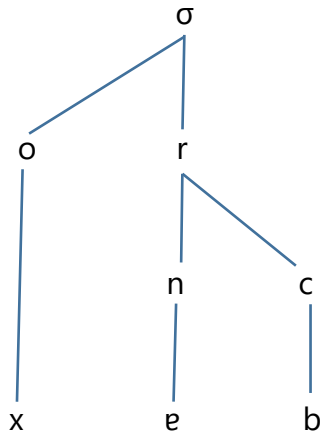
Wolof; xab [xab] - to lick

σ
o   r
    n   c
x   ɐ   b

σ
o   r
    n   c
x   a   b
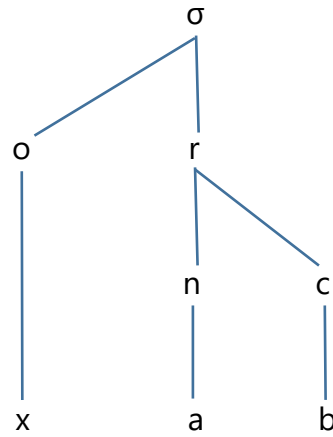
5) CV BV; rabenta [xəbɪnta] – to destroy

Wolof; xabaar [xabar] - news

σ
o   n
x   ə

σ
o   r
    n   c
b   ɪ   n

σ
o   n
t   a

σ
o   n
x   a

σ
o   r
    n   c
b   a   r
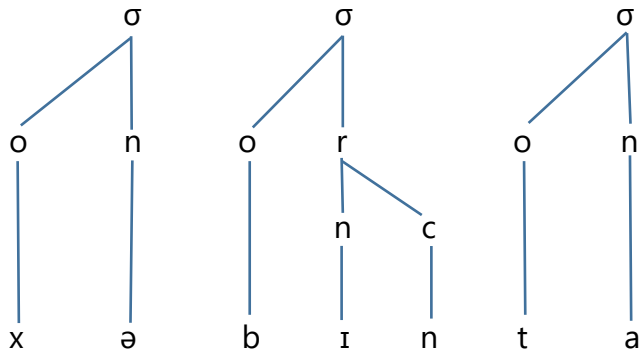
6) CV BV; arlomp [ɐxlɔmp] – lightning (thunder)

Wolof; feexlu [fɛxlu] – take some air

σ
n   c
ɐ   x

σ
o   r
    n   c
l   ɔ   m   p

σ
o   r
    n   c
f   ɛ   x

σ
o   n
l   u

18
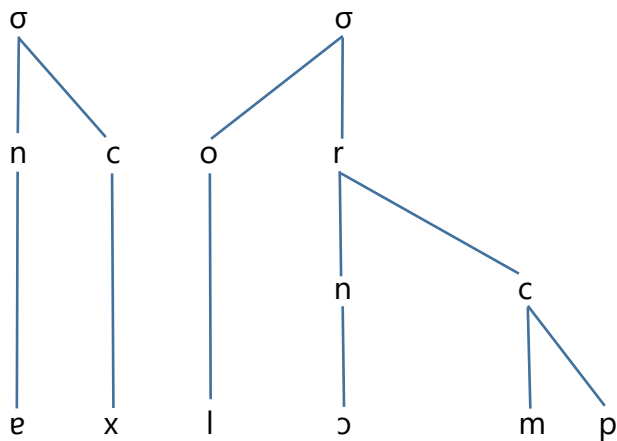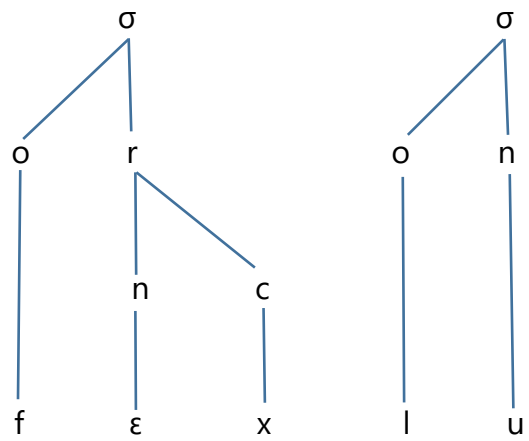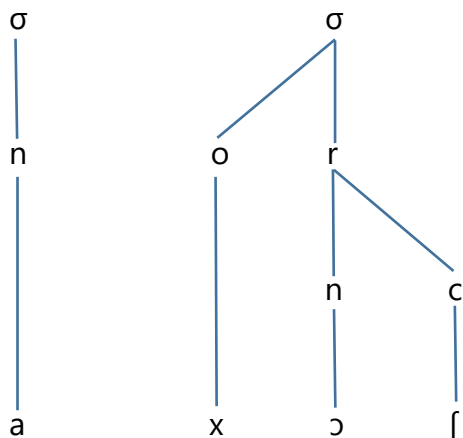
CV BV; arroz [axɔʃ] – rice   Wolof; faxas [faxas] – to mop with the hand

```
     σ            σ                              σ              σ
     |           / \                            / \            / \
     n          o   r                          o   n          o   r
     |          |   |                          |   |          |   |
     |          |  / \                         |   |          |  / \
     |          | n   c                        |   |          | n   c
     |          | |   |                        |   |          | |   |
     a          x ɔ   ʃ                        f   a          x a   s
```
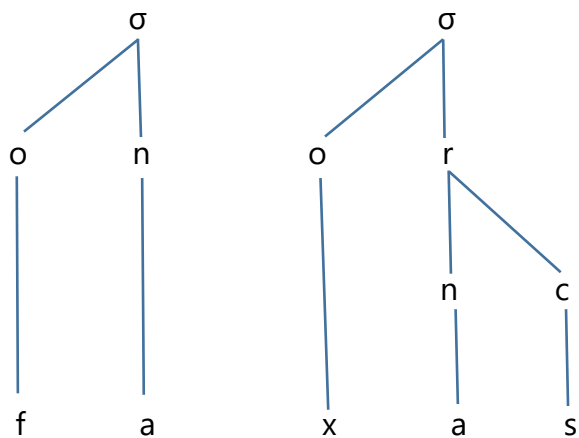
Analysing the examples above, the conclusion can be taken that the environment of the /x/ in CVBV and in Wolof are the same, and thus there is a correspondence in the phonology these two languages.
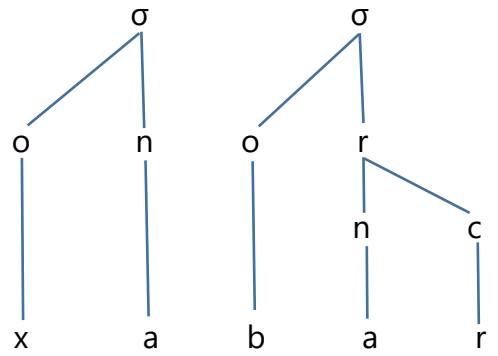
4.2. The schwa

The examples below show the environment of the schwa, concerning orthography we can observe that the schwa has different ways of being represented in these languages. In Wolof it is expressed by writing the final consonant twice, and in CVBV it is a final /a/, which is in several cases pronounced as /a/, and others as /ə/. The a being pronounced as an /a/ or /ə/ needs a separate syntactical observation,[15] what will be as well discussed below in chapter 11 is that the /a/ and the /ə/, makes a semantic difference with the 'ta' morpheme and which tense it is meant to express.

Back to the examples below they show similarity in the final schwa which can be found in Wolof as well as CVBV, in example 7,8, and 12 we can see that the stem contains an open front low vowel. Example 10, and 11 contain an open mid vowel in the stem, although they differ in position. In example 9 the stem vowels completely differ in their features, although this example is still important due to the consonant they proceed. In every example, except 10, the consonant the schwa follows are a plosive, examples 8,9, and 10 the final consonant is an alveolar as well. In example 11, and 12 the consonant that precede the /ə/, are both bilabial.

---

15   Quint had found that differences between open vowels, /a/, and closed vowels /ə/ makes a difference between verb and nouns in CVSV.

7) CV BV; agua [agə] – water
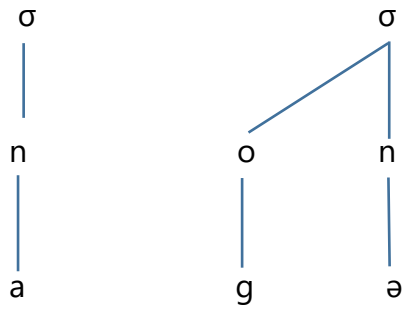
Wolof; yagg [yagə] - someone that seems guilty

```
      σ                 σ                    σ                  σ
      |                / \                  / \                / \
      n               o   n                o   n              o   n
      |               |   |                |   |              |   |
      a               g   ə                y   a     g   ə
```
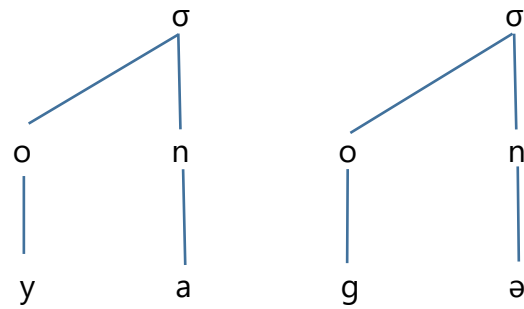
8) CV BV; lata [latə] – tin
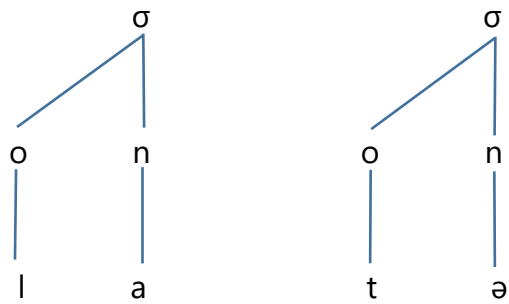
Wolof; gatt [gatə] - short

```
       σ              σ                    σ                  σ
      / \            / \                  / \                / \
     o   n          o   n                o   n              o   n
     |   |          |   |                |   |              |   |
     l   a          t   ə                g   a              t   ə
```
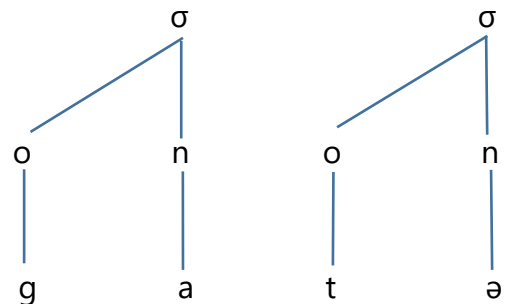
9) CV BV; fralda [fraldə] – diaper

Wolof; gudd [gudə] – long

```
         σ                σ                   σ                  σ
        / \              / \                 / \                / \
       o   r            o   n               o   n              o   n
      /|   |\           |   |               |   |              |   |
     f r   n c          d   ə               g   u              d   ə
           | |
           a l
```
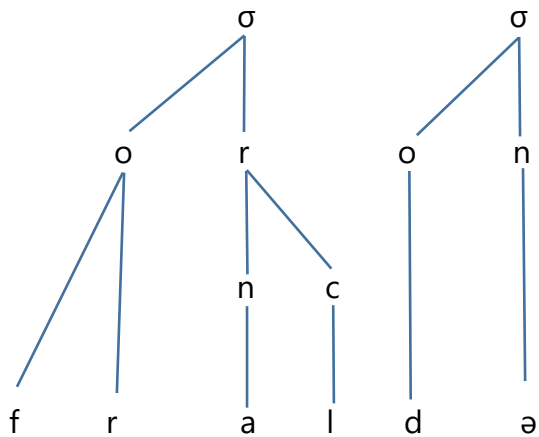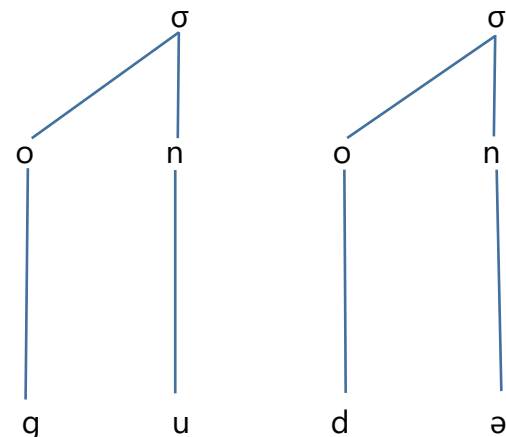
10) CV BV; sala [salə] – livingroom
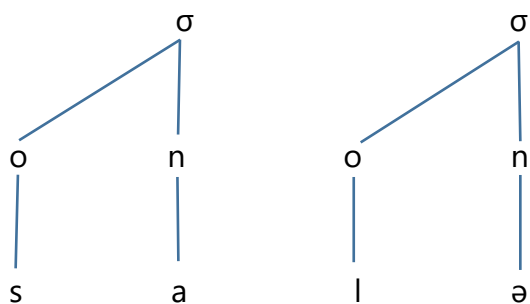
Wolof; yell [yɛlə] – suit (verb)

```
        σ               σ                    σ                  σ
       / \             / \                  / \                / \
      o   n           o   n                o   n              o   n
      |   |           |   |                |   |              |   |
      s   a           l   ə                y   ɛ              l   ə
```
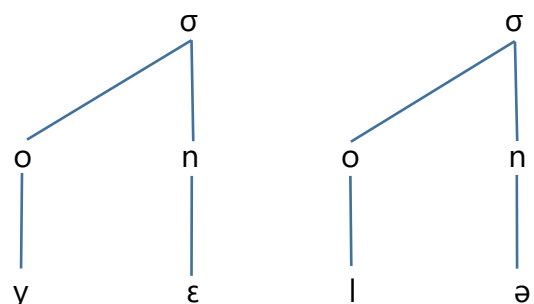
11) CV BV; roupa [xɔpə] - clothing   Wolof; nopp [nɔpə] – ear

```
      σ            σ                σ            σ
     /|           /|               /|           /|
    o  n         o  n             o  n         o  n
    |  |         |  |             |  |         |  |
    x  ɔ         p  ə             n  ɔ         p  ə
```
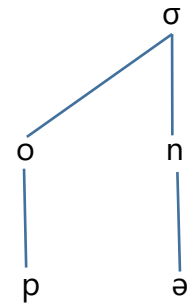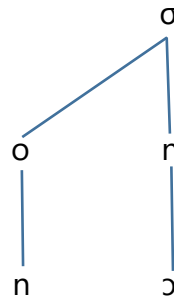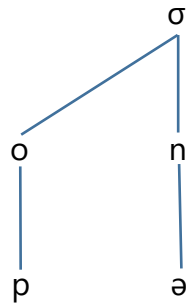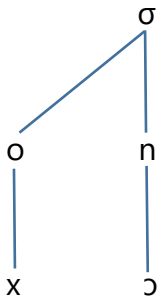
12) CV BV; taba [tabə] – board/plank   Wolof; rabb [rɐbə] – animal

```
      σ            σ                σ            σ
     /|           /|               /|           /|
    o  n         o  n             o  n         o  n
    |  |         |  |             |  |         |  |
    t  a         b  ə             r  ɐ         b  ə
```
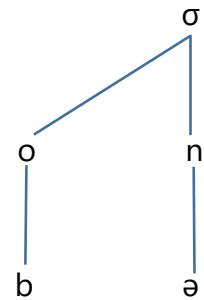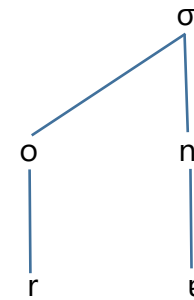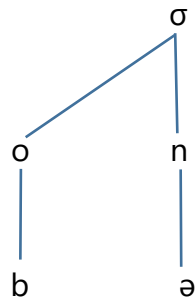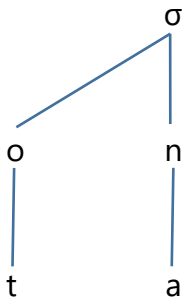
Lastly what needs to be mentioned is that one may argue that the schwa also occurs in Portuguese language, however what is remarkable is that where one finds the schwa in Portuguese, the schwa or final vowel disappears in CVBV, and the word is finished with a consonant. Per example:

English	Word	Portuguese pron.	CVBV pron.
Big	Grande	grandə	Grand
Key	Chave	ʃavə	ʃaf - caf
Broth	Calde	kaldə	kɐld

To conclude, the area wherein the orthographic double consonant pronounced as a schwa occurs in Wolof, is the same phonological area where the schwa can occur in CVBV. The schwa as well as the [x] share the same areas in CVBV as in Wolof, this could suggest that the underlying phonological rules CVBV attains to can be linked to Wolof phonology.

5. Stress

Stress in CVBV can be found on the penultimate or the final syllable, depending on the vowel. The /a/ [+open, +back], attracts the stress, when the word ends with an /a/ the stress will be found on this final vowel. Comparing 3 and 4, these are two different words with the same vowels and both with two syllables however the stress is different: in example 3 one cannot actual differentiate primary stress from secondary stress, and both syllables have equal stress, however in example 4 one can differentiate primary from secondary stress and the second syllable has primary stress.

1)/Ká.mə/ - cama – bed

2) /Frál.də/ - fralda – diaper

3) /gá.cá/ – gatxa – to hide

4) /zàn.gá/ - dzanga – angry, get angry

5) /gar.gán.tə/ - garganta – throat

Further what was significant is that in several words that are common between CVSV and CVBV, that the stress is placed differently. In CVSV the first nucleus carries the stress whereas in CVBV the stress can be found on the last syllable. A few examples are given below.

English	CVSV	CVBV	Orthography
To sleep	Dúr.mi	Dur.mí	Durmi
To wash	Lá.wa	La.wá	Lava
To hide	Gá.cə	Gá.cá	Gatxa

Syntax

Noun phrase

6. Pronouns and person marking

6.1. Subject pronouns

The subject pronoun is placed before the verb. The general sentence structure in CVBV is SVO.

	Singular	Plural
1	Mi/ 'm	No [nɔ]
2	Bo	Bzot
3	el	Esh [ɛʃ]

1) Mi   ja-m   xkse-Ø .
   1.SG.SUBJ already-1.SG.OBJ   forget-PAST.
 I already forgot.

2) Bo   sai   d'-casa
   2.SG.SUBJ   leave   from-home
'You left home.'

3)El   ba   pa   traboi.
   3.SG.SUBJ   go-PAST   to   work
He went to work.

4) No   tə   na   olanda.
   1.PL.SUBJ   STAT   in   the Netherlands.
We are in the Netherlands.

5) Bzot   ba   péxka.
   2.PL.SUBJ   go-PAST   to fish
You   went   fishing.

6) Esh   tə   na   praia d'mar
   3.PL   STAT   at   the beach
They are at the beach.

6.2. Object pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	-m/ 'm	Nos [nɔʃ]
2	-b /bo	Bzot
3	-l / el	-sh [-ʃ] / esh

The object pronoun is often an affix that is attached to the verb, if the object is preceded by a word that does not end with a vowel, it is not an affix, but the same form as the subject pronoun, except for first person singular subject pronoun *mi* is only used as a subject, as an object it can be just an *'m'* standing alone. The verbs found in CVBV seem to end with a vowel, causing the singular person markers and third person plural always to be an affix added behind the verb.

7) El   da-m   um   buleia   pa   traboi.
    3.SG.SUBJ give-1.SG.OBJ   one   ride   to   work.
She gave me a ride to work.

8) M   tro-b   um   prot   d'-kmida.
    1.SG.SUBJ take-2.SG.OBJ   one   plate   of-food.
I scooped a plate of food for you.

9) 'M   faze-l   txora-Ø .
     1.SG.SUBJ make-3.SG.OBJ   cry-PAST.
I made him cry.

10) El   da   nos   el.
    3.SG.SUBJ give   1.PL.OBJ   it
He gave it to us.

11) 'M   ka   oia   bzot   txeu   temp.
     1.SG.SUBJ   NEG   see-PAST   2.PL.OBJ   a lot   time.
It has been a long while since I have seen you.

12) M   larga-sh   pra   la.
     1.SG.SUBJ leave-3.PL.OBJ   over   DEM.
I left them over there.

7.Reflexive

In CVBV one can find a form of the reflexive which is rather similar to Wolof.

In this case one points to the head to express reflexivity. In Wolof in every case of reflexivity, the head is pointed at, for CVBV this cannot be concluded yet further research is needed to determine this.

Thus the forms expressing reflexivity by pointing to the head will be considered, the native speaker consulted relied these forms.

13) El   mata   kabesa

   3.SG   kill   head

He committed suicide.

Therefore, these examples where the head is pointed at to express reflexivity, could be compared with the reflexive in Wolof, where in every case the head is pointed at to express reflexivity. Following some examples to show how it works in Wolof.

14) Dor   na   sama   bopp.

   To hit   PREP-1.SG   1.SG.POSS   head.

I hit myself.

15) Ki   dafa   rey   bopp-am.

   Person- DEM   3.SG.PRESS kill   head-3.SG.POSS

He killed himself./He committed suicide.

With the last case when expressing suicide there are two ways to express that in Wolof, such as in example 11 but one can as well say *Ki dafa xaru*, *xaru* being a seperate verb for suicide. In CVBV there is no verb for suicide and the construction is made as the Wolof reciprocal *El mata kabesa,* literally he killed head, which is also possible in Wolof.

8. Possessive determiners CVBV

The possessive in CVBV is an unbound morpheme, that specifies the person, this unbound morpheme is placed before the possession. If the possession is in plurality as in every case the noun does not determine plurality but the context, in this case the -s is added to the possession marker.

16) Nha   casa.

   1.SG.POSS   house

My house.

17) Nhe-s casa

    1.SG.POSS-PL house

My houses.

	SG	SG plural	PL	PL plural
1	Nha casa	Nhe**s** casa	Nos casa	Nos casa
2	Bo casa	Bo**s** casa	Bzot casa	Bzot casa
3	Se casa	Se**s** casa	Ses casa	Ses casa

Possessive pronouns CVBV

	SG	SG plural	PL	PL plural
1	Kel d'minha	**Kes** d'minha	Kel d'nos	**Kes** d'nos
2	Kel d' bossa	**Kes** d'bossa	Kel d'bzot	**Kes** d'bzot
3	Kel d' seu	**Kes** d'seu	Kel d' seus	**Kes** d'seus

Possessive determiners Wolof

	SG	SG plural	PL	PL plural
1	Sama kër	Samay kër	Sunu kër	Sunuy kër
2	Sa kër	Say kër	Seen kër	Seeni kër
3	-am kër	<u>Ay</u> kër<u>am</u>	Seen kër	Seeni kër

Possessive pronouns Wolof

	SG	SG plural	PL	Pl plural
1	Sama bos	Sama yos	Sunu bos	Sunu yos
2	Sa bos	Sa yos	Seen bos	Seen yos
3	Bossam	yossam	Seen bos	Seen yos

What is remarkable is that the plural possessive in CVBV is distinguished by adding the /s/, pronounced as [ʃ], to the possessive pronoun, this as well occurs in Wolof where the -y [j] is added to the possessive determiner to distinguish plurality. This occurrence distinguishes from languages like English where the plural is indicated by marking the noun, or in Portuguese where the noun and the possessive is marked to distinguish plurality, but what happens there is that the noun is always marked for plurality, and in Wolof and CVBV the noun does not change, as can be seen before.

English	Portuguese	CVBV	Wolof
My house-s 1.SG.POSS house-PL	Minhas casa-s 1.SG.POSS.PL house-PL	Nhas casa 1.SG.POSS.PL house	Samay kër 1.SG.POSS.PL house

The noun however does not change, the singular form and the plural form are the exact same word, in both CVBV, and Wolof. This will be explained further below since this does not only occur in the possessive form.

9. Plurality, noun-class markers, and quantifiers

The noun does not carry any plural marker, but it is rather to be distracted from its environment, and this phenomenon can as well be found in Wolof.

Although there are no definite markers, while discussing an object/person either a demonstrative or quantifier should be placed in front. It is not possible to discuss an object/person without demonstrating it, thus the house, would become 'kel kasə' that house, or *es kasə*, 'this house', or *um kasə*, 'a/one house'. To distinguish the plurality it would be dependent on the information the quantifier/demonstrative carries. The possibilities in CVBV are:

English	CVBV	English	CVBV
That house	Kɪl kasə	Those houses	Kiʃ kasə
This house	ɪs kasə	These houses	Iʃ kasə
A/one house	Um kasə	A few houses	Pɔk kasə
Two houses	Dɔʃ kasə	Many houses	Cew kasə
		A lot of	Um bɔkɛd kasə

In Wolof the noun does not change at all as well, and it is also the environment that distinguishes singularity from plurality, namely it can be the noun-class marker that is placed after the noun, per example *garab gi*, which means 'the tree', and then you have *garab yi*, which means 'the trees', thus the noun remains the same in all cases. Apart from qualifiers in Wolof quantifiers can also determine whether it is plural or singular, per example, *benn garab*, 'one tree', or *ñetti garab*, 'three trees'. Wolof makes use of definite markers that agree in noun class, but this does not count for qualifiers.

In CVBV there are no noun-class markers, consequently quantifiers and demonstratives are used in the environment and make a difference in meaning. Examples are given below;

English	CVBV	Wolof
one dog	Um kacɔx	Benn xaj
These dogs	Iʃ kacox	Xaj yii
One house	Um kasə	Benn kër
Those/ the houses	Kiʃ kasə	Kër yii

In conclusion, the examples above show how the noun does not carry any plural marker, but it is rather to be distracted from its environment, and this phenomenon can as well be found in Wolof.

Verbal phrase

To introduce the verbal phrase, the simple verb construction is considered.

18) M   kme
   1.SG   eat.PAST

I ate.

Considering the first example above, one can see that in CVBV the simple verb construction expresses a past tense. This phenomenon can also be found in other creole and West- African languages. To express present tense, or either past tense, morphemes need to be added to the phrase, these will be further discussed below.

10. Tense, aspect and mood markers

10.1. Ta and tə morpheme

Stative tə

The *tə* morpheme that occurs in CVBV, occurs in similar constructions as the ones in Wolof which can be found later below. Only when the morpheme *ta* is used in the stative tense it is pronounced as [tə] and not as [ta] which is the case when used in the future tense. However both are written as *ta* in CVBV ortography, [ta] might have an accent tá, to avoid confusion the stative *ta* will be written as *tə.*

The *tə* morpheme can be found in two different constructions. First the *tə* morpheme expresses the stative tense, where thus the *ta* is pronounced as [tə] :

19) El   tə   na   son.
   3.SG   STAT   PREP   sleep.

He is sleeping.

20) Bo   tə   doent.
    2.SG   STAT   sick

You are sick?

21) Anta   tə   doent.
    Anta   STAT   sick

Anta is sick.

The same tense can be found in Wolof, where the da- is attached to a significant person marker, which can be found below.

Pers	Sgl	Pl
1	Dama	danu/dañu
2	danga	Dangeen
3	Dafa	Dañu

22)Da-nga   feebar
   STAT-2.SG.   sick

You are sick.

23) Anta   da-fa   feebar
    Anta   STAT-3.SG   sick

Anta is sick.

To compare the two languages next to each other with the phrase 'It is here';

Wolof		CVBV		
Dafa fii.		El tə li.		
STAT-3.SG here		3.SG STAT here.		

However as can be noticed the difference between the Wolof and CVBV stative, is that in Wolof a morpheme is added to the person marker, which does not occur in CVBV the *tə* remains an unbound *tə* in all cases, and the person marker is placed separately after the person marker. The only difference would thus be the form *tə* in CVBV, and da- in Wolof and the placing. However, I would like to suggest that the placing of the da- in Wolof occurs before the person marker because in this tense it is bound to each other, considering in other cases the TAM markers are placed after the person marker in Wolof, as occurs as well in CVBV.

Future mood ta

Second, *ta* can express the intent to do something in the future, I would suggest that *ta*, when the only TAM marker in the phrase, expresses something more distant, if the near future is expressed, *ti* [ti] will be placed in front of the *ta*, in both of these cases the ta is pronounced as [ta], examples are given in phrase 4 to 7. However, more needs to be explained on the '*ti ta*' combination, since it could indicate two situations, first it could indicate that something will be done in the near future, or rather that the action is taking place at the moment, the last will be further explained in the next chapter.

24) M'   ta   pa   Cabo Verde
     1.SG   FUT   PREP   Cabo Verde
I am going to Cape Verde

25) Bo   ta   faze   um   bol?
     2.SG   FUT   make   one   cake?
Are you going to make a cake?

26) No   ta   pxka-l.
     1.PL   FUT   pick up-3.SG.
We will pick him up.

27) Esh   ta   limpa   mas   lok.
     3.PL   FUT   clean   more   later.
They will clean up later.

To consider sentence 24 again and observe how it would differ if the *ti* would be placed in the phrase, the action would be assumed to occur in the near future. Same can be done in phrase 27 where however some words need to be replaced.

28) M'   ti ta   ba   pa   Cabo Verde.
     1.SG   FUT PROG   going   PREP   Cabo Verde.
I'm going to Cape Verde. (indicating that it is almost going to happen)

29) Esh   ti ta   bem   limpa   lugar.
     3.PL   FUT PROG   come   clean   place.
They are about to clean up.

10.2. Progressive

The progressive in CVBV is a tense that is used all the time, the progressive is always expressed by the unbound morpheme *ti*, and place before the *ta* morpheme. *Ti* expresses an action that is happening at the moment, or is about to happen soon in time, thus an

action that is still unfinished. In the previous chapter the pronunciation of the *ta* and the function which is thus has was highlighted, as explained before the [ta] indicates future, and the [tə] indicates the stative tense, the *ti* [ta] construction indicates action that will happen in the near future and *ti* [tə] is specific for the progressive, which is explained in this chapter, thus an action that is happening at the moment and unfinished.

The major difference between *ti* [tə] and only [tə], is that [tə] can be used as well to define a state like sentence 1 in the previous chapter, *um ta na son*, which is the same as the Wolof construction *dama nelaw*, thus 'I am sleeping', or 'I am at sleep'. The *ti* [tə] construction indicates that it is rather an action and that it will be finished at any moment, consider the example sentences below.

30) 'M   **ti**   tə   kme.

   1.SG   PROG   STAT   to eat.

I am eating.

31) Bo   **ti**   tə   xpia-l?

   2.SG   PROG   STAT   to look for-3.SG.OBJ?

Are you looking for it?

32) No   **ti**   tə   ba   pa   casa.

   1.PL   PROG   STAT   to go   PREP   house.

We are going home.

In Wolof we find a similar phenomenon, in Wolof the progressive is expressed by using the *ngi* morpheme which is also unbound. The *ngi* morpheme is as in CVBV placed right after the subject before the action that is conducted. The difference although between CVBV and Wolof is that in CVBV the progressive has to be stated in combination with the ta morpheme, and in Wolof it is only the *ngi* morpheme that occurs in the clause.

33) Maa   **ngi**   lekk.

   1.SG   PROG   to eat.

I am eating.

34) Yow   **ngi**   dem   ci   kër   gi.

   2.SG   PROG   to go   PREP   house   CLF

You are going home.

35) Nu   **ngi**   waxtaan.

   1.PL   PROG   to conversate.

We are in conversation.

10.3. Anterior

The anterior in CVBV is rather complicated, because at first one can be tempted to say that the verb remains the same in all tenses, and that the tense is marked by an unbound morpheme, however there are verbs that make an exception and can change in the past tense. These to verbs are *kre,* to want which becomes *kria* [kriə], and *tem* which means to have and becomes *tinha* [tiŋə], had.

There are three anterior forms in CVBV, the first form is just the plain verb after the subject, the verb does not morph, and there is no single morpheme to point to the past. Thus if the sentence has no marking, it points to the action already being finished, to make it present one of the morphemes discussed earlier need to be inserted.

36) M   kme
    1.SG   eat.
I ate.

37) El   dze
    3.SG   say
 He said.

Second form is where one points in what kind of state one occurred in the past. This form is used by adding two unbound morphemes before the verb, the first one is *tava*, which an be translated as was, and second is the ta morpheme, which is pronounced as [tə], and the same morpheme as in the stative tense discussed earlier.

38) M   **tava**   **tə**   kme
    1.SG   ANT   STAT   to eat.
I was eating

39) El   **tava**   **tə**   durmi.
    3.SG   ANT   STAT   to sleep.
He was sleeping.

The last from that was found, is used to define that an action was finished in the past, this is the only form where the verb adjusts. This construction exists out of the adjusted verb which receives a final -d, and if the verb ends with an /ɪ/, as in kme [kmɪ], it becomes an [i] → kmid. Before this morphed verb the unbound morpheme tinha is placed, which can be used separately and means had.

40) M   **tinha**   kmi-**d**.
    1.SG   PST   to eat-PASS
I had eaten.

41) El   **tinha**   durmi-**d.**
   3.SG   PST   to sleep-PASS
He had slept.

The /d/ that changes the verb is marked as passive, since that is as well the passive form. More on the passive needs to be researched, although an example will follow for one to show how it works;

42)M   **ti**   **tə**   kuznha   um   peixe.
   1.SG   PROG   STAT   to cook   one   fish
I am cooking a fish.

43) Kel   peixe   **tə**   kzi-**d.**
   DEM   fish   STAT   to cook-PASS
The fish is cooked

Finally to conclude, and compare with Wolof, what can be seen is that the verb remains the same in all cases, namely unmarked in CVBV as in Wolof. Except for the one exception found in both CV forms in the past, and as well can be found in Wolof, as seen in 10.4 when the -oon bound morpheme also expresses an finalized action in the past.

10.4. Overview of tenses

English	Wolof	CVBV
1)I eat	**Dama** lekk	M **tə** kme
2) I am eating	Ma **ngi** lekk	M **ti tə** kme
3) I ate	Man lekk na	kme
4) I was eating	**Dama doon** lekk	M **tava tə** kme
5) I have eaten	Lekk**oon**	M **tinha** km**id**
6) I will eat	**Di**na lekk	M **ta** kme
7) I am about to go eat	Maa **ngi ni di** lekk	M **ti ta** bem kme

English	Wolof	CVBV
1) I sleep	**Damay** nelaw	M **[tə]** durmi
2) I am sleeping	Maa **ngi ni di** nelaw	M **ti [tə]** durmi
3) I slept	Man nelaw na	M durmi
4) I was sleeping	**Dama doon** nelaw	M **tava [tə]** durmi
5) I have slept	Nelaw**oon**	M **tinha** durmi**d**
6) I will sleep	**Di**na nelaw	M **ta** durmi
7) I am about to go sleep	Maa **ngi ni di** nelaw	M **ti ta** bem durmi
8) I would sleep	Maa **ngi ni di** nelaw	M tava durmi

11. The unmarked verb

In her book Syntax of Cape Verdean creole Marlyse Baptista explains that there are no morphological variation reflecting person displayed in the verbal forms.[16] Although the research is based on CVSV, this works the same way in CVBV. She gives an example with the verb 'to speak', *papia* in CVSV, fala in CVBV. Thus, as given the examples in, the table above in CVBV, with the TAM structures, and other, TAM is indicated with unbound morphemes often placed before the verb, and the verb thus never changes.

Person	Singular	plural
1	'M fala	No fala
2	Bo fala	Bzot fala
3	El fala	Esh fala

Although there are exceptions with the passive, which receives a final -d to pacify the verb, e.g. falod [falɔd], which would be said, this is also common for CVSV, although it then would be followed with a final -ba, falaba.

After stating that the verb does not change an exception has to be mentioned, there are three exceptional verbs that change and are used in combination with other verbs do form anterior. Which are;

kre → kria → M kria kme; I wanted to eat

Tem → Tinha → M tinha kmid; I had eaten

To be clear other verbs as *kme*, cannot become *kmia,* or *bem* , 'to come', *binha*. A discussion with these two verbs that change, if they naturally morph, or rather that they are adapted from Portuguese to from the constructions properly, since all other verbs to not take these passed forms.

---

16 Marlyse Baptista, 'The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole, The Sotavento Varieties', Linguistik Aktuell = The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole. Philadelphia, PA, USA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 200, p. 75

12. Negation

Cape Verdean Creole of Barla Vento knows two constructions to form negation. The first construction contains an unbound morpheme *ka*, which does not have a specific semantic meaning by itself. Semantically where the word *ka* is distracted from is unclear. Examples of this structure follow below;

44)   M   ka   kre
          1.SG   NEG   want

I don't want it.

45)   M   ka-tem.
          1.SG   NEG-have.

I don't have it.

46)   M   ka   sabe.
          .SG   NEG   know

I don't know.

The second negation construction is formed with the unbound morpheme *ne*, the *ne* morpheme is perhaps distracted from *não*, which means no. As the *ka* the *ne* is also used in the negation construction, the *ne* morpheme can also be used in one other case, which is at the end of the sentence to emphasize the preceding information.

47)   Ne   mi.
          NEG   1.SG.

It isn't me

48)   Kela   ne   dret.
          DEM   NEG   good.

That isn't good.

Between the *ne* and *ka* construction the reason to use one in a certain position, instead of the other needs further research. What can be mentioned is that for some reason when *ka* is used, and one tries to replace it with ne, followed by the preposition it sounds incorrect. For example sentence 44, '*M ka kre*', cannot be expressed as **M ne pa kre*, the last sentence is incorrect, and sounds unnatural.

What can be said is that when in the few *ne* constructions with a verb, the *ne* needs to be followed with a preposition.

49)   Ne   pa   dze   kela.
          NEG   to   say   DEM.

don't say that.

50)   Ne   pa   xkse-l.
       NEG   to   forget-3.SG

Don't forget it

Whereas, in the sentences above formed with ka one can distract that there is no preposition needed to bind the verb with the negation. Although in CVBV from Sao Vicente when the *ne* and when the *ka* construction is used is interchangeable, and if there are specific matters that cause their complementary use, is a point to be further researched. However what needs to be mentioned in CVBV from São Nicolau the negation is only formed with the *ka* construction.

Complementary use of *ne* and *ka* compared to Wolof bound negation form and unbound *du* morpheme.

CVBV	WOLOF	ENGLISH
Ne mi	**du** man.	it's not me (as in I did not do that)
M **ka** kre	Man begg**uma**	I don't want it
Ne pe dze kela	**Du** wax loolu	Don't say that
Um **ka**tem	Man am**uma**	I don,t have it/that
kela **ne** dret	loolu **du** baax	That's not good
um **ka** sabe	man xam**uma**	I don't know

Although as mentioned above negation in CVBV from São Vicente needs further research, I wanted to add in this short observation that was made during research. Looking at Wolof negation,n there are different structures one that is also not comparable, where the verb receives a bound morpheme that changes with every person;

1.SG Man amuma
2.SGYow amuloo
3.SGMoom amul

Thus, this construction is very different from the CVBV constructions what is remarkable is that there is a complementary distribution where this kind of construction is used in Wolof, the *ka* construction is used in CVBV, and where the construction in Wolof is used with the unbound morpheme *du* pointing to negation the *ne* construction is used in CVBV. Suggestions have been made that the *ka* construction comes from Temne, thus this can as well be a topic for further research. As well as the *du* construction in Wolof, which perhaps has its roots in the word *deet* or *deedeet*, which means 'no', as is the same occasion with *ne* as was already explained above, thus the use of the area of these two constructions need further research as well.

Conclusion

To conclude the Cape Verdean Creole variant of the northern islands, or Barla Vento has been researched less than the Sota Vento variant, with the fact that the Sota Vento variant is the base of the others which is true. However, as well with the argument often stated, that the Barla Vento variety is less African which as is shown can be discussed. Since one cannot say one is more African than another, considering there are different African languages that can be found to have influenced the Cape Verdean language, what can be further discussed is that perhaps one language influenced one island, or region more than it did the other. An hypothesis could be that Mande languages influenced the Sota Vento islands more, and that Atlantic languages perhaps influenced the Barla Vento more. However, this is just a hypothesis, further comparisons should be done with other Atlantic languages such as Fulfulde, or Seereer, for example.

This paper thus made an effort to look at points that the Barla Vento variant shows similarities with Wolof, the most significant one being the phonological aspect with the /x/ and the /ə/ which in both languages occur in same environments. What as well should be an indication for further research and makes the conclusion that the Barla Vento variety is said to be more Portuguese, is the complex syllable discussed in chapter 3.4, this shows that there is an aspect in the Creole of Barlavento, that cannot be compared with Portuguese, nor the Sota Vento variety, nor Wolof. Apart from the phonological aspects the syntactical aspects discussed show differences between CVBV and Portuguese, and tenses that might work similar as in Wolof.

I wanted to end this paper with a quote from past Cape Verdean/Guinean Bissau freedom fighter Amilcar Cabral:
"A people who free themselves from foreign domination will not be culturally free unless, without underestimating the importance of positive contributions from the oppressor's culture and other cultures, they return to the upward paths of their own culture[s]"[17]
It is important to consider this quote in regard with language, every aspect that contributed should be examined to eventual as Cabral said "return to the upward paths of their own cultures." Thus, as often considered and already known, the similarities with Portuguese, however it is time to research on the remaining aspects that contributed to the formation of the creole language of the Creole spoken on São Vicente island, as well as the remaining Barla Vento islands.

---

17 Taonezvi Vambe, Maurice, and Zegeye, Abebe. "Amilcar Cabral: National Liberation as the Basis for Africa's Renaissances." Rethinking Marxism 20, no. 2 (2008): 188-200.

References

Baptista, Marlyse. The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole. The Sotavento Varieties. Linguistik Aktuell = The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole. Philadelphia, PA, USA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003.

Barros, Marília E. Lima. "S. Vicente: Prosperidade e Decadência (1850 – 1918)." CEAUP - Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto, 2008. https://www.africanos.eu/index.php/en/editions/working-papers/498-s-vicente-prosperidade-e-decad%C3%AAncia-1850-%E2%80%93-1918.

Batalha, Luís. "THE POLITICS OF CAPE VERDEAN CREOLE." In Los Criollos De Base Ibérica, 101-10. Vol. 24. Frankfurt A. M., Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2019.

Cardoso, João Luís, Antonio Manuel Monge Soares. "A estação arqueológica de Salamansa (ilha de São Vicente, República de Cabo Verde)". Revista Portuguersa de Arqueologia. Vol. 13. p. 167-214. 2010.

Czopek, Natalia. "De Uma Língua Oral Sem Escrita à Escrita De Uma Língua Oral: O Caso Do Crioulo Cabo-verdiano Das Ilhas Do Barlavento E Sotavento." Études Romanes De Brno, no. 1 (2016): 11-26.

Dominika Swolkien. "Factores sociolinguisticos no povoamento da ilha de Sao Vicente de Cabo Verde" Los criollos de base ibérica (2004): 171-184.

Duncan, T. Bentley. Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-century Commerce and Navigation. Studies in the History of Discoveries 053482956. Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Editorial Team. "Cape Verde Islands: Language Situation." In Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics, 197. Second ed. Elsevier, 2006.

Fal, Arame, Jean Léonce Doneux, and Rosine Santos. *Dictionnaire Wolof-Français: Suivi d' Un Index Français-Wolof*. Karthala, 1990.

Lopes Da Silva, Baltasar. O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde. Junta das missoes geograficas e de investigacoes do ultramar, centro de estudos politicos e socais. 1957.

Mana Guta. Língua De Berço : (percurso Histórico, Fundamentos Ténicos E Outras Razões Ponderosas Para Começar a Escrever Na Língua Cabo-Verdiana). 2017.

Nascimento Ramos, Manuel. "Povoamento De São Vicente." Câmara Municipal de São Vicente, October 2003. https://www.cmsv.cv/index.php/povoamento-da-ilha-de-sao-vicente.

Ngũgĩ. Decolonising the Mind : The Politics of Language in African Literature. Studies in African Literature. New Series 080257496. London [etc.]: Currey [etc.], 1986.

Taonezvi Vambe, Maurice, and Zegeye, Abebe. "Amilcar Cabral: National Liberation as the Basis for Africa's Renaissances." Rethinking Marxism 20, no. 2 (2008): 188-200.

Quint, Nicolas. "Vowels as a Morphological Tool in Santiago Creole Portuguese (Cape Verde)." Journal of African Languages and Linguistics 22, no. 1 (2001): 69-80.