

YOUNG LEARNERS AND PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE PORTUGUESE MESOLECT OF CAPE VERDE^[*]

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Abstract. Only limited sociolinguistic research which takes special account of young learners has been carried out on creole contexts. In the case of Cape Verde, phonetic descriptions of the several varieties within the Capeverdean Language (CVL) have been reported by Cardoso (1989), Veiga (1982, 1996a, 2000) and Quint (2000a). This last author does refer to the mesolectal spectrum of Cape Verde, but there are no sociolinguistic surveys on young learners. — The subject under study is set between the Capeverdean language (CVL) and standard European Portuguese (EP); it is the indigenized variety (IV) of Portuguese spoken in Cape Verde by children aged 8–16 at school, a mesolectal element in this linguistic continuum. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the acquisition of sounds which undergo phonological variation among young learners. — The findings of this paper demonstrate that the field of phonology is more susceptible to the horizontal continuum, i.e., between regions and islands, than to the vertical one, which is related to pupils' age and cognitive development. Tokens with /r/ and vowels prove to be more sensitive to phonological variation with effects on territorial delimitation. Interestingly, the geographical continuum of this IV at this stage does not correspond to the conventional division of the Cape Verdean language into northern and southern varieties. Instead, a division between western and eastern islands has emerged.

Introduction

No sociolinguistic research which takes special account of young learners has been carried out on Capeverdean creole language. Phonetic descriptions of the several varieties within the Capeverdean Language (CVL) have been reported by Cardoso (1989), Veiga (1982, 1996a, 2000) and Quint (2000a). Only the last author does refer to the mesolectal spectrum of Cape Verde, although he does not refer to young learners either.

For the present study, the target population consists of 266 bilingual Capeverdean- and Portuguese-speaking children aged 8 to 16 at school who were asked to orally retell a story based on a given picture. This age group includes the two grades most often repeated in this school system, namely grades 4 and 6, which also mark transitions between levels of compulsory education. Portuguese is for these children their second language, whereas CVL is their mother tongue or first language. Thus, the subject under study is set between the Capeverdean language (CVL) and standard European Portuguese (EP); it is the indi-

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genized variety (IV) of Portuguese as spoken by Capeverdean children at school, a mesolectal element in this linguistic continuum. The following table lists the number of recordings on each island which were carried out and taken into account for the data analysis:

Island		Number of Recordings	
		4th grade	6th grade
B	Brava	16	14
BV	Boavista	12	14
F	Fogo	15	16
M	Maio	16	16
S	Sal	11	16
SA	Santo Antão	15	16
SN	São Nicolau	16	12
ST	Santiago	15	11
SV	São Vicente	17	18
Total		133	133

This paper is divided into two main parts – the first concerning consonants and the second vowels – which are followed by the conclusions. The tokens most susceptible to phonological variation were selected: /r/ and /R/ in word-initial, -middle and -final position; /l/ in coda position; /v/ in word-initial position; /ʃ/ in word-initial position; the phoneme /d/; and, finally, the vowels. For each subsection, only variation instances with a minimum of three cases per class were taken into account, with exceptions being noted.

Notes between brackets identify the speaker: school grade, island, and speaker number. Thus, (4ST2) refers to speaker number 2 of the 4th grade on the island of Santiago.

1. Consonants

1.1. The consonant /r/

The phoneme /r/ is phonetically realized in several ways, which are influenced in part by factors inherent to speech, such as speed; thus, the same speaker can use several variants of this consonant. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify some biases with respect to geographical and age groups.

When in word-final position followed by a vowel-initial word, the phoneme /r/ generally occurs as a voiceless consonant on the islands of S, SA, SN, SV, F and less frequently on ST and B. With the exception of BV, this phone emerges, in this phonetic context, on all of the northern islands as an alternative to [r]. When realized phonetically as a voiceless alveolar flap [ɾ], this phone changes the preceding vowel into a longer and more open one, while the alveolar may be dropped:

- (1) [uʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ_ʃ'tɐ̃u v fɛzɛ:ɾ v 'kɔdɐ i uʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ_ʃ'ta v plɛn'tar 'arvuri||] (4S7)
- (2) [i... i tɾɛʃ v'miguʃ_ʃ'tɐ̃u v sa'ta:ɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | i doɨʃ ʒu'ga:ɾ a 'maʎa | dɨ'vir'tir | i ũ v bɛloɨ'saʃ ||] (6S2)
- (3) [iʃtu'dar 'muɨtu | fa'zɛ_ʃ'kɔdɐ naʃ 'arvuriʃ | ti'raɾ ũ... se'mja:ɾ u'maʃ pɨ'lãntɛʃ | ɛt'cetirɐ ||] (4SA2)
- (4) [ʼɛra u'ma mɨ'nina | ki'riɔ ʼɛra sɛ'ta:ɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ ||] (6SA10)
- (5) [i uʃ lɛ'drõɨʃ fi'karɐ̃u kɔ 'sɔɾti di pi'gaɾ u pi'nɔkiu 'pɛɾɐ ro'baɾ vʒ_mwɛdɛʃ ||] (4SN16)
- (6) [di'poɨʃ u 'zjani foɨ... foɨ bɾi'riŋ'kar... bɛlɛ'sjaɾ aʊ bɛ'oɨsu ||] (6SN7)
- (7) [ʼɛliʒ_vɐ̃u plɛn'tɛɾ ʼumɐ vɛ'vuri i vɐ̃u bɾi'riŋ'kɛɾ 'toduʃ di'bɛɨʃu 'dɛlɐ i nɐ̃u vɐ̃u dɛɨ'ʃar ki u mi'ninu lfi'kɛ̃i ɛ'virgulu'ɾɐdu ||] (4SV9)
- (8) [v'gɔɾɐ aʒ_mɨ'ninɛʃ vɐ̃u pɛ'ga: uʒ_ɐ'paziʃ ||] (6SV13)
- (9) [ʼɛɾɐ u'mɐ mi'ninɐ ɨʃ'ta v pɛ'saɾ 'kuɛ̃ndu ʼɛlɐ ɨʃ'tavɐ v bɾi'riŋ'kar 'numɐ 'sõβɾɐ dɨ_u'mɐ 'arvuri | bɾi'riŋ'ka: ʃ'kɔdɛʃ ||] (4F4)
- (10) [a'i ʃ'ta ũ mi'ninu 'aki a daɾ bo'ɛ i tɾɛʃ sa'ɾtar v 'kɔɨdɐ ||] (6F12)

The phoneme /r/ in the word-final position may be dropped when it is followed by a uvular fricative in the initial-word position:

- (11) [na 'kuɔɾtɐ doɨʒ_mɨ'ninuʃ a pi'lã'tar 'uma_ʼarvuri | i na 'kĩnta 'veɨʒu a'l'gũʒ mi'ninuʃ a fa'zɛ: ʃ'kɔdɐ... v bɾi'riŋ'ka: ʃ'kɔdɐ ||] (6SA6)

The use of the uvular fricative [ʁ] may also occur in the word-final position. In this case, it is probable that this fricative will become voiceless when followed by a vowel. When speech is quicker, which is the case with those speakers who feel more at ease, the fricative becomes voiced. This trace is evident on the islands of M and BV, as well as in the 4th grade of ST:

- (12) [i v'kɛl 'otɾɐ 'pɛsɔ k... ki ʼɛlɐ ɨʃ'ta kɔ uʒ_v'miguʒ_v bɨŋ'kaʃ... 'numɐ 'ɾɔdɐ 'numɐ 'aɾβuri ||] (4BV1)
- (13) [i vʃ 'ouɾtɾɛʃ ɨʃ'tavɐ̃u v sɛɾ'taʃ v 'kɔɾdɐ ||] (6BV12)
- (14) [ɛn'tɐ̃u u 'otɾu ʃu'to v 'bɔlɐ i u 'otɾu foɨ ɛpɛ'naʃ i u 'kaʁu ɨʃ'tavɐ v... v i... v ɛn'daʃ i ɛn'tɐ̃u v mɛ'ninɐ foɨ ɛpɛ'naʃ v 'bɔlɐ] (4M1)
- (15) [u 'kĩntu ɨʃ'ta v pɛ'saʃ kɨ_ʼɛli_ɨ u sɛu a'migu ɨʃ'ta a plɛn'taʃ 'umɐ 'aʁvɨɨʃ ||] (6M13)

On the island of B, the use of the alveolar vibrant [r] is preferred. Interestingly, this phone is used mainly by 6th grade pupils:

- (16) [i sɛɾ ũ bõ v'lunu 'paɾɐ sɛɾ 'paɾɐ sɛɾ ũ bõ pɾufi'sɔɾ tɛ'βɛ̃i ||] (6B17)

When the coexistence of both the uvular [ʁ] and the alveolar [r] vibrant in word-final position is registered, the former is generally used when preceded by an open vowel [a], the latter when preceded by a closed mid-vowel:

- (17) [i ɛu 'gɔʃtu di pi'lɛn'taʁ pɨ'lɛntɛʃ tã'βɛ̃i || mɛʃ u mɛu 'soɾnu 'mɛʒmu ɛ maʃ di lɛɾ ||] (6SN10)

When it is part of a pivotal consonant cluster¹, the phoneme /r/ may also occur as an alveolar vibrant [r] on B and SV, and as a uvular fricative [ʁ] on the islands of M, ST and BV. It must be emphasized that this last island is the one among the northern islands which has more immigrants from ST:

- (18) [i 'outru pe'so ki_ĩ'f'tave e pĩ'lẽn'tak 'umẽ 'akvuʁĩ i 'outru pẽ'so ki_ĩ'f'tave e bʁĩŋ'kaʁ 'numẽ 'akvu: | |] (4BV12)
- (19) [ũ di'ziʁ au 'otru ki goj'tave 'sẽmpri di leʁ | u 'otru diʒ ki_eli 'sẽmpre_ĩ'ta_a bʁĩŋ'kaʁ | |] (4ST15)
- (20) [elĩʃ fẽ'lakẽũ e bʁĩŋ'kaʁ | |] (4M2)
- (21) [e sĩ'gĩk 'eli 'võto i dĩ'poĩʃ 'eli 'ikõ bʁĩŋ'kaʁ... bʁĩŋ'kaʁ i... 'eli foĩ eũ bʁĩŋ'kaʁ... i dĩ'poĩʃ... ik ä bʁĩŋ'kaʁ... kõ uʃ ku'legẽʃ i... | |] (6M4)

It is worth mentioning that the deletion of /r/ in this phonetic context was registered in the phase of the proto-creole (Quint 2000a: 64), just as it happens in this IV.

In word-initial position, the phoneme /r/ can also be manifested phonetically as an alveolar vibrant in the 6th grade of ST. In BV, S and SV it is realized, nevertheless, as an uvular fricative:

- (22) [i e'liʃ fi'zerẽũ 'esẽ ʁeũni'ẽũ di bʁĩŋ'kaʁ | |] (4S5)
- (23) [e min... e ʁepẽ'riʁe_ĩ'f'ta e pẽ'sar ki 'toduʃ d̃ivi'ẽũ bʁĩŋ'kaʁ i e ʁudi'aʁ 'umẽ 'arvuri | |] (6S14)
- (24) [eʁe 'umẽ mĩ'nine i 'kwatku ʁe'pa:ʃ | |] (4BV6)
- (25) [e'kelĩʃ ki_ĩ'f'tẽũ a 'ʁõde di_ 'umẽ 'arvuri | |] (6BV10)
- (26) [e mi'nine_ʃe'mave si_ kete'rine i_ũ ʁe'paʃ_ʃe'mave si_ zu'ẽũ i_ 'otru zu'ze |_ũ 'pedru |] (4SV15)
- (27) [i... maʃ sõ ki u zu'ãũ i e 'ʁite nãũ ki'riãũ ler 'livruʃ | |] (6SV1)

This also applies to situations when this phoneme is in the syllable-initial position; it then occurs as [ʁ] on ST and M, and sporadically on S and BV.

- (28) [õntẽĩ vi 'pẽʁe e_ĩ'f'kõle | |] (4M3)
- (29) [eʁe 'umẽ vez_ũŋ_mẽ'nin ki_ ʃ'tave a_ kõn'taʁ_ 'uma_ĩ'f'tõrie_ k... 'pẽʁe_ĩʁ_ kõn'djaʁ_ õ_kaʁ... kõn'djaʁ_ a_ 'akvuʁ_ kõ_ũʃ_ 'otruʃ_ a'miguʃ | |] (6M5)
- (30) [ẽn'tẽũ u_u'go 'disĩ | eũ ki'ʁiʁ_ ʃ'tak_ nũ_ bẽ'lẽsu_ e_ bẽ'lẽ'sak | |] (4ST8)
- (31) [sẽʁtu 'diʁ_ u_3_mĩninuʃ_ da_ĩ'f'kõle_ kẽp'i'liŋe_ tĩ'verẽũ_ 'fõʁe_ nu_ ãtivalu_ maĩʃ_ 'tẽmpu | |] (6ST3)

At the end of syllables, the phoneme /r/ is dropped or becomes voiceless on F and SN, while there are sporadic cases of this usage on B and in the 4th grade of SV. In the 6th grade of B, there is a preference for the alveolar vibrant, especially when it precedes a plosive. On S this phone emerges in both grades, its usage being extended to other contexts:

¹ By a pivotal consonant cluster we mean consonant blends built with a plosive or an unvoiced labial fricative followed by /l/ or /r/.

- (32) [ʔotruf v bɾiŋ'ka: ʔkɔdɛʃ ʔpɛrtu d_u'mɐ 'aʁvuri ||] (4F11)
 (33) [v'ki_s'ta 'duʒʃ kri'ẽsɐ v tɾɛ'tar d_i_ʔaʁvɛri ||] (6F15)
 (34) [i... ũ diʒ v'kelɐ 'a:rvi nɛʃ'sɛu i fi'karɛu ʒi v d_i... v ti'raʃ 'frutuʃ i... v fɛ'zɛ bɛ'lɛsuʃ i v ti'ra:r 'frutuʃ ||] (4SN1)
 (35) [ʔɛɐ u'mɐ vɛʃ ũʒ mi'ninuʃ ki guʃ'tavɛu d_i zu'gar a 'bɔlɐ i ũ diʒ 'foʒɛu pi'lɛn'tar 'aʁvirʃ | ʔotruf 'forɛu bɛ'lɛ'sja:ʒ ||] (6SN8)
 (36) [ʔumɛʃ ʃ'ta v sa'tar a 'kɔdɛ ||] (4S11)
 (37) [i... i tɾɛʃ v'miguʃ ʃ'tɛu v sa'tar a 'kɔdɛ | i doʒʃ zu'gar a 'maʎɐ | d_i'vir'tir | i ũ v bɛ'lɛ'saʒ ||] (6S3)

In word-final position the phoneme /r/ is closer to its usage in the Brazilian Portuguese (BP) variety when the deletion of the final /r/ is registered (Mateus 1992: 32). On BV, M and ST the occurrence of the uvular fricative [ʁ] in this phonetic context may be registered:

- (38) [i lɛʒ | sɛ'taʒ a 'kɔdɛ i fɛ'zɛʒ sɪrku'laʒ v 'vɔltɐ d_i_ um_ʔaʁvuʒ ||] (4BV7)
 (39) [u zu'ɛu 'disi | ɛu nɛu 'kɛru bʒiŋ'kaʁ || ɛn'tɛu | puʒ fi | u 'kaʁluʃ vɛʒi'to ||] (6BV3)
 (40) [ɛn'tɛw u 'otʒu ʃu'to v 'bɔlɐ i u 'otʒu foj vɛɾɛ'ŋaʒ i u 'kaʁu ʒi'tavɐ v... v i... v ɛn'daʒ i ɛn'tɛw v mɛ'ninɐ foj vɛɾɛ'ŋaʒ v 'bɔlɐ i u 'kaʁu bɛ'tɛw nɛ 'aʁvɪɪ ʔuʒki_ v mi'ninɐ_ʃ'tavɐ v vɛɾɛ'ŋaʒ v 'bɔlɐ i u 'kaʁu tɛʒ ki_ iʒ d_i'vɛ'gaʒ] (4M1)
 (41) [ũ ʃ'ta v pɛ'saʒ ki_ ʃ'ta 'lɛndu 'livʒu i u'otru ʃ'ta v pɛ'saʒ kɐ ʃ'ta v bɛ'lɛ'saʒ] (6M8)
 (42) [ɛ'liʃ ʃ'ta... goʃ'tavɛu di zo... d_ʒi bʒiŋ'kaʒ kɔm'pɔr... di bʒiŋ'kaʒ di sa'taʒ a 'kɔdɛ ||] (4ST2)
 (43) [ɛ mi'ʎɔʒ v pɛ'saʒmuʃ a't'gumɐ 'koʒɛ ʔɛkɛ 'iʁmuʃ bʒiŋ'kaʒ ||] (6ST7)

On the islands where the usage of the alveolar vibrant [r] is preferred, the retroflex approximant [ɻ] also occurs: SV, SA, SN, and B. This does not apply on the islands where the usage of the uvular vibrant [ʁ] is more significant: M, BV and, partially, ST. These isoglosses seem to divide the dialectal varieties into north-western and south-eastern areas, with S and F representing the transitional ones.

1.2. The alveolar lateral [ɭ]

In contrast to European Portuguese (EP), the place of articulation of this lateral also undergoes some change whenever it is at the end of a syllable preceding a plosive, such as /t/. Due to the acoustic quality of the recordings, it was not always possible to determine with certainty the type of change: voicelessness, deletion, replacement by a voiceless alveolar flapped vibrant [ɭ], or absolute velarization [L]².

The deletion of this lateral seems to depend on the existence of an /r/ at the end of syllables in the regional varieties of CVL where this phenomenon is found. The voicelessness of this same lateral occurs mainly on the islands of M, SA, SN and SV, i.e. on more than half of the northern islands:

- (44) [i e u 'sɛ'tɛʒi 'kɔdɛ ʒũntu kɔ 'miɲɛʃ ku'leʒaʃ] (4M10)

² This phone is mentioned in the descriptions of the CVL by Cardoso (1989: 89) and Veiga (1982: 35–40).

- (45) [u pʁi'mekʊ iʃ'ta v pɛ'sak ki 'eli iʃ'ta v * | u si'gũndu iʃ'ta v pɛ'sak ki uʃ me'ninuʃ'ta v fa'ze... v sa'tak a 'kɔkɔ i sa'tak a 'maʎa | |] (6M13)
- (46) [i uʒ'otruʒ mi'ninuʃ iʃ'tɛv v sɛ'tar 'kɔkɔ i... u 'kapajʃ i a mi'nina iʃ'ta a ler u 'livru... ũ 'livru | |] (4SA15)
- (47) [i_ɛn'tɛv fi'karɛv ʎai a diʃku'tir i vizo'verɛv fa'ze ũ 'ʒɔgu sɔ | | pri'mɛjru fi'karɛv a ler | |] (6SA9)
- (48) [i sɛ'temus v 'kɔkɔ | |] (4SN4)
- (49) [i di'pojʃ nɔʃ'tivemʊʃ v sɛ'tar 'kɔkɔ i u 'otruʃ fi'karɛv v zu'gar gɛvi'ɛv i di'pojʃ nɔʃ ri'grɛ'samʊʃ a 'kazɛ | |] (6SN5)
- (50) [ũʃ iʃ'tāv... a sɛ'tar a 'kɔkɔ | |] (4SV13)
- (51) [u 'kubɛn 'disi ki 'gɔʃtɛ di sɛ'tar v 'kɔkɔ kɔ uʒ'v'miguʃ | |] (6SV3)

The transition of this lateral to a voiceless alveolar flapped vibrant [ɾ] is found mainly on F, but also on ST. On the latter island, this process is registered only among 4th grade pupils.

- (52) [ũ 'diɣ 'elɛ vaʃ a iʃ'kɔlɛ i nu ãntɛr'valu 'elɛ fi'kɛ v sɛ'tar a 'kɔkɔ 'elɛʃ i 'otruʒ mi'ninuʃ | |] (4F4)
- (53) [v'ki ʃ'ta 'outruʃ a sa'tɛnduʃ... a sɛ'tar v 'kɔkɔ | |] (6F15)

It should be noted that, also in BP, this phone underwent the process of velarization when in word-final position (Mateus 1992: 32).

1.3. The labiodental fricative /v/

The labiodental fricative /v/ tends to become bilabial, especially, when preceding the oral vowel /ɔ/, as in the stressed syllable of the word *você*, exactly as it occurs in BP. This allophone is often used, especially among 4th grade pupils of B and SA. On ST, the same phenomenon is registered only in the 6th grade:

- (54) [u ʃi'neʃ swa v pɛ'sar 'kwãndu iʃ'taβɛ a bɛlã'sjar | |] (4SA10)
- (55) [pʊrk_ɛ k_βɔ'sɛʃ ʃ'tɛv 'trɛʃti? | |] (6ST10)
- (56) [βɔ'sɛ tɛʃ ũ 'nɔmʃ 'lĩndu | ɛʃ 'lĩndɛ i uʃ sɛuʃ pajʃ tɛβɛʃ tɛʃiʃ ũ 'nɔmʃ lĩndu i ʃ'pɛru ki 'sɛzɛ 'muʃtu 'felɛʃ 'outra βɛʃ | |] (4B2)

1.4. The postalveolar fricative /ʃ/

Only on SA is there a process of voicing the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/, which is replaced by [ʒ], when preceding either plosive consonants or vowels. By doing so, the voiced fricative becomes voiced by assimilation. In some cases, there is also a change of the place of articulation from the alveolar ridge to the hard palate [s], exactly as it occurs in BP:

- (57) [divi'r'tiʃ ko uʒ'v'miguʃ | |] (6SA3)
- (58) ['eliʒ tɛʃ ũ su'rizu... 'muʃtu... ɛntɛr'sɛnti | |] (4SA1)

- (59) [nuʒ tẽmpuʃ 'livriʒ u k_εu 'gɔʃtu majʃ d_ʒu'gaʃ a 'bɔla || ... i ɐ kɪʒpi'rar u aʃ 'freʃku ||] (4SA4)
- (60) [i ũ kɐ'pajʃ ɐ kuɿ'dɐ dɐ 'plãntɐ i u 'otru rɐ'pajʃ ki_ʃ'ta kɔ 'eli_s'ta ɐ pɛ'sa ki_s'ta ɐ bɛlã'sjar kɔ ũ bɛ'lɔjsu ũsz_ 'otruʃ is'ta ɐ pɛ'sa ki_s'ta ɐ ver us kɐ'pazis i as rapa'rigɐs a brĩŋ'kar ||] (4SA5)
- (61) [i... i 'vemu_ũʒ mi'ninuʃ ɐ brĩŋ'kar a 'maʎɐ | sɛʃ'tar ɐ 'kɔrdɐ ||] (4SA8)
- (62) [u... a tɛ'reza 'disi | εu ka prɛ mĩ vo brĩŋ'kar a 'kɔdɐ kɔ_uʒ mɛuʃz_ 'otruʃ a'miguʃ || u lu'iʒ 'disi ||] (6SA9)

It is worth mentioning that the replacement of the phone [ʃ] by [ʒ] is also found in EP; this fricative undergoes a process of voicing, but only when it precedes voiced consonants. That is not the case here, since this replacement is generalized to other phonetic contexts. In this sense, the speakers adapt away from the BP variety, in which sibilants in coda position occur in the ridge alveolar, with the exception of the Rio de Janeiro region (Mateus 1992: 32). N. Quint (2000a: 68) mentions the shift of place of articulation in the proto-creole phase of CVL, although the transition from the phoneme /s/ to /ʃ/ when preceding the closed vowels /u/ and /i/ is preferred.

1.5. The alveolar plosive /d/

The alveolar plosive /d/ undergoes a process of palatalization by the addition of the voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ] whenever it precedes the phoneme /i/, as is done in BP (Mateus 1992: 32). This phenomenon is registered only in the 4th grade on ST, where this plosive may also become a retroflex consonant, but only in isolated cases:

- (63) ['otru ʔavɐ ɐ brĩŋ'kar i ɐ brĩŋ'kar di 'kɔrdɐ | 'otruʒ_ɐ brĩŋ'kar dʒi... dʒi sikũn'did ||] (4ST4)
- (64) [εu ki'viɐ ʃ'taʃ ɐ bɛŋ'kaʃ kɔ uʒ_mɛuʃ ɐ'miguʃ aʊ 'ladu... aʊ pɛ d_ʒi 'umɐ 'arvori ||] (4ST7)

2. Vowels

Phonologically, this is the group of phonemes which exhibits more variation than any other. Closed vowels in EP are realized in the IV of Cape Verde in a similar way to BP.

Thus – as noted by N. Quint (2000b: 246) on the Portuguese of ST – the phoneme /i/ of EP occurs as [e]³ on all islands and in both school grades on the southern islands, undergoing a change either of tongue position, which is no longer central, and of tongue height, which is no longer closed, although the degree of lip rounding is maintained:

- (65) [ũ kɐpɛ'ziŋu i 'umɐ mɛ'ninɐ ʃ'tavɛu ɐ lɛʃ ũ livku ||] (4ST6)
- (66) [i uʒ_mɛ'ninus rɛʃpoŋ'derɛu | εu ʃ'to bɛi ||] (6ST9)
- (67) [ɐ pɔfɛ'soʃɐ lɛ'vo 'ɛlɐ 'pɛʃɐ 'kazɐ i u 'titu fi'ko 'kwazi ɐ ʃu'kaʃ | fi'ko 'triʃti ||] (4M2)

³ N. Quint (2000b: 246) uses the phone [ɛ] while here [e] is used.

- (68) [ɐ 'ɛnɐ rɛʃpõn'deɹ | nɛɹ pu'demuʃ iɾ kõn'tigu? |] (6M15)
 (69) [kʷatru mɨnɨ'ninu ʃ'ta a pɛ'gar nɐ 'plɛntɐ i u 'otru ʃ'ta ɐ kuʃ'da...] (4F14)
 (70) [i 'umɐ mɛ'ninu i ũ ʃa'paʃ a kuʃ'dar dʒ_u_pɛ d_ʔaʃvɨr dɛʃ 'plɛntɛʃ] (6F13)
 (71) [ɐ prote'zɛ:ʃ u mɛʒu ɛlβiçɛntɨ |] (4B14)
 (72) ['otru ʃta ɐ pɛ'sa:ɾe'ma: |] (6B5)

Similarly, on the southern islands and on SA and SV, regardless of school grade, closed vowels tend to become mid or open, especially in unstressed syllables:

- (73) ['elɨʃ gos'tarɛɹu 'muʒtu di ʒo'gar a 'bɔɹɐ | | 'elɨʃ 'ɛrɛɹu tɛɹu 'felɨʃ |] (4ST1)
 (74) [i ũ 'ɛrɐ u lu'ɨʃ kɛ goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ di ʒo'gar a 'bɔɹɐ | mɛʃ aʃ 'vezɨʃ naʃ 'feriɛʃ 'eli goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ d_ʒʃtu'dak o lɛʃ |] (6ST1)
 (75) [eɹ 'aʃɛɨ 'ɛʃtɨ de'zɛɹu 'muʒtu legatʷ | | eɹ 'aʃɛɨ kɨ_ɛsɨ de'sɛɹu tɛɨ 'aʔgũʒ_mɛ'ninuʃ a kõver'sar | 'outru a brɨŋ'kar * | 'outru a ʒʃtu'dar | 'outru a saʃ'tar a 'kõrdɐ | 'outru a fa'zer plɛntɛ'sõʒɨʃ | 'outru a ʃe'mar |] (4B1)
 (77) [ɐ'ki eɹ ʒa vi ũ_mɛ'ninu ɐ... ɐ bɛlɛ'sar nũ_bo'le | ɐ dar bo'le | | i tɐ'βɛɨ ʒa vi ũ_m_mɛ'ninu ɐ... ɐ fɛ'zer u'mɐ lɨm'pɛ... u'mɐ lɨm'pɛzɐ nu pɛ du 'aʃvi |] (4F1)
 (78) [ʃ'tɛɹu tɾɛʃ a... sɛʒɨ mɛ'ninuʃ a'legɾɨ |] (6F10)
 (79) [ɛn'tɛɹu e_l_ɛ'vakɛɹu 'ɛla 'pɛʃɹ_u oʃpi'taʃ | | ɛn'tɛɹu ɐ mɛ'ninɐ 'fiko i... nɛɹu foʒ 'pɛʃɹ_ɐ ʃ'kɔɹɐ |] (4M1)
 (45) [u pɾɨ'mɛku ʒʃta ɐ pɛ'sak ki 'eli ʒʃta ɐ * | u sɨ'gũndu ʒʃta ɐ pɛ'sak ki uʃ mɛ'ninuʃ_ʃ'ta ɐ fa'ze... ɐ saʃ'tak a 'kõrdɐ i saʃ'tak a 'maʃa |] (6M13)
 (80) [na 'bãndɐ dʒɨ'padɐ 'vezɹu ɐ... mõntʃ di ga'rotuʃ a... ɐ pɛ'sarɛɨ nu ki vãɹu fɛ'zer nu sɛɹu fɨ dʒ sɨ'mõnɐ |] (4SA1)
 (81) [ɛn'tɛɹu 'ɛlɨ ka'iu |] (6SA10)
 (82) [ʃ'to ɐ ver ki uʒ_m'ninuʃ nãɹu... nãɹu pɨr'tɛsɛɹu 'kãdɐ ũ dɐ 'mezɹu lukɛli'dadi | 'kãdɐ ũ pɨr'tɛsɨ a suʒ lukɛli'dadi |] (4SV6)
 (83) [ɛʃ'tavɛɹu ɐ... a rɨfrɛ'kar aʃ i'dɛʒɨʃ | a ʋiso'tver u kɨ vãɹu fɛ'zer |] (6SV11)

In some other cases and unlike EP, there is a change in the position of the tongue, which moves to the front, and in tongue height, which moves to the mid-position. This phenomenon usually occurs when the vowel is in word-final position or followed by a voiceless postalveolar fricative [ʃ]. This characteristic is found throughout the islands and school grades:

- (73) ['elɨʃ gos'tarɛɹu 'muʒtu di ʒo'gar a 'bɔɹɐ | | 'elɨʃ 'ɛrɛɹu tɛɹu 'felɨʃ |] (4ST1)
 (74) [i ũ 'ɛrɐ u lu'ɨʃ kɛ goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ di ʒo'gar a 'bɔɹɐ | mɛʃ aʃ 'vezɨʃ naʃ 'feriɛʃ 'eli goʃ'tavɐ 'sɛmpɾɨ d_ʒʃtu'dak o lɛʃ |] (6ST1)
 (75) [eɹ 'aʃɛɨ 'ɛʃtɨ de'zɛɹu 'muʒtu legatʷ | | eɹ 'aʃɛɨ kɨ_ɛsɨ de'sɛɹu tɛɨ 'aʔgũʒ_mɛ'ninuʃ a kõver'sar | 'outru a brɨŋ'kar * | 'outru a ʒʃtu'dar | 'outru a saʃ'tar a 'kõrdɐ | 'outru a fa'zer plɛntɛ'sõʒɨʃ | 'outru a ʃe'mar |] (4B1)
 (78) [ʃ'tɛɹu tɾɛʃ a... sɛʒɨ mɛ'ninuʃ a'legɾɨ |] (6F10)
 (45) [u pɾɨ'mɛku ʒʃta ɐ pɛ'sak ki 'eli ʒʃta ɐ * | u sɨ'gũndu ʒʃta ɐ pɛ'sak ki uʃ mɛ'ninuʃ_ʃ'ta ɐ fa'ze... ɐ saʃ'tak a 'kõrdɐ i saʃ'tak a 'maʃa |] (6M13)
 (81) [ɛn'tɛɹu 'ɛlɨ ka'iu |] (6SA10)

- (84) [eʃ kri'ẽseʃ nãu sẽu i'gwajʃ || i 'umɐʃ sẽu di umɐ 'iʎe i 'otrɐʃ sẽu di 'otrɐ 'iʎɐʃ || i...
'elʃʃ ʒũn'tarẽu i reu'nirẽu 'ũmɐ... ãʒ_e'miguʃ ||] (4S4)
- (85) [e'viɐ 'sĩŋku... 'erɐ 'umɐ vɛʃ 'sĩŋku mi'ninuʃ ki iʃ'tavẽu proku'rar u ki fa'zer || i 'kadɐ
ũ iʃ'tavɐ v dar v suʒ i'dɛjɐ || ã mi'ninu ʃɐ'madu 'karluʃ ʃ'tavɐ v pɛ'sar 'purki nẽu iẽu
bɛlɛ'sjar nu 'paʒki ||] (6S1)
- (86) [ʼuʒ_mi'ninuʃ iʃ'tẽu a sa'tar a 'kɔrdɐ || 'outruʃ iʃ'tẽu v ʒi'mar i iʃ'tẽu v brĩŋ'kar 'ŋume
'arvuri ||] (4B11)
- (87) [ʃɐ'marẽu 'elʃ i 'elʃ nẽu riʃpõn'derẽu ||] (6ST11)

Some cases of epenthesis [i] between two elements of a pivotal consonant cluster are also found, although not in a significant number of the phonetic transcriptions:

- (3) [iʃtu'dar 'mujtu | fa'zɛ_ʎɔdɐ naʃ 'arvuriʃ | ti'raʒ ã... se'mja:ʃ u'maʃ pɛ'lãntɐʃ | ɛ'tɛtirɐ ||]
(4SA2)
- (11) [na 'kuartɐ doʒ_ʒ_mi'ninuʃ a pɛ'lã'tar 'uma_ʎarvuri | i na 'kĩnta 'vejzu a'l'gũʒ mi'ninuʃ a
fa'zɛ:_ʎɔdɐ... v brĩŋ'ka:_ʎɔdɐ ||] (6SA6)

Among the written data, syllable addition through the insertion of an epenthetic vowel is registered in a significant number of cases. The following contexts have proved to be more susceptible to this phenomenon: in closed or checked syllables in word-final position, such as <BALASARE> ('balançar' or 'andar de baloiço', *to swing*); when preceding the alveolar consonant in <PL> such as <PALANTAR> ('plantar', *to plant*); or, finally, when preceding the vibrant in <VR>, such as in <LIVERO> ('livro', *book*). In this case, the IV adapts away from the syllable structure of EP and BP, the usage of /CVCV/ being preferred, although only the pivotal consonant clusters are susceptible to this phenomenon. This happens neither with digraphs nor with double consonants or other consonant clusters, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (88) gerupue de mnenino/outeros/liveros/saltara corda (4BV11)
- (89) pensare/plantare (4BV21, 4SN18)
- (90) estudare (4BV23)
- (91) palantara uma arova (4BV26)
- (92) pilantar/outire (4BV31)
- (93) regara a planta (4BV36)
- (94) palantar a arvore (4BV37, 4SN8)
- (95) pelantare a pelata/balasare (4M15, 6M21)
- (96) Luize[Luís] (6M22)
- (97) Eu vês os meninos a ler a brincar a palantar. (4SA21)
- (98) manegueira de agua (6SN2)

This process smooths the consonant clusters and promotes the emergence of open syllables. It also occurs in BP, but only between two consonants, which usually do not form a consonant cluster in Portuguese (Mateus 1992: 33). N. Quint (2000a: 67) has described the inclusion of an epenthetic vowel in the proto-creole phase during the formation process of the CVL.

There is evidence of vowel reduction when the phone [a] in EP is replaced by [ə] if followed by a stressed syllable. It is still realized as a central vowel, although an open-mid one, especially on BV, F, and SV, and partially on SN (among 4th grade pupils):

- (13) [i ɛʃ 'outrɛʃ ʒɪ'tavɛ̃u ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ ɐ 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (6BV12)
 (99) [ʼotruʒ_ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4BV5)
 (100) [ʒa vi 'umɐ mɪ'ninɐ i ũ ɐ'paɪʃ a sɐʃ'taɾ ɐ 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4F1)
 (101) [ä'ki ʒɪ'ta seɪʃ kri'ɛsɐ ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (6F8)
 (102) [ũʃ ʒɪ'tãu... a sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4SV13)
 (103) [maʃ uʃ ɐ'paɪʃ nãu ki'riɛ̃u ʒu'ga: ɐ 'bɔlɐ i ɐʒ_mɪ'ninɐʃ ki'riɛ̃u sɐʃ'taɾ a 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (6SV1)
 (104) [ʼotru sta ä ler | ʼotru sta ä * | | ʼotru stã pen'sɐ_ɐ brɪŋ'ka: a 'ɾɔdɐ | ʼotru sta ɐ plɛn'taʃ u'mɐ_ʼarvr | |] (6B5)

Nevertheless, when tongue height is unchanged, as in EP, vowels often become almost inaudible or of relatively short duration. This occurs on all northern islands, except on BV. On the island of S, it is important to note that vowel voicelessness occurs only when a vowel is in word-final position; this places the island of S in a transitional position between the island of BV and the southern islands, on one side, and the rest of the northern islands on the other:

- (7) [ʼelɪʒ_vɛ̃u plɛn'tɛʃ 'umɐ 'ɛʃvuri i vɛ̃u brɪŋ'kɛʃ 'toduʃ di'bɛɪʃu 'dɛlɐ i nɛ̃u vɛ̃u dɛɪ'ʃar ki u mɪ'ninu ʃɪkɛ̃ɪ ɛ̃virgultɔdu | |] (4SV9)
 (104) [ʼɛra 'umɐ vɛʒ 'muɪtuʃ ir'mãuʃ ki ɡɔʃ'tavɛ̃u di brɪŋ'kaʃ | |] (6SV10)
 (105) [ũʒ tɛ̃ɪɪ kɐ'beluʃ 'prɛtuʃ | ʼotruʒ tɛ̃ɪɪ kɐ'belu amãreluʃ | | iz_ɐ'ki kɛʃ di'zer ki e'ʃɪʃ ʃ'tɛ̃u ɐ brɪŋkar | |] (4S1)
 (106) [i 'outru ɐ ɛn'daʃ d_ba'loɪsu | |] (6S5)
 (107) [ɛu 'ɡɔʃtu di fɛ'ze:ʃ bɛ'ʃɛsu 'pucki ɛ 'mɪnɐ bɪŋkɐ'dɛɪrɐ ki ɛu 'ɡɔʃtu prɛ 'mɪnɐ 'vidɐ | | ɛu 'ɡɔʃtu di brɪŋ'ka:ʃ 'ɾɔdɐ kɔ ɐʒ 'mɪnɐʃ ku'ʃɛʃ | |] (4SN7)
 (108) [ũʃ... ũʃ plɛn'tavɛ̃u 'plɛntɛʃ | i... ɡuʃ'tavɛ̃u di brɪŋkar i ler | mɛʃ kuɛ̃nd... 'kuɛ̃ndu ɐkɐ'basɛ̃ɪ di fɛ'zer uʃ seʃʃ trɛ'baʃuʃ 'sɛmpri_ɪɛ̃u brɪŋ'kar | i di'poɪʃ nɛ̃... | |] (6SN1)
 (109) [nuʃ 'tɛmpuʃ 'livɾɪʃ brɪŋ'kamɪʃ 'muɪtu | | ... ʒu'gamuʃ sɐʃ'tamuʃ 'kɔɾdɐ | |] (4SA3)
 (110) [ɛ mɪ'ʎɔ: du ki fɪ'kaʃ a'ki a diʃku'tir | |] (6SA10)

Vowel denasality also occurs on some islands; however it is not consistent with the standard territorial division of northern and southern groups. This phenomenon is registered mainly on the islands of F, M, and SA. Vowel denasality is evident when it is followed by a nasal consonant, while it seems likely that the denasalized setting invokes a short, almost inaudible, vowel:

- (46) [i uʒ_ʼotruʒ_mɪ'ninuʃ ʒɪ'tɛ̃u ɐ sɐʃ'taɾ 'kɔɾdɛʃ i... u ɐ'paɪʃ i a mɪ'nina ʒɪ'ta a ler u livru... ũ livru | |] (4SA15)
 (111) [di'poɪʃ ũm_mɪ'ninu ɐ pɛ'saʃ ʃ'taɾ nũ bɛ'ʃɛsu ɐ balɔɪ'sar | bɛlɔɪ'sar ɛ̃ɪ vɛʒ di_ʃ'taɾ ɐ fɛ'zer fɔtɔgrɛ'fɪʒ | |] (6SA1)
 (112) [i ũm_mɛ'ninu dis ki vaj dar di bɔ'le | |] (4F8)

- (113) [ɛ̃'kiʃ'ta tɾeʃ'kɾi'ẽsɐ v sɛɣ'tar a 'kɔrdɐ | i 'umɐ mɨ'ninɐ i um_mɛ'ninu a lɛr 'livɾuʃ ou
kɨ'viʃtɐ |] (6F11)
- (114) [iʃ'ta v lɛɣ̃ ũ 'livɾu i tɔm'bɛ̃j | iʃ'ta v kɛŋ'tak || 'eliʃ_zɛ 'siŋkuʃ... a'miguʃ] (4M7)
- (115) [l'ɛkɐ u'mɐ vɛʒ... ũ_mɨ'ninu 'ʒɔkɜʒi |] (6M4)

It must be pointed out that N. Quint (2000a: 63) referred to the occurrence of the same phenomenon in the earliest phase of CVL development. The process of denasality has also been registered in other phonetic contexts, although much less frequently:

- (57) [aʃ kɾi'ãsaʃ 'pɛsãũ 'kɔmu 'pɔdɛ̃j bɾiŋ'kar nu... kɔ̃ u 'mũdu | mu'da: v nɛtu'rezɐ |
divɨ'r'tiɣ̃ ko uʒ_v'miguʃ |] (6SA3)

Conclusion

From the phonological point of view, there are some characteristics common to all the islands, as is the case with the replacement of [ɨ] by [i] when followed by a voiceless post-alveolar fricative or the word is in final position; otherwise it is replaced by the mid vowel [e]. This process, along with the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, reveals similarities to an earlier phase of CVL formation. It results in louder and longer vowel pronunciation, longer in pitch and more central in quality, and it promotes the emergence of open syllables. Cases of vowel reduction of the phoneme /a/ or of the relatively brief duration of vowels are also found, although not on all the islands. However, the island of S seems to represent a transitional area for these processes.

With respect to consonants, the realization of the phoneme /r/ reveals a territorial distinction. The occurrence of this phoneme as an alveolar, either as a trill or a flap, is more likely to occur on B, SA, SV and SN, while the islands of S and F represent a transitional area for this tendency. On the other islands, the use of the uvular vibrant prevails, although it varies according to phonetic context. The division between northern and southern islands gives way to a distinction in phonological terms between western (B, SA, SV, SN) and eastern (BV, M, ST) islands, whereas F and S, the first and one of the last islands to be settled, become transitional areas of these isoglosses.

These data do not support any relevant conclusions on phonological variation according to the vertical axis, i.e. in connection with pupils' age and cognitive development.

Interestingly, there are some similarities between the phonemes which underwent linguistic shift during the process of CVL formation and those discussed here. N. Quint refers to the denasality occurring in the earliest phase, and, in the proto-creole phase, the shift of place of articulation of some sibilants, the deletion of /r/ in pivotal consonant clusters, and the inclusion of the epenthetic vowel.

Abbreviations and Symbols

B	Brava	SA	Santo Antão
BP	Brasilian Portuguese	SN	São Nicolau
BV	Boavista	ST	Santiago
CVL	Capeverdean language: <i>kabuverdianu</i>	SV	São Vicente
EP	Standard European Portuguese		
F	Fogo	*	Unintelligible part or word
IV	Indiginized Variety	...	Break
M	Maio	[n.p.]	No place/no publisher
S	Sal		

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Appendix – Map of Cape Verde



Quoted from:

<http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/ciamaps/cv.htm>
(retrieved 7 June 2009)