Overview:

- Focus on the two most distinct varieties of Cape Verdean Creole spoken on the islands of Santiago and São Vicente. Varieties in opposition to each other on historical, linguistic, political and cultural grounds.

- Synchronic analysis focuses on the Tense Mood Aspect (TMA) system of these two varieties, highlighting their similarities and differences.

- Diachronic analysis explores the etymological origins of these forms, the grammaticalization process that they have undergone and reveals traces of some of the founding languages for the Santiago variety.

- Challenging how these two varieties have been characterized for the past 120 years as being representative of a basilect (Santiago) and an acrolect (São Vicente) on the creole continuum.

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1. I am indebted to Hugo Cardoso, Robert Cloutier, Steve Dworkin, Bart Jacobs, Armin Schwegler, Norval Smith, Sally Thomason, Don Winford, the fellows of the Humanities Institute at the University of Michigan, the audience at the University of Muenster and the University of Amsterdam, as well as anonymous reviewers for valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

2. Also see Brown, in preparation for a psycholinguistic experiment testing speakers’ perception of these two varieties’ placement on the continuum.
1. **Introduction**

Cape Verdean Creole
Leeward islands or Sotavento to the South: Brava, Fogo, Santiago and Maio
Windward islands, or Barlavento, to the North: Santo Antâo, São Vicente, São Nicolau, Boa Vista, and Sal.


Gaps to be filled:
- Need to explain in what specific ways their linguistic properties differ from one another
- Need to account for the cause of the variation
- Need to examine the plausible diachronic development of the forms present in the two varieties.
- Paper intends to fill these gaps with respect to Tense Mood and Aspect (TMA) markers.

Why choose these two varieties?
- Distinctive histories and periods of settlement, 1461 for Santiago and 1894 for São Vicente according to some accounts (Andrade, 1996: 54)
- Two varieties at the two poles of the linguistic continuum, basilect versus acrolect respectively.
- Why Tense, Mood and Aspect markers in the two varieties? Traditionally been a domain in which linguists can detect more readily morphosyntactic and semantic traces of source languages, may those languages be substratal or superstratal.

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2 I’d like to acknowledge three distinct sources of funds to support this research: the African Studies Center provided me with seed funds to conduct the 2009 fieldwork. A Mellon grant (Warren Whatley, P.I) and an NSF grant (Noah Rosenberg, P.I) funded fieldwork in Cape Verde in 2010 and 2011. I collected some of the data presented here in partnership with Eric Brown at the University of Michigan and Ima de Pina and Saidu Bangura at the University of Cape Verde, in 2009. Other data come from the two field trips conducted in Cape Verde with Paul Verdu in 2010 and 2011, and from a course on field methods I taught at the University of Cape Verde in December 2011. The common point between all three funds is the comparison of the two varieties of Cape Verdean Creole in Santiago and São Vicente but their objectives are different. The African Studies funds I received are to support descriptive work comparing how similar or distinct each variety is and providing the basis for grammars and dictionaries representative of each variety (see Bangura, Baptista, Brown and de Pina for a comparison of a set of grammatical properties in Santiago and São Vicente at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels (in preparation)). The other two grants focus on ancestry in Cape Verde islands and are meant to help uncover the original founding populations, using both genetic and linguistic data.
Allows us to address the following questions:
(a) Synchronically, how do the TMA systems differ from each other in these two varieties?
(b) Diachronically, is there a way of tracing some of the markers to particular varieties of the Portuguese language spoken in the 15th century?
(c) Assuming the founder principle, are there founder effects more clearly detectable in Santiago but more subdued due to restructuring and diffusion in São Vicente?
(d) A set of subquestions relating to both the founder principle and stages in creole development are: what are the forms of the TMA system present in Santiago that were already present in the early stages of that creole formation?
(e) Which forms became grammaticalized versus restructured?

Some key findings:
- We demonstrate that in some areas of the grammar such as TMA markers, the Santiago variety actually displays forms that are more readily traceable to Old Portuguese whereas some some forms in the São Vicente variety look more distant from the lexifier, having undergone effects of restructuring and diffusion.
- While challenging the traditional characterization of the varieties from Santiago and São Vicente on the creole continuum, we will also point to a possible diachronic source for the features observed in the Santiago variety while accounting for how such features developed.

2. A historical sketch of Santiago and São Vicente

2.1 Period of settlement and founding populations of Santiago
The island of Santiago was the first to be settled by the Portuguese in 1461.

2.1.1 Who were the first settlers of Santiago?

Two main questions:
- a) Were Sephardic Jews already in Cape Verde in the late part of the 15th century and early part of the 16th century when the colony first became settled?
- b) Did they arrive in sufficient numbers for the variety of Portuguese they spoke to contribute to the early stages of the creole development?

Green (2006) Jewish presence in Cape Verde from the 1500s with the Cristãos Novos

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3 Eric Brown’s dissertation (in preparation) will bring about the full disclosure of the ideologies underlying these misconceptions and will use phonological, morpho-syntactic and socio-phonetic analyses, among other tools to debunk these traditional (mis)representations of the language.
Role of the Jews in Cape Verde between 1497 and 1517 (chapter 3) and its connection to the process of creolization.
Mark & Horta (2004)
Jacobs (2009): Evidence of the dominant role Sephardic Jews played in the 17th century in transferring linguistic features from Upper Guinea Creoles such as Cape Verdean and Guinea-Bissau Creoles to Papiamentu in the Caribbean.

2.1.2 Who were the African slaves?
Brasio (1962)
Carreira (1972)
Jalofo, Peul, Bambara, Bolola, Manjaku, Banzun, Mandinga, Balante, Bijago and Feloupe people among others.

2.2 Period of settlement and founding populations of São Vicente
Andrade (1996), the settlement of São Vicente was decided in 1781 but only started in 1894 with people from Fogo who were sent by their governor to that island.
Distinct histories of the two islands have squarely put the Santiago variety and the São Vicente variety on distinct poles of the creole continuum.

“Dans les îles du groupe Sotavento (Santiago, Fogo, Brava et Maio), de colonisation plus ancienne, l’influence des langues africaines, dans la constitution du créole, est plus marquante qu’à Barlavento (São Vicente, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, Boavista and Sal), de colonisation postérieure. Cela se manifeste tant dans le domaine phonique…que dans le domaine lexical où on retrouve un plus grand nombre de mots d’origine africaine.”
(Andrade, 1996: 56)

The same characterization of Santiago as being basilectal and of São Vicente as acrolectal is found in linguists’ writings, as attested by the following paragraph:

“Due to settlement history, the southern Sotavento varieties not only crystallized earlier but they also show more substrate influence and are more basilectal on a hypothetic Creole continuum than the northern Barlavento varieties.” Bartens and Sandström (2008: 307)

In the next section, we challenge the characterization of the Santiago variety being basilectal and the São Vicente variety being acrolectal by examining TMA markers in Santiago and tracing

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4 An approximate translation would be: “In the Sotavento islands (Santiago, Fogo, Brava and Maio), settled much earlier, the influences of African languages in the genesis of the creole, are more dominant than in Barlavento (São Vicente, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, Boavista and Sal), settled later. Such influences are felt not only in the phonological domain…but also in the lexical domain where one finds a great number of words with an African etymology”.
many of the forms to early Portuguese, therefore showing the strong input of the lexifier in that particular grammatical module of the Santiago variety.

3. Some key grammatical features in the two varieties: Verbs and TMA markers

In this section, we focus on one specific grammatical domain in the Santiago and the São Vicente varieties of Cape Verdean Creole, based on the extreme variation that these linguistic features display: Tense, Mood and Aspect markers. They help detect in some cases traces of source languages. Also, the degree to which more substratal versus more superstratal influences are felt in a given variety informs us of where that variety stands on the creole continuum.

There main objectives: Demonstrate in which ways Tense, Mood and Aspect markers behave similarly and distinctly from each other. Show that in more ways than one, the Santiago variety displays markers that are closer to the superstrate than the São Vicente variety\(^5\), contrary to expectation.

Methodologically, we analyze the morphological shape of markers in isolation and in combination with each other, as well as their distribution and semantics in the two varieties. This will provide us with the support we need for the diachronic analysis we offer in section 4.

In the next subsections, we compare markers expressing present tense, habituality (present and past), futurity, hypothetical (present and past), anteriority (punctual and progressive) and completion in both Santiago and São Vicente. In addition, we examine voice with the present and past passive in the two varieties. Our first topic is the present progressive.

3.1 Present Progressive

This section focuses on the progressive aspectual markers \(sa, sa\, ta, sta\) in the Santiago variety and their equivalents in São Vicente.

3.1.1 Present progressive in ST variety

Consider the following sentences representative of the variety spoken in Santiago. \(Sta\) in (1), \(sa\) in (2), \(sa\...ta\) (separated by \(so\) ‘always’) in (3), \(sa\, ta\) in (4) and \(sta\, ta\) in (5) all mark present progressive. Given the lack of differentiation in semantics between the forms (Lopes, 1959; Almada, 1961; Meintel, 1975: 220), there seems to be a general consensus in the field that they are all variants of the same marker. In terms of distribution, all variants occur immediately before the verb. \(Sta\) in (6) shows that the present progressive marker doubles as a copula (as in Portuguese).

(1) \(E\ sta\ pidi\, go,\ otu\ kuza,\ tanbé.\ (69-2011)\)

He be ask now other thing as well
‘He is now asking for other things as well.’

(2) \(E\ sa\ fala\ ku\ se mudjer\ manenti.\ (F. ST)\)

\(^5\)We will exclude here irregular forms like \(tiver, tives\) that are directly borrowed from Portuguese in São Vicente but will revisit regular and irregular forms in section 5.
he be speak with his wife still
‘He keeps talking with his wife.’

(3)  \(\text{E } \text{sa} \text{so } \text{ta} \text{ disenha manenti.} \) (F. ST)
he be always ASP draw still
‘He keeps drawing.’

(4)  \(\text{Gosi go } \text{e } \text{sa} \text{ta } \text{ben pa kuzinha.} \) (F.ST)
now now he be ASP come to kitchen
‘Now, he is coming to the kitchen.’

(5)  \(\text{Dj’ } \text{e } \text{sta} \text{ta } \text{tra fruta.} \) (64-2011)
COMP he be ASP pick fruit
‘He is picking fruit.’

(6)  \(\text{Esta kuazi pertu.} \) (F. ST)
he be almost close
‘He is almost there.’

In light of the dominant variant analysis, there are, however, some puzzles remaining that the analysis of diachronic texts may help us resolve: if \(\text{sta} \) is a variant of \(\text{sa} \text{ta} \), then in the past tense, upon suffixing the anterior marker –\(\text{ba} \) to the verb stem, one would predict that the present tense form of \(\text{el sta ta bai} \), ‘he is going’ would become in the past \(\text{el staba ta bai} \) ‘he was going’. The prediction is upheld for this variant. However, if \(\text{sta} \) is also a variant of \(\text{sa} \), then we would also predict that the past tense counterpart of \(\text{el sa ta bai} \) ‘he is going’ would be \(\text{*el saba ta bai} \).\(^6\) As indicated by the star symbol, this last sentence is ungrammatical in contemporary CVC. However, the form \(\text{saba} \) is attested in the diachronic data, as noted in Baptista (2011) and discussed in section 4.

One must also explain why \(\text{sa} \) and \(\text{sa} \text{ta} \) have subsisted next to \(\text{sta} \). In other words, why does the language have recourse to so many variants that seem to occur in free variation\(^7\) when the original form \(\text{sta} \) is available and so close to the Portuguese lexifier \(\text{estar} \)? Why not choose a more economical path and just retain the form \(\text{sta} \)? We may find an explanation to this in the syllabic structure of CVC.

3.1.2 Present progressive in SV variety
Interestingly for our purpose, the discernible Portuguese forms found in the TMA system of Santiago are inexistent in their most obvious forms (\(\text{sta} \text{ and } \text{sa} \text{ta} \)) in the variety spoken in São

\(^6\) No attestation of the form \(\text{saba} \) could be found in the 50-page corpus from which most of the data in this paper is taken.

\(^7\) See Rice (2006) on free variation in Slave Northern Athapaskan phonology and her presidential address on ‘Variation, Phonology and Fieldwork’ presented at the Linguistic Society of America meeting on January 5th, 2013.
Vicente. In the corpus collected in São Vicente, the equivalents to *sta, sa, sa ta, ta are tita, ta, te, te...te*; like their Santiago counterparts, they are semantically equivalent and competing variants of each other. In sentences (7)-(9) taken from the corpus we collected, the forms *tita, ta, te, te...te* all express present progressive. Like Santiago *sta*, São Vicente *ta, te* doubles as a copula as shown in (10a,b):

(7)  *Bosê tita kontá un storia.* (MA-SV)  
  you be telling a story  
  ‘You are telling a story.’

(8)  *Agora el te da-l un fruta. El te fuma se sigorre el te da-l un fruta.* (MA-SV)  
  now he be give+him a fruit he be smoke his cigar she be give-him a fruit  
  ‘Now, he is giving him a piece of fruit. He is smoking a cigar, she is giving him a piece of fruit.’

(9)  *E un flor k’el te la te dzenhá.* (Equivalent of *sta la ta*) (MA-SV)  
  is a flower that he be here PROG drawing  
  ‘It is a flower that he is drawing there.’

(10)  a.  *El ta k’ un xax na piskos.* (008-2009)  
  he be with a scarf on neck  
  ‘He is with a scarf around his neck.’

  b.  *El te nun kuarte.* (MA-SV) (evidence that *te* is *sta*)  
  he be in+a room  
  ‘He is in a room.’

3.2 Expressing habituality
This section overviews how present and past habitual are expressed in the two varieties of Santiago and São Vicente.

3.2.1 Present habitual in ST
The marker for expressing the present habitual in ST is *ta* (homophonic with the marker for futurity, as seen in example (16) and (17) below); it occurs in a preverbal position, as seen in (11).

(11)  *N ta kumé tudu dia.*  
  I ASP eat every day  
  ‘I eat every day.’

3.2.2 Past habitual in ST
The ST variety forms past habitual by combining preverbal *ta* with the postverbal anterior inflectional marker –*ba*, as shown in (12).
(12) *Ka ta sufrihã fomi.* (69-2011)
    NEG ASP suffer+ANT hunger
    ‘One did not use to suffer from hunger.’

It is worth noting that *ta* may appear with a bare verb and still convey past habituality.

(13) *Algen ta kontra ku algen na kaminhu mortu.* (69-2011)
    people ASP meet with people on road dead
    ‘People used to find people on the road, dead.’

In the next subsections, we consider how present and past habitual are formed in the SV variety.

3.2.3 *Present Habitual in SV*

The SV uses the same marker *ta* (as in Santiago) to mark present habitual as shown in example (14) below.

(14) *N ta kemê.* (exemple from Hulda Costa)
    I ASP eat
    ‘I eat.’

3.2.4 *Past Habitual in SV*

However, for past habitual, the SV adopts a distinct strategy by appending the post-verbal inflection –*va* onto the preverbal marker *ta* leaving the verb stem bare. This is shown in (15) below.

(15) *N tava dze-l.* (10-2009)
    I ASP+ANT tell-him
    ‘I used to tell him.’

A brief summary regarding the behavior of *ta* in the present and past tense. Two important observations are worth making regarding the semantics of the marker *ta* in the two varieties. In both varieties, *ta* occurs preverbally and marks present habitual (in addition to past habitual in ST). However, for past habitual, the anterior marker –*ba* modifies the verb stem in ST whereas its counterpart –*va* must modify *ta* in SV, leaving the verb bare.

3.3 *Marking future events*

Both varieties use the marker *ta* (which is homophonous to the habitual marker *ta*) to modify future events.

3.3.1 *Futurity in ST*

In ST, futurity is conveyed by means of the marker *ta*, as shown in (16):

(16) *Manhã N ta kumê.* (from Hulda Costa)
    Tomorrow I FUT eat
    ‘Tomorrow I will eat.’
3.3.2 Futurity in SV

The variety of São Vicente uses the same strategy, as shown in (17):

(17) Manhã N ta kemê. (from Hulda Costa).
    tomorrow I FUT eat
    ‘Tomorrow I will eat.’

3.4 Anteriority

In this subsection, we compare anteriority as simple past and progressive past in the two varieties.

3.4.1 Anteriority in ST

As in most creole languages, the bare stem of stative verbs is interpreted as present (18) and the non-stative verbs is interpreted as past, as shown in (19):

(18) N sta duenti.
    I be sick
    ‘I am sick’

(19) N kume tudu kumida
    I eat +Ø all food
    ‘I ate all the food.’

When the anterior –ba modifies the bare verb stem of a stative verb, the latter is interpreted as simple past (20). When –ba modifies a non-stative verb, the pluperfect interpretation obtains in the ST variety (21):

(20) N stabba duenti.
    I be+ANT sick
    ‘I was sick.’

(21) N kumeba tudu kumida.
    I eat +ba all food
    ‘I had eaten all the food.’

As observed in the following example, -ba as such is not used in the São Vicente variety. Its counterpart is –va and as we see in section 4.2, behaves distinctly from –ba in its distribution.

3.4.2 Anteriority in SV

As in the ST variety, the variety bare stative verbs are interpreted as present (22) whereas the bare stems of their nonstative counterparts are interpreted as past (23):

(22) N ta duent.
    I be sick
‘I am sick.’

(23) N korê.
  I  run+Ø
  ‘I ran.’

The parallel between the two varieties, however, stops there. When modifying a stative verb like _ta_ ‘to be’, the postverbal marker –va appends to _ta_ and both appear as a fixed expression, as in (24). With non-stative verbs, the São Vicente variety uses the preverbal marker _tinha_ (25a-b):

(24) _Es makoke tava triste._ (12-2009)
  the monkey was sad
  ‘The monkey was sad.’

(25) a.  _N tinha kuride konde el txegá._
    I had run when he arrive
    ‘I had run when he arrived.’
   
  b.  _N tinha kantóde._
    I had sung
    ‘I had sung.’

Another area in the domain of anteriority where the varieties behave distinctly from each other is in the past progressive, as shown in the next subsection.

3.4.3  Progressive past in ST

In the ST variety, the expression of past progressive involves the use of both the _sta_ or _sa ta_ markers occurring in a preverbal position in combination with the post verbal inflection –ba. The anterior marker –ba is able to modify either the main verb as shown in (26a) or the auxiliary, as shown in (26b) or both simultaneously, as shown in (27):

(26) a.  _Kantu e  sa ta entra ba, porta sa ta parse ba  tudo pintadu._ (F. ST)
    when he be enter+ANT door be appear+ANT all painted
    ‘When he came in, the door appeared to be all painted.’
   
  b.  _E stab a  ta sai to ki bu odja-l._
    he be+ANT ASP leave when that you saw-him
    ‘He was leaving when you saw him.’

(27)  _E stab a  ta sa ib a to ki bu odja-l._
    he be+ANT ASP leave when that you saw-him
    ‘He was leaving when you saw him.’
3.4.4 Progressive past in SV

In contrast, in SV, the distribution of –va is much more limited when combined with an auxiliary verb to express progressive past. In our corpus, we found it only modifying the auxiliary verb, as shown in (28a), (28c) is ungrammatical. There is phonological reduction of ta to te, as shown in (28b):

(28) a. N tava ta korê.
   I be+ANT ASP run
   ‘I was running.’

b. E kel pinture k’el tava te pintá. (MA-SV)
   is the painting that he be+ANT ASP paint
   ‘It is the painting that he was painting.’

In brief, the ST variety anterior marker shows much wider distribution by inflecting either the auxiliary, the verb or both whereas the SV marker occurs in a fixed position appended to the reduced form of the auxiliary ta and preceding the verb.

3.5 Expressing the hypothetical

In this subsection, we examine a mood that we label ‘hypothetical’ and that is pervasive through the Cape Verdean language. This mood is used when expressing either a possibility or a wish, longing or strong desire for something. Using the hypothetical in the past is at times called a counterfactual, referring to an event that did not take place.

3.5.1 Hypothetical and counterfactual in ST

The hypothetical may be conveyed through the use of al in the Santiago variety.

(29) N al kore
   I may run
   ‘I may run’

It forms the counterfactual by means of the following combination: al sa ta V-ba

(30) Al sa ta txobeba
   Hyp. TMA rain+ANT
   ‘It could have been raining’

As we see below, the São Vicente variety uses counterfactuals in radically different ways.

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8 The possible etymological origin of the morpheme al will be discussed in section 4.
3.5.2 Hypothetical and counterfactual in SV
In the São Vicente variety, there is no preservation of the Santiaguense al form. Two strategies are used to convey the hypothetical: a-de or pode+V. This is illustrated in (31) and (32):

(31)  \( N\ a-de\ koré.\)

I   a-de run
‘I may run.’

(32)  \( Manhā\ pode\ txuvé.\)

tomorrow can   rain
‘It may rain tomorrow.’

The hypothetical counterfactual is formed by means of the markers \( pudia\ stóde\ ta\ +V.\)

(33)  \( Pudia\ stóde\ ta\ txuvé.\)

can be+pastparticiple ta rain
‘It could have been raining.’

As these data illustrate, the two varieties use very different forms to convey hypothetical future and hypothetical counterfactual. The ST variety uses al and al+V+ba for the hypothetical future and hypothetical counterfactual respectively whereas the SV variety uses a-de/pode +V and \( pudia\ stóde\ ta\ +V\) to convey the same meaning.

3.6 Marking completion of an event
3.6.1 Marking completion in ST
The ST variety uses the marker dja to express the completion of an event. It may occur sentence-initially before the subject or both sentence-initially and sentence-finally, as shown in (34):

(34)  a.  \( Dja\ 'N\ kóre\)

COMP I run
‘I ran.’

b.  \( Dja\ N\ kóre\ dja\)

COMP I run      COMP
‘I ran.’

3.6.2 Marking completion in SV
The SV uses the same marker with without the affricate and with the phonology akin to Portuguese but its distribution is more restricted, as it only appears before the subject:

(35)  \( Já\ N\ koré\)

COMP I run
‘I ran.’
3.7 Present and past passive

3.7.1 Present and past passive in ST

For the sake of brevity, we only consider the impersonal passive in this section. The ST variety displays two passive forms, a present form expressed by –du (36) and a past form expressed by –da (37).

(36) kumedu txeu.
   eat+Passive a lot
   ‘people eat a lot or literally ‘is eaten a lot’’

(37) kumeda txeu.
   eat+Passive a lot
   ‘people used to eat a lot or literally ‘was eaten a lot.’’

3.7.2 Present and past passive in SV

In contrast, SV turns the impersonal passive into an agentive construction, as in (38). The past passive in the SV has only one form, -de.

(38) Jente kme txeu.
   People eat a lot
   ‘People eat a lot.’

(39) Na kel tenpu kmede txeu.
   at that time eaten a lot
   ‘At that time, one ate a lot.’

In brief, there is no morphological distinction between the present and the past passive in SV, in contrast to ST which uses –du for present and –da for past.

Table 1: TMA markers in ST and SV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ST</strong>: Sta + V</td>
<td>present progressive</td>
<td>preverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa + V</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sa ta + V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sa … ta + V</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sta ta + V</td>
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</tbody>
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| **SV**: tita + V |                 |              |
| Te + V  |                 |              |
| Te…te V |                 |              |
| Ta + V  |                 |              |

| **ST**: ta + V | Present habitual | preverbal |
| **SV**: ta + V |                 |              |
| ST:  | ta + V-ba                      | Past habitual       | ta preverbal and –ba postverbal |
| SV:  | tava + V                       | Preverbal           |                                   |
| ST:  | ta + V                         | Prospective Future  | Preverbal                         |
| SV:  | ta + V                         | Anteriority (relative past) | Postverbal |
| ST:  | V + -ba                        | Progressive past    | sa ta preverbal and –ba postverbal |
| SV:  | tava + V                       |                      | sa ta preverbal and –ba postverbal |
|      | tinha + V                      |                      | -ba post auxiliary and –ba postverbal |
|      | tava ta +V                     |                      | tava ta preverbal                 |
| ST:  | al + V                         | Hypothetical        | Preverbal                         |
| SV:  | a-de V                         |                      |                                   |
|      | Pode +V                        |                      |                                   |
| ST:  | al sa ta V+ba                  | Counterfactual      | al sa ta preverbal and –ba postverbal |
| SV:  | pudia stode ta + V             |                      | Preverbal                         |
| ST:  | dja + V                        | Completive          | Preverbal                         |
| SV:  | ja + V                         |                      |                                   |
| ST:  | V-du (present)                 | Passive             | Postverbal                        |
|      | V-da (past)                    |                      |                                   |
| SV:  | -de                            |                      |                                   |

(40) **Present Progressive**  
ST João sta bai skola di pe  
SV João tita ba skola de pe  
P João está a ir de a pé para a escola  
João is walking to school

(41) **Present habitual**  
ST João ta bai skola di pe  
SV João ta ba skola de pe  
P O João vai a pé para a escola todos os dias  
João walks to school every day

(42) **Past habitual**  
ST João ta baba skola di pe tudu dia  
SV João tava ba skola de pe todu dia
P  O João costumava ir a pé para a escola todos os dias
João used to walk to school every day
(43) Future
ST João ta bai skola di pe manhan
SV João ta ba skola de pe amanhan
P O João vai a pé para a escola amanhã
João will walk to school tomorrow

(44) Anteriority
ST João ba baba skola di pe
SV João tinha ba skola de pe
P O João tinha ido a pé para a escola
João had walked to school

(45) Hypothetical
ST João al ba skola di pe
SV João a-de ba skola de pe
P O João pode ir a pé para a escola
João may walk to school

(46) Counterfactual
ST Al João sa ta baba skola di pe
SV João a-de ba skola de pe
Or João pode ba skola de pe
P O João pode ter ido a pé para a escola
João could have walked to school

(47) Completive
ST João dja bai skola di pe
SV João ja ba skola de pe
P O João já foi a pé para a escola
João walked to school already

(48) Passive
ST João dadu nobu libru
SV A jente tava da João un novu livru
P Um livro foi dado ao João or O João recebeu um livro
João was given a new book

In summary, ST is closer to P in the expression of present progressive, past habitual, anteriority, completive (together with SV) and passivization. These sentences show us that while a few of the SV forms are unequivocally derived directly from Portuguese, a number of TMA markers in ST are closer in form to the lexifier, hence casting doubt that the two varieties correspond to the basilect and acrolect on the continuum. This is clear evidence that, at best, such labels do not accurately reflect the approximation or distance of a variety with respect to its lexifier across all
grammatical modules and, at worse, these labels do not withstand close scrutiny even within the same domain, TMA markers in this case.

Based on these data, the questions that come to the fore are the following: what are the etymological sources of the TMA markers in the two varieties and why are some more identifiable as being of Portuguese stock in Santiago (the supposed basilectal variety) than in São Vicente? Another question is why such features did not get transferred to the São Vicente variety when populations coming from other islands moved there? We wish to explore in the next section the assumption that some of the forms still present in the modern day variety of Santiago but absent in the São Vicente variety were already present in Old Portuguese and were inherited from the first settlers prior to the 17th century (see Jacobs, 2009). We will include the forms that have survived from Old Portuguese into Modern Portuguese but pay particular attention to the variants that are attested in 15th-16th century Portuguese texts but have disappeared from Modern Portuguese while surviving in modern day ST.

Methodologically, we adopt a two-pronged approach. First, we examine grammars of 16th century Portuguese (Fernão de Oliveira, 1536) and compare them to 16th century Portuguese plays, looking for consistency in the tense, aspectual and modal forms under study. Then, we fine-comb the plays featuring Lingua de Preto, a caricaturized Black Speech found in 16th century Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente’s works and compare the forms we find in Black Speech to their counterparts in the other plays by Gil Vicente that caricature other populations like the Jews, peasants and gypsies. This methodology will allow me to see which forms in Modern day ST were already present in 16th century Portuguese across varieties (as portrayed by Gil Vicente) and which ones may have been more specific to ST.

We start the next section by examining the etymological sources of the markers found in ST and SV and go on to examining the texts just mentioned.

4. On the origins of the Santiago features: 15th/16th century Portuguese
4.1 On the etymological sources of the forms

Regarding the forms sta, sa, and sa ta, Teyssier (1959), Lipski (1993), Quint (2000) and Baptista (2011) have all assumed that these forms may be derived from the Portuguese auxiliary verb estar. It is however unclear whether there was a gradual evolution of these forms developing from estar > sta > sa ta > sa > ta or whether these individual variants of estar appeared simultaneously. Regarding the marker ta, linguists like Meintel (1975: 220, fn 19) have explicitly suggested that the often heard elision of sta (22) to ta as well as the use of ta to express progression both lead to the conclusion that ta is derived from estar (also see Baptista, 2011). In our corpus, the equivalents to ST sa, sa ta, and sta are tita, ta or the phonologically weaker te in SV. It would be reasonable to assume that tita, ta and te also derive from Portuguese estar, just like their ST counterparts; however, the exact source of tita in SV is more difficult to ascertain. For instance, could it be that tita is derived from the Portuguese perfective form of estar, which is tive but the mismatch between present progressive expressed by tita and perfective expressed by tive makes this unlikely. The exact origin of this form is blurry. Below, we suggest that the proposed cline estar > sta > sa ta > sa > ta in ST and rita > ta > te in SV could instantiate the parameters offered in Heine’s grammaticalization model and illustrating desemanticization, erosion, in addition to phonological weakening.

Regarding the marker –ba, it is unclear whether it is derived from Portuguese –va, having undergone a –v to –b change, or may have been –ba from the start, inherited from a variety of
Portuguese spoken in earlier times. We revisit this issue in section 4.2. As for the completive marker dja/ja and the passive inflection –du, the form and meaning mapping of these markers to the Portuguese adverb já ‘already’ and passive inflection–do makes them uncontroversially related to their Portuguese counterparts.

The only marker not of Portuguese origin found in ST is the hypothetical marker al, that I suggest elsewhere could possibly be related to Arabic allah.

In summary, etymologically, it is safe to say that the forms sta, sa ta, ta and te in SV are all derived from the Portuguese auxiliary estar (see list all authors who made that claim), dja/ja is from P já, –du from P –do, ba from P –va or possibly Spanish (see section 4.2) and al possibly from Arabic allah spoken by some of the Islamized slaves who first went to Cape Verde. The derivations of the various markers could be represented by the following chart:

(49)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa, sa ta, ta and tita, ta, te} & \land \ \text{estar} \\
\text{dja/ja} & \land \ \text{ja} \\
\text{du} & \land \ \text{do} \\
\text{ba} & \land \ \text{-va or -ba} \\
\text{al} & \land \ \text{allah}
\end{align*}
\]

4.2 A comparison across diachronic sources

16th century Portuguese (Oliveira, 1536): som, sou, so (p.121)

Observations by Oliveira: El rei/o rei (p.111)

16th century Portuguese plays featuring language of the Blacks in addition to other populations like the Jews, peasants and gypsies. This methodology will allow us to see which forms in Modern day ST were already present in 16th century Portuguese across varieties (as portrayed by Gil Vicente) and which ones may have been more specific to ST.

4.2.1 16th century Portuguese plays

In this section, we report on the forms we find in two plays found in the volume Teatro Profano from Teatro Português do Século XVI compiled and edited by José Camões (2010). The two selected plays are Auto de Dom Fernando and Auto das Capelas.

(50)  
Porque ya qu’isto assi vai. (line 21) Auto de Dom Fernando
Tu és ya mais que ela cru. (line 93)
Compre, e já s’assentou. (line 19)

With respect to the verb ‘to be’, estar occurs with the same forms it adopts today but ser displays forms reminiscent of ST.

Editing notes, José Camões states that the homographic form sam is maintained as the first person singular of the present indicative of ser but it was converted to the modern form são for the 3rd person plural of the present indicative. (2010: 39)

9 Camões also notes that the free variation of the negator between não and nam. We found the use of nam instead of não on line 28 in contrast to não on line 31 of the Auto de Dom Fernando. The same free variation can be found in the lexicon with words like coraçam > curação ‘heart’ (Camões, 2010: 39). Camões also notes that the feminine
In the *Auto das Capelas*, I found the occurrence of *sam* in the first person singular of the present indicative of *ser* (Camões, 2010: 90).

(51) Vilão: *Eu sam padre acabado* (line 1105) (*Auto das Capelas*)

(52) *Isso que m’estás dizendo* (line 131) (Camões, 2010: 105)  
    *Isso que m’estás pintando* (line 161) (Camões, 2010: 106)  
    *Está bom, convosco estou* (line 1109 in *Auto das Capelas*) (Camões, 2010: 91)

(53) *Já vos disse que folgava* (line 395)  
    *Porqu’eu tambéém vos amava* (line 397)  
    *Estava lá tanto gente* (line 1596)

4.2.2 Gil Vicente
4.2.2.1 Peasants speech (Teyssier, 1959)
When we contrast these forms to those found in the plays by Gil Vicente, we find the following forms. In the peasants speech, we find for the verb ‘to be’ the forms *será* (p.86), *sou* (p.87), *era* (p.91; *eras* on p. 96), *estar* (p.93; 96), *sam* (p.93), *se* = *e* and *see* (p.107).

Regarding the forms of *ser*, Teyssier (1959: 106) notes that the forms *são* (*sam*), *sou*, *so* (*soo*) and *som* are all equivalents of the first person singular of the present tense of the verb *ser*, as derived from Latin *esse*.

*Sam* translatable as *estar* or *ser*. Teyssier (1959:108) tells us that in many of the cases, the diachronic use of *ser*, derived from Latin *sedere* ‘to be’ would be today translated by *estar* but as *ser* used to be more prevalent than *estar* but used with the temporary meaning.

Attestation of –*va* suffix  
*Andavas* (p. 93)  
*Falava, chamava* (p.96)

Attestation of *já* 9p.105)

Attestation of –*do* suffix (p.105)  
*He já sabido*

4.2.2.2 Jews speech  
Verb forms of ‘be’  
*Sam destroçado* (p.203)  
*Porque ness’ora ssam morto* (p.204)  
*Onde um toyro estivesse* (p.204)  
*Seraas* bom rendeyro (p.218)

form of the indefinite determiner *ua* was maintained because *uma* had not developed yet (2010: 39). In ST, *un* is used for both the feminine and the masculine and may have possibly been inherited from that period.
-va suffix
Guay dos tristes qe estávão (p.222)

Ja not found

4.2.2.3 Black Speech
The following examples are taken from Baptista (2011), published in the Canadian Journal of Linguistics.
Forms attested: star, sser, só, saa

(54) a. *A mym nunca ssar rroym.* (Black Speech)
    me never be wild
    ‘I never was wild’
    *Porque bradar?*
    why fuss
    ‘why are you fussing.’

b. *Eu nunca fui roim.* (Portuguese)
    I never was wild
    ‘I never was wild’
    *Porque bradais?*
    why you fuss
    ‘why are you fussing.’

(55) a. *Poro que puruguntaa bos esso?* (Black Speech)
    why that ask you this
    ‘Why are you asking this?’

b. *Por que perguntais vós isso?* (Portuguese)
    why that ask you this
    ‘Why are you asking this?’

(56) a. *Se podê furutaa rinheyro.* (Black Speech)
    if can steal money
    ‘If I could steal money.’

b. *Se eu puder furtar dinheiro.* (Portuguese)
    if I can steal money
    ‘If I could steal money.’

(57) a. *Rinheyro que boso bebee.* (Black Speech)
    money that you drink
    ‘The money you drink.’

b. *o dinheiro que bebéis.* (Portuguese)
    the money that drink
    ‘The money you drink.’

(58) a. *Bae, bae!* (Black Speech)
a. *Mym andar augoá jardim.* (Black Speech)
   me carry water garden
   ‘I carried (or used to carry) the water to the garden.’
b. *Eu andava a aguar o jardim.*
   I carry+ed the water the garden
   ‘I carried (or used to carry) the water to the garden.’

(59) …*como mi saba primeyro* (Black Speech)
   how I was first
   ‘How I was the first one.’
… *como eu era primeiro.* (Portuguese)
   how I was first
   ‘How I was the first one.’

(60) *Nova que uba já maduro.* (Black Speech)
   news that grape COMP ripe
   ‘The news that the grape was ripe.’
   *A nova é que as uvas já estão maduras.* (Portuguese)
   the news is that the grapes already are ripe
   ‘The news is that the grapes are already ripe.’

(61) a. *Se falá meu he negregado* (Black Speech)
   e nam falá portugaas
   *para que mi martelado?*
b. *Se o meu falar é negregado* (Portuguese)
   e não falo português
   *Pera que fui martelado?*

(62) a. *Le bele mal maruvada* (Black Speech)
b. *La bella mal maridada* (Portuguese)

(63) a. *Amen, Jeju, Jeju, Jeju* (Black Speech)
   *Sapantara Furunando!*
b. *Amen, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu* (Portuguese)
   *Espantado está Fernando!*

4.2.3 Grammaticalization processes
Parameters of grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva, 2005):
Extension: rise of novel grammatical meanings (linguistic expressions extended to new contexts)
Desemanticization (semantic bleaching): loss in meaning content
Decategorialization: loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical forms
Erosion: loss in phonetic substance

5. Conclusions
In this paper, we focused on two creole varieties that have consistently been portrayed as being at opposite ends of the creole continuum. In this study, a systematic synchronic comparison of their TMA markers not only highlighted the differences and similarities between them but also revealed that STv certainly displays forms closer to Portuguese than SVv.

Diachronically, we adopted a three-pronged approach in an attempt to identify whether some of the TMA markers found in STv could be traced back to Old Portuguese. We examined the first Portuguese grammar ever written (Oliveira, 1536), a historical account of the Portuguese language (Nunes, 1945), two 16th century Portuguese plays found in Camões (2010) and works by 16th century Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente. In Gil Vicente’s plays, we compared three speech varieties that the author caricaturized: Peasants’ speech, Jews’ speech and Blacks’ speech. This approach allowed us to identify the TMA forms that were present in Old Portuguese, across speech varieties and the ones that were exclusive to Black speech.

Findings: TMA marker *sa*, found in STv today, was also present in Old Portuguese across the speech varieties we examined, as a variant of both *ser* and *estar*; it is, however, absent in Modern Portuguese. Other TMA markers like *sta(r)* and *–ba*, present in STv today, were found exclusively in Black speech, strengthening the link that has often been made between that variety and the creoles spoken in Upper Guinea, specifically Cape Verdean and Guinea-Bissau Creoles. The marker *ta*, present in both STv and SVv, is unattested in the texts we examined and can safely be assumed to have emerged later, possibly from Colloquial Portuguese. The completive marker *jà* and the passive marker *–do* were already used as such in Old Portuguese and subsist to this day in Modern Portuguese.

Speculations: STv forms *sa*, *sta*, *sa ta*, *ta* are grammaticalized derivates from Portuguese *estar* and that in contrast, forms like *tita* in SVv may have emerged via restructuring and diffusion (see Holm and Swolkien, 2006).

As for *–ba*, its presence in Gil Vicente’s *Língua de Preto* (Black speech) allows us to argue against a /v/ to /b/ change (Portuguese *–va* to STv *–ba*), as has been traditionally assumed, and defend instead that the anterior marker *–ba* has existed as such from the very early stages of STv (see Baptista, 2011). Given Oliveira’s (1536) and Camões’ (2010) remarks on the strong influence of Spanish onto the Portuguese language of the time, *–ba* could be seen as having been potentially inherited from Spanish.

If on track, our analysis is a powerful testimony to the Founder Principle showing that founding populations and their speakers may leave a lasting imprint on the formation of a creole language, in this case the Santiago variety of Cape Verdean Creole.

Finally, the presence in STv of TMA markers that can be traced back to Old Portuguese (whereas the same does not hold for SVv forms) invites us to revisit the traditional characterization of STv being the basilect and SVv the acrolect of Cape Verdean Creole.

As we hope to have demonstrated in this paper, the concept of the creole continuum is a concept to be handled with caution, as it does not reflect accurately where a given variety stands with respect to distinct grammatical domains.
6. Selected References


