

Cape-Verdean continuum: syllabic structure of the cape verde mother tongue

DOI: 10.46932/sfjdv4n2-027

Received in: April 18th, 2023

Accepted in: May 16th, 2023

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ABSTRACT

Throughout space-time, processes of syllabic restructuring promoted arrangements and rearrangements in the syllabic structure of the mother tongue of Cape Verde, the Cape-Verdean Creole (CVC) or the Cape-Verdean Language (LCV), resulting in variation and change in the talks of Santiago and Fogo (Sotavento) and in Santo Antão and São Vicente (Barlavento), four of the nine linguistic varieties that are part of the CVC. In this study, we will highlight descent or subtraction processes that comprised the Cape-Verdean Continuum. The general objective is to describe and explain the intra-linguistic variation by the Model of Optimality Theory (OT), and the specific objectives are (1) to deal with concepts such as continuum, coexisting systems and optionality as well as the theoretical framework of OT and (2) to analyze adjustment processes in the syllabic structure that demonstrate the internal optionality and external linguistic variation and change from south to north of the Archipelago. The data for this study come from field research conducted in 2003 and 2019 on the focused islands. References are Decamp (1971), Tsuzaki (1971), Nagy and Reynolds (1994), Jacobs (1995), Lang (2006), Veiga (1995), Bermudéz-Otero (1996), Antilla and Cho (1998), Collischonn (2000), Rodrigues (2007), among others.

Keywords: Cape-Verdean continuum, syllabic structure, optionality, coexistent systems, optimality theory, linguistic variation, change.

1 INTRODUCTION

Time is a fundamental element in the history of languages and societies, builder of peoples and languages, agent and witness of its generation and evolution, dynamo and trigger of mutations in systems; constant force. For the great master mentalist, Saussure, the main factor of change. For us, authors, the

essential vector of natural or motivated variation and change, either abrupt or gradual, in languages, personified by the passing of generations. In the conjunction of the internalist and externalist perspectives of Creole studies environment, it is the essence. Over time, under the aegis of contact, in the productive silence of minds, speakers arrange and rearrange individual grammars into supra-individual systems, building languages and heterogeneous varieties in the weaving of interactions and sharing of uses in communities.

Because in the time line past and present intersect, and the future can be perceived, what emerges in this temporal route is a combination of challenge and encouragement for the linguist researcher to investigate the natural and conditioned orchestra of languages. In this scenario, the specific task of creole languages stands out: sprouts of colonization around the world, emerging in the heat of contact among distant matrices, in the midst of confrontations they are generated and, with the passing of generations, adjustments, readjustments, and consensus resulting in a structure at the same time simple and complex in its multifaceted nature. Its particularity lies in the pressure and acceleration of the generating events. This plot becomes more intense when it appears on an archipelago, during different sociohistorical stages different locations, and by the linguistic and cultural contact of diverse groups, as it happened in Cape Verde.

2 THE ATLANTIC ARCHIPELAGO

Cape Verde is an archipelago formed by ten islands in the central part of the Atlantic Ocean. The Southern, or Sotavento (Leeward) islands are Santiago, Fogo, Maio, and Brava. The Northern or Barlavento (Windward) islands comprise São Nicolau, Santo Antão, Boa Vista, Santa Luzia (uninhabited), São Vicente, and Sal. The mother tongue in the country is Portuguese-based Creole, called Cape-Verdean Creole (CVC), Cape-Verdean Language or, in proposed ALUPEC writing, Kabuverdianu. It is the identity mark of the speakers of the archipelago, their form of expression in the world, icon of union and resistance in the past and present, perennial symbol of identity and caboverdianity of the islanders and of those who live in the eleventh island, the diaspora.

On the diachronic axis of Cape-Verdean, sociohistorical movements of contacts between linguistic extracts of different African and European matrices, in continuing diachronies from the 15th to the 18th centuries composed the multifaceted initial base, arriving at the present creole. In this regard, based on studies on the subject¹, it can be stated that, on the Southern or Sotavento islands, transitory and permanent contacts in the first years of colonization (1460/1462) among speakers of the Felupe, Jalofo, Balanta, Mandinga, Papel, Bijagó, Fula, Banhum, Cassanga, and Buramo languages and speakers of European

¹ More details in Carreira (1983), Lang (2006), Veiga (1995), Holm and Swolkien (2006), Rodrigues (2007; 2020).

Portuguese, as well as people of other nationalities such as Italians, Spanish, Flamencans, French, Dutch, and Indians constituted the elementary strata of the creole spoken on the Santiago and Fogo Islands. These speakers met and also spread through the islands in concentrated and/or sparse settlements due to the flux and reflux of forced and voluntary migration from the continent to the islands or from these to other ports due to the slave trade, the legal or clandestine continental and insular trade, as well as the advent of crisis and famine.

In the Northern or Barlavento islands, from the 6th to the 19th century, multilingual contacts can be mentioned that were previous or primeval and also later, that go back to the beginning or to the sequence of the European colonization and African settlement on the islands. Permanent or intermittent contact between speakers of Southern Islands Creole, especially Santiago and Fogo, Portuguese and continental Africans, Dutch and English contributed to generate the base of the creole linguistic variety spoken on the Santo Antão Island. From there, as with its speakers, this linguistic variety spread to the São Vicente Island where, in contact with Portuguese, Spanish, British, and Americans as well as Africans from the continent in migratory waves, also brought about by slave trade, legal or illegal commerce and hunger crises on the archipelago, resulted in the concentrated or sparse, initially “silent” population density of the northern islands.

The soft steps of this diachrony were summarized socio-historically and structurally by Madeira (2019, p.79), based on pertinent bibliography, stating that: since the 15th century, from discovery and during colonization (1460), a pidgin characterized by “poorly structured in grammatical and lexical terms”, and in the 17th century, there was a *proto creole*, “with some lexical and grammatical bases”. However, in the multilingual scenario of the islands, permeated by the centripetal force of contact and the constancy of the action of the time factor – represented here by the emergence of new generations of Cape-Verdean speakers and the arrival of Africans and Europeans to the islands – the Cape-Verdean Creole emerged in the first fifty years of colonization, according to authors such as Carreira (1983) and Veiga (1995). In the “pacific” and heterogeneous environment of the inhabitants of the islands, the creole is born on the island of Santiago and radiates throughout the archipelago, collaborating in the shaping of the other island varieties. Thus, under the aegis of variation, is born the Cape-Verdean Creole.

As all and any natural language, the Kabuverdianu can be understood as a large umbrella under which are united a variety of languages, dialects or regional expressions of a nation that speaks a single language. Therefore, the great Cape-Verdean Language is composed by the creole linguistic varieties of Sotavento and Barlavento. As seen, strong sociohistorical ties connect these groups of islands, resulting in what, in this study, will be called the *Cape-Verdean Continuum*. In this continuum we can capture the linguistic social history of the Kabuverdianu, in other words, we will observe linguistic phenomena and processes that emerge from the close relation between history and society, minds and linguistic structure.

While doing this, equipped with the theoretical magnifying glass of TO, to be presented below, we will observe the underlying or internal process of *optionality*, that refers to the options or choices that groups of speakers make in the bulge of universal grammar to organize particular grammars or specific linguistic varieties. This process happens in the minds of speakers, operating and being implemented in uses and daily interactions in society, generating, on the surface of language, the effect of the intra-linguistic variation that, in the case of the Cape-Verdean, is especially noticeable in the phonetic-phonological component related to the variable syllable structure in the islands.

That said, to study the syllable structure of Cape-Verdean, we will begin from the valuable clues provided by the *past* and *present* to be investigated in the timeless light of theories – on their own, in interface, or conjugated. Here, primarily, we will bring together elements from Creolistic and Sociolinguistic theories alongside the Generative Phonology of Optimality Theory, in a theoretical effort to add resources toward the understanding of the phenomena of restructuring, arranging and rearranging that promoted the adaptation and integration of Southern syllabic structures into the Northern ones. Such adjustments comprise metaplasmic processes of syllable withdrawals and additions, junctions and disjunctions in the Cape-Verdean phonetic-phonological structure. In this study, however, only the processes of descent, which more strongly generate external differences among the varieties of Sotavento and Barlavento will be considered. On this path, we will follow the theoretical time route to look at the concepts of continuum, coexistent systems, and optionality as well as the theoretical-methodological framework of Optimality Theory. We will then take the course of analytical time to investigate, through OT, the internal strategies that resulted in the variable syllabic structure of Cape-Verdean.

3 THE BASIC THEORETICAL NOTIONS

In the confluence of correlated knowledges and study topics, in the field of human sciences, we understand that continuum is a notion present in many areas of knowledge. Basically, this notion can be understood as continuity, a sequence of steps, or stages of transformations (un)linked from one stage to another in a process or language. This notion exists since the first dialectological studies of Romance and Germanic languages.

In Creole studies, DeCamp (1971) was the first to apply this notion to the grading of varieties between Standard Creole and English in the Caribbean (cf. HOLM, 1984). Actually, the terminology used was Post-Creole Continuum when mentioning the “decreolization” – the controversial theory of the changing of creole towards the lexicographical language – of the Jamaican Creole that gradually evolved to the standard language instead of stabilizing or disappearing. Applying the concept, DeCamp (1971) organized the implicational scale with linguistic and social criteria, trying to reconcile the generative-transformationalist and sociolinguist methods in creole studies.

Correlated to the notion of continuum is the notion of *coexisting systems*. The notion of coexisting creole varieties at different distances from the standard dates back to the 18th century (cf. HOLM, 1984). In the 20th century, Tsuzaki (1971, p. 329), when studying Hawaiian (HE), used the word for the creole studies, borrowing it from Fries and Pike, who argued that there were phonemic arrangements that were not in complete balance in one language and that contradictory elements could be seen as coexistent phonemic systems. Tsuzaki (1971) came across the problem of designating Hawaiian as a pidgin, a creole, or an English dialect. Eventually, (TSUZAKI, 1971) concluded that the basic systems of HE consists of an English pidgin, an English Creole, and an English dialect, but without clarifying on the overlap of the systems, their extension and the existence or not of any conflicts.

Day (1974), studying this same creole language, assumed that there could be more than two creole systems for the standard instead of the two overlaid systems, and that, from basilect to acrolect, there would be recurrent elements in others. Day (1974, p. 43-44) then advocates that they would be coexisting systems as they were found together, integrating a continuum of speech and that, when a creole and one of its matrices were in contact, mixed systems occur resulting in a post-creole continuum “composed of a series of overlapping coexisting systems that exhibit conditioned mixtures”.

In a generative perspective, Bickerton (1980, p. 110) rejected the term “post” in the expression Post-Creole Continuum proposed by DeCamp (1971) for suggesting that the original creole disappeared or became unrecognizable. The author (BICKERTON, 1980, p. 112-113) theorizes that the change of decreolization would occur when a creole comes into prolonged and in close contact with its superstratum, and he postulates that the process can occur due to spontaneous or non-spontaneous change, both unconscious, beyond the knowledge and control of the speaker. The spontaneous change is due to factors external to that language while the non-spontaneous owes its existence to the influence of another language. Decreolization, therefore, would constitute a special case of non-spontaneous change (BICKERTON, 1980, p.124).

In the study of Guyanese, Bickerton (1980) argued that speakers of a basilect grammar change progressively, gradually to a production similar to the acrolectal grammar. In this direction, a series of grammars which are distinguished by a single rule or small groups of rules appear and, together, these grammars fill the linguistic space between one creole and its superstratum, thus constituting the linguistic entity known as creole continuum. Due to this, the *Guyanese continuum* is only one, but not a homogeneous, unity (BICKERTON, 1980, 07).

In this sense, in the case of the *Cape-Verdean continuum*, our intention is to highlight that there was a sequence of steps that generated a clear linguistic continuum among the Cape-Verdean Archipelago islands, but that, it will be observed in a space-time cut restricted to the formative line of Creole and not its modification towards its European matrix, in a way that corresponds, in general, to the temporal space

in which the Cape-Verdean creole varieties were generated, and, specifically, that among the four varieties focused on here. To deal with the language movements in this continuum, we will highlight the concept of optionality, found in the core of Generative Phonology of Optimality Theory.

Optionality can be understood as the process or the possibility of generation or choice of one or more outputs for a certain input, according to an assortment of options of good-formation conditions offered by Universal Grammar (UG). Thus described, it functions as a corresponding generative terminology for the sociolinguistic term “variation”, however while the optionality is underlying, variation occurs on the surface of linguistic structures in correlation with social aspects. In other words, variation is the external reflection of internal optimality in grammars or systems. Historically, in Standard Generative Phonology, there was no space for optionality, thus it began to be treated by the area of generative phonology called Optimality Theory (OT).

4 THE THEORY OF OPTIMALITY AND LINGUISTIC VARIATION AND CHANGE

Optimality Theory is the model created by Prince and Smolensky (1993), which defends that Universal Grammar (UG) consists of a set of restrictions or conditions of good generation that is part of individual grammars and can be violated in favor of a condition of good-generation higher in the language hierarchy. However, the OT classic model contemplates only the interlinguistic optionality to explicit differences among the grammars of world languages. The differences or variations among them would thus result from the form each one hierarchizes or, in other words, particularizes universal constraints (PRINCE & SMOLENSKY, 1993; MACCARTHY & PRINCE, 1995).

Optimality Theory postulates that UG holds a set of universal constraints present in any grammar and operative in all languages. Such constraints can be violated to satisfy a restraint which is higher in the hierarchy, but the violation must be minimum. They are hierarchical based on the relevance of a particular language and the minimal violation is defined in terms of this hierarchy. The set of output candidates includes only linguistic expressions, their analyses should respect the language properties, and there is no serial derivation or intermediary levels of representation. The grammatical candidate or best (\square), that is, the chosen to be realized by a speaker or by a community is selected by parallel comparison of all candidates, with no derivational layers. The optimal candidate, in conflict of restrictions, is obtained by *domination* (\gg) of a higher ranked constraint over a lower ranked in the hierarchy. The hierarchy is represented by *tableaux* (tables).

Figure 1. Simple Domination *Tableaux* (A >> B)

Candidatos	A	B
a. Cand ₁		*
b. Cand ₂	*!	

Source: Prince and McCarthy, 1993, p. 6-7

The classic Optimality Theory (OT) has limited resources to describe optional processes and, because of this, proposals were presented to contemplate intra-linguistic variation and change. Antilla (1995, p. 03), at the beginning of this endeavor, tries to “reconcile variation and generative” to explain optimality between grammars of the same language. This author (ANTILLA, 1995, p. 11) argues that if grammar is able to allow varied rankings, it also allows its outputs, that is, it predicts variation. In this line of reasoning, Nagy and Reynolds (1994, p. 37-39) propose, in their study of end of word deletion in Faetar, a French-Provencal Dialect from Southern Italy, the Floating Constraints Theory (FCs). The FCs can be located anywhere in the hierarchy of a unique grammar and can change in relation to a subset of restrictions on categorical ranking, enabling different forms to be best in different rankings. By including different forms in a single grammar, this theory extends the reach of the OT to the inherent variation among the speakers of a language.

Later, Jacobs (1995, p. 1-13) developed, in the study of the passage of the Gallo-Romance to Old French, the Re-Ranking of Restrictions (RR), arguing that the syllabic evolutions can be described by re-hierarchizations. And Bermudez-Otero (1996, p. 02) defines change of language as a function that relates two chronologically adjacent successive states of a grammar, and treats the RR as an essential mechanism of linguistic change. In this sense, Antilla and Cho (1998, p. 40) postulate the Theory of Partiality Ordered Grammars or Theory of Partial Ordering: the set of possible grammars includes: “invariant and variable systems” and, in some types of grammars, the ranking converges in a winner (invariance); in others, several solutions (variation) are found. Through this model, the change is visualized through the grammatical inventory. Antilla and Cho (1998, p. 41-54) defend that “the road to change goes through two grammars partially ordered with varied outputs” and that, due to external factors such as “generational overlap, the language tends to change not by leaps from an invariant grammar to another, but for centuries of variation, with adjacent dialects temporarily differing minimally one from the other”.

In the scenery of the Brazilian Portuguese (BP) studies, Collischonn (2000, p. 314) applies the Partially Ordered (ANTILLA and CHO, 1998) and Floating Constraints (NAGY and REYNOLDS) theories to the studies of the epenthesis, concluding that the variation at the output of the epenthesis is not the effect of the partial ordering, but the result of the fluctuation of a restriction that moves along a hierarchy that has other restrictions anchored. Thus, more than one *tableau* is generated with the restriction displacement positions for each form, “with an optimum candidate in each”. In turn, Lee and Oliveira (2003,

p. 73) highlight that the domination of restrictions goes through three steps in linguistic change by OT: (1) restriction A dominates restriction B ($A \gg B$); (2) this dominance is dissolved ($A:B$), creating the variation; (3) restriction B dominates restriction A ($B \gg A$), generating change. Finally, the restrictions and hierarchies of classic OT, combined with these later theories favor the treatment of synchronic and diachronic categorical and variable phenomena in grammars.

5 THE CAPE-VERDEAN CONTINUUM

Naturally, along a temporal space, languages go through transforming processes in their grammatical components, motivated by external linguistic contact or not. In this context, many times, the syllable goes unnoticed by the speaker or listener of a language as *locus* or phonetic-phonological processes (cf. SOUZA, 2003) that alter the word structure as a whole and that, on a macro level, trigger the variation and linguistic change process. For the Cape-Verdean continuum, it is possible to unveil elements of this phenomenon by suggesting possibilities of transformations in stages and phases in the syllabic structure that, at the level of the speakers performance, is manifested as the decanted variation among the islands. For such, we will investigate restructurings, adjustments and readjustments that may have occurred in the passage of inputs of the Sotavento varieties to those of the Barlavento.

Although we know that the European Portuguese (EP) inputs date from different centuries in the islands of – Santiago and Fogo (15th), Santo Antão (16th-17th), São Vicente (18th-19th) – and that many of these inputs of superstratum could explain part of the differential phonetical-phonological processes among the islands, our intention is to highlight the decisive and natural contribution of Southern (Sotavento) Cape-Verdean speakers in the formative phase of insular varieties of the north (Barlavento). Although they were the dominated group, these speakers together were able to keep intact the identity of the people as well as the language and the deep feeling of Cape-Verdean.

In the evolutionary line of the Cape-Verdean language, we will come up with stages of syllabic restructuring through which the varieties of the south and the north organized their particular grammars, adjusting and readjusting, in subsequent phases, the syllables in the words until reaching the representative and identity norm of their respective communities. As language and society are unconscious realities (BENVENISTE, 1968 *apud* ALKMIN, 2003, p. 26; BICKERTON, 1980), we consider this occurred gradually and tacitly in daily uses and interaction among the first speakers and, later, the forms stabilized and spread in society. To capture steps in this process, by the postulates of OT, we will present the hierarchy of operant constraints in eventual steps or stages A, B, and C. We will apply to the analysis the models given and the restrictions applied within the scope of theories of intra-linguistic variation, anchored on Antilla and Cho (1998), Nagy and Reynolds (1994), Jacobs (1995), Bermudez-

Otero (1996), and Collischonn (2000). The syllable will be considered by the OT (4.1) and the Creole Cape-Verdean syllable by the OT (4.2).

5.1 THE SYLLABLE BY THE OT

The Optimality Theory (OT) understands the syllable, according to the previous specification by Goldsmith (1990, p. 180), as a phonological constituent composed by three elements: Onset or Attack, Nucleus and Coda. On the initial margin is the Onset. In the center, the Nucleus. On the final margin, is the Coda. Occupied by vowels, only the nucleus is obligatory in the syllable. Onset and Coda are optional, filled or not by consonants. Nucleus and coda form the unit Rhyme, in which the vowel is nuclear and the coda secondary. By the OT, the UG provides a set of violable constraints in the structure of the syllable, and each language (individual grammars) fixes the *rankings* of these restrictions. Thus, the typology of languages is given by the set of all possible rankings, according to figure 2. In (2a), the prediction is that attacks and codas are optional when specified in the input. In (2b), attacks are obligatory and codas prohibited. In (2c), the prediction is that the attacks are obligatory and the codas possible according to the specification of the input. In (2d), if specified in the input, attacks are permitted and codas prohibited.

Figure 2. Syllabic Typology and Hierarchy of Restrictions

a. (C)V(C)	a. Fidelidade>>{Ataque,*Coda}
b. CV	b. {Ataque,*Coda}>>Fidelidade
c. CV(C)	c. Ataque>>Fidelidade>>*Coda
d. (C)V	d. *Coda>>Fidelidade>>Ataque

Source: Costa (2001, p. 52)

By the OT, only restrictions in conflict can be hierarchical. The conflict occurs when there is disagreement about a pair of candidates (cf PRINCE and SMOLENSKY, 1993). Kager (1998, p. 03-04) states that language and any grammar are considered systems of conflicting forces, and are “personified by restrictions, making demands on some grammatical aspect of output forms”. Restriction corresponds to the structural demand or condition of good generation that must be either satisfied or violated by a form of output. The OT establishes two types of restrictions: Markedness and Faithfulness. Restrictions of markedness or structural restrictions demand that the forms of output present some structural criteria of good formation, thus exert pressure towards unmarked types of structures, those universally favored. The faithfulness restrictions require that outputs preserve lexical properties of the basic forms, the similarity input-output. This is the force of the combination of grammatical factors to preserve lexical contrasts. Faithfulness counterbalances “erosive effects” from marking by enforcing the phonological form of the lexical items in the output.

By the postulates of OT, faithfulness restrictions and markings are universal and occur in all languages, but the rankings are unique, specific of restrictions established by each language. This said, in figure 3, we present the definition of the restrictions of marking and faithfulness that make up the hierarchical ranking of the syllabic structure of the Cape-Verdean Creole.

Figure 3. Operative Restrictions in the Syllabic Structure of Cape-Verdean Creole

(a) Markedness Restrictions (or structural)	
ONSET	Syllables should have onset
*CODA	Syllables should not have coda [or syllables are open]
*COMPLEX	Syllables should have more than one consonant in each extremity. Extremity unfolded in *COMPLEX ^{ONSET} , *COMPLEX ^{CODA}
*COMPLEX ^{ONSET}	Syllables should not have more than one consonant in attack.
*COMPLEX ^{CODA}	Syllables should not have more than one consonant in coda.
SCHWA	Nucleus of unstressed syllables are not grammatically analyzed.
AGREE(HIGH)	Adjacent vowels agree for the trace [+high]
(b) Faithfulness Restrictions	
MAX-IO	All input segment has a correspondent in output (no erasure)
DEP-IO	All output segment has a correspondent in input (no insertion)
IDENT-IO (HEIGHT)	A height trace of an input vocalic segment should be preserved in its corresponding output
IDENT-IO (PLACE)	One segment of output should be identical at a place or articulation point to the corresponding segment in the input

Source: The Authors

5.2 THE CAPE VERDEAN SYLLABLE BY THE OT

The syllabic restructurings of the Cape-Verdean Creole to be seen in this item include phenomena described by Historic Linguistics as withdrawal metaplasms, descent or suppression. We will treat syllabic types that can show more clearly the optionality or variation in the evolutionary steps of this language. The number of candidates per *tableaux* will be restricted to two due to space for the analysis, although we suggest that there might have been more candidates/competitors in successive phases in the construction of varieties in Santiago, Fogo, Santo Antão, and São Vicente. In the subsequent analyses, the syllable types contemplated will be V (2.2.1), CV (2.2.2), VC (2.2.3), and CVC (2.2.4) and *correlated types* that come from the same constituents – attack, nucleus or coda.

To analyze the Cape-Verdean Continuum, we will consider that the Santiago and Fogo varieties migrated with their mixed race speakers, the Cape-Verdeans, along with Africans, Portuguese and other Europeans that had arrived at the islands, and contributed as inputs in the formation of the Santo Antão and São Vicente varieties. Thus, the direction to be taken will be from Sotavento to Barlavento. From past

to present, the inputs and outputs to be analyzed in the hierarchies of restrictions of OT come from vocabular forms extracted from bibliographic works, since most of them remain unchanged since the first registers up to our last data collection on the islands, in 2019. Preservation, this is another secret of time. Innovation, the other probable part of the mystery. Let us probe further. In Cape Verde, the syllable tells us things. Let us listen, therefore, to what it says. Here are the syllable types:

(a) SYLLABLE TYPE V

The syllable type V is characterized by being formed only by the nucleus. This goes back to Goldsmith's (1990 *apud* SOUZA, 1999) famous definition that the syllable can be designated as "a vowel preceded and/or followed by zero or more consonants that present an organized hierarchical structure on the skeletal layer". A syllable formed only by the nuclear layer accentuates the flexibility of languages in having optional onsets and codas, a structure (C) V (C), where only the nucleus is obligatory, the infraction of this condition being the reason for this syllable to disappear and/or reappear as an integral part of the preceding or following syllable.

For this study of Cape-Verdean, we will look at the V syllable and its correlate VV, that can integrate the core constituent. While the vowels are syllabic by nature, constituting peaks, attacks or nuclei, the semivowels precede or follow the vowel in branched nucleus, forming the type VV or diphthong. The eight vowels in Cape-Verdean, /a, ɔ, e, o, i, u/, can constitute the nucleus, especially the stressed syllable. However, when it is the unstressed syllable, it can oscillate between the V and the phonetic zero intra and inter-islands, as in the variation of the pair *até* ~ *té* that are forms common to the islands. As there is much common variation of the syllabic type in focus, we will highlight occurrences of differential, intra-linguistic or intra-systemic variation in the Cape-Verdean.

The syllable type V, common to all Cape Verde islands, in general, comes from old Portuguese diphthongs such as in /*ou.tro* > *o.tu*/. But, focusing on the structure of the Cape-Verdean itself, considering the creole varieties established in the synchrony of the islands stemming from linguistic ancestry of Sotavento, what can be registered is a V with no oscillation in this position. Also, from Sotavento to Barlavento, hardly ever a diphthong form oscillates to a monophthong. In general, the following syllable is added to the preceding stressed syllable, as in the pair *oit* > *oit*. In this operation, invariably, the high vowels /i, u/ that occupy the nuclear position in the final syllable Southern varieties fall in the final configuration of the Northern ones, as we shall see next.

In the *tableaux* of figure 4, are the hierarchies of the passage of syllable type V in Sotavento to type VC in Barlavento, from *omi* > *om*. Similar examples of this type of syllable restructuring are *osu* > *os*, *otu* > *ot*, *mariadu* > *mariód*, *saúdi* > *soúdi*. In the *tableaux* found in figure 5, are presented the hierarchies of active restrictions in the passage of syllable type VV from Sotavento to VVC in Barlavento for the pair *oitu* > *oit*, similar to that of *dizoitu* > *dzoit*.

Fig 4. Cape-Verdean Continuum: Syllabic Type V to VC

A SOTAVENTO	MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA					
	<i>l'o.mi/</i>	MAX-IO	DEP-IO	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA
	a. [om]	*!		*	*	
	b. [o.mi]			*		*
B SOTAVENTO A BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA					
	<i>l'o.mi/</i>	SCHWA	MAX-IO	DEP-IO	ONSET	*CODA
	a. [o.mi]	*!			*	
	b. [om]		*		*	*
A + B + C						
C BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA					
	<i>l'om/</i>	SCHWA	MAX-IO	DEP-IO	ONSET	*CODA
	a. [om]				*	*
	b. [o.mi]	*!		*	*	

Source: The Authors

Figure 5. Cape-Verdean Continuum: Syllabic Type VV to VVC

A SOTAVENTO	MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA					
	<i>l'pi.tu/</i>	MAX-IO	DEP-IO	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA
	a. [oit]	*!		*	*	
	b. [oi.tu]			*		*
B SOTAVENTO A BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA					
	<i>l'oi.tu/</i>	SCHWA	MAX-IO	DEP-IO	ONSET	*CODA
	a. [oi.tu]	*!			*	
	b. [oit]		*		*	*
A + B + C						
C BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA					
	<i>l'oit/</i>	SCHWA	MAX-IO	DEP-IO	ONSET	*CODA
	a. [oit]				*	*
	b. [oi.tu]	*!		*	*	

Source: The Authors

In general, by the sets of *tableaux* in figures 4 and 5, the trajectory of a temporal and, consequently, structural continuum are perceived that go from Sotavento (A) towards Barlavento (B), going through an intermediary stage where a variation between one form and the other occur (B). In these eventual phases

of the intermediary stage, it is expected that modifications in the restrictions of hierarchies or re-hierarchizations of restrictions occur so that coexistent phonetic-phonologic systems or supra-individual grammars of the groups (A+B+C) interact in the Cape-Verdean until the hierarchy of the northern islands is established (C). Once this hierarchy is established, the creole will feature the classic distinctions registered in literature: Sotavento with typically open end syllabic structure with consonants and vowel (i, u, a) and Barlavento with locked end structure by simple or complex coda. In the onset, both varieties can present complexity, as we shall see.

In figures 4 and 5, we can identify, in part A, corresponding to the Sotavento inputs, that the Faithfulness restrictions dominate those of Markedness. As the words are configured as inputs for the speakers-listeners of a certain community, there is a strong militancy of the restrictions MAX-IO and DEP-IO for the maintenance or non-erosion of their forms. The structural or ONSET marking restriction that would come into conflict with faithfulness is ranked in a low position or toward the end of the hierarchy as *CODA (NOCODA) so that the optimal candidates, respectively *omi* and *oitu*, can be realized at the entrance just as it is at exit, that is, they can be optimal candidates. At this stage, the candidates that could be optimal, *om* and *oit*, violate MAX-IO that is ranked at the top of the hierarchy of the Cape-Verdean restrictions. This restriction contends against descents, being in favor of the maintenance of the input-output identity, thus the candidates with apocope are not well evaluated, realized or optimal in the Southern varieties. The movement is for conservation of the initial structure in the Cape-Verdean Creole.

In phase B, in 4 and 5, we see that the input in Sotavento is the reference for the speakers, however the restriction hierarchy begins to change to favor the fulfillment of end syllables with no vowels and, consequently, with codas. By the OT, this was possible thanks to the fluctuation of the good formation or SCHWA restriction that contends in favor of not verbalizing the unstressed vowels that were low ranked in Sotavento. In Barlavento, it ascended from the edge to the top of the hierarchy, generating the good evaluation, acceptance, and achievement of the candidates that went through apocope – *om* and *oit* – and that form closed or blocked syllables resulting from the final vowel drop fusion. They are optimal in the north because, although they do not maintain the faithfulness input-output, the restriction MAX-IO became lower in the hierarchy, such as *CODA that disfavors blocked syllables.

The movement is one of innovation: once such forms were accomplished and accepted in society, they become authorized and collective. Soon they are transformed into legitimate community inputs. In this way, the flow of the continuum continues to act in a way that, between the forms of stages A and B also comes into force a stage C. And, in this stage, the input form is totally correspondent to the output, characterizing the supra-individual grammar of the Barlavento varieties. In them, the SCHWA restriction is the highest ranked in the hierarchy, generating the final syllable pattern typical of Santo Antão and São Vicente. In the end, between the extremes A and C of the continuum presented, the optionality of choices

made by speakers from south to north of Cape Verde is captured. From satisfied or infringed universal restrictions in each supra-individual grammar or insular systems, these good formation conditions become particular rules in each specific system.

(b) SYLLABLE TYPE CV

The CV syllable is the canonic model in the languages of the world. Clements (2000, p. 140) highlights that this syllable type is the preferred in the African and Creole languages. This type is preeminent in situations of L1 acquisition and acquires redoubled relevance in situations of linguistic contact that result in L2 acquisition by adults and appearance of L1 in the succession of contacts and generations, as in the case of creole languages. Prince and Smolensky (1993, p. 89), mentors of OT, point out the CV is the most harmonic syllable of all – it constitutes the open syllable, the optimal syllable - and no language can prohibit its occurrence. To arrive at the model, there are two responsible markedness restrictions: syllables must have onsets (ONSET) and syllables cannot have codas (*CODAS). No language can prohibit onsets or demand codas.

In the Cape-Verdean Creole, the onset of the CV syllable can be filled by all consonants of the inventory: /p, b, t, d, f, v, s, z, ɲ, ɲɲ tɲ, dɲ, m, n, ɲ, l, ɲ, ɲ/, except /ɲ/ in the initial syllable of the word. The nucleus, as we have seen, can be filled by all vowels. The model CV is common and recurrent in Cape-Verdean words from south to north. However, there are cases where the difference occurs. We refer to those where the syllable CV in Sotavento is readjusted to arrive at the optimal form for the Barlavento communities. In the *tableaux* of figure 6, we present the hierarchies involved in the passage of the Sotavento CV type to Barlavento CVC: *léki* > *lek*. More examples are: *báru* > *bór*, *bódi* > *bod*, *pasádu* > *pasód*, *fetisu* > *fetis*. In the *tableaux* of figure 7, the re-hierarchizations that occurred in the passage from CV to CVCC: *póbri* > *pobr*. Other examples are *lakri* > *lekr*, *lagartu* > *lagórt*, *katóliku* > *katolk*, *gizadu* > *gzód*.

Figure 6. Cape-Verdean Continuum: Syllable Type CV to CVC

A SOTAVENTO	MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> AGREE (HIGH) >> IDENT(HEIGHT)							
	/le.ki/	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA	AGREE(HIGH)	IDENT(H)
	a.[le.k]	*!			*			*
	b.[le.ki]					*	*	
B SOTAVENTO A BARLAVENTO	AGREE (HIGH) >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> IDENT(HEIGHT)							
	/le.ki/	AGREE (HIGH)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA	IDENT(H)
	a.[le.k]						*	*
	b.[le.ki]	*!					*	
	SCHWA >> AGREE(HIGH) >> MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT(HEIGHT)							
	/le.ki/	SCHWA	AGREE(HIGH)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT(H)
	a.[le.k]						*	
	b.[le.ki]	*!			*			

	A + B + C							
C BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> AGREE(HIGH) >> MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT(HEIGHT)							
	/le.ki/	SCHWA	AGREE (HIGH)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT(H)
	a.[le.k]						*	*
	b.[le.ki]	*!	*			*		*

Source: The Authors

Figure 7. Cape Verdean Continuum: Syllable Type CV to CVCC

A SOTAVENTO	MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> AGREE (HIGH) >> IDENT (HEIGHT) >> CX^{cod}								
	/po.bri/	MAX	DEP	ONS	*COD	SCHWA	AGREE (HIGH)	IDENT(H)	COMPLEX ^{cod}
	a.[po.bri]					*	*		
	[pobr]	*!			**			*	*
B SOTAVENTO A BARLAVENTO	AGREE (HIGH) >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> IDENT(HEIGHT) >> CX^{cod}								
	/po.bri/	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONS	*CODA	SCHWA	IDENT(H)	COMPLEX ^{cod}
	a.[po.bri]						*	*	
	[po.bri]	*!					*		
	SCHWA >> AGREE(HIGH) MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT(HEIGHT) >> CX^{cod}								
	/po.bri/	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT(H)	COMPLEX ^{cod}
	a.[pobr]			*			**		*
	[po.bri]	*!							*

	A + B + C								
C BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> AGREE(HEIGHT) >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT (HEIGHT) >> CX^{cod}								
	/pobr/	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONS	*CODA	IDENT(H)	COMPLEX ^{cod}
	a.[pobr]						**		*
	[po.bri]	*	*!		*			*	

Source: The Authors

By the sequence of *tableaux* in figures 6 and 7, the Cape-Verdean continuum of syllabic restructuring in the Sotavendo-Barlavento axle can be followed. Thus, the figures with the *tableaux* of the

OT present pairs that involve more phenomena or phonetic-phonological processes in phase B than the previous (4 and 5). In 6 and 7, before the descent of the unstressed vowel in apocope, a lifting or heightening process of the vowel occurred in the stressed syllable, as will be seen. However, first we would like to mention that the restrictions happening in the Cape-Verdean hierarchy are practically the same in all cases studied in this article. There are, occasionally, addition of specific restrictions for each phase of syllabic restructuring. New Universal Grammar restrictions are triggered in the minds of speakers and positioned in the hierarchy to contemplate the process of variation and change through which the syllables are adjusted and readjusted until they reach the optimal form for that community and are fixed on the specific rankings or universal Re-Rankings of Restrictions (RR), that, according to Jacobs (1995) and Bermudéz-Otero (1996), proponents of the model, constitute the main mechanism of language change.

In stage A of figure 6, corresponding to Sotavento, the optimal candidate [ʔ□.ki] has its two syllables of the classic CV type from the Santiago and Fogo islands. This also occurs in figure 7, in the first syllable of the optimal candidate [ʔ□.bri]. To arrive at this result, the restrictions of faithfulness MAX-IO and DEP-IO are highly ranked, maintaining input and output faithfulness established for the southern community. All of them work in favor of the conservation of the syllable type that satisfies the ONSET restriction, presenting an initial consonant and the *CODA restriction, presenting only the vowel in the nucleus, that is, that generates open syllables. In this first stage of the creole, the marking or structural restrictions are lower in the hierarchy. This means that restrictions such as SCHWA, AGREE (HIGH) and IDENT (HEIGHT), that require, respectively, that unstressed syllables not be grammatically analyzed, that there be harmony in height between the vowel of the root and the vowel of the root of the word, and that the pitch identity of the input-output vowels be preserved, are part of the hierarchy without, however, determining evaluation or effectiveness of results.

To bring about a change in the figure, a trigger is necessary, a movement in the social environment that reverberates in the mind and production/perception of speakers so that the form oscillates until arriving at the structural form of Barlavento. We considered as trigger the contact with peoples and the passing of time in the islands, resulting in generational overlap. On the suggested route, we conjectured that the inputs of Southern varieties along with other European and African linguistic strata participate in the B formative stage of the Cape-Verdean Creole, and that this intermediary stage be composed of adjacent diachronic phases where two or more variants oscillate intra and inter-speakers and integrate individual and supra-individual grammars being formed. This stage B comes to be characterized by processes of phonotactic adjustments and readjustments involving the syllable, the accent, the height, and the disappearance of vowel segments. In figures 6 and 7, there are two *tableaux* with different outputs in B - *leki* ~ *lek* and *pobri* ~ *pobr* - , also anticipating that stage C could already be in effect during the

period. These two lexical outputs represent possibilities not attested in the language, but that can be suggested as a basis for processes that occurred in other languages in the world.

In the analysis by OT, in the first *tableau* of phase B in figures 6 and 7, the structural restriction AGREE (HIGH), that requires the pitch agreement between the root vowel and the theme vowel of the noun or verb, which was ranked low in Sotavento, fluctuated in the hierarchy and came to the top of the ranking hierarchy in Barlavento, remaining above the restrictions of faithfulness. Thus, the vowel harmony was assured – a phenomenon established when the quality of a vowel is altered to become similar to another vowel in the same phonological word – that promoted lifting of the open middle vowel of the stressed syllable with the high vowel of the posttonic syllable. Next, the SCHWA restriction also fluctuates to the top of the hierarchy and ensures that the forms in apocope *lek* and *pobr* are the winners, even the second having violated *COMPLEX^{cod}, a restriction that is usually obeyed in Sotavento. The next step is the spreading of these mentioned outputs in the community as inputs in Barlavento. We arrive, then, at C.

In stage C of figures 6 and 7, corresponding to Barlavento, we claim that the transformation of the Sotavento open syllables CV into the Barlavento blocked and complex syllables CVC and CVCC is concluded. There is now input-output correspondence. The restrictions SCHWA and AGREE (HIGH) are highly ranked to guarantee that no nonstressed vowel be added. Therefore, the innovation is assured. Universal restrictions were used in the organization of particular rankings and, in the end, became rules of use attested by speakers and fixed in the communities of linguistic varieties of the northern islands. The Cape-Verdean Creole comes out enriched with this re-ordering or re-ranking in the hierarchy of universal restrictions in particular ranking that characterizes the exuberant regional variation that is observed and experienced in the absolute reality of uses in the islands and in the relative of that of the immigrants in the diaspora.

(c) SYLLABLE TYPE VC

The syllable type VC is composed of an obligatory nucleus and of an optional coda. It is a frequent type in the languages in the world, but does not occur with the same exuberance as the previous type, the CV. In fact, in the African languages in general, this syllabic type has little recurrence. In the syllable types of the Fon Language demonstration figure, for example, it is not even present. However, this syllable type is frequent in creole languages and has as one of its genetic matrices one of the neo-romantic languages, such as Portuguese. In the case of the Cape-Verdean Creole, this type occurs in common realization in all insular varieties or dialects, almost always appearing in the initial syllables of words, as can be seen in *érba* > *erva*, *algen* ~ *argen* > *algen*, *indipendénsa*, *óstra* > *ostra*, *íntimu* > *íntim*, *undi* > *onde*, *iska* ~ *ixka*, *interu* > *inter*.

In the Cape-Verdean Creole, the VC nucleus can be occupied by all vowels in the inventory. The coda of the VC type common to the islands can be filled by /s ~ z, ɲ ~ ɲ, N, l, r/. The exceptions are in the occurrences of differential VC Barlavento syllables that present complex codas with random combinations depending on the consonant of the VC syllable or depending on the consonant of the syllable following that Sotavento VC. This means that, in spite of the recurrence of common forms in the groups of islands, the syllable type VC goes through different processes in the Sotavento-Barlavento route, as can be observed in the pairs *arvi* > *arv*, *ántis* > *entis* ~ *entx*. In this context, the descent process specifically reaches vocabulary forms with nucleus /i, u/ endings. The endings, in central vowel /a/ or consonant are generally maintained.

As we identified, few occurrences of the syllable type VC differential among the islands, we will investigate only the change of the VC type in Sotavento to VCC in Barlavento using the pair of words *altu* > *ólt*, in the *tableaux* in figure 8.

Figure 8. Cape-Verdean Continuum: Syllable Type VC to VCC

A	SOTAVENTO								
	MAX-IO, DEP-IO >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> AGREE (H) >> IDENT(H) >> CX^{cod}								
	<i>al.tu/</i>	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	IDENT(H)	CX ^{cod}
	a.[ɔlt]	*!		*	**			*	*
	b.[al.tu]				*	*			
B	SOTAVENTO								
	AGREE (H) >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> IDENT(H) >> CX^{cod}								
	<i>al.tu/</i>	AGREE (H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA	IDENT(H)	CX ^{cod}
A	b.[al.tu]				*	*	*	*	
	a.[ɔlt]	*			*	*	*		
BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> AGREE (H) >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT(H) >> CX^{cod}								
	<i>ɔlt /</i>	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT(H)	CX ^{cod}
	a.[ɔlt]			*		*	**		*
	b.[ɔlt]	*!				*	*		

A + B + C									
C	BARLAVENTO								
	SCHWA >> AGREE (H) >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT(H) >> CX^{cod}								
	<i>ɔlt /</i>	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT(H)	CX ^{cod}
	a.[ɔlt]						**		*
	b.[al.tu]	*!	*						

Source: The Authors

In the lines of the Cape-Verdean continuum presented by the *tableaux* in 8, we can observe that, in stage A, the winning input in Sotavento obeys the universal restriction of faithfulness that requires no withdrawal and no insertion, respectively, MAX-IO and DEP-IO. Being highly ranked in this variety, they ensure that the input-output identity be maintained, while those well-formed or structural conditions are kept below in the hierarchy so the chosen or winner form is enforced in the community. When perceptible variation begins at the articulatory level among the vowels of the root of the word in question, that is, when the articulatory harmonization begins to take up space, causing the rise of the vowel or lifting of the vowel of the root in relation to the thematic vowel – *áltu* > *óltu* –, thus, we can theoretically visualize that in the evaluation process that is going on in the hierarchy, a restriction is triggered and moves to determine the results in the evaluation phase.

Therefore, in the first phase of stage B, occurs the fluctuation and rise of the restriction AGREE (HIGH) to the top of the rank to assure that the more harmonious form *óltu* than the input *áltu* be victorious or optimal, even if violating the restriction that demands the height trait identify among the vowels in question, IDENT (HEIGHT). It so happens that, in the dynamics of the society being formed and in the outpouring of contacts and interactions in the northern islands, the variation process that is heading towards a change in progress, does not stop there. In the second phase of stage B, the restriction SCHWA (HIGH), that has been determinant in the selection of optimal Barlavento candidates, also migrates to the top of the hierarchy. Thus, in the minds of the speakers and in society, what can be observed is a change in the possible form of the input *óltu*, by apocope, becoming *ólt*. Even having violated *CODA and infringed *COMPLEX^{cod}, this form is well evaluated, considering they are not relevant in the Barlavento hierarchy for the cases analyzed here. It becomes realized and gains space in the competition with other possible variants from previous phases of A and B, setting spaces in step B corresponding to specification A+B+C.

In time, during ongoing events and phonetic-phonologic realizations, *ólt* becomes the input and output of the new Cape-Verdean communities settled in the north of the Archipelago. In C, the hierarchy postulated by the OT for the Barlavento varieties predicts that SCHWA and AGREE will be always highly ranked and that *CODA and COMPLEX^{cod} will be on the opposite extreme; this happening on an evolutionary scale over time-space within the Cape-Verdean linguistic continuum itself from Sotavento. However, in case the varieties of Santo Antão and São Vicente, in Barlavento, are studied each in its synchronous axis, it will be necessary to consider the relation of their inputs with the faithfulness restrictions that, in general, are determinant in the languages of the world.

(d) Syllable Type CVC

The syllable type CVC represents the complete syllable model, one that is endowed with the three elemental constituents: onset, nucleus, and coda. On the other hand, this is the locked syllable form. Due to this, many languages take out C or add V. Normally the most used is the second strategy in search of the optimal syllable (cf. Rodrigues, 2010). In fact, this is a common operation in languages that appeared in situations of multilingual contacts such as creoles. In the Cape-Verdean Creole in general, as mentioned, the syllable type CVC can have the onset constituent occupied by all consonants in the inventory, guarded the exceptions. The nucleus can be occupied by all vowels. And the coda is usually occupied by liquids, fricatives, and nasals as in the pairs *dór* > *dor*, *amor*, *ten*, *dos* > *dox*, *distánsia* > *distánsa*. Exceptionally, however, this condition can be altered, guided, mainly, by the tendency to apocope that is shown and, as we shall see, also to syncope that acts in the northern islands.

From Sotavento to Barlavento, leaving Santiago and Fogo towards Santo Antão and São Vicente, the differential processes arising from this configuration of the Cape-Verdean hierarchy result in variation of the syllable type CVC from Sotavento to, among others CVCC, CCVC, CCVCC, CVCCC, in Barlavento, almost always in processes of change in syllabic coda. However, there are many occurrences that also involve the onset of syllables, as we shall see next. In the *tableaux* of figure 9, we will observe the re-hierarchizations that occur in the passage of the syllable type CVC from Sotavento to the type CVCC in Barlavento through the pair *térsu* > *ters*. Examples of similar restructurings are in the pairs *verdi* > *verd*, *rokursu* > *rokurs*, *kárni* > *karn*, *abértu* > *abert*. In the *tableaux* of figure 10, we will analyze the modifications of hierarchies of restrictions that occurred in the passage of syllable type CV to CCVC in Barlavento looking at the pair *rispetu* > *rxpet*. Cases that are in the same category are *kustumu* > *kxtum* e *bistidu* > *pxtid*.

Figure 9. Cape-Verdean Continuum: Syllable Type CVC to CVCC

A SOTAVENTO	MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> AGREE (HIGH)>>IDENT (HEIGH) >>CX^{cod}								
	/ter.su/	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	IDENT (H)	CX ^{cod}
	[ters]	*!			**		*	*	*
B SOTAVENTO A BARLAVENTO	AGREE (HIGH) >>MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> IDENT(HEIGH) >>CX^{cod}								
	/ter.su/	AGREE (H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	SCHWA	IDENT (H)	CX ^{cod}
	[ters]		*!			*	*	*	**
	[ter.su]			*		*	*	*	
	SCHWA >>AGREE(HIGH) MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> IDENT(HEIGH) >> CX^{cod}								
	/ter.su/	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT (H)	*CX ^{cod}
[ters]			*			*		**	
[ter.su]	*!					*			

A + B + C									
C BARLAVENTO	SCHWA>>AGREE(H)>> MAX, DEP>> ONSET, *CODA>> IDENT(HEIGH)>>*CX^{cod}								
	/ters/	SCHWA	AGREE(H)	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	IDENT (H)	*CX ^{cod}
	[ters]						**		
[ter.su]	*!	*		*		*	*		

Source: The Authors

Figure 10. Cape-Verdean Continuum: Syllable Type CVC to CCCVC

A SOTAVENTO	MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> AGREE (H)>>IDENT (PLACE) >>CX^{ons}								
	/ris.'pe.tu/	MAX	DEP	ONS	*CODA	SCHWA	AGREE	IDENTI(PLA)	*CX ^{onset}
	[ris.'pe.tu]				*	**			
[r]pet/	**!			*			*	*	
B SOTAVENTO A BARLAVENTO	SCHWA >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> AGREE (H)>> IDENT (PLACE) >>CX^{ons}								
	/ris.'pe.tu/	SCHWA	MAX	DEP	ONS	*CODA	AGREE	IDENT(PLA)	*CX ^{onset}
	[ri].pet]	*	*			**		*	
	[ris.pe.tu]	**!				*			
	SCHWA >> MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> AGREE (H)>>IDENT (PLACE) >>CX^{ons}								
	/rix.pet/	SCHWA	MAX	DEP	ONS	CODA	AGREE	IDENTI(PLA)	*CX ^{onset}
[r]pet]		*			*			*	
[ri].pet]	*!				**				

A + B + C									
C BARLAVENTO	MAX, DEP >> ONSET, *CODA >> SCHWA >> AGREE (H)>>IDENT (PLACE) >>CX^{ons}								
	/r]pet/	SCHWA	MAX	DEP	ONSET	*CODA	*CX ^{onset}	IDENTI(PLA)	
	[r]pet]					*	*		
[ris.pe.tu]	**!		**		*		*		

Source: The Authors

In figures 9 and 10, the Cape-Verdean continuum from Sotavento to Barlavento, in the extremes A and C, present forms with complex codas and complex onsets: *ters* and *rxpet*. These occurrences are possible thanks to the movement or fluctuation of two structural restrictions or the marking in the structure of the southern varieties on their way to the north. The restrictions AGREE and SCHWA, each on its turn, in adjacent phases intra or inter-speakers, rises from a low position in the hierarchy to the top of the rank. Thus, initially, the agreement of the vowel height occurs and next the descent of the vowel of the unstressed syllable before or after the stressed, more precisely syncope in the pretonic and apocope in the posttonic. The stressed syllable always is maintained. It is a very coordinated movement that confirms the usefulness in the constitution of the re-hierarchizations that occur during an optionality process in the constitution of the Cape-Verdean L1. On the side of the External Language (EL), however, the changes seem to be only phonetic, but, in fact, the syllable was modified as well as the vocabular extension and, as a result, even the accent.

Following the course of the stages, in the *tableaux* of figures 9 and 10, of stage A, corresponding to Sotavento, the faithfulness restrictions MAX-IO and DEP-IO dominate in relation to the restrictions of structural nature and are lower in the hierarchy. Restrictions such as IDENT (HEIGHT) and IDENT (PLACE), that contend, respectively, in favor of the identity of height and identity of place of articulation of segments, as well as *COMPLEX^{cod} e *COMPLEX^{onset} are so low in the hierarchy that they do not interfere in the evaluation of the middle vowels in question in the pairs of the two figures. Thus, the optimal candidates – *tersu* and *rispetu* - with CVC syllables are selected.

In the next stage, B, corresponding to the fluctuation from Sotavento to Barlavento, social movements reflect in the linguistic system and the grammars come to represent different syllabic structure and, for reasons intrinsic to that speaker community, more adequate to the older and younger generations, in another region, in another time. In this intermediary stage, concurrent or variant forms besides those suggested, coexist to, in subsequent steps, stabilize as change in northern communities. This corroborates what Antilla and Cho (1998) expressed that language tends to change due to external factors, as generational overlap, not by leaps of one invariant grammar to another, but by centuries of variation among adjacent dialects that differ temporarily and minimally from each other.

From this scenery of variation in B, in the two *tableaux* corresponding to phases in the stage, emerge the possible intermediary forms in figures 9 and 10: *tersu* ~ *ters* e *rixpet* ~ *rxpet*. The first vocabular forms of each pair diverge from the Sotavento input only in height of the vowel, being the last of each pair already identical to the Barlavento final form. Although having violated, respectively, *COMPLEX^{COD} e *COMPLEX^{ONS}, they will be elected or realized as optimal candidates in the northern communities, because these restrictions are ranked low in the hierarchy of Cape-Verdean in general, predicting and authorizing optionalities. In the perspective of the syllable structure, the ranking of these

restrictions in a low position in the Sotavento and Barlavento hierarchy makes Cape-Verdean a language where cases of complex onsets and codas are well evaluated and accepted by the community in general, safeguarding the condition that complex codas are specified namely for Barlavento, while complex onsets can be part of syllables of creole in general.

In figure 10, we highlight the presence of the restriction IDENT (PLACE) that contends in favor of the identity of place among the segments of input and output, but that, in the Cape-Verdean, was ranked low and due to this does not interfere or cannot curb the change of articulation of place in the fricatives /s/ e /ʃ/. Therefore, the Barlavento sibilant fricatives achieved the palatal + trace that could be in effect in the pool of traces of the initial centuries of the Cape Verde nation. At this point, it becomes essential to mention that, in fact, according to OT assumptions, the restrictions are “there” in Universal Grammar, available to be positioned in the hierarchy of all languages and, depending on the internal and external reality of each one, they will be accessed and have their place marked in the hierarchy. Each language organizes its particular ranking. Each variety in this language can also do the same. Of the sum of the varieties we have the possible rankings in a certain language.

Returning to the *tableaux*, and returning to the sequencing of the processes under scrutiny in this item, we see that, once the outputs present in B, *tersu* ~ *ters e* *rixpet* ~ *rxpet*, that present vowel drop in apocope and syncope, respectively, are still resulting from the evaluation of inputs with unstressed vowels from Sotavento, it will be necessary to suggest one more stage so that there is correspondence, identity or harmony between input-output in Barlavento that can be picked up by the OT theoretical model. In this case, we postulate step C. In this stage, as in the other *tableaux* of the previous figures, the innovative Barlavento forms are transformed in inputs in the Cape-Verdean society and produce, finally, the authorized outputs, selected as optimal and representative of the speeches of the northern communities.

We are aware that not all variations along the formative path of the varieties of a language will result in change, but we defend that all completed change in the synchrony of the Cape-Verdean Creole can be understood as the result of stages of transition as those suggested: A+B+C. And, at the end of this analysis by the OT, we highlight the entire process of internal optionality enrolled in stages A to C, demonstrating that the Cape-Verdean Creole is a versatile language in terms of its syllable structure, having hierarchies of restriction that guarantee forms with the presence of unstressed vowels and forms with as few unstressed elements as possible or only with stressed vowels by the high or low ranking of faithfulness and markedness restrictions.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study we described and analyzed aspects related to the restructuring, variation and change of the Cape-Verdean Creole syllabic structure, through phonetic-phonological variation and change,

guided by the non-classical Optimity Theory. Along the evolutionary line traced in the Sotavento-Barlavento direction, we considered of fundamental importance to highlight the unbreakable force of the bond between history, society and language in the islands and emphasize that the movements triggered in history through actions carried out in society reflected in the minds of speakers and, therefore, reflected in the creole linguistic varieties that integrate the Cape Verde mother language.

The sequence of contacts of various peoples, generations and inputs in the extension of insular territory generated the socio-historical outline that resulted in genetically interlinked varieties in the continuum creole that generated the nine varieties that make up the same and heterogeneous external language (EL), since every language gathers in itself a set of varieties. These linguistic varieties, in turn, are composed of individual grammars that, according to Bickerton (1974, p. 18-19) relate to the polyethal grammar of the community, as the individual grammars of the speakers are the blocks with which the grammar of the community is built.

In this way, although separated by geography, the Cape-Verdean islands are linked by indissoluble socio-historical and social links, integrating the extensive, diverse, but of a single mesh, sociolinguistic texture of the Cape-Verdean Creole. Due to this, in our triple perspective – creolistic, immanentist, and sociolinguistic, and especially, through the generative model of the re-hierarchizations of OT, we considered the Cape-Verdean as an internal language (IL) composed by differentiated collective grammars or coexistent systems in different stages of language formation.

In the Cape-Verdean continuum described by the OT, we considered that the process of variation and change as developed in steps A, B, C correlation $A+B+C$ could have been abrupt in the minds of the speakers, as many generativists defend, but the appearance was of gradual change in society as sociolinguists defend. In fact, both perspectives make up the portrait faces: it is abrupt in the minds or in individual grammars, but is gradual in society. And thus, observing the language in the synchrony of the two insular extremes – Sotavento and Barlavento - , the complete change takes on characteristics of interdialectal variation. However, this variation accounts for only a perceptible fraction of the innumerable diachronic processes that acted over the form and substance of the Cape-Verdean IL, fomented by the multicausality.

And, finally, we can consider that, when past and present intertwine, sociohistory and structure realize concatenated movements that build conservation and innovation paths, linguistic variation and change in the environment of creole languages and in that of the other languages of the world. Together, they allow us to learn more about the intricate and fantastic weave of the grammatical and lexical organization of a language and of the multifaceted organization of human language in general. In the specific case of the Cape-Verdean continuum, on the inside and outside of the language, this process

makes the action of time and generations reverberate as well as sounds the echo of the force of contacts in the syllable structure of the mother language of the Archipelago.

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