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Spelling and identity in Capeverdean

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Linguistic Context

➤ Capeverdean has no orthographic standard

➤ Formal education is mostly in portuguese

Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano
(ALUPEC)

*Caboverdianus sempre screbe, canta comunica na Criolu semconfuzon. Dipos qi **ALUPEQERUS** bem parci co mania di screbe Criolu co K. Pensando ma K e mas Africano. (...) Mi nha Criolu e co C ti dia qi n´morre.*

Alupec é ca adaptado a lingua crioulo mas sim a um variante apenas di lingua crioulo e por isso é qui alupec é cheio di erro e contradiçon.

Modi q um gajo ta fazi um Dicionario em Lingua Badiu ta poi lingua Caboverdiano. Cuze cu ques otos lingua?
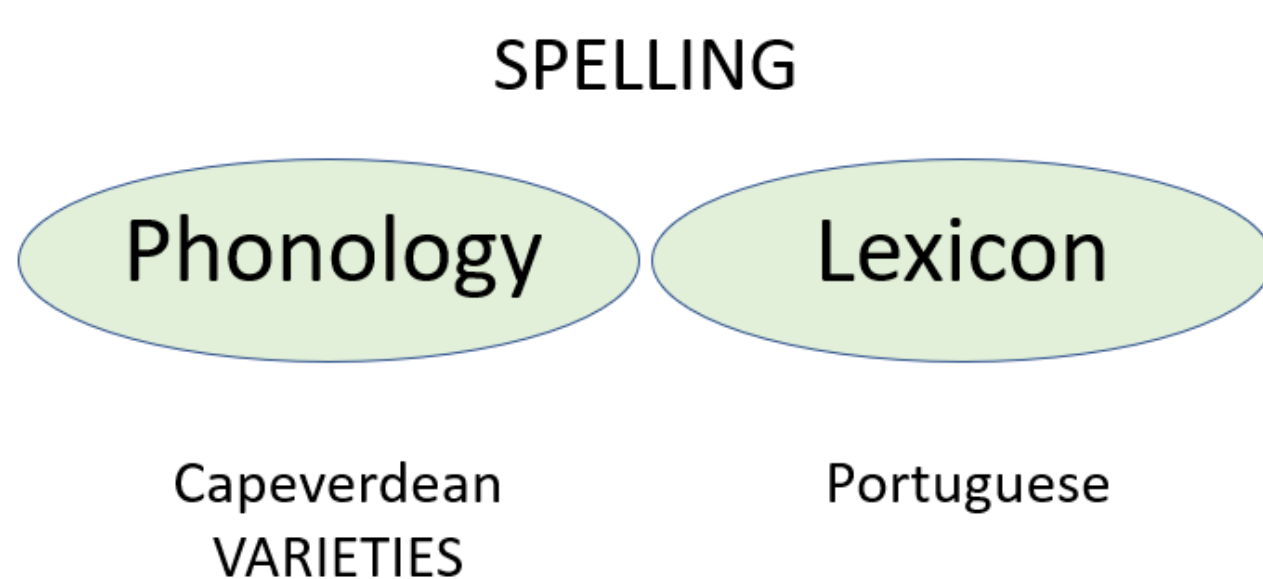
(…) ma na ta skrebe ten di ser a "**badiupek**"

Alupek ca é um sistema pa unifica mas sim pa afasta pessoas di mesmo país.

ALUPEK CA É LINGUA! CRIOULO TA SCREBEDO CU C

Alupec é um declaraçon di guerra di badiu contra sampadjudo e el ca ta representa nos lingua.

Linguistic Context

SPELLING

Phonology   Lexicon

Capeverdean
VARIETIES   Portuguese

➢ nonstandard orthographies can be a good way to capture the "voice" of the speakers (Jaffe, 2012)

➢ respellings as tools to represent speakers and speech varieties (Jaffe, 2012)

➢ 'deviant' spelling has a potential social meaning (Sebba, 2007)

➢ How do people write? What are speakers choices to represent oral production?

Methodology

➢ spontaneous written productions collected on internet:

    Facebook:

        OndaCrioulo
        DoYouPapiaKriolu

    Blogs:

        alupeckatentadju
        kauverdianu
        vozdidjarmai
        fidjudjarfogo

➢ final corpus of about 8000 words

➢ all comments written exclusively in portuguese were deleted

➢ wordlists were extracted with *AnTConc 3.5.8.*

BUT

➢ it is not possible to control important social variables such as age, sex, place of birth, etc.

➢ data should not be used for statistical purposes; results must be considered as clues for future research.

Overview

Variants such as *kabevrdiane* might be typing errors

different graphemes representing same phoneme

caboverdiano / kabuverdianu

EYE DIALECT or HOMOPHONE SPELLING:
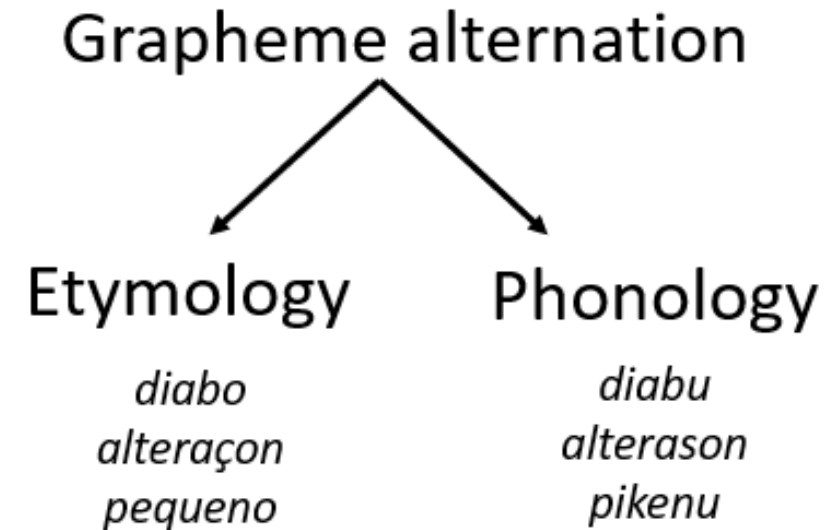graphic alterations not related to pronunciations (Preston (1982), *apud* Jaffe, (2012); (Androutsopoulos, 2000)

caboverdiano	kabuverdiano
caboverdianu	kabuverdianu
kaboverdiano	kauvediano
kabuberdianu	kauverdianu
cabuberdianu	kabeverdiane
cabuverdianu	kabevrdiane
cobeverdian	kabverdiane
cobverdian	kabverdion

different phonological varieties

kabverdion / kabeverdiane

DIALECT RESPELLINGS:
non-standard spellings that reflect some phonological features of a speech variety (Preston, 1982 (*apud* Jaffe, 2012))

Graphic variation

Phoneme	Grapheme	Examples
[k]	c / k / q / qu	demokrasia, democrasia
		pequeno, pikeno
		kel, qel, quel
[u]	u / o	governo, governu, guverno, guvernu
		dikreto, dikretu
		diabu, diabo
[s]	s / ç / ss / c	alterason, alteraçon
		conteçe, contissi, kontise, contici
		nason, nação, nasãu
[i]	i / y	urgenti, urgenty
		kontenty, contenti
		forti, forty
[ʃ]	ch / x / s	chinte, chinti, xinte, xinti
		pachencha, paxenxa
		stod

Grapheme alternation

Etymology

diabo
alteraçon
pequeno

Phonology

diabu
alterason
pikenu

➢ Identity / Language ideology

➢ The selection between *K* or *C* is frequently associated with a more related african or portuguese cultural identity (Ramos, A. (2009))

Phonological Variation

➤ **Depos** [s], **dipox** [ʃ], **depoz** [z]
➤ No occurrences of the sound [ʒ] in the corpus, except **dejkutido**

➤ Spelling doesn't necessarily corresponds to oral production!

• Portuguese word-end –s or –z (**depois, vez**)

• **Es**tode, **es**tod, **s**tóde = [ʃ]

	[s] / [ʃ]	[ʃ]	[z] / [ʃ]
end of word	bes, bês, ves	bex, vex	bez, vez
	depois, depos, despos, dipos	dipox	depoz
	kes, ques, quês	kex, kesh, quesh	kez
	crus	crux	cruz
	cusas, kusas, kussas		cusaz, kusaz
begining of word	scravos	xcravo, excravo	
	strangeros	xtrangero	
	splika	explika, xplica	
	sta	xta	
		estode, estod, stóde	

Phonological Variation

➢ ***KES*** (203)

nta atxa ma **kes** agentes la catem nada k sata spera julgamento
Quenha ki mandaba nhos ba vota pa **kes** coruptu?
...sem ki culpados sejan encotrados e punido pa **kes** barbaridade li

➢ ***QUES*** (27)

A dor de mãe forte dor pa **ques** familias que ses fidjos dja perde forte ingunia
Deus nho cumpanha cu **ques** meninos li que nada ca contice cues. da doss fidju
grandi de cume e bu dexa **ques** oto seti cu fomi.

➢ ***QUÊS*** (1)

anton tchá nôs bem dsejás, dôs ô três vez, túd aquil **quês** tem dsejód nôs

➢ ***KESH*** (1)

um de **kesh** cosa boa que no herdá dess sofriment de colonização.

Phonological Variation

➢ **KEX** (5)

mx b deve leva em conta a moeda **kex** ta usa
bai purgunta XXX si e kre poi td **kex** lingua la comu opson pa Nigerianos!?
kex alguen di Santu Anton mod k ta fika

➢ **QUESH** (2)

Moda cum dzê, mandash ressuscitá Baltazar e **quesh** ot e ensinash escrevê criol de novo!
Um tava gostá de sabê qual que era prop **quesh** lingua africana e passá a escrevê
directament na esh.

➢ **KEZ** (4)

ta fle me paranoia ma **kez** kuza la ka ta ixisti...
Kez buz skritoz ly sta torcy alupecadorez oredjaz
noz kriolo ta mesty dy tudo letraz portanto **kez** letraz ly e...

Phonological Variation

Excravo, estode, explika are etymologically oriented spellings, in accordance to portuguese syllabic rules

Kussas: emphasis on double S to preserve sound [s]; interference of portuguese phonological rules?

Kesh, quesh: nonstandard representation of the sound [ʃ] (considering portuguese rules); a highlight of a specific pronunciation

	[s] / [ʃ]	[ʃ]	[z] / [ʃ]
end of word	bes, bês, ves	bex, vex	bez, vez
	depois, depos, despos, dipos	dipox	depoz
	kes, ques, quês	kex, kesh, quesh	kez
	crus	crux	cruz
	cusas, kusas, kussas		cusaz, kusaz
begining of word	scravos	xcravo, excravo	
	strangeros	xtrangero	
	splika	explika, xplica	
	sta	xta	
		estode, estod, stóde	

Phonological Variation

[u] o / u	[ɨ] ∅	[ɨ] -e
certo, sertu, certu, serto	cert	certe, serte
corpo, corpu, korpu	corp	corpe
estadu, estado	estad	estade
janeru, janeiro, janero	jener	jenere
mesmu, mesmo	mesm	mesme
minino, mineno, menino	minin	mnine
mumdo, mundu, mundo	mund	munde
povu, povo	pov	pove
sofrimento	sofriment	sofrimente
tempu, tenpu, tenpo	temp	tempe
partido	partid	partide
feio, feiu	fei	
meiu, meio	mei	

➢ Deletion of unstressed final vowels [u] and [i] in Barlavento, also in Maio and Fogo (after consonants /r/, /l/ and /s/) (Lang, 2004)

➢ 2 strategies of graphic representation of same phonological event:
- Deletion of vowel

  estad, pov, cert, mesm
- Change to vowel -e, correspondent to portuguese orthographic rules

  corpe, munde, jenere

➢ Change for vowel -e may not be an option in presence of diphtongs:

  fei / feie(?)
  mei / meie(?)

Phonological Variation

➤ Deletion of unstressed final vowels "triggers changes in the preceding stressed vowels making them higher and more rounded" (Swolkien, 2015)

forçod, kavole, dzabofe

➤ Changing to vowel -e seems to be preferred with nasal consonants to avoid vowel nasalization

afrikane – afrikan - afrik[ã]

one – on - [õ]

➤ And, after final /s/ to preserve sound [z]: *abuse*

Abrass: double *ss* may be a way to emphasize this specific phonetic production, because of contextual variation of final /s/

[u] o / u	[ɨ] ø	[ɨ] -e
cuidado, cuidadu, kuidado, kudado, kudadu	queidod	cuidôde, kuidode
abrasu, abraço	abrass	
baratu	barat	
forçado	forçod	
inventado, inventadu	inventod	
kuarto, kuarto	kuart	
paradu	parad	
	desabaf	dezabofe, dzabofe
abuso, abusu		abuse
africano, afrikanu		afrikane
anu, ano		óne, one
cabalu, kabalu		kavole
condenado		kondenóde
politizado		politizode
ligado, ligadu		ligode

Desabaf and *dezabofe/dzabofe* = 2 phonological variants

Conclusion

➢ Spelling variants are a result of the inexistence of an orthographic standard;

➢ Phonological and lexical components (Capeverdean and Portuguese, respectively) operate in the selection of a written item;

➢ Variation is related to (1) different graphemes in representation of same phoneme and to (2) dialectal variation;

➢ Dialectal features that characterize a specific variety can be identified through spelling;

➢ The spelling choices people make, oriented either to etymology or to phonology, often imply a specific attitude regarding socio-linguistic identity.

(...) maaaa na faze teste, escrevido o falado, ten di ser em crioguês, obrigatoriamenti, so pamodi alunu ka ta dumina skrita di Partuges.

THANK YOU!

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