3 Portuguese in Contact

ANA MARIA CARVALHO AND
DANTE LUCCHESI[1]

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Introduction

Portuguese is the sixth most spoken language in the world and the official language of eight countries: Brazil, Portugal, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, and East Timor, with more than 200 million native speakers. The distribution of the Portuguese language in the world today reflects the development of Portuguese colonial control from the sixteenth to the twentieth century and migration trends. Throughout its 500 years of expansion, the Portuguese language came into contact with hundreds of very different languages, in equally diverse situations. From these diverse contact conditions, profound changes resulted, such as those that brought about the Portuguese creoles of Africa and Asia. As a less radical result of linguistic contact, the popular varieties of Brazilian Portuguese have developed. In addition, a wide range of contact situations involving Portuguese gave rise to the emergence of varieties of Portuguese spoken as L2 in Africa and Asia, in addition to bilingual varieties in communities on the borders of Portuguese and Spanish-speaking countries, both in South America and in Europe. This chapter provides an overview of the multiplicity of contact situations involving Portuguese and their linguistic consequences.[2]

1. The emergence of pidgin and creole languages and the process of irregular language transmission

In most cases, the effects of language contact are observed mainly in lexical borrowings, without direct effects on the grammar of the languages involved. However, massive and abrupt language contact sometimes gives rise to entirely new languages, called *pidgins* and *creoles*. The majority of such languages known today were formed during European colonial expansion, in specific sociological contexts such as (1) agricultural export activities employing slave or forced labor, that were established in America, Africa, Asia and Oceania; (2) communities of runaway slaves, called *quilombos*, *palenques*, or *maroons* in Africa and America; (3) trading posts in European strongholds in Africa, Asia and Oceania. Typically, the process of pidginization and creolization occurred in asymmetric situations, wherein a dominant European minority imposed its language upon a majority of speakers of different and mutually unintelligible languages.

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There is extensive discussion as to whether pidgins and creoles have a special status among human languages.[3] While most languages have evolved gradually over many generations, the formation of pidgins and creoles may occur within two or three generations. In the initial contact situation, this process involves the functional expansion and grammaticalization of a small vocabulary from the dominant language (the lexifier language) to form a second language code of interethnic communication. From this process, a number of typical structural features emerge. A creole speech community forms when children develop their native language from the model of L2 (pre-pidgin or pidgin) spoken by adults. Depending on the sociohistorical context, the result of this process of language development may be more, or less, radical. In the next section, we present a theoretical perspective which contemplates both types, and which captures the nature of historical language contact in Brazil.

1.1. Irregular language transmission

The notion of irregular language transmission (ILT) as a gradual process seeks to develop a broader model for linguistic change induced by language contact (Lucchesi 2008, 2012). Whereas massive contact between languages can lead to the formation of a creole language, with a qualitatively different grammar from that of the target language, it can also result in the formation of varieties of the dominant language with only some of the structural features of creole languages, characterizing a light type of irregular language transmission.[4]

In both cases, there is a need for the restoration of grammatical structures lost in the initial contact situation, resulting from incomplete language acquisition of the lexifier language by adult speakers of the dominated groups. Hence, it is the intensity of erosion of the dominant language grammar that determines the degree of grammatical restructuring of the emergent linguistic variety. In typical creolization situations, communication happens through a restricted vocabulary from the dominant language, virtually devoid of grammatical structure, called a pre-pidgin (Siegel 2008). Where the dominated groups speak mutually unintelligible languages, the pre-pidgin becomes used in communicative functions beyond the restricted relationship between dominators and dominated. This functional expansion triggers grammatical restructuring engendering the pidgin language. As speakers of the dominated groups have very limited access to grammatical models of the dominant language, they resort to grammatical structures of their native languages to grammaticalize the pre-pidgin, a process called relexification (Lefebvre 1998) or substrate transfer (Siegel 2008). To the extent that children born in the contact circumstances are acquiring pre-pidgin or pidgin as their first language, creolization (nativization) occurs.

The grammatical restructuring that distinguishes the formation of pidgins and creoles occurred in very specific sociohistorical situations of language contact. Nonetheless, the conditions fostered by European colonialism in America, Africa, Asia and Oceania varied greatly with respect to their social, ethnic, and demographic variables. Thus, in many situations of massive language contact, pidgins and creoles did not develop, yet this does not mean that the varieties of English, Portuguese, and Spanish that developed are devoid of structural changes resulting from the imposition of colonial languages upon millions of speakers of other languages.

What differentiates light ILT from the cases considered typical of creolization is the greater access of the speakers of the dominated groups to models of the target language. This *greater access* inhibits the embryonic processes of grammaticalization and transfer of the substrate, essential for development of a pidgin or creole grammar. However, the process that is shared with pidginization and creolization is the morphological simplification affecting primarily the grammatical mechanisms that either have no informational value or have a more abstract semantic value. Hence, the difference between the two cases resulting from contact is merely

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quantitative. In radical ILT yielding pidginization/creolization those mechanisms would be virtually excluded, whereas lighter irregular language transmission would yield a broad complex of variation in the use of these mechanisms, without their exclusion.

2. Brazil

The first effective Portuguese colonization of Brazil occurred in the region of São Paulo, in 1532, and was based on the enslavement of local indigenous people. The small contingent of settlers, overwhelmingly men, gave rise to an extensive process of miscegenation, which resulted in the formation of a Mameluco mestizo society,[5] characterized by the predominant use of a *restructured* variety of Tupi, called *língua geral*. The diglossia between the *língua geral* and the Portuguese of the colonists, typical of São Paulo Society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, can be seen as the initial manifestation of the sociolinguistic polarization of Brazil.

Following the expulsion of the French from São Luís, in 1615, a variety of Tupinambá, known as *Nheengatu* ("good language"), came to predominate in the Portuguese colonial society established initially in Maranhão. Subsequently, the Portuguese settlers spread this language to the Amazon in their search for spices and indigenous slaves, and Nheengatu was adopted by Amazonian indigenous people who spoke quite distinct languages, such as the Arawak and Carib languages. Nheengatu nativized among these peoples and has survived as the mother tongue in some Upper Amazon localities. In the more dynamic regions of Portuguese America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – such as the areas surrounding the towns of Olinda and Salvador, in northeastern Brazil – the indigenous population was quickly decimated and replaced by large contingents of African slaves.

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the slave trade introduced some ten million Africans to the Americas. On the linguistic level, the African contribution is highlighted by the emergence of more than thirty creole languages, including Haitian (French-lexified), Palenquero (Colombia, Spanish-lexified), and Saramaccan and Sranan (Suriname, English-lexified). It is estimated that Brazil was the destination of almost 40 percent of the Atlantic slave trade, amounting to some four million individuals. Until the mid-nineteenth century, approximately 70 percent of Brazil's population consisted of Indians, Africans, and their descendants—that is, only one-third of Brazilian society were native speakers of Portuguese born from parents with the same mother tongue. As of the seventeenth century, the presence of Africans and their descendants grew significantly, constituting the workforce of three principal activities: sugar-cane, tobacco and cotton plantations in the northeast of Brazil between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries; mining of gold and precious stones in Minas Gerais in the eighteenth century; and coffee plantations of southeast Brazil in the nineteenth century. By 1850, Africans and their offspring represented approximately 65 percent of Brazil's total population. Although the slave trade ended in 1850, slavery was abolished only in 1888. Until the early twentieth century, the vast majority of people of African origin lived in the countryside and was illiterate (Lucchesi 2009).

In the face of these facts, there is strong evidence for the influence of language contact in the formation of the variety of Portuguese spoken by blacks and mulattos who dominated the base of the Brazilian social pyramid (Mattos and Silva 2004). Historic records (especially literary texts) of the speech of Africans and *crioulos* in the nineteenth century reveal traits of morphological simplification characteristic of pidgin and creole languages, notably the lack of articles, verbal inflection, nominal number, gender agreement, and pronominal case inflection (Alkmim 2008). Consequently, one may conclude that the historical predecessor of present Popular Brazilian Portuguese underwent a process of ILT of a light type, as described in the previous section.[6]

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Throughout the twentieth century, a significant part of the rural population of African descent migrated to the large cities, entering the consumer market and the world of literacy, albeit precariously. Thus, the population of Brazilian cities multiplied, highways were constructed throughout the country and a wide network of public schools was established. This produced significant sociolinguistic changes: the speech of the ruling classes began to distance itself from the model of Portugal, being influenced by linguistic changes from below, whereas the speech of the great mass of descendants of African slaves (or of Brazilian Indians, depending on the region) became increasingly influenced by linguistic changes from above. Thus, a linguistic leveling occurred with an increasing influence from the so-called Brazilian educated urban standard (*norma culta*) in all regions of the country. In addition to the socioeconomic factors cited here, the rapid growth of the mass media acted decisively in implementing this linguistic leveling (Lucchesi 2001 and 2009).

This entire process alleviated the ethnic character of the linguistic differences between the upper and lower classes, weakening the effects of changes triggered by historical language contact. However, the effects of those changes still divide the Brazilian sociolinguistic scene. The most notable reflex of this partition is the massive variation that affects the rules of nominal and verbal agreement in popular speech (eg, *meus filho chegou cedo* "my (pl) son (sing) arrived (sing) early" instead of *meus filhos chegaram cedo* "my (pl) children (pl) arrived (pl) early)." The current maintenance of these characteristics resulting from language contact is due to the dependent and late character of capitalist development in Brazil and the extensive exploitation of the working classes. As such, these characteristics of popular speech constitute strong social stigma, and lack of morphosyntactic agreement is a linguistic feature, which is used to discriminate against individuals from the lower Brazilian socioeconomic classes.

3. Africa

Unlike Brazil, in Africa the indigenous languages were preserved. Only a minority speak Portuguese, mostly as an L2, concentrated in urban centers. In contrast, the island countries Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe were populated by a minority of Portuguese colonists and a majority of enslaved Africans. In this close contact, creolized varieties of Portuguese became the native languages of increasingly mixed local populations. A mixed scenario originated in Guinea-Bissau, with the preservation of native African languages and the emergence of a creole which acts as a lingua franca in the cities.

3.1. African varieties of Portuguese

The presence of the Portuguese and the dissemination of the Portuguese language in Angola was very limited, even after 1576, when the Portuguese ruled Luanda and extended their domain into the interior. Until the mid-eighteenth century, the African-Portuguese administrative elite used Portuguese only as their L2. Even though, in the second half of the eighteenth century, Portugal sought to hinder the Africanization of the local elite, the situation changed little, until the first decades of the twentieth century (Vansina 2001). It was only during the Salazar dictatorship (1928–1974) that the Portuguese presence in Angola increased, with the new policy requiring that Angolans be fully fluent in Portuguese in order to participate in public life. The effect was minimal. The proportion of settlers within the entire Angolan population was less than 1 per cent by 1940, increasing to some 5 percent in the 1970s (Bender 2004: 71). With political independence in 1975, this number dropped dramatically.

Currently, only a very small sector of the Angolan elite speaks Portuguese as its mother tongue, in a variety very similar to that of Portugal. Over 90 percent of the population is native in one of the approximately forty Bantu languages spoken in the country, the main

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ones being Kimbundo, Kikongo, and Umbundo. Some 20 to 30 percent of the population, mostly young people living in coastal cities, uses Portuguese as a second language. This *Vernacular Angolan Portuguese* displays alterations due to the influence of the Bantu substrate (Inverno 2009). Some of these characteristics are common to popular Brazilian Portuguese, such as variable nominal and verbal agreement and loss of pronominal case inflection (e.g., *encontrou eu ontem* "((s)he) met I yesterday" instead of *encontrou-me ontem* "((s)he) met me yesterday"). However, unlike Brazilian Portuguese, Angolan Portuguese also displays variable gender agreement in the noun phrase (*um pessoa* "a (MASC) person (FEM)" instead of *uma pessoa* "a (FEM) person (FEM")) and variable verbal agreement with the 1st person singular (e.g., *eu trabalha* "I (p1) work (p3)" for *eu trabalho* "I (p1) work (p1)").

The history of the diffusion of Portuguese in Mozambique is very similar to that of Angola. Until the twentieth century, the presence of the Portuguese was minimal. Despite the arrival of some 140,000 settlers in the 1950s and 1960s, the proportion of Portuguese within the Mozambican population has always been less than 2 percent (Ribeiro 1981: 390). Nevertheless, as in Angola, Portuguese was retained as an official language and the language of national unity after the independence in 1975. With the expansion of public education and Portuguese being the language of instruction, the proportion of native Portuguese speakers rose from 1.2 percent in 1980 to 6.5 percent in 1997. The vast majority of the population is composed of native speakers of one of the more than twenty Bantu languages spoken in the country, such as Makua, spoken by roughly 26 percent of the population, and Xangana, spoken by about 11 percent. Portuguese is the L2 of almost 40 percent of the population, 75 percent of which is urban (Gonçalves 2010). In addition to the morphological simplification resulting from imperfect L2 acquisition similar to that observed in Angola, Mozambique Portuguese (MP) displays a clear Bantu influence, notably in the argument structure of the verb (Gonçalves 2010: 46–55):

1. Intransitive verbs in European Portuguese (EP) receive two arguments: *Ela nasceu dois filhos na Suazilândia* (MP) "(lit.) She was born two children in Swaziland" instead of *Dois filhos dela nasceram na Suazilândia* (EP) "Two of her children were born in Swaziland."
2. Suppression of prepositions governing the verbal complement in EP: *O detetive desconfiou um indivíduo* (PM) "The detective suspected an individual" rather than *O detetive desconfiou* ***de*** *um indivíduo* (EP) "(lit.)The detective suspected of an individual."
3. Double object constructions instead of a prepositional dative: *entregou o emissário a carta* (MP) "(S)he) handed the emissary the letter" rather than *entregou a carta* ***a****o emissário* (EP) "(S)he) handed the letter to the emissary."
4. Passive constructions unacceptable in EP: *A aldeia foi evoluída por aquele rapaz* (MP) Literally "The village was evolved by that boy."

A growing number of studies compare the morphosyntactic aspects common to popular Brazilian Portuguese, Angolan Portuguese, and Mozambican Portuguese, aiming to define more precisely how language contact has affected the grammar of Portuguese, in situations other than those of creolization on the west coast of Africa.

3.2. Portuguese creoles in Africa

In Africa, contact situations involving Portuguese resulted in creolization in the Cape Verde archipelago and the islands of São Tomé, Príncipe, and Anobom. On the continent, creolization occurred in Guinea-Bissau, which may be explained in part by the close relationship between this country and Cape Verde until their independence in 1975. Some scholars assign a common origin to Cape Verdean creole and the creole of Guinea-Bissau (Kihm 1994: 3–8).

Cape Verdean creole, comprising two major varieties, *barlavento* "windward" and *sotavento* "leeward," and the creole of Guinea-Bissau can be considered lighter creoles, due to the lack

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of grammatical restructuring they display relative to Portuguese. Grammatical restructuring that characterizes the Atlantic creoles, such as verb serialization, generally did not take place. The light creolization of these languages is also evident in the retention, although with a different semantics, of the verbal suffix *–va*, expressing habitual past in Portuguese, in addition to the typical preverbal tense / mood / aspect (TMA) particles, which these creoles also exhibit. At the same time, Cape Verdean and Guinea-Bissau creoles do not display subject–verb agreement inflection as well as gender and number agreement in noun phrases, a commonly observed feature of creoles.

A more radical creolization occurred on the island of São Tomé, yielding a creole which later branched into four creoles (Ferraz 1979; Hagemeijer 2009), namely: Santomé (or Forro), which developed among the mestizo population of São Tomé; Angolar, which evolved from the original creole among the maroons who took refuge in the southern part of the island; Lung'ie (or Principense), which developed from Santomé transplanted to Principe island; and Fa d'Ambo, a variety which also developed from Santomé, transplanted to the island of Annobón, which came under Spanish rule in 1778.

The initial creole was formed roughly between 1493 and 1520. During this period, slaves were mainly imported from Benin, where Edo (a Kwa language) was, and still is, spoken. Among the African substrate languages, Edo has influenced most of the grammar of the Portuguese creoles of the Gulf of Guinea (Hagemeijer 2009: 1–3). Although as of 1520 the islands of São Tome and Principe received an enormous contingent of Bantu-speaking slaves from Congo and Angola, the Bantu languages had little influence on the development of the Santome grammar (Ferraz 1979).

The above-mentioned creoles went through a more radical process of grammatical restructuring (Ferraz 1979: 60–89; Hagemeijer 2009: 10–17). The following examples are taken from Santomé, except for the example in (6), which is from Angolar:

1. All Portuguese verbal inflection was eliminated and replaced by preverbal TMA particles, such as the particle *tava*, expressing the past anterior (*e* ***tava*** *ba shinema* "he had gone to the cinema").
2. As a consequence of the loss of inflection, these creoles, unlike Portuguese, do not allow null referential subjects, and require subject pronoun clitics, as in French.
3. Pronominal case inflection was lost, leaving uninflected pronouns for all syntactic functions.
4. The Edo pronominal form *inen* functions as a third person plural pronoun (***inen*** *sebe* "they know") and as a nominal pluralizer (***inen*** *mina* "the children").
5. An indeterminate subject pronoun, probably from Edo origin, was created (***a*** *pó fé kwa sé* "one can do that") (Ferraz 1979: 66).
6. The Edo noun for "body" grammaticalized as a reflexive pronoun (*Ê mata* ***ôngê*** *rê* "he killed himself").
7. Double negation construction *na… fa* was created (*Sun* ***na*** *bila lembla ngê ku sa mosu* ***fa*** "you did not remember who was the boy").
8. Development of verb serialization, in which verbs gramaticalize into other functions, as, for example, the verb "give" functions as a dative preposition (e.g. *complá sapé* ***da*** *mu* "buy hat to me").

4. Asia

Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, opening maritime routes to India for the first time. By 1518, the Portuguese had reached Goa, Daman, and Diu in India, Malacca in Malaysia, Macao in China, East Timor in Southeast Asia, and today's Sri Lanka.

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The Portuguese presence in Asia gave rise to diverse Portuguese-based language varieties, including several Portuguese-lexified pidgins and creoles. Cardoso (2009) illustrates the presence of a number of Portuguese-lexified contact languages spread across South Asia, shown in Figure 3.1.

Clements (1996) proposes four subgroups for the Portuguese-based creoles in Asia, summarized in Table 3.1.

Some of these Portuguese-lexified contact languages are still spoken in Diu, Daman, and Korlai, but only to a limited extent (Cardoso 2009: 7), and they are nearly extinct in Macao and Malacca. Moreover, varieties of Portuguese as a first or second language are still found in Goa, Macao, and East Timor.

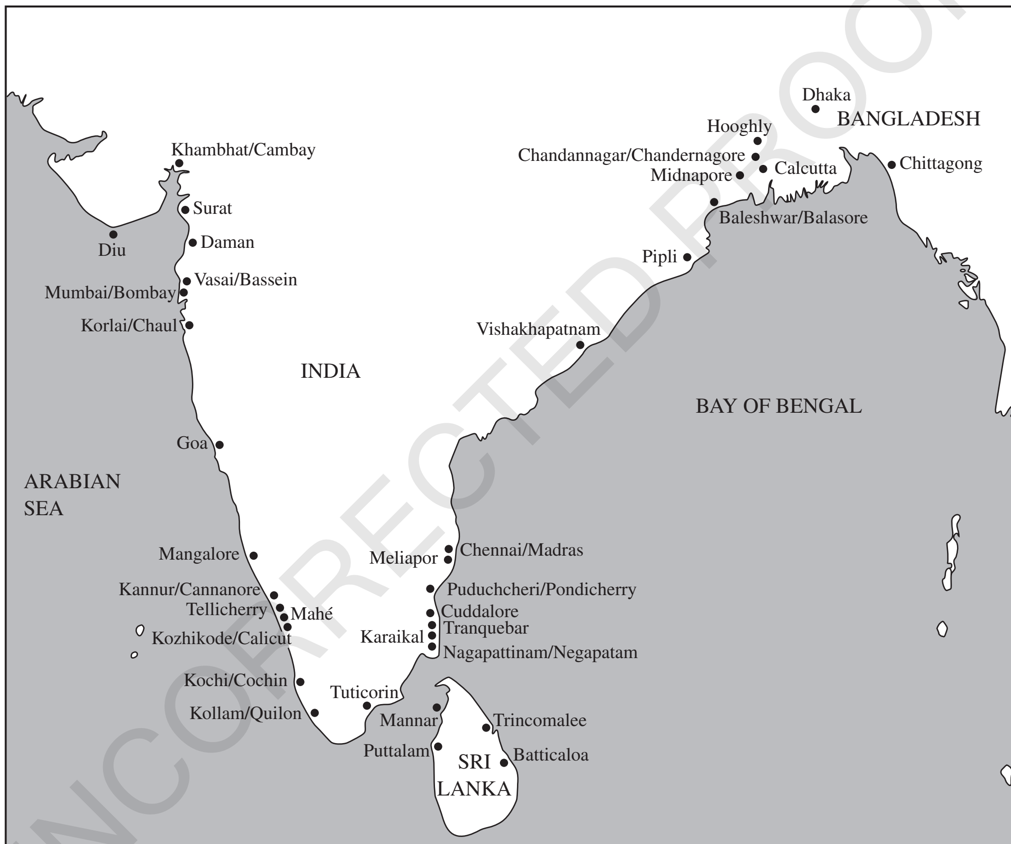

Figure 3.1 The sixteenth-century Portuguese presence in South Asia.

Table 3.1 Portuguese-based creoles in Asia (based on Clements 1996: 1).

Subgroups	*Languages*
Gauro-Portuguese	Diu, Daman, Norteiro (Bombay and Korlai)
Dravido-Portuguese	Mangalore, Camanore, Mahé, Cochin, Nagappattinam, Sri Lanka
Malayo-Portuguese	Malacca, East Timor, Singapore, Batavia
Sino-Portuguese	Macao, Hong Kong

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4.1. Portuguese-based varieties in India

In West India, one finds Portuguese-lexified creoles in Diu, Daman, and Korlai. It is estimated that there are 200 Portuguese speakers in Diu and 4000 in Daman, while approximately 700 are believed to still speak Portuguese in Korlai (Holm 1989; Cardoso 2009).

According to Cardoso (2009), the use of Portuguese in Diu is currently related to Catholicism, education, economic prosperity, and nostalgia for the colonial area. Local varieties of Portuguese vary along the Standard Portuguese and Diu Indo-Portuguese continuum, as variable verbal and nominal agreement illustrates. The examples (1 a and b), also from Cardoso (2009, 21), show the difference between a local form (1 a) and the Standard European form (1 b) produced by the same speaker, when saying "I don't know":

(1) a. *yo nã sab* (Diu Indo-Portuguese)
b. *yo nã sey* (Standard Portuguese)

Portuguese varieties spoken in Daman and in Diu are mutually understandable, because both originated from the contact with Gujarati, the regional language, and because there are frequent interpersonal contacts between their inhabitants. Among some of the differences, Daman speakers use constructions with auxiliary and gerundive verb forms to express progressive aspect, as example (2) illustrates for the verb *cantar* ("to sing") with the gerund suffix *-n*, while Diu speakers prefer progressive with the infinitive (3), as illustrated in Cardoso (2009: 23).

(2) *Joyce te kanta-n agor*
"Joyce is singing now."
(3) *Leslie ta kãt-a*
"Leslie is singing."

The differences between these varieties are mostly quantitative and point to a perception in the communities that Diu speakers incorporate more Standard Portuguese in their varieties than Damans. Compared to Daman and Diu, Korlai creole, which is spoken in the Chau–Korlai region, is also an old creole that survived due to its geographic isolation. Unlike Daman and Diu, Korlai grew apart from Standard Portuguese showing increasing Marathi influence as attested by the shift from the SVO order prevalent until the early twentieth century to the current SOV order (Clements 1990). Nowadays, the Portuguese origin of Korlai is most noticeable in the core lexicon (Clements 1996).

A somewhat different situation is found in Goa, where Portuguese replaced the creole in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Holm, 1989). Portuguese was kept as the appropriate language to be used in this important Roman Catholic ecclesiastical center, among civil servants and clerics, and in the military. Beyond these circles, the vast majority used the indigenous Konkani language as their primary language, except for a small elite, which continued to speak Portuguese (Rodrigues, 2000). After Goa's independence, English gradually became the language of prestige, although there is still some schooling, written media, and a few interest groups in Portuguese.

4.2. Portuguese-based varieties in Southeast Asia

In Southeast Asia, Portuguese is spoken to a limited extent as a first or second language in Macao and East Timor, while Kristang (Malacca) and Maquista (Macao) are in clear decline. Since the foundation of Macao in 1557, the contact between Chinese, Portuguese, and other languages spoken by Indians, Malayans, and Africans, resulted in the use of Portuguese as a first and as a second language, in addition to the development of Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles (Baxter 2009). In 1999, when Macao became a Special Administrative Region of

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Figure 3.2 Public sign in Macao, China.

the People's Republic of China, Chinese was declared the co-official language along with Portuguese. Baxter estimates that Macao counts 4000 individuals who speak Portuguese as their first language, in addition to 2500 speakers of Portuguese as a second language.

The linguistic landscape of Macao is clearly bilingual due to the current language policy that enforces bilingual public signage, as illustrated by the picture in Figure 3.2.[7]

Baxter (2009: 296) lists a series of Macao Portuguese features resulting from contact with Chinese that show parallels with the former creoles of Macao and Malacca, such as the lack of nasal vowels and rhotic distinctions. In addition, Baxter discusses features in Macao Portuguese that show parallels in other Portuguese vernaculars, including variable nominal agreement with prenominal elements favoring the plural marker, also attested in Brazil and Africa (see Sections 2 and 3 above). More direct cases of contact-induced changes in local Macao Portuguese are variable gender agreement, absence of articles and verbal tense marking, and other features claimed to be either reminiscent of Macao creole or more directly influenced by Chinese (Baxter 2009).

In East Timor, as in Macao, Portuguese was mainly used in the central administration, in the army, and among missionaries. Currently the co-official language along with Tetum, Portuguese existed before the independence and during the occupation by Indonesia (1975–1999) as the lingua franca of the educated elites. Since Timor's independence, Portuguese is estimated to be spoken by 5 percent to 35 percent of the population, mainly among the elderly (Albuquerque 2011: 68). Unlike the situation in the former African colonies, where Portuguese was maintained as the lingua franca after independence, Tetum is the language preferred in East Timor as a common means of communication among the speakers of one of the 16 different indigenous languages.

In Albuquerque's (2011) study of Portuguese varieties currently used in East Timor, the author shows features that fluctuate between standard Portuguese and local dialects, which include features found in other Portuguese monolingual varieties and others clearly resulting from substratum interference, such as prosodic patterns, absence of prepositions, and differential agreement marking. The author also finds similarities among East Timorese Portuguese and other Portuguese-based creoles in the region, such as from Malacca and Macao.

Contact with Portuguese gave rise to creoles in Southeast Asia as well, but most have undergone language shift. Kristang, spoken by a small community in Malacca, is the last

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variety of the East and Southeast Asian Portuguese creoles, but it is currently under pressure from Malay and English and showing clear signs of language shift. Baxter (2005) shows that Kristang is in the process of being lost, as witnessed by the replacement of Kristang lexical items with Malay and English equivalents in addition to signs of structural borrowing from English. According to Baxter, only through the immediate implementation of language revitalization measures can Kristang be saved from extinction.

In Macao, pidginized varieties of Portuguese also evolved from contact that took place among traders and missionaries. As claimed by Baxter (2005), Makista originated from both Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles from other Portuguese colonies brought to Macao. In the nineteenth century, Makista started to lose ground to Portuguese due to the increasing presence of schooling in Portuguese. By the twentieth century the process of decreolization was completed. Currently, the variety is believed to be nearly extinct, surviving only in local artistic performances (Baxter 2009).

Connections between Portuguese-based varieties in West and East Asia have been the subject of great scholarly attention. Baxter (2009: 286) identifies morphosyntactic structures and lexical items shared by Kristang and Makista due to historical connections between the regions in the sixteenth century. For example, he claims that the presence of *ja* as the perfective particle and the SVO order illustrate, among others features, the result of intense contact between different substratum languages with the Portuguese superstrate.[8]

5. Portuguese in contact with Spanish

Unlike the contact situations discussed previously that resulted from Portuguese expansion overseas, the contact between Portuguese and Spanish arises from the geographic contiguity of Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking countries in South America and in the Iberian Peninsula, where political and linguistic borders do not coincide. This particular setting posits different analytical challenges, since sorting out shared inheritance from contact-induced changes is difficult. Furthermore, it is commonly assumed that cognate languages facilitate contact-induced phenomena. The contact of Portuguese with Spanish in contexts of language acquisition, transnational communication across borders, and bilingualism, presents an ideal platform for testing such a hypothesis. In this section, we will focus our attention on Portuguese–Spanish contact during which societal and prolonged bilingualism has given rise to stable varieties, as in northern Uruguay in South America and Miranda do Minho and Barranco in Europe.

5.1. Uruguay

The presence of Portuguese in Uruguay is the result of the region's colonial history. From the earliest European presence in the Southern Cone, Spaniards and Portuguese battled over Uruguayan territory. The presence of the Portuguese army in what is nowadays Uruguay is attested to by the foundation of the city of Colonia do Sacramento in 1680 and the complete control of the "Cisplatine Province" from 1815 until 1825. In northern Uruguay, Portuguese was spoken until the nineteenth century, when the Uruguayan government promoted the establishment of Hispanic culture and language in the border communities as a nation-building strategy. By the early twentieth century, Spanish had indeed penetrated the Portuguese-speaking north. However, despite several Spanish-only language policies, Portuguese has survived in that area, including in the border towns of Rivera, Artigas, and Aceguá, where bilingualism is widespread. With Spanish being the language of education and public life and Portuguese being used as a vernacular for in-group interaction, the linguistic situation can be defined as semi-diglossic.

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Uruguayan Portuguese has clear origins in rural, non-standard Brazilian Portuguese (BP) spoken in adjacent areas of southern Brazil, as attested by the presence of words such as *inté* (*até* "until"), *ansin* (*assim* "this way"), the proclictic address form *nhá* (*senhora*), in addition to *lh*-gliding, variable verbal and nominal agreement, and presence of the *-emo* verbal suffix for first-person plural in *-ar* verbs *(e.g., cantemo* for *cantamos,* "we sing") (Elizaincín et al. 1987). In addition, it presents several features borrowed from Spanish, such as lexical items as illustrated in (4), where *padre* is used for BP *pai* ("father") , lexicalized NPs as in (5), where *fideo con tuco* is used for BP *macarrão com molho* ("spaguetti and sauce"), in addition to lexical calques, as illustrated in (6) where *povo,* cf. Sp. *pueblo*, "village" is used for BP *vila*, and syntactic calques, as in (7), where *um* (cf. Sp. *uno* "one") is used as the subject of an indeterminate construction.

(4) *Olha, quando meu* padre *não tá passo o dia todo olhando televisão*.
"Look, when my 'father' is not [around] I spend the whole day watching television."
(5) *Acho que é* fideo con tuco, *porque todo mundo adora um* fideo con tuco.
"I think it is 'spaghetti with sauce', because everyone loves 'spaghetti with sauce'."
(6) *Eu passava numa quinta de eucalipto que tava bem ao lado do povo.*
"I used to pass by a Eucalyptus plantation that was next to the village."
(7) *É a realidade da vida. Aunque* um *não queira as vez se dar conta*.
"That is the reality of life. Although one doesn't want to face it sometimes."

In addition, other contact features are present, such as phonetic transfers, amply discussed in Douglas (2004) and Meireles (2009), as well as code-switching (Douglas 2004; Carvalho 2014). In fact, the presence of contact features in these border dialects led Lipski (2009, among others) to argue that the contact of Portuguese with Spanish in Uruguay gave rise to a new hybrid language the so-called *Portuñol*. Others find clear continuities between border varieties and monolingual counterparts spoken in adjacent areas that contradict the notion of "a new language" (Carvalho 2003, 2004, 2014; Pacheco, 2014). Studies based on data collected on both sides of the border fail to see clear isoglosses separating Brazilian from Uruguayan varieties of Portuguese (Meirelles 2009; Pacheco 2014). While highly hybrid constructions are indeed abundant in unmonitored speech, the diglossic dynamics that render the separation of codes socially significant in addition to the normative pressure which national varieties exert on border dialects give rise to multidialectal and bilingual repertoires that are stylistically and socially stratified, thus defying the monolectal perspective of a single and unified mixed code (Carvalho 2014). Dialectal leveling of Uruguayan Portuguese towards urban varieties of Brazilian Portuguese is evidenced by the incorporation of features such as pronominal *a gente* "we" (Pacheco 2014) and the palatalization of dental stops (*di*) and (*ti*) (Carvalho 2004; Catañeda Molla 2011), and may signal dialect shift in the long term, unless more focused varieties of Uruguayan Portuguese continue to be used as a border identity marker, alongside Spanish and increasingly standardized versions of Portuguese.

5.2. Portugal

Two areas in Portugal present cases of dialects that coexist with Spanish which depart substantially from the surrounding monolingual varieties of Portuguese: Miranda do Douro and Barranco. Mirandese, spoken in northeastern Portugal is a structurally transitional variety along the Portuguese–Mirandese–Spanish continuum (Martins 2014). Directly derived from Asturo-Leonese, Mirandese has developed into a variety with features that either coincide with Portuguese or Spanish, or features that are not encountered in either language. For example, while Mirandese has the nasal vowels and diphthongs

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from the Portuguese vowel system, it shows the maintenance of intervocalic /l/ in *pila* as in Spanish (Portuguese *pia*, "sink") (Martins 2014). One of the few features that are unique to Mirandese is the use of *-e* as a theme vowel for regular *-ar* verbs and a verbal morphology that shares features with both Portuguese and Spanish, thus demonstrating its transitional character.

Martins' comparison of census data, language choice surveys, and interviews carried out in Miranda do Douro show that the vitality of Mirandese is very low due to a process of gradual language shift towards Portuguese. This trend is confirmed by a series of proficiency tests that show children having higher proficiency in Portuguese than in Mirandese. The children were also submitted to a perception test where they had to discern Mirandese and Portuguese features, in which they demonstrated the ability to perceive both varieties as different entities (Martins 2014).

Barranquenho is another Portuguese-based variety in contact with Spanish found in Portugal**.** Spoken in Barrancos within an area of Spanish–Portuguese bilingualism, it is heavily influenced by Spanish. According to Clements, Amaral, and Luís (2011), this dialect represents a mixed language that has developed and survived because of its strong relation with the local identity. In this region, Portuguese has coexisted alongside Spanish since the sixteenth century due to constant territory disputes between the two countries. Nowadays, frequent travels to Spain for shopping and medical assistance, in addition to the higher prestige attributed to Spanish, motivate border dwellers to acquire Spanish, while the community's official language remains Portuguese, and Barranquenho is reserved for in-group interactions (Clements et al. 2011). The description of Barrenquenho by Clements et al. (2011) shows several traits illustrating its affiliation with Portuguese, such as the seven oral vowel system and the /s–z/ contrast. Other elements presented as typical of Barranquenho are also present in monolingual varieties of Portuguese, such as the lack of the /b–v/ distinction, the deletion of word-final consonants, and variable clitic placement. Clear evidence of changes induced by the contact with Spanish includes indirect object doubling with full NPs, as illustrated in Clements et al. (2011) and reproduced in (8).

(8) *Le conté a meu pai*.
Standard Portuguese *Contei ao meu pai*.
Standard Spanish *Le conté a mi padre*.
"I told my father."

Also typical is the use of the Spanish discourse marker *bueno*, a commonly borrowed discourse marker. In addition, the authors document the variable use of the Spanish construction involving the "gustar-type" verbs with the experiencer coded as the indirect object and the corresponding Portuguese construction where the experiencer is coded as the subject. For Clements et al. (2011), these direct interferences from Spanish are numerous and categorical enough to justify the classification of Barranquenho as a new language. Barranquenho presents an ideal context for variationist analysis that would disambiguate contact features from internal changes, and account for the social and stylistic distribution of these features in the community.

In sum, the analyses of Uruguayan Portuguese, Mirandese, and Barranquenho reveal contexts where cognate languages such as Portuguese and Spanish maintain their structural differences while allowing the emergence of local and unique varieties in the bilingual repertoire. Despite typological similarities, which in theory are believed to give rise to mixed varieties that replace the source languages, the presence of social pressure, identity issues, and diglossic dynamics allow for the preservation of cross-linguistic differences in these bilingual dialects.

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6. Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been suggested that Brazilian Portuguese is affected, to a greater or lesser extent, by the contact of Portuguese with Brazilian indigenous languages and African languages that were taken to Brazil. In addition, situations of language contact in Africa, Asia, and Oceania were surveyed, including both contexts that gave rise to the emergence of creole languages and situations where varieties of Portuguese are spoken as a second language by millions of speakers. Finally, the contact between Portuguese and Spanish along national borders in Brazil and Portugal was discussed, shedding light on issues of permeability of cognate languages in contact situations.

In addition to their political and cultural relevance, situations involving contact between Portuguese and other languages constitute valuable and promising fields of linguistic research whose findings can contribute to our understanding of important issues, such as the origin of human language, patterns of language variation and change in contact situations, and issues related to first and second language acquisition. As such, language contact constitutes a phenomenon of significant historical, social, and linguistic dimensions within the Lusophone world.

NOTES

1 Dante Lucchesi thanks Alan Baxter for comments and suggestions regarding Sections 1–3. Any errors are the responsibility of the author.
2 Numerous other contexts illustrate situations where Portuguese is in contact with other languages, including bilingual varieties of Portuguese spoken by immigrants and the indigenous population in Brazil, and Portuguese-speaking migrants in America, Asia and Europe. A discussion of these other situations is outside the scope of this chapter due to space limitations.
3 Bakker et al. (2011) propose that creoles constitute a special language typology, while others defend the opposite view (DeGraff 2001).
4 For a similar proposal, see Holm (2004).
5 The term *mameluco* is used traditionally to refer to the mestizo offspring of European colonizers and indigenous women.
6 Naro and Scherre (2007) present an alternative view according to which the current characteristics of Popular Brazilian Portuguese would have originated through natural language-internal evolution, based on the concept of drift proposed by Sapir (1921). However, they also refer to a "confluence of causes", including language contact and pidginization of Portuguese in Brazil, which would have intensified and accelerated the changes that were foreseen in the structure of the language.
7 Photo by Ana M. Carvalho, 2013.
8 For a comprehensive overview of the relationships among Portuguese-based creoles in Asia, see Cardoso, Baxter, and Nunes 2012.

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