

A STUDY OF THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES
OF TWO PORTUGUESE DIALECTS

by

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes and describes the segmental phonemes present in the phonological systems of two Portuguese dialects. The dialect referred to as D1 is spoken by immigrants from Lisbon who came to Canada in the early forties and settled in the Province of British Columbia; D1 equates with the "Standard Language of Portugal," i.e. the language used by the average speaker of average education and social class. The second dialect is designated as D2, and represents younger speakers, i.e. the speech of the children of the first immigrants, born in British Columbia and exposed to this province's educational system, who have partially assimilated the Canadian culture and are integrated into this environment.

The corpus consists of recorded data obtained from interviews with the informants of both groups, and supplemented by broadcast material. A standard questionnaire, previously used in field work for other studies in Portuguese dialectology was administered to an equal number of informants of both dialects.

The data were compiled, classified, analyzed and presented in terms of segmental phonemes together with the allophones and their distribution, based on an adequate North American structural model of linguistic description.

The conclusion of this study is that there exists a high degree of correlation between the phonological systems of the speakers of D1 and D2, but not a total identity due to the interference and contamination of the English language in the phonology of the speakers of D2.

The appendices include a survey of previous Portuguese linguistic studies, and phonetic and phonemic transcriptions of a representative reading by informants of the two Portuguese dialects.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 GOALS: It is the purpose of this study to compare the segmental phonology of two Portuguese dialects: namely, the Lisbon dialect or so-called 'Standard Language of Portugal' and the dialect of a related ethnic group residing in the Province of British Columbia, Canada.

1.1.1 THE PORTUGUESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: Since 1940, approximately ten thousand immigrants from Portugal have arrived and settled in British Columbia. They are evenly distributed between the rural areas and the cities, but have a tendency to group together, to form tightly knit communities and "ghettos." A distinct concentration of Portuguese can be found in the Okanagan Valley, where many own orchards, fruit and general stores, repair shops, gas stations and motels, in turn employing many Portuguese new arrivals. Other concentrations are in the Kitimat, Prince Rupert and Prince George areas where they work on private or government construction projects. In Vancouver, the majority of Portuguese live in the East End of the city, attracted to one another by a common background, culture and language, and their community life revolves around such social centers as the church, dancing and game halls and sports clubs. In most cases it can be concluded that the Portuguese immigrant is eager to assimilate economically, but is very reluctant to integrate on a socio-cultural level. It is therefore not surprising that the language of the home is Portuguese, making the family the nucleus in which the

language, the habits and customs of Portugal are retained.

1.2 HYPOTHESIS: It is postulated that although there is a high degree of correlation between the phonology of the Standard Language of Portugal and the speech of the ethnic group residing in British Columbia, there is not a total identity due to the interference of the English language in the speech of the latter group.

1.3 METHODOLOGY:

1.3.1 SOURCE AND NATURE OF CORPUS: The corpus representing speech from both the metropolitan area of Lisbon and the related British Columbia dialect was obtained in Vancouver, British Columbia. The former dialect is represented by selected informants newly arrived from Lisbon. The latter dialect by residents of British Columbia.¹ These informants, totaling forty in number and equally representing the two dialects under consideration, were as much as possible selected homogeneously, and their utterances were carefully standardized by the questionnaire procedures described in section 1.3.2..

Both primary and secondary informants were asked for specific responses and these responses were simultaneously transcribed phonetically and tape-recorded at seven and one half inches per second.

¹The Lisbon portion of this corpus was verified by the addition of tape recordings made for radio broadcast purposes and obtained through the courtesy of Mário da Costa Machado, who at the time of this research had his own program with CKLG, a local Vancouver station.

This material was further supplemented by free discourse obtained from both primary and secondary informants; however, the phonetic transcription of this latter material was deferred until after the interview section, and consequently is based solely on the tape recordings obtained from these interviews. All phonetic transcriptions were rechecked as often as was deemed necessary with the primary informants.

Both the Lisbon and Vancouver elicitations were obtained from a relatively educated class. The decision to investigate and analyze only the speech of an educated class was reached because in Portugal education is a criterion of social acceptability and the latter, it is assumed, determines the 'Standard Language of Portugal.' Here, 'Standard Language' is considered to be the language spoken by the educated class of Lisbon. It is recognized, however, that a relatively large class, such as the educated class, must necessarily encompass many divergent sub classes of speech styles such as formal, informal, professional and non-professional speech. This study does not attempt to segregate formally such sub classes; however, the investigator has been careful in this analysis not to compare informal speech with any formal utterances. Rather, the findings presented here are based on data which is considered to represent normal, animated colloquial speech acts of the educated class, substantiated by a standardized representative literary reading.

1.3.2 QUESTIONNAIRE: The present study adopts the questionnaire designed by Armando de Lacerda² in his study of the Mirandês dialect. One reason

for the selection of this questionnaire is the success with which it has been applied to other studies in Portuguese linguistic research. Also the usage of the same questionnaire renders the data obtained for the present study more readily comparable with the data of others for the purpose of future studies. Although the questionnaire is rather brief it provides for various types of elocution: uninhibited responses and continuous narration, citation forms for a selected set of lexical items corresponding to a set of pictures eliciting spontaneous nomenclatures, and memorized quotations, and it also requests an interpretative reading of a poem *Elegia do Amor*, by Teixeira de Pascoaes (see Appendix C). For the purpose of the present study, each interview included extensive questioning designed to elicit forms exemplifying differences in pronunciation between the two dialects. In addition to its adaptability this questionnaire provides for listing requisite information concerning the informant, and the field worker's evaluation of the informant together with notes pertaining to the date and place of the interview. A copy of the slightly revised version of the questionnaire designed by Lacerda which was employed for the present study is found in Appendix A.

The pictorial material consists of pictures carefully selected from readers used in the lower grades in elementary schools in Portugal. The pictures in question are simple, readily identifiable representations

² Armando de Lacerda, "Recolha, Arquivo e Análise de Falares Regionais Portugueses," Revista do Laboratório de Fonética Experimental de Coimbra, II (1954), 134-136.

in color of very common objects. These were used in this investigation to obtain forms free of orthographic and field worker pronunciation influences. A list of items represented in the pictorial section of the questionnaire is appended to this study among the sample transcriptions.

The techniques used in field work were directed toward the eliciting of comparable data through the same interview procedures; however for each informant the data was complemented by free conversation.

1.3.3 INFORMANTS: For the comparison of the Lisbon and British Columbia dialects, the informants were obtained on the basis of such criteria as the following: age, sex, education, social class, family background and place of residence. The average age of the Lisbon informants was forty with the youngest of that group being thirty eight and the oldest forty three. Unlike this group, the average age of the British Columbia informants was twenty with the youngest speaker being seventeen and the oldest twenty four. This apparent discrepancy is considered necessary in order to determine the influence of English on Portuguese in the British Columbia ethnic group. The Lisbon informants constituted the control group with which dialectological comparisons could be made. The control group is comprised of the Lisbon informants who have not been in contact with the English language and who speak the same dialect as that from which emanated the ethnic bilingual group of British Columbia under investigation. Hence, it was felt that the bilingual group comprised of twenty year old British Columbians would speak the same Portuguese dialect as their forty year old monoglot parents, who immigrated to British Columbia from Lisbon some twenty years ago. Since English might have influenced the

dialect of these parents the control group was selected from forty year old monoglots who resided in Lisbon all their lives.

The additional criteria of place of residence and parentage were important in the selection of informants. Although the British Columbia group formerly resided in Penticton, Prince George and Terrace, British Columbia, the common parentage of these informants justifies the comparison with the Lisbon group. Further, both the Lisbon group and parents of the British Columbia group claimed, almost without exception, descent from parents who also resided in Lisbon.

Two final criteria influenced the selection of informants; namely, their availability for further interviews and for observation in informal situations, and their ability to render natural unaffected and uninhibited speech. Concerning the former criterion, slightly over seventy five per cent of both groups qualified as primary informants. Concerning the latter criterion, it is felt that the corpus obtained from these informants represents spontaneous and natural speech and consequently is an adequate representation of the dialects under investigation.

1.4 PROCEDURES OF ANALYSIS: The procedures used in the present study pertain to two general divisions in this investigation: The compilation of data and the study of the phonemic systems.

1.5 TERMINOLOGY: To avoid ambiguous terminology, the conventional terms of North American descriptive structural linguistics have been used.

1.6 RELEVANT PREVIOUS STUDIES: Most of the work in linguistic geography in the Portuguese world has been devoted to the study of the distribution of lexical items. The existing studies in this area group together speech forms of different geographical regions or social groups but are fragmentary in scope. Although differences in pronunciation can be brought into focus in the most meaningful manner only through a phonological, or structural approach, involving consideration of all phonetic differences in terms of functional units (phonemes), and a careful description of allophones, few studies in this area have fully utilized the principles of structural linguistics. There are only a few works which merit some attention; none is complete, but all contain valuable observations.³

The first published structural study devoted to the phonemic analysis of Iberian Portuguese is that of Helmut Lüdtke.⁴ This study was based on the cultured pronunciation of the center of the country, namely the city of Coimbra, with some comments on the peculiarities of Lisbon speech. Next, Zipf and Roger's article presents a phonemic inventory of the Standard Language of Portugal, and explicitly states that Lisbon furnishes the material for the Standard Language although their discussion contains many observations of other varieties of Iberian

³This survey of relative previous works includes only studies made during the past forty years. Earlier studies have little value in a descriptive treatment of modern phonology. For reference to earlier works see Appendix D.

⁴Helmut Lüdtke, "Fonemática Portuguesa," I-Consonantismo, in Boletim de Filologia, Lisboa, XIII (1952) p. 273-288. II-Vocalismo, XIV (1953), p. 192-217.

Portuguese.⁵ Further, Holger Sten has provided a structural sketch of Portuguese which includes an incomplete treatment of phonology; however it presents some points of particular interest discussed with supporting data.⁶ Next, Herculano de Carvalho's study of Mirandês contains many comments on the phonetics and phonemics of that dialect with respect to the Standard Language.⁷ Finally Jorge Morais-Barbosa has provided three recent studies which are of interest in view of the light they shed on some particular problems of Lisbon speech. One study is an article dealing with the phonological analysis of nasal vowels,⁸ and the second article discusses, from both synchronic and diachronic points of view, the types of R's in the speech of Lisbon.⁹ His third, and most recent work, *Etude's de Phonologie Portugaise*, gives an account of Standard Iberian Portuguese, i.e. Lisbon speech, based on the theoretical phonological model of André Martinet. This monograph is a very

⁵ George K. Zipf and Frances M. Rogers, "Phonèmes and Variphones in Four Present-day Romance Languages and Classical Latin from the Viewpoint of Dynamic Philology," in Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Experimental, XV (1939), p. 111-147.

⁶ Holger Sten, "Les Particularités de la Langue Portugaise" in Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague, II, Copenhagen, (1944), p. 21-36.

⁷ José G. Herculano de Carvalho, "Fonologia Mirandesa," Coimbra, (1958).

⁸ Jorge Morais-Barbosa, "Les Voyelles Nasales Portugaises: Interprétation Phonologique," in Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, The Hague (1962), p. 691-708.

⁹ Jorge Morais-Barbosa, "Sur le /r/ Portugais," in Estructuralismo e História, Vol. III, La Laguna-Canarias, (1962).

valuable contribution to Portuguese linguistics, as the most recent and
most detailed investigation of Portuguese phonology.¹⁰

¹⁰ Jorge Moraes-Barbosa, Etudes de Phonologie Portugaise,
Bertrand Irmãos Ltd., Lisboa (1965).

2.0 THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF THE LISBON DIALECT (D1)

2.1 DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION: D1 is defined as the Standard Language of Iberian Portuguese, spoken by the educated class of Lisbon.

The descriptive model for this study was adapted from the one used by E. R. Colhoun, in his doctoral dissertation.¹

2.2 D1 PHONOLOGY: The stock of segmental phonemes in D1 consists of nineteen consonants and fourteen vowels. (See Table I).

¹E. R. Colhoun, Local and Non-Local Frames of Reference in Puerto Rican Dialectology, Ph.D. thesis, Cornell, 1967.

IBERIAN PORTUGUESE PHONEMESTABLE ICONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Labio Dental	Dental	Alveo Palatal	Velar
STOP	v̚l.	p	t		k
	vd.	b	d		g
FRICATIVES	v̚l.	f	s	s	x
	vd.	v	z	z	
NASALS	m		n	ñ	
LATERALS			l	λ	
FLAP			r		

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
HIGH	i ï		u û
MID	e ë	ə ˜	o ˜
	ε		ɔ
LOW		a	

2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOPHONES IN D1CONSONANTS:

/p/

[p] voiceless bilabial stop in all occurrences

[pepá] /pepá/² papa 'daddy'

/t/

[t] voiceless dental stop in all occurrences

[títe] /títe/ tinta 'ink'

/k/

[k] voiceless velar stop in all occurrences

[kúku] /kúku/ cuco 'cuckoo'

/b/

[b] voiced bilabial stop in all occurrences

[bóbú] /bóbú/ bobo 'buffoon'

/d/

[d] voiced dental stop in all occurrences

[dédu] /dédu/ dedo 'finger'

² -/- Supersegmental feature, non-distinctive, occurs at phrase level, or in words in citation.

/g/

[g] voiced velar stop in all occurrences

[gágú] /gágú/ *gago* 'stutterer'

/f/

[f] voiceless labiodental fricative in all occurrences

[fófu] /fófu/ *fofo* 'softy'

/s/

[s] voiceless alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[suségu] /suségu/ *sossego* 'quietness'

/š/

[š] voiceless alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[šegár] /šegár/ *chegar* 'to arrive'[ešár] /ešár/ *achar* 'to find'[bólus] /bólus/ *bolos* 'cakes'

/v/

[v] voiced labiodental fricative in all occurrences

[vóvo] /vóvo/ *vôvô* 'grandfather'

/z/

[z] voiced alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[zélu]	/zélu/	zelo	'zeal'
[kəzár]	/kəzár/	casar	'to marry'

/ž/

[ž] voiced alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[ženéla]	/ženéla/	janela	'window'
[kéyžu]	/kéyžu/	queijo	'cheese'

/m/

[m] bilabial nasal in all occurrences

[mémé̄]	/mémé̄/	mamã	'mummy'
---------	---------	------	---------

/n/

[ŋ] velar nasal medially before velar consonants

[téŋgu]	/téŋgu/	tango	'tango'
[síŋku]	/síŋku/	cinco	'five'

[n] apicodental nasal elsewhere

[nádē]	/nádē/	nada	'nothing'
[ené̄t]	/ené̄t/	anel	'ring'

/ñ/

[ñ] alveopalatal nasal in all occurrences

[səñór]

/səñór/

senhor

'sir'

/l/

[ɫ] velarized lateral in final position

[máɫ]

/mál/

mal

'badly'

[l] voiced dental lateral elsewhere

[lády]

/lády/

lado

'side'

[elí]

/elí/

ali

'there'

/λ/

[λ] alveopalatal lateral in all occurrences

[λá]

/λá/

the

'him'

[muλɛr]

/muλɛr/

mulher

'woman'

/r/

[r] apicodental flap in all occurrences

[kárę]

/kárę/

cara

'face'

[pártę]

/pártę/

parte

'part'

[emór]

/emór/

amor

'love'

/x/

[x] voiceless velar fricative in all occurrences

[xiw]

/xiw/

rio

'river'

[káxu]

/kaxu/

carro

'car'

VOWELS

/i/

[y] voiced prepalatal glide

|| V-C, C-V, V-#

[péyʃə] /péiʃə/ *peixe* 'fish'[vyulésyə] /viulésiə/ *violência* 'violence'[léy] /léi/ *lei* 'law'[i] high front unrounded vowel
elsewhere[inútiʃ] /inútil/ *inútil* 'useless'[eki] /eki/ *aqui* 'here'

/ĩ/

[ĩ] nasalized high front glide

[tẽy] /tẽi/ *tẽem* 'they have'[ĩ] high front unrounded nasal vowel
elsewhere[sĩpátiku] /sĩpátiku/ *simpático* 'nice'[sĩ] /sĩ/ *sim* 'yes'

/e/

[e] mid front unrounded in all occurrences

[éštə]	/éštə/	este	'this'
[séde]	/séde/	seda	'silk'
[dé]	/dé/	dê	'give'

/é/

[é] mid front unrounded nasal in all occurrences

[éŋganu]	/éŋganu/	engano	'mistake'
[védər]	/védər/	vender	'to sell'

/ε/

[ε] low front unrounded in all occurrences

[éla]	/éla/	ela	'she'
[pé]	/pé/	pé	'foot'

/a/

[á] low back unrounded before
syllable closed by /l/

[tál]	/tál/	tal	'such'
[álgu]	/álgu/	algo	'something'

[a] low central unrounded elsewhere

[ágia]	/ágia/	áquia	'eagle'
[lá]	/lá/	lá	'there'

/ə/

[ə] devoiced mid central unrounded
in final position

[sérveyžə] /sérveižə/ cerveja 'beer'

[ə] mid central unrounded elsewhere

[kémə] /kémə/ cama 'bed'

/ɛ/

[ɛ] mid central unrounded nasal in
all occurrences

[éžu] /éžu/ anjo 'angel'

[kétu] /kétu/ canto 'corner'

[lé] /lé/ lá 'wool'

/ə/

[ə] devoiced mid central neutral in
final position

[péla] /péla/ pele 'skin'

[ə] mid central neutral elsewhere

[žəlár] /žəlár/ gelar 'to freeze'

/ɔ/

[ɔ] low back rounded in all occurrences

[ɔ'rɛ]	/ɔ're/	hora	'hour'
[əvɔ̃]	/əvɔ̄/	avó	'grandmother'

/o/

[o] mid back rounded in all occurrences

[kóm̩u]	/kóm̩u/	como	'as'
[əvó̃]	/əvó̄/	avo	'grandfather'
[kóš̩ə̃]	/kóš̩ə̄/	coaxa	'thigh'

/õ/

[õ] mid back rounded nasal in all occurrences

[kõš̩ə̃]	/kõš̩ə̄/	concha	'shell'
[õd̩ə̃]	/õd̩ə̄/	onde	'where'
[bõ̃]	/bȭ/	bom	'good'

/u/

[w] voiced bilabial glide

| V-C, C-V, V-#

[áwlẽ]	/áulē/	aula	'class'
[ágwẽ]	/águē/	água	'water'
[máw]	/máu/	mau	'bad'

[y] devoiced high back rounded in final position

[tú] /tú/ tu 'you'

[u] high back rounded elsewhere

[úve] /úve/ uva 'grape'

[krúš] /krúš/ cruz 'cross'

/ú/

[w] nasalized high back glide

|V-C, C-V, V-#

[máw] /máu/ mao 'hand'

[ú] high back rounded nasal elsewhere

[múdu] /múdu/ mundo 'world'

[ú] /ú/ um 'one'

2.5 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES:

The syllable structure is as follows:

(C) V (C'), i.e. an obligatory nucleus, which can be simple V, or complex VV, VVV; an optional onset C,(or CC); an optional coda C¹ (or CC).

V /i, Í, e, Íε, a, ə, ẽ, ə, o, Ó, ɔ, u, Ú/

/i/	[ínu]	/ínu/	hino	'hymn'
/Í/	[sí]	/sí/	sim	'yes'
/e/	[éle]	/éle/	éle	'he'
/Íε/	[étrar]	/étrar/	entrar	'to enter'
/ə/	[éle]	/éle/	ela	'she'
/a/	[áze]	/áze/	aza	'wing'
/ə/	[etú]	/etú/	atum	'tuna'
/ã/	[édar]	/édar/	andar	'to walk'
/ə/	[vérdə]	/vérdə/	verde	'green'
/o/	[bóke]	/bóke/	boca	'mouth'
/õ/	[óðə]	/óðə/	onde	'where'

¹ Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1960, p. 85.

/ɔ/	[kóle]	/kóle/	cola	'glue'
/u/	[pərú]	/pərú/	perú	'turkey'
/ú/	[ú]	/ú/	um	'one'

VV

/e/	[vyéne]	/viéne/	Viena	'Vienna'
/ε/	[vyéle]	/viéle/	vieła	'lane'
/a/	[pyáde]	/piáde/	piada	'joke'
/i/ +	/ɛ/ [glórye]	/glórie/	glória	'glory'
	/ə/ [sérye]	/séríe/	série	'series'
	/o/ [myólù]	/miólù/	miolo	'crumb'
	/ɔ/ [vyóle]	/vióle/	viola	'guitar'
	/u/ [dyáryu]	/diáriu/	diário	'daily'
/i/	[xuídu]	/xuídu/	ruido	'noise'
	/e/ [pwémę]	/puémę/	poema	'poem'
	/ε/ [pwéte]	/puéte/	poeta	'poet'
/u/ +	/a/ [bwátu]	/buátu/	boato	'rumour'
	/ɛ/ [ágwę]	/ágwe/	água	'water'
	/ə/ [ténwę]	/ténwe/	ténue	'tenuous'
	/ɔ/ [kwóte]	/kuóte/	quota	'quota'
	/u/ [árdwu]	/árduu/	arduo	'hard'
	/í/ [mwítu]	/muítu/	muito	'much'

/e/	[xéy]	/xéi/	<i>rei</i>	'king'
/ɛ/	[steyš]	/steiš/	<i>hoteis</i>	'hotels'
/a/	[páy]	/pái/	<i>pai</i>	'father'
/ɔ/	[eršy]	/erší/	<i>herói</i>	'hero'
/o/ + /i/	[bóy]	/bói/	<i>boi</i>	'ox'
/u/	[fúy]	/fúi/	<i>fui</i>	'I went'
/ě/	[věy]	/věi/	<i>vem</i>	'come'
/ẽ/	[mẽy]	/měi/	<i>mãe</i>	'mother'
/õ/	[põy]	/põi/	<i>põe</i>	'put'
/i/	[viwlěsyę]	/viulěsia/	<i>violência</i>	'violence'
/e/	[séw]	/séu/	<i>seu</i>	'yours'
/ɛ/	[séw]	/séu/	<i>ceu</i>	'sky'
/a/ + /u/	[bækəláw]	/bækəláu/	<i>bacalhau</i>	'cod fish'
/ə/	[nívəu]	/nívəu/	<i>níveo</i>	'snowy'
/o/	[óuru]	/óuru/	<i>ouro</i>	'gold'
/u/	[árdwu]	/árduu/	<i>arduo</i>	'hard'
/ẽ/	[mẽw]	/měu/	<i>mão</i>	'hand'

VVV

/i/ + /a/	[espəsyáš]	/espəsiáiš/	<i>especiais</i>	'specials'
/e/ + /i/	[vyéyre]	/viéire/	<i>vieira</i>	'scallop'
/u/ + /a/	[kwáyš]	/kuáiš/	<i>quais</i>	'which'
/e/ + /i/	[pwéyre]	/puéire/	<i>poeira</i>	'dust'
/i/ + /o/ + /i/	[kamyóyš]	/kamiōiš/	<i>camiões</i>	'trucks'
/u/ + /o/ + /i/	[sagwóyš]	/saguōiš/	<i>saguões</i>	'inner yards'
/i/ + /ě/ + /u/	[išpyěu]	/išpiěu/	<i>espião</i>	'spy'

ONSET: The onset consists of one or two consonants.

All consonants except /r/ occur as onset in word initial position.

C

/p/	[pátu]	/pátu/	<i>pato</i>	'duck'
/t/	[téste]	/téste/	<i>testa</i>	'forehead'
/k/	[káze]	/káze/	<i>casa</i>	'house'
/b/	[bóle]	/bóle/	<i>bola</i>	'ball'

/d/	[déd <u>u<td>/dédu/</td><td><i>dedo</i></td><td>'finger'</td></u>	/dédu/	<i>dedo</i>	'finger'
/g/	[gát <u>u<td>/gátu/</td><td><i>gato</i></td><td>'cat'</td></u>	/gátu/	<i>gato</i>	'cat'
/m/	[mápe <u>u<td>/mápe/</td><td><i>mapa</i></td><td>'map'</td></u>	/mápe/	<i>mapa</i>	'map'
/n/	[nát <u>e<td>/nát<u>e</u>/</td><td><i>nata</i></td><td>'cream'</td></u>	/nát <u>e</u> /	<i>nata</i>	'cream'
/ñ/	[ñóñ <u>u<td>/ñóñu/</td><td><i>Nhonho</i></td><td>'Nhonho'</td></u>	/ñóñu/	<i>Nhonho</i>	'Nhonho'
/l/	[lát <u>e<td>/lát<u>e</u>/</td><td><i>lata</i></td><td>'tin'</td></u>	/lát <u>e</u> /	<i>lata</i>	'tin'
/λ/	[λə <u>u<td>/λə/</td><td><i>lhe</i></td><td>'him'</td></u>	/λə/	<i>lhe</i>	'him'
/f/	[feró <u>t<td>/feró<u>l</u>/</td><td><i>farol</i></td><td>'lighthouse'</td></u>	/feró <u>l</u> /	<i>farol</i>	'lighthouse'
/x/	[xóz <u>e<td>/xóze/</td><td><i>rosa</i></td><td>'rose'</td></u>	/xóze/	<i>rosa</i>	'rose'
/s/	[sópe <u>u<td>/sópe/</td><td><i>sopa</i></td><td>'soup'</td></u>	/sópe/	<i>sopa</i>	'soup'
/š/	[šá]	/šá/	<i>chá</i>	'tea'
/v/	[vák <u>e<td>/vák<u>e</u>/</td><td><i>vaca</i></td><td>'cow'</td></u>	/vák <u>e</u> /	<i>vaca</i>	'cow'
/z/	[zér <u>u<td>/zér<u>u</u>/</td><td><i>zero</i></td><td>'zero'</td></u>	/zér <u>u</u> /	<i>zero</i>	'zero'
/ž/	[žélu <u>u<td>/žélu/</td><td><i>gelo</i></td><td>'ice'</td></u>	/žélu/	<i>gelo</i>	'ice'

CC

/p/	[plénu <u>u<td>/plénu/</td><td><i>plano</i></td><td>'plain'</td></u>	/plénu/	<i>plano</i>	'plain'
/k/	[klás <u>e<td>/klás<u>e</u>/</td><td><i>classe</i></td><td>'class'</td></u>	/klás <u>e</u> /	<i>classe</i>	'class'
/b/	[blúze <u>u<td>/blúze/</td><td><i>blusa</i></td><td>'blouse'</td></u>	/blúze/	<i>blusa</i>	'blouse'
+ /l/	[glórye <u>u<td>/glórie/</td><td><i>glória</i></td><td>'glory'</td></u>	/glórie/	<i>glória</i>	'glory'
/f/	[flór]	/flór/	<i>flôr</i>	'flower'
/t/	[tlítar]	/tlítar/	<i>tlintar</i>	'to jingle'

CODA One or two consonants can occur in syllable-final position.

C'

/p/	[áptu]	/áptu/	<i>apto</i>	'apt'
/t/	[etlētiku]	/etlētiku/	<i>atlántico</i>	'atlantic'
/k/	[áktu]	/áktu/	<i>acto</i>	'act'
/b/	[ebdíkar]	/ebdíkar/	<i>abdicar</i>	'to renounce'
/d/	[edmírar]	/edmírar/	<i>admirar</i>	'to admire'
/g/	[dógmę]	/dógmę/	<i>dogma</i>	'dogma'
/f/	[neftelínę]	/neftelíne/	<i>naftalina</i>	'naphthalene'
/š/	[iške]	/iške/	<i>isca</i>	'bait'
/l/	[áltu]	/áltu/	<i>alto</i>	'tall'
/r/	[kárte]	/kárte/	<i>carta</i>	'letter'

CC'

/p/	[opštákulu]	/opštákulu/	<i>obstáculo</i>	'obstacle'
+ /š/				
/r/	[pəršpikáš]	/pəršpikáš/	<i>perspicaz</i>	'perspicacious'

C' In absolute final position before pause only the following consonants occur:

/š/	[sóñuš]	/sóñuš/	<i>sonhos</i>	'dreams'
/l/	[kernevát]	/kernevál/	<i>carnaval</i>	'carnival'
/r/	[əmór]	/əmór/	<i>amor</i>	'love'

3.0 THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA DIALECT (D2)

3.1 DEFINITION: The Portuguese dialect spoken by the ethnic group residing in the Province of British Columbia is defined as D2.

3.2 D2 PHONOLOGY: The stock of segmental phonemes in D2 consists of nineteen consonants and twelve vowels. (See Table II).

DIALECT 2 PHONEMESTABLE IICONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Labio Dental	Dental	Alveo Palatal	Velar
STOP	v1. p		t		k
	vd. b		d		g
FRICATIVES	v1. f		s	š	
	vd. v		z	ž	
NASALS	m		n	ñ	
TRILL			r̄		
LATERALS			l	λ	
FLAP			r		

VOWELS

	Front	Central	Back
HIGH	i ï		u û
MID	e ë	ø	o ò
	ɛ		ɔ
LOW		a	

3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOPHONES IN D2

CONSONANTS

/p/

[p^t] lightly aspirated voiceless bilabial stop
in initial position

[páy] /pái/ *pai* 'father'

[p] voiceless bilabial stop elsewhere

[mápe] /mápa/ *mapa* 'map'

/t/

[t^t] lightly aspirated voiceless dental
stop in initial position

[tíw] /tíu/ *tio* 'uncle'

[t] voiceless dental stop elsewhere

[mátu] /mátu/ *mato* 'jungle'

/k/

[k^t] lightly aspirated voiceless velar fricative
in initial position

[kítə] /kítə/ *quinta* 'farm'

[k] voiceless velar stop elsewhere

[kézáku] /kazáku/ casaco 'coat'

/b/

[b] voiced bilabial stop in all occurrences

[bunéke] /bunéka/ boneca 'doll'

[abéla] /abéla/ abelha 'bee'

/d/

[d] voiced dental fricative in intervocalic position

[dédu] /dédu/ dedo 'finger'

[d] voiced dental stop elsewhere

[dólar] /dólar/ dólar 'dollar'

/g/

[g] voiced velar stop in all occurrences

[gulózu] /gulózu/ guloso 'gormandizer'

/f/

[f] voiceless bilabial fricative in all occurrences

[fíte] /fíta/ fita 'ribbon'

[bífə] /bife/ bife 'steak'

/s/

[s] voiceless alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[rásə]	/rásə/	rága	'race'
[sáku]	/sáku/	saco	'sack'

/š/

[š] voiceless alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[šáma]	/šáma/	chama	'flame'
[řóšə]	/řóšə/	rocha	'rock'

/v/

[v] voiced labiodental fricative in all occurrences

[vákə]	/vákə/	vaca	'cow'
[néve]	/néve/	neve	'snow'

/z/

[z] voiced alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[zérə]	/zérə/	zero	'zero'
[řóze]	/řóza/	rosa	'rose'

/ž/

[ž] voiced alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[žélə]	/žélə/	gelo	'ice'
[óžə]	/óžə/	hoje	'today'

/m/

[m] bilabial nasal in all occurrences

[má^{tʃ}] /mála/ mala 'bag'

[kémə] /káma/ cama 'bed'

/n/

[n] apicodental nasal in all occurrences

[nétu] /nétu/ neto 'grandson'

[tóniku] /tóniku/ tónico 'tonic'

/ñ/

[ñ] palatal nasal in all occurrences

[báñu] /báñu/ banho 'bath'

/l/

[ɫ] velarized lateral in final position

[óteɫ] /ótel/ hotel 'hotel'

[l] alveolar lateral elsewhere

[lédə] /léda/ lenda 'legend'

[téla] /téla/ tela 'canvas'

/λ/

[λ] palatal lateral in all occurrences

[fíλə] /fíla/ filha 'daughter'

/r/

- [r] apical flap in syllable final before voiceless consonant

[kárte] /kárta/ *carta* 'letter'

- [r] apical tap elsewhere

[káru] /káru/ *caro* 'expensive'

[əmár] /amar/ *amar* 'to love'

/r/²

- [r̚] voiced apical trill in all occurrences, in free variation with [x].

[r̚áru]~[xáru] /r̚áru/ *raro* 'rare'

[t̚éře]~[t̚éxə] /t̚éřa/ *terra* 'earth'

- [x] voiced velar in all occurrences, in free variation with [r̚].

[xíku]~[r̚íku] /r̚íku/ *rico* 'rich'

[mélxu]~[mélřu]/mélřu/ *melro* 'blackbird'

²The choice of the symbol /r̚/ over /x/ was established on the criteria of higher frequency of occurrence.

VOWELS

/i/

[y] voiced prepalatal glide

||V-C, C-V, V-# (except where C - /l/)

[léyta] /léite/ leite 'milk'

[vyóla] /víóla/ viola 'Spanish guitar'

[réy] /réi/ rei 'king'

[i] velarized high close front before /l/

[mít] /mil/ mil 'thousand'

[í] high front unrounded elsewhere

[íla] /íla/ ilha 'island'

[víde] /vída/ vida 'life'

[alí] /alí/ alí 'there'

/í/

[ý] nasalized high front glide

||V-C, C-V, V-#

[véý] /véí/ veeem 'they come'

[í] high front unrounded nasal elsewhere

[víde] /vída/ vinda 'arrival'

[fí] /fí/ fim 'end'

/e/

- [ə] high central semi-close in unstressed position

[želádu]	/želádu/	gelado	'ice cream'
[déte]	/déte/	dente	'tooth'

- [e] mid front unrounded elsewhere

[prégar]	/prégar/	pregar	'to nail'
[éru]	/éru/	erro	'mistake'
[vé]	/vé/	vê	'see'

/ẽ/

- [ẽ] mid front unrounded nasal in all occurrences

[ékẽtu]	/ékẽtu/	encanto	'charm'
[prẽsu]	/prẽsu/	prenso	'I compress'

/ɛ/

- [ɛ] velarized front mid semi-open before /l/

[mél]	/mél/	mel	'honey'
-------	-------	-----	---------

- [ɛ] low front unrounded elsewhere

[prégar]	/prégar/	pregar	'to preach'
[fér]	/fér/	fér	'faith'

/a/

[a] low back unrounded before /l/

[sa̯t]	/sa̯l/	sal	'salt'
[á̯tu]	/á̯tu/	alto	'tall'

[e] mid central unrounded in unstressed syllables

[Káne]	/kána/	cana	'cane'
--------	--------	------	--------

[a] low central open unrounded elsewhere

[ásidu]	/ásidu/	ácido	'acid'
[Káse]	/kása/	caça	'hunting'
[pá]	/pá/	pá	'shovel'

/ẽ/

[ẽ] mid central unrounded nasal in all occurrences

[dẽsa]	/dẽsa/	dança	'dance'
[mesẽ]	/masẽ/	maçã	'apple'

/ɔ/

[ɔ] low back rounded in all occurrences

[ó̯p̩are]	/ó̯pera/	opera	'opera'
[ló̯te]	/ló̯ta/	lota	'fish market'
[só̯]	/só̯/	só	'alone'

/o/

[o] mid back rounded in all occurrences

[Kóšə]	/kóša/	<i>cossa</i>	'lame'
[óvu]	/óvu/	<i>ovo</i>	'egg'
[só]	/só/	<i>sou</i>	'I am'

/ö/

[ö] mid back rounded nasal in all occurrences

[ötëy̪]	/ötëi̪/	<i>ontem</i>	'yesterday'
[köšə]	/köša/	<i>concha</i>	'shell'
[sö]	/sö/	<i>som</i>	'sound'

/u/

[w] voiced bilabial glide

| V-C, C-V, V-#

[páw]	/páu/	<i>pau</i>	'stick'
[ruí̪]	/ruí̪/	<i>ruim</i>	'wicked'
[twáλə]	/twáλa/	<i>toalha</i>	'towel'

[ú] high back rounded elsewhere

[ú]	/ú/	o	'the'
-----	-----	---	-------

/ʊ/

[w] high back nasal glide

| V-C, C-V, V-#

[n̩w]

/n̩u̩/

n̩o̩

'no'

[ʊ] high back rounded nasal elsewhere

[m̩žə]

/m̩že/

munge

'he milks'

[d̩u̩]

/d̩u̩/

d̩um

'of a'

3.5 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

V / i, Í, e, Ú, ε, a, ð, o, ò, u, ù /

/i/	[íre]	/íra/	ira	'anger'
/Í/	[fí]	/fí/	fim	'end'
/e/	[ké]	/ké/	qué	'what'
/ε/	[élu]	/élu/	elo	'link'
/e/	[ékerar]	/ékarar/	encurar	'to face'
/a/	[ála]	/ála/	ala	'aisle'
/ø/	[ékure]	/ékura/	âncora	'anchor'
/o/	[bólu]	/bólu/	bole	'cake'
/ò/	[óda]	/óda/	onda	'wave'
/ɔ/	[góla]	/góla/	gola	'collar'
/u/	[tú]	/tú/	tu	'you'
/ù/	[nú]	/nú/	num	'in a'

VV

/e/	[pyédadə]	/piédade/	piedade	'pity'
/ε/	[pyéle]	/piéla/	piel	'intoxication'
/i/ +	/a/	[pyánu]	/piánu/	piano
	/o/	[pyólu]	/piólu/	piolho
	/ɔ/	[pyóře]	/pióřa/	'louse'
	/u/	[vyúve]	/viúva/	'little top'
				'widow'

/i/	[mwídu]	/muidu/	moido	'wearied'
/e/	[p'wémə]	/puéma/	poema	'poem'
/ɛ/	[mwéde]	/muéda/	moeda	'coin'
/u/ + /a/	[bwátu]	/buátu/	boato	'rumour'
/ɔ/	[Kwóte]	/kústa/	quota	'quota'
/u/	[árdwu]	/árduu/	arduo	'hard'
/i/	[mwítu]	/muítu/	muito	'very'
/e/	[déy]	/déi/	dei	'I gave'
/ɛ/	[enéyš]	/anéiš/	aneis	'rings'
/a/	[váy]	/vái/	vai	'go'
/ɔ/	[móy]	/mói/	moi	'he grinds'
/o/ + /i/	[bóy]	/boí/	boi	'ox'
/u/	[Kúydar]	/kúidar/	cuidar	'to care'
/e/	[séy]	/séi/	cem	'hundred'
/ě/	[měy]	/měi/	mæe	'mother'
/õ/	[kópøy]	/kópõi/	compõe	'he composes'
/i/	[tíw]	/tíu/	tio	'uncle'
/e/	[mew]	/méu/	meu	'mine'
+ /u/				
/ɛ/	[léw]	/léu/	leu	'bare'
/a/	[máw]	/máu/	mau	'bad'

/o/	[ówrełe]	/óurela/	ourela	'hedge'
/u/ + /u/	[árduw]	/árduu/	arduo	'hard'
/ě/	[p'ěw]	/pěu/	pão	'bread'

VVV

/i/ + /a/	[metəryáyš]	/materiáiš/	materiais	'materials'
/e/ + /i/	[syéyru]	/siéiru/	cieiro	'chapped'

/u/ + /a/	[kwáyš]	/kuáiš/	quais	'which'
/e/ + /i/	[pweyrə]	/puéira/	poeira	'dust'

/i/ + /ö/ + /i/	[pyöyš]	/piöiš/	peões	'pedestrians'
/u/ + /ö/ + /i/	[ságwöyš]	/ságuöiš/	saguões	'inner yard'
/i/ + /ě/ + /u/	[iškórpyěu]	/iškórpiěu/	escorpião	'scorpion'

ONSET The onset consists of one or two consonants.

All consonants except /r/ and /ñ/ occur as onset in phrase initial.

C

/p/	[pápe]	/pápa/	pápa	'paste'
/t/	tétu]	/tétu/	teto	'ceiling'
/k/	[kěštělu]	/kaštélù/	castelo	'castle'
/b/	[béyžu]	/béižu/	beijo	'kiss'
/d/	[diňéyru]	/diňéiru/	dinheiro	'money'
/g/	[gólu]	/gólu/	golo	'goal'
/m/	[móda]	/móda/	moda	'fashion'
/n/	[nóytə]	/nóite/	noite	'night'
/l/	[lərěžə]	/larěža/	laranja	'orange'
/λ/	[λé]	/λé/	lhe	'him'
/ř/	[řému]	/řámu/	ramo	'branch'
/f/	[fádu]	/fádu/	fado	'fate'
/s/	[sále]	/sála/	sala	'room'
/š/	[šávəne]	/šávena/	chavena	'cup'
/v/	[víňu]	/víňu/	vinho	'wine'
/z/	[zěgə]	/zěga/	zanga	'quarrel'
/ž/	[žyéšte]	/žiéšta/	giesta	'yellow shrub'

CC

/p/	[plénu]	/plénu/	<i>pleno</i>	'full'
/k/	[kláru]	/kláru/	<i>claro</i>	'clear'
/b/ + /l/	[blóku]	/blóku/	<i>bloco</i>	'block'
/g/	[gladiwlu]	/gladiwlu/	<i>gladiolo</i>	'gladiolus'
/f/	[fláwte]	/fláuta/	<i>flauta</i>	'flute'
/t/	[tlítar]	/tlítar/	<i>tlintar</i>	'to jingle'

CODA One or two consonants occur in syllable final position

C'

/p/	[ráptu]	/ráptu/	<i>rapto</i>	'kidnapping'
/t/	[átlaš]	/átlaš/	<i>atlas</i>	'atlas'
/k/	[áktu]	/áktu/	<i>acto</i>	'act'
/b/	[əbdíkar]	/abdíkar/	<i>abdicar</i>	'to renounce'
/d/	[ədmuěštar]	/admuěštar/	<i>admoestar</i>	'to reprimand'
/g/	[dágma]	/dágma/	<i>dogma</i>	'dogma'
/f/	[neftelíne]	/naftalína/	<i>naftalina</i>	'naphthalene'
/s/	[íška]	/íška/	<i>isca</i>	'bait'
/l/	[sáltu]	/sáltu/	<i>salto</i>	'jump'
/r/	[pórtę]	/pórtę/	<i>porta</i>	'door'

'CC'

/p/ + /š/ [opštákulu] /opštákulu/ *obstáculo* 'obstacle'

/r/ + /š/ [pəršpikáš] /peršpikáš/ *perspicaz* 'perspicacious'

-C' In absolute final position before pause

/š/ [nóyvuš] /nóivuš/ *noivos* 'bridal pair'

/l/ [řešitáč] /resítál/ *recital* 'recital'

/r/ [děsar] /děsar/ *dansar* 'to dance'

4.0 COMPARISON: Table III charts the phonemic comparison of D1 with D2. The symbol plus (+) assigns the feature to the dialect.

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF D1 AND D2

A - CONSONANTS

		<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>
STOPS	v1. /p, t, k/ vd. /b, d, g/	+ +	+ +
FRICATIVES	/f, s, ſ/ /v, z, ž/ /χ/ /ř/	+ + + -	+ + - +
NASALS	/m, n, ŋ/	+	+
LATERALS	/l, λ/	+	+
FLAP	/r/	+	+

B - VOWELS

HIGH	/i, ī, u, ū/ /e, ē, o, ō/	+ +	+ +
MID SEMI-CLOSE	/ə/ /ɛ/	+ +	- +
MID NEUTRAL	/ə/	+	-
MID SEMI-OPEN	/ɛ, ɔ/	+	+
LOW	/a/	+	+

4.1 COMPARISON OF D1 AND D2: In establishing a comparison of these two systems as seen in Table III, it is noted that the phonemic stocks, the phoneme distributions and the functional loads of the phonemes are the same, with the following exceptions:

4.2 PHONEMIC STOCK: D2 shows allophones which do not occur in D1 [p', t', k', d̪, r̪, i̪, ɛ]. The allophone [j] only appears in D1. Unlike D1, D2 does not have /ə/ and /e/. D2 shows a phoneme /r̪/ with two free variants [x] and [r̪], while D1 has only /x/ [x].

4.3 PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTION: The distribution of consonantal phonemes is identical for both dialects. Due to the non-occurrence of the vowel phonemes /ə/ and /e/, the following nuclei do not occur in D2: /iə/, /iɛ/, /uə/, /uɛ/ and /əu/.

4.4 FUNCTIONAL LOAD: The non-occurrence of the vowel phonemes /ə/ and /e/, correlates with the higher functional load of /e/ and /a/ in D2.

4.5 Table IV charts the observed differences in D1 and D2.

TABLE IV
TABULAR SUMMARY OF DIFFERENCES IN D1 AND D2

<u>FEATURES</u>		<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>
<u>Phonemic Stock</u>			
1. /x/		+	-
2. /r̄/		-	+
3. /ə/		+	-
4. /æ/		+	-
<u>Allophones</u>			
1. [r̄]		-	+
2. [p̄]		-	+
3. [t̄]		-	+
4. [k̄]		-	+
5. [d̄]		-	+
6. [ŋ̄]		+	-
7. [r̄̄]		-	+
8. [ī̄]		-	+
9. [ɛ̄̄]		-	+
10. [ē, ə̄, ɪ̄]		+	-
<u>Nucleus: VV</u>			
11. /iə/		+	-
12. /əi/		+	-
13. /aŋ/		+	-
14. /ən/		+	-
15. /nɛ/		+	-

4.6 CORRESPONDENCE IN D2 WITH ENGLISH: D2 shows three innovations which correlate with normal English phenomena. The aspirate allophones of the voiceless stops in initial position can readily be explained as contaminations from English. The introduction of an allophonic voiced inter-dental fricative is less conclusively of English origin, but no other source is apparent.

TABLE V

	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>D2</u>
/p/	[p']		[p] /p/
/t/	[t']	word initial position	[t] /t/
/k/	[k']		[k] /k/
/θ/	[θ]		[θ] /θ/ intervocalic position

5.0 CONCLUSION: 'Although there is a high degree of correlation between D1 and D2, there is not a total identity due to the interference of the English language.' With reference to Table V, the major differences are in the number of allophones which are assumed to be contaminations from English. The assimilation of the vowels /ə/ and /ɛ/ in D1 to /e/ and /a/ in D2 can be explained by the natural phenomenon of neutralization and not by English contamination. The non-occurrence of the vowel phonemes /ə/ and /ɛ/ shows a simplification of the vowel system of D2, and consequently of the nuclei and correlates with the increased functional load of the phonemes /e/ and /a/ in that dialect. D1 illustrates that the older group, largely because of a resistance against socio-cultural integration, has retained its phonology intact with characteristics identical to that of Continental Portuguese as spoken by the same age group in Portugal. We are, therefore, justified in speaking of two structurally distinct dialects and our hypothesis is substantiated. This phonological study, which is an analysis of the unit segmental phonemes of D1 and D2, together with a description of their allophones, is considered relevant for its uniqueness and because it provides a basis for the investigation of further research in Portuguese contrastive studies.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE ¹

I - Notes on the informant

1. Name
2. Nickname
3. Sex
4. Age
5. Marital Status
6. Birthplace
7. Places of residence (with dates spent in each)
8. Travels (places and dates)
9. Formal education
10. Occupation
11. Military Service (places and dates)
12. Birthplace of father
 " " mother
 " " husband/wife
13. Speech organs (no visible defects)
14. Relevant personality features

II - Data

- a) 1. Answers to questions concerning the above
2. Counting 1 to 21
3. Days of the week
4. Conversation
5. Narration

¹ Armando de Lacerda, "Recolha, arquivo e análise de falares regionais Portugueses." Revista do Laboratório de Fonética Experimental de Coimbra II, (1954), 134-136.

6. Months of the year
 7. Alphabet
 8. Response to indirect questions
 9. 2
 10.
- b) 1. Pictures
2. Reading selection

III - Attitude of informant during interview

IV - Degree of typicalness

V - Basis for selection of informant

VI - Place of interview

VII - Surroundings

VIII - Date

IX - Classification of recording

²Nos. 9 and 10 were intentionally left blank by Armando de Lacerda for the researchers' adaptation. In this study, under No. 9, I used a standardized list of minimal pairs for the vowels, and No. 10 was used for the list of consonants.

APPENDIX B

PICTORIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTIONS

<u>Orthography</u>	<u>Dialect - 1</u>		<u>Dialect - 2</u>		<u>English Gloss</u>
1 abelhas	[əbéλəš]	/əbéλəš/	[abéλaš]	/abéλaš/	bees
2 boca	[bókə]	/bókə/	[bóke]	/bóka/	mouth
3 bola	[bóla]	/bóle/	[bóla]	/bóla/	ball
4 borboleta	[burbuléte]	/burbuléte/	[burbuléte]	/burbuléta/	butterfly
5 mariposa	[maripózə]	/maripózə/	[meripózə]	/maripóza/	moth
6 borrego	[buxégu]	/buxégu/	[buxégu]	/buxégu/	lamb
7 cadeira	[kədéyra]	/kədéyra/	[k'edéyra]	/kadéyra/	chair
8 cães	[káy̪š]	/káy̪š/	[káy̪š]	/káy̪š/	dogs
9 cachorro	[kašóxu]	/kašóxu/	[kešóxu]	/kašóxu/	hot dog
10 caracol	[kərekół]	/kərekół/	[k'erækół]	/Karakół/	snail
11 cerejas	[səréyžaš]	/səréižaš/	[seréyžaš]	/seréyžaš/	cherries
12 chapéu	[šepéw]	/šepéu/	[šepéw]	/šapéu/	hat
13 chaves	[šávəš]	/šávəš/	[šáveš]	/šáveš/	keys
14 coelho	[kewλu]	/kuéλu/	[Kwéλu]	/kuéλu/	rabbit
15 comboio	[kõbóyu]	/kõbóiu/	[kõbóyu]	/kõbóiu/	train
16 copo	[kópu]	/kópu/	[kópu]	/kópu/	glass
17 cruz	[krúš]	/krúš/	[krúš]	/krúš/	cross

18	galinha	[gəlīñ̥a]	/gəlīñ̥a/	[gəlīñ̥a]	/galiña/	hen
19	gato	[gátu]	/gátu/	[gátu]	/gátu/	cat
20	laranjas	[la rēžeš]	/la rēžeš/	[la rēžeš]	/larežaš/	oranges
21	uma mão	[ūmamẽ̄w̄]	/ūmamẽ̄w̄/	[ūmamẽ̄w̄]	/ūmamẽ̄w̄/	a hand
22	dedos	[déduš]	/déduš/	[déduš]	/déduš/	fingers
23	mesa	[méze]	/méze/	[méze]	/méza/	table
24	peúgas	[pyúgeš]	/piúgeš/	[pyúgeš]	/piúgaš/	cosks
25	meias	[méyeš]	/méieš/	[méyeš]	/meiaš/	nylons
26	morangos	[murēguš]	/murēguš/	[murēguš]	/murēguš/	strawberries
27	corda	[kórdę]	/kórdę/	[kórdę]	/kórda/	string
28	nó	[nó]	/nó/	[nó]	/nó/	knot
29	óculos	[óku]luš]	/óku]luš/	[óku]luš]	/óku]luš/	glasses
30	pá	[pá]	/pá/	[pá]	/pá/	dustpan
31	pé	[pś]	/pś/	[pś]	/pś/	foot
32	peixes	[péyšəš]	/péišəš/	[péyšeš]	/péišeš/	fishes
33	piões	[pyōj̥š]	/piōt̥š/	[pyōj̥š]	/piōt̥š/	pedestrians
34	pera	[pérę]	/pérę/	[pérę]	/péra/	pear
35	perú	[pərú]	/pərú/	[pərú]	/perú/	turkey
36	pomba	[pōbę]	/pōbę/	[pōbę]	/pōba/	dove
37	ponte	[pōt̥ę]	/pōt̥ę/	[pōt̥ę]	/pōte/	bridge
38	rã	[xě]	/xě/	[xě]	/xě/	frog
39	sapo	[sápę]	/sápę/	[sápu]	/sápu/	toad
40	regador	[xəgadór]	/xəgadór/	[xegadór]	/xegadór/	sprinkler
41	rosa	[xózę]	/xózę/	[xóze]	/róza/	rose

APPENDIX C

ELEGIA DO AMOR

ELEGY OF LOVE

Teixeira de Pascoaes

Lembras-te, meu amor,
das tardes outonais,
em que íamos os dois,
sózinhos, passear
para longe do povo
alegre e dos casais,
onde só Deus pudesse
ouvir-nos conversar?

Tu levavas na mão
um lírio enamorado,
e davas-me o teu braço;
e eu, triste, meditava
na vida, em Deus, em ti...
E, além, o sol doirado
morria, comhecendo
a noite que deixava.

Harmonias astrais
beijavam teus ouvidos;
um crepúsculo terno
e doce diluia
na sombra, o teu perfil
e os montes doloridos...

Do you recall my dear,
the autumn afternoons
when we two,
alone, went walking
far from the happy
village and the homesteads
where only God could
hear us speak?
In your hand you held
a lily that was in love.
I held your arm
and sadly meditated
about life, about God, about you.

And beyond, the gilded sun
died away, acknowledging
the night is left behind.

Star harmonies
kissed your ears;
twilight, tender
and sweet, diluted
with shadows your profile
and the mourning mountains.

Erravam, pelo azul,
canções do fim do dia.
Canções que, do tão longe,
o vento vagabundo
trazia na memória...
Assim o que partiu
em frágil caravela,
e andou por todo o mundo,
traz no seu coração
a imagem do que viu.
Olhavas para mim,
ás vezes distraída
como quem olha o mar,
á tarde, dos rochedos...
E eu ficava a sonhar,
qual névoa adormecida,
quando o vento também
dorme nos arvoredos.
Olhavas para mim...
Meu corpo rude e bruto
vibrava, como a onda
a alar-se em nevoeiro.
Olhavas descuidada
e triste ... Ainda hoje escuto
a música ideal
do teu olhar primeiro

Through the blue,
evening songs wandered,
songs that from far away
the vagrant wind
carried in its memory,
as one who has set out
in a fragile caravel
and roamed the world
bears in his heart
the image of the things he has seen.
You gazed at me
absently, at times,
like one who in the evening gazes
at the sea from the cliffs.
And I remained dreaming
like a sleeping mist
when the wind also sleeps
in the grooves.
you gazed at me...
My rude and brutish body
vibrated like a wave
that soars into the mist.
You gazed, carelessly,
sadly ... And today I still
hear the ideal music
of your first gaze.

Ouço bem tua voz,
vejo melhor teu rosto
no silencio sem fim,
na escuridão completa!

Ouço-te em meu desgosto
e na minha esperança
eterna de poeta!

O sol morria ao longe;
e a sombra da tristeza
velava com amor
nossas doridas frontes.

Hora em que a flor medita,
e a pedra chora e resa,
e desmaiam de mágoa
as cristalinas fontes.

Hora santa e perfeita,
em que íamos, sózinhos,
felizes, através
da aldeia muda e calma,
mãos dadas, a sonhar,
ao longo dos caminhos...

Tudo, em volta de nós,
tinha um aspecto de alma.

Tudo era sentimento,
amor e piedade.

I hear your voice well,
I see your face better
in the endless silence,
in the complete darkness.

I hear you in my pain,
I hear you in my grief
in my eternal poet's hope.

The sun faded in the distance,
and the shadow of sadness
veiled with love
our aching foreheads.

The hour when the flower meditates,
and the stone weeps and prays,
and the crystalline springs
faint in sorrow.

The holy, perfect hour
when happily we walked
alone, through
the mute, calm village
hand in hand, dreaming
along the roads.

Everything around us
had a quality of soul.

All was feeling,
Love and pity.

A folha que tombava
era alma que subia...
E sob os nossos pés,
a terra era saudade,
a pedra comoção,
e o pó melancolia.
Falavas duma estrela
e deste bosque im flor;
dos ceguinhas sem pão,
dos pobres sem um manto.
Em cada tua palavra,
havia etérea dor;
por isso a tua voz
me impressionava tanto!
E punha-me a cismar,
que eras tão boa e pura,
que muito em breve, sim,
te chamarea o céu!
E soloçava, ao ver-te
alguma sombra escura
na fronte, que o luar
cobria como um véu.
A tua palidez
que medo me causava!
Teu corpo era tão fino,
e leve (ó meu desgosto!)

The falling leaf
was an ascending soul...
And under our feet
the earth was nostalgia!
the stone, tenderness;
and the dust, melancholy.
You spoke of a star
and of the flowering wood;
of blind beggars who had no bread,
of the naked poor.
In your every work
there was ethereal pain.
Therefore your voice
impressed me so.
And I began to dream,
So good and pure you were,
that soon, indeed,
heaven would take you away.
And I sobbed as I saw
a dark shadow
on your forehead, which the moonlight
covered like a veil.
How your pallor
frightened me!
Your body was so delicate
and light (oh, my sorrow)

que eu tremia, ao sentir
o vento que passava!

Caia-me na alma
a neve do teu rosto.

Como eu ficava triste
e mudo, sobre a terra!

E uma vez, quando a noite
amortalhava a aldeia,
tu gritaste de susto,
Olhando para a serra;

"Que incêndio!" - e eu, a rir,
disse-te: "É a lua cheia!"...

E sorriste também
do teu engano. A lua
ergueu a branca fronte
acima dos pinhais,
tão ebria de esplendor,
tão casta e irmã da tua,
que eu beijei, sem querer,
seus raios virginais.

E a lua, para nós,
os braços estendeu
Uniu-nos num abraço
espiritual, profundo;
e levou-nos assim,
com ela, até ao céu...

that I trembled as I felt
the passing wind
Into my soul fell
the snow of your face.
How sad I was
and mute on the earth!
And once, when night
enshrouded the village,
you screamed with fear,
looking at the mountains!
"What a fire!" - and laughing
I said to you, "It is the full moon!
And you, too smiled
At your mistake. The moon
lifted its white face
above the pine groves,
so drunk with splendor,
so chast, so much your sister,
that I kissed, involuntarily,
its virginal rays.
And to us the moon
stretched out its arms.
It joined us in an embrace,
spiritual, profound;
and so it bore us
with it up to the heavens!"

*Mas ai, tu não voltaste,
e eu regressei ao mundo.*

But ah, you did not return,
And I returned alone to the world.

REPRESENTATIVE TRANSCRIPTIONDIALECT - I

[élažyę du emór]

/élažie du emór/

[teyšéyre də p̄škwáyš]

/teišéire də peškuáiš/

[l̄ébreštə méw emór

d̄eš tárdaš otónayš

éý k̄ayémus úš dóyš

sózinuš p̄səar

p̄erę l̄ožę dý p̄ovu

elégra i dúš kezáyš

ődə s̄ó déuš pudésə

ovírnuš kōvərsár

tú l̄evávəš né māw

ú líriw inəmurádu

i dávešmə ú téw brásu

i éw tríšta meditávę

né vidię éý déuš éý ti

i aléý ú sáł doirádu

muxię kúñəsədu

/l̄ébreštə méu emór

d̄eš tárdaš otónaiš

éř k̄a iámuš úš dóiš

sózinuš p̄səar

p̄ere l̄ožadú p̄ovu

elégra i dúš kezáiš

ődə s̄ó déuš pudésə

ovírnuš kōvərsár

tú l̄evávəš né māu

ú líriu inəmurádu

i dávešmə ú téu brásu

i éu trísta meditávę

nevidę éř déuš éř ti

i aléř ú sáł doirádu

muxię kúñəsədu

é nōytæ kæ deyšavæ	ø noítæ kæ deišáve
ermúnyæš æstráyš	ermúniesh æstráis
beyžávæw téwš ovíduš	beižávæu téus ovíduš
ú kræpúškulu térnū	ú kræpúškulu térnū
i dósæ díluyæ	i dósæ díluie
né sôbre ú téw pærfit	né sôbre ú téu pærfil
i úš mótoš duluríduš	i úš mótoš duluríduš
exávæw pélu æzút	exávæu pélu æzúl
kësöýš dû fî dû dýe	kësöis dû fî dû díe
kësöýš kæ dæ tæw lõžæ	kësöis kæ dæ tæu lõžæ
ú vëtu vgebûdu	ú vëtu vegebûdu
trezýæ né mémóryæ	trezie né mémórie
æstí ú kæ partíw	æstí ú kæ partiù
éý frázil karevélæ	éí frážil karevélæ
i ẽdó pür tóduw mûdu	i ẽdó pür tódu ú mûdu
träš nú séw kureséw	träš nú séu kureséu
é imážéý du kæ víw	e imážéí du kæ víu
þlaveš péræ mî	þlaveš péræ mî
ás vézæš dístryedæ	ás vezæš dístreide
kómû këý ála ú már	kómu këý ála ú már
á tárdæ duš xušéduš	á tárdæ dúš xušéduš
i éw fikávásuñar	i éu fikávásuñar
kwát névwadórmæside	kuál névua edórmæside

kwédu ú větu těběj	küždu ú větu těběř
dórmę nūš arvúreduš	dórmę nūš arvúreduš
šlavəš péré mř	šlavəš péré mř
mew kórpę xúdibrutu	méu kórpę xúdə i brútu
vibrávę kómu é ōdę	vibrávę kómu e ōdə
álarsę éý nəvwéryu	álarsę éř nəvuéiru
šlavəš deškuýdadę	šlavəš deškuídade
i trištę aýdę óžę eškútų	i trištę ařds óžę eškútų
é muzíkę idyát	é muzíkę idiál
dú téw ɔlár priméryu	dú téu ɔlár primeíru
ósu běý twę vóš	ósu běř túe vóš
véžu məλsér téw xóštu	véžu məλsér téu xóštu
nú silēsiw sěý fř	nú silēsiu sěř fř
nę eškuriděw kōpléte	nę eškuriděř kōpléte
ósuta éý méw dešgoštu	ósuta éř méu dešgoštu
i nę míňę ešpərəsę	i nę míňę ešpərəsę
etérnę dę pwéte	etérnę dę puéte
ú sół muxýę áw lōžę	ú sół muxía áu lōžę
i é sőbre dę trištéze	i é sőbre dę trištéze
vəl ávę kő emór	vəlavę kő emór
nósəš durídeš fróteš	nósəš durídeš fróteš
óre éý ká flór mədite	óre éř ká flór mədite
i é pédrę šóre i xéze	i é pédrę šóre i xéze

í dəšmáyẽw də mágwə	í dəšmátiẽw də máguə
əš krištelineš fótəš	əš krištelineš fótəš
óre sëtz i pərfeytə	óre sëtz i pərféite
éý kəyámuš sóziñuš	éít kə iámuš sóziñuš
fəl ízəš etravéš	fəlizəš etravéš
dé áłdeyə múdə i kálme	dé áldeie múde i kálme
méñwš dádeš é suñár	méñwš dádeš é suñár
áw lóngu dúš kemíñuš	áu lóngu dúš kemíñuš
túdu éý vóltadə nóš	túdu éít vólta dé nóš
tíñə ú̄ ešpétu dálme	tíñə ú̄ ešpétu dálme
túdu ére sëtimétu	túdu ére sëtimétu
əmór í pyédadə	əmór í piédadə
é fólačkə tōbavə	é fólačkə tōbave
éreálmə kə subýę	éralmə kə subíę
í sób úš nósuš péš	í sób úš nósuš péš
é téxə ére sáwdadə	é téxəére sáudadə
é pédrə kúmusěw	é pédre kúmusěw
íw pó məlěŋkulýę	í u pó məlěnkulie
fəlávəš dúmə eštréle	fəlávəš dúmə eštréle
í deštə bóškə éý flór	í déštə bóškə éít flór
dúš ségiñuš séý pěw	dúš ségiñuš séít pěw
dúš póbrəš séý ú mētu	dúš póbrəš séít ú mētu
éý kédə twə pelávre	éít kédə túš pelávre

evýę etér eę dor
 pür ísu é twę vóš
 mó Ȑprəsiunávę tětu
 í puñemasíšmar
 kę éreš těw bózí púre
 kę mñítu éy bréva sī
 tę šemarýę ú séw
 í sulusávę áw vérta
 álgumę sõbre eškúre
 né frōtę kę ú lúar
 kubrýę kómų ú vew
 é twę pelídeš
 kę médu mó kawzávę
 téw krýu ére těw fínu
 í léva s méw dešgoštų
 kew trémýę áw sétir
 ú větu kę pesávę
 kryemę né álmę
 é néva dù téw xóštu
 kómų ew fikávę trištę
 í múdu sóbra téxe
 í úma věš kwědu e noýta
 emurtełávę áldeyę
 tú gritáštę dę súštu

evié etéree dor
 pür ísu é túe vóš
 mó Ȑprəsiunávę tětu
 í puñemasíšmar
 kę éreš těw bózí púre
 kę muítu ét bréva sī
 tę šemar ie ú séu
 í sulusávę áu vérta
 álgumę sõbre eškúre
 né frōtę kę ú lúar
 kubrýę kómų ú věu
 é túe pelídeš
 kę médu mó káuzave
 téu krópu ére těw fínu
 í léva s méu dešgoštų
 kew trémie áu sétir
 ú větu kę pesávę
 kryemę né álmę
 é néva dù téu xóštu
 kómų eú fikávetrištę
 í múdu sóbra téxe
 í úma věš kuždu e noýta
 emurtełávę áldeie
 tú gritáštę dę súštu

óλëdu péra séxø
 kę ūsédiw i éw øxír
 dísø tø éølwø šeyø
 i suxistø tøbëy
 dý téw énganu ølwø
 érgew brékø ø frótdø
 esimø dúš piñáyš
 tøw ébryø dešpléedor
 tøw káštø i irnø dø twø
 kew býžey sëy kérér
 séwš xáyuš viržináyš
 i ø lwø pérø nòš
 úš brásuš eštëdew
 unínuš nü ebrásu
 øšprititwát prufúdu
 i lëvónuš esí
 kð élø eté áw séw
 méš áy tø nëw vóltastø
 i éw xegrøséy áw mündu]

óλëdu péra séxø
 kę ūsédiu i éu éxír
 dísøtø é ølúø šéie
 i suxistø tøbëy
 dý téu énganu élúø
 érgeu bréke ø frótdø
 esimø dúš piñáis
 tøu ébrie dešpléedor
 tøu káštø i írmø dø túø
 kew béižei sëi kérér
 séuš xáis viržináis
 i élúø pérø nòš
 úš brásuš eštëdeu
 unínuš nü ebrásu
 øšpirituál profúdu
 i lëvónuš esí
 kð élø eté áu séu
 méš ái tø nëu vóltastø
 i éu xegrøséi áu mündu/

DIALECT - 2

[éležyə dú emór]

/éležia dú amór/

[t' eyshéyre dá peshkwáyš]

/teišéira de paškuáiš/

[lēbreštə méw amór
dáš tárdeš otónayš
éj ká yamuš úš dóyš
sózinuš p'e seár
pére lōžə dú póvu
alégre í dús Kazáyš
óde só déwš pudésə
ovírnuš kōversar
tú ləvávəs né mēw
ú líriw inamurádu
í dávešmə ú téw brásu
í éw tríšte məditáve
né víde eý déwš eý tí
í álēy ú sól doirádu
muřýə kúňesédu

/lēbraste méu amór
dáš tárdeš otónaiš
éj ké íamuš úš dóiš
sózinuš pasear
pára lōže dú póvu
alégre í dús kazáiš
óde só déuš pudése
ovírnuš kōversar
tú levávas ná mēw
ú líriu inamurádu
í dávašme ú téu brásu
í éu tríšte meditáva
ná vída éj deuš éj tí
í álēt ú sól doirádu
muřía kúňesédu

é nótæ k'ó deýsavæ	á nóite ké déišava
ərmunyéš aštráyš	armuníaš aštráis
béýžavëw tewš óviduš	béýžaväū tewš óviduš
ú krépúškulu térnú	ú krepúškulu térnú
i dósæ díluye	i dóse díluia
né sôbre ú téw þarfít	ná sôbra ú téu perfil
i úš móteš duluríduš	i úš móteš duluríduš
erávëw pélu azút	eráväū pélu azúl
kësöýs dú fí dú dyé	kësöýs dú fí dú dia
kësöýs ká dæ tëw lóžæ	kësöýs ké dé tääū lóže
ú vëtu vagabúdu	ú vëtu vagabúdu
trezýe ne memórye	trazía ná memoria
así u ká p'ertiw	así u ké partiu
éý frážit karavéla	éý frážil karavéla
i ẽdó pür tódu w mûdu	i ẽdó pür tódu u mûdu
träš nú séw Kuresëw	träš nú séu kurasäū
é imázëý dú dæ víw	á imázëíl dú ké víu
ółavaš pére mî	ółavaš pára mî
ás vézæs dištreýde	ás vézes distraída
kómu kéý ółeuí már	kómu kéý óla u már
á tárdæ dûš rušéduš	á tárde dûš rušéduš
i ew fikávásuñar	i éu fikávásuñar
kwát névwa ádormesíde	kuál névua ádormesída

k̄w̄édu ú v̄etu t̄eb̄éy
 d̄orme nūš ervuréduš
 ólavæš p̄erø m̄í
 méw kórpø ūudø í brútu
 vibravø kómu e ūde
 álarsø éy nəvwéýru
 ólavæš deškuýdadø
 í trištø ūýdø ožø eškútø
 é múzikø idyát
 dù téw ólar primeýru
 ósu b̄éy t̄wø v̄os
 v̄éžu məl̄ór téw ūoštø
 nū silésiw s̄éy f̄í
 n̄é eškúridø kōpléte
 ósutø éy méw dešgoštø
 i n̄é miñø ešperése
 etérnø d̄ø p̄wéte
 ú sót muřyø áw l̄ožø
 i a s̄óbra d̄ø trištéze
 velávø kō amór
 n̄osaš durídeš fr̄oteš
 óra éy ká flór mədítø
 i a p̄edø šóra i réza

k̄uédø u v̄etu t̄eb̄éy
 d̄orme nūš arvuréduš
 ólavaš pára m̄í
 méu kórpø ūude í brútu
 vibráva kómu a ūda
 álarse éi nevuéíru
 ólavaš deškuídada
 í trištø aída ožø eškútø
 á múzika idiál
 dù téu ólar primeíru
 ósu b̄éy túa v̄os
 v̄éžu məl̄ór téu ūoštø
 nū silésiu s̄éy f̄í
 ná eškúridø kōpléta
 ósute éi méu dešgoštø
 i ná miñø ešperésa
 etérna dé puéta
 ú sól muřia aú l̄ožø
 i a s̄óbra dá trištéza
 veláva kō amór
 n̄osaš durídaš fr̄oteš
 óra éi ká flór mədítø
 i a p̄edø šóra i réza

i dəšmáyẽš də́ mágwə	i dešmáišū dé mágua
əš kríštelineš fótaš	aš kríštalinaš fótes
óre sěta i pérféyte	óra sěta i perféita
éý kə yámuš sózinuš	éí ké iámuš sózinuš
felízeš atráveš	felízeš atráveš
də áłdeyə múda i kálma	dá áldeia muda í kálma
méwš dádaš á suñár	méwš dádaš á suñár
áw lõgu dús Kamíñuš	áu lõgu dús kamíñuš
túdu éý vólta də nōš	túdu éí vólta dé nōš
tíñə ú aspétu dálma	tíña ú aspétu dálma
túdu érəsétimětu	túdu éra sétimětu
amór i pýédaðə	amór i piédade
á fóla ké tóbava	á fóla ké tóbava
ére álma kə súbia	ére álma ké súbia
i sób úš nōsuš pēš	i sób úš nōsuš pēš
á téra ére sawdáðə	á téra éra saudáde
á pē dre k'umuséš	á pédra kumuséš
i w pó melékułyə	i ú pó melékulia
falávaš dúma eštréla	falávaš dúma eštréla
i dešte bóške éý flór	i déste bóške éí flór
dúš ségiñuš sěý pěš	dúš ségiñuš sěí pěš
éý káda túa palaávre	éí káda tua palávra
dúš póbreš sěý ú mětu	dúš póbreš sěí ú mětu

evýe etére e dór	avía etérea dór
púr ísu é twé vóš	púr ísu á túa vóš
má īprásíunavetéetu	mé ipresíunava tētu
i púñamasíšmar	i púñamasíšmar
ká éres tēw bóai púre	ké éras tēū bóia í púra
ké mwitu éy bréva sī	ké múitu éi bréve sī
té šamerye ú séw	te šamaría ú séu
i sulusáve áw vérta	i sulusáva aú vérte
algúme sōbre eškúre	algúma sōbra eškúra
né frōtə kē ú lwár	ná frōte kē ú luár
kubrye kómu ū vew	kubria kómu ū vew
e twé palídeš	á túa palídeš
ké médu mə Kawzáve	ké médu mé kauzáva
téw kórpu ére tēw fínu	téu kórpu éra tēū fínu
i lēve ó méw désgoštū	i lēve ó méu désgoštū
kéw trəmýe aú sétir	kéu tremia aú sétir
ú větu kē p'asáve	ú větu kē pasáva
kayéma né álme	kaíame na álma
e névə dū téw rōštu	á néve dū téu rōštu
kómu éw fikáve trište	kómu éu fikáva trište
i muču sóbra téře	i muđu sóbra téřa
i úma věš kwědu e noýta	i úma věš kuědu a noíte
emurtałáve aldéye	amurtałáva aldéia
tú gritášte də súštu	tú gritášte de súštu

cλédu péra sérə	cλédu pára á séra
k' tsédiw i éw e rír	ké tsédiu í eú á rír
dísate é a lwe šeyə	dísete é á lúa séia
i suřište tēbēy	i suřište tēbēř
dú téw ēganu é lwe	dú téu ēganu á lúa
érgew bréke é frōtə	érgewu bréka á frōte
asíme dús piñayš	asíma dús piñáis
tēwébrye dešpléedor	tēū ébria dešpléedor
téw Káste i írmə dētwe	tēū kásta í írmə dá tuá
kéw býzey sēy kerér	kéu běžei sēř kerér
séwš ráyuš viržínayš	séuš ráiuš viržínaiš
i é lwe péré nōš	i a lúa pára nōš
uš brásuš eštēdew	uš brásuš eštēdeu
uníwnuš nū ebrásu	uníwnuš nū abrásu
ešpirítwař prufúdu	espirítual profúdu
i ləvónuš asř	i ləvoňuš asř
kő éla até áw séw	kő éla até áu séu
máš ay tú nēw všltašta	máš aí tú nēř všltašte
i éw rēgrésey áw mūdu]	i eú rēgrései aú mūdu/

APPENDIX D

A SURVEY OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN PORTUGAL

This appendix is not intended as a critical analysis of all preceding work in the linguistic geography of the Portuguese language; its goal is merely to provide a general view of the history of activity in this field, supported by a bibliographical survey of the principal relevant literature.

The first scholar to devote himself to the scientific study of Portuguese dialectology was José Leite de Vasconcelos (1858-1941).¹ One of the most remarkable men of letters in the country during his epoch, Leite de Vasconcelos made a vast and respectable contribution to scholarship in Portugal, particularly in the field of dialectology and ethnography. His first work, *O Dialecto Mirandês*,² was granted the sole monetary prize awarded in the competition sponsored by the *Société de Langues Romanes* (Paris) in 1883.

¹ For a complete discussion of the life and works of Leite de Vasconcelos, see Orlando Ribeiro, "Vida e Obras de José Leite de Vasconcelos," *Portucalæ*, XV (1942), 3-62. A list of the works of Leite de Vasconcelos is found in Luis Chaves, "O Labor Científico e Literário do Leite de Vasconcelos," *A Língua Portuguesa*, IV (1934), 361-383. The necrology published by Manuel de Paiva Boletó in *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia*, I (1947), 617-620, cites several articles written on the occasion of the death of Leite de Vasconcelos.

² *O Dialecto Mirandês. Contribuição para o Estudo da Dialectologia Romântica no Domínio Glotológico Hispano-Lusitano*, (Porto, 1882).

His best known work is probably *Esquisse d'une Dialectologie Portugaise* (Paris and Lisbon, 1901), the first comprehensive study of dialectology in the Portuguese speaking world, which served as its author's doctoral thesis at the University of Paris. Leite de Vasconcelos also published the first map of Portuguese dialects, *Mapa Dialectológico do Continente Português* (Lisbon, 1897); reprinted in *Opúsculos*, IV, (Coimbra, 1929, 793-796.

In more recent time, a great impetus has been given to the study of linguistic geography in Portugal by Manuel de Paiva Boléo. In 1942, he announced the organization of a project for linguistic investigation by correspondence.³ In addition to formulating a detailed questionnaire for the study of variations in speech in Portugal, following in part the model provided by the questionnaire for the *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Sudschweiz* by Karl Jahberg and Jakob Jüd, Boléo set forth in detail the principles and techniques to be followed.⁴ The questionnaire has subsequently been augmented and revised so that it now includes about six hundred fifty items. At present there are well over two thousand compiled questionnaires, covering speech communities throughout the country,

³ Manuel de Paiva Boléo, O Estudo dos Dialectos e Falares Portugueses. Um Inquérito Linguístico. (Coimbra, 1942); "O Interesse Linguístico da Linguagem Popular," Revista de Portugal, Série A - Língua Portuguesa, I (1942) 129-140.

⁴ The nature and contents of Boléo's questionnaire are summarized by Sever Pop, Bibliographie des Questionnaires Linguistiques, (Publications de la Commission D'Enquête Linguistique, VI) (Louvain, 1955), p. 120-121. A more detailed treatment is found in La Dialectologie, I, 454-457.

on file in the *Instituto de Estudos Românicos* of the University de Coimbra. Answers to the items in the questionnaire have served as the basis for some revealing studies in Portuguese dialectology, especially in the realm of lexical variation.⁵ Since the organization of the *Inquérito Linguístico*, Boléo has published a series of studies devoted to stimulating interest and promoting research in Portuguese linguistic geography.⁶ Although the project for research by correspondence in linguistic geography has yielded its most productive results in lexical study, Boléo presently published, with Maria Helena Santos Silva, a new dialect map of Portugal with boundaries based primarily on phonetic features.⁷

In addition to the work in linguistic geography initiated and perpetuated through the efforts of Boléo, other projects in this field

⁵ See, for example, Karl Jaberg, "Geographie Linguistique et Expressivisme Phonétique: Les Noms de la Balançoire en Portugais," Revista Portuguesa de Filologia, I (1947), 1-44; Heinz Kroll, "Designações Portuguesas para 'Embriaguês,'" Revista Portuguesa de Filologia, V (1952), 27-87, VI (1953-55) 73-135, VII (1956), 17-118; Lúcia Maria dos Santos Magno, "Áreas Lexicais em Portugal e na Itália," XI (1961), 25-100.

⁶ In the addition to the works previously cited, the following should be mentioned in this connection: "Brasileirismos. Problemas de Método," Separata de Brasília, III (1943); "Defesa e Ilustração da Lingua. A Propósito do Instituto da Lingua Portuguesa" (Lisbon 1945); "Unidade e Variedade da Lingua Portuguesa," Separata da Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, XX, I (1954); "O Estudo dos Falares Portugueses, Antigos e Modernos, e sua Contribuição para a História da Lingua," Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, II, (Lisbon, 1960), 1-11.

⁷ "O Mapa dos Dialectos e Falaes de Portugal Continental," Actas do IX Congresso Internacional de Linguística Românica, XX, fasc. 1-2 (1961), (Lisbon, 1962), 85-112.

have been undertaken by Portuguese scholars. Luís Lindley Cintra collaborated, along with Aníbal Otero, in the *Atlas Linguístico da Península Ibérica* (Vol. I: Fonética I, Madrid, 1962).⁸ Whereas the studies previously cited have dealt with lexical geography, there are three investigators who have devoted particular interest to the phonetic study of Portuguese dialects: Armando de Lacerda, Francis M. Rogers, and José G. C. Herculano de Carvalho. Lacerda, who has been director of the *Laboratório da Fonética Experimental* in Coimbra since it was founded in 1936, has long envisioned the phonetic study and investigation of regional forms of Portuguese speech through the use of recordings and instrumental techniques, and has established an archive of recordings made for this purpose.⁹ The initial work in this particular project was undertaken in 1952 by Lacerda and Göran Hammarström, it led to the latter's doctoral thesis, *Etude de*

⁸ See Luis F. Lindley Cintra, "Enquêtes au Portugal pour l'Atlas Linguistique de la Penínsule Ibérique," *Orbis*, III (1954), 417-418; M. Sanchis Garner, L. Rodriguez Castellano, Aníbal Otero, Luis F. Lindley Cintra, "El Atlas Linguístico de la Península Ibérica (ALPI). Trabajos, Problemas e Métodos," *Actas do IX Congresso Internacional de Linguística Românica*, III, 113-120.

Some of Cintra's work in lexically and phonetically defined dialect areas has been published in "Alguns Estudos de Fonética com base no 'Atlas Linguístico da Península Ibérica,'" *Anais do Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro*, (Rio de Janeiro, 1958), 186-195, and *A Linguagem dos Foros de Castelo Rodrigo. Seu Confronto com a dos Foros de Alfaiates, Castelo Bom, Castelo Melhor, Coria Caseres e Usagre. Contribuição para o Estudo do Leonês e do Galego-Português no Século XIII*, (Publicações do Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 9), (Lisbon, 1959). See also the recent study "Áreas Lexicais no Território Português," *Boletim de Filologia*, XX (1962), 273-307.

⁹ Armando de Lacerda, "Recolha, Arquivo e Análise de Falares Regionais Portugueses," *Revista do Laboratório de Fonética Experimental de Coimbra*, II (1954), 128-157.

Phonétique Auditive sur les Parlers de l'Algarve (Stockholm, 1953).

More recently, Lacerda and John M. Parker, have collaborated in the study of speech in the district of Beja.¹⁰ A particularly interesting contribution to Portuguese dialectology has been made by Francis M. Rogers in his doctoral thesis, "The Pronunciation of Madeira and Azores Dialects as Compared with the Standard Portuguese" (Harvard University, 1940).¹¹

The first major section of this thesis ("Book I - The Standard Language of Portugal," p. 1-291) utilized existing experimental data and the auditory impressions both of the author and of previous students of Portuguese phonetics in a very detailed treatment of what the author labels "The Standard Language of Portugal." There are two features which set Rogers' study apart from previous work in the linguistic geography of Portuguese: its predominantly structural orientation, and its comparison of dialectical forms with "Standard" pronunciations. The second major study of Portuguese dialectal material following a phonological orientation is Herculano de Carvalho's *Fonologia Mirandesa I* (Coimbra, 1958), in which

¹⁰"Variantes Fonéticas de Falares Regionais do Distrito de Beja," Revista do Laboratório de Fonética Experimental de Coimbra, III (1956), 38-146; IV (1958), 107-174; V (1960) 5-72.

¹¹The findings of this thesis were later published in part in a series of articles: "Insular Pronunciation: Madeira," HR, XIV (1946), 235-253; "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Porto Santo and Eastern Azores," HR, XVI (1948), 1-32; and "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Central and Western Azores," HR, XVII (1949), 47-70. The author has also written two supplementary studies dealing with insular Portuguese pronunciation: "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Alleged Breton Influence," Revista de Filologia, II (1949), 305-314; and "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Alleged Flemish Influence," in Medieval Studies in Honor of J.D.M. Ford (Cambridge, Mass. 1948), 211-221.

the Mirandês dialect, treated first by Leite de Vasconcelos, is restudied in the light of the new data and according to the principles of modern linguistic science.¹² Like Cintra in his work of the *Atlas Linguístico de la Península Ibérica*, Herculano do Carvalho has employed the technique, initiated in Portugal by Armando de Lacerda, of utilizing a tape recorder for field work in linguistic geography.

Two further studies have been announced: the compilation of a *Dicionário dos Falares de Portugal*, under the direction of Paiva de Boléo and Herculano de Carvalho,¹³ and the *Atlas Linguístico e Etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza*, under the direction of Boléo, Herculano de Carvalho, and Cintra.¹⁴

¹² Review by Norman P. Sacks, *Language*, XXXVI, 3, (1960), 425-430. Two subsequent unpublished studies at the Faculty of Letters in Coimbra, which follow the "phonological point of view," are cited by Herculano de Carvalho in "Os Estudos Dialectológicos em Portugal," I, 319.

¹³ Herculano de Carvalho, Os Estudos Dialectológicos em Portugal, p. 320.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 320-321. See also Manuel de Paiva Boléo, José G. Herculano de Carvalho, Luis F. Lindley Cintra, "Projecto de um Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza," Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, II, 413-417.

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