A STUDY OF THE SEGMENTAL PHONEMES
OF TWO PORTUGUESE DIALECTS

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1969

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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 HYPOTHESES: 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 1.3.2.¹

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 Lacerda\(^2\) 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

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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.

Portuguese. 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. 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. 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, and the second article discusses, from both synchronic and diachronic points of view, the types of R's in the speech of Lisbon. His third, and most recent work, *Etudes 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

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

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).

IBERIAN PORTUGUESE PHONEMES

TABLE I

CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio Dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveo Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STOP</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ň</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERALS</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>λ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>i ɨ̆</td>
<td>u ŋ̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID</td>
<td>e ɛ̆</td>
<td>ə ɔ̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e ɛ̆</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔ̆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOPHONES IN D1

CONSONANTS:

/p/

[p] voiceless bilabial stop in all occurrences

[pɛpá] /pɛpá/² papa 'daddy'

/t/

[t] voiceless dental stop in all occurrences

[tʰɪte] /tʰite/ tinta 'ink'

/k/

[k] voiceless velar stop in all occurrences

[kúky] /kúku/ ouoo 'cuckoo'

/b/

[b] voiced bilabial stop in all occurrences

[bóby] /bóbu/ bobo 'buffoon'

/d/

[d] voiced dental stop in all occurrences

[dédu] /dédu/ dédo 'finger'

² - Supersegmental feature, non-distinctive, occurs at phrase level, or in words in citation.
/g/  
[g] voiced velar stop in all occurrences

[gágu] /gágu/  gago  'stutterer'

/f/  
[f] voiceless labiodental fricative in all occurrences

[fófu] /fófu/  fofo  'softy'

/s/  
[s] voiceless alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[suségo] /suségu/  sossegó  'quietness'

/ɨ/  
[ɨ] voiceless alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[ɨgar] /ɨgá]  chegá  'to arrive'
[əsár] /əsá]  achar  'to find'
[bólus] /bólus/  bolos  'cakes'

/v/  
[v] voiced labiodental fricative in all occurrences

[vóvo] /vóvo/  vôvo  'grandfather'
/z/  [z]  voiced alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[ zélw ] / zélw /  zelo  'zeal'
[ kezár ] / kezár /  casar  'to marry'

/ʒ/  [ʒ]  voiced alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[ ženélw ] / ženélw /  janela  'window'
[ kéžyž ] / kéžyž /  queijo  'cheese'

/m/  [m]  bilabial nasal in all occurrences

[ mémé ] / mémé /  mamá  'mummy'

/n/  [ŋ]  velar nasal medially before velar consonants

[ těŋyu ] / těŋyu /  tango  'tango'
[ šíŋku ] / šíŋku /  cinco  'five'

/n/  [n]  apicodental nasal elsewhere

[ náde ] / náde /  nada  'nothing'
[ enél ] / enél /  anel  'ring'
/n/ [n] alveopalatal nasal in all occurrences

[sənɔr] /sənɔr/ senhor 'sir'

/l/ [l] velarized lateral in final position

[máɭ] /máɭ/ mal 'badly'

[l] voiced dental lateral elsewhere

[lády] /lády/ lado 'side'

[elí] /elí/ ali 'there'

/ʎ/ [ʎ] alveopalatal lateral in all occurrences

[ʎo] /ʎo/ ohe 'him'

[muʎer] /muʎer/ mulher 'woman'

/r/ [r] apicodental flap in all occurrences

[káɾe] /káɾe/ cara 'face'

[páɾte] /páɾte/ parte 'part'

[emór] /emór/ amor 'love'

/x/ [x] voiceless velar fricative in all occurrences

[xíw] /xíw/ rio 'river'

[káɭu] /káɭu/ carro 'car'
VOWELS

/i/

[y] voiced prepalatal glide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V—C, C—V, V—#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pêyẽã] /pêišẽ/ peixe 'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[vyuIẽye] /viuIẽsẽ/ violência 'violence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ľy] /ľẽ/ lei 'law'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[i] high front unrounded vowel elsewhere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[i]</th>
<th>/inútil/</th>
<th>inútil</th>
<th>'useless'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[eI] /eI/</td>
<td>aqui</td>
<td>'here'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ĩ/

[y] nasalized high front glide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[tẽy] /tẽ/</th>
<th>tẽom</th>
<th>'they have'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

[ĩ] high front unrounded nasal vowel elsewhere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[ Chípãtiky] / Chípãtiku/</th>
<th>simpático</th>
<th>'nice'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[sĩ] /sĩ/</td>
<td>sim</td>
<td>'yes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/e/ [e] mid front unrounded in all occurrences

[éstə] /éstə/ éste 'this'
[sédə] /sédə/ seda 'silk'
[dé] /dé/ dé 'give'

/é/ [ê] mid front unrounded nasal in all occurrences

[énganu] /énganu/ engano 'mistake'
[véder] /véder/ vender 'to sell'

/ɛ/ [ɛ] low front unrounded in all occurrences

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

/a/ [u] low back unrounded before syllable closed by /1/

[tá] /tá/ tal 'such'
[ály] /álge/ algo 'something'

[a] low central unrounded elsewhere

[ágyme] /ágie/ águia 'eagle'
[lá] /lá/ lá 'there'
/ə/  

[ə]  

devoiced mid central unrounded in final position  

[sárvejə] /sárveiژ/ cerveja 'beer'  

[ə]  

mid central unrounded elsewhere  

[kémɛ] /kέme/ cama 'bed'  

/ẽ/  

[ẽ]  

mid central unrounded nasal in all occurrences  

[ẽʒu] /ẽʒu/ anjo 'angel'  

[kétu] /kέtu/ canto 'corner'  

[ɨɛ] /ɨɛ/ ɨa 'wool'  

/œ/  

[œ]  

devoiced mid central neutral in final position  

[pêla] /pέla/ pele 'skin'  

[œ]  

mid central neutral elsewhere  

[zhəlár] /žəlár/ gelar 'to freeze'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ə/</th>
<th>Low back rounded in all occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>[ɔ:] /ɔɾe/  hora  'hour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɔ̃]</td>
<td>/evó/  avó  'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>Mid back rounded in all occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[kómːu] /kómu/  como  'as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[evó] /evó/  avo  'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kóʃe] /kóʃe/  ooxa  'thigh'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ʊ/</th>
<th>Mid back rounded nasal in all occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʊ]</td>
<td>[kőʃe] /kőʃe/  onoha  'shell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ódɔ] /ódɔ/  onde  'where'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[bɔ]  /bɔ̃/  bom  'good'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>Voiced bilabial glide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[áwle] /áule/  aula  'class'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ágwɛ] /águə/  água  'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[máw] /máu/  mau  'bad'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[ɾ]  devoiced high back rounded in final position

[tu]  /tu/  tu  'you'

[u]  high back rounded elsewhere

[uve]  /uve/  uva  'grape'
[krús]  /krús/  orus  'cross'

/ũ/  nasalized high back glide

[V—C, C—V, V—#

[mew]  /mũũ/  mão  'hand'

[u]  high back rounded nasal elsewhere

[mudu]  /mũdu/  mundo  'world'
[ũ]  /ũ/  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 Cₜ(C or CC); an optional coda Cₙ (CC or CC).

V /i, ɨ, e, ə, e, ə, o, ʊ, ɔ, u, ů/

/i/ [íny] /ínu/ hino 'hymn'
/ɨ/ [st̪] /st̪/ sim 'yes'
/e/ [el̪] /el̪o/ éle 'he'
/ē/ [étrar] /étrar/ entrar 'to enter'
/ẽ/ [el̪o] /el̪e/ ela 'she'
/a/ [áze] /áze/ aza 'wing'
/æ/ [et̪u] /et̪u/ atum 'tuna'
/ē/ [édar] /édar/ andar 'to walk'
/ə/ [vérdɔ] /vérdɔ/ verde 'green'
/o/ [bóke] /bóke/ boca 'mouth'
/ɔ/ [ódɔ] /ódɔ/ onđe 'where'

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word 1</th>
<th>Word 2</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[kɔlɛ]</td>
<td>/kɔlɛ/</td>
<td>cola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[pɛrʊ]</td>
<td>/pɛrʊ/</td>
<td>perú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ũ/</td>
<td>[ũ]</td>
<td>/ũ/</td>
<td>um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[vʲeŋə]</td>
<td>/viɛne/</td>
<td>Viena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[vʲelɛ]</td>
<td>/viɛle/</td>
<td>viela</td>
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<td>piada</td>
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<td>[gl⁻ɾyɛ]</td>
<td>/glɔrie/</td>
<td>glória</td>
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<td>[sɛɾyɛ]</td>
<td>/sɛɾiə/</td>
<td>série</td>
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<td>/o/</td>
<td>[mʲoɣu]</td>
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<td>diário</td>
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<td>/xuídu/</td>
<td>ruído</td>
</tr>
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<td>[pʲemɛ]</td>
<td>/puɛme/</td>
<td>poema</td>
</tr>
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<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[pwɛtɛ]</td>
<td>/puɛta/</td>
<td>poeta</td>
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<td>/u/ +</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[bwɑtɨ]</td>
<td>/buᵃtu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[ágwe]</td>
<td>/áɡwe/</td>
<td>água</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[tɛnwe]</td>
<td>/tɛnwe/</td>
<td>ténue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[kwɔte]</td>
<td>/kuɔte/</td>
<td>quota</td>
</tr>
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<td>/u/</td>
<td>[áɾdwe]</td>
<td>/áɾduu/</td>
<td>arduo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[mwiˈtu]</td>
<td>/muĩtu/</td>
<td>muito</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>Portuguese Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[xéy]</td>
<td>/xéi/</td>
<td>rei 'king'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[šíteyʃ]</td>
<td>/šíteiʃ/</td>
<td>hoteis 'hotels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[páy]</td>
<td>/pái/</td>
<td>pai 'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[erúy]</td>
<td>/erói/</td>
<td>herói 'hero'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ + /i/</td>
<td>[bóy]</td>
<td>/bói/</td>
<td>boi 'ox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[fúy]</td>
<td>/fúi/</td>
<td>fui 'I went'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ẽ/</td>
<td>[véy]</td>
<td>/véi/</td>
<td>vem 'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ẽ/</td>
<td>[méy]</td>
<td>/méi/</td>
<td>mãe 'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/õ/</td>
<td>[póy]</td>
<td>/pói/</td>
<td>põe 'put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[viwleʃyʃ]</td>
<td>/viuléśia/</td>
<td>violência 'violence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[séw]</td>
<td>/séu/</td>
<td>seu 'yours'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[sɛw]</td>
<td>/sɛu/</td>
<td>seu 'sky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ + /u/</td>
<td>[bekeláw]</td>
<td>/bekeleu/</td>
<td>bacalhau 'cod fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[nívøy]</td>
<td>/nívéu/</td>
<td>níveo 'snowy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[óuru]</td>
<td>/óuru/</td>
<td>ouro 'gold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[árduwɔ]</td>
<td>/arduu/</td>
<td>arado 'hard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ẽ/</td>
<td>[mew]</td>
<td>/méo/</td>
<td>mão 'hand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VVV

/a/    /espəsəyəiʃ/ /espəsiáiʃ/ especiais 'specials'
/i/ + /i/ /vyéyɾɐ/ /viéiɾɐ/ vieira 'scallop'
/e/    /kwaɪʃ/ /kuáiʃ/ quais 'which'
/a/    /kwáyɾɐ/ /kuáiɾɐ/ poeira 'dust'
/u/ + /i/ /pwéyɾɐ/ /puéiɾɐ/ poeira 'dust'
/i/ + /o/ + /i/ /kamioiʃ/ /kamióiʃ/ camiões 'trucks'
/u/ + /o/ + /i/ /sagwɔyiʃ/ /saguoiʃ/ saguões 'inner yards'
/i/ + /e/ + /u/ /iʃpiéu/ /iʃpiéu/ espiaő 'spy'

ONSET: The onset consists of one or two consonants.

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

C
/p/    /pátu/ /pato/ 'duck'
/t/    /tẽste/ /testa/ 'forehead'
/k/    /káze/ /casa/ 'house'
/b/    /bôle/ /bola/ 'ball'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>symbol</th>
<th>/d/</th>
<th>/g/</th>
<th>/m/</th>
<th>/n/</th>
<th>/ń/</th>
<th>/l/</th>
<th>/ł/</th>
<th>/f/</th>
<th>/x/</th>
<th>/s/</th>
<th>/ś/</th>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/z/</th>
<th>/ź/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>[gatʰ]</td>
<td>/gatʰ/</td>
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<td>/gatʰ/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[mɐpɛ]</td>
<td>/mɐpɛ/</td>
<td>/mɐpɛ/</td>
<td>/mɐpɛ/</td>
<td>/mɐpɛ/</td>
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<td>/mɐpɛ/</td>
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<td>/mɐpɛ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>symbol</th>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>+ /l/</th>
<th>/g/</th>
<th>/f/</th>
<th>/t/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[plɛnu]</td>
<td>/plɛnu/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[klasɛ]</td>
<td>/klasɛ/</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
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<td>/bluze/</td>
<td>/bluze/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ /l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[glory]</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>[flɔr]</td>
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<td>/flɔr/</td>
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<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tلتار]</td>
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<td>/tلتar/</td>
<td>/tلتar/</td>
<td>/tلتar/</td>
<td>/tلتar/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'man'  
'cat'  
'map'  
'cream'  
'Nhonho'  
'tin'  
'him'  
'lighthouse'  
'rose'  
'soup'  
'tea'  
'cow'  
'zero'  
'ice'  
'plain'  
'class'  
'blouse'  
'glory'  
'flower'  
'to jingle'
CODA One or two consonants can occur in syllable-final position.

C'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[ápty]</td>
<td>/áptu/</td>
<td>apto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[etlētiku]</td>
<td>/etlētiku/</td>
<td>atlāntico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[ákty]</td>
<td>/ákty/</td>
<td>acto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[ebdíkar]</td>
<td>/ebdíkar/</td>
<td>abdicar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[edmírar]</td>
<td>/edmírar/</td>
<td>admirar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[dógme]</td>
<td>/dógme/</td>
<td>dogma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>[neftelíne]</td>
<td>/neftelíne/</td>
<td>nafthalina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>[iške]</td>
<td>/iške/</td>
<td>isca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[álty]</td>
<td>/álty/</td>
<td>alto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>[kárte]</td>
<td>/kárte/</td>
<td>carta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CC'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>[opštákuly]</td>
<td>/opštákulu/</td>
<td>obstáculo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ /ʃ/</td>
<td></td>
<td>obstacle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[pəɾšpikáš]</td>
<td>/pəɾšpikáš/</td>
<td>perspicax</td>
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<td>perspicacious</td>
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</table>
C' In absolute final position before pause only the following consonants occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʂ/</td>
<td>[sóũʃ]</td>
<td>/sóũʃ/</td>
<td>sonhos 'dreams'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[kɛɾɐvɐl]</td>
<td>/kɛɾɐvɐl/</td>
<td>carnaval 'carnival'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>[emɔɾ]</td>
<td>/emɔɾ/</td>
<td>amor 'love'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Phonemes

### Table II

#### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio Dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveo Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>STOP</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
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<td><strong>FRICATIVES</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NASALS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>TRILL</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
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<td><strong>LATERALS</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>λ</td>
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### Vowels

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<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HIGH</strong></td>
<td>i i̯̊</td>
<td>u ů̯</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MID</strong></td>
<td>e e̯̊</td>
<td>ə ə̯̊</td>
<td>o o̯̊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOW</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOPHONES IN D2

CONSONANTS

/p/  

[p']  lightly aspirated voiceless bilabial stop  
in initial position

[pʰʌ] /pʰa/  pa  'father'

[p]  voiceless bilabial stop elsewhere

[mʌpɛ] /mʰa/  ma  'map'

/t/  

[t']  lightly aspirated voiceless dental  
stop in initial position

[tʰw] /tʰu/  tio  'uncle'

[t]  voiceless dental stop elsewhere

[mʰatu] /mʰatʰo/  mato  'jungle'

/k/  

[k']  lightly aspirated voiceless velar fricative  
in initial position

[kʰitʰe] /kʰi'ta/  quinta  'farm'
[k] voiceless velar stop elsewhere

[kężáku] /kazáku/ casaco 'coat'

/b/

[b] voiced bilabial stop in all occurrences

[bunέke] /bunέka/ boneca 'doll'
[əbέle] /abέla/ abelha 'bee'

/d/

[d] voiced dental fricative in intervocalic position

[dédu] /dédu/ dedo 'finger'

[d] voiced dental stop elsewhere

[dóler] /dólar/ dólares 'dollar'

/g/

[g] voiced velar stop in all occurrences

[gulόzu] /gulόzu/ guloso 'gormandizer'

/f/

[f] voiceless bilabial fricative in all occurrences

[fíte] /fíta/ fita 'ribbon'
[bífe] /bífe/ bife 'steak'
/s/  
[s] voiceless alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[ɾásə]  /ɾasa/ raga 'race'
[sáku]  /sáku/ saco 'sack'

/ʃ/  
[ʃ] voiceless alveopalatal fricative in all occurrences

[ʃáme]  /ʃáma/ ohama 'flame'
[ɾóʃə]  /ɾóʃa/ rocha 'rock'

/v/  
[v] voiced labiodental fricative in all occurrences

[vaʃe]  /vaʃa/ vasa 'cow'
[néve]  /néve/ neve 'snow'

/z/  
[z] voiced alveolar fricative in all occurrences

[ζəru]  /ζəru/ zero 'zero'
[ɾóʒə]  /ɾóʒa/ 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

[mála] /mála/ mala 'bag'

[káma] /káma/ ama 'bed'

\(/n/\)

[n] apicodental nasal in all occurrences

[néto] /néto/ neto 'grandson'

[tónico] /tóniku/ tónico 'tonic'

\(/\tilde{n}/\)

[\tilde{n}] palatal nasal in all occurrences

[bánu] /bánu/ banho 'bath'

\(/l/\)

[tl] velarized lateral in final position

[tl] /tl/ hotel 'hotel'

[l] alveolar lateral elsewhere

[lêda] /lêda/ lenda 'legend'

[tela] /tela/ tela 'canvas'

\(/\lambda/\)

[\lambda] palatal lateral in all occurrences

[filha] /filha/ filha 'daughter'
/ɾ/  
[ɾ] apical flap in syllable final before voiceless consonant

[Kɑɾte] /kɑɾta/ cartaña 'letter'

[r] apical tap elsewhere

[Kɑɾu] /kɑɾu/ caro 'expensive'
[əmɑɾ] /amɑɾ/ amaro 'to love'

/ɾ/²

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

[l̥arʊ]-[xarʊ] /l̥arʊ/ varo 'rare'
[l̥eɾa]-[xeɾa] /l̥eɾa/ teəɾa 'earth'

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

[xiɾu]-[ɾiɾu] /xiɾu/ rico 'rich'
[melɾu]-[mεɾu]/melɾu/ melro 'blackbird'

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

/i/  [y] voiced prepalatal glide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V—C, C—V, V—# (except where C — /I/)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[léyta]      /léite/  léite   'milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[výle]       /vióla/  viola  'Spanish guitar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[réy]        /réi/    rei     'king'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[j] velarized high close front before /l/

| [mj̥̃]       /m̥l/    m̥l     'thousand' |

[i] high front unrounded elsewhere

| [ĭ̞]        /i̞a/    i̞ha     'island' |
| [vi̞de]      /vi̞da/  vi̞da   'life' |
| [a̞li̞]      /a̞i̞/    a̞i̞    'there' |

/[i]/

[ý] nasalized high front glide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V—C, C—V, V—#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[véý]         /véř/  věřem  'they come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[t̠] high front unrounded nasal elsewhere

| [vi̞de]      /vi̞da/  vinda   'arrival' |
| [f̠í]        /f̠i̞/    fim     'end' |
/e/

[ə] high central semi-close in unstressed position

[ʒəládu] /ʒeládu/ gelado 'ice cream'
[děte] /děte/ dente 'tooth'

[e] mid front unrounded elsewhere

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

/ě/

[ɛ] mid front unrounded nasal in all occurrences

[ěkětu] /ěkětu/ encanto 'charm'
[prěsu] /prěsu/ prenso 'I compress'

/e/

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

[mě́l] /mél/ mel 'honey'

[ɛ] low front unrounded elsewhere

[prégar] /prégar/ pregar 'to preach'
[fě] /fě/ fé 'faith'
/a/

[ə] low back unrounded before /l/

[səl] /səl/ əəl 'salt'
[ˈəltu] /ˈəltu/ əltə 'tall'

[ɛ] mid central unrounded in unstressed syllables

[kəna] /kəna/ əəna 'cane'

[a] low central open unrounded elsewhere

[ˈəsidu] /ˈəsidu/ əsidə 'acid'
[kəsa] /kəsa/ əqa 'hunting'
[pə] /pə] pə 'shave'

/e/

[e] mid central unrounded nasal in all occurrences

[dəsa] /dəsa/ əŋə 'dance'
[məsa] /məsa/ əŋə 'apple'

/o/

[o] low back rounded in all occurrences

[ˈoʊə] /ˈoʊə/ əʊə 'opera'
[ˈləte] /ˈləte/ əltə 'fish market'
[sə] /sə/ əsə 'alone'
/o/  [o]  mid back rounded in all occurrences

[kóśe]  /kóśa/  coxa  'lame'
[óvu]  /óvu/  ovo  'egg'
[só]  /só/  sou  'I am'

/ɔ/  [ɔ]  mid back rounded nasal in all occurrences

[óteý]  /óteʔ/  ontem  'yesterday'
[kóše]  /kóša/  conoha  'shell'
[só]  /só/  som  'sound'

/u/  [u]  voiced bilabial glide

| V—C, C—V, V—# |

[plaw]  /páu/  pau  'stick'
[rwu]  /ruʔ/  ruım  'wicked'
[twáxe]  /twáxa/  toalha  'towel'

[u]  high back rounded elsewhere

[ú]  /ú/  o  'the'
/ũ/  high back nasal glide

\V\—C, C—V, V—#

[n̥ũ] /n̥u̯/  não  'no'

[u̯]  high back rounded nasal elsewhere

[mu̯ʒe] /mu̯že/  munge  'he milks'

[dũ] /du̯/  dummy  'of a'
3.5 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

\[ V \quad / i, ñ, e, õ, e, ã, õ, õ, u, ū / \]

\[ /i/ \quad [iɾe] \quad /iɾa/ \quad iɾa \quad 'anger' \]
\[ /ĩ/ \quad [fĩ] \quad /fĩ/ \quad fim \quad 'end' \]
\[ /e/ \quad [kẽ] \quad /kẽ/ \quad quê \quad 'what' \]
\[ /ẽ/ \quad [ẽlu] \quad /ẽlu/ \quad elo \quad 'link' \]
\[ /e/ \quad [ẽkarp] \quad /ẽkararp/ \quad encararp \quad 'to face' \]
\[ /a/ \quad [ále] \quad /ála/ \quad ala \quad 'aisle' \]
\[ /ẽ/ \quad [ẽkure] \quad /ẽkura/ \quad âncora \quad 'anchor' \]
\[ /o/ \quad [bõlu] \quad /bõlu/ \quad bolo \quad 'cake' \]
\[ /õ/ \quad [õdẽ] \quad /õda/ \quad onda \quad 'wave' \]
\[ /ɔ/ \quad [gõle] \quad /gõla/ \quad gola \quad 'collar' \]
\[ /u/ \quad [tũ] \quad /tũ/ \quad tu \quad 'you' \]
\[ /ũ/ \quad [nũ] \quad /nũ/ \quad num \quad 'in a' \]

\[ WV \]

\[ /e/ \quad [piɛdado] \quad /piɛdade/ \quad piedade \quad 'pity' \]
\[ /ɛ/ \quad [piɛlɛ] \quad /piɛla/ \quad piela \quad 'intoxication' \]
\[ /a/ \quad [piãnu] \quad /piãnu/ \quad piano \quad 'piano' \]
\[ /i/ + /i/ \quad [piõlu] \quad /piõlu/ \quad piõlho \quad 'louse' \]
\[ /o/ \quad [piõru] \quad /piõru/ \quad piõrra \quad 'little top' \]
\[ /u/ \quad [viõuva] \quad /viõuva/ \quad viõuva \quad 'widow' \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[mwiˈdu]</td>
<td>/muidu/</td>
<td>moido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[pweˈme]</td>
<td>/puema/</td>
<td>poema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[mwaˈde]</td>
<td>/mueda/</td>
<td>moeda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ + /a/</td>
<td>[bwˈatu]</td>
<td>/buatu/</td>
<td>boato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[kwˈste]</td>
<td>/kusta/</td>
<td>quota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[árˈdwu]</td>
<td>/arduu/</td>
<td>arduo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[mwˈtu]</td>
<td>/mutu/</td>
<td>muito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[deˈy]</td>
<td>/dei/</td>
<td>dei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[anˈeis]</td>
<td>/aneis</td>
<td>aneis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[vai]/</td>
<td>/vai/</td>
<td>vai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>[mɔi]/</td>
<td>/moi/</td>
<td>moi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/ + /i/</td>
<td>[bɔi]/</td>
<td>/boi/</td>
<td>boi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[kuˈyar]</td>
<td>/kuidar/</td>
<td>cuidar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[sɛi]/</td>
<td>/sem/</td>
<td>sem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>[mɛi]/</td>
<td>/mei/</td>
<td>mãe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[kɔˈpɔi]</td>
<td>/compoẽ/</td>
<td>compoẽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[tɪw]</td>
<td>/tío/</td>
<td>tio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[mɛw]</td>
<td>/meu/</td>
<td>meu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/ + /u/</td>
<td>[lɛw]</td>
<td>/leu/</td>
<td>leu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[maw]</td>
<td>/mau/</td>
<td>mau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[ówrie]</td>
<td>/óurela/</td>
<td>ourela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ + /u/</td>
<td>[árdw]</td>
<td>/árduu/</td>
<td>árduo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ë/</td>
<td>[pëw]</td>
<td>/pëu/</td>
<td>pëo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ + /æ/ + /i/</td>
<td>[mærýyã]</td>
<td>/materiãis/</td>
<td>materiais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[syéyru]</td>
<td>/siéiru/</td>
<td>cieiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ + /æ/ + /i/</td>
<td>[kwãyã]</td>
<td>/kuãiã/</td>
<td>quais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[pweytre]</td>
<td>/pueîra/</td>
<td>poeira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ + /õ/ + /i/</td>
<td>[piõyã]</td>
<td>/piõiã/</td>
<td>peões</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/ + /õ/ + /i/</td>
<td>[sãgwõyã]</td>
<td>/sãguõiã/</td>
<td>saguões</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ + /ë/ + /u/</td>
<td>[iškõrpyãw]</td>
<td>/iškõrpiãũ/</td>
<td>escorpião</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ONSET  The onset consists of one or two consonants.  
All consonants except /r/ and /ñ/ occur as onset in phrase initial.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Word 1</th>
<th>Word 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[pápe]</td>
<td>/pápa/</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>'paste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tétu</td>
<td>/teto/</td>
<td>teto</td>
<td>'ceiling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kaštél</td>
<td>/caštel</td>
<td>castelo</td>
<td>'castle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bějižu</td>
<td>/beijo/</td>
<td>beijo</td>
<td>'kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>diňéyr</td>
<td>/diňeiro</td>
<td>dinheiro</td>
<td>'money'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>gól</td>
<td>/golo/</td>
<td>golo</td>
<td>'goal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>móda</td>
<td>/moda/</td>
<td>moda</td>
<td>'fashion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>nóite</td>
<td>/noite/</td>
<td>noite</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>laréža</td>
<td>/laranja</td>
<td>laranja</td>
<td>'orange'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʎ/</td>
<td>ʎé</td>
<td>/he/</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>'him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʁ/</td>
<td>řemu</td>
<td>/rama/</td>
<td>rama</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>řádu</td>
<td>/fado/</td>
<td>fado</td>
<td>'fate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>sála</td>
<td>/sala/</td>
<td>sala</td>
<td>'room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>šávena</td>
<td>/chavena</td>
<td>chavena</td>
<td>'cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>víňu</td>
<td>/vinho/</td>
<td>vinho</td>
<td>'wine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>zěga</td>
<td>/zanga/</td>
<td>zanga</td>
<td>'quarrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>žyčešte</td>
<td>/giesta</td>
<td>giesta</td>
<td>'yellow shrub'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CODA  One or two consonants occur in syllable final position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C'</th>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/plénu/</th>
<th>pleno</th>
<th>'full'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/kláru/</td>
<td>olaro</td>
<td>'clear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/blóku/</td>
<td>bloco</td>
<td>'blosk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/gláfu/</td>
<td>gladiolo</td>
<td>'gladiolus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/fláuta/</td>
<td>flauta</td>
<td>'flute'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tlńtar/</td>
<td>tlńtar</td>
<td>'to jingle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/talś/</td>
<td>atlas</td>
<td>'atlas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/aktu/</td>
<td>acto</td>
<td>'act'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/bdıkar/</td>
<td>abđicar</td>
<td>'to renounce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/dmęštar/</td>
<td>admoestar</td>
<td>'to reprimand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/dšma/</td>
<td>dogma</td>
<td>'dogma'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/nftaln/</td>
<td>nftalina</td>
<td>'naphthalene'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/ńśka/</td>
<td>isca</td>
<td>'bait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/ńltu/</td>
<td>salto</td>
<td>'jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/ńrțe/</td>
<td>porťa</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CC'

/p/ + /ʃ/  [opštákuľu]  /opštákuľu/  obstáculo  'obstacle'

/r/ + /ʃ/  [peršpikáš]  /peršpikáš/  perspicaz  'perspicacious'

-C'  In absolute final position before pause

/ʃ/  [noývuš]  /noývuš/  noivos  'bridal pair'

/ɬ/  [rešitāł]  /rešitāł/  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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D1</th>
<th>D2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STOPS</td>
<td>/p, t, k/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/b, d, g/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>/f, s, š/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/v, z, ž/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>/m, n, ŋ/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERALS</td>
<td>/l, ṭ/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAP</td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B - VOWELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D1</th>
<th>D2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>/i, ī, u, ũ/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/e, ě, o, ō/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID SEMI-CLOSE</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ě/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID NEUTRAL</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID SEMI-OPEN</td>
<td>/e, ɛ/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \([p', t', k', \delta, \gamma, i, \xi]\). The allophone \([\eta]\) only appears in D1. Unlike D1, D2 does not have \(/\omega/\) and \(/\varepsilon/\). D2 shows a phoneme \(/\bar{F}/\) with two free variants \([\chi]\) and \([\bar{F}]\), 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 \(/a/\) and \(/e/\), the following nuclei do not occur in D2: \(/i\omega/\), \(/i\varepsilon/\), \(/u\omega/\), \(/u\varepsilon/\) and \(/\omega u/\).

4.4 FUNCTIONAL LOAD: The non-occurrence of the vowel phonemes \(/\omega/\) and \(/\varepsilon/\), 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURES</th>
<th>D1</th>
<th>D2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phonemic Stock</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. /x/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. /ɹ/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. /œ/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. /æ/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Allophones</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. [ɹ]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [p̞]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [t̞]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. [k̞]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. [d̞]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. [ŋ]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. [ŋ̊]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. [ɪ]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. [ɛ̃]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. [ɛ, ə, ʝ]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nucleus: VV</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. /iə/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. /ie/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. /ue/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. /ua/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. /au/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>D2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p] /p/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t] /t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k] /k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d] /d/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word initial position</th>
<th>word initial position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /ɛ/ 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 /ɛ/ 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

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

---

6. Months of the year  
7. Alphabet  
8. Response to indirect questions  
9. ....................  
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  

\^2\text{Nos. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthography</th>
<th>Dialect - 1</th>
<th>Dialect - 2</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 abelhas</td>
<td>[ɛ'bɛlæʃ]/</td>
<td>/ɛ'bɛlæʃ/</td>
<td>/abɛlaʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 boca</td>
<td>/bɔkɛ/</td>
<td>/bɔkɛ/</td>
<td>/bɔka/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bola</td>
<td>/bɔlɛ/</td>
<td>/bɔlɛ/</td>
<td>/bɔla/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 borboleta</td>
<td>/bɔrboleta/</td>
<td>/bɔrboleta/</td>
<td>/bɔrboleta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mariposa</td>
<td>/maripɔzɛ/</td>
<td>/maripɔzɛ/</td>
<td>/maripɔza/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 borrego</td>
<td>/bɔrɛgu/</td>
<td>/bɔrɛgu/</td>
<td>/bɔrɛgu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 cadeira</td>
<td>/kædɛyɾɛ/</td>
<td>/kædɛyɾɛ/</td>
<td>/kædɛyɾa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 cães</td>
<td>/kãiʃ/</td>
<td>/kãiʃ/</td>
<td>/kãiʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 cachorro</td>
<td>/kaxɔʃu/</td>
<td>/kaxɔʃu/</td>
<td>/kaxɔʃu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 caracol</td>
<td>/kɾɛɾkɔʃ/</td>
<td>/kɾɛɾkɔʃ/</td>
<td>/kɾɛɾkɔʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 cerejas</td>
<td>/səɾɛiʒaʃ/</td>
<td>/səɾɛiʒaʃ/</td>
<td>/səɾɛiʒaʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 chapéu</td>
<td>/ʃəpɛu/</td>
<td>/ʃəpɛu/</td>
<td>/ʃəpɛu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 chaves</td>
<td>/ʃəvɛʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃəvɛʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃəvɛʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 coelho</td>
<td>/kwɛlu/</td>
<td>/kwɛlu/</td>
<td>/kwɛlu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 comboio</td>
<td>/kɔbɔʃiʃu/</td>
<td>/kɔbɔʃiʃu/</td>
<td>/kɔbɔʃiʃu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 copo</td>
<td>/kɔpɔ/</td>
<td>/kɔpɔ/</td>
<td>/kɔpɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 cruz</td>
<td>/krʊʃ/</td>
<td>/krʊʃ/</td>
<td>/krʊʃ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18 galinha /geliɲɐ/ /galiña/ /galiña/ hen
19 gato /gatu/ /gatu/ /gatu/ cat
20 laranjas /laræʒɐʃ/ /laræʒɐʃ/ /laræʒɐʃ/ oranges
21 uma mão /uæmɐøu/ /uæmɐøu/ /uæmɐøu/ a hand
22 dedos /deduʃ/ /deduʃ/ /deduʃ/ fingers
23 mesa /meze/ /meza/ /meza/ table
24 peügas /piuɡɐʃ/ /piuɡɐʃ/ /piuɡɐʃ/ cosks
25 meias /meiʃɐʃ/ /meiaʃ/ /meiaʃ/ nylons
26 morangos /muræɡuʃ/ /muræɡuʃ/ /muræɡuʃ/ strawberries
27 corda /kɔrdeʃ/ /kɔrda/ /kɔrda/ string
28 nó /nɔ/ /nɔ/ /nɔ/ knot
29 óculos /ʃku luʃ/ /ʃkuluʃ/ /ʃkuluʃ/ glasses
30 pā /pɐ/ /pá/ /pá/ dustpan
31 pé /pɐ/ /pá/ /pá/ foot
32 peixes /pɐjøʃɐʃ/ /pɐʃɐʃ/ /pɐʃɐʃ/ fishes
33 piões /piɔiʃɐʃ/ /piɔiʃɐʃ/ /piɔiʃɐʃ/ pedestrians
34 pera /pɐɾɐʃ/ /péra/ /péra/ pear
35 perú /pɐɾuʃ/ /peru/ /peru/ turkey
36 pomba /pɔbɐʃ/ /pôba/ /pôba/ dove
37 ponte /pɔteʃ/ /pôte/ /pôte/ bridge
38 rã /ʁã/ /ʁã/ /ʁã/ frog
39 sapo /sæpu/ /sápu/ /sápu/ toad
40 regador /ʁeɡɐdɔɾ/ /xegadør/ /xegadør/ sprinkler
41 rosa /ʁɔzɐ/ /ʁôza/ /ʁôza/ rose
ELEGIA DO AMOR

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, começando
a noite que deixava.
Harmonias astrais
beijavam teus ouvidos;
um crepúsculo terno
e doce diluída
na sombra, o teu perfil
e os montes doloridos...

APPENDIX C

ELEGY OF LOVE

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.

55
Erram, 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,
tras no seu coração
a imagem do que viu.
Olhavas para mim,
às vezes distraída
como quem olha o mar,
à tarde, dos rochedos...
E eu ficava a sonhar,
quãl 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 desolada
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 silêncio sem fim,
a 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 roza,
e desmaiam de mágoa
as cristalinas fontes.
Hora santa e perfeita,
em que amamos, 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 flour 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 saydade,
a pedra comoção,
e o pó melancolia.
Falavas duma estrela
e deste bosque im flor;
dos ceuginhos 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 ceu!
E soluçava, 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 (o 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: "E a lua cheia!"
E assim também
do teu engano. A lua
erqueu a branca frente
acima dos pinhais,
tão ébria de esplendor,
tão casta e irmã da tua,
que eu beijei, sem querer,
seue raio virginal.
E a lua, para nós,
seu 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 chaste, 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 aí, tu não voltaste,
e eu regressei ao mundo.

But ah, you did not return,
And I returned alone to the world.
[lébrešta méw emór]
/lébrešta méw emór/

dés tárdœ otónaiš
éï ke iémus ús dóiš
sózinuš péšear
pere lóżedú póvû
élégra i dus kezáis
ôde só déus pudésa
ovírunuš köversâr
tú layâves né måû
ú liriú inemurâdu
i dávesmê ú tew brásu
i éw trìstê madítâve
né viûç éy déwš éy tî
i aléï ú sól doirádu
muxyê kûnësëdu

[teyšéyrê dê peškwâys]
/teišéire dê peškuâis/

[dialect - 1]
é nótá ká deyšávé
ermúnyes əstráyš
beyžávě́v těwš ovídůš
ú křopúsíkułú térnů
i důša díluυe
né sőbrę́ ú téw pərfıl
i úš mótsŞ důluríduś
exávě́ılmış pělu azúl
kěsőřyš dů fi dů dyę
kěsőřyš kě dů téw lőžę
ú větu vgebungų
tresyę́ né memörıę́
řši ú kə partíw
ěy fražiš kerévéle
i ędό pórd tódůw múdy
trás nů séw kuresě́w
ě imazě́y dů kə víw
šlaveš pére mi'
áš vézáš distreyde
kůını kéy sła u már
á tárdď duš xuşę́duś
i ęw fikávasųńar
kwål něwadômə́śiside
a nótá ká deyšávé
ermúnyes əstráyš
beizávě́v těuš ovídůš
ú křopúsíkułú térnů
i důša díluυe
né sőbrę́ ú téu pərfıl
i úš mótsŞ důluríduś
exávě́ jedis pělu azúl
kěsőřiš dů fi dů dǐ́
kěsőřiš ká dů těu lőžę
ú větu vgebungų
tresı́ né memörıę́
řši ú kə partóu
ět fražiš kerévéle
i ędό pórd tódů u múdy
trás nů séu kuresě́u
ě imazę́i dů kə víu
šlaveš pére mi'
áš vezə́š distreide
kůını kéťšę́ u már
á tárdď duš xuşę́duś
i ęu fikávasųńar
kuál něuwa edômə́śiside
kũţeú ú vęatu tẽbẽį
dórme nũš arvũreduš
ólaves pẽrẽ mĩ
mẽw kõrpũ xúdibrutũ
vibrãvẽ kõmuẽ ôde
álarse ēį nẽwẽyrũ
ólaves deskuïdade
i trîstå sỹde ôsẽ eskũtu
ê muzîkê iydaį
dŭ tėw ɔlár primeirũ
ôsũ bẽy twẽ vǫs
věžũ mæńr tėw xoštũ
nũ sîlẽsiw sẽy fi
nẽ æskuriðẽũ kõplêtẽ
ôsute ēį mẽw desgoštũ
i nẽ mîñe espeɾẽsẽ
etërẽ dő pœtẽ
û söl muxũϝ aw lũţe
i ē sŏbre dĕ triştẽzẽ
vαl âvẽ kõ emûr
nôsea duriðes frōteš
ôrẽ ēį kã flôr măḍîtẽ
i ē pĕdrẽ sõřẽ i xēze

kũţeú ú vęatu tẽbẽį
dórme nũš arvũreduš
ólaves pẽrẽ mĩ
mẽw kõrpũ xúdõ brūtu
vibrãvẽ kõmuẽ ôde
álarse ēį nẽwẽirũ
ólavaș deskuïdade
i trîstå sỹde ôsẽ eskũtu
ê muzîke idiâl
dŭ tėw ɔlár primeirũ
ôsũ bẽy tũe vǫs
věžũ mæńr tėw xoštũ
nũ sîlẽsiu sãi fi
nẽ æskuriðẽũ kõplête
ôsute ēį mẽw desgoštũ
i nẽ mîñe espeɾẽsẽ
etërẽ dő pœtẽ
û söl muxia âu lũţe
i ē sŏbre dĕ triştẽzẽ
vαlāve kõ emûr
nôsea duriðes frōteš
ôrẽ ēį kã flôr măḍîtẽ
i ē pĕdrẽ sõřẽ i xēze
i đọsmáiũi dọ màguzę
ęš kristelineš fórteš
órę sætę i pérfeıtę
éỹ kəyamuń səziňuś
fál ńzá ętręvęś
dę ádídeypi múdę i kálme
mëńš dàdëš e suńar
áw lóŋgu dúș kəmňińuś
túdu éỹ våltadę nóš
tíñe ňú èşpętı dúlmę
túdu éřę sëtimętı
émör i pyędądę
e fóleko tóbaVe
éređíme kə səbyęę
i sób úš nósoš péš
é téxęè éřę sówdadę
e pédro kümusăW
iw pó məlęŋkułye
félavęś dúmę estrélé
i déstę búškə éỹ flór
dúș səgińuś sę́y pəń
duș póbraś sę́y ň métyu
éỹ kędę tųę pélávra
i đọsmáiũi dọ màguzę
ęš kristelineš fótęś
órę sætę i pérfeıte
éỹ kə iamuń səziňuś
félızęś ętręvęś
dé áldεtε múđε i kálme
mëńš dàdëš e suńar
áu lóŋgu dúș kəmńińuś
túdu éỹ våltadę də nóš
tíñe ňú èşpętu dálme
túdu éřę sëtimętı
émör i piędãdë
e fóleko tóbaVe
e ralme kə subię
i sób úš nósoš péš
e téxęère sáudadę
e pédro kümusăW
i ň pó məlęŋkle
félavęś dúmę estrélé
i déstę búška éỹ flór
dúș sęgińuś sę́y pęń
duș póbraś sę́y ň métyu
eń kédę tųę pélávra
evye etére dór
pur isu é twe vos
mo Tprasiunáve téty
i puñemasíšmar
ká éres téw bóši puré
ká miwity éy bréva sí
tá šemaryye ú séw
i sulusáve áw vértá
álgume sôbre eškúre
nég fróta ká ú lwár
kubrye kómu ú véw
é twe pelídeš
ká médú mó kawzáve
téw krpu ére téw fínuy
i lévé sémew dešgoštu
taw trámýe áw sëtir
ú vétyu ká pesávě
kéjeme né álme
é névé dú téw xoštú
kómu éw fikávé tríštë
i múdu sóbra téxe
i úme véš kwédynénoytë
emurtelávé áldeye
ú grítáštë dë súštú
evye etére dór
pur isu é túe vos
mo Tprasiunáve téty
i puñemasíšmar
ká éres téw bóši puré
ká múitu étí bréva sí
tá šemére ćé ú séw
i sulusáve áú vértë
álgume sôbre eškúre
nég fróta ká ú lwár
kubríe kómu ú véw
é túe pelídeš
ká médú mó káuzave
téu kuropu ére téu fínuy
i léveš méu dešgoštú
tëu trójne áu sétip
ú vétu ká pesáve
kéjeme né álme
é névé dú téu xoštú
kómu éu fikávétríštë
i múdu sóbra téxe
i úme véš kuxđu énoítë
emurtelávé áldeje
ú grítáštë da súštú


DIALECT - 2

[éleżyə dú emることは]
/éležia dú amóɾ/

[t' eyšéyre dú paʃkwayʃ]
/teiʃeira de paškuaiʃ/

[lébreʃta meú emóɾ
dáš tárdeʃ otónaiʃ
éʃ kə ñamuʃ ús dòiʃ
śózinuʃ pəəəəər
pəɾə ʃəθə dú póvu
alégre ñ dúʃ kezàyə
ôde só dëus pudése
ovírnus kòversar
tú levaəs né môə
ú líriw inemurádu
í dávesme ú têw brásu
í éw tríʃə meditävé
né víde êš dëus êš tí
í álëñí ú sót doyrádu
muñña kúñesëdu

/lébraste meu amór
dás tárdeš otónaiš
éʃ ke ñamuʃ ús dòiʃ
śózinuʃ pasear
pára ʃəθə dú póvu
alégre ñ dúʃ kazaiʃ
ôde só dëus pudése
ovírnus kòversar
tú levaas nó móə
ú líriu inamurádu
í dávaše ú têu brásu
í éu tríšte meditáva
ná vída éʃ deuʃ éʃ tí
í álëñí ú sót doirádu
muñña kúñesëdu
fr%i
1
karav/El
pbr
t6du
mGdu
trig
sdu
kurass~
d'ud
trajk
v/\".d
imaze~
ciu'
vi'u

nejobre ú tew partit
i nes déjule
ne sôbre ú tew partit
f ú sôbre ú tew partit
dés déjule
f dés déjule
f dés déjule
f dés déjule
f dés déjule
i daSmayêê ãê mågâvê
eš krîstelinêê fôtoê
dê ñête i perfêyte
eê ke yamuê sózinuê
fêlizêê êtravêê
dê áldeya mâda i kâlma
mêwê dêdêê ë sùnhâr
aw lôgy dúš kamiñuê
tuđu êi moltoa nôs
tînê ë espêty dâlmê
tûdu êresêtimêtu
emôr ë piêdadeê
ê fôla êkê tôbavê
erê álma ëkê sùbyê
i sób ûs nòsuê péê
ê terê ëre sawdâdê
ê pé dre kumusêê
iù pô mërikulye
fêlaviê duêmêestrêle
i dešte bôške êñ flôr
dûš sëgiñuê sêñ peñê
êñ këde ëzwê palâvre
dûš pôbreñ sêñ ë mêtu
i daSmâiêê ãê mågùa
aš krîstalinañ fôtoñ
ûra sêta i perfëita
êñ ke iamuñ sózinuñ
fêlizêê atravêê
dà áldêis múda i kâlma
mêwê dêdêê ë sùnhâr
au lôgu dúš kamiñuñ
tûdu êi volta ë de nôñ
tînê ë aspêtu dâlma
tûdu ërê sêtimêtu
amôr ë piêdadeê
ë fôla ke tôbava
erê álma ke sùbia
i sób ûs nòsuê péê
ê tére ëra saudâde
ë pédrê kumusêê
i û pô mërikulya
fêlaviñ duêma esêrelê
i dešte bôške êñ flôr
dûš sëgiñuñ sêñ peñê
êñ kàda túa palâvra
dûš pôbreñ sêñ ë mêtu
olédu para sára
ké ṣiṣédiw i éw e ṣiír
dísete é o lúe séré
i suñístè tóbíy
dú tèw èganu é lúe
ergeu bréka è fróte
esíme dúr piñáyì
țëñwábrìyè dešpleðòr
tëñw Kášte i írmé dé'twè
Kéw bëyižey sëý kërrèr
sëwì fàyuš vërizínayì
i è lúe pére nòs
ùs brásuš estëdèw
unìwù̀nù nò a-brásu
aspirítwàf prufúdu
i levònuš èstì
kè éìa ètc àw sëw
màr aì tù nòo vòltàste
i éw Pëgòsey àw mòodu/

olédu para à sára
ké ṣiṣédiu i éu àsíír
dísete à a lúá sëía
i suñístè tóbèè
dú tèw èganu à lúá
ergeu bréka à fróte
asíma dúr piñáìì
țëñì ëbìa dešpleðòr
tëñì kášta i írmì dà tuà
kèu bèižèi sëì kërrèr
sèu却没有 vërizínàìì
i à lúá para nòs
ùs brásuš estëdèu
unìwù̀nù nò a-brásu
espiritual profúdu
i levònuš asìì
kè éla atè àu sèu

màr aì tù nòo vòltàste
i éu Pëgòsey àu mòodu/
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). 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, 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," Portucal, 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 Boiçó in Revista Portuguesa de Filologia, 1 (1947), 617-620, cites several articles written on the occasion of the death of Leite de Vasconcelos.

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. 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 Südschweiz* by Karl Jaherg and Jakob Jud, Boléo set forth in detail the principles and techniques to be followed. 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,

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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. 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. 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.

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


6In the addition to the works previously cited, the following should be mentioned in this connection: "Brasileirismos. Problemas de Método," Separata de Brasilia, III (1943); "Defesa e Ilustração da Língua. A Propósito do Instituto da Lingu Portuguesa" (Lisbon 1945); "Unidade e Variedade da Língua 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 Língua," Actas do III Colégio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, II, (Lisbon, 1960), 1-11.

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). 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. 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

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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. 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). 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 dialectal 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


the Mirandés 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. 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 Palares de Portugal, under the direction of Paiva de Boléo and Herculano de Carvalho, and the Atlas Linguístico e Etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza, under the direction of Boléo, Herculano de Carvalho, and Cintra.

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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.

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_____ Inquérito Linguístico, Coimbra, 1942.


