



9th Erasmus Week

Teaching Crossroads

Edited by

Elisabete Silva

Clarisse Pais

Luís S. Pais

Título: Teaching Crossroads: 9th IPB Erasmus Week
Editores: Elisabete Silva, Clarisse Pais, Luís S. Pais
Edição: Instituto Politécnico de Bragança · 2014
5300-253 Bragança · Portugal
Tel. (+351) 273 303 200 · Fax (+351) 273 325 405
<http://www.ipb.pt>
Execução: Serviços de Imagem do Instituto Politécnico de Bragança
Capa: Soraia Maduro
Tiragem: 50 exemplares
Depósito legal: 374254/14
ISBN: 978-972-745-166-1
Online version: <http://hdl.handle.net/10198/9447>

Index

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>Elisabete Silva; Luís S. Pais; Clarisse Pais</i> Preface | 7 |
| INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND APPLIED SCIENCES | |
| <i>Patrick Siegfried</i> The importance of the service sector for the industry..... | 13 |
| <i>Axel Sikora</i> The Internet of Things – State of the Art | 23 |
| NURSING AND HEALTH CARE | |
| <i>Pedro Gutiérrez Moraño. Belinda Basilio Fernández. José Luis Bote Mohedano</i> Ulcers and Amputations Prevention in the Diabetic Foot. Screening to determine the Risk of Suffering Foot Lesions in Primary Care | 35 |
| ECONOMICS | |
| <i>Alba María Priego de la Cruz</i> Economic Value Added as a source of information for stakeholders | 49 |
| LAW AND ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION | |
| <i>María Rosa Vázquez Rodríguez</i> Environmental policy: environmental education | 61 |

EDUCATION

Elisabeth Fernbach

With an Open Mind 71

Cláudia Martins

Diatopic variation in Portugal: notes on European Portuguese dialects.... 81

LIFELONG LEARNING PROGRAMME. ERASMUS MOBILITY FOR TEACHERS

Isabel Chumbo

Translators censoring Propaganda – a case study on the translation of Salazar’s speeches into English 101

Elisabete Mendes Silva

Isaiah Berlin and the Role of Education: from Riga to Oxford..... 117

Diatopic variation in Portugal: notes on European Portuguese dialects

Cláudia Martins

claudiam@ipb.pt

*Polytechnic Institute of Bragança, School of Education
Portugal*

Abstract

Languages can vary considerably according to several factors, namely geographical, social or pragmatic. This paper shall focus on diatopic or geolinguistic variation of European Portuguese, the overall designation that encompasses the dialects spoken both in mainland Portugal and in the islands of Azores and Madeira, as well as by the immigrants scattered through Europe. Starting from the discussion of the dichotomy language versus dialect, we will present the various linguistic atlases designed by Leite de Vasconcelos, Paiva Boléo and Lindley Cintra. Based on Lindley Cintra's new proposal from 1971, the main isoglosses in Portugal shall be presented and explained in order to allow the distinction of the Galician, the northern Portuguese and the mid-southern Portuguese dialects, the latter being where the islands are included. A final word shall be directed to the Mirandese, the second official language in Portugal.

Keywords: diatopic variation; dialectology; linguistic atlases; European Portuguese; northern and mid-southern Portuguese dialects.

Introduction

If the recorded linguistic echoes of the past are predominantly White and Anglo-Saxon, (...) how much will we ever learn about the language of the ethnic minorities which form an important part of the British history? If past echoes are predominantly male, will we ever discover what role women played in the history of English? And if these echoes are all so closely tied to standard dialect, with writers dismissing regional dialects as ‘sadly battered and mutilated’ or ‘quaint and eccentric’, will we ever discover our real sociolinguistic heritage? (Crystal, 2004, p. 2)

In the words of Mateus and Andrade (2000), the Portuguese language emerged from Vulgar Latin in Galicia, “which was founded in the 3rd century and was a part of the Roman-occupied lands of Gallaecia and Asturica” (idem, p. 1). Due to this, “Portuguese is a Romance language closely linked to Castilian and Catalan” (ibidem). Despite this proximity, the indigenous languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula during the Roman occupation helped them to diverge.

Later, between the 5th and 7th centuries, the peninsula was invaded by Germanic peoples, firstly by Suevi, who were overthrown in the 7th century by the Visigoths. There is no denying that the influence these Germanic peoples had on Iberian Peninsula was decisive and left a mark in its numerous languages and dialects. The language continued spreading through what is now known as Portugal, following the conquest of the country to the Moors, which went on until the 13th century. The Arabs influenced the languages, however, especially in the many words related to agricultural activities and domestic objects. Then, with the launch of the Portuguese Discoveries, the language was taken to the five continents and enjoyed a brief period as *lingua franca* in South America, Africa and Asia (idem, p. 2).

Nowadays, it is the national official language in Portugal and Brazil and it is also spoken in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe Islands, as well as in Macau and Timor. Portuguese main varieties are European Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese and what is generally known as African Portuguese, which is a rather fuzzy designation, since it aims at recognising an unlikely degree of uniformity when dealing with 7 different nations situated in such diverse locations.

Portuguese stands as a living language that is scattered throughout the five continents, despite its many differences not only among the above-mentioned varieties, but also internally in its numerous dialects, divergent in terms of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (Cunha & Lindley Cintra, 1986, p. 9). Nonetheless, Paiva Boléo (cit. Cunha & Lindley Cintra, 1986, p. 9) stated that travelling up and down Portugal allows one to experience the exceptional unity and homogeneity that defines the country, such that cannot be found in other Germanic or Romanic countries. Although it is not our intention to jeopardise the beliefs of such a relevant name

in Portuguese philology, the fact remains that this is a rather outdated statement – from the 1960s – and the present paper intends to show that unity does not mean equality, as Silva Neto reported in 1963 (cit. Cunha & Lindley Cintra, 1986, p. 10).

Another issue we intend to address is the fact that in every nation of the world, there is a linguistic standard that is regarded as the pronunciation model followed by the population in general and sought after by the upper classes as a distinctive feature of their social status. In the words of Cunha and Lindley Cintra (1986, p. 4), it stands as the linguistic ideal for the whole of a community.

This standard usually coincides with the variety spoken in the capital of the country, the place of power and of government: for instance, in Spain, Madrid appears as the model for Castilian, despite the fact that each *región autónoma* has its own variety; in England, London stands as the ultimate example of Received Pronunciation, supported further by what is referred to as the Queen English and the BBC English; in Portugal, Coimbra was once the centre of power, having shifted in the 1250s to Lisbon. The status of standard varieties may also be related to other historical, communicative or pedagogical reasons.

Throughout the centuries, these national standards have acquired connotations of prestige, education, wealth and social status and have been usurped by the upper classes as an ideological weapon to assert their position in society and their superiority towards others who did not possess this asset or could not use the language correctly – this is one of the manifestations of a prescriptive attitude towards language.

The concept of a standard variety appeared in the 19th century as a result of the ideology of Romanticism that intended to assert nations and their history through the discovery of the past, especially their mainstream literature. The somewhat forged concept of national language started then being used as a tool that encouraged national identity and supranational cohesion, annulling the legitimate existence of other varieties and their different linguistic choices.

In line with this, Araújo (1996, pp. 504-505) states that the expansion and dissemination of the national variety has been embraced by public school which, by teaching the standard variety, has neglected the fact that the speakers of regional varieties already know how to speak the language. This has led not only to the development of prejudice among those who know only this prestigious variety, but also to the increasing lack of awareness of dialectal diversity.

In the case of Portugal, the various successions of monarchs and governments have presented the country as monolingual since the acknowledgement of the *Condado Portucalense* in 1143 as an independent nation. This erroneous assertion neglects the fact that not only do we have a language other than Portuguese, probably spoken since the 12th century – the Mirandese language –, but we also possess numerous dialects deeply entrenched in Portuguese history.

Therefore, it is our intention to discuss the linguistic diversity that defines Portugal, in order to demystify the idea that we are the oldest monolingual country in Europe. Added to this, we wish to briefly present some important concepts, such as those of language and dialect, and describe some of the features that distinguish the most important dialects in mainland Portugal and the islands of Azores and Madeira. Finally, a brief introduction shall be made about Mirandese, the second official language in Portugal, acknowledged in 1999.

Variation, language and dialects

Tá a ver? Como isto há diferenças de nomes de terras p'ra terras?!¹

(recordings from the Linguistic and Ethnographic Atlas of Portugal and Galicia, dated from 1974)

Barros Ferreira *et al.* (2005, p. 482) uphold that language is a rather thorny concept to deal with, which has been given various definitions according not only to the branches of linguistics handling the concept, but also the linguist theories in question. One of the usual definitions is as a political and institutional concept that matches an abstract linguistic system that, for political, social and economic reasons, achieved functional and sociological autonomy for its speakers. The details of each language are offered in grammars, dictionaries, spelling agreements, among others. On the other hand, language is also referred to from a historical perspective and is linked to the concept of dialect. However, the frontiers for these dialects are not always clear-cut: they can become more prominent in relation to neighbouring dialects, or they can diverge into varieties that evolve their separate ways.

According to these same authors (2005, pp. 482-483), there are no linguistic differences between a language and a dialect, strictly speaking, but rather differences in terms of status: a dialect is always a variety of a certain linguistic system that is officially acknowledged as a language. For instance, Portuguese is alive in its European, Brazilian and African varieties, and each is in fact subdivided into other linguistic varieties that occupy smaller geographic areas. However, they all share common features that do not differ substantially, despite the fact that Brazilian and African Portuguese tend to diverge into different directions when compared to European Portuguese.

Conversely, Paiva Boléo (cit. Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 483) believed that, regardless of the level of resemblance among dialects, they are all dialects nonetheless and are distinguished according to the distance towards the standard variety. But the fact remains that there are no clear physical frontiers among dialects in the same country, lest in neighbouring countries.

Mané (2012, p. 41) mentions the situation of Greece, which was extremely rich in dialects, both spoken and literary varieties, that catered for different needs: the Ionic Greek was used to describe historical events; the Doric for the literary chorus and Attic for tragedy. Each of these literary varieties turned into functional dialects, which, in the post-classical period, gave birth to a unified *koiné* in Athens, the cultural and political centre in Greece.

In addition, as far as the use of a language is concerned, language can be understood from two different perspectives: on the one hand, a structural or formal dimension, focusing on the description of its form, and, on the other, a functional dimension that aims at describing its usage in communication. The formal perspective regards language as mental phenomenon, whereas the functional considers language as a social phenomenon. Sociolinguistics will be then concerned with the functional dimension of language and refer to a dialect as a variety, an unbiased term to name the linguistic code shared by a group of people. Dialectology focuses on dialects as variations of a common code, a variety that can be social or regional, distinguished in terms of pronunciation, lexicon and syntax (Mané, 2012, pp. 42-43).

Language might also be defined as a diasystem, a concept that Weinreich (cit. Trask, 1996, p. 112) has put forth in 1954, as a linguistic analysis set up to encode or represent a range of related varieties in a way that displays their structural differences. De Schutter (2010, p. 73) elaborated further, speaking of a complete set of varieties (diachronic as well as diatopic-synchronic) supposed to derive from one ancestor. In each linguistic system, there are centrifugal forces for innovation and centripetal forces for conservation and, from the balance reached from this confrontation, various varieties emerge, one of which will be the standard variety already mentioned.

The European structuralist linguistics, namely the school of Coseriu, set forth three levels of variation, based on the prefix *dia-*, which means during, throughout time. As Barros Ferreira *et. al* (2005, p. 480) state, these are diatopia, diastratia and diaphasia, levels of variation that can occur in terms of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and lexically.

Diatopic variation comes from the Greek *topos*, meaning place, meaning geolinguistic or dialectal variation which is related to geographical factors. This is the focus of Dialectology, the science that attempts to uncover and describe the inherent characteristics of different regions, in order to identify more or less coherent areas of linguistic phenomena (i.e. isoglosses), as well as determining the causes that led to their development (ibidem).

As for diastratic or social variation (stemming from the Greek *stratos*, which means layer or level), society establishes a hierarchy, an organisation of its own social groups, which have to comply with hierarchical demands. Linguistic constraints derived from life in society and the stratification of the use of the language is not chaotic, but it rather obeys to certain regularities. Sociolinguistics is thus the science

that devotes attention to this type of variation, trying to set up relations between social variables and linguistic phenomena. Sociolects, jargons and technolects are examples of such variation (idem, pp. 480-481).

At last, diaphasic variation (from the Greek *phasis*, meaning speech or discourse) consists of the variation that occurs due to pragmatic and discursive factors. Speakers can use different linguistic registers or styles according to the type of discursive situation. This is the case of idiolects (ibidem).

Barros Ferreira *et al.* (2005, p. 484) identify the creation of the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* between 1902 and 1910, by Gilliéron and Edmont, as the birth of Linguistic Geography that consists of the cartographic study of dialects. It presented itself as the first scientifically accurate linguistic atlas, a group of maps of a territory that represent and situate the realisations of the linguistic paradigms under study, making a register of their respective geographic variations.

These atlases do not necessarily need to be extensive, but present the opportunity to visualise the geographic distribution of linguistic phenomena and to restrict their extension, providing more information about their areas of use, of dissemination and of expansion, as well as evolution stages. Therefore, these are invaluable instruments for Dialectology and the History of Languages.

Portuguese linguistic atlases

The first Portuguese linguistic atlas was published in 1893 by Leite de Vasconcelos – *Mapa Dialectológico do Continente Português* [Dialectological Map of the Portuguese continent] – and marked the beginning of Linguistic Geography in Portugal. In his atlas, Leite de Vasconcelos presented, on the one hand, dialects, subdialects and varieties, and, on the other, co-dialects where he included Mirandese, *Guadramilês*, *Rionorês* and Galician-Portuguese. Later in 1901, Leite de Vasconcelos put forth another proposal in his doctorate thesis – *Esquisse d'une dialectologie portugaise* [Sketch of Portuguese dialectology] –, followed by one other in 1929, in his fourth volume of *Opúsculos* [Opuscles] (Lindley Cintra, 1983, p. 122).

Paiva Boléo continued this quest, conducting a linguistic questionnaire sent by ordinary mail to primary teachers and priests in various villages in Portugal (Salema, 2007, p. 23). It started in 1942 and was concluded with the help of Boléo's pupil Maria Helena Silva, among other students. Their *Map of Dialects and Falares* was organised into *falares* (ways of speaking), which for Leite de Vasconcelos had been dialects and the like, identifying Mirandese, *Guadramilês*, *Rionorês* and *Barranquenho* as the only dialects in the country, even excluding Galician (Lindley Cintra, 1983, p. 123).

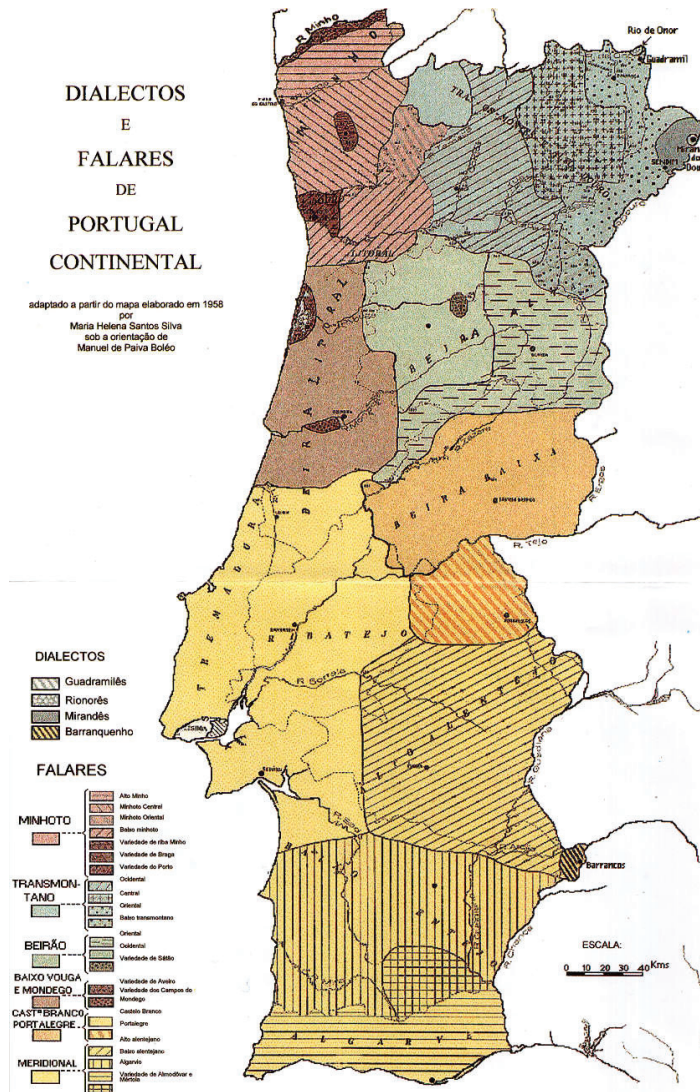


Figure 1 – Dialects of Portugal according to Silva and Boléo from 1958.

Later, in 1971, Lindley Cintra presented a new proposal, called *Nova proposta de classificação dos dialectos galego-portugueses* [New proposal for the classification of Galician-Portuguese dialects]. Mota & Bacelar do Nascimento (2006, p. 941) regard this as a moment of the utmost importance for dialectal studies, nowadays assured by the Group of Dialectology of CLUL (the Linguistic Centre of the University of Lisbon), which participates in the European atlases of ALE (Atlas Linguarum Europae) and ALiR (Linguistic Atlas of the Romance Domain).

Despite these extensive studies, Portugal still does not possess a linguistic atlas. As mentioned above, Portuguese could be characterised by its apparent uniformity and reduced dialectal differentiation when compared to what occurs in other Romanic or even Germanic languages. The main differences are indeed in phonetics, thus the reason this area has been studied the most; nonetheless, there are also differences in the remaining levels, namely phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic (Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 491).

According to Lindley Cintra (1971 cit. Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 491), Portuguese dialects can be divided into three main groups: Galician dialects, northern dialects and mid-southern dialects. We shall focus only on the last two, since Galician has diverged from Portuguese into a different language not only because of the establishment of political borders since the 12th century, but also due to the transfer of the Portuguese *corte* to the south from the 13th century onwards (Barros Ferreira *et al.*, *ibidem*). Therefore, Galician evolved in a different direction, becoming the language of a dominated territory and suffering the continuous and quite aggressive influences of Castilian, whereas Portuguese continued its development as the main language of the territory, developing its standard variety further from north dialects and closer to the features of southern dialects. Notwithstanding, Galician and Portuguese are two dialects of the same historical language – Galician-Portuguese –, but, in spite of this, Galician shall not be the concern of our paper.

In dialectological studies, work is based on the observation of isoglosses, the boundaries between different linguistic phenomena, which enable the distinction of dialects or groups of dialects and whose boundaries seldom overlap. Concerning isoglosses, Lindley Cintra (1971 cit. Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 492) established the following five isophones as the distinctive features for the Portuguese dialects:

- the absence of a distinction between [v] and occlusive [b] or fricative [β];
- the so-called sibilant system of the pre-dorso dental [s] and [z] and the corresponding apico-alveolar fricatives [ʃ] and [ʒ];
- the distinction between [tʃ] and [ʃ];
- the maintenance of the diphthong [ow] in its two different realisations – [ow] or [ɐw];
- and the monophthongisation of the diphthong [ej] into [e].

Portuguese dialects in the mainland

Based on the above-mentioned characteristics, Lindley Cintra (cit Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 491) identified the following dialects in mainland Portugal:

- Galician dialects,
- northern Portuguese dialects
- and mid-southern Portuguese dialects.

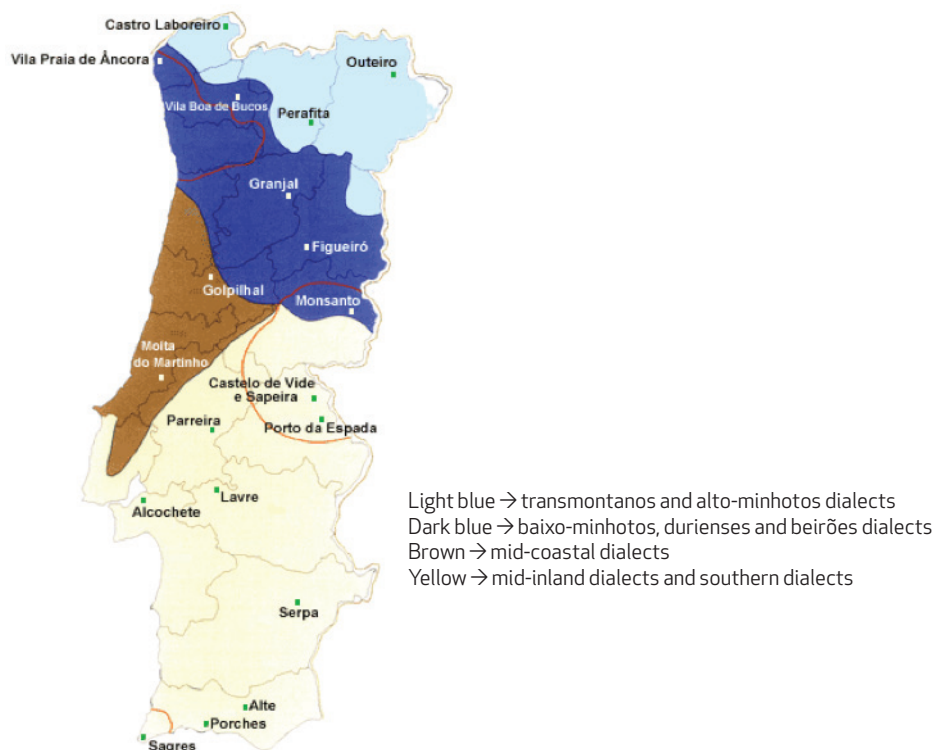


Figure 2 – Classification of the Galician and Portuguese dialects
 (from Instituto Camões, based on Lindley Cintra's original maps).

Within the northern dialects, two further groups are distinguished:

- the *transmontanos* (Trás-os-Montes) and *alto minhotos* (Alto Minho) dialects (the light blue area of the map)
- and the *baixo-minhotos* (Baixo Minho), *durienses* (Douro) and *beirões* (Beiras) dialects (the dark blue area of the map).

The first group of dialects – the *transmontanos* and *minhotos* – is differentiated from the second by means of the traditional system of 4 sibilants: 2 apico-alveolar consonants [ʃ] and [z] and 2 pre-dorso-dental consonants [s] and [z] (currently referred to as lamino-dental according to Andrade & Slifka, 2006, p. 2). These two pairs were not only of different origins, but also identified different graphemes. In terms of the apico-alveolar, [ʃ] corresponds to the initial *s-* and *-ss-* in the middle of word, whereas [z] matched the intervocalic *-s-*. As for the pre-dorso-dental consonants, [s] represented *ce* or *ci* and *ç*, while [z] was produced when *z* was written in initial or medial position. For instance, *seis* [ˈʃejʃ] (six) and *passo* [ˈpaʒu] (step)

is produced with [ʒ] *versus* *cera* [ˈsɛrɐ] (wax); and *rosa* [ˈrɔzɐ] (rose) with [ʒ] *versus* *fazer* [fɐˈzɐ] (to do or to make) with [z]. Differences between *segar* [ʒɛˈgɐr] (to reap) and *cegar* [sɛˈgɐr] (to become blind) and *coser* [kuˈʒɛr] (to sew) and *cozer* [kuˈzɛr] (to cook) were only achieved with the distinction between [ʒ] and [s], and [ʒ] and [z], respectively – the so-called phenomenon of *sesseio*, whereas in the standard variety we speak of *ceceio*, the use of only the pre-dorso sibilants (Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 494).

This four-consonant system survives in an isogloss that includes part of Alto Minho, most of Trás-os-Montes, a small area of Guarda (near the Spanish border) and a few places in Beira Alta. Conversely, this fourfold system is simplified to the apico-alveolar [ʃ] and [ʒ] alone in the *baixo-minhotos*, *durienses* and *beirões* dialects, with the exception of the coastal areas (*ibidem*).

In the group of the latter dialects, the main coastal city is Oporto, where there are other traits that must be mentioned, namely the pronunciation of [b] in the words spelt *v*, e.g. **binho*² (instead of *vinho* (wine) [ˈbɨnu]), or **abó* (instead of *avó* (grand-mother) [vˈbɔ]) (Cunha & Lindley Cintra, 1986, p. 11). This phenomenon of replacing [v] for [b] when *v* is spelt equals the situation in Spain, where there is no difference between the two sounds regardless of the way the words are spelt; there is only [b]. Because this is strongly felt to be dialectal, in the Portuguese northern dialects, there is a tendency for hypercorrection, in which speakers, wishing not to incur in their usual “mistake” (frequently a target of mockery from speakers of other dialects), end up producing a [v] where [b] is to be said, e.g. *voi* [ˈvoj] instead of *boi* [ˈboj] (ox).

Also in this second group of northern dialects, Bastos Ferreira *et al.* (2005, p. 495) also refer to the diphthongisation of the medial vowels [e] and [o] into [je] and [wo] or [wɛ] as a distinctive feature: [ˈpjɛzu] for *peso* (weight); [sɨˈjwɔrɐ] or [sɨˈjwɛrɐ] for *senhora* (lady, woman). The same authors highlight the fact that, in Oporto, speakers tend to maintain the ending -om in all the words ending in -ão, which the standard variety replaced by -ão, such as in *pão* [ˈpõn] (bread) or in *mão* [ˈmõn] (hand).

Another feature that is typical of the *baixo-minhotos* and *durienses* dialects is the diphthongisation of the [e] and the [o], especially when these are followed by a palatal consonant [j], [ɲ] and [ʎ], of which these are examples: **obeilha* [uˈbejʎɐ] instead of *ovelha* [oˈveʎɐ] (sheep); **feicho* [ˈfejʃu] instead of *fecho* [ˈfɛʃu] (zipper); **ainho* [ˈajɲu] instead of *anho* [ˈɛɲu] (lamb). Conversely, in Trás-os-Montes, there is a tendency to monophthongise the diphthongs [ow] and [ej] into [o] and [e], which is also a distinctive characteristic of the southern dialects. Despite this apparent tendency to monophthongise, Trás-os-Montes maintains the old dialectal diphthong [ɛw] in words spelt with *ou*, such as *vassoura* [bɛˈsɛwɾɐ] (broom), *passou* (from the verb *passar*, to pass) [pɛˈsɛw].

In the group of *transmontanos* dialects, one other feature should be added: the pronunciation of *ch* as a palatal affricate [tʃ] (which is [ʃ] in the standard variety and in the majority of mid-southern dialects), e.g. **tchave* ['tʃab] (key), **tchuva* ['tʃubɐ] (rain). The pronunciation of [tʃ] allows to distinguish words spelt with *ch* from those written with *x*, which in turn are produced [ʃ], e.g. *enxada* [ɛŋ'ʃadɐ] (hoe), *xaile* ['ʃajɫ] (shawl), *buxo* ['buʃu] (boxwood). This feature is not found in Minho.

The mid-southern dialects are distinguished from the above-mentioned northern dialects on basis of the simplification of the four-sibilant system, benefiting the pre-dorso-dental sibilants (the above-mentioned *ceceo*), which is nowadays the standard variety. Therefore, Lindley Cintra (cit. Barros Ferreira *et al.*, *idem*) identifies the following groups in this mid-southern group:

- mid-coastal dialects (including Estremadura and Beiras)
- and mid-inland dialects (comprehending Ribatejo, Beira Baixa, Alentejo and Algarve).

The boundary that separates these two sub-groups is the monophthongisation of the diphthong [ej] into [e] that includes Óbidos (in the Estremadura region), comes down to Lisbon and reverts to northeast until Castelo Branco (in the centre of Portugal). However, Lisbon is considered an isle, where the diphthong [ɛj] is produced, and not the corresponding [ej], as in *leite* (milk) as ['lɛjt] instead of ['lejt], which is maintained in a large area of monophthongisation.

Cunha & Lindley Cintra (1986, p. 17) also refer that the mid-southern dialects are characterised by the reduction of the diphthong [ow] into [o], as in **oro* ['oru] instead of *ouro* ['owru] (gold) or **lora* ['lorɐ] instead of *loura* ['lowrɐ] (blonde).

In the extensive area of the mid-inland and southern dialects, Barros Ferreira *et al.* (2005, p. 496) identify two varieties that present a considerable change in the quality of the vowels. In the variety corresponding to Beira Baixa and Alto Alentejo, the distinctive features are:

- the palatalisation of [u] in [y] (what Cunha and Lindley Cintra (1986, p. 17) name the French u) in words such as *tu* ['ty] instead of ['tu] (you), *mula* ['myle] instead of ['mule] (mule);
- the palatalisation of the vowel [a] in [ɔ], when the vowel is preceded by the vowels [i] or [u], the glides [j] or [w] or even a palatal consonant;
- the palatalisation of [o] in [ø], resulting from the monophthongisation of [ow] – **ôtra* ['otrɐ] instead of *outra* ['owtrɐ] (other or another); **pôco* ['poku] for *pouco* ['powku] (few or little);
- the labialisation of the vowels [e] and [ɛ] – **réde* [rɛd] for *rede* [red] (net); **querér* [kɛrɛr] for *querer* [kerer] (to want);
- the dropping of the final non-stressed vowel [u], written as -o, or its reduction to [i] – **cop* ['kɔp] instead of *copo* ['kɔpu] (glass).

east parts of the country. On the one hand, the northern and centre-north dialects are characterised by their conservativeness and the maintenance of the older words and, on the other hand, the southern and eastern parts of the country are distinguished by their lexical innovations. Therefore, it can be said that the mid-southern dialects favour lexemes from Arabic origin, while northern ones prefer those from Latin or Germanic origin. This is particularly clear in the following examples, in which the first is the northern word and thus the older, and the second the southern and more recent: *almeca* vs. *soro de leite* (whey); *ceifar* vs. *segar* (to reap); *ordenhar* vs. *mogar* (to milk cows); *mugir* vs. *amojar* (to moo); *amojo* vs. *úbere* (udder); *borrego* vs. *anho* or *cordeiro* (lamb); *chibo* vs. *cabrito* (goatling); and *maçaroca* vs. *espiga* (corn cob).

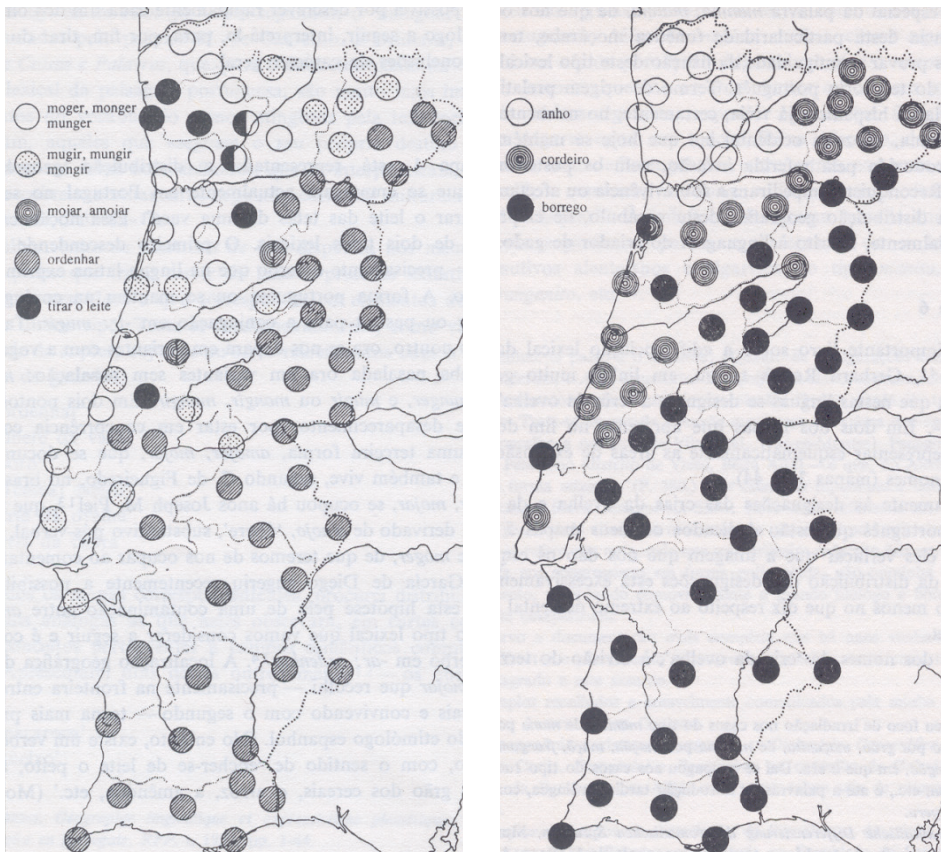


Figure 5 – Maps of the geographical distribution of some words in Portugal
(Lindley Cintra, 1983, pp. 62, 76).

Ribeiro (in Lindley Cintra, 1983, pp. 173 onwards) lists a thorough collection of words that provides further evidence of the distinction between a more conservative northern lexicon and a southern lexicon of Arabic origin. However, it should be mentioned that some of these doublets have become semantically divergent, thus their meaning may now be slightly different and specialised, as in the cases we shall point out:

- *bofetada* vs. *tabefe* (slap)
- *bolso* vs. *aljibeira* (pocket)
- *cisterna* vs. *algibe* (cistern)
- *cortinha* vs. *quintal* (garden or vegetable garden)
- *cuecas* vs. *ceroulas* (knickers and long-johns, a difference in the length of the piece of underwear)
- *dor-de-cabeça* vs. *enxaqueca* (headache and migraine, a difference in the intensity of the pain, as well as its causes)
- *feito* vs. *façanha* (deed)
- *migas* vs. *açorda* (bread soup)
- *palmada* vs. *açoite* (smack)
- *petisco*, *pitéu* vs. *acepipe* (appetizer)
- *porco-montês* vs. *javali* (boar)
- *quarto* vs. *alcova* (bedroom and alcove)
- *tapete* vs. *alcatifa* (rug and carpet, a difference in size)
- *tijolo* vs. *adobe* (brick)
- *travesseira* vs. *almofada* (pillow).

Dialects in the islands

From Cunha and Lindley Cintra's (1986, p. 19) point of view, the islands of Madeira and Azores³ extend the characteristics of mid-southern dialects in mainland Portugal, thus not bearing the four-sibilant system (but rather the two pre-dorso-dental sibilants) or the neutralisation of [v] and [b], or even the affricate [tʃ]. They are also defined by the tendency to monophthongise the diphthong [ow] into [o], though the monophthongisation of [ej] into [e] is occasional, occurring only in the island of S. Miguel, in the archipelago of Azores. In the remaining islands of Azores and Madeira, the diphthongs are maintained and [ow] is frequently articulated as [oj].

Despite this resemblance of features towards the mid-southern dialects, the islands also further deviate from the Portuguese standard. For instance, the island of S. Miguel has several distinctive features, common to the Beira Baixa, Alto Alentejo and Barlavento, which are:

- the articulation of the palatalised [y] as in tudo ['tyd] (everything), escudo [iʃ'kyd] (shield);
- the velarised [a], pronounced as [ɔ] – *voca ['vɔkə] instead of vaca ['vakə] (cow);

- the dropping of the final unstressed vowel [u], written as -o – [ˈgat] for gato [ˈgatu] (cat) or [ˈkɔp] for copo [ˈkɔpu] (glass);
- and the palatalisation of the monophthongised diphthong [ow] into [ø] (Cunha & Lindley Cintra, 1986, p. 19; Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 496-497).

As far as the island of Madeira is concerned, it also possesses unique phonetic features: the diphthongisation of the stressed vowels [i] and [u] in [ej] and [ɛw], as in *filha* [ˈfɛjɫɛ] or [ˈfijɫɛ] (daughter), *navio* [nɐˈvɛju] or [nɐˈvijɫu] (ship) and *lua* [ˈlɛwɛ] (moon); and the consonant l if preceded by the vowel [i] or the glide [j] palatalises, e.g. *vila* as [ˈviɫɛ] or [ˈvɛjɫɛ] (village); *ceroilas* as [sɪˈrojɫɛj] (long johns) (Cunha & Lindley Cintra, 1986, p. 19; Barros Ferreira *et al.*, 2005, p. 497).

According to Vasconcelos (1901) and Pestana (1965) (cit Andrade, 1993, p. 20-22), the palatalisation of the l is frequently accompanied by the de-palatalisation of lh, such as *dál* [ˈdal] instead of *dá-lhe* [ˈdaɫ] (give it to him/her) and *tilado* [tiˈladu] instead of *telhado* [tiˈɫadu] (roof). Despite these examples, there is little evidence that this is a generalised phenomenon in Madeira.

Mirandese: the second official language in Portugal

In northeast Portugal, there is a group of several dialects of Asturo-Leonese origin, the language of the ancient kingdom of Leone, which are found in the district of Bragança – *Rionorês* in Rio de Onor, *Guadramilês* in Guadramil and Mirandese in Miranda do Douro. Three dialects have been identified in the Mirandese language: *Raiano*, *Central* and *Sendinês*, an issue which remain to our days controversial.

The discovery of Mirandese was made by Leite de Vasconcelos in 1882, who published in that same year an account of Mirandese in the newspaper *Penafidense*. This account was based on his acquaintance with a Medicine student from Miranda, studying in Porto at the time– Manoel António Branco de Castro, who served as his main informant and was convinced his language was no more than “uma língua charra” (an uncultivated language, a rather pejorative description of Mirandese, the result of centuries of prejudice), with no rules nor regulations. Only in 1884 was he able to visit Miranda do Douro himself, enabling him to later publish a 830-page-long grammar and anthology of Mirandese, condensed in 2 volumes.

Mirandese was since the time of Vasconcelos’s discovery doomed to die out, but the truth is that it has been able to survive the beginning of the new millennium and is still spoken by a few thousand speakers. This accomplishment is due to not only the extraordinary literary production, but also to a long path of political struggle that enabled the connection of some Mirandese people with CLUL (Linguistic Centre of the University of Lisbon) and the University of Coimbra, which led to the publication of a normalised spelling agreement, a grammar and dictionaries (Mota & Bacelar do Nascimento, 2001, p. 932).

Even before the acknowledgement of Mirandese, several authors attempted to systematise the general features that define Mirandese, supporting its origin as Asturo-Leonese, namely Verdelho (1993, p. 14-15), and Cruz, Saramago and Vitorino (1994, pp. 281-293). The information provided by these authors attempts to demonstrate that Mirandese follows a myriad of phonetic phenomena that can be traced back to the evolution of Portuguese and of Castilian alike, as we shall see below in table 1:

| Latin | Leonese | Mirandese | Observations |
|---------------|------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| -L- | -l- | -l- | e.g. malo (M), mau (PT), malo (SP) |
| -N- | -n- | -n- | e.g. luna and lhuna (M), lua (PT), luna (SP) |
| PL-, CL-, FL- | -tʃ- | -tʃ- | e.g. chiuba (M), chuva (PT), lluvia (SP) |
| F- | f- | f- | e.g. fame (M), fome (PT), hambre (SP) |
| X [KS] | ʃ | ʃ | e.g. peixe or xarda (M), peixe (PT), pez (SP) |
| -LL- | -y- ~ -ʎ- | -ʎ- ~ -l- | e.g. castielho (M), castelo (PT), castillo (SP) |
| <ou-, -ei- | -ou-, -ei- | -ou-, -ei- | e.g. cousa (M), coisa (PT), cosa (SP) |
| Ē | ye ~ya | ye ~ i | e.g. fierro (M), ferro (PT), hierro (SP) |

Table 1 – From Latin to Leonese and Mirandese

(adapted and translated from Verdelho, 1993, and Cruz, Saramago and Vitorino, 1994).

In 1982, an attempt to include Mirandese in the public curricula of schools in Miranda do Douro was made, but it was then refused for being a “foreign” element to the syllabi. It was only in the school year 1986/1987 that Mirandese integrated the offer at schools in Miranda do Douro only for those attending the 5th and 6th grades. Since the acknowledgment of the language, the offer of Mirandese as an optional subject has been gradually extended to include primary school and pupils from the ages of 12 to 17.

The efforts that led to the acknowledgement of Mirandese as the second official language in Portugal in 1999 was the result of a unanimous decision by the Portuguese Parliament and thus regarded as a victory. Nonetheless, the intervention of the Portuguese government has proved to be a bitter disappointment, failing to aid both in financial terms and in the long-sought linguistic policy and planning.

Conclusion

In this paper, we attempted to show that the history of any language surpasses the sole perspective of the standard variety, a false construct that seeks to neglect and ignore all other varieties that make up the real history of any language, as stated in Crystal’s (2004) quotation to our introduction.

Despite not having concerned ourselves with the history of Portuguese, our intention was to demonstrate the importance of understanding European Portuguese in terms of its diatopic differences and presenting its dialects with their rightful place in the language. We achieved this by reviewing the three main linguistic atlases developed by Leite de Vasconcelos still in the 19th century and by Paiva Boléo and Lindley Cintra in the second half of the 20th century. It was mainly based on this latter atlas that we presented the five main phonetic features, or isophones, that allowed us to distinguish the northern dialects from the mid-southern dialects. Notwithstanding, not all isoglosses are that neatly designed, due to the fact that many features overlap at times and a strict delimitation is seldom possible.

Regardless of this, the thorough description of these isophones was conducted, as well as the provision of examples to illustrate the difference between the standard and the dialect pronunciations. Along with the phonetic features, attention was devoted to lexical differences in European Portuguese dialects that divide the country into the Latin conservative lexicon of the north and the Arab innovative lexicon of the south.

Finally, we could not conclude our paper without mentioning another linguistic minority in Portugal, “sadly battered and mutilated” throughout the centuries, and so frequently presented as “quaint and eccentric” (Crystal, 2004, p. 2). This was the reason we offered a few notes on the “discovery” of Mirandese at the end of the 19th century and its continuous struggle until the lawful acknowledgement as an official language in Portugal, in equal legal status to that of Portuguese and Portuguese Sign Language.

Endnotes

- 1) My translation of the excerpt: “You see? That there are differences in the words from place to place?”.
- 2) The asterisk shall be used to identify any Portuguese word that is not written in the standard spelling, but rather in a way that attempts to illustrate the dialect in question. Curved brackets will encompass a translation of the Portuguese words into English, while square brackets will present their phonetic transcription.
- 3) There are nine major Azorean islands divided into three main groups: Flores and Corvo to the west; Graciosa, Terceira, São Jorge, Pico and Faial in the centre; and São Miguel, Santa Maria and the Formigas Reef to the east. As for the Archipelago of Madeira, it includes the islands of Madeira, Porto Santo, the Desertas and the Savage Islands.
- 4) Mirandese, in this table, refers to the varieties spoken in the villages Constantim, Duas Igrejas and Sendim as presented by Cruz, Saramago and Vitorino (1994).

References

- Andrade, A. & Slifka, J. (2006). A phonetic study of sibilants produced by 2 speakers of a northern Portuguese. Available at <http://bit.ly/1eMUmvY> (accessed 14-03-2014).
- Araújo, I. (1996). Didáctica da Dialectologia In Duarte, Inês e Matilde Miguel *Actas do XI Encontro da APL: volume 3 – Gramática e varia*. Lisboa: Colibri. pp. 503-515.
- Ferreira, M.B. *et al.* (2005). Variação linguística: perspetiva dialectológica. In Faria, Hub; Emília Ribeiro Pedro; Inês Duarte; Carlos Gouveia (org.). *Introdução à Linguística Geral e Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Caminho. pp. 479-502.
- Gramática da Língua Alentejana. Available at <http://acll.home.sapo.pt/gramatica.html> (accessed 14-03-2014).
- Cintra, L.F.L. (1983). *Estudos de Dialectologia Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Sá da Costa Editora.
- Cruz, L.S.; Saramago, J. & Vitorino, G. (1994). Os dialectos leoneses em território português: coesão e diversidade. In *Variação linguística no espaço, no tempo e na sociedade: Actas do encontro regional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*. Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística & Colibri.
- Crystal, D. (2004). *The Stories of English*. [S.l.]: Penguin Books.
- Cunha, C. & Cintra, L.F.L. (1991). *Nova Gramática do Português Contemporâneo*. Lisboa: João Sá da Costa.
- Schutter, G. (2010). Dialectology. In Fried, M., Östman, J-O., Verschuren, J. (eds) *Variation and change: pragmatic perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 73–80.
- Mané, D. (2012). As concepções de língua e dialeto e o preconceito sociolinguístico. *Via Litterae – Revista de Linguística e Teoria Literária*. 4(1), 39-51.
- Mateus, M.H. & Andrade, E. (2000). *The Phonology of Portuguese*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mota, M.A., Nascimento, M.F.B. (2001). Le portugais dans ses varieties. *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*. 79, 931-952.
- Trask, R. L. (1996). *Dictionary of Phonetics and Phonology*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Salema, L.F.P. (2007). *Consciência e caracterização fonética de variação dialectal em Português Europeu*. Unpublished Master's dissertation. University of Aveiro.
- Verdelho, T. (1993). Falares asturo-leoneses em território português. *Lletres Asturianas*. 50, 7-25.
- Wittmann, L.H., Pêgo, T. & SANTOS, D. (1996). Português brasileiro e português de Portugal: algumas observações. In Duarte, Inês e Matilde Miguel (Org.) *Actas do XI Encontro da APL*. Vol. 3. Lisboa: Colibri. pp. 465-487.