

Too Close for Comfort? The Genesis of “Portuñol/Portunhol”

John M. Lipski
The Pennsylvania State University

1. Introduction

It has been said that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy. By this criterion, Basque, Quechua, Navajo, Gullah, Yiddish, and Aramaic are not languages, while United States and Canadian English qualify as separate languages. During the Franco regime in Spain Catalan, Galician, and even Basque were declared to be dialects of Spanish. No linguist today would accept grouping Basque and Spanish as dialects of a single language, since they share no common genealogy and have zero mutual intelligibility. With the remaining Ibero-Romance offshoots, there is no ready algorithm to define the language-dialect dichotomy. And while most modern observers would classify Catalan and Castilian as distinct languages, the Aragonese and Asturian dialect clusters, which share many of the grammatical features of Catalan and which have their own literary corpora, have at times been classified as dialects of Spanish (e.g., by Entwistle 1936). Spanish and Portuguese—spoken in separate nations and enjoying long literary traditions—are invariably classified as distinct languages, although many of the differences are quite systematic and a high degree of mutual intelligibility exists between most varieties. An examination of various contact phenomena leads to the conclusion that closely related varieties such as the Spanish-Portuguese dyad do not fit easily into structural and sociolinguistic models designed for bilingual speech communities in which the languages are more distinct from one another. Nor does the continuum model used to depict the transition between basilectal and acrolectal varieties of a language account for the Spanish-Portuguese contact data. This in turn calls for additional research on the psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics of groups that learn or use closely related languages.

2. *Portuñol/portunhol*: A first approach

Sustained contact between two languages in unofficial settings, such as border or immigrant communities or in multilingual trade environments, frequently produces a range of linguistic contact phenomena that are popularly referred to by words suggesting mixed parentage.¹ A recent contender in the hybrid language category, added to such curiosities as Taglish, Hinglish, Franglais, Guarañol, Quechuañol, and the like, is *portuñol* (in Spanish)/*portunhol* (in Portuguese). Unlike most of the aforementioned terms, which almost always refer to some sort of L₁ interference, *portuñol/portunhol* has been applied to two very distinct situations. First, this term has traditionally been applied to stable bilingual configurations in border communities, e.g., in Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Portugal. *Portuñol/portunhol* also has a developmental meaning, referring to L₁-induced interference that occurs

¹ An obvious example is *spanglish*, a term widely used by observers of Anglo-Hispanic bilingualism worldwide. Although most individuals feel that they understand the range of phenomena covered by this term, a more thorough investigation reveals that the term *spanglish* has variously been used to describe at least the following distinct scenarios: assimilated and non-assimilated Anglicisms, calques of idiomatic constructions, code-switching, vestigial Spanish resulting from language attrition, second-language learners' speech, and the humorous, disrespectful, and derogatory use of pseudo-Spanish items in what Hill (1993a, 1993b) has called *junk spanish*. No one of these possible meanings comes close to achieving consensus as the “real” *spanglish*, although code-switching and calques top the list (Lipski 2004a, 2004b).

when speakers of one of the two highly cognate languages attempt to speak the other language, but are unable to suppress interference from the native language. Spanish-Portuguese border phenomena have been extensively studied within the context of societal bilingualism and will be only briefly mentioned in the present essay. It is the acquisitional sense of *portuñol/portunhol* whose prominence has increased dramatically with the growth of the information age, the ready availability of the Internet and the World Wide Web, satellite television and the globalization of formerly regional economies. Thousands of South Americans—from Brazil and from Spanish-speaking nations—acknowledge the need to be fluent in both Spanish and Portuguese and achieve varying degrees of bilingualism. Language schools designed to teach Spanish to Portuguese speakers and vice versa abound in South America, and in the United States the teaching of Portuguese to speakers of Spanish has become an accepted curricular component in colleges and universities. Internet communication and Web publishing have increased awareness of Spanish-Portuguese contacts, and the Latin American business community has opened an ongoing discussion of the need for bilingualism or linguistic hybrids as a concomitant of global trade. Finally, the linguistic study of spontaneous and invented Spanish-Portuguese contact language reveals configurations that differ significantly from those found in other bilingual code-mixing environments. The full gamut of *portuñol/portunhol* manifestations—which in reality represent several discrete language-contact manifestations—can therefore shed light on the psycholinguistics of bilingual code-mixing and second-language acquisition, on the sociolinguistics of border communities and attitudes about languages and dialects, and on bilingual literary metaphors.

Of all the Ibero-Romance languages, only the Spanish-Portuguese dyad has produced (1) a cluster of bilingual contact dialects and crossover phenomena; (2) a widespread belief that cross-language communication can easily be effected by “faking” an approximation to the non-native language without actually having learned it, (3) a polyvalent term (*portuñol/portunhol*) used to describe a wide range of phenomena, including spontaneous contact vernaculars in border regions, errors produced by speakers attempting to speak the L₂ correctly, and idiosyncratic invented speech designed to facilitate communication between the two languages; (4) an emergent literature (in published form and increasingly on the Internet), including implicit efforts at standardizing *portuñol/portunhol* usage. The range of events that fall under the rubric of *portuñol* therefore lie at the heart of language-acquisition research; included are the empirical resolution of the language-dialect dichotomy from an acquisitional perspective, code-switching and transfer, interference, fossilization, and interlanguage; and the interplay of attitudes and acquisitional strategies.

3. Definitions and viewpoints about *portuñol/portunhol*

Portuñol/portunhol as used in border communities is generally not the subject of discussion outside of the regions in question. In the acquisitional sense, however, opinions and attitudes towards *portuñol/portunhol* have clustered around two diametrically opposed notions. The first is that *portuñol* is undesirable, and the result of laziness, indifference, or lack of respect for the other language and its speakers. Thus the Mexican tourism representative Silvia Ramos² decries the use of a pseudo-Portuguese that can be called *portuñol* in the tourism industry:

Desafortunadamente, han surgido personas que dicen hablar “Portuñol”. El Portuñol consiste en imprimirle una tonalidad portuguesa al idioma castellano. Debido a la actitud bonachona y desenfadada de los brasileños, este mito del “Portuñol” ha sido aprovechado por más de uno ... Ahora yo me pregunto, si al turismo italiano le habláramos dándole entonación italiana al español, ¿quedaría satisfecho? ¿A los franceses les agradaría escuchar su idioma como si tuviéramos canicas en la boca? ¡Por supuesto que no!. me responderían, ¿qué te pasa? ... Los invito a no seguir prostituyendo al portugués ...

Rosario Fraga³ states that

² Cited in (<http://www.rivieramaya.cc/>)

³ Writing in *NuevaMayoria.com* (November 24, 2003).

Uno de cada tres latinoamericanos habla portugués y en América del Sur, lo habla la mitad de la población del subcontinente. La matriz iberoamericana de la región, generada por el origen luso-español, ha trasladado a esta parte del mundo la proximidad y similitud de España y Portugal, y en particular, de sus idiomas. La creciente integración regional no está generando un idioma único—salvo en algunas zonas de fronteras—que tome vocablos de ambas lenguas, lo que algunos denominan “portuñol.” Pero en forma creciente, la comunicación entre hispanoamericanos y lusoamericanos se está realizando en las respectivas lenguas. Cada vez más los primeros entienden el portugués y los segundos el castellano.

In the Brazilian journal *Veja* (April 5, 2000) the linguist Steven Fischer is quoted as affirming that Brazil will eventually cease to be a Portuguese-speaking country, but will rather speak only Portuñol, an outcome that he views with less alarm than might be suspected:

...Em 300 anos, o Brasil estará falando um idioma muito diferente do atual. Devido à enorme influência do espanhol, é bastante provável que surja uma espécie de portunhol ... faz parte da dinâmica das línguas ... O português não será substituído por outro idioma. Os brasileiros não irão falar espanhol. O que irá acontecer é a mistura das duas línguas ... Há muito menos pessoas aprendendo português do que espanhol. Essa mescla entre o português e o espanhol não é necessariamente ruim.

Language schools in both Brazil and its Spanish-speaking neighbors brandish the terms *portuñol/portunhol* as products of ignorance and laziness, to be remedied by formal language study. The more serious web sites and educational materials contain lists of false and near-cognates, sketches of Spanish and/or Portuguese grammar, and lists of other common errors.

Many individuals involved in international trade and business regard *portuñol* as the logical product of globalization, and in fact often advocate the adoption of such spontaneous hybrids to the tacit exclusion of actually learning the other language in its full form.⁴ For example an Argentine consular trade representative,⁵ describing the immigration of Argentine professionals to Brazil in recent years, affirms that “Todos ellos, lejos de dejarse intimidar por las diferencias idiomáticas, se atreven a aprender la nueva lengua in situ. La realidad es que con el portuñol todo el mundo sobrevive...”

The Spanish linguist Marcos Marín (2001:4) indicates that

Espanglish y portuñol son lenguas francas, que sirven para que hablantes que no manejan bien el inglés o el portugués usen una fórmula simplificada, con un fuerte componente español, en los Estados Unidos o en el Brasil ... Son hablas de ida, no de vuelta y tampoco son situaciones totalmente simétricas ... Quien habla espanglish lo que quiere es hablar inglés, se ha decidido ya por una evolución hacia el inglés y trata de abandonar el español para expresarse en una nueva lengua que todavía no domina ... Lo que caracteriza a esta lengua franca es su inequívoca condición de transición hacia el inglés ... El reto fronterizo del español es otro: que los hablantes de español en los Estados Unidos o entre Brasil y los países limítrofes recuperen la conciencia de pertenecer a una comunidad lingüística de prestigio, mediante la adecuada política cultural ... Esta circunstancia lingüística es la que marca una de las diferencias entre el espanglish y el portuñol. Mientras que el primero es claramente una lengua de ida hacia el inglés, el segundo no tiene un

⁴ The Brazilian airline VARIG, to celebrate 50 years of service to neighboring Argentina, produced a short film in ‘portunhol,’ in which a company representative says: ‘OLÁ, JO ME “RAMO” MARCIELO E SOU BRASILENHO. ESTOY AQUI PARA COMIEMOJAR 50 ANHOS DE LA RUETA BRASIL-ARRENTINA. UMA RUETA MARABIJOSA. AFINAL, SUEMOS PUEVOS BIZINOS, IRMONES DE CORACIONES.. ENTÓN, PARA LA BARIG, TUEDAS NOSTRAS FELICITACIONES...’ This is clearly a parody and not meant to reflect actual linguistic usage by airline employees, but it is representative of the level of jocularly surrounding the presumed ease with which any South American can invent, slip into, and understand “portuñol” at a moment’s notice

⁵ Guillermo Hunt, in *La Nación*, February 14, 2003.

sentido tan claro, ni hacia el portugués ni hacia el español ... Mientras que en el *espanGLISH* son hablantes nativos de la lengua segunda los que tienden hacia la lengua mayoritaria, el inglés, en el segundo son los hablantes de la lengua mayoritaria, el portugués, los que tienden al español, aunque no exclusivamente.

These comments by the distinguished Spanish linguist and educator merit some comment. Most controversial are the definitions and assertions concerning *spanGLISH*, which even if one of the many meanings of this term are accepted, has little to do with those wishing to speak English but being unable to do so. The notion that *spanGLISH* (of any variety) and *portuñol* or *fronterizo* respond to different sociolinguistic circumstances and point to diverging outcomes is more in alignment with the present observations.⁶

4. *Portuñol/portunhol* as a literary medium

In recent years a significant literary production in *portuñol/portunhol* has arisen, mostly in Uruguay and Brazil but occasionally from other sources. A striking example is the novel *Mar paraguayo* by the Brazilian author Wilson Bueno (1992), written in a purely literary *portunhol* with many Guaraní elements included (as well as a glossary of Guaraní terms). As Néstor Perlongher states in the introduction to the novel,

Será que foi realmente Wilson Bueno quem “inventou” o portunhol (um portunhol malhado de guaraní ... o efeito do portunhol é imediatamente poético. Há entre as duas línguas um vacilo, uma tensão, uma oscilação permanente: uma é o “erro” da outra, seu devir possível, incerto e improvável ... Não há lei: há uma gramática, mas é uma gramática sem lei; há uma certa ortografia, mas é uma ortografia errática ... (Bueno 1992:8-9)

The author illustrates this assertion in the opening sentence of the prologue, in which the essential nature of the Guaraní elements is explained (Bueno 1992:13): “Un aviso: el guarani es tan esencial en nesto relato quanto el vuelo del párraro, lo cisco en la ventana, los arrulhos del português ô los derramados nerudas en cascata num solo só suicídio de palabras anchas. Una el error dela outra.” In this brief fragment, Spanish *pájaro* is represented by the Portuguese spelling *-rr-* corresponding to the velar fricative [x] in Brazilian Portuguese. The Spanish conjunction *o* (in Portuguese *ou*) is represented by the Portuguese spelling *ô*. The Portuguese contractions of preposition + determiner are given Spanish content: *en nesto, dela outra*. Consider also the following paragraph, from the first chapter (1992:15):

Hoy me vejo adelante de su olhar de muerto, esto hombre que me hace dançar castanholas en la cama, que me hace sufrir, que me hace, que me há construído de dolor y sangre, la sangre que vertiô mi vida amarga. Desde sus ombros, mi destino igual quel hecho de uno punhal en la clave derecha del corazón. Ahora en neste momento, yo no sê que hablar com su cara dura, rojos los olhos soterrados, estos que eram mis ojos.

Once more Portuguese orthography is used to portray Spanish verb endings (*sê* for *sé*, *vertiô* for *vertió*); the interrogative *que* in *yo no sê que hablar* has no written accent, corresponding to Portuguese rather than Spanish orthography, although the phrase is entirely in Spanish to this point. In the final sentence, Spanish *ojos* and Portuguese *olhos* appear in rapid succession, demonstrating that there is no algorithm for inserting Spanish or Portuguese elements. Unlike in some other literary and spontaneous *portunhol* creations, in *Mar paraguayo* the author does not invent false Spanish or Portuguese items

⁶ Neutral opinions on *portuñol/portunhol* are quite rare. A Japanese language program states that: “Usamos portuñol cuando hablamos combinando palabras y expresiones del portugués y del español. El aspecto más interesante entre los dos vocabularios son los homófonos con significados distintos (hasta opuestos).” The authors then give a list of such items, to demonstrate their assertions (<http://www.mk.ecei.tohoku.ac.jp/~osino/lenguas/portunol.html>)

based on the overextension of morphophonetic correspondences, for example the common overuse of the diphthong *ue* < *o* in pseudo-Spanish words invented from Portuguese. The closest approximation comes in the use of Spanish verb endings (with Portuguese orthography) attached to Portuguese verb stems, clear violations of the Free Morpheme Constraint of Poplack (1980), but also common in other *portunhol* manifestations: *yo terê* (Spanish *tendré*, Portuguese *terei*) *de me cantar ...* (Bueno 1992:69), *passarê* (Sp. *pasaré*, Ptg. *passarei*, 1992:68), *joguê* (Sp. *jugué*, Ptg. *joguei*, 1992:16), etc. There are a few elements that are neither Spanish nor Portuguese, but approximate Portuguese nasal vowels: *las cosas san más cortas* (1992:18), *por non salir de esta sala* (1992:16). Inappropriate calques also occur, usually from Portuguese to Spanish, as befits the author's status as a native speaker of Portuguese: *já es mucho tarde para morir* (1992:18). In the balance, *Mar paraguayo* is a smoothly flowing narration written in a language meant to be read aloud, and understandable by anyone fluent in either Spanish or Portuguese and somewhat familiar with the other language. The author is clearly fluent in both, and discrepancies from Portuguese or Spanish grammar are deliberate creations designed to reinforce the hybridity of his literary creation.

The Brazilian poet Douglas Diegues, who lives in the border town of Ponta Porã, Paraná state, has written a book of sonnets in *portunhol* (Appendix 1). Originally writing only in Portuguese, Diegues discovered the novel *Mar paraguayo* by Wilson Bueno, which inspired him to write in a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese. These are literary creations and not based on accurate imitations of the speech of border regions, but they do reveal awareness of the grammatical possibilities of code-mixing and hybrid usage. For example in the phrase *en el hueco de la noite longa e langue* there is a code-switch between the Spanish article *la* and the Portuguese noun *noite*, a shift not normally found in spontaneous code-switching, especially since the remainder of the phrase continues in Portuguese. Similarly in *los outros* a Spanish article is combined with a Portuguese noun, a normally disallowed code-switching combination. The hybrid verb form *puedem* combines a Spanish stem and Portuguese desinence, a clear violation of the Free Morpheme Constraint. In *quê fazer cuando las certezas ficam inciertas* the verbs are in Portuguese while the remaining elements are in Spanish, once more not a common code-mixing strategy but a striking literary metaphor for cross-cultural communication (Portuguese *quê* and Spanish *qué* are homophonous, with only the written diacritic suggesting the base language). *lo que bocês podem falar de la merda?* has articles (and presumably non-contracted prepositions) in Spanish, *falar* and *merda* in Portuguese, the hybrid (and very unlikely) *puedem* with Spanish stem vowel and Portuguese inflexion, *bocês* with Spanish-influenced *b* as the initial letter/sound, and the calque *lo que* as interrogative (instead of Spanish *qué*), a translation of vernacular Portuguese *o quê*. In the following lines once more the verbs are in Portuguese while the NP elements are in Spanish, with the exception of the final noun, *merda*, in Portuguese. *los que passaram fome podem falar de la fome* has functional categories (articles, prepositions, complementizers) in Spanish, with the remaining items in Portuguese (including the hybrid verb *puedem* which because of its conjugation must ultimately be regarded as a Portuguese neologism). These poems show a considerable perhaps subliminal awareness of grammatical categories and code-mixing strategies, and it is perhaps the deliberate violation of widespread grammatical restrictions on intrasentential code-switching that call attention to the literary and cultural messages.

Portunhol inventions have also made their way into popular culture in print. The *Los 3 amigos* Brazilian comics (Angeli et al. 1993), written in a humorous and often raunchy *portunhol* provide further evidence of attitudes on the formation of hybrid elements, as well as Lusophone stereotypes about the structure of the Spanish language. The language of these comics would be unlikely in real contact situations, but is quite similar to deliberately invented *portunhol* found in web logs and humorous literary texts. One feature of Spanish that is overextended is the diphthongization of stressed vowels in verb stems, particularly the *o* > *ue* alternation: *que se fueda; ustedes são los 3 amigos? Suemos! Puerra esta bussola ta' mutcho loca; guerra no guelfo; Madrediôs! Que par de cuexas! quiero te pegar no cielo ...; muerra [muera]; no puedo; tou usando tuedas; voy fumar tuedos; hey de encuentra-los! guelpa de estado; sien [sin] mi emigos; liembro [lembro]; puembas [pombas]. Another visual trick is the use of the grapheme *rr* in a Spanish-derived word meant to be pronounced with the velar fricative [x] given to /r/ in Brazilian Portuguese: *rruntar* [juntar], *rodidos* [jodidos]. From a web log comes the hypercorrection *horre* (Ptg. *hoje*, Sp. *hoy*). Representation of the Rio de la Plata pronunciation of /y/ as [ž] is accomplished by giving the letter *j* the Portuguese pronunciation:*

mijones [millones]. Also *mijares* [millares]. The remaining language of these comics is a haphazard mix of Spanish articles with Portuguese nouns and vice versa, hybrid verbal constructions, mixed pronouns, and the like. Most of the idiomatic expressions are from Portuguese and those from Spanish are usually somewhat altered. Aside from the deliberately humorous code-mixing, the crucial feature of these texts is their readability, the fact that the syntax is nearly identical in Spanish and Portuguese; the end result is a text effectively in a single grammar, with a lexicon comprised of Spanish-Portuguese cognates and near cognates, as well as purely Spanish or Portuguese words and contrived hybrid elements.⁷

In addition to the playful literary creations just described, the legitimate speech of the Uruguay-Brazil border has been a constant thread in regionalist literature (Behares & Díaz 1998, López 1993). Most instances involve the simple insertion of words or phrases from Portuguese border dialects into Spanish-language narration, but a few authors have produced texts in more authentic *fronterizo* language. A comparison between legitimate *fronterizo* examples and invented *portuñol/portunhol* reveals significant qualitative differences that underscore the fact that this ambiguous cover term applies to very different language-contact phenomena. The poet Miguel Suárez (Behares & Díaz 1998:47-8) has produced the code-mixed “«Pienso» brasileras, uruguayas” (Appendix 3). This poem contains Portuguese items written in Spanish orthography (*u, fiquey*), approximations to Portuguese pronunciation lacking nasal vowels (*ua, alguey*), hybrid forms such as *estove*, and vernacular Brazilian Portuguese NPs in which plural /s/ is marked only on the first element: *cinco mina, las noche*. The author metaphorically inclines toward more Portuguese elements when reflecting on the *brasileira*, although the base language is essentially Spanish throughout.

The pseudonymous poets Yacaré and Tatú (Behares & Díaz 1998:49-53) have produced several poems in mixed and hybrid language. From “V” come phrases like *Lecueder es chica pa todo los brasileiro, as ves hay quincena, as ves sacamo*, and *Cuando liguamo borreo fica uns caldo saputú*, illustrating plural marking only on the first element of NPs. “Historia del Vasco” exhibits hybrid combinations like *trae traántula pa los pichón; puse los pichón nua caxa y tapé ... y me atei esa piola na cintura y atei a otra ponta un tirante ... y me afirmei más que pude; rompen las bola*. “Amor de um” (Appendix 4) offers, in addition to freely switching between Spanish and Portuguese (the latter with Spanish orthography), Portuguese-style plural NPs (*aus manotaso*), and approximations to Portuguese nasal vowels (*vein, min*).

5. The new globalization: *Portuñol/portunhol* on the Internet

The Internet has given a great impulse to the spontaneous use of *portuñol*, in chat rooms, web logs, and web sites on which literary creations can be posted without delay and disseminated worldwide. One recent and typical example is *Las aventuras del Django y Pablo en portunhol* (Appendix 5), originating in Brazil. This whimsical story freely combines Spanish and Portuguese in a fashion that more closely approximates *fronterizo* and other legitimate border dialects. The first line, “Dizian que El Matador já havia ceifado de la face de la tierra unas trecentas personas,” already demonstrates the hybridization that continues throughout the story. *Dizian* combines the Portuguese root and the Spanish verbal desinence, *havia* is solely in Portuguese, all prepositions and articles are in Spanish, *face* is neither Spanish nor Portuguese. A number of hybrid words are inserted: *direcho* (from *derecho/direito*), *ojava* (from *ojo/olhar*), *sen* (*sin/sem*), *metad* (*mitad/metade*), *levando* (*llevando/chevando*). Combinations such as *del ousados hombres* contain patent grammatical violations that would not be tolerated in either language, but which might be heard by a struggling beginner speaking neither Spanish nor Portuguese. It is unlikely that a fluent speaker of either Spanish or Portuguese would produce such a mismatched combination of determiners, given the cognate status of determiners and their agreement patterns in both languages. There is no underlying systematicity to language switching and hybrid formation in this short piece, merely a demonstration of how easy it is to create a comprehensible pastiche of Spanish and Portuguese elements through virtually any combination.

⁷ There have also been attempts to render prayers, hymns, songs, and the like into *portuñol*. A Uruguayan *fronterizo* web site offers some prayers (Appendix 2).

The *portunhol* phenomenon has stimulated the creation of numerous Internet chat rooms and web logs, mostly based in Brazil and therefore having some form of Portuguese as the de facto base language. The national origin and native language of the participants are not always evident, although the tenor of many comments suggests that Brazilians predominate. Appendix 6, written by a Brazilian, looks like an attempt to write in Spanish, but with Portuguese interference creeping in. *Calsa* is an obvious hypercorrection, reflecting the Brazilian Portuguese realization of syllable-final /l/ as semivocalic [u]. *Serón* approximates the Brazilian realization of the nasal diphthong –aõ, although the monophthongal pronunciation is more common in unstressed positions. The personal infinitive (in *para las futuras sacolleras aprendieren materias importantes*) appears to be an innocent intrusion of Portuguese.

In Appendix 7, *notche* uses Portuguese orthography to represent the Spanish affricate. *Foi* and *tivemos* may be accidental Portuguese intrusions. The fragment *Se las personas nao podiam hacer nenhum barujo* contains an interesting mix of Spanish and Portuguese in the verb phrase, and the genial invention *barujo* (Portuguese *barulho*, borrowed into regional Spanish as *barullo*), based on the analogy with other doublets in which Portuguese *lh* [λ] corresponds to Spanish *j* [x]: *olho-ojo*, *alho-ajo*, *filho-hijo*, and even *caralho-carajo*.

Appendices 8-13 typify the playful attitude of these “bloggers” as they invent *portunhol* in ways that frequently bear little resemblance to Spanish. To date most producers of this whimsical language are Brazilians; few Spanish-speaking South Americans have participated, although some inadvertently produce *portuñol* when attempting to communicate in proper Portuguese.

6. Uruguayan *fronterizo* contact phenomena as “portuñol”

The fact that the speech of a stable border region known as *fronterizo* or *dialectos portugueses del Uruguay* is referred to by its speakers as *portuñol* is a potential source of confusion when reviewing Spanish-Portuguese contact phenomena. These dialects are not confined to the immediate border, but penetrate deep into Uruguay.⁸ The reasons for the heavy incursions of Portuguese lexical, phonological and syntactic items into Uruguayan speech are many, and include the fact that for many Uruguayans in this region, better schooling and economic opportunities were traditionally to be found in Brazil. In the past, this region was disputed between the newly independent nations of Brazil and Uruguay, and was settled by Brazilians for a considerable time. Even during colonial times, Portuguese presence in what is now northern Uruguay was always significant (Bertolotti et al. 2005 provide documents). The reasons for the formation of *fronterizo* dialects, rather than simple bilingualism with code switching and a light overlay of borrowings (as found, e.g., in the southwestern United States) are also rooted in a complex set of sociohistorical facts, in which the rural residents of an isolated and marginalized zone were pulled linguistically in two directions, but where neither pull was strong enough to completely coalesce into a single base language. Rona (1960, 1969) attempted to differentiate the gradations from an essentially pure Portuguese, spoken along the Brazilian border, to a Portuguese-based *fronterizo*, and, further into the interior of Uruguay, a Spanish-based *fronterizo*. This task has been continued, e.g., by Carvalho (2003a), Elizaincín (1992), and Elizaincín et al. (1987). The criteria involve a mixture of phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic criteria, which do not lend themselves to the formation of neat isoglosses, since much variation is found even at the idiolectal level. Despite the fact that community residents themselves feel that they speak “portuñol,” it is the observation of the present writer—shared by researchers such as Elizaincín and Carvalho who have studied this area extensively—that northern Uruguayan “portuñol” or *fronterizo* is essentially rural southern Brazilian Portuguese, with a heavy admixture of Spanish lexical items and some partial transfer of similar but not identical grammatical combinations. An outsider can spontaneously elicit “portuñol” by speaking some approximation to Brazilian Portuguese, whereas if Spanish is proffered, responses will be in reasonably unaltered Spanish (depending upon the educational level of the interlocutor). There do

⁸ Traditional studies of the *fronterizo* dialects include Academia Nacional de Letras (1982), Elizaincín (1973, 1976, 1979) Elizaincín et al. (1987), Hensey (1972, 1975, 1982a, 1982b), Obaldia (1988), Rona (1960, 1969). Carvalho (2003a, 2003b, 2004a, 2004b) provides contemporary variational and sociolinguistic analyses of this complex language contact environment.

occur, however, intertwined configurations that suggest true hybridization rather than simply bilingual transfer, and which justify designations such as *fronterizo* that suggest a “third language.” Given the extensive bibliography on *fronterizo* dialects as well as the complexity of actually occurring examples, only a brief summary will be presented below; the term *fronterizo* will be retained, while acknowledging that a term such as *dialecto portugués del Uruguay*, suggestive of a stronger Portuguese base, is descriptively more accurate.

Although *fronterizo* phonology combines traits of both Spanish and Portuguese (the latter predominate and usually prevail), it is in the morphology and syntax that the truly intertwined nature of many border configurations becomes most evident. Of particular interest are the use of definite and indefinite articles, plural marking in multi-word NPs, and hybrid verb forms.

Combining of Spanish and Portuguese articles within a single sentence can occur in *fronterizo*, especially in view of the minimal differences between Spanish *los*, *la* and *las* and Portuguese *os*, *a* and *as*, respectively. Sometimes this results in combining a Spanish word with a Portuguese article or vice versa; on other occasions, both a Spanish and a Portuguese article may appear in a single sentence (Elizaincín et al. 1987:41): *u [= o] material que se utiliza en el taier; tudus lus [= todos los] días; la importasao de automóviles; tan querendu fasé alí un prediu.*

Spanish and Portuguese verb conjugations are nearly identical, once allowances for pronunciation are made. However, vernacular Brazilian Portuguese frequently neutralizes all non-1st person verb endings in favor of the third person singular, something which does not occur in any (monolingual) variety of Spanish. Among *fronterizo* speakers, combinations like *nós tinha* ‘we had’ [standard Ptg. *nós tínhamos*] instead of *nosotros teníamos* may be heard (Elizaincín et al. 1987, Rona 1969:12). Significantly, there are no instances of this gravitation towards the 3rd person singular as quasi-invariable verb stem in *fronterizo* verbs produced in Spanish.

Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese exhibits “bare plurals,” usually marking only the first element of a noun phrase, particularly if it is an article. This trait is also frequent in *fronterizo*, even when Spanish articles are involved (Elizaincín et al. 1987:41f): *Aparte tengo unas hermanas, unos tío; Tein umas vaca para tirá leite; Sai cum trinta y sei gol.* Almost always when final /s/ is lost on the noun, the article is in Portuguese: *pra os alumnu; ...us ternery pa as casa; as terra, as oveja, seis onibo.*

In terms of the behavior of syllable- and word-final /s/, most Uruguayan varieties (centered on the speech of the capital, Montevideo) represent a degree of phonetic and phonological reduction intermediate between the etymological sibilant [s] and the high degree of erosion found, e.g., in southern Spain and the Caribbean. In the quintessential Rio Platense dialect, preconsonantal /s/ is aspirated in nearly all preconsonantal contexts (*las casas, estas personas*) except in very slow or carefully monitored speech. Word-final prevocalic /s/ (as in *los amigos*) is more variable, being aspirated with a frequency far lower than in more ‘radical’ dialects of Spanish, with aspiration being most frequent in rapid unguarded speech and among working-class sociolects. Phrase-final /s/, while strictly speaking ‘syllable-final,’ strongly resists effacement, and is realized predominantly as [s] in most registers. Phrase-final /s/ is rarely aspirated to [h], since in the Rio Platense dialects, as in other Spanish dialects, a prepausal aspiration (which in reality is merely a devoiced prolongation of the preceding vowel) is difficult to perceive and ultimately results in deletion. Therefore while phrase-final /s/ is deleted with some regularity in rapid unmonitored speech, the strong aspiration that accompanies preconsonantal /s/-weakening is almost never present.

Along the Brazilian border, the traditional dialects of Spanish (e.g., as spoken when traveling to monolingual regions of the country or when speaking to individuals not known to be bilingual) retained preconsonantal and phrase-final [s] to a significantly greater extent than in monolingual Uruguay dialects; i.e., the southern Brazilian Portuguese retention of final sibilant [s] took precedence over the aspiration found in Rio Platense Spanish dialects. In the *fronterizo* Portuguese dialects the same retention of final /s/ as sibilant [s] occurred, always tempered by the vernacular Brazilian Portuguese tendency to eliminate (but almost never aspirate) word-final plural /s/ in plural NPs except for the first element—typically a determiner: *as pessoa velha, os livro importante, etc.*

In contemporary Uruguay the situation is being reversed. Not only has the aspiration of preconsonantal /s/ characteristic of Montevideo spread to the Spanish spoken along the Brazilian border, but aspiration of /s/ is beginning to penetrate the *fronterizo* or *portuñol* dialects to a greater extent than in monolingual areas of southern Brazil (where aspiration of /s/ is quite rare except for a

few lexical items such as *me(s)mo*). However the general Uruguayan preference for a prominent sibilant [s] phrase-finally is overcome by the vernacular Brazilian “bare plurals” (elimination of all but the first plural marker /s/ within a NP). The ‘prayers’ posted on the *fronterizo* web site illustrate this tendency.

7. An early and unusual *portuñol/portunhol* text

A very curious description of what appears to be a form of spontaneous (i.e., not bilingual border) *portuñol* comes in an 1887 account by the Uruguayan journalist Manuel Bernárdez (Azevedo 2000, Bernárdez 1887). Bernárdez describes an apparently true encounter with “Pajarito,” apparently somewhere in Uruguay, perhaps in the department of Maldonado (Appendix 14). “Pajarito” speaks a bizarre mixture of Spanish and Portuguese to his Uruguayan interlocutors; he is clearly not a native speaker of Spanish and may not have been a native speaker of Portuguese either. “Pajarito” refers to himself as *negro* and *mulato*, which means that he may actually have been a speaker of an Afro-Hispanic pidgin or restructured variety, which were still very much in existence in Argentina and Uruguay in the second half of the 19th century. For example Azevedo (2000:101) analyzes the verb *inllená* as a blend of Spanish *llenar* and Portuguese *encher*. In Afro-Hispanic speech, however, the use of prenasalized consonants is well documented (Lipski 1992a), and such combinations were usually perceived and transcribed by Spanish and Portuguese speakers either as a prothetic syllable (e.g., *ingritar* < *gritar*, *engallina* < *gallina*) or as a nasal consonant attached to a preceding determiner (e.g., *juro an dioso* for *juro a dios*). Contemporary vernacular Spanish of New Mexico occasionally exhibits syllabic nasal consonants, and the combination *mi papá* > *mpapá* with syllabic nasal has been relexicalized as *empapá* ‘my father’ (Lipski 1993). The widespread neutralization of familiar and formal pronouns in the text (*usted/ostés, tú, vos*, etc.) is also more frequent among second-language learners of Spanish or Portuguese, including African-born *bozales* and perhaps their immediate descendants. These subtle hints may mean that Pajarito did not speak canonical varieties of either Spanish or Portuguese, but rather some vestigial Afro-Hispanic dialect (probably of Portuguese) which was superimposed on his approximations to Spanish and Portuguese. The fact that the purported encounter took place on Uruguayan soil and with presumably monolingual Spanish-speaking interlocutors entails that Pajarito was attempting to speak exclusively in Spanish using his native or near-native command of Portuguese and whatever Spanish he had picked up in Uruguay or along the Brazilian border. His *portunhol* differs from contemporary literary and Internet *portunhol*, which like all bilingual or code-switched literature is directed at a bilingual audience.

Several elements of the text suggest that Pajarito was more fluent in Portuguese than in Spanish. Using standard criteria it is impossible to unequivocally establish a base language for the majority of the sentences, but there are more authentic Portuguese items (although phonetically rendered using approximations in Spanish orthography) than Spanish. The rapid and sometimes grotesque alternations between Portuguese and Spanish-like words is reminiscent of the attempts of market vendors, taxi drivers and street urchins to attract the attention of tourists without being fully fluent in the latter’s language.⁹

8. Spanish-Portuguese contact phenomena in Spain and Portugal

The situation along the Spanish-Portuguese border is much different, due in large measure to historical antecedents. Ambivalent relations between the two countries have extended over many centuries, and residents living near the border have rarely visited the opposite country with any frequency. On the Spanish side of the border no stable “portuñol” type contact dialects have ever been reported, although along much of the border Galician-Leonese dialects not much different from vernacular rural Portuguese have held sway until well into the 20th century. Inside Portugal there has been some tendency for border residents to know some Spanish, and in a few villages some Spanish-influenced Portuguese dialects developed, now all but disappeared (Elizaincín 1992). One exception is

⁹ Azevedo (2000) believes that Bernárdez may actually have transcribed the text from a personal encounter; it is difficult to imagine that this chimera does not arise from a real-life event, albeit with subsequent embellishment.

the interesting Mirandese dialect, long ignored since the pioneering work of Vasconcellos (1900-01), but still very much alive in northeastern Portugal (Appendix 15). In recent years the study of Mirandese has picked up considerably, and this language now enjoys a relatively large bibliography, textbooks, web sites, and some official recognition as a linguistic minority within Portugal.

The Mirandese dialect—part of the Leonese dialect cluster and similar to many Asturian dialects—shares many superficial similarities with “portuñol” varieties from South America, as well as from other Ibero-Romance dialects such as Aragonese. However, from an evolutionary and sociolinguistic standpoint it should not be grouped with Uruguayan *fronterizo* dialects for a number of reasons. First, Mirandese is a stable regional dialect formed *in situ* in the midst of other closely related Ibero-Romance languages and dialects. It is not the product of language contact between originally monolingual groups seeking mutual accommodation using cognate languages. Second most of its speakers know no Spanish, and may or may not know standard Portuguese. They regard Mirandese as a dialect of Portuguese although arguably it is a separate language, at least as different from Portuguese as Galician or Asturian. Any accommodation of competing phonological or morphosyntactic variants took place centuries ago not as the result of dialect leveling but rather as the natural evolution of the Ibero-Romance cluster.

Another even more hybrid dialect is Barranqueño (Alvar 1996, Stefanova-Gueorgiev 1987), spoken in the Portuguese town of Barrancos in the Portuguese province of Baixo-Alemtejo, on the border with the Spanish provinces of Badajoz and Huelva (Appendix 16)¹⁰:

As conversas entre os habitantes faziam-se em dialecto local ou em espanhol. O barranquenho é uma mescla de português e espanhol, com muitos vocábulos caídos em desuso e pronunciados com sotaque alentejano ou andaluz. Difícil de entender - como o é também, de facto, um povo com características culturais singulares, que em casos desta natureza defende o primado da prática consuetudinária em relação às leis do Estado. Não é por acaso que desde tempos imemoriais o povo afirma: «Não somos portugueses, nem espanhóis, mas barranquenhos.»

Both the sociolinguistic matrix in which Barrancos, Spanish, and Portuguese are embedded and the specific linguistic traits of Barranqueño are strikingly similarly to Uruguayan Fronterizo dialects. Of particular importance are the following traits:

- (1) Definite and indefinite articles follow the Portuguese patterns: *o, a, os, as*.
- (2) Aspiration and loss of syllable- and word-final /s/, the norm in Extremadura and Andalusia and not found in canonical Peninsular Portuguese dialects, is the basic pattern in Barranqueño.
- (3) Loss of word-final /r/, particularly in infinitives, is not found in continental Portuguese but is normal in Badajoz and Huelva, and in Barranqueño.
- (4) The Spanish diminutive prefix *-ito* is preferred over the Portuguese *-inho*.
- (5) Use of the Spanish present subjunctive for future reference (*quando eli benha*) takes precedence over the Portuguese future subjunctive (*quando êle vir*).
- (6) Spanish *betacismo* (loss of the opposition /b/-v/) takes precedence over the Portuguese retention of the /b/-v/ opposition.

From the grammatical standpoint, Barranqueño is overwhelmingly Portuguese, with some Spanish lexical incursions and even fewer Spanish grammatical constructions (e.g., trait 5). Suprasegmental phonetics also favors the Portuguese model, with some Andalusian/Extremeño overtones, while segmental phonetics strongly follows neighboring Spanish dialects. Traits 2, 3, and 6, all of which involve some type of simplification (creation of open syllables and loss of a phonological opposition, respectively), arguably follow universal tendencies. However these same processes have failed to take hold in the rest of Portugal, although other putative universal paths of phonetic evolution have been followed in other Portuguese dialects. Moreover, aspiration of final /s/ in Barranqueño is set against the backdrop of a palatalized syllable-final /s/ in neighboring Portuguese dialects, a sound which

¹⁰ <http://galeon.com/lenguasdeextremadura/barranquenho/barranquenho.htm>

strongly resists effacement under other conditions (Lipski 1973). The aspiration of syllable-final /s/ in Uruguayan *fronterizo* dialects is facilitated by the fact that in vernacular Rio Grande do Sul Portuguese, the Brazilian border dialect, syllable-final /s/ is not palatalized, as it is in some other regions of Brazil, e.g., Rio de Janeiro. The adoption of Spanish syllable-final consonant modifications such as effacement in Spanish-Portuguese contact environments transcends the specific phonetic traits involved in each case, and is a direct function of the sociolinguistic conditioning factors. In Uruguay Spanish is the official language and—increasingly—the language of greater prestige, while in Barrancos Portuguese is the official language and Spanish is the language of daily reality.

9. Code-switching and hybrid formation in *portuñol* manifestations

The study of Spanish-Portuguese contact phenomena, both spontaneous (e.g., border dialects like *fronterizo* and Barranqueño) and deliberate (literary “portuñol”) reveals a number of unique characteristics that justify the further study of this particular bilingual encounter. From the standpoint of attitudes toward languages and dialects, there is nearly universal consensus that Spanish and Portuguese are distinct languages. Real and imagined *portuñol/portunhol* specimens are predicated on the fact that distinct—albeit similar—languages are at stake and that failure to learn both languages thoroughly will result in mixing of the sort described in previous sections. In this sense Portuguese-Spanish combinations are viewed differently than regional, social or ethnic dialects or sociolects, in which combining elements from various points on the non-standard—standard continuum is a common occurrence. At the same time there is the underlying assumption—frequently supported by real situations—that it is possible to “fake” the other language without any prior knowledge other than the most fundamental notions of systematic differences. This results in code-mixing configurations qualitatively and quantitatively different from those produced when two mutually unintelligible and genealogically divergent languages are in contact (e.g., Spanish-English). Quantitatively, Spanish-Portuguese contact can produce a much higher density of switches, often several within a single clause. This is facilitated by the high proportion of ambiguous elements—identical in Spanish and Portuguese—that typically occur in Spanish-Portuguese hybrid configurations. In spoken language phonetic details may suggest one language or the other, although most speakers of Spanish-Portuguese hybrids, whether stable border dialects such as *fronterizo* or spontaneous approximations, retain a single phonotactic pattern throughout. Qualitatively, Spanish-Portuguese switches freely violate morphosyntactic constraints that have been postulated for other code-switched pairs, including Spanish-English, and backed by a considerable corpus of empirical observations. Among the former, the most compelling is the requirement that no grammatical rule in either language be violated, and in particular that the point of transition be ‘smooth’ in the sense that the material from the second language is in some way as likely a combination as a continuation in the first language. Fluent code-switching may therefore produce combinations in which, e.g., a switch occurs between article and noun, between a complementizer and a subordinate clause, between a conjunction and one of the conjuncts, etc. Although there are many exceptions, some general observations will illustrate findings specific to Spanish-English code-switching.

In study of Spanish-English code-switching,¹¹ spontaneous code-switches not accompanied by hesitations, pauses, or interruptions, are normally unacceptable in the following circumstances: (1) between a pronominal subject and a predicate; (2) between a pronominal clitic and the verb; (3) between a sentence-initial interrogative word and the remainder of the sentence; (4) between an auxiliary verb (especially *haber*) and the main verb; (5) adverbs of negation are normally in the same language as the verbs they modify. The restrictions reflect the general need to maintain the grammatical rules of each language, following the linear order both in English and in Spanish, and to retain easily parsable chunks of discourse. There are also circumstances that favor code-switching

¹¹ The literature on the syntactic constraints which govern code-switching is vast and still growing. Among the studies relating specifically to Spanish are Dussias (2003), Gingras (1974), Jacobson (1977a, 1977b, 1978a, 1978b), Klavans (1985), Lipski (1977, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1992b), MacSwan (1999), Pfaff (1979), Poplack (1980), Poplack et al. (1988, 1989), Pousada and Poplack (1982), Sankoff and Poplack (1981), Sobin (1984), Timm (1975), Toribio (2001a, 2001b), and Woolford (1983).

among fluent bilinguals: (1) the anticipated presence of a proper noun in the other language can trigger a switch prior to the actual insertion of the L2 proper noun; (2) switches are especially common between a main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun or a complementizer. Despite the vigorous theoretical debate concerning the governing properties of the complementizer, according to which the subordinate clause must appear in the same language as the complementizer, observed Spanish-English code-switches occur frequently with the complementizer in the language of the first portion of the switched utterance, suggesting that complementizers act as a linguistic fulcrum for switches, rather than being inextricably linked to the language of the subordinate clause; (3) the presence of a coordinating conjunction (*y*, *pero*, etc.) is another fulcrum point which allows switches.

Spanish-Portuguese combinations demonstrate the following typical violations (see Lipski 1985):

(1) between a pronominal subject and a predicate:

o que vocês entenden por mierda?
Porque tuyo eh u reinu, y a podé, y a gloria

(2) between a pronominal clitic and the verb:

Un senõr sombrío com viestes negronas los sorri suspiendo el longo chapéu negron, a el lado del funerária
Me fico mucho felice en saber que hay hermanos rronalistas que nos ayudan a divulgar el saite de portuñol.
Jo quieres hacer amor con nosotros ou con noí memo?

(3) between a sentence-initial interrogative word and the remainder of the sentence:

Quém no se olvida de Super Rato, que passaba el cartún en SBT
Onde que los hijos de puta de la Pepsi hacen una promoción como esta????

(4) between an auxiliary verb (especially *haber*) and the main verb:

Y no noh dexéh cair na tentazón

(5) adverbs of negation are normally in the same language as the verbs they modify:

As veces podemos até tirar lecciones de moral
Douglas Diegues: "Sabedoria bocê non puede comprar, ni puede bender."

The nearly total interpenetrability of Spanish and Portuguese grammars—to say nothing of deliberately or unwittingly produced hybrid or analogical forms—suggests that the two languages share a single psycholinguistic representation, unlike the ‘two grammar’ models that account for code-switching patterns among typologically more divergent languages.

Spanish and Portuguese share the overwhelming majority of syntactic structures, so few probative cases of these syntactic constraints arise when the languages are mixed. One possibility involves the Portuguese personal infinitive constructions, which combine an anteposed pronominal or nominal subject with an infinitive containing a morphological suffix: *para êles fazerem*, etc. Similar constructions (lacking the infinitival inflection) occur in some Spanish dialects, most notably in the Caribbean, but not in Spanish dialects bordering on Portuguese-speaking nations. In most conversations held in *portuñol* varieties, complex syntactic constructions are infrequent, and few cases arise in which Portuguese inflected infinitives would come into conflict with Spanish expressions involving the complementizer *que* and a finite verb, usually in the subjunctive.¹²

¹² Another syntactic divergence between Spanish and Portuguese involves clitic placement with finite and infinitive verbs. For example in the *portuñol* diagnostics applied on the Uruguay-Brazil border (Elizaincín 1992)

10. The difficulty of establishing a base language in *portuñol/portunhol* configurations

Most studies of bilingual language mixing postulate criteria for establishing the base language of mixed utterances.¹³ Barkin and Rivas (1979) propose that: (1) the base language (of the mother node) is the language of the function words (prepositions, articles, etc.); (2) the base language (of the mother node) is the language of the verb. DiSciullo et al. (1986:4) assert that “When a government relation holds between elements, there can be no mixing; when that relation is absent, mixing is possible.” The authors claim that the complements of a verb and the verb itself will have the same language index, and also that complement clauses, direct and indirect object NPs, complement PPs and manner adverbs must all carry the same language index as their governor. The complements of a preposition must have the same index as the preposition itself. In Spanish-Portuguese combinations whereas governing relations remain clear, the creation of many hybrid lexical items blurs language-tagging to near impossibility in many cases. Meyers-Scotton (1992) proposes the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model: the matrix language determines the morpheme order of the codeswitched sentence and provides the system morphemes. No system morphemes may come from the embedded language (unless they are in Embedded Language islands). Belazi et al. (1994) propose the Functional Head Constraint: switching is prohibited between a functional head and its complement. On the other hand, switching between a lexical head and its complement is quite possible. Di Sciullo et al. (1986) would allow for switching between subject and predicate. Klavans (1985:214) notes that “switching subjects between languages with different features of INFL is constrained;” Pfaff (1979:300) claims that “switching to an English verb is acceptable if the relevant agreement and tense-mood information is given on a preceding Spanish verb.” Halmari (1997:112) concedes that “it is possible that when the subject is a pronoun, switching may be blocked because pronouns per se may behave differently in terms of codeswitching if compared with other NPs which can be switched more easily ... however it is also possible that the IP structures of languages differ and it can be claimed ... that when structures do not match, switching becomes impossible.”

Spanish-Portuguese hybrid varieties, including spontaneous speech, chat room improvisations and literary creations, as well as stable border dialects such as *fronterizo*, routinely violate the typologies and restrictions surveyed above. This does not necessarily invalidate the syntactic theories relating to typologically more diverse languages, but it does underscore the special nature of Spanish-Portuguese mixture. The high degree of syntactic and lexical overlap between Spanish and Portuguese entails that most mixed utterances should not be handled as code-switches but rather as language intertwining or other more integrally linked forms of language combination. Establishing of a matrix language for *portuñol* utterances is normally impossible using the aforementioned syntactic criteria. If morpheme order is the primary determining trait, in most cases the order is identical in Spanish and Portuguese. When divergences occur, syntactic combinations from both Spanish and Portuguese freely occur in mixed utterances, irrespective of the base language of the first elements, the verb, etc. Similarly, establishing a base language using “system” morphemes (e.g., functional heads) is equally unfeasible, since articles, prepositions and even more abstract functional heads such as INFL or AGR-O freely

Fronterizo speakers prefer the Portuguese-like *al pájaro quiero lo sacar du su jaula* instead of the Spanish *...quiero sacarlo/lo quiero sacar ...* or *Juan quiere se casar con su novia* instead of *Juan quiere casarse ...* Speakers of hybrid varieties of Spanish/Portuguese routinely switch in the middle of such combinations, arguably because of the creation of new hybrid verbs, but in any case in a challenge to strict syntactically-based theories of code-switching constraints.

¹³ Among those who reject the notion of a single base language for code-switched discourse is Woolford (1983). In her model, there is no “code-switching” grammar: “the two grammars operate during code-switching just as they do during monolingual speech, except that each grammar generates only part of the sentence” (1983:522). The bilingual speaker freely (i.e., with whatever other constraints there might be) switches back and forth drawing phrase structure rules. When a given phrase structure is common to both languages, there is no base language for this constituent. The lexicons remain separate, and lexical items can only be inserted into phrase structures from that language. Both lexicons have access to terminal nodes created by common rules.

come from both Spanish and Portuguese within a single mixed utterance. This is illustrated in sentences like (Diegues):

Pensamos em crear también el Centro Cultural Tierra Sin Mal, ele, yo y o Axel Giudice, que es uno de los melhores violonistas em atividade neste país, morando atualmente en Paraty, mas ainda quase totalmente desconhecido por aqui.

Some functional heads are in Spanish (*los, en, y, o*), others in Portuguese (*em, neste, mas*), subject pronouns alternate between languages (*êle* and *yo*), and some elements could come from either language (*pensamos, país, violinistas, totalmente*). The same holds for (Diegues):

Incluiria los que acreditam en el fogo de la palavra y excluiria a los que non acreditam mais em nada.

The Spanish functional heads *en* and *el* select (and govern) the Portuguese nominal *fogo*; the Portuguese verb *acreditam* is governed by the Spanish *los* and the ambivalent *que* and in turn governs the hybrid *en el fogo*. In the web log posting *Todos los cuatro estabam dueidos para se estapearem* the morpheme order of the first NP is Spanish, whereas the subordinate clause has Portuguese word order (and the invented item *dueidos* for Portuguese *doidos* represents another hypercorrection based on the Spanish *o > ue* diphthongization pattern). A transcribed Uruguayan *fronterizo* example (Elizaincín et al. 1987:120) is: *Quer disí qu'eu estive una temporada aquí y de aquí fui pa u cuartel*. This utterance contains hybrid elements *disí* from Sp. *decir* and Ptg. *dizer*), as well as as a contracted Spanish preposition *pa* (*para*) governing a Portuguese article *u*. Another *fronterizo* example is: *Bueno, qui posu contá du barrio é que fase prosimadamente sinco ano qui moro aquí, a cuando vim pru barrio era un poco suiñinho* (Elizaincín et al. 1987:117).

11. *Portuñol/portunhol* as a single macro-grammar

The range of syntactic combinations arising during Spanish-Portuguese hybridization does not fit easily into any of the accepted theoretical typologies, primarily because of the high degree of syntactic and lexical congruence between Spanish and Portuguese. The two lexicons are clearly maintained separately, albeit with numerous points of permeability afforded by true and false cognates. With respect to underlying grammars matters are more complex. The existence of nearly identical syntactic constructions—with divergent elements mostly found in complex constructions not frequent in spontaneous speech—combined with a highly cognate lexicon produces a single macro-grammar as far as relations like government and morphological adjunction are concerned. In other words, the bilingual grammars are behaving as a single syntactic grammar with separate but overlapping lexicons, a departure from the usual code-switching models. At those points where Spanish and Portuguese syntactic structures diverge (Portuguese personal infinitives, clitic placement in both languages, progressive constructions) the usual route is the common denominator, i.e. structures common to both languages. Alternatively, innovative hybrid constructions arise, which are not exclusively either Spanish or Portuguese.

12. Conclusions

The preceding remarks illustrate the wide variety of Spanish-Portuguese contact phenomena found worldwide, produced spontaneously during language contact, accidentally during language learning, and deliberately both in attempts at faking the other language without actually learning it, and in a wide range of literary and popular culture discourse. The careful study of Spanish-Portuguese language mixing is of considerable importance to theories of code switching, language typology, and second language acquisition, while attitudes and spontaneous production of *portuñol/portunhol* specimens represent a unique sociolinguistic situation that straddles the language-dialect boundary.

Appendix 1: Fragments of Dois poemas inéditos de Douglas Diegues

belleza pública bersus beleza íntima
 beleza bisíble bersus beleza que ninguém bê
 beleza dolarizada bersus beleza gratuita
 beleza cozida bersus beleza frita

belleza antiga bersus beleza nova
 beleza viva bersus beleza morta
 beleza com graça versus beleza sem graça
 beleza em verso y em prosa

...

lo que bocês podem falar de la merda?
 conhecem la mierda?
 já dormiram en la mierda?
 já despertaram sofocados por la merda?

o que bocês entienden por mierda?
 e por mijo y sangue
 en el hueco de la noite longa e langue?
 quê fazer cuando las certezas ficam inciertas?

Appendix 2: *Fronterizo* prayers (<http://www.christusrex.org/www1/pater/JPN-fronterizo.html>)

U Padre Notru
 Padre notru,
 Qu'ehtá nuh celuh,
 Santificado seya tu nomre.
 Veña tu reinu. Házase tu voluntad,
 así na terra como nuh celuh.
 Danoh hoye notru pan de cada día,
 y perdoánoh notrah ofensah,
 así también cuando noh perdoamoh
 a eyoh que noh ofenden.
 Y no noh dexéh cair na tentazón,
 pero líbranoh du mau.
 Porque tuyo eh u reinu, y a podé, y a gloria,
 du Padre y du Hiju y du Ehpíritu Santu.
 Amen.

U Ave María
 Diuh te salve, María,
 yena de gracia,
 u Señor ehtá con voh.
 Bendita soh voh entre mujereh,
 y Benditu eh a fruta de tu ventre, Jesúh.
 Santa María, Madre de Diuh,
 Orá por noh pecadoreh,
 agora y na hora de notra morte.
 Amen.

U Gloria au Padre
 Gloria au Padre y au Hiju y au Ehpíritu Santu,
 como foé nu prinipiu, eh agora,
 y será por sempre.
 Amen.

Appendix 3: Miguel Suárez, fragment of “«Pienso» brasileras, uruguayas” (Behares & Díaz 1998:47-8)

Me pongo a pensar
 mientras un cigarillo
 pito
 un nanaico a mi lado
 me intenta ispirar
 pero yo no consigo
 pensar
 Pensar en rialidá
 penso, en alguey
 que estove junto
 a mi

Appendix 4: Yacaré and Tatú, fragment of “Amor de um” (Behares & Díaz 1998:49-53)

Lonye, perto, ahí como su fose vé
 algo in mi aus manotaso, concentrado,
 in min, aus cabezaso amando baxo.
 Y'n fin cierro el ojo forte para lua
 que vein me oiá agora y más note bombiar
 meu goce da tarde si u diabo se for.

Appendix 5: Extract from “Las aventuras del Django y Pablo en portunhol” (<http://www.djangoypablo.hpg.ig.com.br/dyp6.htm>)

Dizian que El Matador já havia ceifado de la face de la tierra unas
 trecentas personas
 Dizian que El matador era capaz de acertar no ojo derecho del una pulga
 femea a uns trinta mietros
 Dizian que nunca su arma fora vista fuera del su coldre. Quando todos
 ojavam, su arma
 já habia voltado para su coldre, miesmo apués los siete disparos. Su arma
 disparava siete vezes.

Appendix 6: Chat room “Paraguay es la solucion”; Quarta-feira, Agosto 07, 2002

Otro día vi la situación de los hermanos uruguayos, que están quebrando todo en su país por causa de problemas políticos. Será que los hermanitos serán los próximos a sufrir como los argentinos? E nosotros brasileños no podemos hablar mucho, porque nuestra economía es frágil como un pedazo de vidrio.

La solución para las economías latinas, es, sin duda, comenzar a vender productos falsificados, como el hermano paraguayo... Esto no genera plata de exportaciones pero genera plata de transporte (los autobuses palos-de-arara que llevan las sacolleras), de turismo (las posaditas e hoteles-muñifos que hospedan las sacolleras) y de comercio (las tiendas, restaurantes e bares que alimentan las sacolleras).

Hay también proyectos de entrenamiento para sacolleras, que pueden venir a dar mucha plata para el Mercosul. Los "Institutos de La Sacolla" serán centros para las futuras sacolleras aprendieren materias importantes para su vida profesional. Temas como "Arrumación de la sacolla", "Malocación de artefactos en oficios especiales" e "Técnicas ninjas de negociación de productos" son algunas de las cosas que serán disponibles.

Appendix 7: Chat room; Segunda-feira, Agosto 05, 2002

Buenos días!! En la última noche tuvimos un Debate de los candidatos a Presidentes. Foi una situación muy divertida!!

Lula, Garotito, Sierra e Ciro Guemes. Todos los cuatro estaban dueños para se estapearem. Pero solamente diziam gracitas e ironías pela televisión! E la hostes de la presentadora solamente dizia: "Peço a la platéia que no se manifeste". Carajo!! Se las personas no podiam hacer nenhum barujo, por que foram convidadas?? Sien Noção!!!

Appendix 8: Chat room; Quarta-feira, Agosto 07, 2002

Ueba! Gracias!

Me fico mucho feliz en saber que hay hermanos rronalistas que nos ayudan a divulgar el saite de portugués. La materia en el Rornal del Brasil habló muy bien de nuestro blueg.

Appendix 9: Chat room; Segunda-feira, Agosto 05, 2002

Horre de mañana saiu una nota en el Jornal do Brasil hablando sobre nuestro sitio ... Para agradecer a nuestro mijares de leitores, Dió voy publicar unas noticias del archivo que no sei puerquê não estão mais aparecendo para los internautas

Appendix 10: Chat room; Quarta-feira, Julho 24, 2002

Hola a todos ustedes amigos. Estoy de vuelta después de uno tiempo sin escribir líneas por estas tierras de portunhol Blueg. espiero poder escribir con mas voracidad de nuevo

Appendix 11: Chat room; Segunda-feira, Abril 29, 2002

Algunas cosas en nuestra vida son inolvidables. Los diseños o cartúns de la tebe son ejemplos de cosas que fican marcadas en nuestra memoria. As veces podemos até tirar lecciones de moral, como por exemplo acerca de las ratazanas. Olvida usted de algún diseño que tenga ratazanas en situación de inferioridad??? Jerry, que bueta para foder con el gato Tom; Mickey, con coronel Cintra acaba con los Hermanos Metrallas. És una lección de moral enseñando que nin siempre los pequeños son los mas fracos. Esto tudo se queda en el sub consciente de los chicos. Quém no se olvida de Super Rato, que passaba el cartún en SBT, y luego cuando tudo estaba com emoción, Silbio Santos hijo de putana cortaba con la frase: "este diseño continua mañana". Los chicos y chicas deseaban la muerte de Silbio

Appendix 12: Chat room; Terça-feira, Abril 23, 2002

Hola! (Pieco disculpas, pero mi teclado non tiene la exclamación invertida) ... Yo soy el nuevo miembro del Portunhol.BR.AR. Mi nombre és Abaeté, e tengo también otro blueg, en el sitio [...] Ahora me gustaria pedir disculpas a todos los hablantes de Portunhol, porqué ainda no me quedo fluente en el idioma. Pero con la

pratica, un día quién sabe puerderei hacer até mesmo interpretación simultanea... Un abrazo a todos y hasta la proxima!

Appendix 13: Chat room; Sexta-feira, Março 22, 2002

Horre és el día mundial de la agua, para hacer la conmemoración proceda de la seguinte manêra: Encha una Big coke com 2 litros de la agua. Despuês, acenda una vela. Cante Parabéns a usted! Ao invê de sueprar... CUSPA!

Appendix 14: “Pajarito” (Azevedo 2000; Bernárdez 1887)

-¿Ostés qué se piensan? ¿Quené que son ostés? Ostés son lumbrigas de la tierra, lo memo que yo. ¡Se acauso Pacarito non saberá o que ostés andaun querendo! ¡Pobres mininos! Non hay oro na mina: non hay oro; non hay mas de que tierra y pedras ... Foy un ladrón foy, quen dijo que había as montoeras de oro na mina, y trose otros algunos ... ¡pra robalos! Á Pacarito non lo roban non, porque Pacarito e pobre como ratón digrexa. Tambein Pacarito non roba, pero nin lo quié lo negro di la uña; pide, isto sin, y mas ante se muere diambre, mas ante, porque mabien negro vieco pobre, mabien que ladrón. Cuando meno te diseron que Pacarito e loco; iso te diseron, á la fija. No li hagás causo, porque ti estaun mintindo pra te sacate los rial. Yo sou un negro pobre poreim bastante adilantao; pero callate la boca; non cuentés pra os gurises de que Pacarito seye un negro vieco bastante adilantao, porque e lo mimo que se vos ti poniera a dale rapé a un ñandú. Capitán Querés: dame dose rial: sacame una soscrisión pra me darne dose rial. Yo ti voy a curate di una infermedá que tú tiene. Tú sofre di lucura porque viene á traser oro di la Mina Orientá ... Ti inquivocas: tú está loco; yo ti digo que ti voy á curate di tu infermedá. ¿Sabés quené que sou yo? Yo sou el negro Pacarito; vos ere el Capitán Querés: tanto gusto conosete a usté; pra servite a usté ... Nen vos se piense quené quié el negro Pacarito. Yo ti voy a cuentá agora mimo neste momento. Yo sou un sordao vieco di la dependensia qui tenemo ne mi tierra; yo fuy clarín nel tiempo diante. Dame un clarín si dubida y yo ti mostro como te deco sordo de los ovidos ... ¿Non te diseron que Pacarito foy sarmento? Pois sou sarmento pra que tú sepa. ¡Quein sabe, Capitán Querés, si tú se hiso queimar taun serquita como el Sarmento Pacarito! Yo no proseyo atoa porque yo teno las marcas ne mi cuero. Agora vas á ver como yo ti conto una cosa pra que tú sepa: y tive dos gurises y una mulata chica igualita lo memo como mi negra ... Intonse yo era cabo, intonse. No se piensen que estaun hablando con cuarqué porquera. Dispois me diseron que fose á servir outra veis, y fuy, porque sempre teño sido un negro meio valente. Cuando ya estive muin duna veis disgrasiao, pedí que me los desen una baja pra me mandarme mudá pra mi casa, y apañei quiñentos asote mal, mal contao. Asin toy yo que non sirvo mais pra nada, o memo que guitarra vieca, atirao nun rincón. A veis pasada me diseron que ibaun á me tirar un ritiro pra min, y ainda estou isperando. ¡Me parese que puedo isperar deitao, me parese! O quies o ritiro non viene; ya no persisan, á la cuenta, del negro Pacarito. Yo istou alegre porque me estou rindo, poreim non e di cuntente sinón di triste, lo que istou viendo comé que trataun ne la mema tierra duno á un sordao vieco, taun luego como el sarmento Pacarito. Mi negra nostaba, pra que tú sepa comé que yo sou de disgrasiao, cuando yo vortei con las quinetas di sarmento. A la cuenta tiñase arsao c’algún otro negro trompeta o memo que yo. Al pedo e que yo istaba tudo ancho con las quinetas ... Los gurises de Pacarito volaron pelaos o memo que pichón de cuervo. Intonse Pacarito lo llamabaun *Tisera*, intonse, por quiera negrito cortadó como ele solo ... Poreim era negrito cortadó al cuete, porque todo me lo arsaaron; no incontré mais de qui la osamenta de mi perro atirado ne la porta de la manguera ... Capitán Querés: dale neinque seye dos rial pra el pobre negro vieco; mirá que istou bein pobre. Cuarqué gaucho atoa tene un soquete pra se inllená la pansa; sólo el negro Pacarito e que non tiene mais de que hambre y malacas ... De barde e que istoy gordito: e por que sou negro gordito de nasimento. Yo ti mostro como istou yo di lastimao. ¿Querés ver las firidas de Pacarito? ... Agora ti voy a mostrar ne la purpería. Si querés intrarte ne la mina, intrate no más, no tenás miedo; quedate ne la mina porque Pacarito ti voy sacar ...

Appendix 15: Contemporary Mirandese oral text fragment

La tarchica staba tan marralheira que l suberrolho nun s’aguantaba. Tiu Jouquin nun paraba de mos renher i de mos amañar cul caiato:

- Yá me acertestes dues bezes cula bola de corcha. Beni-bos a sentar un cachico. Parece qu’adebinas auga, cumo las moscas!

Nós solo fazimos couso del quando oubimos l purmeiro trúnio i bimos las ties a pessinar-se, anquanto l fuso quedaba a rodar solico. Acabórun alhi mesmo la sinagoga. Fumos pa l pie de tiu Jouquin, calhadicos cumo quien aspera ua zgrácia. Culs talhos na mano i las ruocas spetadas ne ls saiotos, tamien las ties s’achigórun par’ambaixo de la baranda. A cada relampo pessinában-se i rezában sin parar la mesma ouraçon:

Santa Bárbela bendita

Que ne l cielo stais escrita

*Cun papel i auga benta,
Librai-mos desta termienta.*

- Ai Jásus, anton naide bai a tocar a tinta nubrada? Cula nubrada que ende ben, bai a quedar todo arrestrolhado, aflegie-se Marie Tonanta.

- Apósque tiu Manuol Ciego yá debe de star a chigar a las campanas. You acho que me bou a ir para casa, nun bengalga centeilha a caier porqui, dezíe Ana Piorna anquanto todas se pessinában i ampeçában outra beç la mesma reza.

- Deixai-bos star que esto ye solo caixa i bombo. Calhai-bos se quereis oubir l bruído: parece l cachon de l Çaramal.

Las nubres asselumbában todo i arrebolcában-se uas por riba de las outras cumo eiras chenas de mulas. Ls garotos, teniemos-mos achigado a las ties i, cul miedo, nun tornemos a dezir palabra. L tiempo tenie parado i até l bafo de la respiraçon mos fazíe arfar cun fuorça cumo se tamien el tubisse miedo de salir. You, ancolhidico, iba-me lembrando de cuntas subre gente muorta por centeilhas, queimada biba cumo aquel que quedou un cherrelhon an Peinhas Cabalho porque fui a lebar un carro de stierco, sin guardar l die santo de San Jesé: até las bacas se morrírun, azinolhadas! I la cruç que alhá ponírun cumo lembráncia nun me salíe delante de ls uolhos. A cada cachico, chubien-me uas quelubrinhas pula spina al pa riba...

Appendix 16: Story in Barranqueño: “A menina e a moura” (<http://galeon.com/lenguasdeextremadura/barranquenho/barranquenho.htm>)

Erão seti irmõih e uma irmã. Oh irmõih sê foram a corrê o mundo, e a ficaram a ela sozinha.

Ela um dia foi a labá a um barranco ali perto; sê tirô a tôca que lebaba, e beio uma águaia e se lha lebô. Ela saiu correndo detráh da águaia dizendo:

Águaia, dá-mi a minha toquinha!

E a águaia lhê dizia:

- Anda maih para danti, que ondi ehtão oh teuh irmõih ta dô.

A águaia foi e dexô caí a tôca encima duma choça, e a rapariga quando chegô lá, abriu a porta, entrô e se dexô ehtá ali até que bierom oh irmõih. Elih nunca maih quiserom que ela se fossi embora, para quê ficassi ali tratando delih.

Doih ó trêh diah depoih a menina foi a buhcá acelgah, e se encontrô uma belha que lê disse:

- Nã baia tão longi, dexa que eu lebo aqui e tê dô.

À noiti quando bierom oh irmõih ehtiberom jantando, mah ela nã tinha bontadi, e não comeu. Ao otro dia quando sê lebantô ehtabam oh irmõih fêtoh em boi, e nã tebi maih remédio que leba-loh a comê pelo campo. Passadoh doih ó trêh dia passô por um caminho dondi a biu o filho do rei, e lhe perguntô porque ehtaba ela ali, e ela le ehtebi contando o que lhe passaba. O príncipi então lhe disse que se dexassi ehtá ali subida numa árbori, que eli ía a lebá oh boih e boltaba a buhcá-la.

Debaxo da árbori ehtaba uma fonti ondi ela bia a sombra dela, e beio uma belha a buhcá água e ao bê a sombra disse:

Quem é tã guapa e tã formosa...
que bem por água aqui à fonti!

Partiu o cântaro e se foi a casa. Assim beio doih ó trêh diah, até que trôxe um de lata. E ehti já não era capaz de parti-lo; e tanto golpíh le deu que a rapariga se riu.

A belha ao bê-la lhe disse:

- Que fazíh aí subida?

E a rapariga lê ehtebi contando que ehtaba ehperando o príncipi. E a belha lhe disse:

- Baxa-te que tê pentêo para que tejah maih guapa quando eli benha! A rapariga se feh caso, e quando a taba pentiando lê tanchô um alfineti na cabeça; se feh numa pomba e se foi boando; e depoih a belha se subiu encima da árbori e ehperô o príncipi.

Quando ehti beio e a biu, lê disse:

- Tã guapa que te dêxê e tã fêa que te tenh pohto!

E ela le rehpondeu:

Boçê tanto se tem tardado,
que o sol me tem torrado!

O príncipi então sa lebô, e se casô com ela.

Logo, depoih dê algum tempo aparecia a pomba ao jardim e cantaba assim:

- Como bai o príncipi com sua rica Môra?

- Bem, senhora!

- E o menino canta ó chora?

- Canta, senhora.

- E eu por ehtih campoh só, e oh mêh pobrih irmanitoh acariando cá e terra para o campo da Môra! O príncipio ôbi ihto tratô de colhê a pomba, mah eli armaba o laço e a belha o tiraba. Até quê um dia a colheu. Eli a tratava muinto bem, só a belha é que a tratava má. E um dia o príncipi le ehtaba passando a mão pela cabeça à pomba, e ao senti um bulto puchô, e tirô o alfineti. A rapariga se feh formosa o mehmo que era, e le ehtebi contando tudo. Depoih matarom a belha e se cazarom e ali ficarom bibendo.

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