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# External History and Linguistic Change: Brazilian Portuguese -s

John M. Lipski

1. The external history of a nation is often posited as having influenced its linguistic developments, and controversies have arisen over the amount of extra-linguistic information which should be admitted into the study of language change. In most cases of putative external influence, a lack of accurate data precludes advancing beyond the state of mere speculation, and has consequently served to discredit many investigations. In the case of more recent linguistic developments, however, the greater availability of data encourages the search for inter-relationships between historical and linguistic evolution. The present study explores one such possible case, concerning the palatalization of syllable-final *s* and *z* to [š] and [ž] in various Portuguese dialects. In syllable-initial position, Portuguese distinguishes the four sibilant phonemes /s/, /z/, /š/ and /ž/. This contrast is lost in syllable-final position, where voicing is contextually determined, and where either the alveolar or the pre-palatal pair occurs exclusively, depending on the dialect. Thus the change in question was sub-phonemic, although involving phones capable of engaging in distinctive oppositions in other positions.

The *chiante* pronunciation of syllable-final *s* and *z* is the general rule in the speech of most dialects of Portugal, including those spoken in the major cultural centers, Lisbon and Coimbra, while in certain areas of the extreme north and south the older *sibilante* pronunciation is conserved. The situation is radically different, however, in Brazil, where up until relatively recently palatalization of syllable-final *s* was confined, in its most general form, to the *Carioca* dialect of Rio de Janeiro. Even in Rio, this phenomenon, while considered 'standard', still does not reach all speakers, and both the palatalized and the non-palatalized variants were considered acceptable by the Congresso de Língua Falada no Teatro and the Congresso Nacional da Língua Cantada, which adopted the Carioca pronunciation as the Brazilian standard. In certain areas of northeastern Brazil, and also in small areas of Portugal, palatalization of syllable-final *s* and *z* occurs only before *t*,<sup>1</sup> while in other areas of Brazil, such as Ceará, it was noted that such palatalization occurred only word-internally.<sup>2</sup>

The restriction of a phenomenon so widespread in Portugal to a single Brazilian state has seemed curious to many investigators. To date, however, no detailed study has been undertaken to determine the causes of this peculiar distribution. The logical possibilities have, of course, been reviewed: that the shift to the

palatalized variants was a spontaneous development, occurring independently in Portugal and Brazil, presumably arising from the earlier apicoalveolar pronunciation of *s* and *z*;<sup>3</sup> that the transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro from 1808 to 1822 provided sufficient impetus for the sound shift;<sup>4</sup> or that there may be a more recent linguistic linkage between the speech of Rio and that of the *língua-padrão* in Portugal.<sup>5</sup> A definitive study of the problem appears to be beyond the scope of the present state of knowledge. It is possible, nonetheless, to survey the relationships between developments affecting Brazilian and Iberian Portuguese and the history of Brazil, in an attempt to localize certain details and to place the problem in a narrower perspective. Such an attempt is offered below.

2. Brazil was, following the rise of its huge sugar industry around the middle of the sixteenth century, Portugal's most productive and valuable colony, and hence enjoyed a great deal of social, economic and linguistic interaction with the mother country, extending from shortly after its discovery in 1500 to its independence in 1822; the traces remain to this day. A brief sketch of the history of colonial Brazil, however well-known the facts may be, is therefore imperative to any linguistic study concerning the mutual interaction of the Portuguese and Brazilian dialects.

Portugal, recognizing the gains to be realized by colonizing the newly-discovered territory, left the first permanent settlements in Brazil in the wake of Martin Afonso de Sousa's expedition of 1530-33. The huge land grants or *sesmarias* bestowed by the king quickly put large areas under cultivation and initiated the commercialism that was later to dominate Brazil. The first settlers in Brazil typified the patterns of European colonization: pardoned criminals, soldiers and adventurers. Geographically, they came from all regions of Portugal and from the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.<sup>6</sup> Arriving in Brazil and attempting to communicate among themselves, the settlers no doubt strove to achieve a degree of linguistic uniformity. The outcome of such attempts, however, could hardly avoid producing a heterogeneous speech community, and those newly resolved common elements to be found in early Brazilian speech probably bore little relation to the standard dialects of Portugal. Such heterogeneity was soon tempered by the growing influx of more cultured Portuguese speakers, largely spurred by evangelistic sentiments. One of the prime ostensible motives for colonizing Brazil was to draw the vast native population into the fold of Christianity, thus assuring further papal approval and mitigating the use of slave labor. Figuring prominently in the Christianizing of Brazil were the Jesuits, whose task was first, to learn the native languages in order to more effectively reach their intended converts, and then to instruct the native population in the dogmas of Christianity, in Portuguese. The stipulation that the native people be taught and forced to speak Portuguese was a key one, not only for motives of political unity, but also because it was the aim of the Portuguese government, unlike so many other colonial powers, to fully

amalgamate the native population into the transplanted European life style destined for Brazil. Most of the Jesuits were, if not true intellectuals, at least learned enough to be suited for evangelistic tasks, and their increasing presence in Brazil provided one of the first instances of a more cultured influence on the new colony. As well as serving in their missionary capacity, the Jesuits soon became established as an important economic entity in their own right,<sup>7</sup> and thus achieved considerable interaction with the European settlers as well as with the native and African peoples. Thus, the colonists were exposed, if only on a small scale, to the more cultured speech of Portugal.

A growing realization of the economic wealth of Brazil soon led to the immigration of Portuguese landowners of high social and political stature. Unlike many other colonies, in which landholdings were administered from European offices, the recognition of the immense profits to be realized in Brazil enticed many holders of *sesmarias* to migrate to their new territories in order to assure a more personal and effective exploitation of their potential wealth. The Portuguese landowners brought with them their families and friends, as well as European culture and capital, and together with the economic expansion of Brazil came the establishment of an *élite* class, concerned with conserving as much as possible of the European heritage in the new homeland. Repeated petitions to the king to establish a university in Brazil fell on deaf ears, and consequently young Brazilians turned to European universities for their higher education, particularly to the respected University of Coimbra. Returning to Brazil, they brought with them the cultured speech of the mother country and the latest European ideas necessary to sustain the continental life style of the wealthy Brazilians. There was thus assured a constant influx of language and culture from Portugal which gradually trickled down to Brazilians of all social classes.

As the natural resources of Brazil were increasingly exploited, the Brazilians began to feel a sort of national unity, together with a realization of their potential political and economic independence from the Portuguese monarchy. In 1954, the Dutch were finally driven from Recife, their last stronghold in Brazil, after a sustained action carried out largely by Brazilian troops, a fact which instilled a great national pride. Economically also, Brazilian introspection questioned the need for dependence on Portugal, in the light of the staggering natural wealth of the colony as compared with that of the mother country. As early as 1627, Fred Vicente do Salvador boasted in his history of Brazil that 'Brazil can sustain herself with her ports closed and without the aid of any other land', a boast by no means unsupported by the facts. The Brazilian people's feelings of resentment came to a head during the eighteenth century, in the face of an ever-growing spirit of economic nationalism. Dissatisfied with the subservient status to which they were relegated by the Portuguese government, the Brazilians became outwardly hostile in their relations, a situation culminating, in several instances, in open revolt.<sup>8</sup> Needless to say, during these turbulent periods, the

continental Portuguese ideal was toppled from its pedestal in Brazil. Silva Neto (*Introdução*, p. 86) remarks that 'aí pelo fim do século já aparece uma geração que se esforça por emancipar-se de Portugal. Não na língua, que continua a ser portuguesa, mas no espírito e no sentimento literário'. However, given the prevailing spirit of nationalism, it is probable that continental Portuguese speech, while not explicitly rejected, was not accorded the place of honor it might have once enjoyed, or merely ignored in the face of local linguistic innovations.

A further move toward the dilution of Portuguese influence in Brazil stemmed from the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais in 1695. Gold fever caused a wave of immigration of treasure seekers from all parts of the world, among whom the continental Portuguese were in a decided minority. This insurge of population during the eighteenth century served, among other factors, to remove cultured Portuguese speech from the spotlight in Brazil, a fact of apparently great linguistic import to the evolution of the Brazilian dialects.

The relevance of Brazilian colonial history becomes immediately apparent when one examines the diversity of opinion regarding the date of the palatalization of syllable-final *s* and *z* in Portugal. The earliest date claimed is the thirteenth century,<sup>9</sup> a date most certainly inconsistent with the fact that no traces of such palatalization are found in the speech of the subsequently settled regions of Brazil, except for Rio de Janeiro, where the development occurred much later. During the sixteenth century, although the phones [ʃ] and [ʒ] had already appeared in Portuguese, grammarians make no mention of a change in syllable-final *s* and *z*.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the first explicit mention comes in 1746 from the grammarian Verney, thus leading to the conclusion that the change did not occur until the early eighteenth century,<sup>11</sup> or perhaps even later.<sup>12</sup> If the change had occurred earlier than this date, we could well expect to find vestiges of it throughout the Brazilian and other colonial Portuguese dialects, as well as attestations by the grammarians. On the other hand, a shift during the midst of the eighteenth century could be expected to register very tardily, if at all, in Brazil, since it was during this century that hostility toward and estrangement from Portugal reached its all-time peak. There was probably little motivation, and more importantly, also little opportunity in Brazil to absorb the latest changes in continental pronunciation, and it is therefore not entirely surprising that the palatalized variants, so widespread in Portugal, made little or no headway in most parts of Brazil.

3. During the early nineteenth century, an event occurred which radically affected Brazilian society, particularly the residents of Rio de Janeiro, namely the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil during the years 1808-22. The political import of the move is widely recognized, but the impact of the regal transplantation on the linguistic structure of the Brazilian dialects has received almost no mention.

Pressed by Napoleon's ever-increasing demands on Portugal and his eventual invasion of the country, Prince Regent João (later

King João VI) fled to Brazil in late 1807, along with his family and the royal court. The following January, the royal contingent sailed into Salvador da Bahia, due to a storm which had forced them to swerve from their original destination, Rio de Janeiro. Rejoicing was great, for never before had a European monarch set foot on his American possessions. Within a few days, João issued a series of edicts, liberalizing trade restrictions on Brazil. To the Brazilians, embittered by long years of oppression and taxation, João's decrees had a revolutionary impact. No longer was the Portuguese court hated and resented, but the Prince Regent, now in their midst, was regarded by the people with respect and admiration.

João's stay in Salvador, although marked by colorful celebration and history-making decrees, was very short, for in a few weeks the court sailed for the new seat of the Portuguese empire, Rio de Janeiro. Bahia, like most of the rest of Brazil, exhibited no palatalization of syllable-final *s* and *z* until quite recently, apparently the result of the spread of the Carioca standard.

Speaking of the impact of the court's stay in Rio de Janeiro, a European visitor to that city in 1835 noted the following:<sup>13</sup>

Basta comparar o número de habitantes no Rio de Janeiro em 1808 com o de agora, para compreender a influência que teve sobre a cidade a chegada da Corte de Portugal. Em 1808, o Rio tinha, no máximo cinqüenta mil habitantes e o número de brancos era, sim comparação, muito inferior ao de pretos. Hoje, a população é de cento e dez mil almas e a desproporção entre negros e brancos muito menor, pois, desde então, se estabeleceram na cidade mais de 24 mil portugueses, sem contar grande número de estrangeiros . . .

The overall impact of the court's presence has also more recently been summed up by a historian:<sup>14</sup>

The cultural changes wrought by the presence of the Crown metamorphosed the intellectual and professional life of Brazil. That was emphatically true of the capital. When the court arrived, it found a beautifully located but somnolent city of approximately 60,000 inhabitants. Within a decade after the arrival of the court, the city's population doubled . . . the influx of an estimated 24,000 Portuguese, a large contingent of Frenchmen and Englishmen, and some European diplomats lent a certain cosmopolitan air to the capital.

The import of these statements is obvious. After 1808, the situation of Rio de Janeiro was dramatically altered, for, instead of being merely another colonial city, it was now the residence of the monarch, an unheard of precedent in Latin American history. With the proclamation of the Kingdom of Brazil in 1815, Rio acquired further prestige by becoming the seat of the entire Portuguese

empire, and Brazilians now looked to Rio rather than to Lisbon for the voice of authority. It was not until 1822, and then only because of severe demands by the newly reconvened Portuguese legislature, that the court returned to Lisbon, and the decided preference which João showed for his Brazilian location was reflected in the self-image of the Brazilians themselves.

In the light of the events outlined above, let us again consider the origin of the palatalization of *-s* and *-z* in the Carioca dialect, which, while impossible to pinpoint exactly, is definitely a nineteenth century development. Jeronimo Soares Barbosa, arriving in Brazil at the turn of the nineteenth century, noted that the *sibilante* pronunciation of final *s* and *z* was the only variant to be found.<sup>15</sup> However, only a few years later, the Frenchman Sainte-Hilaire, while not explicitly referring to Rio de Janeiro, noted that . . . os [habitantes] da [província] de Minas Gerais, ao menos na parte oriental dessa província, falam, em geral, com correção, e têm uma pronúncia que só difere da dos portugueses da Europa em ser mais melodiosa e mais suave'.<sup>16</sup> While such a statement may not be taken as evidence that the palatalized pronunciation of syllable-final *s* had already become implanted in the speech of Rio de Janeiro, it is certainly suggestive in that such a phonetic trait would probably be noticed by an observer who, for instance, was critical of the inhabitants of São Paulo for their 'falar e pronunciar muito incorretamente o português'.

The above facts strongly suggest an intimate link between the presence of the court in Rio de Janeiro and the presence only in the Carioca dialect of the palatalized variants. It is not so difficult to imagine the mechanism of such a sound change. With the arrival of the court, the European ideal was no longer an ephemeral entity approached only by studying at Coimbra, but a living model which walked about on the streets and governed the country from within.<sup>17</sup> An awareness of the presence of the court did not go unnoticed in linguistic matters. In 1823, during a debate of the Brazilian assembly over the proposed location of a national university, José da Silva Lisboa defended the 'linguistic purity' of the Carioca dialect in the following terms:<sup>18</sup>

Uma razão muito poderosa me ocorre de mais para a preferência da Universidade nesta Corte e é para que se conserve a pureza e a pronúncia da Língua Portuguesa . . . Sempre em todas as nações se falou melhor o idioma nacional nas Cortes. Nas províncias há dialectos com os seus particulares defeitos: o Brasil os tem em cada uma que é quase impossível subjugar, ainda pelos mais doutos do país.

The first governmental appointments made by the newly situated monarch were to loyal Portuguese subjects, a policy hardly designed to sustain the goodwill of the Brazilians. Probably realizing this, João soon began distributing positions as well as titles of nobility and distinguished service awards to native Brazilians. Competition for the coveted prizes was keen, and to insure maximum

favorability toward a petition, a status-seeking Brazilian could be expected to conform as much as possible to the speech habits of the people he wished to impress. It would seem natural, therefore, that imitation of the European pronunciation would take place more frequently among the higher social classes, who were in a position to seek advancement, while the lower classes would remain indifferent to such motives. While we have no evidence as to the social stratification of the palatalized variants among the residents of nineteenth century Rio de Janeiro, it is probably not coincidental that today, more than 150 years later, the phenomenon which reaches all social classes in Portugal is felt by many speakers of Rio de Janeiro to represent an affected or 'status' pronunciation.

4. During the chaotic and history-making presence of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro from 1808 to 1822, a situation was created which would provide a transfer mechanism of the palatalization of *-s* and *-z* to the Carioca dialect, a mechanism supported by the available documentation. If a linguistic transfer of this nature was indeed operative during the court's residence in Rio, it is to be expected that other salient features characterizing the nineteenth century European dialect might have also seeped into the Carioco pronunciation. Tracing the direct results of any such additional borrowing will be extremely difficult, however, since it will require the existence of a precise chronological configuration. One must search for defining characteristics of the European standard which developed during the eighteenth century, and whose existence in the Brazilian dialects is easily traceable. Such a criterion is further complicated by the fact that during a period of dialect imitation, not all features of the donor dialect will necessarily be adopted, but only those felt to most adequately achieve the desired pronunciation. Whereas the palatalization of *s* and *z* is noteworthy enough to warrant recognition,<sup>19</sup> certain more subtle differences may well have escaped perception, or at least active imitation. In fact, one avenue of investigation, however tenuous, does suggest itself, namely the raising of unstressed *e* and *o*, a phenomenon of sufficient distinction to figure in the dialect imitation postulated for Rio de Janeiro in the early nineteenth century.

Although a highly complex development,<sup>20</sup> the raising of unstressed *o* and *e* to [u] and [i] in Portugal appears to have occurred first in final position and later, through a series of sporadic developments, to have spread to pretonic positions. While some investigators place the date of raising as far back as the sixteenth century,<sup>21</sup> this is belied by the lack of parallel developments in the overseas dialects. The first explicit mention comes during the eighteenth century, from the grammarian Luis Caetano de Lima (1734), and later by Luis Antonio Verney (1746), thus placing an eighteenth century date on the raising. This process, then, may serve as a candidate for investigating the effects of early nineteenth century Iberian Portuguese on the speech of Rio de Janeiro. If the raising was imitated by the citizens of Rio, then the contemporary Carioca dialect should exhibit a marked tendency



toward raising of unstressed *e* and *o*, as compared with a retarded or nonexistent raising in the other Brazilian dialects. Determining the distribution of unstressed vowel raising among the various modern Brazilian dialects is hampered by the fact that modern mass communication, together with the prestige status accorded the Carioca dialect, have diffused the Rio linguistic standard throughout Brazil, blurring many of the other dialectal characteristics. By a recent census,<sup>22</sup> only half the citizens of Rio de Janeiro were natives of that city, thus indicating the spread of the Carioca dialect throughout Brazil and underlining the difficulties to be encountered in delimiting the bounds of the Rio pronunciation. This same problem, in fact, is incurred in trying to delimit the bounds of the *chiante* pronunciation of syllable-final *s* and *z*, today diffused throughout much of Brazil, through the influence of the Carioca standard. In the earlier part of this century, the *chiante* pronunciation was almost exclusively confined to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>23</sup> In fact, such identification of the *chiante* pronunciation with the Carioca dialect led to statements like the following:<sup>24</sup> 'falava depressa, mas articulando bem as palavras e chiando todos os ss com um sotaque carioca delicioso'. However, the rapid and sporadic spread of the palatalized variants, and the raising of atonic *e* and *o*, have created a situation which precludes the formation of contemporary dialectal isoglosses; one must rely instead on testimonies dating from periods in which clearer defining characteristics existed among the Brazilian dialects.

With the exception of the Carioca dialect, and its subsequent influence on other dialects, the raising of *e* and *o* in pretonic, and in many instances even in posttonic position, occurs only sporadically among the Brazilian dialects. Studies of the São Paulo dialect, dating from the late nineteenth century to the present day, show little pretonic raising with posttonic final raising of *e* and *o* being a more recent development. In 1864, two Portuguese grammarians compared the speech of São Paulo to that of Angola, and indicated that final *e* and *o* were probably still pronounced as such in both areas,<sup>25</sup> a situation continuing past the turn of the century.<sup>26</sup> Only well into the 20th century was raising of final *-e* and *-o* noted with any regularity in the São Paulo area.<sup>27</sup> A similar situation holds in the dialect of Espírito Santo,<sup>28</sup> while no appreciable raising of atonic *e* and *o* was reported in earlier studies of such dialects as those of Mato Grosso, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>29</sup>

Within the Carioca dialect, however, one may encounter a widespread raising of *e* and *o* in *all* atonic positions, tending in many cases toward a total generalization of the process,<sup>30</sup> even in more cultured styles of pronunciation,<sup>31</sup> although minimal pairs still remain between pretonic /e:/i/ and /o:/u/. Thus, the situation in contemporary Brazil, even considering the widespread influence exercised by the Carioca standard, shows the general raising of atonic *e* and *o* focusing on Rio de Janeiro. While it is possible that the initial tendency toward raising of unstressed vowels developed independently in various Portuguese dialects, the striking parallels between the nineteenth century Iberian standard and the

modern Carioca dialect strongly argue for the existence of more than a fortuitous coincidence.

5. Before concluding these remarks, it is necessary to consider the possibility of a more recent influence of the European standard on the speech of Rio de Janeiro. While a small amount of linguistic transference is continually taking place, due to the immigration of Portuguese citizens to Brazil, a considerable influence would be realized in order to account for the phenomenon of palatalization. As Antenor Nascentes has noted,<sup>32</sup> 'influência portuguesa há em todo o Brasil e entretanto todo o Brasil não chia o s'. Therefore, a survey of sound changes which have apparently taken place in Portugal subsequent to the return of the court in 1822, and a search for traces of such sound changes in the contemporary Brazilian dialects, will make it possible to more accurately assess the possible effects of the European dialects throughout the history of Brazil.

One of the salient characteristics of the modern Lisbon and Coimbra dialects is the reduction of unstressed *e* from [i] to [ə], and the further reduction of unstressed *o* from [u] to a practically inaudible [ʷ]. These reduced vowels are so weakly articulated that they often disappear in casual conversation. While first being attested among the lower classes early in the nineteenth century, this vowel reduction did not become widespread until the middle of the century, and was not completely generalized until the close.<sup>33</sup> This reduction of atonic vowels, completely general in the speech of modern Lisbon and Coimbra, is totally unknown to the Brazilian dialects, thus strongly counterindicating an intensive influence of the modern European standard.<sup>34</sup>

Another phenomenon of apparently recent provenance in the received speech of Portugal is the centralizing of the diphthongs *ei* [ej] and *em* [ɛj] to [ɐj] and [ɛ̃j], respectively, thus *leite* [lɛjtɐ], *também* [tãbɛ̃j], etc. This change also occurred in the nineteenth century, with considerable variation being observable well into the twentieth.<sup>35</sup> The contemporary Brazilian dialects exhibit no traces of centralizing of *ei* and *em*; in fact, this is one of the fundamental factors differentiating Portuguese on both sides of the Atlantic, and is often cited as evidence that Brazil speaks a more archaic or fossilized form of Portuguese.

A further European development is the lowering of *e* to [a] before palatal consonants. Common in received Lisbon pronunciation are *abelha* [ɐbãλɐ], *seja* [sãʒɐ], *lenha* [lãɲɐ], *fecho* [fãʃʷ], etc. This process began among the lower classes of Lisbon in the early nineteenth century,<sup>36</sup> but did not spread significantly until much later, and even today is largely confined to Lisbon. As is the case with the other developments referred to above, the lowering of *e* before palatals is not to be found among the Brazilian dialects.

6. With the departure of the Portuguese court from Rio de Janeiro in 1822, the strong Europeanizing influence on the speech of that city came to an abrupt end. Annoyed by the obvious reluctance with which João left his Latin American home, the reconvened Portuguese court was determined to return the socially emancipated

Brazilians to their previous abject colonial status. Excessive taxes and restrictions infuriated the proud new kingdom, and cries for independence could be heard throughout the country. Unable to sustain his own anger, or that of his people, Pedro, João's son, who had chosen to remain in Brazil, declared Brazil's independence only months after the departure of his father.

Once freed from the burden of Portuguese domination, Brazil was able to expand and develop, and to form a national identity which bore little resemblance to its European counterpart. More than a century and a half later, the strong Portuguese cultural influence, which had characterized much of the colonial period, is rapidly disappearing from Brazil.

In view of the diminished influence of Portugal on contemporary Brazil, it is not likely that the development of palatalized syllable-final *s* and *z* in Rio de Janeiro may be ascribed to a recent imitation of the European standard. This conclusion is further supported by the observation that the major sound changes which have occurred in Portugal since the beginning of the nineteenth century are completely unparalleled in the Brazilian dialects, thus highlighting the conclusion that no significant linguistic transfer mechanism is presently active between the two countries.<sup>37</sup> Added to the previously stated conclusions, this fact suggests that the palatalized variants in the Carioca dialect are the direct result of dialect imitation during a historically significant period.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Cf., for example, Euclício Farias de Lacerda, 'O tratamento do fonema "S" em português', *Revista Brasileira de Filologia* 6 (1961), 43-50 [p. 47].

<sup>2</sup>See Serafim da Silva Neto, *Introdução ao Estudo da Língua Portuguesa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 2nd ed., 1963), pp. 195-6.

<sup>3</sup>See Serafim da Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa no Brasil: Problemas* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Acadêmica, 1960), pp. 40-1; *Introdução*, pp. 179-82.

<sup>4</sup>Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, pp. 40-41, *Introdução*, p. 195, also considers this possibility, but refrains from further comment.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. for example Pilar Vásquez Cuesta and María Albertina Mendes da Luz, *Gramática Portuguesa* (Madrid: Gredos, 1961), p. 161.

<sup>6</sup>See Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, p. 6, *Introdução*, pp. 31f., for a more precise idea of the linguistic background of the earliest Brazilian settlers.

<sup>7</sup>See Davril Alden, 'Economic aspects of the expulsion of the Jesuits in Brazil: a preliminary report', in Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards, eds., *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 25-71.

<sup>8</sup>A good account of the colonial revolts is given by E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 98-9.

<sup>9</sup>Edwin B. Williams, *From Latin to Portuguese*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2nd ed., 1962, p. 93.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Thomas R. Hart Jr., 'Notes on sixteenth-century Portuguese pronunciation', *Word* 11 (1955), 404-15 [p. 415].

<sup>11</sup>Edouard Bourciez, *Eléments de Linguistique Romane*. Paris: Klincksieck, 5th ed., 1967, p. 416.

<sup>12</sup>See Serafim da Silva Neto, *História da Língua Portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Livros de Portugal, 1952), p. 566.

<sup>13</sup>João Maurício Rugendas, *Viagem Pitoresca através do Brasil*, trad. Sérgio Milliet. São Paulo: Livraria Martins (cited in Silva Neto, *Introdução*, p. 68).

<sup>14</sup>Burns, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. I. S. Révah, 'Comment et jusqu'à quel point les parlers brésiliens permettent-ils de reconstituer le système phonétique des parlers portugais des XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles?'. *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros* (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 273-91 [p. 284].

<sup>16</sup>*Viagem à Província de São Paulo*. See Silva Neto, *Introdução*, p. 230.

<sup>17</sup>Of course, at least initially, such speech was restricted to the higher social classes; see, for example, Wanderly Pinho, *Salões e Damas do Segundo Reinado* (São Paulo: Martins, 1970), pp. 15-23.

<sup>18</sup>Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, pp. 43-4.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. John Lipski, 'The survival of a "marked" segment in Portuguese', *General Linguistics* 13 (1973), 1-15.

<sup>20</sup>The best account is that of Anthony J. Naro, 'The history of *e* and *o* in Portuguese', *Language* 47 (1971), 615-45. For further information on the linguistic changes discussed below, see John Lipski, 'Final *s* in Rio de Janeiro: imitation or innovation?', to appear in the *Hispanic Review*.

<sup>21</sup>For example, Hart, *op. cit.*, and José G. Herculano de Carvalho, 'Nota sobre o vocalismo antigo português', *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia* 12 (1962), 17-39.

<sup>22</sup>Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, p. 44.

<sup>23</sup>See, for example, J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Esquisse d'une Dialectologie Portugaise* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Filológicos, 2nd ed., 1970), p. 115; Antenor Nascentes, *O Idioma Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 4th ed., 1936), pp. 46-7.

<sup>24</sup>Rodrigo de Andrade, *Velórios* (Belo Horizonte, 1936), p. 12.

<sup>25</sup>Silva Neto, *Introdução*, p. 191, fn. 98.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Leite de Vasconcellos, *op. cit.*, p. 13; I. S. Révah, 'L'évolution de la prononciation au Portugal et au Brésil du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours', *Anais do Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro* (Salvador da Bahia, 1958), pp. 387-99.

<sup>27</sup>For example, David W. Reed and Yolanda Leite, 'The segmental phonemes of Brazilian Portuguese: standard Pualista dialect', in K. Pike, *Phonemics* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1947), pp. 194-202; Ivar Dahl, 'The pronunciation of Brazilian Portuguese',

in D. Abercrombie, ed., *In Honour of Daniel Jones* (London, 1964), pp. 313-19.

<sup>28</sup>Robert A. Hall, Jr., 'The unit phonemes of Brazilian Portuguese', *Studies in Linguistics* 1, no. 15 (1943), 1-6.

<sup>29</sup>Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, p. 47; Vásquez Cuesta and Mendes da Luz, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Naro, *op. cit.*, p. 642; John Lipski, 'Binarity and Portuguese vowel raising', *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 40 (1973), 16-28.

<sup>31</sup>Naro considers this distribution to be a recent generalization of the rule raising vowels only in final position. In view of the amply documented widespread occurrence of vowel raising in Rio de Janeiro, together with the lack of corresponding developments in other Brazilian dialects, an earlier date for the generalization to pretonic positions seems more probable. See also, Antônio Houaiss, 'Tentativa de descrição do sistema vocálico do português culto na área dita carioca', *Anais do Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro*, pp. 217-317.

<sup>32</sup>*Linguajar Carioca* (Rio de Janeiro: Edição da "Organização Simões, 2nd ed., 1953), p. 52.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. for example A. R. Gonçalves Vianna, 'Essai de phonétique et de phonologie de la langue portugaise d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne', *Romania* 12 (1883), 29-98.

<sup>34</sup>In particular, during the years of the court's stay in Rio de Janeiro, the complete reduction of atonic *e* and *o* had not yet reached all social levels in Portugal, and since the conservative and isolationistic speech habits of the highest social class developed the process at a much slower rate than was evidenced by the lower classes, at the time of the crossing to Brazil there was no significant trace of such a pronunciation to serve as a model for imitation.

<sup>35</sup>Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, p. 37; Gonçalves Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Leite de Vasconcellos, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2.

<sup>36</sup>Gonçalves Vianna, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-1; Leite de Vasconcellos, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Silva Neto, *A Língua Portuguesa*, p. 37.

<sup>37</sup>It is of course possible that the recent Portuguese changes escaped detection in Brazil, although this is generally refuted by the overall level of awareness among educated Brazilian speakers of these and other salient features which separate their speech patterns from those of Portugal. Moreover, as noted, for example, by Nascentes (*O Linguajar Carioca*, p. 52), most recent immigration from Portugal is from the extreme north and center, where the palatalization of *s* is not as widespread.