

**Social conditions of “Imperfect Second Language Learning” and “Negotiation”:
contact-induced changes in prepositional systems of Portuguese varieties**

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Goal: *To observe innovative and conservative features involving locative and directional prepositions in three varieties of Portuguese (Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, Afro-Brazilian Portuguese and Mozambican Portuguese), and to relate contrasts among these varieties to the socio-demographic panorama in which innovative features emerge as a result of “imperfect second language learning” and are affected by “negotiation”.*

1. Variation in the use of prepositions with verbs of movement in Portuguese varieties

1.1 Variation between *em* ‘in’ and *a* ‘to’ in Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese

(1) VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Eu fui / vim / cheguei **no** cinema.
I went / came / arrived in-the cinema
‘I went/came/arrived to the cinema’

(2) EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE and VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Eu fui / vim / cheguei **ao** cinema.
I went / came / arrived to-the cinema
‘I went/came/arrived to the cinema’

1.2 Variation between prepositional and prepositionless phrases in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese

(3) AFRO-BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE (HELVÉCIA)

a. “eu fui lá **na** casa dela” (Interview 02)
I went there in-the house of-her
‘I went to her house’

b. “ele nunca voltou **no** Rio” (Interview 03)
he never returned in-the Rio
‘He never returned to Rio’

c. “só vinha **em** casa no final de semana” (Interview 06)
only came in home in-the end of week
‘I came home only on weekends’

(From speech samples recorded by the project “Vertentes do Português Popular do Estado da Bahia”
<http://www.vertentes.ufba.br/home>

(4) AFRO-BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE (HELVÉCIA)

a. “eu fui o médico” (Interview 04)
I went the doctor
‘I went to the doctor’

b. “vou quase toda festa” (Interview 03)
go.IPS almost all party
‘I go to almost all parties’

c. “quando chegar lá Mané Peixoto...” (Interview 06)
when to-arrive there Mané Peixoto
‘When I get to Mané Peixoto...’

1.3 Variation in Mozambican Portuguese (Second Language)

(5) *a* + NP (MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE – L2)

a. “íamos **ao** campo de futebol” (Interview MZ14)
went.1PL to-the field of football
‘We went to the football field’

b. “a pessoa que vai **ao** curandeiro...” (Interview MZ14)
the person who goes to-the healer
‘The person who goes to the healer...’

(From speech samples recorded by Anna Jon-And (Jon-And 201X))

(6) *em* + NP (MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE – L2)

a. “quando voltávamos **em** casa”
when return.PAST.1PL in home
‘When we were returning home’

b. “levam pedras ali **no** buraco”
take.3PL stones there in-the hole
‘They take stones to the hole’ (From Gonçalves 2010: 158-160)

(7) *para* + *em* + NP (MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE – L2)

a. “eu vou **para no** rio”
I go.1PL to in-the river
‘I go to the river’

b. “leva uma pedra **para na** cova”
take a stone to in-the grave
‘He take a stone to the grave’ (From Gonçalves 2010: 158-160)

(8) NP (MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE – L2)

a. “fomos jardim”
went.1PL garden
‘We went to the garden’

b. “cheguei aqui Maputo”
arrived.1SG here Maputo
‘I arrived here in Maputo’ (From Gonçalves 2010: 159-161)

(9)		European Portuguese	Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese	Afro-Brazilian Portuguese	Mozambican Portuguese (L2)
	a+SN <i>ir ao cinema</i>	ok	ok	*	ok
	em+SN <i>ir no cinema</i>	*	ok	ok	ok
	para+em+SN <i>ir para no cinema</i>	*	*	*	ok
	SN <i>ir o cinema</i>	*	*	ok	ok

2. Influence of social conditions on the accommodation of contact-induced changes in Portuguese varieties

(10) “When imperfect learning plays a role in the interference process” (Thomason 2001: 74)

“The process through which interference features are introduced by a group of learners into a second language – a target language (TL) – has two or three components, depending on whether or not the learners are integrated linguistically into the target language speech community or not. First, learners carry over some features of their native language into their version of the TL, which can be called TL₂. Second, they may fail (or refuse) to learn some TL features, especially marked features, and these learners’ errors also form part of the TL₂. If the shifting group is not integrated into the original TL speech community, so that its members remain as a separate ethnic or even national group, then the TL₂ becomes fixed as the group’s final version of the TL. But if the shifting group is integrated into the original TL-speaking community, so that TL₁ speakers form one speech community with TL₂ speakers, the linguistic result will be an amalgam of the two, a TL₃, because TL₁ speakers will borrow only some of the features of the shifting group’s TL₂. In other words, TL₂ speakers and TL₁ speakers will ‘negotiate’ a shared version of the TL and that will become the entire community’s language.”

(11) Population Groups in Mozambique in 1955

Population Groups	Number	Percentage
Africans.....	5 651 511	98,6
Afro-europeans.....	29 873	0,5
Europeans.....	65 798	1,24
Asians (Chineses and Indians)	17 180	0,29
Total	5 764 362	100

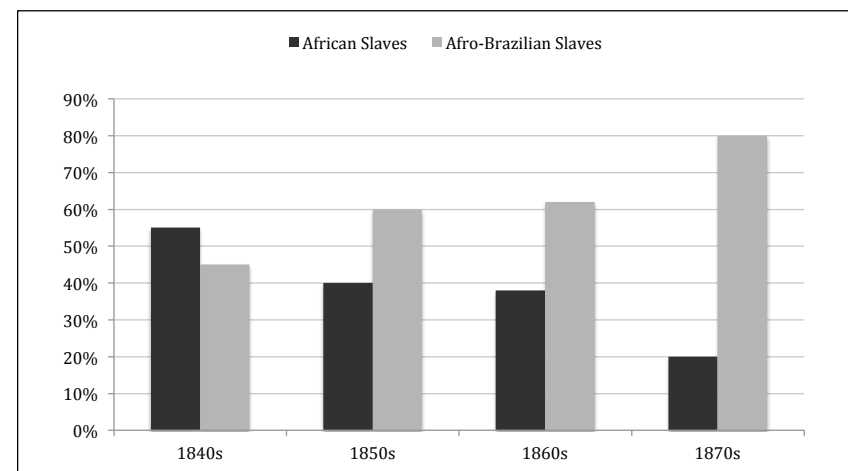
Adapted from Gonçalves 2010: 29

(12) L1 and L2 speakers of Portuguese in Mozambique (1980 and 1997)

Portuguese speakers	1980	1997
L1.....	1,2%	6,5%
L2.....	23,2%	33%
Non-speakers.....	75,6%	60,5%

Adapted from Gonçalves 2010: 33

(13) African and Afro-Brazilian slaves in the region of Helvecia in the mid-nineteenth century



Adapted from Lucchesi, Baxter, Silva and Figueiredo 2009: 88

(14) Prepositionless dative phrases in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese

- “cê manda pedi um empresti ele”
you order ask a loan he
‘You order someone to ask him for a loan’
- “ele vendia compade Jacó porco gordo”
he sold godfather Jacó pig fat
‘He sold fat pigs to Jacó, my godfather’
- “dava um agrado o menino”
gave a gift the boy
‘(S)he gave the boy a gift’

(From Lucchesi & Mello 2009: 441;444)

(15) Prepositionless dative phrases in Mozambican Portuguese

- a. “Tiram aquele dinheiro entregam dono”
take.3PL that money hand.3PL owner
 ‘They take the money and hand it to its owner’
- b. “Quero um bocadinho de arroz para ir dar os patos”
want.IPS a little bit of rice for to-go to-give the ducks
 ‘I want some rice to go give it to the ducks’

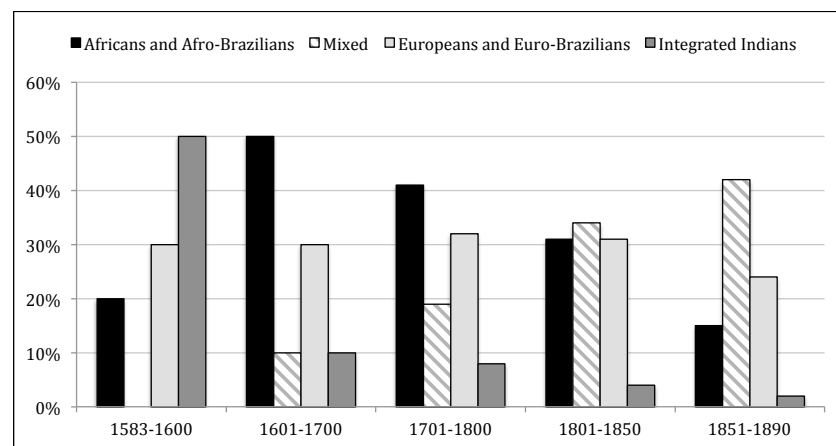
(From Gonçalves 2010: 126-127)

(16) Population groups in Brazilian territory from 1583 to 1890

	1583-1600	1601-1700	1701-1800	1801-1850	1851-1890
Africans	20%	30%	20%	12%	2%
Afro-Brazilians	-	20%	21%	19%	13%
Mixed	-	10%	19%	34%	42%
Euro-Brazilians	-	5%	10%	17%	24%
Europeans	30%	25%	22%	14%	17%
Integrated Indians	50%	10%	8%	4%	2%

(Adapted from Mussa 1991: 163)

(17) Populations groups in Brazil territory from 1583 to 1890



(Adapted from Mussa 1991: 163)

3. Locative subjects in Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese and Mozambican Portuguese

➔ Variation between prepositional and prepositionless phrases in preverbal position (Pontes 1987, Avelar & Galves 2014, Avelar, Cyrino & Galves 2009)

(18) VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

- a. “algumas concessionárias estão caindo o preço do carro”
some dealerships are falling the price of-the car
- b. **Em** algumas concessionárias está caindo o preço do carro.
in some dealerships is falling the price of-the car
 ‘In some dealerships, the car’s price are decreasing’

(From <http://forum.carrosderua.com.br/index.php?showtopic=122656>)

(19) VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

- a. “algumas cidades nevam”
some cities snow.3PL
- b. **Em** algumas cidades neva.
in some cities snow.3SG
 ‘It usually snows in some cities’

(From http://www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=IIOPh-mITyc)

(20) VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

- a. “apenas três desses monitores aparecem imagem”
only three of-those screens appear.3PL image
- b. Apenas **em** três desses monitores aparece imagem
only in three of-those screens appear.3SG image
 ‘The image appears only in three of those screens’

(From <http://linuxeducacional.com/mod/forum/discuss.php?d=1587>)

(21) VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

- a. “**na** minha escola aceita cartão de crédito”
in-the my school accept.3PS card of credit
- b. A minha escola aceita cartão de crédito.
the my school accept card of credit
 ‘My school accepts credit card payment’

(From twitter.com/giiovannaflores/status/18219596304)

(22) VERNACULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

- a. “**no** meu computador imprime a etiqueta corretamente”
in-the my computer print.3PS the ticket correctly
- b. O meu computador imprime a etiqueta corretamente.
the my computer print.3PS the ticket correctly
 ‘My computer prints correctly the ticket’

<http://www.suportegas.com.br/portal/topic.asp?>

(21) MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE – L2

- a. “Na minha casa é perto da estrada”
in-the my house is near of-the road
- b. A minha casa é perto da estrada.
the my house is near of-the road
‘My house is near the road’
(From Gonçalves 2010: 157)

(22) MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE – L2

- a. “Na nossa zona era fértil”
in-the our zone was fertile
- b. A nossa zona era fértil.
the our zone was fertile
‘Our land was fertile’
(From Gonçalves 2010: 149)

(23) CHANGANA

Kerek-eni ku-tsongo k-a hina ku-sasek-ile
17church-LOC 17-little 17-GEN we 17MS-be beautiful-PS
Lit.: ‘In our little church is beautiful’
‘Our little church is beautiful’

(24) KINANDE (Baker 2003, example 25)

Omo-mulongo **mw**-a-hik-a (?o-)mu-kali
LOC.18-village **18S**-T-arrive-FV (**AUG**)-**CLI**-woman.1
‘At the village arrived a woman’

(25) ZULU (Buell 2004: p. 3)

I-sikole **si-fund-el-a** **a-bantwana**
7-7.school 7.SBJ-study-APPL-FV2-2.child
(Lit. ‘The school studies at the children’)

(26) KIMBUNDO (From <http://linguakimbundu.xpg.uol.com.br/preposicoes.html>)

Bu kibuna kiami **buala** o kamba rienu? (*No meu banco está o vosso amigo?*)
in bench my SBJ.is the friend your
‘Is your friend sitting in my bench?’

4. Conclusions

Conditions related to socio-demographic dynamics affected (in the case of Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese and Afro-Brazilian Portuguese) and are affecting (in the case of Mozambican Portuguese) the accommodation of innovative features in new versions of the target language. In the ongoing formation of Mozambican Portuguese, the “imperfect second language learning” with a highly controlled input provided by formal education is allowing the coexistence of all innovative and conservative features. In the formation of Vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, a historical process of “negotiation” accommodated innovative features that seem to be “weakly marked” in European Portuguese (directional complements with the preposition *em*), and repelled the ones that seem to be “strongly marked” (directional complements without preposition). In Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, all innovative features were assimilated, while conservative ones disappeared, since the presence of original speakers of the target language was not significant in the process of “negotiation” in the formation of this variety.

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