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I speak like the guys on TV: Palatalization and the urbanization of Uruguayan Portuguese

Ana Maria Carvalho
University of Arizona

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the sociolinguistic distribution of palatalization in Uruguayan Portuguese (UP), based on data collected in a bilingual town on the Uruguayan–Brazilian border. It shows that palatalization of /di/ /ti/ has entered UP as a result of recent urbanization, which has allowed greater reception of and sensitivity to urban Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Following the tradition of variationist studies, this study identifies internal and external variables that determine the distribution of palatalization in the community, and argues that the groups that acquire BP do so as a reflection of an urban orientation, different from the border cultural and linguistic tradition. Qualitative data support the idea that this process is indirectly accelerated by exposure to Brazilian television, which provides a linguistic model for the groups that seek one. This is a new interpretation, in that previous studies have claimed that UP, as an oral minority language, is monostylistic dialect with no linguistic model.

Uruguayan Portuguese (UP) is a rural and stigmatized variety spoken in several bilingual and diglossic communities along the Uruguayan–Brazilian border since colonial times. It has coexisted with Spanish, the national language[1] and the one preferred by groups of higher socioeconomic status, despite educational policies and language planning aimed at promoting Spanish monolingualism over the last two centuries. Lack of schooling in Portuguese and little access to written models led previous studies to conclude that UP is a monostylistic, rural, and heavily mixed dialect with no standard model (Behares, 1984b; Elizaincín, 1992). However, the present study suggests that recent urbanization of border communities has allowed greater reception of and sensitivity to urban Brazilian Portuguese (BP), the variety spoken in the neighboring country, which has caused local UP to be pulled in the direction of the more prestigious variety. This tendency can be seen through the incorporation of new phonological variants in the speech of certain groups, which, by borrowing from urban BP, lead a linguistic change from extremely stigmatized varieties of UP to urban varieties, which are close to an ideal standard. Urbanization of UP, thus, entails a movement away from its rural and hybrid origin, toward an assimilation of linguistic features that are stereo-

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typically Brazilian, as the result of a desire to emulate speakers of larger urban monolingual communities in central Brazil, whose dialect is shown daily on television.

This movement away from a *focused* UP (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) may be explained as dialect diffusion (as defined by Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985), a process by which rural vernacular speakers' direct or indirect contact with the standard language results in the formation of a *rurban* dialect, in which the occurrence of typical rural lexical items decreases and some nonstandard rules, which were almost categorical, become variable rules. Dialect diffusion, thus, is a result of dialect leveling once it involves the reduction of locally marked variants as a consequence of dialect contact. Both processes underlie the incorporation of features borrowed from urban BP into rural UP, hereby classified as urbanization of UP.

This process is investigated through the distribution of palatalization of dental stops (di, ti), a typically Brazilian pronunciation that has entered UP. Based on the area's social history and current sociolinguistic stratification, this article discusses the factors that influence the acquisition and use of this variable and its status as a change in progress. Finally, it argues that in this particular context, in which speakers are linguistically insecure and Portuguese is spoken as a minority language in domestic domains, television plays a major role in the process of urbanization of UP by providing a linguistic model for the community. Nevertheless, the study concludes, along with Naro and Scherre (1996), that it is not television itself that changes linguistic behavior, but it is the speakers' attitude toward the surrounding cultures that enables television to become a useful source of linguistic modeling.

DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected during five months of field work in Rivera, a bilingual town on the Uruguayan–Brazilian border (Figure 1). The participants were all residents of Rivera and were selected on the basis of availability. The conclusions presented here are based on the output of 56 one-hour interviews in Portuguese and intense participant observation. The interviewees are grouped according to their socioeconomic status[2] (working-class, lower-middle-class, and mid-middle-class socioeconomic groups), age (15–29, 30–49, 50–70 years old), and gender. These categories were defined after several weeks of observation and interviews, and after being extensively discussed with members of the community. Both socioeconomic status and age cohorts revealed themselves as important social variables because of the community's social history. Different socioeconomic groups have identified with the border culture in different ways, and the three generations have experienced different periods of urbanization.

The interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants. Although the presence of a tape-recorder and the interview situation itself prevented obtaining a reliable sample of casual speech, a problem referred to by Labov (1972) as the

FIGURE 1. The Uruguayan–Brazilian border (adapted from Peter Trudgill's *Dialects in contact* (1986:84)).

observer's parodox, the goal of the interviews was to record as much spontaneous conversation as possible. To achieve this goal, the interviewer (a middle-class Brazilian female in her 30's) encouraged the participants to ask questions, introduce topics, produce lengthy narratives, and maintain eye contact with her to minimize the awareness of the recording. Except for the introductory questions and the parts of the interview designed to obtain formal style, the majority of the conversations focused on soccer, soap operas, families, holidays, cooking, and individual histories. Everyone who was contacted was willing to be interviewed, except the upper-middle-class women who constantly denied their ability to speak Portuguese, which was found to be untrue in most cases.

To access stylistic differences, a picture-naming task was used to capture their most formal style.[3] The participants were shown pictures of things with names that included the phonological variables in question.[4] This proved to be a reliable technique for eliciting an extremely formal style (according to Labov's definition, 1972), in that speakers paid close attention to the word they chose to name

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each picture, as well as to its pronunciation. Several times, two forms were given, one in the local form (referred to by locals as *brasilero*, *bayano*, or *fronterizo*), and another in the *correct* form (as put forth by the participants), Brazilian Portuguese, in which case the second production was counted. This task proved to be effective in eliciting a formal style and created stylistic contrast in the production of several variables (Carvalho, 1998, 2003b).

PORTUGUESE IN URUGUAY

Throughout all Northern Uruguay, Portuguese was the only language spoken by Portuguese and Brazilian settlers until the end of the 19th century, when Spanish was imposed on the Portuguese-speaking communities through state educational policies and language planning (Behares, 1987a; Elizaincín, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1992; Elizaincín, Behares, & Barrios, 1987). From that point on, several measures were taken to introduce the Hispanic element to the border, as part of the Uruguayan government's agenda of unifying the country and counteracting the presence of Luso-Brazilian culture and language, which was seen as a threat to the newly formed country's ideal of homogeneity (Elizaincín, 1979). In fact, early in the 20th century, Spanish had penetrated the Portuguese-speaking North, because of the success of public education, migration of southern Uruguayans, and the foundation of several border towns. Nevertheless, despite language policies that attempted to inhibit the use of Portuguese in northern Uruguayan territory, Portuguese has survived, and bilingualism is widespread and diglossic. Spanish is the language of school and public life, whereas local Portuguese is employed as a vernacular in in-group interactions (Behares, 1984a; Carvalho, 1998; Elizaincín, 1992).

Rivera, a town of nearly 70,000 inhabitants, constitutes the largest urban center on the border. Its closest neighbor is Sant'ana do Livramento, a Brazilian town of the same size. There is only a street dividing both towns, and movement of cars and people between the two countries is uncontrolled. Rivera's downtown concentrates public buildings, stores, and middle-class housing, where one may hear only Spanish, except at bus stops and open-air markets. In the immediate surrounding vicinities, one finds lower-middle-class housing and paved streets. Here, one generally hears both Spanish and Portuguese, depending on the nature of the interaction. On the city's outskirts, in peripheral neighborhoods with low-income housing, unpaved streets, and substandard sanitation, mostly Portuguese is used among insiders.

Behares (1987b) claimed that one finds the "real" border tradition in nearby rural areas. In the town of Rivera, this border tradition is best preserved on the periphery among the working-class. In downtown, however, there is a high concentration of middle-class residents who usually idealize Spanish monolingual behavior and rarely identify with their geographic origin (Behares & Gabbiani, 1987). Elizaincín (1978) noted that although the use of Spanish intentionally differentiates middle-class members from the working-class, maintenance of local

Portuguese among family and friends in the working-class functions as a unifying element among its members. Carvalho (1998) detected an ongoing shift from Portuguese to Spanish in the private domains of society among the lower-middle-class members, whereas UP's vitality is still strong among the lower social strata. Members of the lower-middle-class assimilate the linguistic behavior of the upper-middle-class by shifting from Portuguese to Spanish when interacting with their extended family members. As such, this group has also tended to raise its children in Spanish, thereby giving rise to a language shift, at least in family domains. As Barrios (1996) pointed out, this shift is the result of linguistic planning by the Uruguayan government, which affects not only public domains, but also private ones. Language planning has entered the homes of groups, which by eliminating Portuguese from their households wish to remove themselves from the stereotype of a UP speaker, and thereby assimilate the linguistic behavior of the upper classes.

The varieties of Portuguese found in Uruguay are very similar to the ones found in the countryside of the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, except for some features resulting from Spanish interference. Nevertheless, despite the sustained contact with Spanish, UP has managed to maintain its phonological integrity, allowing for relatively easy identification of languages in instances of code switching, despite great similarities between their grammars. Phonologically, the many features that UP shares with rural Southern Brazilian dialects include denasalization of final unstressed nasal vowels, vocalization of the palatal lateral /λ/, and failure to apply the raising rule to final unstressed /e/. The use of a trill /r/, instead of the uvular /R/, and the pronunciation of a postvocalic lateral as an alveolar /l/ are phonetic characteristics of UP also found in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul, probably resulting from contact with Spanish.

Lexically, the most salient isogloss that differentiates UP from urban BP is the use of words of rural origin, essential for the categorization of UP as being very closely related to rural BP, and the heavy presence of Spanish loans, the main reason for the popular categorization of UP as a mixed language, or *portuñol*. Morphosyntactically, lack of number agreement markers in the noun phrase, simplification of the verbal paradigm, and nominative forms of the pronouns in clitic positions are some among several features of UP that follow the tendencies of vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, in addition to sporadic cases of Spanish transfers into UP morphology, such as an overuse of reflexive pronouns and some hybrid word formations.

Urbanization of UP

UP is an oral variety with no institutional support, as all schooling, media, and literature are in Spanish.[5] The only standardizing forces are the ones originating from Brazil through television or personal interactions with urban monolinguals. The influence of urban BP on UP varieties has increased in the last 30 years as a result of exposure to Brazilian television and recent urbanization.

Although an updated history of the area's urbanization patterns is lacking, the numbers found in Lombardi and Altezor (1986) and Klaczo and Rial (1981) show

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that between 1975 and 1985 the urban population (concentrated in the town of Rivera) grew 15% while the rural population decreased 9%, indicating migration to the city. In addition to rapid population growth, frequent and fast transportation from Rivera to Montevideo (an average of six hours to the South) as well as to the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre (six hours to the North) facilitated access to and communication with the nearby capitals. Moreover, the opening of a large slaughterhouse in Sant'ana do Livramento in the 1970's and of several duty-free shops in Rivera in the 1980's created hundreds of jobs in the city. Finally, but no less importantly, the arrival of television in the 1960's brought images of idealized urban life to Rivera's homes. As explained by a local social sciences teacher:

> La realidad en Rivera ha cambiado mucho. La Rivera de hace un cuarto de siglo era de vida calma, mucha ganadería y algunos comercios. Hemos cambiado con el impacto de la televisión, del turismo, y de la multitud de gente que ya no se conoce. (Ar., 67-year-old mid-middle-class male)
>
> 'The reality in Rivera has changed a lot. Rivera, a quarter of a century ago, had a calm life, a lot of cattle, and a few stores. We have changed a lot with the impact of television, of tourism, and of so many people who do not know each other anymore.'

Urbanization does not affect the population uniformly, as the urban–rural polarity is associated with social class and age dimensions. The younger generations are the ones most apt to identify with more urbanized cultural patterns. The older population, in contrast, has kept emotional ties to the rural life. By the same token, members of the middle classes are more urban-oriented than the working-class, whose members are usually former agriculture workers.[6]

Urbanization and exposure to television have resulted in an extension of the community's linguistic repertoire. From a highly localized UP variety, Riverans now have access to a dialect continuum that ranges from rural UP to urban BP, and variation along this continuum responds to social and stylistic characteristics that motivate speakers to focus on rural UP or diffuse toward BP (Carvalho, 2003a, 2003b). The assumption that urbanization of UP has been a result of greater exposure to Brazilian language and culture is based on the high prestige assigned to Brazilian Portuguese, a decisive factor in determining dialect acquisition (Bailey et al., 1993; Boberg, 2000; Surek-Clark, 2000). Uruguayan Portuguese, on the other hand, is overtly stigmatized for several reasons. It is rural, it is nonofficial, and it is heavily influenced by Spanish, which contradicts the notion of linguistic purity. Consequently, similarly to bilinguals in several other communities who feel that they speak inadequately both languages, such as the ones discussed by Gal (1979) and Grosjean (1982), Riverans are extremely linguistically insecure, and this insecurity is exacerbated by the constant presence of the standard model. The following comment expresses the general consensus among the border population:

> Eu acho feio o brasileiro da fronteira. (Gl., 42-year-old mid-middle class female)
>
> 'I think border Brazilian is ugly.'

And maybe to compensate this ugliness, another said:

Nós tratemo de imitar o português do Brasil. (Ll., 19-year-old lower-middle-class female)

'We try to imitate Brazilian Portuguese.'

The stylistic and sociolinguistic variation that results from this contact between dialects is confined to a range of variation between local and standard forms. The presence of lexical borrowings, nonstandard forms, and UP phonology characterizes deep rural UP. Their absence, on the other hand, is a result of careful substitution of their equivalents in standard Portuguese.

The constant presence of urban BP through television exacerbates the community's linguistic insecurity. The following quote belongs to a 9-year-old girl, who when explaining her acquisition of Portuguese, reveals, at this early age, her linguistic insecurity toward the variety spoken by Brazilians on television:

Eu sempre falei assim, mas aprendi também na televisão a hablar o português. Porque eu escuto mas também aprendo. Eles falam mais correto que nós. Os artista sabem muito mais porque eles nasceu no Brasil, nós não.

'I have always spoken like this, but I have also learned from television to speak Portuguese. Because I hear but I also learn. They speak more correctly than we do. The actors know better because they were born in Brazil, but we weren't.'

This girl's comments are representative of a general feeling of insecurity regarding the Portuguese spoken in this bilingual community. All participants voluntarily judged their dialect inferior to the one spoken in Brazil. When questioned if being bilingual was a good thing for them, all participants said that it *would* be, if they spoke *real* Portuguese. This 18-year-old lower-middle-class woman explicitly expressed her willingness to speak a less local dialect, and to acquire an urban version of it, or "real Portuguese":

Me molesta usar [s] cuando en portugués verdadero es [z]. Me gusta usar [ʤi] en vez de [di]. Nunca uso 'você', pero me gustaría usarlo en vez de 'tu.'

'It bothers me to use [s] when in real Portuguese it is [z]. I like to use [ʤi] instead of [di]. I never use 'você', but I would like to use it instead of 'tu'.'

In this comment she explains how she would like to use a more urbanized Portuguese, revealing salient variants that characterize both dialects. Among the markers of BP cited by this woman, one finds the palatalization of dental stops.

PALATALIZATION

In most Brazilian dialects, dental stops have palatal affricate realizations before /i/, as in [ʤia] instead of [dia], 'day', and [ʧia] instead of [tia], 'aunt'. This realization results from the proximity between the area of articulation of the consonant and that of the vowel.

Palatalization has been documented in several studies of BP. Nascentes observed its occurrence in the dialect of Rio de Janeiro as early as 1922. In 1970, Mattoso Câmara found full palatalization in Rio de Janeiro, but argued that in São Paulo the plain dental was more common. Although palatalization is still variable in

several areas of Brazil, there is evidence that it has been spreading, thus representing a change in progress (Azevedo, 1981). Rio de Janeiro dialect has been responsible for disseminating palatalization to other dialectal areas. This diffusion is facilitated by the fact that the Rio de Janeiro dialect is considered prestigious (Elia, 1976), especially among speakers of stigmatized dialects, and it reaches the entire country through the Rio de Janeiro-based Rede Globo, the largest national television network.

Geographical diffusion of palatalization is still underway in Southern states, where dental realizations are common enough to constitute a stereotype of Southern dialects. Bisol (1991) studied the palatalization phenomenon in four dialect areas of Rio Grande do Sul, the state that borders Uruguay: Porto Alegre, the state capital and largest urban center, Sant'ana do Livramento, Rivera's twin city, a German–Portuguese bilingual community, and an Italian–Portuguese bilingual community. She concluded that palatalization is expanding in all these areas, including the Brazilian border town, but that the contact with Spanish (Italian and German) still hampers its application, as attested by the fact that the speakers from Porto Alegre are the ones who palatalize the most.

Palatalization of dental stops is extremely common in Brazilian television programs and soap operas and in the speech of urban monolinguals. Following a diffusion that started in Rio de Janeiro, this variant derives its prestige from its social and geographic origin, a typical case of language change caused by the spread of prestige patterns of urban centers, which, in this context, has crossed national borders. A comparison of my own data with previous studies of UP shows that palatalization is slowly being incorporated into this dialect.

Rona anecdotally observed in 1965 that the dental realization was far more common in Rivera than the palatalized one. Hensey, in 1982, found very little palatalization in his small sample of UP (6 Rivera speakers), and concluded that the vast majority followed the conservative tendency to produce the dentals as stops, which allowed him to state that "[in] typical border Portuguese pronunciation we can expect words like 'tipo', 'digo', to be pronounced [tipo], [digo]" (1982:16). Nowadays, the dental pronunciation is still a feature of UP, and its substitution by the palatalized version constitutes a means for Riverans to sound more like Brazilians. One teenager, who was trying to explain the difference between her Portuguese and the Portuguese spoken by her parents, explained it thus:

> Eles dizem assim: 'Tu sabe que outro [di] a . . .' Eu não, eu falo 'outro [ʤi]a. (Kr., 18-year-old lower-middle class female)
>
> 'They speak like this: 'You know that another day ([di]a). But not me, I say 'another day ([ʤi]a).'

This comment hints that speakers are able to differentiate the local dialect from the standard one according to the (non-) application of the palatalization rule. We may infer that speakers are aware of this difference, and choose one variant over the other based on the social value carried by the variant, and whether or not they want to sound like a local, a speaker of 'portuñol'.

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Quantitative results

Quantification was based on 2,248 tokens in the speech of 56 interviewees. Palatalization occurred in 32%, and dentals were realized 68% of the time. Raw data were applied to the statistical package VARBRUL 2S for PC. Along with the factor probabilities, VARBRUL binominal analysis gave raw numbers and percentages of instances of palatalization used in cross-tabulations. Both linguistic and extralinguistic factors were determined to be relevant to the output of this variable.

Linguistic factors

The linguistic factors considered in the variable rule analysis were: tonicity of the environment, preceding segment, following segment, and juncture. In the final run, when VARBRUL provided the best model, with a 0.043 significance, the group factors juncture and preceding environment were eliminated. The only factors considered relevant by VARBRUL were the following environment and the tonicity of the syllable.

Table 1 shows VARBRUL analysis of application of palatalization according to linguistic factors. The two types of following segment shown to be relevant were nasals and sibilants. Nasals were given a relatively high probability factor of .63, which means that palatalization is more likely to occur when the variable is followed by a nasal. This could be a result of the high frequency of palatal nasals in the corpus, which because of regressive assimilation, triggered anticipation of the point or articulation of [ɲ], instigated by the environment [_i]. The other factor detected to be relevant by VARBRUL in the following segment factor group was the presence of a sibilant. Sibilants are shown to have an extremely strong inhibiting strength, with a probability weight as low as .13. The inhibitory tendency that a sibilant exerts in the application of the palatalization rule has also been detected in the study of Bisol (1991), who rightly pointed out that the retention of the alveolar results from the fact that the anticipation of /s/ articulation renders difficult the raising and fronting of the body of the tongue, necessary for the palatalization.

Tonicity of the environment was selected as the least important factor in the distribution of (di, ti), with a contributing weight value of .57 for stressed syllables, a barely significant value of .54 for pretonic positions, and an inhibiting value of .41 for posttonic positions. Interestingly, the same tendency was detected by Bisol for palatalization in Rio Grande do Sul. She pointed out that this order of preference, that is, stressed, pretonic, and posttonic, implies that if palatalization occurs in pretonic syllables, it will also occur in stressed positions; if it occurs in posttonic syllables, it will also occur in pretonic positions (1991:117). Bisol explained that palatalization implies an increase in phonetic properties, which applies preferably in stressed positions. Thus, it is possible to infer that palatalization is entering UP mainly through stressed syllables.

Extralinguistic factors

The extralinguistic variables considered were: style, socioeconomic group, age, and gender. The style factor group was eliminated by the analysis, because it

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TABLE 1. *VARBRUL analysis of application of palatalization according to linguistic factors*

Factor Groups	Factors	Example	Percent of Palatalization	Total *N* of Tokens	Factor Weight
Following environment	Nasals	*Tinha* 'I/he/she had'	39% (123)	315	.63
	Stops	*Tipo* 'kind'	34% (134)	457	.53
	Pause	*Ti* 3rd person singual prepositional pronoun	33% (301)	918	.52
	Vowel	*Dia* 'day'	31% (107)	341	.50
	Trill	*Dirá* 'I/he/she will say'	28% (19)	67	.47
	Sibilants	*Distante* 'distant'	9% (14)	148	.13
Tonicity	Stressed	*Dia* 'day'	33% (291)	891	.57
	Pretonic	*Instituto* 'institute'	30% (138)	461	.54
	Posttonic	*Estádio* 'stadium'	32% (290)	898	.41

TABLE 2. *VARBRUL analysis of application of palatalization according to extralinguistic factors*

Factor Groups	Factors	Percent of Palatalization	Total *N* of Tokens	Factor Weight	Factor Rank
Age	16–29	61% (625)	1017	.91	1
	30–49	13% (82)	637	.29	
	50–70	2% (12)	594	.05	
Socioeconomic group	Mid-middle-class	52% (401)	764	.81	2
	Lower-middle-class	24% (165)	693	.34	
	Working-class	19% (153)	791	.30	
Gender	Female	35% (498)	1166	.60	3
	Male	29% (311)	1082	.39	

presented no significant contribution to palatalization. Table 2 summarizes the results obtained from VARBRUL.

The numbers in Table 2 clearly show a pattern of stratification across social groups. Palatalization is a variable related mainly to age. In the youngest group, its application is very common, with a probability weight as high as .91, whereas in the oldest group of the sample population palatalization is nearly absent, with an extremely low probability value of .05. The probability value of .29 for the intermediate age group (30–49 years old) shows that, at this age, application of the rule is strongly inhibited, however to a lesser extent. The second most important factor is socioeconomic status. Members of the mid-middle socioeconomic group palatalize more than members of the other groups, showing a strong contributing value of .81. The other two factors, lower-middle-class and working-class, are shown to be strong inhibitors, with very low factor values of .34 and .30, respectively. As expected, women tend to palatalize more than men, showing a probability of .60 in the application of the rule. Men, on the other hand, tend to produce the more local stop variant, showing an inhibiting probability factor weight of .39.

The tendency to palatalize among the middle-class, the young, and women is representative of the fact that these groups are using the symbolic value of this new pronunciation to show an urban orientation, different from the traditions of the rural border community. The working-class, the elderly, and men, who usually rely on local connections and resources, on the other hand, favor a more conservative form of Uruguayan Portuguese. The middle classes idealize the national culture centered in the capital, travel to Montevideo as often as possible, send their children to college there (the only option for post-secondary education), and maintain personal and business relations in Montevideo. These data show that this class, when using Portuguese, may use an urbanized version of it. The underlying motivation for them is their different mobility, lifestyle, and ideologies that lead them to the more prestigious urban and national languages and cultures. Likewise, young people in Rivera have closer contact with Brazilian

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TABLE 3. *Cross tabulation of palatalization across age groups and socioeconomic groups*

Socioeconomic Groups	Age Groups (years old) 16–29	30–49	50–70	Total Tokens
Mid-middle-class	89% (326/368)	31% (66/221)	5% (9/185)	764
Lower-middle-class	49% (150/306)	6% (12/214)	2% (3/173)	693
Working-class	43% (149/343)	2% (4/212)	0% (0/236)	791

culture and urban values and are voracious consumers of Brazilian media and music. By assimilating the norms of urban BP they attempt to align themselves with a group that is different from that of their parents, and to become active participants in a relatively new model of urban life, different from the one that characterized Rivera in the past, and with which the older generations had much more contact. The identification of palatalization with a particular reference group, as suggested by qualitative data, and the choice by some socially identifiable groups to adopt this pronunciation, as suggested by quantitative data, indicate that the adoption of palatalization represents an *act of identity* (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985) with the reference group.

Change in progress

The question that remains is whether the incorporation of palatalization (and other BP features) represents an actual change in progress or whether it is the result of an ephemeral accommodation, which, according to Giles and Smith's (1979) definition, is a shift in one's dialect in order to speak more similarly to the interlocutor. Age differentiation in the distribution of a variable can be an indicator of linguistic change in progress. Lack of stylistic differences may hint that this change is still in its early stages (Labov, 1966, 1981, 2001a). As with many other linguistic changes (Labov, 1972, 2001a), women are significantly ahead of men in their use of palatalization. Real-time data corrobate the hypothesis of change, as previous descriptions of UP mention little palatalization (Hensey, 1972; Rona, 1965). However, in defining age differences as a potential indicator of change in progress, it is important to verify that the majority of rule application in the middle-class group is given by the youngest participants, so that one can discard stable stratification. A cross tabulation of socioeconomic and age groups with respect to palatalization is shown in Table 3.

The data in Table 3 and Figure 2 suggest that there may be a change in progress, because the youngest generation in the mid-middle-class socioeconomic group is responsible for most of the instances of palatalization in this socioeconomic group, 89%. Rate of palatalization decreases gradually among the next lower socioeconomic groups of the same age cohorts. Palatalization rates continue to decrease

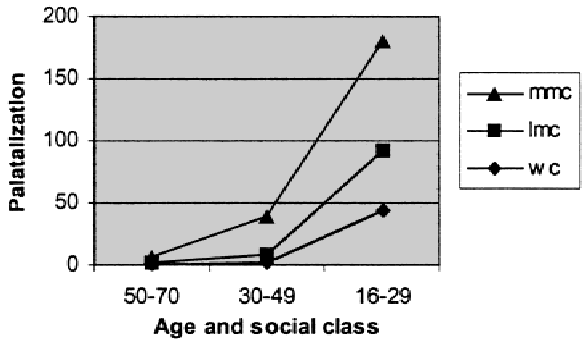

FIGURE 2. Cross tabulation of palatalization across age groups and socioeconomic groups.

TABLE 4. *Cross tabulation of palatalization across age groups and gender*

	Age Groups (years old)			
Gender	16–29	30–49	50–70	Total Tokens
Female	66% (351/531)	16% (52/332)	2% (5/303)	1166
Male	56% (274/486)	10% (30/305)	2% (7/291)	1082

among the middle-aged participants down the social scale, a pattern that persists in the next older group, the elderly. Finally, among the oldest members of the working-class, there was not a single instance of palatalization, which allows us to characterize this group as being the most conservative in the use of local variants of (di, ti). Independent of style shift and gender differences, the total absence of palatalization in this group may suggest that this is a new variant in UP, and that it is a prestigious change originating in the higher socioeconomic groups. From these results, one can also infer that socioeconomic stratification of palatalization among age groups becomes evident only in the two younger groups. That is to say, that among the oldest group, the tendency to pronounce (di, ti) as dentals is largely generalized. Meanwhile, in the next two younger groups it becomes clear that, within these age groups, it is the mid-middle-class members who lead the innovation. Likewise, the cross tabulation of palatalization among gender and age groups in Table 4 and Figure 3 reveals that among the oldest group, both men and women prefer the dental pronunciation. In the next two younger age groups, however, women lead in bringing palatalization into UP.

Therefore, one could suggest, based on both apparent and real-time data, that palatalization represents a change in progress in UP, which has spread southward from Southeastern Brazil. The leaders of this change are the young, the middle-class, and the women. However, the investigation of a possible linguistic change

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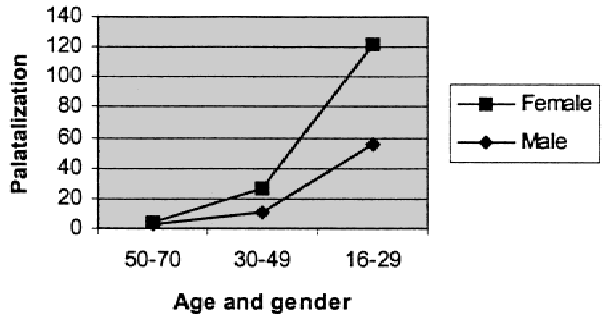

FIGURE 3. Cross tabulation of palatalization across age groups and gender.

in progress in a bilingual context, where change is brought in through accommodation to an outside dialect, poses the possibility of ephemeral accommodation, as well.

Results of a survey on language choice show an ongoing shift to Spanish in private domains of society among the groups that palatalize the most when using Portuguese (the young and the mid-middle-class); from which we conclude that the groups with the highest palatalization rate are the ones that use Portuguese the least (Carvalho, 1998). They use Spanish among family and friends and, therefore, solidarity is not constructed or evoked through UP. As a consequence, their Portuguese is free to change and become urbanized, as it may be used mainly for interactions with outsiders. Several acts of ephemeral or short-term accommodation, defined by Trudgill (1986) as transitory adjustments made under particular circumstances, accumulate over time and may cause semipermanent change in one's speech, or long-term accommodation, if kept by the individual in all transactions in the contact area.[7] Palatalization, then, can be the result of an ephemeral accommodation, once it is to be used with urban Brazilians who palatalize, like the interviewer.[8]

Nevertheless, the status of palatalization in UP as the result of an ephemeral accommodation alone is unlikely. First, previous studies have indicated the presence of palatalization among UP speakers in the past (Hensey, 1982; Thun & Elizaincín, 2000). Second, the data discussed here show a systematic linguistic and social distribution of (di,ti) among the sample population that is too robust to be dismissed as a result of sporadic accommodation, and which better represents a community grammar resulting from permanent acquisition of an urban BP feature. Thus, I propose that palatalization has entered UP as a Southward diffusion from the Southeast of Brazil that has crossed the border and has had a permanent affect on UP. This case of dialect acquisition is fostered by urbanization and greater contact with the standard variety and results in an extension of the linguistic repertoire of UP speakers.

One intriguing point about the acquisition of palatalization by UP speakers partially as a result of accommodation, is that borrowing from the prestigious

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dialect can only occur through borrowing from an outside dialect. This is because in Rivera, intergroup verbal interaction is carried out exclusively in Spanish, as Portuguese is only used during in-group interactions (Elizaincín, 1978). This counters the situation discussed by Guy (1990), in which "change from above may come from the existing linguistic repertoire of the highest group, rather than contact with an external community" (1990:51). In Rivera, it is not possible that a linguistic change in UP brought about by the upper classes could spread down the social scale through contact, simply because interaction between groups is in Spanish, whereas Portuguese is reserved for communication among family members and friends, especially among the working-class. Thus, the source of this linguistic change is an outside community, that is, urban Brazil. As a consequence, one wonders who is bringing palatalization into the border, a question that leads us to the problem of transmission, the central problem of the theory of language change according to Labov (2001b).

Spatial diffusion is believed to be the result of social contact. Face-to-face interactions are usually the channels through which linguistic innovations spread. In Rivera, interaction among Uruguayans and Brazilians across the border is not infrequent. Some Riverans have family and friendship ties in Sant'ana do Livramento, and cross the border sporadically to visit or go shopping, from which one can hypothesize that palatalization is entering UP through interpersonal communication. However, diffusion of palatalization into UP is a phenomenon that would be difficult to explain solely by frequency of contact with speakers of the standard dialect. First, it is important to bear in mind that palatalization is still entering the Portuguese spoken by border Brazilians as well (Bisol, 1991). Second, although 25% of the total sample population reported going shopping or visiting friends at least once a month in Brazil, 100% of the young people (the leaders in palatalization) reported having *no* social life on the other side of the border. They usually keep their friendships within their own neighborhoods, a behavior very typical of this age group. It is the adults who keep ties outside their communities, a practice known to be responsible for transmission of new linguistic features (Milroy, 1987), and not the youth, who typically maintain social ties in close-knit community territories.[9] Thus, it seems improbable that interpersonal communication with Sant'ana do Livramento dwellers is the sole factor responsible for the spread of palatalization and other urban features into UP.

Lack of contact among speakers of UP and urban BP leads us to review what Auer (1998) called the "behavioral-frequency model" (in Kerswill, 2002), or acquisition due to frequent accommodation acts, as the only explanation for diffusion of urban BP into UP, and to propose, in addition, Auer's "identity projection model." In this model, Auer, based on Bell's audience design and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's acts of identity, accounts for situations where accommodation may not be in response to a particular interlocutor, but to stereotypes of the group the interlocutor belongs to, or of a socially attractive group *not* actually represented in the immediate context (Kerswill, 2002:680–681).

However, the "identity projection model," as an underlying motivation for urbanization of UP among certain groups, still requires the presence of a linguistic

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model. Based on the participant's impressions of the topic (emic) and the current understanding of the community's profile (etic), I propose that Brazilian television is used by certain groups as a corrective agent, and thus indirectly contributes to the diffusion of palatalization (among other features) among these groups.

TELEVISION

Among the UP-speaking sample population, every household had access to a television, and regularly viewed Brazilian programs, especially the soap operas. At the time of the interviews, Brazilian television was preferred 100% of the time, as the Uruguayan channel's poor transmission proved little competition for the more modern and diverse Brazilian channels.[10] In fact, television has erroneously been blamed for the presence of Portuguese in Uruguay by educators and government agencies whose analysis disregards the roots of Portuguese in colonial times. Consequently, among several measures considered for the purpose of ridding Northern communities of Portuguese, as mandated by the Uruguayan Department of Education in 1968, it was suggested that efforts had to be made to improve the capital's media broadcasting in the North. In fact, several interviewees recalled being advised by their teachers not to watch television at all during the dictatorship years when Portuguese was strongly repressed.[11]

Nevertheless, Brazilian television, particularly soap operas, is still widely popular in Rivera. Behares and Gabbiani (1987:7) stressed that the very first contact that UP-speaking children have with standard Portuguese is through television:

> Estos hablantes [UP native speakers] desconocen el español hasta su ingreso en la escuela, pero desconocen también el portugués estándar y toman contacto con él a través de los medios masivos de comunicación, el la medida que éstos logran penetrar los moldes comunicativos de la infancia.
>
> 'These speakers [UP native speakers] do not know Spanish until they enter school, but do not know standard Portuguese either and have contact with it through mass media as the media manages to enter childhood's communicative channels.'

Television continues to provide samples of "real Portuguese" throughout the lives of UP speakers. This is not to say that television viewing is able to implement standard features into this community's speech repertoire. Rather, the role of television is interpreted as a source of prestigious speech, which may or may not be imitated. The determining factor for the use of television as a linguistic model to be adopted is the speakers' negative attitude toward their native dialect and their desire to change it. My argument is that the impact of television in the urbanization of UP, although indirect, is undeniable.

Several sociolinguists have doubted the role of television in an audience's linguistic behavior. Trudgill (1986) argued against the hypothesis that television can affect speech; according to him, face-to-face interaction is necessary before diffusion takes place. His argument is supported by Labov and Harris (1986) and Rickford (1988) who agreed that linguistic traits are not transmitted across group boundaries simply by exposure to other dialects in the mass media, but through

interpersonal interaction. Although there is evidence that the media may play a role in the spread of vocabulary items, it is believed that it does not affect pronunciation or syntax. Labov's results, which show that African American vernacular speakers do not assimilate Standard English despite several hours of daily exposure to it on television, add to this hypothesis. Chambers (1998) admitted that exposure to standard speech on television may add to its prestige, but that change itself must be conveyed in face-to-face interactions among peers, as "there is no evidence for television or other popular media disseminating or influencing sound changes or grammatical innovations" (1998:126).

Sociolinguistic studies on the influence of media on speech have tended to investigate direct correlations between media consumption and linguistic behavior, which, hardly surprisingly, are usually not found. In a study that measures the effect of television on nonstandard dialects, Saladino (1990) tested the direct impact of television on the level of standarization of a Southern dialect in Italy. She treated little exposure (0–6 hours per week) versus more exposure (7–15 hours per week) as two variables and correlated them to linguistic behavior. She found that television has no effect on the level of Italianization of the dialect, and suggested that, although television may improve comprehension, it does not necessarily improve production. She reached the irrefutable conclusion that the mere existence of a model does not guarantee that it will be adopted, given that "covert factors such as feelings of solidarity can have great influence on whether standard language norms are adopted or not" (1990:67).

It is doubtful that exposure to television and adoption of standard features may ever be directly correlated, because for this relationship to happen there needs to be both psychological and social motives that instigate dialect assimilation. All of the participants in the present study were asked about their television-viewing habits and all of them reported watching television for at least one hour every day (the answers ranged from 1 to 5 hours daily). Interestingly, the group that reported watching television the least was the young group, with an average of 1–2 hours per day. Meanwhile, the elderly, mostly retired and generally with more free time, reported viewing television the most, with an average of 5 hours per day. Therefore, the number of hours of television viewing does not correlate with palatalization rate, but social variables such as age, social class, and gender do. It is essentially the desire among the young, the middle-class, and women to replace UP features with BP that motivates their use of television as a model for dialect acquisition.

In what follows, several comments are transcribed to make explicit the population's perceived direct relationship between "a pure Portuguese" with the one spoken on television, stressing the role of this mass medium as the major provider of the standard dialect:

> Gosto do jeito que o pessoal fala na televisão porque é brasileiro em si. Aqui nós somo rompe-idioma. (RS, 21-year-old lower-middle-class female)
>
> 'I like the way people speak on television because it is real Portuguese. Here, we speak a broken language.'

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Os brasilero fala bem brasilero, nas novela eles fala bonito. Os brasilero fala perfeito, nós aqui fala entreverado. (ML, 23-year-old mid-middle-class male)

'The Brazilians speak very Brazilian, in the soap operas they speak beautifully. The Brazilians speak perfectly, we here speak mixed.'

Eu acho feio o brasileiro da fronteira. O portugués bem falado é lindo. Eu gosto do jeito da Globo falar português. (Gl, 51-year-old mid-middle-class female)

'I think border Portuguese is ugly. The well-spoken Portuguese is beautiful. I like the way Globo speaks Portuguese.'

In the context of a semiborder, Boberg (2000) studied the adoption of American English features by Canadians, and argued that the determining factor for diffusion of American variants through mass media is the overt prestige of certain variants associated with perceptions of correctness. In Uruguay, Portuguese speakers value the dialect of Portuguese spoken on television not only as more correct, but as the only acceptable form of Portuguese. The speech patterns heard on television are reinforced by sporadic contact with Brazilians, as can be seen in the following comment by a teenager who works at an expensive bakery that attracts many Brazilian tourists. She expresses her perception of the dialect spoken on television as similar to the one spoken by these Brazilian shoppers, the reference group:

Os brasilero que vem na padaria falam como os da televisão. Em Rivera e na campanha falam mesclado. (Ll, 19-year-old lower-middle-class female)

'The Brazilians that come in the bakery speak like the ones on television. In Rivera and in the countryside they speak mixed.'

Behares (personal communication, 2002) offered a quote from his data in which a working-class 64-year-old woman changes from the nonstandard pronunciation of a [j] in the word *trabal<u>h</u>ar*, 'to work', to the standard [λ] explaining that, according to her grandson, she needs to talk standard, like the television:

Os pobre trabaiava que nem escravo. Sabi que o destino de pobre sempre foi trabaiá nunca pará … Trabalhar!! (standard, very stressed and careful pronunciation), que meu neto diz que *temo que falá como na televisão*! [my emphasis]

'The poor people used to work like slaves. You know that the poor people's destiny has always been to work and never stop … Work! (standard, very stressed and careful pronunciation), 'cause my grandson says that *we have to talk like on television!*' [my emphasis]

I: Copia dos atores?

'[he] copies from the actors?'

Sim, sim … aprendeu e copiou das novela.

'yes, yes … he learned [it] and copied [it] from the soap operas.'

Milroy and Milroy suggested that although mass media give rise to *awareness* of a linguistic innovation, it is unable to promote *adoption* (1999:25). My study reveals that awareness is a precondition for adoption, and without exposure to Brazilian television, both would be unlikely. The following quote, provided by a

7-year-old boy, shows that television promotes awareness of the palatalization variable in particular:

I: Qual é teu nome?
'What is your name?'
D[d]iego. Em brasilero é D[ʤ]iego. Eu escutei na novela.
'D[d]iego. In Brazilian it is D[ʤ]iego. I heard it in the soap opera.'

The following dialogue between a young lower-middle-class woman and the interviewer makes it evident that awareness of the standard provided by television is used as a means for adoption because of her desire to assimilate it.

Meu pai e minha mãe falam diferente que eu. Eles falam mais mesclado.
'My dad and my mom speak differently from me. They speak more mixed.'
I: Onde tu aprendeu a falar assim?
'Where did you learn to speak like this?'
De escuta, de escuta. Trato de imitar mas às vezes é difícil.
'From listening, from listening. I try to imitate but it is hard sometimes.'
I: Imitar de onde?
'Imitate from where?'
Da televisão.
'From television.'

Like students who use television as a source of linguistic input in their effort to learn a second language, young border bilinguals use television as a corrective agent in their effort to learn a second dialect. Both groups have an urge to "improve" their language skills, are linguistically insecure, and willing to acquire the new model.

Therefore, a substantial point to be made about the influence of television on people's speech is that, besides exposure to television, individual motivation to assimilate to a given model is crucial. The indirectness of television's effect on linguistic behavior was first suggested by Naro (1981), in his seminal work on media's influence on speech. He found that the cultural orientation variable, or the degree of penetration into the culture of the surrounding higher socioeconomic levels, was the determining factor allowing soap opera viewers to produce the standard variant. In 1996, Naro and Scherre expanded the media variable by taking into account contact with and attitude toward the media, showing a correlation between the use of the standard form and increased integration with the media. They do not argue for causality, as they affirm that:

> We do not feel that it can be concluded from our research that involvement with the media causes changes in linguistic behavior. Rather we feel that a third factor, such as a general orientation or attitude toward the surrounding society, might be responsible for this phenomenon here shown to be correlated (1996:228).

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The differences in individual attitudes toward the standard model heard on television explain why only part of the sample population uses television as a linguistic model, although everybody watches television daily. From the community's perspective, the lifestyle diffused by television along with language input is primarily valued by certain groups, who admire national and urban trends to which they have been increasingly exposed because of recent urbanization, but from which they have been kept apart because of their geographical origin. From the individual perspective, personal histories and attitudes elucidate the motivations underlying individual linguistic behavior. 'Bts', a mid-middle-class, 43-year-old woman, provides us with an eloquent statement about her willingness to diverge her dialect from the border variety, and assimilate urban BP:

> Eu gostava da campanha e falava como falam na campanha. Agora como eu estou trabalhando no comércio, eu tento assimilar os vocábulos mais corretos. Eu já não digo cojé, se não digo colher. Já não digo calle, digo rua. É diferente, por mais que eu queira falar o meu brasileiro de antes, eu já não falo porque eu estou deixando de lado. Hoje eu acho feio o brasileiro da fronteira. Muié, coié, é feio. O português bem falado é lindo. Eu gosto do jeito da Globo falar português. Eu sei que eu tinha que ter orgulho da minha língua materna mas é uma lingua materna tão feia que dói de ouvir. Não sei, não tenho orgulho de falar português, aqui só usam essa língua para falar coisa feia, tipo 'fio da puta!'. Cuando chica, yo tenía unos gustos refinados. Me gustaría hablar correctamente el español pero no podía porque no lo sabía. Yo siempre fue refinada en mis gustos, siempre tuve un deseo grande de superación, y yo nunca acepté el fronterizo por eso. Es una lengua de la calle.
>
> 'I used to like the countryside and to speak like they speak there. But now since I am working at a store, I assimilate the more correct words. I don't say 'street' (in Spanish), I say 'street' (in Portuguese). It is different, even if I want to speak the Brazilian I spoke in the past, I can't because I am leaving it behind. Now I think that border Brazilian is ugly. *Muié*, *cuié*, are ugly. Well-spoken Portuguese is beautiful. I like the way *Globo* speaks Portuguese. I know I should be proud of my mother language, but it is such an ugly mother language! It is so ugly, it hurts to hear it. I don't know . . . I am not proud of speaking Portuguese, here, people use this language just to say bad things, like 'son of a bitch!'. [From now on she switches to Spanish]: When I was little I had sophisticated tastes. I wanted to speak Spanish correctly but I couldn't because I didn't know how. I always had fine tastes, always had a great desire to succeed, and that is why I never accepted fronterizo. It is a street language.'

This comment illustrates several points of my interpretation of Rivera's speech community. By saying that she does not use rural UP anymore, she indicates that she has replaced some of her native rural UP with features of urban BP, because of a change in attitude triggered by her experience working at the store. She confirms the stigma of UP and the fact that her linguistic model is the television network *Globo*. Even though she affirms having always been a person of sophisticated tastes who never liked 'fronterizo' at the end of her narrative, in the beginning she states that she used to like the countryside and to speak like they do there. Her exposure to Brazilian television reinforces her linguistic insecurity and provides a model for assimilation. Even though the presence of these models may

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affect her speech, it is clear that the crucial condition for dialect acquisition is her attitude.

By the same token, speakers who wish to emphasize their border and rural cultural identity maintain the dental pronunciation in a process of divergence, implicit in the following comment, where a working-class 57-year-old man compares his Portuguese with the one spoken on television:

> (Pc) No português da televisão há muito [ʧi], dizem 'para [ʧi], [ʧira].]. Aqui é [ti], [tira]. Yo hablo portuñol, não falo [ʧi].
>
> 'In the Portuguese spoken on television there is a lot of [ʧi], they say "for [ʧi], [ʧira]" I speak Portuñol, I don't say [ʧi].'

This participant acknowledges palatalization as a feature typically used in television, but expresses no desire to adopt it. By calling attention to his refusal to accommodate to the "Portuguese spoken on television" he asserts his status as a *fronterizo* and reacts to the pressures of the linguistic marketplace (Bordieu, 1991). His code-switching from Spanish to Portuguese at the end of his statement also reaffirms his alliance to his native UP. Therefore, even though dialect acquisition is a consequence of contact, it is most importantly a consequence of attitude and desire.

The corpus on which this study is based is replete with references to television as a standardizing force, and to disregard this indirect relation between television viewing and urbanization of UP is to fail to consider emic social factors, which, as Lane claimed (2000:268), are necessary for the development of explanatory models of change. This analysis accounts for both community trends and individual choices taken as acts of identity. Quantitative and qualitative data collected in the speech community of Rivera reveal ways in which individuals negotiate their images against larger social constructs laid by group trends.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, frameworks of speech accommodation and acts of identity were integrated in the Labovian paradigm to explain the current social distribution of palatalization among UP speakers, contributing to a better understanding of this dialect, previously thought of as monostylistic and free of standard models (Behares, 1984b; Elizaincín, 1992). It was suggested that palatalization is one of the features acquired in a broader process of urbanization of UP. If this process continues to take place among groups that are shifting to Spanish in their everyday interactions, and if this shift affects all social strata in Rivera in the long run, it is possible that UP will be kept only in the rural areas of Northern Uruguay, and in towns like Rivera, Portuguese use will be restricted to interactions with Brazilians from the other side of the border. In that case, dialect acquisition could be a first step toward dialect shift, or if generalized, dialect death, resulting from the urbanization of a rural variety. To confirm this hypothesis, it is essential that trend or panel studies on both language choice and variation patterns be carried out.

Moreover, these conclusions would benefit from a detailed network analysis, which would reveal channels of diffusion masked by the current grouping of social categories. More data on the way languages and dialects are negotiated in everyday interactions would shed light on how these innovations are spreading and what role they play in the dynamic construction of identities and practices (Eckert, 2000), circumscribing choices along the bilingual and multidialectal continuum, and contributing to language change and shift.

This study constitutes a first step toward exploring the output of this situation, which results from the juxtaposition of languages, dialects, and sociocultural models. It identifies the uniqueness of the situation by typifying a border context in which a low variety in a diglossic community is subject to a change from above. Instead of "sociolectal reduction" of minority languages encountered in bilingual societies (Mougeon & Beniak, 1991, 1996; Williams, 1987), UP represents a case of "sociolectal extension" resulting from constant exposure to BP. In addition, this work shows that the source of the change is an outside community, whose presence is mainly experienced through exposure to television, countering the consensus among sociolinguists about the inability of the media to affect linguistic variation. The study of urbanization of UP through quantification of palatalization offers insight into the analysis of language variation and change in a borderland environment, revealing unique sociolinguistic aspects of border communities.

NOTES

1. The Uruguayan constitution does not indicate Spanish as the official language, but rather refers to it as the national one.

2. Socioeconomic status was measured based on a composite index in which three factors were taken into consideration: average household income, occupational status, and level of education. The weight of each factor was, 0.5, 0.4, and 0.3, respectively. Scores from each factor were multiplied by the factor's weight, and then added together. Once the overall scores were computed, it was possible to divide the sample population into discrete socioeconomic categories. Conclusions regarding these categories were reviewed and confirmed by several community members.

3. A reading passage, a device used in several studies to elicit a formal style, was not appropriate for this population for several reasons. First, some of the participants were illiterate; second, UP is an oral dialect with no written tradition; and finally, a text would be written in Standard Brazilian Portuguese and would therefore impose a norm that is unknown for several speakers.

4. For variable (di,ti), the pictures were of: tigre, 'tiger', tiara, 'hair band', tinta, 'paint', elefante, 'elephant', sete, 'seven', dia, 'day', diamante, 'diamond', diabo, 'devil' dezoito, 'eighteen', verde, 'green', dente, 'tooth'.

5. There is, however, a scarce number of literary texts written in UP, some of which appeared in Behares and Días (1997). Azevedo (2000) and Coll (1997) examine literary works in Spanish that attempt to portray Portuguese-influenced dialects of Spanish.

6. In my sample population, 73% of the participants in the first age group (16–29) reported to have no contact with the countryside (no family, no friends, no visits), whereas 67% of the oldest generation (50–70) reported having worked or lived in the countryside. Likewise, whereas 67% of the mid-middle socioeconomic group reported having no contact with the countryside, 62% of the lowest socioeconomic group reported having worked or lived in the countryside.

7. Most studies investigate accommodation as the result of sudden immersion in a different speech community where other dialects are spoken (Chambers, 1992). My study investigates a rather different situation. Acquisition of urban BP by UP speakers takes place gradually through sporadic contact with outsiders and passive exposure to television.

8. The fact that the interviewer was an urban-educated Brazilian leads us to a crucial methodological problem. Even though she made an effort not to palatalize and became a fluent UP speaker during her stay in Rivera, as Bell (1997) pointed out, speakers tend to accommodate to the speech of groups they think the interlocutor represents. The only way to assess the extent to which the interviewer influenced the speaker's palatalization rate is to interview the sample again using other interviewers, as suggested by Rickford and McNair-Knox (1994).

9. This is a rather impressionistic statement based on answers to questions regarding social activities in Brazil, as this study does not present a systematic social network analysis, from which it would benefit.

10. It should be noted, however, that the recent arrival of cable television in border communities might alter this situation. Cable television is now affordable to the middle-class and presents a wide variety of programs from Argentina and Spain, in addition to offering improved reception of the Montevideo channels. A recent informal survey on the topic among school children in the border towns of Rivera and Artigas (Carvalho, 2002) revealed that although there seems to be a greater exposure to Spanish-speaking television, Brazilian soap operas remain extremely popular.

11. From 1973 to 1985, a military-civilian government imposed rigorous political censorship and control in Uruguay. See Carvalho (1998) for a detailed review of the language debate during the dictatorship.

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