FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF BRAZIL'S SOCIAL-LINGUISTIC HISTORY: A RETROSPECTIVE[1]

QUINHENTOS ANOS DE HISTÓRIA SOCIAL-LINGUÍSTICA DO BRASIL: UMA RETROSPECTIVA

QUINIENTOS AÑOS DE HISTORIA SOCIAL-LINGÜÍSTICA DE BRASIL: UNA RETROSPECTIVA

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ABSTRACT: In this article, we traced the five hundred years of Brazil's social-linguistic history, commenting and criticizing moments that we considered crucial along the way. Hence, we began in the 16th century, with the arrival of the Portuguese colonizers, dealing with aspects such as the adoption of *Tupinambá* as the language for the initial contact, together with its consequences. Later in the same century, we approached the arrival of Africans and the linguistic consequences that this important demographic fact would bring to the linguistic contact scene in the following centuries. Finally, we dealt with the Post-Independence Brazilian linguistic situation, emphasizing the remaining indigenous languages, the European and Asiatic immigration languages, which arrived during the 19th century, and the current frame of the Portuguese language in Brazil.
KEYWORDS: Historical Linguistics. Brazil. Multilingualism. Linguistic contact.

RESUMO: Neste artigo, procuramos traçar os quinhentos anos de história social-linguística do Brasil, abordando, comentando e criticando momentos que consideramos cruciais ao longo de tal percurso. Assim, começamos pelo século XVI, com a chegada dos colonizadores portugueses, tratando de aspectos como a adoção do tupinambá, por parte destes, como língua de contato inicial, assim como de suas consequências. Em seguida, ainda no mesmo século, abordamos a chegada dos africanos e as consequências linguísticas que este importante fator demográfico traria para o cenário de contato linguístico nos séculos seguintes. Por fim, tratamos da situação linguística brasileira pós-Independência, com ênfase para as línguas indígenas remanescentes, para as línguas da imigração europeia e asiática, que aqui chegaram no século XIX, e para o quadro atual da língua portuguesa no Brasil.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Linguística Histórica. Brasil. Multilinguismo. Contato linguístico.

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RESUMEN: En este artículo, describimos los quinientos años de historia social-lingüística de Brasil, abordando, comentando y criticando momentos que consideramos cruciales, a lo largo de esa ruta. Así comenzamos por el siglo XVI, con la llegada de los colonizadores portugueses, discurriendo sobre cuestiones tales como la adopción del tupinambá, por su parte, como lengua de contacto inicial, así como sus consecuencias. Entonces, aún en el mismo siglo, nos acercamos a la llegada de los africanos y las consecuencias lingüísticas que este factor demográfico importante traería para el escenario de contacto de lenguas en los siglos siguientes. Finalmente, tratamos la situación lingüística posterior a la independencia de Brasil, con énfasis en los idiomas indígenas remanentes, en los idiomas de la inmigración europea y asiática, que llegaron aquí en el siglo XIX, y en la situación actual de la lengua portuguesa en Brasil.

PALABRAS-CLAVE: Lingüística Histórica. Brasil. Multilingüismo. Contacto lingüístico.

1 INTRODUCTION

In this article, we sought, as the expressed by the title itself, to present a retrospective of the five hundred years of the social-linguistic history of Brazil, having as a guide the course of the Portuguese language that began to be traced in our country, with the beginning of the Portuguese colonization.

This text is divided in different parts that address the facts we considered relevant and indispensable, distributed in their chronological and historical order, as follows: *2. The coast interlanguage and its adoption by the Portuguese people*; *3. A very brief information on the three Brazilian general languages*; *4. Africans begin to be brought to Brazil*; *4.1. Exogenous influences within the structure of Brazilian Portuguese*; *5. The current linguistic situation of Brazil*; *5.1. The current framework of indigenous languages in Brazil*; *5.2. European and Asian languages that began to integrate the Brazilian language scenario since the 19th century*; and *5.3. The current framework of the Portuguese language in Brazil.*

Finally, in *6. Conclusion*, we briefly summarized the article as a whole, so that the facts, analyzes and criticisms exposed are not sparse in the reader's mind.

2 THE COAST INTERLANGUAGE AND ITS ADOPTION BY THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE

It is important, beforehand, to emphasize we will follow here the generalization of Métraux (1946), who adopts the name "Tupinambá" for all the tribes of the coast and extends it to the main language spoken by these tribes. According to the testimonies of Anchieta (1595) and Cardim (2009 [1583-1601], p. 200), this language – whether as L1 or as L2 – was specifically acquired by the Portuguese in order to break the initial barrier of communication with Tupinambás. For this reason, when we refer to this language, we will also use the term "Tupinambá", as Rodrigues did previously (1986), though he later abandoned it (1996).

However, as already mentioned, the Tupinambá was not the only language spoken on the Brazilian coast. If today, after such a marked process of glotocide – the number of indigenous languages in Brazil has been reduced, according to Rodrigues (2006), from 1,175 to around 180 languages, currently spoken by around 270 thousand Indians –, the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family still has 21 spoken languages, it is not feasible to think of only one language for the whole coast at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese people, even if it was the most functional language.

Houaiss (1985), on the other hand, estimates in the territory corresponding to the present Brazil, the number of Indians reached 8 to 9 million. Restricting these estimates to the coast, Darcy Ribeiro (2004 [1995]) calculated around 1 million Tupinambás were located there. In this sense, Tupinambá – the mother tongue of tribes of the same ethnic group and related ethnic groups – should function as the interlanguage of the coast, among other languages related to the Tupi-Guarani family. (SILVA NETO, 1986 [1950]).

Thus, considering the immense Indian contingent with which the Portuguese – in an infinitely smaller number – encountered in the first half of the 16th century, it became an unfeasible task trying to impose on the Tupinambás – in an infinitely greater number

– the Portuguese language, one that was completely alien to the natives and to the very needs of intelligibility that the new lands – with fauna, flora and culture very different from the european – demanded.

Silva Neto (1986 [1950]), based on Buarque de Holanda's book *Raízes do Brasil* ("Roots of Brazil"), also adds another plausible explanation – to be combined with the previous one – as to why, in the early days of the colonization of Brazil, the use of the Tupinambá language prevailed: the Portuguese domination, initially, was carried out predominantly by men; because of that, these Portuguese men began to have sexual relations with Brazilian Indians, giving birth to Mameluke children. As the Indian mothers spoke Tupinambá, their children, of course, acquired the language of their mothers as their first language; and, most of the time, as the only language, since it was with the Indian family that they lived socially, as their father's relatives were on the other side of the Atlantic (SILVA NETO, 1986 [1950]).

However, given the extent that the Portuguese colonization in Brazil was taking its course, some actions, carried out by the *donatários* of the captaincies and governors-generals, caused changes in the scenario that prevented the diffusion of Portuguese, easing its gradual implementation process in the Brazilian territory. We have, for example, actions such as the governor-general Mem de Sá's, who, in 1557, eliminated more than 130 villages of the Tupinambás from the Recôncavo Baiano; such as the decimation of the Tupinambás of the Ilhéus and Porto Seguro captaincies[2]; and such as Pernambuco's grantee's, Duarte Coelho, who decimated the Indians along 300 km of the coast.

Another interesting factor, as far as the linguistic scenario of the first two centuries of European colonization in Brazil goes, concerns other European languages, which were used here, though without leaving major influences. Thus, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Spanish, Italian, English, French and Dutch were spoken in Brazil. But the influence left by these languages, as already mentioned above, has not been characterized as meaningful. French influences, for example, even those of Antarctic France, in Rio de Janeiro (1555-1567), and Equinoctial France, in Maranhão (1612-1615), appear to have left traces only in the local toponymy.

The Dutch, in turn, left the biggest strands in the Northeast. Not in Bahia, where, in 1624, the Dutch, after two unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in overcoming Salvador for a year. But in Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Rio Grande do Norte, because the duration of their occupation was also larger in these regions, where the main Dutch invasion of Brazil occurred, from 1630 to 1653 (FERNANDES, 2017). In these places, there were time and sociolinguistic situations that allowed the contact between the Dutch and the Portuguese people, allowing the influences of the Dutch not to be limited only to the toponymy, but extended, besides the names of places, to the anthroponymy and to the colloquial vocabulary of the Portuguese from those regions.

The Spanish people, from the beginning of the colonization of Brazil, had under their dominion the regions that today make up the South of Brazil: the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. They also took part in colonizing other regions, both as colonists and as missionaries (as it was the case of the Spanish priest, Anchieta). This was probably because the preponderant criterion adopted by the Portuguese for settlers to get to Brazil was not their nationality, but whether they were catholic or not. (FREYRE, 2002). In this way, the Spanish language "[…] was so familiar in the first century of colonization that several plays represented in São Vicente, Niterói, Vitória or Salvador were written by Anchieta in part or entirely in Spanish". (RODRIGUES, 2006, p. 147).[3]

Yet none of these European languages became an important communication vehicle in the colonial period.

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[2] We may find such information in 14th and 15th century letters, from Vilhena (1969 [1798-1799]), and in documents transcribed by Mott (2010) in a very rich artide on the South of Bahia, what raises serious doubts on the intensity of this decimation.

[3] All direct quotations were translated by the author (Editor's Note).

3 A VERY BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE THREE BRAZILIAN GENERAL LANGUAGES

Currently, three general languages are known and outlined in different sociolinguistic contexts. The first ones – the general language of São Paulo and the general language of the South of Bahia –, as a result of the Tupinambá L1 / Portuguese L2 bilingualism, without language shift, whose expansion took place in the mouths of the Mamelukes, mainly from the 17th century, and whose lifespan was already exhausted in the 19th century. (RODRIGUES, 1996; ARGOLO NOBRE, 2011, see footnote 1).

The third one – the general language of Amazon, currently Nheengatu –, as a result of the process of pidginization, followed by the creolization of Tupinambá, with language shift, during the 17th century, in the state of Maranhão e Grão-Pará, whose expansion occurred in the mouth of the Amazonian Tapuias and whose life time is still far from being exhausted in that region.

4 AFRICANS BEGIN TO BE BROUGHT TO BRAZIL

It is not possible to know exactly how many African languages came to Brazil from 1549 onwards, with the introduction of the first general government by Tomé de Souza until the end of the intercontinental slave trade in 1850, with the promulgation of the *Lei Eusébio de Queirós* ("Eusébio de Queirós Law").

However, in addition to Petter's (2006) estimation that 200-300 African languages arrived here, sources – in small numbers but of great value – make it possible to know which languages were present. This is the case of an eighteenth-century document, entitled *Nova obra da língua geral de Minna*, written between 1731 and 1741 by Antônio da Costa Peixoto.

This document is a reflection of a peculiar linguistic situation, observed in the *Quadrilátero Mineiro* ("Quadrilateral Mining"), as it was named in that time, composed by Vila Rica, Vila do Carmo, Sabará and Rio dos Montes, in which 100,000 slaves were concentrated and renewed for about 50 years. Originally from the coast of Mina, between Ghana and Nigeria, this African general language, spoken in Minas Gerais, would be the result of the contact of the slaves' languages from that region of Africa. According to Petter (2006), it is considered one of the most important documents on African languages in Brazil, due to the fact of witnessing the existence of an African language designated as a "general language" due to a probable analogy with the general languages of indigenous origin.

In 1890, still according to Petter (2006, p. 129), in Salvador, the doctor and anthropologist Nina Rodrigues began his studies on Afro-Brazilian anthropology. Despite admitting he was not prepared to undertake a linguistic study, he still had enough sensibility to elaborate questions that are important for the study of African languages throughout Brazil: 1. "What were the African languages spoken in Brazil?"; 2. "What influences did they have on Brazilian Portuguese?".

Thus, with respect to the first question, Nina Rodrigues began to contribute to its answer when he collected samples of 122 words from 5 different African languages that were spoken in Salvador: Grunce, Jeje, Hauçá, Canúri and Tapa. With respect to the Iorubá, he affirms it was the most spoken language in Bahia, as much by old Africans as Creoles (slaves born in Brazil) and Mestizos.

But it is Pessoa de Castro (2001) who presents us an objective and enlightening map in which she points out in each state of Brazil which African languages were spoken, and then presenting a table where she organized the occurrences of these languages – on a vertical axis – according to the economic activities to which Africans were forcibly recruited, and distributing them – on a horizontal axis – throughout the centuries of the colonization of Brazil. Let's look at the map and the picture:

SKETCH OF AN AFRICAN ETHNOLOGICAL MAP IN BRAZIL
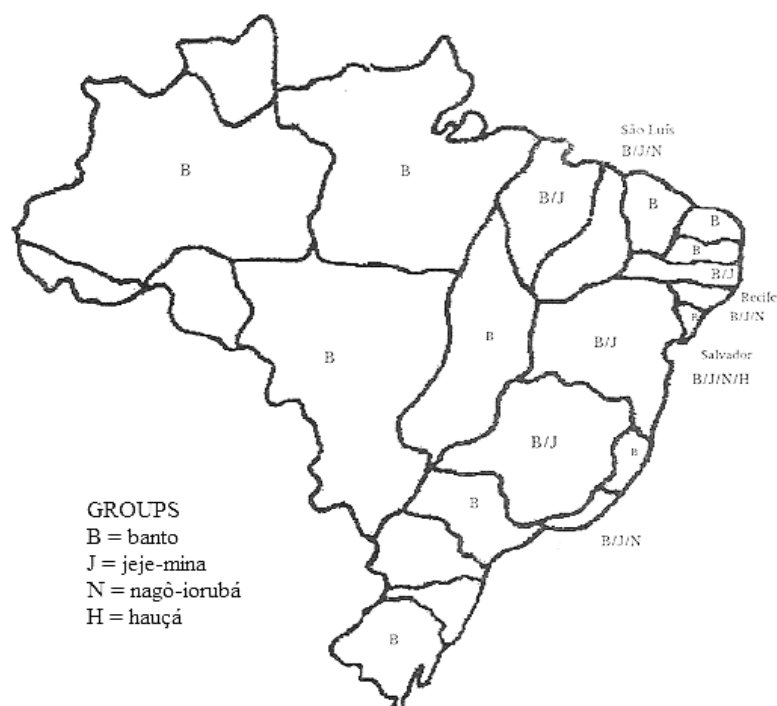
main activity	century of massive introduction			
	16th	17th	18th	19th
agriculture	B	B/J	B/J/N	B/J/N
mining			B/J	
urban services				B/J/N/H

Image: Sketch of an African Ethnological map in Brazil
Source: Pessoa de Castro (2001, p. 47)

Thus, according to the information on the map, the languages of the Banto group predominated among the African languages that arrived in Brazil. Let us detail the information:

a) In the states of Amazonas, Pará, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Sergipe, Mato Grosso (North and South), in the region that corresponds to the states of Goiás and Tocantins, Espírito Santo, São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, the languages of the Banto group were the only African languages spoken;

b) In the states of Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia (in general) and Minas Gerais, besides the languages of the Banto group, languages of the Jeje-Mina group were also spoken;

c) In the state of Rio de Janeiro, besides the languages of the Banto group, the languages of the Jeje-Mina and Nagô-Iorubá groups were spoken;

d) In a restricted way, in the capitals of São Luís, Maranhão, and Recife, Pernambuco, languages of the Banto, Jeje-Mina and Nagô-Iorubá groups were spoken. In the capital, Salvador, Bahia, the languages of the four groups indicated by Pessoa de Castro (2001) were spoken: Banto, Jeje-Mina, Nago-Iorubá and Hauçá. Salvador was the most plurilingual city in Brazil concerning African languages.

With regard to the Banto language group, as we could see in the map above, besides the large number of states in which this group was isolated, it was also present in all others, either with the language group Jeje-Mina or with the language groups Jeje-Mina and Nagô-Iorubá, or with the language groups Jeje-Mina, Nagô-Iorubá and Hauçá. Finally, the languages of the Banto group were in all the regions that compose the current territory of Brazil, with few exceptions.

Analyzing the picture where the economic activities are crossed, the centuries in which they predominated and the groups of languages used in each of these activities and each of these centuries, we noticed agriculture was the economic activity that most welcomed African languages during all the centuries of colonization. Thus, the Negroes who were brought to work in this activity spoke, in the 16th century: languages of the Banto group; in the 17th century: languages of the Banto and Jeje-Mina groups; in the 18th century: languages of the Banto, Jeje-Mina and Nagô-Iorubá groups; and in the 19th century: languages also of the Banto, Jeje-Mina and Nagô-Iorubá groups.

Mining, however, only assumed a great importance during the 18th century, and Negroes that spoke languages from the Banto and Jeje-Mina groups were transported to the mining area.

As for the context of the cities, Pessoa de Castro (2001) only exposes to us data related to the 19th century, stating that Blacks used in urban services spoke the languages of the Banto, Jeje-Mina, Nago-Iorubá and Hauçá groups.

On the Portuguese spoken by the Blacks in Brazil, Petter (2006) affirms the records on this issue are only from the 19th century. Thus, "on the first centuries of colonization no record has yet been found"; only records that travelers have left on the Portuguese spoken by the Blacks are available.

However, Oliveira (2006), in his doctoral thesis entitled *Negros e escrita no Brasil do século XIX: sócio-história, edição filológica de documentos e estudo linguístico* ("Negroes and writing in Brazil at the 19th century: socio-history, philological editing of documents and linguistic study"), reveals the existence not only of documents that record Portuguese written by Negroes in the 19th century, but also of documents written by these Negroes themselves, attesting that in the 19th century Portuguese was spoken as well as written by Africans and Afro-Descendants. Oliveira edited, among others, fourteen documents written by slaves (thirteen letters and a power of attorney) and fifty-five minutes written by African Blacks released from the *Sociedade Protetora dos Desvalidos* ("Protective Society of the Destitutes"), located in Salvador, Bahia.

From 1831 onwards, the Portuguese spoken by Blacks, nicknamed "xacoco", began to be registered by the press and by literature. This literary material, besides other written sources, is being analyzed, today, by Alkmim. However, the aforementioned researcher makes the caveat that "[…] these data, in the case of the literary work, should also be considered as artistic creation and, in the case of periodicals, should be analyzed within the framework of stereotypes." (ALKMIM, 1999 apud PETTER, 2006, p. 130).

In this way, the documents found, related to the 19th century, and to which we refer, show, especially in Salvador, there was an African plurilingualism. In addition, they allow us to verify the existence of a Portuguese peculiar to slaves. (PETTER, 2006).

Since 1930, the focus of linguistic studies on African languages has changed: the attention shifted from the African languages themselves to situations of contact in which these languages have been involved for more than three centuries with the Portuguese language in order to highlight and explain the national identity of the Portuguese spoken in Brazil. (PETTER, 2006).

Studies on the influence of African languages here are systematically inaugurated by the works *A influência africana no português do Brasil* ("African influence on the Portuguese of Brazil"), by Mendonça, and *O elemento afro-negro na língua portuguesa* ("The Afro-Black element in portuguese language"), by Raimundo, both published in 1933. In these works, their authors seek to identify the origin of African blacks transplanted to Brazil, as well as to point out some African influences in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth, BP). In this way, both Mendonça and Raimundo conclude most of the aspects that characterize BP are the result of contact with the African languages, especially the Iorubá and the Kimbundo.

Two other works deal with this influence. The first, from 1946, entitled *A língua do Brasil* ("The language of Brazil)", by Chaves de Melo; the second, from 1950, entitled *Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil* ("Introduction to the study of the Portuguese language in Brazil"), by Silva Neto. Both undertook an internal BP analysis. And let us not forget João Ribeiro, highlighted and quoted by Freyre (2002, p. 437), who affirmed in BP there were "[…] quite profound changes not only in terms of vocabulary, but to the grammatical system of the language [...]." It should be noted, at the aforementioned vocabulary level, the influence of the Tupinambá, mainly on fauna, flora and toponymy, is given greater importance.

However, the work (now also of documentary value) that perhaps may be considered the most important record of an African language in Brazil is called *Arte da língua de Angola* ("The art of the language of Angola"), published in 1697. Its author, Pedro Dias, was a jesuit, jurist and doctor. This document is a grammar of the Kimbundo, spoken in Salvador by Angolan enslaved, who were estimated by father Antônio Vieira in 23 thousand individuals. The aim of this grammar was to ease the learning of the Kimbundo for the jesuits, since this was necessary for the catechesis of the Blacks who spoke the language. "This document reveals that in the 17th century, in Bahia, where the largest Black population of the time was concentrated, the language used by Black slaves was African". In fact, the date of writing of the grammar, 1694, reinforces the hypothesis that, at *Quilombo dos Palmares* ("Quilombo of Palmares"), destroyed in 1695, the Kimbundo could have been the common language. (PETTER, 2006, p. 127). Still, it is not the earliest record of what African languages were spoken in that state.

According to the policy of acquiring the language of the peoples they wished to indoctrinate and master, the jesuits wrote grammars in the languages of the potential catechumens, as well as catechisms, in order to – after literalizing them into a writing system created by themselves – get them into Christian doctrine. As for the initiation of the peoples subdued in Christian doctrine, the catechisms were used. The grammars, which they elaborated in the languages of those who wished to convert to the "true faith", were mainly intended for the members of the Order themselves, who used them to learn the languages described and framed in the Latin grammatical tradition. This is probably the case with the grammar of the Kimbundo, to which Petter (2006) refers.

However, as regards the use of African languages in the elaboration of jesuit catechisms, Martins Terra (1988 apud CASIMIRO, 2008) gives us information about its existence in 1580. This catechism was written in a context in which, according to Casimiro (2008), slaves initiated in the Order in Brazil realized interchanges with slaves initiated in the Order in Angola. In this way, some Black students of the Colony of Luanda contributed in Brazilian lands, in order to work in the missions here. These adventitious missionaries were responsible for the *Arte da língua de Angola*, published in Lisbon in 1697, and written by Pedro Dias – to which Petter (2006) refers –, by the *Catecismo na língua dos Ardas* ("Catechism in the language of the Ardas") – whose exact date Martins Terra does not offer, but leaves implicit to be from the same time of the *Arte da língua de Angola* –, written by Manuel de Lima, and finally by the translation to an African language not specified by Martins Terra, of the *Doutrina Cristã* ("Christian Doctrine"), carried out by Baltazar Fernandes in the year 1580; that is to say, 117 years before the edition of the *Arte da língua de Angola*, by Pedro Dias.

Some African languages, which arrived in Brazil almost 500 years ago, survive as a way of speaking that is peculiar to an age group or to groups of people dedicated to certain activities. These languages are no longer syntactically full, but the result of a long contact with the Portuguese language, currently depending on its syntax. Its main functions are: use in religious rituals; and use as a "secret" language for recreational purposes. They can be identified in Black rural communities, composed by descendants of slaves, like Cafundó – in São Paulo, Brazil – and Tabatinga – in Minas Gerais, Brazil.

The candomblé religion, whether in Brazil or in Africa, uses, as its languages, the Iorubá, which is the main one, as it is in all candomblés, the Eve-Fon, the Kimbundo, the Kicongo and a mixture of Mina-Nagô languages (PETTER, 2006). As regards the use of African languages in candomblé, it is worth noting the observation made by Pessoa de Castro (2001, 2006), regarding the "methodological continuity", which she criticizes, stating the emphasis given to the study of African languages in candomblé *terreiros*, especially those studied by Nina Rodrigues, led internationally renowned scholars, such as Roger Bastide and Pierre Verger, to attribute to Iorubá merits that actually belong to other African languages.

4.1 EXOGENOUS INFLUENCES WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Considering that, in order to have the aforementioned exogenous influences, we must necessarily take into account the previous diffusion of the Portuguese language over our territory, we will quickly expose how such diffusion took place, using two paths that we consider valid of having occurred:

a) Through *spontaneous* diffusion of the Portuguese, mostly in its popular variety, spoken by Africans and Afro-Descendants, and that was displaced throughout vast regions of the national territory, according to the need of manpower that appeared in different regions, linked to the interests of the various economic cycles that characterized the colonial Brazil, namely: sugar-cane (16th and 17th centuries in the Northeast and part of the Southeast), gold and diamonds (17th and 18th centuries in Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso and Goiás) and coffee (19th century in the Southeast). (MATTOS E SILVA, 2004). It should be noted, however, Indians and Mamelukes, natives of the regions where these economic cycles flourished, were also spontaneous diffusers of Portuguese as a second language, in a situation of bilingualism with their native pre-colonial languages and with the general languages.

b) Through *planned* diffusion of the Portuguese, mainly in its school variety, which was carried out, mainly, through the measures foreseen in the Pombaline Directory from 1757-1758, translated, among others, in the elevation of a large number of small villages to villages, to which it was appointed directors of Indians, who were to administer and impose on them the use of the Portuguese language over local languages, by building schools. (RODRIGUES, 2006). Although this path presented a weaker effect in the diffusion of the Portuguese language in Brazil, it cannot be neglected, though as a complement to the first one exposed above.

Regarding the consequences of the linguistic contact in the structure of BP – the object of this subitem –, we hold on some considerations made by Lucchesi (1998, 2012) on how BP assumed its current polarized character – divided into a popular pole and a cult pole –, using the previous distinction between cult norm and standard norm that, along with Lobo (1988), helped to develop, rationalizing knowledge taken from previous experiences, such as the NURC project, coordinated by Castilho in the 1970s.

In this way, Lucchesi and Lobo (1988) quite clearly propose the distinction between cult and standard norm, defining the cult norm as the speech patterns observed in the most schooled social classes of the Brazilian population and the standard norm as the linguistic standards crystallized in traditional grammars. This distinction is justified by the discrepancy found between traditional models that the school seeks to convey and the models that are actually used by the more schooled segments of society and would have been triggered by the nationalist stance that gained clear features in Brazil during Post-Independence Romanticism, from 1822, and was concretized one hundred years later, during the *Semana de Arte Moderna de São Paulo* ("Week of Modern Art of São Paulo"), reflecting on the cultural and linguistic patterns of schooled Brazilians.

The cult norm and the standard norm, in turn, would be in opposition to the popular norm, used by less favored segments, in socioeconomic terms, of the Brazilian society.

Lucchesi (1998) argues when we understand the socio-historical process of formation of the popular norm and the cult norm of BP we begin to make use of an instrument of great value for the understanding of its current linguistic reality.
Thus, in order to delineate this reality, he locates, at one pole of the BP speech community – located mainly in coastal cities – the cult norm, "[…] where one can observe a certain direction of change, to which converge judgments of value that its members exhibit over the competing forms of expression that characterize their linguistic variables", such as the tendency toward stable variation at high levels in the application of the verbal agreement rule in the 3rd person plural, verified by analyzing the apparent time, and considering the elderly, adults and young people, with, respectively, 98%, 93% and, again, 93% of application of the mentioned rule (LUCCHESI, 1998, p. 74, 2012).

At the other pole, located mainly in the rural zone, he locates the popular norm, "[...] where there are significant processes of changes in progress, which in many cases exhibit a direction opposite to that observed in the cult norm." These processes "[...] refer to an earlier scenario of drastic changes that have taken place in the grammar of popular segments throughout the linguistic formation of Brazil [...]", because "[...] the conditions of slave work in the sugar-cane plantations, in the mining zone and in the coffee plantations,

successively in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, developed typical situations of pidginization and creolization […]" (LUCCHESI, 1998, p. 74-78) or situations that are framed into the larger scenario of irregular linguistic transmission.

In these situations, if the demographic proportion of the linguistic community is at least of 10 dominated, speakers of languages unintelligible among themselves, to 1 domineering, speaker of the target language, we have the necessary conditioning for the pidginization and creolization of the latter among the members of the dominated population – which necessarily involves the erosion and the subsequent original reassembling of its grammar, giving rise to a new language. However, if the proportion is less than 10 to 1, we have the conditioning that will only result in the formation of a new target language variety. In both cases, irregular linguistic transmission more readily affects the personal-number morphemes of verbs and the morphemes responsible for number and gender agreement in the noun phrase, either by eliminating them in the most extreme cases or by provoking a variation in its application, in milder cases – in the latter, the gender morpheme is generally preserved. However, if the dominated speech community, after irregular linguistic transmission, has more access to the target language, the marks of the precarious acquisition tend to be lost, giving rise to the acquisition of its morphosyntactic mechanisms, being the language of greater social prestige. (LUCCHESI, 2012).

For instance, considering the same analysis in the apparent time, Lucchesi (2012) finds that among the speakers of the popular norm, instead of a tendency to the stable variation in the application of the rule of verbal agreement in the 3rd person plural, whose results we have exposed above, there is an appreciable and progressively higher percentage in the application of this rule, as long as we compare the elderly speakers' percentage of application with the adults and young's ones, at the levels of, respectively, 10%, 14% and 22%, in a table characteristic of change in progress towards the acquisition of the rule.

Moreover, in isolated Afro-Brazilian rural communities, such as Helvécia, at the south of Bahia, in addition to the characteristics present in Brazil's popular norm as a whole, such as the aforementioned variation in the application of the rule of verbal agreement in the 3rd person plural, we have a framework of variation in the verbal agreement that also affects the 1st person singular and, within the scope of the nominal phrase, a variation that reaches the application of the rule of agreement of gender between the determinant and the nucleus. Both the variation in verbal agreement in the 1st person singular and the variation in nominal gender agreement are absolutely uncommon in the rest of Brazil – except in a few isolated Afro-Brazilian communities, which had a socio-historical process of formation similar to Helvécia and in recent cases of the 20th century, such as that of the Indians of the *Alto Xingu*, as it will be seen below.

These factors, evidenced by empirical research and reinforced by socio-historical data, lead us to believe that in Helvécia the scenario of irregular linguistic transmission of Portuguese to the local enslaved population was even more pronounced than in the rest of Brazil (in the context of the popular norm). An important factor in this sense is the demographic proportion between dominated and domineering, which, in the case of Helvécia, was, respectively, 10 to 1 – as we have seen, a reference proportion for the initiation of processes of pidginization and creolization –, while in Brazil in general, this ratio was 10 to 3, respectively – thus inhibiting processes of pidginization and creolization, but sufficient to allow the appearance of a new target language variety, that is, BP popular norm.

4.1.1 Another important point of Lucchesi's (2012) considerations lies in the assertion that the understanding of the nature of the processes of change that we can observe in popular Portuguese also contributes to the understanding of the changes occurred in the cult norm, thus contributing to the characterization of BP as a whole.

This is because the rural exodus – a social phenomenon that strongly affected Brazil in the first half of the 20th century – provoked an inversion of the country's demographic characteristics, making eminently urban – and even more socially stratified – a territory that, in the colonial period, was eminently rural, making the popular Portuguese, spoken in the lower strata of Brazilian population, to interact closely with the cult Portuguese, spoken in the highest strata of the same population, through, for example, the labor relations that imply intense contact and lasting relationship between people from these two social classes, such as the relationships between domestic workers – often illiterate or semi-illiterate who migrated from the countryside to the city – and bosses – usually with high schooling and born in the cities.

In addition, Lucchesi (1998, 2012) uses demographic data on the aforementioned European immigrants – including, however, the Asians – who, in number of more than three million, arrived in Brazil between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Having entered in the base of Brazilian social pyramid, working in the rural zone, and acquired BP in its popular variety, these immigrants, due to a strong tradition of schooling that, in some cases, they had from their countries of origin, quickly ascended in the social pyramid, taking with them some of the structures of popular Portuguese. Thus, by entering the middle and upper classes of Brazilian population, they allowed, through the doors they opened, the entrance of popular Portuguese in these same social strata, speaker of the cult Portuguese, accentuating the normative interaction and contributing even more to the distance between the cult nof BP and the cult norm of European Portuguese (hereafter EP).

Teyssier (2007), however, disagrees the main cause of the changes that characterize the popular norm – and through it reaching the cult norm, helping to characterize the contemporary BP as a whole – has been the contact with African languages, when he affirms the characteristics of BP reflect, in fact, influences of the African substrate that precipitated the already latent drift present in the Portuguese language since its origin.

But it is from the linguists Naro and Scherre (2003) that there is now a greater opposition to the influence that Baxter and Lucchesi (2006) attribute to the African languages, the main responsible for the current characteristics of BP, especially with respect to its popular norm.

Thus, they seek to demonstrate that the characteristics of the irregular linguistic transmission of Portuguese in Brazilian lands – such as the wide range of variation in the number agreement and, to a lesser extent, in the gender agreement in the popular norm – actually existed in EP even before its arrival in Brazil and, in parallel, nowadays, continue to occur in Lusitanian territory.

For this, they used written examples of the pre-sixteenth-century EP (when the Portuguese people began the colonization of South America), present in the texts *Vida e feitos de Júlio César* ("Life and feats of Julius Caesar"), *Diálogos de São Gregório* ("Dialogues of St. Gregory") and *A demanda do Santo Graal* ("The Quest for the Holy Grail"), and of written EP from the newspaper *Correio da Manhã* – which shows an even greater variation in speech – in which we have examples of the non-realization of verbal agreement of number. Regarding the gender agreement of EP, they cite examples in spoken language taken from Mira (1954) and Ratinho (1959). (NARO; SCHERRE, 2003).

On the consequences of this loss of morphology, as pointed out by Lucchesi (w/d), like the increase in the realization of the pronominal subject, in order to compensate the wide variation in the use of the personal-number endings of verbs in Brazil's popular norm – and that would be an indication of irregular linguistic transmission, since the realization of the pronominal subject, contrary to Naro and Scherre's claims, is a characteristic of Creole languages –, these authors argue in the opposite sense, because, according to data obtained by them within the speaking of 17 illiterates from Rio de Janeiro, there was a greater occurrence of pronominal subject precisely in situations where the verbs presented the plural morphology: 59% of "*eles* falaram" against 53% of "*eles* falou". (NARO; SCHERRE, 2003).

Based, then, on the results exposed, Naro and Scherre concluded that *marks lead to marks and zeros lead to zeros*, because the percentage of realization of the pronominal subject was greater in cases where there was the plural mark in the verb with which this subject performed the agreement, whereas the percentage of achievement of the pronominal subject was lower in cases where there was no plural mark in the verb (absence of plural mark = zero) with which the subject was in agreement.

Thus, having as base of argumentation the occurrence of the variation of number and gender agreement – between verb and subject, between elements of the NP and between predicative and subject – also in EP, before the 16th century and even today, and the alleged fact that the tendency towards the realization of the pronominal subject would have no relation to the loss of verbal morphology due to the irregular linguistic transmission of Portuguese in the colonial period, Naro and Scherre (2003) affirm the current characteristics of the popular BP norm, in fact, would already be present in the language system ever since and that here in Brazil the

process of irregular linguistic transmission would have only intensified those characteristics already inherent to the Portuguese language system, which "navigated" through its structure, with no definite direction throughout the centuries, as a "drifting boat", hence the analogy made by naming this process.

The authors' argumentation, despite very well formulated, runs counter, however, to the linguistic phenomenon of dative alternation, related to the complementation of direct and indirect transitive verbs, observed in the popular variety of Portuguese spoken by the older members of the Afro-Brazilian community of Helvécia. This type of structure is characterized by the order V (verb) + IO (indirect object) + DO (direct object), with the elimination of the preposition before the IO, in contrast to the categorical structure of Portuguese language, characterized by the order V + DO + IO, and "[…] is not attested in any past stage of the evolution of Portuguese [...]", forming an example of an original restructuring of grammar, which finds parallels with the Creoles of Guiné-Bissau and São Tomé e Príncipe. (LUCCHESI, 1998, p. 91-92; LUCCHESI, 2003, p. 281).

Still on the dialectic between the two lines of reasoning, which seek to explain the formation of the popular BP norm (and, indirectly, the characteristics of BP as a whole, in contrast to EP), the position defended by Baxter and Lucchesi (2006) finds another important parallel in pidginized Portuguese, spoken by the indigenous peoples from the *Alto Xingu* Reserve, in the state of Mato Grosso, named by Emmerich and Paiva (2009) as *Português Xinguano*.

In 1940, Marshal Rondon, in an expedition financed by the *Fundação Brasil Central* ("Central Brazil Foundation"), known as *Roncador-Xingu*, set out to clear the Brazilian rural areas with two purposes: to build brazilian telegraph lines and to establish contact with the Indians of the *Xingu*, whose interaction with the Brazilian society was very small, if nonexistent.

During the expedition's passage through the region, the siblings Orlando, Leonardo and Cláudio Villas-Bôas decided to settle there, inaugurating a systematic contact with the indigenous peoples of the *Xingu* (in the case of some of these peoples), and re-establishing contact with others (in the case of peoples who, in the distant past, had already contacted the jesuits).

The result of this contact established between the Villas-Bôas siblings and the peoples named Kamayurá, Aweti (speakers of Tupi-Guarani languages), Waurá, Mehinaku, Yawalapiti (speakers of the Aruák language), Kalapalo, Kuikuro, Matipu (speakers of languages of the Karib family) and Trumái (an isolated language) was the formation of a pidginized Portuguese, used in the communication between the various ethnic groups and the Villas-Bôas siblings. (EMMERICH; PAIVA, 2009).

However, with the arrival of naturalist researchers from the National Museum, doctors from the *Escola Paulista de Medicina* ("Paulistan School of Medicine") and with the installation of a group of the Brazilian Air Force in the region, the indigenous groups, then, could access structures of the target language – that is, the native and cult BP without grammatical erosion –, a fact that unleashed a process that came to be characterized as a continuum of several levels of Portuguese competence spoken by these Indians, from the pidginized level, which emerged at the beginning of the contact and was used by the older speakers, to the level where some of these Indians could be considered bilinguals in their mother tongue and in Portuguese, represented by the younger Indians. Thus, due to the greater insertion of these Indians in the Brazilian society, the Portuguese that was the result of a process of pidginization, nowadays, undergoes an inverse process of depidginization. This is because shortly after grammatical erosion the access to the structures of the target language increased, making no room for an original grammatical restructuring process, so that the situation of inter-language contact in the *Alto Xingu* resulted in non-formation of a language that is qualitatively distinct from Portuguese and other Indigenous languages of the region, but rather the formation of a new variety of Portuguese, in an analogous manner to what occurred in the popular varieties of Portuguese spoken in isolated Afro-Brazilian communities descendant from ancient *quilombos*, like the community of Helvécia.

In addition, Emmerich (2009, p. 157-161), when performing intralinguistic studies in *Português Xinguano*, already in process of depidginization, found phenomena, resulting from the contact, which resemble phenomena of the Portuguese of Helvécia, such as the "neutralization of the first and third person singular" and the fact that "the elements farther to the left of the nucleus tend to receive more plural marks than the elements to the right of the nucleus".

We can also note the similarities between *Português Xinguano* and Helvécia Portuguese in the very fact that there is a continuum of linguistic competence, both in one variety and the other, and that can be perceived through a study in apparent time, which reveals a degree of ascending morphological competence in the use of Portuguese, as linguistic data are analyzed in relation to younger speakers.

Emmerich and Paiva (2009, p. 157) even compare the situation of the Portuguese of contact of the *Alto Xingu* with the variety of Portuguese that emerged in Helvécia, when they affirm, finally, the simplifications verified in these varieties "[...] approximate to characteristic aspects of Creole varieties of Portuguese".

In this way, we have seen that the *Português Xinguano*, which underwent a recent process of pidginization – which could be more readily verified, because in the older speakers of the *Xingu* it is still possible to verify in loco the Portuguese with characteristics of a pidgin language –, presents characteristics similar to the variety of Helvécia Portuguese, which points to the confirmation of the hypothesis that, in cases in which the Portuguese language came into contact with Indigenous and African languages in the colonial period, the same process of pidginization may have occurred.

Therefore, in our view, denying the role of irregular linguistic transmission as the main responsible for the current structural characteristics of popular BP (and, indirectly, of BP as a whole) is to "shut the eyes" to a whole history marked by the violent Portuguese colonization in Brazil, as this historical context precisely defined the sociolinguistic conditions identified by creolistics as propitious to processes of pidginization and creolization of a language, such as the enslavement of Indigenous peoples in the *Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará* ("State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará"), and mainly of the enslavement of large African contingents, in the case of the State of Brazil, which were concentrated in the sugar-cane plantations in the beginning of the colonization in real pluri-ethnic and plurilingual agglomerations.

5 THE CURRENT LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF BRAZIL

5.1 THE CURRENT FRAMEWORK OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN BRAZIL

In order to emphasize Brazilian linguistic plurality, an interesting comparison by Teixeira (2004) underlines how Australia is a territory in which about 200 languages are spoken, but almost all of them belong to the same linguistic family, unlike Brazil, whose approximately 180 indigenous languages belong to 35 different language families.

This great linguistic diversification of South America can be attributed, according to Teixeira (2004), to the long period of isolation by which the groups that inhabited the American continent passed, since it is deduced that the inhabitation of South America began, at least, 10,000 years ago, which allowed the indigenous languages here to have at least this long period to be distinguished and to multiply. Thus, thanks to the Brazilian languages' isolation, some of them could preserve characteristics that linguists thought did not exist in the languages of the world. This is the case of the Hixkaryána and Nadb languages, which organize their sentences beginning with the object (TEIXEIRA, 2004, p. 293).

The four largest groups of Indigenous languages in Brazil are the Tupi and Macro-Jê branches, and the Aruák and Karib families. They are distributed by large territorial extension and are integrated by a great amount of languages; there are also smaller families, which have fewer languages and are distributed over a smaller territorial extension; and there are isolated languages, named as such because they are not related to other Brazilian Indigenous languages. In this way, we could say they constitute families of a single member, that is, themselves (MONTSERRAT, 1994).

The Tupi branch includes the Tupi-Guarani family, which, having a large number of languages, extends over a large part of South America. Only in Brazil, 21 languages of this family are currently spoken. This branch also includes other smaller families.

With regard to the Macro-Jê branch, the evidences that may lead to establish kinship among the languages to be considered as its members are not so certain. The most important family that this branch includes is the Jê family – whose languages are spoken from southern Maranhão and Pará to Mato Grosso do Sul, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul –, which is subdivided in four other groups: Timbira, Kayapó, Akwén and Kaingáng. As for the affiliation of other families to the Macro-Jê branch, this is a still diffuse subject, since there is nothing more than indications. Even because the very constitution of the Macro-Jê branch is still hypothetical. (MONTSERRAT, 1994, p.96).

Karib is among the four largest groups of Indigenous languages in Brazil, as mentioned above. However, because this group includes languages with great similarities, Rodrigues (1985 apud MONTSERRAT, 1994) considers it a family, not a branch. The languages that integrate it are concentrated in the region of the Guianas, including the French Guiana, Suriname, Guiana, the Venezuelan Guiana and the Brazilian Guiana. In Brazil, 21 Karib languages are spoken, mostly distributed in the north of the Amazon River, Amapá, northern Pará, Roraima and Amazonas. Rodrigues points out a possible link between the Tupi, Jê and Karib languages. "This could then mean that there was a remote ancestor, common to the three largest language groups in Brazil: Karib, Tupi and Jê." (MONTSERRAT, 1994, p. 97).

In relation to the group Aruák, this also was considered a branch, that comprised the Aruák and Arawá families. However, based on recent data, Rodrigues (1985 apud MONTSERRAT, 1994) prefers to consider it not an Aruák branch, which includes the Aruák and Arawá families, but only the latter two, without affixing them to a common linguistic branch, and referring to them only as the Aruák family and the Arawá family.

The languages of the Aruák family are spoken in Brazil (from the Guiana region to the west of Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul), Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela. According to Urban (1992 apud MONTSERRAT, 1994), this family exists for about 3,000 years, with the north-central part of Peru being the area from which the dispersion of the Aruák family languages probably began.

In the states of Amazonas and Acre, there is the Arawá family, which currently comprises only four very similar languages: Kulina, Dení, Yamamadí and Paumarí.

The smaller linguistic families probably have less than 3,000 years of existence, and cover a greater territorial concentration, generally located in the periphery of the Amazon basin (MONTSERRAT, 1994).

Among the isolated languages, Tikuna is an exception because it has more than 20 thousand speakers. Still in relation to these isolated languages, and including very small families, Urban (1992 apud MONTSERRAT, 1994) raises the possibility of existing three points in South America from where they originated their dispersions: the Brazilian Northeast; the West of Brazil, including part of Bolivia; and Northern Peru and Ecuador.

In addition to Tikuna, the other isolated Indigenous languages – that is, those for which no kinship was identified so that it could allow them to be grouped into families and branches – still spoken in Brazil are: Aikaná, Koaiá (Arara), Kanoê (Kapixaná), Jabuti, Arikapú, Mky, Trumái, Awakê and Máku.

Concerning Northeastern Brazil, with the exception of Pernambuco and Maranhão, there are no more minority languages in the region. Thus, in Pernambuco the native language Yatê is spoken by the indians Fulniô, from Águas Belas; and in Maranhão the indigenous languages Guajajára, Guajá, Ka'Apóre, Timbira and Mbyá are spoken.

5.2 EUROPEAN AND ASIAN LANGUAGES THAT BEGAN TO INTEGRATE THE BRAZILIAN LANGUAGE SCENARIO SINCE THE 19th CENTURY

From the 19th century onwards, in the South and Southeast of Brazil, the arrival of a large number of immigrants from various ethnic groups begins. A more intense immigration in these regions contributed to turn more evident the ethnic pluralism in these areas. Some of these groups of immigrants were Italians, Germans, Polish and Japanese that, meeting in population nuclei, with a strong ethnic-cultural characterization, mainly in rural areas, ended up, therefore, getting more visibility by the rest of Brazil. (KREUTZ, 2000).

The settlers who arrived in Brazil to work as substitutes of the enslaved labor force in the 19th century sought to maintain some form of ethnic identification, which used to be reflected in the continued using of the mother language, in the religious organization and in the formation of associations and schools, although the so-called ethnic schools of stronger cultural tradition only emerged between the late 19th century and the early 20th century.

But ethnic schools were not created solely as a result of the immigrants' concern to preserve their cultural traditions. Many of them were already literate and came from their countries with a strong school tradition. For this reason, aware of the importance of school, and not finding public schools in the regions where they settled, community schools were implemented.

As for the reasons that led the Brazilian government to encourage immigration, Kreutz (2000, p. 349) presents them: 1. The example of what occurred in the United States, where immigration has produced good results in terms of economic and social development for the country; 2. "Immigration has also begun to be a way of guaranteeing the occupation of geographical space, especially in the Southern region, in constant conflict with the River Plate countries"; and 3. The racial issue, as it is alleged that Brazilian government gave preference to European immigrants because it would be initiating the process of "whitening" the country.

Although the state preferred heterogeneous ethnic groups, the immigrants themselves converged in concentrations, in order to facilitate their religious, social and school organization.

If we consider the demographic importance of the immigrants who arrived in Brazil, in descending order, we have: 1. Italians; 2. Spanish; 3. Portuguese – already under the laws of independent Brazil; 4. Japanese[4]; and 5. Germans (KREUTZ, 2000).

With regard to the Polish, an assessment of their contingent becomes difficult, because many were classified as Russians, since Poland, at the time, was under Russian rule.

When immigrants began to arrive in Brazil, the world was experiencing the moment in which their countries sought the affirmation of a nationality, having as its mainstay the political and cultural unit. With Brazil, it was not different. Therefore, the context of the formation of a nationality here was based on such tendencies, which also implied linguistic unit. "A desired collective was sought, the universalization in the concept of people and nation was operated at the expense of cultural specificities and differentiations." (KREUTZ, 2000, p. 351).

Thus, the school system was supported by cultural uniformitarianism, which included the use of the Portuguese language only, and that would have as one of its functions its diffusion, as part of a project to strengthen the Brazilian national identity.

Ethnic schools of immigrants should be analyzed within this perspective, because, depending on the orientation of each state of the Federation, in the sense of imposing a national identity, such schools were favored or not.

In 1890, when more immigrants arrived in Brazil – about 1 million and 200 thousand – the public school system was deficient to the point where the country had more than 80% of illiterates. This situation led immigrants to pressure on the state in order to create more public schools. The more homogeneous nuclei of immigrants, however, instead of asking for the creation of new schools,

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[4] With 400 thousand speakers, it is the most numerically significant linguistic minority in Brazil. (RODRIGUES, 2006).

sought to fill this gap by creating ethnic schools, strongly identified with their cultural roots, solving this problem more quickly: "These 'German', 'Italian' and 'Polish' colonies, isolated for a long time, having little contact with the national population, have undertaken to broad community structure to support the school process [...], with characteristics of the countries of origin". (KREUTZ, 2000, p. 354).

From the 1930s onwards, ethnic schools became viewed with hostility by the State, owing to the nationalist tendency that Brazil was going through. Thus, "in 1938-1939, at the time of compulsory nationalization, [ethnic schools] were closed or transformed into public schools by means of a sequence of nationalization decrees". (KREUTZ, 2000, p. 354).

However, immigrants themselves, regardless of the process of compulsory nationalization, were already undergoing another process, triggered by themselves, with internal and external motivations, in order to begin giving preference to Brazilian public schools. As an internal motivation, parents and students felt the need for a better Portuguese language proficiency, so that they could acquire the conditions to compete with better chances in the job market.

As an external motivation, we have the transport and communication revolution, which removed the regions, where the immigrants were settled, from the previous isolation into which they were immersed. Thus, being forced to interact with the rest of the country, in which Portuguese was already broadly spoken, they understood the need that the better learning of that language represented. For this reason, Kreutz (2000, p. 367) states "measures of compulsory nationalization of education have only precipitated a process of undergoing transformation."

The richness of data, presented in a clear and objective way by Kreutz (2000), allows us to have a precise notion of which other languages – besides Portuguese and the average of 180 Indigenous languages – became part of the – already located – multilingual scenario of Brazil. This allows us to have a precise notion, as well, of how Portuguese – whether by official paths or by the attitude of the immigrants themselves – became hegemonic among these immigrant groups that landed in Brazil, with their respective languages, from the 19th century onwards, though bilingualism – at least domestically, between their native languages and Portuguese – still remains among these groups.

5.3 THE CURRENT FRAMEWORK OF THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE IN BRAZIL

In subitem 4.1 of this article, we dealt with the diffusion of Portuguese in Brazil, presenting the hypotheses, which we consider to be complementary, of Mattos e Silva (2004) and Rodrigues (2006), in order to explain how the polarization process of the Portuguese language in Brazil took place, as Lucchesi (1998, 2003, 2012) considered it, and how this polarization started to fade because of the close and prolonged contact between the cult norm and the popular norm, as a result of the rural exodus and the rise of European and Asian immigrants to the socioeconomically privileged strata of Brazilian population.

With the migration of a large contingent from the rural zone to the urban zone, the two norms, cult and popular, found themselves and were redistributed diastratically throughout the Brazilian social pyramid, because the people from the rural zones, when arriving in the cities, began to exercise socially disadvantaged functions, beginning to thicken the contingent of the base of this pyramid. Thus, they became the depository of the popular norm, while the members of the top of the pyramid – who were already there and, there, remained – became the custodians of the cult norm, as we have seen. Hence Teyssier's statement that, in Brazil, dialectic work should be more vertical than horizontal, that is, more multidimensional than one-dimensional (2007).

Without disagreeing with Teyssier (2007), regarding the greater relevance of a multidimensional dialectology, we must, however, disagree – without leaving the multidimensional bias – with the affirmation that the diastratic variations should have prevalence of analysis over the diatopic variations, since, as we can see in Cardoso (2006) – one of the authors of the first *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* ("Linguistic Atlas of Brazil"), completed and published in 2014 –, the variation "[...] reaches Brazilian Portuguese in the horizontal plane, diversifying regions and areas, characterized by major or minor amplitude [mainly at the phonetic level], and in the vertical

plane, indicating particularizing traits of uses of the different social strata [mainly at the morphosyntactic level] [...]" (CARDOSO, 2006, p. 376), making it clear that both diatopic and diastratic variations reflect the reality of the BP.

In this case, according to the author, in order to have a precise idea of the Brazilian dialectical framework, it is necessary to deepen the empirical observations in all levels of variation of the Portuguese language, both in the diatopic axis and in the diastratic axis, not presenting conclusions based on empirical data that reflect only a certain level of variation and a single dimension of variation, otherwise the Brazilian dialectical framework will be traced with inaccuracies.

6 CONCLUSION

In this article, we tried to approach, simultaneously in a succinct and broad way, the points that we consider the main ones so that we could expose a panoramic view of the five hundred years of Brazil's social-linguistic history.

Thus, we began with the arrival of the Portuguese people in the 16th century, exposing the way through which they broke the initial linguistic barrier with the Autochthonous, passing through the formation of the three Brazilian general languages, by the process of enslavement of Africans in our territory – emphasizing the importance of the consequent linguistic contact provoked by this process – as well as by the current dialectical framework in Brazil, including both the remaining national Indigenous languages and the European and Asian languages which arrived here in the first half of the 19th century and which still persist as linguistic minorities, although they were not recognized by the 1988 Federal Constitution as national languages. In this way, we hope to have provided the reader a basic knowledge of both the historical course of the BP and the elements that constituted and strongly determined this course.

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