

The Literary Representation of Non-Standardness as a Marker of Dialect “Voice” in *Mau Tempo no Canal*: Some Considerations¹

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Abstract. In *Mau Tempo no Canal*, a relationship between “direct speech” in dialogue and “regional language” is suggested by indicators of non-standard spelling in the text, which strongly supports a direct reference to Azorean speech. Nemésio’s interest in this speech is aptly manifested in the discourse by echoing the “idiolects” in accordance with the characters’ respective social strata. In this introductory study—part of a longer linguistic research project dealing with Nemésio’s novels—the use of “literary dialect” in the discourse of one of the characters provides a background upon which the marked linguistic registers connoting an Azorean linguistic identity are recognized. These indicators are then traced against existing linguistic data to form an expository analysis of the speech.

No critério que adoptei para classificar em três tipos o açoriano dos nossos dias [o micaelense, o das ilhas de baixo e o picaroto], tive principalmente em conta os matizes da fala insulana, tão rebeldes à ouvira como virgens ainda para a fonética experimental. As modalidades de índole, costumes, maneiras acompanham esses matizes com uma precisão magnífica; e só tenho pena de que a minha intuição não venha socorrida das provas, dos vivos exemplares de que a minha memória anda cheia.

—Vitorino Nemésio, “O Açoriano e os Açores” (97)

In novels, authors often use such literary devices as orthographic distortion, grammatical formations, or a lexicon particular to a region to express or rep-

resent the verbal and phonetic idiosyncrasies of their characters. Primarily introduced in the context of dialogue, these conventions are used to enhance the “accurate” rendering of a particular character’s speech or diegesis. This representation of dialect or connotation of dialect speech differences is often achieved through the modification—from the standard language—of spelling within dialogue passages. The practice of this style to indicate non-standard pronunciation in dialogue is evident in the works of major figures such as Charles Dickens, George Bernard Shaw, Thomas Hardy, Emily Brontë, D. H. Lawrence, George Eliot, and Mark Twain, among others. Common examples that might be used to represent this convention and demonstrate the sound variety that distinguishes idiolect speakers in some of the novels of these writers can be illustrated with misspellings such as *dey*, *de*, and *dem* for *they*, *the*, and *them* respectively, with the use of the word-initial alveolar stop [d] to indicate a voiced sound, instead of the interdental fricative [d]; there is also the spelling of *mouf* and *tooff* for *mouth* and *tooth*, where the final *f* replaces the final voiceless *th* [θ].²

The alteration of a “nonphonetic writing system” to render a character’s speech sound has led to widespread critical discussions of this convention at the same time as it has attracted much attention from dialect scholars. When surveying the occurrence and representation of characters’ speech in English literature, for example, Blake (15) suggests that writers construct the voices of their characters through the creation of dialect features found in the text, such as manipulating spelling, vocabulary, or syntax, of which the former is more important. Norman Page echoes this understanding of dialectal characterization through the conventional techniques adopted by writers and explains that, “by long established tradition, any variant spelling may be interpreted as representing non-standard pronunciation, even where the spelling, as with *sez* and *tho’*, is a crude phonetic version of the standard pronunciation” (54).³ When creating the settings of speech distinctiveness and identification for their fiction—a “perceptual dialectology”—writers draw on these markers for phonetic purposes; but they also use linguistic registers with lexis and syntax to identify other codes of regional variation that mark narrators and characters speaking a dialect. In recognizing the possibilities of marked dialect representations in fictional work, Sumner Ives writes that “literary dialect is an author’s attempt to represent in writing a speech that is restricted regionally, socially, or both” (“A Theory” 138).

Among noted twentieth-century Portuguese writers, Vitorino Nemésio stands out for his use of the literary representation of non-standard language to render a “regional voice” with distinctive speech patterns. Readers familiar with Nemésio’s work find that his interest in Azorean speech is marked in his fiction, primarily with the extensive distribution of non-standard features with which he endowed some of his fictional characters. By far the most impressive trait of Nemésio’s oral style is the unifying linguistic indicators exhibited in the direct speech of some of his characters.⁴ The intentional use of these features codifies his perceptual fictional dialectology and enhances the discourse of dialect speakers. In this literary attempt to mark the speaker’s dialectal codes of speech, Nemésio seeks to construct a personality that stands apart, linguistically, from others in the text.⁵ He distorts and manipulates spelling so as to convey important clues that will enhance features of pronunciation. To represent non-standardness as a means of capturing and emphasizing regional or social divergences in pronunciations (Azorean), Nemésio depicts these orthographically, with sufficient detail, as well as with an extensive stock of dialect markers by exploiting and exaggerating on literary devices—eye dialect,⁶ spelling—in the discourse of direct speech.

In the literary representation techniques of speech in Nemésio’s *Mau Tempo no Canal*, dialect is closely associated with one of the main figures in the novel, Tio Amaro de Mirateca, the fisherman/whaleman who represents an oral dimension in the novel. A reading of the following passage will serve to illustrate how Nemésio represents oral speech.

...*Chomei o mē Lauriano e santei-o aqui im riba dos joêlhos, co lincinho dèle puinduirado na mão:* “Toma lá, meu *homē*! Andas sempre *co êsse ranho a cairir...*” “Olha, olha, meu avô! o *quô* Menino *Jasus me troixd...*” E tira *dobaixo* do braço—*úia canoinha de buxo, cum giga, moitães, e o sê poparo todo!* Foi o pai que *la fez co a navalha...* Andou *co aquilho inscundido* na manta, *somanas a fio...*! Só *qu'ria qu'a menina visse!* *Pacia mesmo—úia imbarcação* deveras, a *saiiro* o Canal de vento à popa.... (252)⁷

The non-standard spellings attest for roughly phonetic representations of a variant form of standard speech to underline, for example, vowel shifting and monophthongization: *chomei* (*chamei*), *santei-o* (*sentei-o*), *mē* (*meu*). The potential level of fictional dialect is clearly echoed in this idiolect; it is apparent to the reader that a dialect voice plays significantly in the protagonist’s *performance*—in Chomskyan terms and analogous to *parole* in Saussure’s

concept. Enough misspelling representing phonetic information is provided to produce a distinctive dialectal effect. As a result, the reader is presented with an acoustic dimension within the direct speech of the character, which Nemésio manipulates to produce an interplay of linguistic voices related to social stratification and regionalism. As Mikhail Bakhtin suggests, “The language of a novel is the system of its languages [...] the novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized” (162).

Given the frequency of the representation of non-standard features in Vitorino Nemésio’s novel, the question—from the standpoint of a phonological reading of the text—is one of interpretation: What significance can we ascribe to the speech patterns represented? In order to investigate this question further, we must establish a baseline from which to analyze any linguistic variation. Sumner Ives, in the essay “A Theory of Literary Dialect,” provides a very useful discussion of the linguistic theories and applications characterizing the “fictional” dialect. In response to Ives’s article it has been generally taken as a given that—for accuracy in the reading of literary dialect—the reader has to be familiar with the author’s own dialect settings and interpret the rendering of the nonstandard speech of the characters in terms of that dialect. It is by means of his verbal construct that the author makes his representation of idiolects or oral speeches. Ives’s work assumes, however, that “When an author uses dialect as a literary medium [...] it is [a] typical set of usages—[a] sort of *koinī*—that he employs. From the total linguistic material available, he selects those features that seem to be typical [...] of the sort of person he is portraying” (144). In the case of Nemésio, we can infer from his concern for a regional literature that the relationship between fictional speech and dialect representation of Azorean speech is an important attribute of his work. In this connection, I would like to pick up on Nemésio’s words from an interview earlier in his career:

Não temos literatura propriamente açoreana porque os nossos poetas e escritores estão fóra da alma açoreana. A língua com que trabalham a prosa e o verso é uma língua cujos vocábulos vêm nos dicionários mas que não trazem a comoção do nosso povo. O nosso povo tem uma sintaxe e expressões próprias. Ora os poetas e escritores açorianos não escrevem com o sentido regional do vocabulário, com a sintaxe e a expressão populares. Dentro de um livro de versos de qualquer poeta pode haver poesia, mas o povo, o nosso povo, não está dentro dele.⁸

If *Mau Tempo no Canal* is the seminal representation of *açorianidade*,⁹ the question is whether the fictional speech of the characters in this novel also reflects faithfully and objectively the linguistic idiosyncrasies of the regional speech community/communities and whether this oral fictional speech is a truthful indication of *açorianidade*, a marker of local—regional/Azorean—linguistic identity. At times, when referring to the speech features of the characters and/or the underlying language variation along with the characterization of the idiolect—where there is the premise of an actual dialect—a novelist's literary representation of language variation might convey a different meaning to different readers, more specifically if the reader is unfamiliar with the dialect in question.¹⁰ Thus, it seems probable, as Page tells us, that “the writer using dialect words or indicating regional pronunciation runs the risk of mystifying the reader” (52). This is particularly important for our reading of Nemésio's usage of dialect in his fictional dialogue.¹¹

In Nemésio's work and with regards to the use of literary dialect, little attention has been given to the study of this device in his fiction. Some of the most succinct attempts to relate Nemésio's oral style of literature to the specific linguistic devices used in his discourse are found in the works of Martins Garcia, Heraldo da Silva, Machado Pires, and Mateus Silva.¹² In general, they describe linguistic essentials in Nemésio's system of oral style as well as some concerns over the questionable accuracy of the orthographical convention employed to reflect the dialect uses and regional distinctiveness. Martins Garcia, for instance, argues that:

Vitorino Nemésio debateu-se com o intrincado problema de reproduzir foneticamente o falar de certas regiões dos Açores. Poderemos afirmar que, em alguns casos, conseguiu resultados aproximativos [...]. Por outro lado, a variante dialectal que Nemésio nos apresenta pertence a qual das ilhas dos Açores? Um exemplo: *mãis*, em vez de *mas*, conjunção adversativa. Existe na Terceira? Acredito, tal a frequência com que ocorre em o *Mistério do Paço do Milhafre*. Quando porém, t'i'Amaro da [sic] Mirateca (baleeiro do Pico) relata as suas aventuras (*Mau Tempo no Canal*), lá está a conjunção *mãis*—coisa que os meus ouvidos de picaroto nunca tal ouviram *in loco*. O mesmo direi de *oitro* (variante de *outro*)¹³ que não me consta existir no Pico. (137-38)

The implication here is that, as he puts it, “Vitorino Nemésio, por exemplo quis reproduzir, como verosimilhança fonética (mas que na página tem

de servir da grafia—eis o drama!) as características específicas da realização fónica regional” (136). Thus, it is not surprising that Martins Garcia attempts to question the practice and conventional representation of literary dialect; consequently, no approach of this type could reflect an author’s perceptual dialect. He writes: “A tentação foneticista está pois num beco sem saída: ou é fiel à sequência fónica (na sua oralidade) e então teria de grafar-se segundo um alfabeto fonético, ou rejeitando o alfabeto fonético (que é o que acontece de facto), utiliza, o alfabeto corrente [...] e passa a flutuar no gráfico, sem critério aceitável” (162). By implying a “drama” or “um beco sem saída” for the real representation of speech, Martins Garcia is already suggesting that this kind of text depicts and reflects a more precarious and problematic linguistic reality. Before we proceed, let us state explicitly that one purpose of the literary graphic representation of regional dialect is to create a “fabric of linguistic cohesion and plausibility that is to be taken to be an immediate reflection of the character’s real speech” (Page 57). In this vein of thought, Susan Tamasi argues that,

if authors are to portray dialect in literature accurately, they must also incorporate variation in the speech of each individual character, and the reader must keep in mind that when a writer does incorporate linguistic variation into the speech of one character, the writer is actually giving the character complex, realistic human qualities [...], the dialect must be an integral part of the story and characters themselves. (131-133)

Of pivotal importance to us is that written fictional speech, though lacking enhanced markers, provides ample possibilities for the registered linguistic features to be identifiable and applied to a social, regional group, or simply to a personal and idiosyncratic idiolect. As Norman Page tells us, “even the most realistic fictional speech generally represents a considerable selection and conventionalisation of the real language of men” (96). If this is the case in Nemésio’s work, to what extent is that which has been attributed to Nemésio’s depiction of dialectal representation of speech in the novel linguistically valid? Without settling into detailed efforts of exemplification, it is not possible to enter here into the many complex aspects of mediation between represented fictional speech and the linguistic traits common to those sharing the same dialectal background. Nonetheless, what we seek to find, if possible, is what features of direct speech characterization are registers of regional—Azorean—linguistic codes, and which are merely an embellishment of creative writing. On the basis of this, we can attempt to define the author’s intent in terms of

social signification or rendering of accurate regional dialectal patterns.¹⁴ As we know from Nemésio's selection of dialectal markers, some of the character(s) exhibit in direct speech a more linguistically pronounced idiolect indicating a register of regional variation of the standard speech.¹⁵

To determine what aspects of phonic substance are part of the representation of dialect speech, several readings of the dialogue can be best typified by the voice of Tio Amaro de Mirateca, the "conversational storyteller."¹⁶ This is not to suggest that what we encounter in the course of the novel is a uniform and immutable idiolect for this particular character. However, for the convenience of our discussion, we will make this assumption and focus on Mirateca's performance in direct speech. By framing the character's speech utterances within the linguistic context of "Azorean speech"¹⁷ we draw on what we believe is objective and natural linguistic evidence—known in general linguistics theory as *langue* vs. *parole*, in the Saussurean distinction between language as an abstract system and speech as an individual act of articulation, and as *form* vs. *substance*. Relations between each level in Nemésio's oral style and the registers of the underlying language—Azorean speech—constitute a complex case study, which, due to constraints of time and space, is beyond the scope of this essay. For this reason this analysis only illustrates the speech of one major character in one of the chapters. Without ignoring or dismissing the existing aforementioned attempts of other writers,¹⁸ I will identify Nemésio's use of representational dialect. My presentation will be relatively informal and introductory, a preliminary sketch of a forthcoming comprehensive and rigorous linguistic study of Vitorino Nemésio's work. Here I will focus my attention on chapter XXVIII of *Man Tempo no Canal*, "Oceano Glacial Ártico," with emphasis on the idiolect of Tio Amaro de Mirateca, the whaleman, whose oral speech provides abundant deviations from the standard norm of language and represents linguistic forms and uses, as opposed to that of other characters in the novel. In the dialogue in this chapter, Tio Amaro de Mirateca has the first voice and serves as the "controlling consciousness of his own story." The marking strategies of the discourse level¹⁹ featured therein are filled with distinctive linguistic—phonological—testimony.

Within an illustrative rather than systematic analysis, my focus on Tio Amaro's linguistic performance concentrates for the most part on his phonetic idiosyncrasies, mainly including vocalic peculiarities. My concern is to identify if the fictional language represented by the idiolect of Tio Amaro de Mirateca constitutes a fundamental linguistic marker for Azorean speech (see Blayer) and/or a voice socially distinct from that of someone who belongs to

the lower social strata, to the common people, and therefore representative of a specific insular socio-linguistic community. Clearly distinct from this is whether the identified utterances of this character's voice are impressionistically conditioned by the fictional and creative invention of his creator.

The works on Azorean speech already noted, in particular the study by the author of this essay,²⁰ will provide the necessary underlined speech markers as a framework against which the features of Tio Amaro's idiolect can be compared. Pertinent to this analysis is the fact that the speeches analyzed therein focus on the features of the language that best reflect the regional variations—Azorean—as compared to the standard Portuguese norm.²¹ The results of the study are based on data collected mostly in rural areas and fishing villages, with some evidence representative of urban localities.

Mirateca's speech utterances across a dialogue sequence can be first analyzed by the following extract, which opens the dialogue scene in chapter XXVIII:

—Vossa Sinhoria intende? Mulheres da vida... rapazes novos... Inda tinha tabaco no imbigo: sei lá!... quinz(i) anos, é o qu'ê podia ter. Mais lá me curei...

—E, vendo Margarida que descia o resto da escada, de costas, à marinheira, o ti Amaro curvou-se ao ouvido de Roberto: — (O nosso *midship*, o Bob, o tal de Nantaque, é que me amezinhava e m'espremia; fazia-me essa caridade...). Isto é ūa pérola d'ūa menina! Tamém vem oívir o velho?... Pois era... Tava aqui a dezer ò sê tio e ò papai que cumecei a balear munto antes das sortes... aiinda botava o mè pião lá ūa vez por outra. Só qu'ria ūa pataca por cada vez que mè pai me puxou pola ponta da fieira qu'ê deixava caiir aqui im riba da fralda, na pressa de m'iscunder... Ficava mai' rico qu'ò sr. Altre Bensaúde! Aquilho é qu'era tempo! e um rospeito!...! Quém pertindia a ūa cumpanha pidia a bença [sic] ò mestre, coma hoij' im dia só se pede a pai e a mae... q'ando é!

“Tinho apanhado po'ju'tiça um brigue francês qu'andava aí perto da costa, à baleia e ò peixe de caldo. Parece que o stou vendo...: rabeiro, alto de proa...: o *Denis*. O guarda a dezer: “Haija quem mai' lance!” ...e um home brabado qu'aí havia, a picar... a picar... Os outros bem se chegavol: él cobria semp'e. (247)²²

This passage, selected as a sample, will provide the special marked features and content from which to assess whether there is linguistic harmony—with regard to pronunciation features—characterizing Amaro's speech throughout.²³ This linguistically complex text is particularly revealing in what it tells us about the author-narrator's intention regarding the character's idiolect. The distributions of

non-standard features are clearly marked through variant spellings, which decode the significant regional variant alternatives. These marked tendencies account for dialect representation in Amaro de Mirateca's speech. However, for reasons of brevity, we will only consider the most widespread phonetic registers. The framework surrounding this passage is one of direct discourse between Mirateca, Diogo Dulmo, and Margarida—with Roberto Clark, Margarida's uncle, playing a background presence. A layer of interest throughout the six pages (247-252) that comprise this chapter is Mirateca's almost “soliloquy-like predominant voice.” The linguistic signs of this “gifted storyteller” situate him outside the standard linguistic community. Many of the examples reveal that this idiolect is clearly marked within Azorean linguistic parameters (see Blayer); also, we detect that the variant forms reflect, for the most part, specific phonic tendencies of this speech community. Features peculiar to Tio Amaro's idiolect pertain mostly to vowel shifting, monophthongization, the deletion and fusion of sounds, alternation of the diphthong /ou/ > [oi], metathesis, and lexical borrowing. In this speech, sound changes mostly affect the atonic vowel system. It favors very marked vocalic reductions²⁴ and tends to raise atonic mid front and back vowels. This raising is part of the general vowel shift in the insular speech—which affects the tonic/tonic vocalic systems, more predominantly in São Miguel, but also reflected in the speech of the other islands—although their systems have not reached the degree of evolution that exists in São Miguel's linguistic community. There are repeated cases of this variation of vowels, initially and medially, which cause vowel shifting—centralizing and raising—and reduce both the atonic oral and nasal vowels. This is most noticeable as represented in Table 1.

Table 1

Standard	Variant
/e/ >	[i]
/i/ >	[e]
/o/ >	[ú]
/é/ >	[í]
/ó/ >	[ú]

Recurrent occurrences exemplifying these shifts in pretonic syllables include *sinhoria* (senhoria), *iscunder* (esconder), *dezer* (dizer), *cumecei* (comecei), *pídia* (pedia), *intende* (entende), *pertíndia* (pretendia) *im* (em), and *cumpanha* (companha). The mid front and back vowels [e o] raise one height or simply merge

with the next higher vowel.²⁵ Frequent repetition of one vowel is a typical example to indicate the special articulatory effect of the vowel: *aijnda, cair*.

Monophthongization of unstressed (decreasing) diphthongs is also a feature in this idiolect (Table 2). There is consistency in the usage of the diphthong /oi/ for [ou]²⁶ in cases where the standard dialect opts for [ou]: *otro, oivir*, although unchanged in *ouvido*.

Table 2

Monophthongization	Variant	Standard
/eu/ > [e]	<i>mê pai</i>	meu pai
/ãũ/ > [a]	<i>bença</i>	benção (with denasalization)

In addition to the peculiarities just listed, Tio Amaro's speech consistently features the deletion of vocalic or consonantal sounds, in particular syncopation. In some cases, the weaker the segment the more prone it is to deletion: *mai'rico* (mais rico), *qu'ria* (queria), *m'esprenia* (m_g esprenia), *sem'pe* (sem pre), *home'brabado* (homem barbado). Aphaeresis is also marked: *'inda* (ainda), *'tava* (estava), *'stou* (estou).

Metathesis, or transposition of segments, is sporadic, but for systematic examples as a historical change we have /pre/ > /per/: *pertindia* < pretendia. A closer look at this extract shows a distinct intention in typifying some items that register archaic as well as colloquial forms and uses. This appears in *ú'a ua* (uma), *múto / munto* (muito), *máis* (mais), *ó* (ao), *haija* (haja), to mention a few.

The manner in which Tio Amaro gives voice to his story, in this brief introduction, not only permeates the narration of his story but also continues to be heard in the representation of his speech throughout this discourse. Distinctive linguistic choices continue to provide a consistent dialectal fictional representation of this character's language. The first extract has given us a good source of material for illustration. Similarly, as can be seen from the complete discourse,²⁷ Nemésio goes on to explore the use of literary devices in which Amaro's dialectal speech reveals greater amounts of information, which render more vividly his dialectal tendencies. This is consistently repeated by typification of speech with close dialect cohesion whereby the representations of marked common patterns of broad vowel sound peculiarities are detected. These modes of linguistic expression have been chosen consciously in order to connect the marked tendencies, and provide more exam-

ples of the significance of a standard language variant.

Throughout Tio Amaro's discourse, the traces of phonetic realization are affected primarily—but not exclusively, since there is some evidence of other vocalic reactions—by the unstressed vowel shifting. Among these is a set of illustrative items in which this vocalic shifting is well characterized as exemplified above in Table 1. Other examples that register these common tendencies are as follows:

Table 3

Unstressed Vowel	Variant Spelling	Standard Spelling
/e/ > [i]	<i>piscoço</i>	pescoço
	<i>iscola</i>	escola
	<i>dipois</i>	depois
	<i>pitróleo</i>	petróleo
	<i>mitido</i>	metido
/a/ > [e]	<i>rezão</i>	razão
/i/ > [e]	<i>deze</i>	dizer
	<i>ofecial</i>	oficial
/e/ > [o]	<i>dobaixo</i>	debaixo
	<i>lovava</i>	levava
	<i>somanas</i>	semana
	<i>lovei</i>	levei
/é/ > [í]	<i>introixar</i>	entrouxar
	<i>lincinhos</i>	lencinhos
	<i>infim</i>	enfim
/ó/ > [ú]	<i>cumparando</i>	comparando
	<i>cuntar</i>	contar
	<i>frúntal</i>	frontal

The literary text continues to provide many instances of orthographic distortion to emphasize the non-standard pronunciation. It is evident—aside from minor exceptions—that Tio Amaro's idiolect consistently exhibits the similar vein of phonetic peculiarities detected in the introductory utterances (1-17). Several of the examples up to now have served to identify some of the atonic vocalic possibilities that this idiolect displays. A glance at the rest of the sequence of the discourse is replete with illustrations of language variation that help to determine its very linguistic relevance to mark this protagonist as speaking a

dialect, whereby the phonetic peculiarities characterize the regional (Azores) and social speech stereotypes. More importantly, this discourse continues to attest to additional insular vocalic register usage, where the atonic vocalic tendencies are more prone to change with respect to the place of articulation:

Table 4

Unstressed Nasal/Oral Vowels	Variant	Standard Spelling
/é/ > [á]	<i>antão</i>	então), but also <i>atão</i> ,
	<i>Bansaúde</i>	Bensaúde
/i/ > [o]	<i>prømeira</i>	primeira
/e/ > [o]	<i>døbaixo</i>	debaixo
	<i>lovava</i>	levava
	<i>sømanas</i>	semanas

However, depiction of stressed nasal vowel shifting is also registered as follows:

Table 5

Stressed Nasal Vowels	Variant	Standard Spelling
/ã/ > [é]	<i>entes</i>	antes
	<i>diente</i>	diante
/é/ > [á]	<i>assøntou</i>	assentou
	<i>søntei</i>	sentei

Other examples of simplification of unstressed/stressed diphthongs include, for instance:²⁸

Table 6

Monophthongization	Variant	Standard Spelling
/eu/ > [e]	<i>mës</i>	meus
	<i>mitê-me</i>	meteu-me
	<i>Dës</i>	Deus te guie
/ão/ > [á]	<i>nã</i>	não dou, não passava

Furthermore, other obvious and consistent regionally marked features, traced to any of the insular colloquial speeches (see Blayer), are: *inté* (até), or as in *qu'ínté* (que até), or the tendency for insertion of the prothetic element:

alambrança (lembrança). Also commonly detected in the insular dialects and current in uneducated speech are the archaic forms detected in Mirateca's idiolect: *māis* (mas), *mum* (muito), *nūa* (numa), *quinhāes* (quinhões). Testimony of allophony is repeated throughout. Important, however, is the consistency to represent Tio Amaro's idiolect with underlying features strongly linked to the insular linguistic "continuum" (see Blayer). There is no reason to assume, in these cases, absolute heterogeneity among Azorean speech varieties on what seems to reflect insular colloquial patterns (see Blayer). Some inconsistencies are depicted as well, but these are minor instances and only occasionally strain over the speaker's vacillation or uncertainty with pronunciation: *aquilo* // *aquilho*, *atāo* // *antāo* (então), *semp'e* // *semp'e*. Some cases of anti-hiatic formation are also detected in this idiolect. A linguistic register of the speech of Terceira island, though occurring throughout all Central islands—as well as in the Western group and intermittently in the Eastern group (see Blayer)—manifests itself with a lesser marked degree of registry. Some examples: *prà nossa* (*i*) arte, *a gente équ'insinhou a* (*i*) arte; *parcia* (*i*) áugua.

Though the discourse in chapter XXVIII only represents a sample of a dialectal voice in the novel, from our point of view the most important marked references of Amaro's speech are the atonic vocalic tendencies, which most faithfully record and denote the function of the character's speech act and supply the very linguistic peculiarities of his linguistic performance. Mirateca's discourse shows that sound change, while not obviously systematic, follows certain predictable patterns of speech, a marker of regional (Azorean) linguistic identity. Vowels are highly variable and no specific part of the vowel triangle predominates. My own linguistic data and research—based on an investigation of regional variants of speech in the nine islands of the Azores—leads me to agree that the vocalic linguistic variables detected here are representative of the insular linguistic community and matches that across social variables. Most importantly, the lax pronunciation of atonic vowels, simplification of diphthongs, the distribution of items with archaic-sounding registers of colloquial speech denote an apparently clear stratification by social class. The occurrence and the distribution of these linguistic non-standard features in Mirateca's idiolect reveal that Nemésio was, in several respects, accurate linguistically and socially in his representation of this character's idiolect. There is a direct linguistic correlation between Nemésio's fictional—perceptual—idiolect, hence, Mirateca's voice, and that of actual

speakers, associated with regional dialect variants, thus placing the character geographically and socially.²⁹ For now, let us consider that Tio Amaro's typifying speech is rooted in the standard dialect, with a distribution of idiosyncratic linguistic features across social variables. This speech is imbued with distinctive linguistic patterns that manifest the dialectal variants of the Azorean speech community, mainly those of the Central Group—but also reflective of Eastern/Western speech communities—and not specifically the geographico-linguistic space of one island—Pico, nor that of Terceira as mentioned by others. The socially varied modes of speech provide linguistic as well as social contrast in a novel portraying a range of socio-linguistically marked characters. As a result, Tio Amaro's speech differs in various ways—phonologically in the case of this analysis—from other linguistic voices in the novel—Margarida, as well as Diogo Dulmo, her father. Gender, occupation and other factors can produce so-called social dialects, or sociolects, and Mirateca's language seems to be a vital marker of social, linguistic, and cultural stratification.³⁰ Since the language takes part in producing identities, this idiolect can be interpreted as connected to the social status of the speakers as well as to his cultural and geographical space as a whole, and not only to an idiosyncratic linguistic entity.³¹ To explain the characteristic features of verbal structures in Nemésio's work, Machado Pires writes that “Uma peculiaridade da narração em Nemésio é a procura de adequar o discurso social, psicológica e linguisticamente à personagem; ti Amaro, trancador de baleias [...] é uma personagem recortada da tipologia insular do grupo central, dada como picoense, mas afinal, dialectamente falando com um misto de falar terceirense/picoense” (50). There is no doubt that Nemésio was acutely sensitive to the application of speech markers in his characters as identifiers of socio-linguistic registers. Also, let us note that Nemésio's omniscient narrator never uses colloquial language; when using dialect or “substandard” forms, italics or quotation marks are used for that purpose. In referring to the voice of Nemésio's narrator in *Mau Tempo no Canal*, Francisco Cota Fagundes wrote:

O narrador de MTC é um narrador extradiegético; isto é, em linguagem mais tradicional, trata-se de um narrador na terceira pessoa, omnisciente e muito tendencioso a favor de Margarida e contra Januário Garcia. O narrador não é o Autor, ou sequer o Autor implícito. Trata-se duma personagem como qualquer outra, embora não seja um personagem da diegese. Ora, o narrador de Nemésio NUNCA emprega linguagem do povo. Quando emprega algum termo regional

(ou até mesmo muito popular), coloca esse termo em itálico/sublinhado; e, nalguns casos (e há tantos), dá uma explicação do termo em nota de rodapé. O tio Amaro de Mirateca representa a linguagem dos pescadores; é a personagem mais rica deste ponto de vista; [...] Manuel Bana—que também conta várias estórias no romance—representa a linguagem rural, dos trabalhadores da terra. Mariana do Pico representa a linguagem rural/do monte/com regionalismos e popularismo: ela é a doméstica, a mulher analfabeta. (Email correspondence July 2004)

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The selective linguistic survey of chapter XXVIII gives an idea of the vividness and intensity of Nemésio's fictional speech techniques for typifying dialects and registers. As aforementioned, the regional variants are only used when the characters are in direct communication. There is an intention on the part of Nemésio to make use of a character's speech so as to attempt a comprehensive linguistic coverage: a depiction of real-life's other voice, designed as a spoken utterance of his/her, to represent the variant speech within the Azorean linguistic community—and not only one or two insular speech communities. This constitutes a difference between Nemésio and other Portuguese writers, for example Aquilino Ribeiro, his master in regionalism. In Ribeiro's *Terras do Demo*, for instance, regionalism and colloquialisms are reflected in either the speech of the characters or incorporated into that of his extradiegetic narrator. The features of the lower social strata characterize the discourse of the narrator. Although Nemésio does not follow this linguistic pattern in *Mau Tempo no Canal*, this is the technique that he assumes in some of the short stories of *O Mistério do Paço do Milhafre*. The narrator in *Mau Tempo no Canal* is always "educated" and uses strategies as footnotes and quotation marks to exemplify the speech of the lower social strata.³² By showing systematic linguistic differences in the directly represented speeches between the main characters, Nemésio's discourse in direct speech is suggesting a system with a social index indicator, a reflection of the speech differences within the Azorean dialect boundary and an alternate form of speech to standard language or both.

It is seen to be true that with orthographic alterations representing Tio Amaro's speech, Nemésio shows a distinct intention in dialectal and colloquial forms and uses. In this preliminary analysis of this idiolect there is a language variant that follows a certain pattern of speech. This speech is marked by the frequent use of features registering the presence of a well-defined phonological field—sound changes—where atonic vowels manifest corre-

lated variations as well as archaisms across a sequence of dialogue. All reminders that Tio Amaro is speaking dialect have been provided by orthographic distortion, eye-dialect spelling.

Margarida and her father Diogo Dulmo—with whom Mirateca interacts—are part of the social hierarchy whose speech reflects the standard linguistic norm. Linguistic differences are quite obvious in these characters. We needed to consider the question of whether the speech of the characters in Nemésio's novel is designed as a spoken utterance of his/her linguistic variant and what features of this idiolect depict the real speech community, or perhaps as a marker of local identity: what Nemésio might have intended as *açorianidade*. Our results lead us to conclude that Mirateca's idiolect is a testimony of a speech with phonetic idiosyncrasies, archaic-sounding registers, vacillation of pronunciation of words to sound uneducated, which for the most part represents a language not only unmistakably distinct from the standard or regional norm—belonging to an uneducated working-class speaker—but reasonably specific to attest for the linguistic speech community of the Azores whose speakers have these common denominators. Since I am not comparing and analyzing the idiolects of various characters in the novel, important limitations, then, restrict the interpretation of the data. In respect to our analysis here, this is most revelatory of social variations; of colloquial speech, and as social markers, they are significant as they provide compelling linguistic indicators discernible in phonological variation. Hence, they are suggestive and not definitive with respect to other answers and possibilities resulting from a thorough linguistic analysis of the idiolects in the novel, where the distribution might be quite distinct. A most rewarding illustration of Nemésio's intention of this speech is reflected by the narrator's voice: "Margarida, quase sem dar por isso não sabia falar com gente desta senão na língua comum" (251). It is significant that it is in the narrator's own voice that this distinction is made; thus, underlining the contrast between Mirateca and Margarida is the idea of the speech as a social index and not the dialectal structure on the basis of the phonological heteroglossic lines of individual insular boundaries separating them. Mirateca's dialectal features are of course not a wholly uniform speech but clearly reveal and reflect important phonological variation without any clear regional concentration. Within his fictional linguistic setting, there is a strong indication that Vitorino Nemésio has created here a perceptual dialect whose findings echo the socio-cultural identity representative of the speech pertaining to a real socio-linguistic regional group

articulated by the “voice” of the whaleman, Tio Amaro de Mirateca.

Notes

¹ I am grateful to Francisco Cota Fagundes, Onésimo T. Almeida, and Urbano Bettencourt for the important references they generously provided. To the former I am also thankful for his invaluable support throughout the development of this research. I wish to thank Kenneth G. Smith for the insightful criticism of this paper. All references to Vitorino Nemésio’s *Mau Tempo no Canal*, unless otherwise indicated, are to the edition listed in the Works Cited.

² See Ives, “Dialect Differentiation.”

³ For some studies that treat the conventions for representation of fictional dialect speech, see Page; Lodge; and Holding.

⁴ Direct speech being “the most typical and widespread form of represented objectified discourse with direct referential meaning [...]. Whenever we have within the author’s context the direct speech of say, a certain character, we have within the limits of a single context two speech centers and two speech [...] unities. The unity of the author’s utterance and the unity of the character’s utterance” (Bakhtin, *Problems* 186).

⁵ If we agree with Saussure that “the description of linguistic systems proceeds one dialect at a time, idiolect is then the homogeneous possible utterances of one speaker reduced to its logical extreme.” For Charles Hockett, a “language is a collection of more or less similar idiolects. A dialect is just the same thing, with this difference: when both terms are used in a single discussion, the degree of similarity of the idiolects in a single dialect is presumed to be greater than that of all the idiolects in the language” (125). Among other linguists, similar definitions may be found in Chomsky and Hale.

⁶ See Bowdrie 247–251.

⁷ The italics are mine in order to call the reader’s attention to language variation from the standard norm.

⁸ See, in this volume, Francisco Cota Fagundes’s essay, note 6.

⁹ For concepts and discussions on açorianidade see: Onésimo T. Almeida, ed., *A Questão da Literatura Açoriana: Recolha de Intervenções e Revisão* (Angra do Heroísmo: Secretaria Regional de Educação e Cultura, 1983): 27–31; ibid., *Açores, açorianos, açorianidade: um espaço cultural* (Lisboa: Signo, 1989); Heraldo G. Da Silva, *Açorianidade na prosa de Vitorino Nemésio: realidade, poesia e mito* (Lisboa: Co-edição Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda/Secretaria Regional de Educação e Cultura Região Autónoma dos Açores, 1984); Luís da Silva Ribeiro, “Subsídios para um ensaio sobre a açorianidade”; rtp *Obras Completas II. História* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira / Secretaria Regional de Educação e Cultura Região Autónoma dos Açores, 1983): 515–56; Adelaide Batista, *João de Melo e a Literatura Açoriana* (Ponta Delgada: D. Quixote, 1993); José Martins Garcia, *Para uma literatura Açoriana* (Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores, 1987); Vamberto Freitas, *O Imaginário dos Escritores Açorianos* (Lisboa: Salamandra, 1992).

¹⁰ In spite of the widespread use of the term “dialect” by linguists it is important to establish here, for the purpose of this study, that dialect is not a degenerate version of the standard dialect; rather, it is the continuum of speech differences in a speech community.

¹¹ For contemporary theories of discourse of dialogue see Bakhtin, “Discourse.”

¹² José Martins Garcia, “A Linguagem.” Though descriptive, the most complete study to date which traces the phonetic variants in the literary speech of Nemésio’s work is Heraldo da

Silva's "O Português Oral dos Açores na Prosa de Vitorino Nemésio," *Arquipélago*, VIII:1 (1985): 141-62. Other studies include, Helena Mateus Silva, "A presença do linguista no Mau Tempo no Canal," in *Insulana*, V:1 (Ponta Delgada, 1994); A. M. Machado Pires, "Língua e Criação Literária em Vitorino Nemésio," in *Vitorino Nemésio, Rouxinol Mocho* (Praia da Vitória: Câmara Municipal, 1998): 45-56.

¹³ See the references to this diphthong in note 26.

¹⁴ "Very often, in everyday usage of the terms 'dialect' and 'language,' the *distinction* between them is based largely upon political or cultural considerations." See Lyons 26. For further discussion of the broader framework on this topic, see Trudgill, *Accent*; Sebeok; Abercrombie; and Weinreich. Furthermore, since the mid 1960s heterogeneity within a language is all-encompassing and variation should be seen as central to linguistics.

¹⁵ Portuguese on the whole represents a linguistic community with a distinctly unified pattern of speech. Only the speech of Miranda, Riudonor and Guadramil, in the northeast of Portugal, digress considerably from the norm; they are more akin to Leonese than to Portuguese; otherwise, the differences from one region to another are not acute. According to Helmut Lüdtke, "não há, como em muitos outros países, duas normas linguísticas que se oponham e influam uma sobre a outra." (1954): 216. This being the case, for example, in Italy or in Germany. Given that the differing features found in these regions often do not map on to predictable boundaries, it is difficult to speak of dialects of Portuguese in the strict sense of this term. In referring to the linguistic situation in Portugal, Barbosa (1983: 23) affirms: "On prend même le prétexte d'une telle uniformité pour affirmer que le portugais ne connaît pas de 'dialectes,' mais seulement des 'parlers régionaux'... Nous dirons toutefois que, si l'on prend le mot 'dialecte' dans le sens qui est le sien lorsque l'on parle de 'dialecte de New York,' de 'dialecte' de Boston," etc., il y a des dialectes portugais sur le continent européen..." Within this general pattern, however, there are regional varieties with a number of phonetic traits of some importance. Paiva Boléo. "Alcuni problemi del paesaggio dialettale portoghese specialmente della parlata meridionale," *Estudos de linguística portuguesa e romântica*, I (1975): 400-432. For information on these dialects, see, among others, José Leite de Vasconcelos, *Estudos de Philologia Mirandesa* (Lisboa, 1900-1901); *Mapa Dialetológico* (Lisboa, 1893-1897); José Herculano de Carvalho, "Porque se falam dialectos leoneses em terras de Miranda?" *RPF* (1952): 265-291; republished in *Estudos linguísticos* (Lisboa, 1964): 39-60.

¹⁶ For perspectives on and an understanding of the "polyphonic" storyteller, see Norrick.

¹⁷ See among others the following studies on Azorean speech: Maria de Fátima Freitas Baptista, "Ilha do Faial (Açores): Contribuição para o estudo da sua linguagem, etnografia e folclore" (Coimbra, 1970); Irene Maria F. Blayer, "Aspects," Manuel de Paiva Boléo. "A Língua Portuguesa do Continente, dos Açores e do Brasil (Problemas de Colonização e Povoamento)," *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia*, 18 (1983): 591-625; Nair Odette da Câmara Borges, *Influência anglo-americana no falar da ilha de S. Miguel (Açores)*, *RPF*, Suplement II (Coimbra, 1960); Maria Alice Borba Dias, "Ilha Terceira: Estudos de linguagem e etnografia" (Lisboa, 1965); José Leite de Vasconcelos, "Dialectos Açoreanos (Contribuição para o estudo da Dialectologia Portuguesa)," *Revista Lusitana*, 2 (1890-92): 289-307; Maria Lúcia Borba Maia, "O falar da ilha Terceira" (Lisboa, 1965); Lygia Maria da Câmara Almeida Matos, *Ilha de S. Miguel, seu dialecto e literatura popular* (Ponta Delgada, 1936); Maria de Jesus C. Medeiros, "A linguagem micaelense em alguns dos seus aspectos" (Lisboa, 1964); Elsa de Mendonça, "Ilha de São Jorge: Subsídio para o estudo da etnografia, linguagem e folclore regionais" (Lisboa, 1959); José de Almeida Pavão, *Aspectos populares micaelenses*, 2nd ed. (Angra do Heroísmo: Secretaria Regional da Educação e Cultura, 1981); as well as *Aspectos do Cancioneiro Popular Açoriano* (Ponta Delgada: Universidade dos Açores, 1981a); Luís da Silva Ribeiro, "Formação do Povo dos Açores: Subsídio para o seu estudo," *Obras II, Historia* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Histórico da Ilha Terceira, Secretaria Regional da Educação e Cultura, 1983): 45-68; Francis Millet Rogers, "The Pronunciation of the Madeira and Azores Dialects as Compared with

Standard Portuguese," Doctoral Diss., Harvard, 1940; *ibid.*, "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Madeira," *Hispanic Review*, XIV (1946): 235-253; *ibid.*, "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Alleged Flemish Influence." *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford*, Ed. U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948); *ibid.*, "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Porto Santo and Eastern Azores," *Hispanic Review*, XVI (1948): 1-32; *ibid.*, "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Alleged Breton Influence," *Romance Philology* II (1949): 305-314; *ibid.*, "Insular Portuguese Pronunciation: Central and Western Azores," *Hispanic Review*, XVII (1949): 1-32; João das Pedras Saramago, "A ilha do Corvo, alguns dos seus aspectos linguísticos" (Lisboa, 1987); as well as *Le parler de l'île de Corvo - Açores*, Diss., Grenoble, Université Stendhal, 1992.; David J. Silva, "Vowel Shifting as a Marker of Social Identity in the Portuguese Dialect of Nordeste, São Miguel (Azores), *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 42:1(2005):1-20; *ibid.*, "The variable deletion of unstressed vowels in Faialense Portuguese," *Language Variation and Change*, 9 (1997): 295-308.

¹⁸ See note 12.

¹⁹ See Schiffрин.

²⁰ The findings in this study reflect predominantly the normal, animated colloquial speech of uneducated, though, for the most part, literate people. The informants were selected based on the traditional approach (see Petyt, and Bottiglioni). With this method of researching linguistic data we attempted to locate and examine the language as it pertains to its indigenous form; a language spoken by the segment of the population the least exposed to external influences and who are embodied within the same socio-cultural parameter. Our research yields no significant correlation between age, occupation, sex, socio-economic level, and social class as factors in conditioning the use of linguistic variants. We did not seek to differentiate the public prestige dialect(s) of the elite in a stratified community from the dialect(s) of the non-strata (see Labov; Trudgill, *Social Differentiation*; and Kroch); rather, we concentrated on describing the differences among the dialects, based on data elicited from truly native representatives of a given area. Since our intent was to collect data that reflect the linguistic variations, we believed that this method proved to be the most applicable. With respect to this approach, Henriette Walter writes: "Il fallait donc que les témoins soient choisis de telle sorte qu'apparaissaient dans le corps toutes les caractéristiques les plus marquantes de la région. C'est par consequent, parmi la population à domicile stable et ayant eu, de ce fait, peu de contacts avec les locuteurs d'autres régions" (71).

²¹ Under the rubric of *standard*, Uriel Weinrich includes, among other notions, those of 'socially acceptable' or 'average' or 'typical.' For Portuguese linguists the main criterion for a model to represent *standard* language has always been the speech modality of the cultured or urban people. Paiva Boléo, "Unidade e variedade da Língua Portuguesa," *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, XX (1954): 5-28; Aniceto dos Reis Gonçalves Viana, "Essai de phonétique et de phonologie de la langue portugaise d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne." *Romania*, XII (1883): 29-98; Joaquim Oliveira Guimarães, *Fonética Portuguesa. Compêndio da ortografia nacional. Trabalho Fonético da Faculdade de Letras*. (Coimbra, 1927), among others.

²² For referential purposes herein, I will transcribe Mirateca's complete discourse in an appendix.

²³ Though the analysis of lexicon is of great importance and interest as the semantic nucleus of cultural identity, this is not our attention in this study.

²⁴ Let us note that both the vowel and the diphthongal systems constitute a vocalic system. This is an important distinction in the diachronic analysis of the Romance languages, given that the diphthongal system acts at times on the vowel systems through constant pressure of monophthongization—as it occurs in the speech of São Miguel, Azores—diphthongization, etc.

²⁵ Only the utterances from 1-17 are included here to give the reader the immediate context. For a complete transcription of Amaro's discourse-utterances, see the appendix.

Consistency of this movement of the vowels is detected in the character's "real speech." For reasons not relevant, let us simply indicate here that, when a spot is empty in the vowel triangle, a uniform chain progression takes place.

²⁶ In the insular speech of the Azores I have registered ample examples [oj] for [ow] in the islands of Flores, Corvo, Pico, São Jorge, Graciosa and Santa Maria, and the variant [öj] appearing in São Miguel, Flores, Corvo, Pico (Piedade), Santa Maria (Blayer 1992). Cintra (1983: 44) tells us that the diphthong /ow/ is reduced to [o] in the south commonly pronounced in the third person preterite ending ou, as in *tirou*. Otherwise it alternates with [oj] in all regions, and in fact in some words [oj] is more common, and he suggests: "São muito mais complexos e difíceis de descrever os resultados de qualquer tentativa de localização geográfica no território português da variante *oi*." Words such as *ouro*, *cousa*, *dous*, *touro*, *outro outeiro* are either pronounced with [ow] or with [oj] (Cintra 1983: 44). It appears that this alternation does not reflect the dialectal preference in the pronunciation of certain terms (*touca* as *toica* and *ouvir* as *ovir*), as Vasconcelos suggests, nor that [oj] reflects the popular speech or [ow] the literary. Cintra states that "não há nenhum falar português em que [oj] não exista, a par de [ow] ou do [o] proveniente da sua monotongação [...] o que há é falares em que [oj] não só se manteve nos casos em que era etimológico, mas aparece em grau maior ou menor nos casos em que se esperaria [ow] ou [o]." (1983: 44) For further analysis of these diphthongs, see, among others, Gaston Lucius Moffat. "Considerations on the Interchange of -ou-, -oi- in Portuguese," *Mediaeval Studies in Honor of J. D. M. Ford*, Ed. U. T. Holmes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948): 161-173; Helmut Lüdtke, "Fonemática Portuguesa, II: Vocalismo." *Boletim de Filologia*, XIV (1953): 197-217; Paiva Boléo, "Dialectologia e história da língua. Isoglossas portuguesas," *Boletim de Filologia*, XII (1951): 1-44; F. Schurr, "La diptongaison romane," *Revue Linguistique Romane*, XX (1956): 108-144; 161-248; Lindley Cintra, *Estudos de Dialectologia Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Sá da Costa Editora, 1983).

²⁷ See appendix.

²⁸ The historical tendency for reduction and simplification of diphthongs manifests itself with greater strength among the insular popular dialects. According to sociolinguistic theory, popular dialects exhibit their greater "susceptibility to phonetic conditioning in such features as simplified articulation, replacement or loss of perceptually weak segments and a greater tendency to undergo 'natural' vowel shift" (Kroch 345).

²⁹ Only a rigorous linguistic study of the direct speech in Nemésio's dialogue would provide the kind of information needed to form a better picture of where the language variants of the idiolects in the novel fit into a larger framework of the insular linguistic community.

³⁰ Dialect differences are a matter of variation within a language, in fact, research on the correlation of language and variety propose that "true regularity of linguistic patterns was to be found not in the individual speaker, but in the speech community as a whole" (Labov, *Social Stratification and "The reflection"*).

³¹ See further discussions on the interpretation of dialects as connected to social status in Hall; and Halliday.

³² I thank Francisco Cota Fagundes for some of the discussions dealing with this aspect of Nemésio's novel.

Appendix

Lá cuntaro até três e êl deu nome à praça. O home par'cia rico: trajava à grave. Mâis aquilho era nau d'alto bôrdo: não era pràs posses de q'álquer. Fizero antão ūa sociedade co esses mês

sinhores da Horta e das Flores, e toca a ingájar cumpanha.

“Fui ter cum mē pai ò varadoiro e disse-le: ‘O brigue aleventa ferro àmanhe de manhe prà costa da Amér’ica e o capitão falou-me. Mē pai deixa-me ir?’ — ‘Nâ te quito. Máis olha qu’os guardas ando im riba da gente, e entes que vayas às sortes hás-de comer muto pão... Se te deixas pilhar, dou-te—a surra!’

Larguei-me a correr pra casa e disse a minha māc que me desse a troixa da roipa e ūa nisquinha de pão. ‘Ah perdido!...’

Mē pai stava à minha espera ò sainte do varadoiro e mitê-me ūa pataca na mão: ‘Toma lá prà viage.’ Puxou d’um arrelíque que trazia sempre pregado ò cós da camisa, e botou-mo ò piscoço. — Ti Amaro baixou-se um pouco, mostrando uma cruzinha de latão torta e suja: — Inda aqui stá... E disse: ‘Cubra-me mē pai co a sua bença!’ — “Dês te guie, ’rapaz!” E, pola rocha abaxio, pra me num vêrim cá do porto... ala, bote!”

[. . .]

— Como Vossa Sinhoria dá rezão disso tudo! Causos de há sessent’anos!... — Foi antão que m’assucedero os causos que stive aqui a cuntar ò titio e ò papai...cumprende a menina? Passei as passas do Algarve... penei mistério! Mágicas tamanhas ...!... — Pena-se munto nesses mares, māis aprende-se mais que nūa iscola! Eu anadava por i rotinho, e minha māe passou trabalhos pra m’introixar a roipa. Roipa?... O quē!... uns bidalhos! É verdade que suei mais d’um ano a atira’ lenha ao *try-work*, a pé do mastro da misena. Cada caldeiro daqueles lovava 36 galões d’azeite! As banhas da baleia mitio ânsias de lançar... Aquél fartume a torresmo! Lá m’asservei...

“Um dia o Capitão chamou-me à ré e disse: ‘Pórigui! Falta-me um home ò *tub*, charape! Vais tu...’ Dipois passei a um patacho aqui no Faial, chomado *Feiticeira dos Mares* (o alma do diabo tinha mēmo feitiço!), e tranquei a minha promeira baleia, um cachalote de noventa barris, que nā se virava im seco!

A *Gazela* aparlhou prà nossa (i) arte, e eu, que já stava casado e cheio de meninos e tinha minha māe às costas (o patacho apanhava pouco... era a modo cobranto do nome!), lá fui atrás d’úna sóldada maior. Aquilo sim! Bum passadio! rica iscuna! Co as velas todas içadas parcia um brigue real!...”

[. . .]

— “Atão lá vai a saúde de Vossas Sinhorias, e aqui da menina! É tal e qual os olhos da sua avó, a nora do sr. Roberto velho, Dês le dê céu... Era a cara mai’linda qu’havia nas ilhas ò redol! Seja por alminha dela...”

[. . .]

— Saberá Vossa Sinhoria que sim. Tamém andei lá plo Banco, à vista de Sā João da Terra Nova. E na Grolanda, mais de dez graus ò norte, caise nos bergues do gelo... Era caise sempre di noite, māis sempre dobaixo d’úna clar’idadezinha...um borralho de forno de pão alvo... Seis meses de Ariôche valim po’ vinte aqui. Inté demira qu’o cabelo nā se ponha a um home mais branco qu’aquela neve a rolar!

[. . .]

— Poi’não! Caise im riba da terra. Aqueles malvados atiravo-se a um bôrdo com’a cães, de navalha nos dentes! Tamém... dei cabo d’um. Esprei-o cá’ trás d’úna iscotilha, e, q’ando él já stava caise a botar a mão ò Jzé Piqueno da’ Lajes, abri-le a abitácula co úna chipeira. O Capitão inté assantou esse causo no *log-book*, lá o livrete de bordo; mal cumparando, com’áqui o Jzezinho da D. Ana assanta os fiados da gente... Nâ fiz avantage nenh’ia. Pois o ladrão havia de matar o Jzé Piqueno, e eu prâli impeirado! Foi q’ando me amarraro de pés e mãos e lovei, as varadas na coberta. *Alabama*?! Dezia-me aquél nome, e a gente ficava a tremer, a tremer...incarrilhadinhos de susto!

[. . .]

— Caise... Ficaro esses mares rapados pra munto tempo... O *Argo*, o *Gribalde*, os brigues, os patachos...tudo prò fundo ou a navegar à gagosa! Olhe: o *Júlia* acabou a carregar laranja de Sā Miguel pà Inglaterra...

[. . .]

— Veja lá o sr. Dioguinho no que tudo isso acabou! Patachos do alto, caise *south-seamans*, carregando laranja que nem ūa arreata de burros cumprados aqui na Graciosa! Alguns dero por ì à costa , qu'ínté initia dó!...

[. . .]

— Arremedava... Mâis, infim... sempre era aparlhar prò alto. O mais era tudo canoas de 30 e de 37 pés, de retranca e crangueja... Olhe: a promeira que veio da Amér'ica foi prò Jzé Constantino das Flores, no tempo de mês tì Raivinha que foi quem me miteu o viço de baliar. Cuntava-me as suas pacocas assantadinho na borda do incorete incalhado, cheio de rumatismo... Minha mãe culpava-o sempre: "Se nã fosse tê ti Jão Raivinha, qu'era um alanzociro, nã tinhás ido pra (i) essa disgrácia do alto!... Olha tê pai! Era um lobo do mar, que stava ali, e nunca s'arredou d'a pé de mim..."

"Andar...! Eles nã sabio a bem dezer nada... nem siquer traçar ūa iscôta, tirante mês pae e oitros à prepoção. Pois o quê? Cum li'cença aqui da menina, nunca tinhó posto o cu a pé d'um tolete forrado de trança de palha, e mitido um rémo de quinze pés na calha do fundo da canoa, co a baleia diente que nem um tabuão à deriva, e a cara sem pinga de sângue!... A gente é qu'insinou a (i) arte a essa canalha da' Lajes e da Calheta de Nesquim, qu'andavo por ì o chicharro e o peixe mancirinho..."

[. . .]

— Prá meio cento delas — disse tì Amaro. — Espere, meu amo... O sr. Samuel Dabne armava ūa im Porto Pim, duas na Ribeirinha, duas aquí im Sã João ... três no Cais. O sr. Altre Bansáude ūa im Porto Pim e oitro no Cais. (Mâis Vossa Sinhoria quer saber é as do Faial?); Manel da Costa Nunes tinha duas no Varadoiro e duas no Salão; o Jão Silveira , duas nos Cedros. Aqui no Pico, nem vale a pena cuntar... Os Maciéis de Sã João ... o Jzé Anriques nas Ribeiras... o Anselmo e o Jão Machado na Calheta de Nesquim... Im Santo Amaro era a Sociedade de Santo Amaro. Mâis a força era ná'Lajes! Manel Faustino, o Lauriano, o Manuel do Brum e oitros mais... A meias. Quinze canoas ali varadas no calhau, era ūa frota bonita!... Agora, sim...! O alma do diabo do carôzene, pitróleo, o lá como le queiro chomar, disgracou a gente... deu cabo de tudo! Pois digo-me Vossas Sinhorias se a luzinha de azeite de baleia não era menos injoosa... mais adamada...? Prò pobre, antão, era ūa riqueza qu'alí stava. Parcia (i) áugua do tâlhão: era só verter na candeia! Minha mãe, coitadinha, ganhou munto vintém a fazê trocida de fio. Durava mais... Agora? ... Nem se ganha prà marquetá!

[. . .]

— Regulava. Lá pás Flores e pò Corvo, fora a mètade do dono ero quinhães iguais pra todos e um à maior prò oficial, meio prò trancador... No Faial: 3 soldados o oficial, 2 o trancador, 1 o rémo. Aqui no nosso Pico é qu'era tudo à barrica: de 15 tantos d'azeite o oficial tinha um, a gente tinha mètade, o remador um tanto de meio cento. Pra servir o Sinhor Espírito Santo o Sã Pedro, botava-se de contas qu'era um rémo: quinhão de meio cento. A menina nunca oíviu dezer ò padre das Angústias: "Pedro!, bota a tua rede o mar e deixa o peixe por minha conta..." Antão!...! Comò oitro que diz, a fé é que nos salva!

[. . .]

— Incorete?... Antão nã dou! A menina é mum nova, māis diz coisas o grave qu'eu inté fico palristo!

[. . .]

— Seis da minha Maria e cinco do intrèvadinho. Custa munto a gânhar pra tanta boca!... Olhe!... é pão n'úia mão e pau na oitro, coitadinhos! O mês Lauriano, pola Festa, viu-me sair prò mar e praguntou-me: "O Menino Jasus o que é que me traz este ano?" "Cal'-te piqueno!...", diz o pai lá da inxêrga (que graces a Dês, cabida-o bem): "tás sempre a massacrar teu avô!" Aquilho tinha vergonha de mim, pràli incanteirado há dez anos... co as perninhas que nem uns chicharrós escalados... sem [n]o gânhar, coitadinho!... Saí co êste coração mai' negro!... Chega-se à noite do Galo. Comò mês 'rapaz nã passava a porta do fruntal há dez anos e desde que "a minha" morreu nã tenho gôsto pra nada, nem siquer fui à missa... Olha... assantei-me pràli no trabanaclô a matutar... a matutar... pre davo uns lincinhos, ūa alambrança pròs

netos... Chomei o mês Lauriano e santei-o aqui im riba dos joêlhos, co lincinho dêle puinduirado na mão: "Toma lá, meu home! Andas sempre co êsse ranho a cair..." "Olha, olha, meu avô! o qu'o Menino Jásus me troixe!"... E tira dobaixo do braço ūa canoinha de buxo, cum giga, moitães, e o sê poparo todo! Foi o pai que la fez co a navalha... Andou co aquilho inscundido na manta, somanas a fio...! Só qu'ria qu'a menina visse! Parcia mesmo ūa imbarcação deveras, a saír o Canal de vento à popa!... (248-52)

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