PARALLELISMS IN LANGUAGE CONTACT: THE SPANGLISH AND PORTUNHOL INTERLINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP[1]

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▪ ABSTRACT: The present work aims to study and analyse the possible relationship in the language-contact sphere based upon a comparative focus between Spanglish, in the United States of America, and Portunhol, mainly in the border comprising Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil. Thus, based on this hypothesis, we will study and observe the different linguistic resources and mechanisms of each of the two varieties and the possible interlinguistic relations between them, or, in other words, which processes predominate in each one and in which situations they appear. Since there is no established grammar on both varieties (ENGHELS; VAN BELLEGHEM; VANDE CASTEELE, 2020), we will focus specifically on observing the appearance and functioning of lexical loans (OTHEGUY, 2009) and code-switching (MONTES-ALCALÁ, 2005; HAMMINK, 2000) in Portunhol, basing the research on the main resources extracted from the Spanglish linguistic classification in Tugues (2019). As a result, so as to compare and observe the linguistic correlation of the two languages, we intend to create a corpus by selecting samples from the literary work in Portunhol called Era uma vez en la Fronteira Selvagem (2019) by the Brazilian-Paraguayan writer Douglas Diegues. This corpus will provide us with all those samples in Portunhol to a better understanding of all the resources and compare these samples with the theoretical foundations of Spanglish. Finally, the results of this research will give us the answers to know which linguistic practices in the two modalities are more recurrent, which resources are considered more legitimate and, more importantly, they will prove the existence of a continuum of similarity between Spanish/ Portuguese and English/Spanish.

▪ KEYWORDS: language contact; comparative linguistics; Spanglish; Portunhol.

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This article was developed regarding the analysis of languages as hybrid linguistic elements that live in contact between borders or cross-border spaces, focusing, on the one hand, on the linguistic contact between English and Spanish in the United States, popularly known as Spanglish, and, on the other hand, Portunhol, formed by the contact between Spanish and Portuguese, and to a lesser extent with Guarani, in those South American areas, such as the triple Argentina-Brazil-Paraguay border.

The main intention we maintain in this research is being able to compare and understand the mechanisms by which we could observe common linguistic elements in the two linguistic modalities (Spanglish and Portunhol) or, contrary, to prove that there are no linguistic (or extralinguistic) links between the unions of English and Spanish with Spanish and Portuguese. First, we will pay attention to the concepts of Spanglish and Portunhol, as well as to the various meanings and connotations that these terms carry, so as to have a greater understanding to compare them later. The second point will be more important, since we will show the main linguistic, lexical and morphosyntactic resources of the two modalities already mentioned, such as code-switching, or lexical and grammatical loanwords, described by the main researchers in this topic. In the third point, the research will be focused on a practical application of these resources in the literary sphere of Portunhol and create a small lexicographical corpus to observe which Spanglish phenomena could be related to the result of the contact between Portuguese and Spanish.

The samples used to observe the Portunhol linguistic resources consist of a set of stories written by the Brazilian-Paraguayan novelist Douglas Diegues, entitled *Era uma vez en la fronteira selvagem* (2019). Finally, in the last section, we will present the relevant conclusions in order to answer the question about the similarities and relations of the two selected modalities in contact.

Introduction

Throughout our history, it is possible to find intercultural or multicultural geographical spaces, specifically in border areas, where two or more languages meet, but never preventing the process of effective communication. Thus, it is in these natural communicative environments, where these speakers are granted such a freedom to seek their own solutions and carry out a communicative exchange. As a result, many speakers choose to make use of a hybrid variety, product of the contact of languages and cultures, to the point of becoming a daily variety with a multilingual speech and repeated and established patterns. On some occasions, this variety is created in border areas where two similar languages coexist, such as Spanish and Catalan, or Spanish and Portuguese, or in other cases, more different languages, as it would be the case of Spanish and English on the North American border.

Nonetheless, this contact does not arise exclusively in border or cross-border spaces, since we may find individuals geographically displaced in other spaces, countries or

regions where the language is different from their own mother tongue and the new language is mixed with the host language, often unconsciously.[2]

In this sense, we might start to understand the origin of Spanglish and Portunhol. Both units, somehow, constitute two *porte-manteau* terms,[3] born from the lexical connection between Spanish and English (Spanglish) and *Português* and *Espanhol/ Español* (Portunhol). Notwithstanding, although they seem to carry many similarities between both varieties, the notions that each term maintains are quite different. On the one hand, Spanglish, also known as *espanglés*, *slanglish*, *español mixtureado* ou *pocho* (among many others), designates the interlinguistic mixture and manifestations of Spanish and English within the Spanish and/or border communities in the United States of America. It is worth mentioning that, even if there are other meetings between the Spanish language with English, such as Llanito or Yanito, known in the British overseas territory of Gibraltar, in the Iberian Peninsula, they could not be considered Spanglish, due to the cultural connotations the term specifically carries in the United States.

Other manifestations of Spanglish, which cannot be considered as such, are Cyber-Spanglish (also called *ciberspanglish*, *cyberspanglish* or *cyberespanglish*). This term was coined by "Yolanda M. Rivas referring to the mode of communication of network users" (BETTI; SERRA-ALEGRE, 2016, p. 23). More than a variety, it consists on the appearance of Spanglish in relation to words of a technological nature found on the internet. Some examples are *'chatear'* (to chat), *'forwardear'* (to forward) and *'el maus'* (mouse). It should be mentioned that many words in Spanglish belong to this type of digital or technological background.

Finally, we analyse the term Mock or Junk Spanish. As Lipski (2003, p. 252) states: "many Americans, who do not speak Spanish, invent humorous words and expressions, using fictitious elements with a rough concept of the morphology of Spanish"[4]. Examples of this might be: '*no problemo'* (no problem), '*cheapo'* (cheap) and some isolated words such as *'adiós'* or '*cucaracha'*.

In view of this last type of occurrence (Junk Spanish), we totally agree with authors such as Lipski not to consider these examples and uses as a part of Spanglish, because, in order to belong to the lexicon of the hybrid variety, they should be spoken, mainly, by people who really have some knowledge of the Spanish language.

On the other hand, regarding Portunhol, it is necessary to emphasize that this term, Portunhol (in Portuguese) or *Portuñol* (in Spanish), designates a multilingual and polysemic reality. As Matesanz argued

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[2]   In this case, it appears the heritage language, inherited by people whose relatives are speakers of a specific language, is different from that one spoken in the space where they are located. For more information on the heritage language, see *Heritage languages: In the wild and in the classroom* (POLINSKI; KAGAN, 2007).

[3]   A *porte-meanteau*, or portmanteau word, is a term used for the linguistic blend of words into a single new word.

[4]   Original: *"muchos estadounidenses que no hablan español inventan palabras y expresiones jocosas, empleando elementos ficticios junto a un concepto aproximado de la morfología del español"* (LIPSKI, 2003, p. 252).

When speaking of Portunhol it is necessary to distinguish: (i) whether we are referring to one of the dialectal variants that are based on Spanish and Portuguese and that are produced by a contact between languages; or, (ii) if we refer to discursive interactions between Spanish and Portuguese speakers in which the mother tongue transfers, code switches and other typical phenomena of second language acquisition occur (Lipski, 2006; Corbella and Fajardo, 2007), what in this study we call unstable portunhol[5] (MATESANZ, 2019, p. 82).

While the term Spanglish designates specifically the popular variety of North American Spanish, the word Portunhol carries more meanings. This is due to the number of encounters between Spanish and Portuguese throughout geography, in Europe to a lesser extent, and in South America, where the phenomenon is visibly bigger. Consequently, we need to observe Portunhol from two perspectives. On the one hand, from a spatial point of view and, on the other, from a linguistic perspective:

From the spatial point of view, first, we might distinguish European Portunhol, spoken on the Spanish-Portuguese border. Second, we distinguish American Portunhol, which is practiced in the multiple borders that Brazil has with its Spanish-speaking neighbours, which are Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay. From a linguistic point of view, Portunhol is divided into three major groups, namely: *Portuñol*, lusophone or Portunhol, and Portunhol Riverense[6] (DAÏROU, 2011, p. 31).

Besides, apart from the different types of Portunhol already named, the concept of *Portunhol selvagem* or *guaraportunhol* deserves a special mention. This modality has been consolidated since 1980 in a literary form found in works such as *Mar Paraguayo* (1992) by the writer and activist Wilson Bueno and numerous texts and short stories by Douglas Diegues. *Portunhol selvagem* is born in the vertebrate transboundary space of the Rio de la Plata and the triple border region comprising Paraguay, Argentina

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[5]   Original: "*hablar de portuñol es necesario distinguir: (i) si nos estamos refiriendo a una de las variantes dialectales que tienen como base el español y el portugués y que se producen por un contacto entre las lenguas; o, (ii) si nos referimos a interacciones discursivas entre hablantes de español y portugués en las que se producen transferencia desde la lengua materna, cambios de código y otros fenómenos propios de la adquisición de una segunda lengua (Lipski, 2006; Corbella & Fajardo, 2017), lo que en este estudio hemos denominado portuñol no estable*" (MATESANZ, 2019, p. 82).

[6]   Original: "*Desde el punto de vista del espacio, se distingue el portuñol de Europa, es decir el que se habla en la frontera hispanoportuguesa, del portuñol de América o sea el que se practica en las múltiples fronteras que comparte Brasil con sus vecinos hispanohablantes, que son Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Uruguay, Argentina y Paraguay. Desde el punto de vista lingüístico, el portuñol se divide en tres grandes grupos, a saber: el portuñol de los hispanohablantes o portuñol, el de los lusohablantes o portunhol y el portuñol riverense de los cuales hablamos ya en líneas anteriores*" (DAÏROU, 2011, p. 31).

and Brazil. There, we observe the meeting of the two hegemonic colonial languages (Spanish and Portuguese) with the indigenous language, Guarani.

After getting to know the different types of Spanglish and Portunhol, we consider it essential and necessary to discuss some pejorative views regarding the languages in contact. About Portunhol, Lipski (2006, p. 2) mentions that for many Spanish and Portuguese speakers, "Portunhol is undesirable, and it is the result of laziness, indifference and lack of respect for other languages and their speakers". The same connotations exist in the Spanglish sphere, where some linguists defend it and value it, and others criticise it. Unfortunately, this kind of disrespectful thinking is already apparent when speakers (or linguistics itself) begin to speak and describe a language in contact. As a result, when a hybrid, mixed or Creole variety appears, there is a tendency to name it and define it with several negative connotations. This reflection is well argued in the following quote:

> Very negative is the perception that language communities tend to have of what it is supposedly not in accordance with a pre-established or socially acceptable norm or model. Thus, Spanish Creole from the Philippines is called *chabacano*; the mixture of the Castilian language with Catalan and Aragonese, *chapurreao*; the mixture of Spanish with African and Dutch languages in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, is called *Papiamento*; Spanish with Quechua in Ecuador, *media lengua*. And, in this same logic, the mixture of Spanish and English in the southern United States is called *pocho*[7] (MORENO-FERNÁNDEZ, 2015, p. 256).

One of the possible reasons why these prejudices about language contact exist, and specifically with Spanglish and Portunhol, is the lack of normative and grammatical standardisation. Hence, in the case of Spanglish, there are institutions of great prestige such as the *Real Academia Española*, the *Instituto Cervantes* or the *Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua Española*, who consider Spanglish as a popular variety (written and spoken) within the standardised variety of the North American Spanish, but that would not mean that Spanglish is fully grammatical. In the case of Portunhol, neither does it have a standard grammar nor an organism that officially regulates it.

Therefore, a possible solution to make these hybrid modalities even more uniform and giving speakers a bigger communicative and linguistic awareness, could be through the creation of an official grammar or compendium of established linguistic structures, such as Enghels, Van Belleghem and Vande Casteele (2020) pointed out in the case of

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[7] Original: "*Así de mala es la percepción que suelen tener las comunidades lingüísticas de aquello que supuestamente no se ajusta a una norma o modelo preestablecido o socialmente aceptable. De esta forma, al español criollo de Filipinas se le dice chabacano; a la mezcla del castellano con el catalán y las hablas aragonesas, chapurreao; a la mezcla del español con lenguas africanas y holandés en Aruba, Bonaire y Curaçao, se le da el nombre de papiamento; a la del español con el quichua en Ecuador, media lengua. Y, en esta misma lógica, a la mezcla del español y el inglés en el sur de los Estados Unidos se le dice pocho*" (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2015, p. 256).

Spanglish (and applicable for Portunhol) where mainly the most common phenomena were collected, at the same time that some regionalisms were highlighted.

Finally, it is important to note that even though we do not have a grammar to regulate these varieties nowadays, the two hybrid languages studied in this article remain alive and in use, due to the number of speakers and the emerging literature, both in Spanglish and Portunhol. It is in these literary movements, as the Chicano literature or the Nuyorican movement in the United States, and the emerging literature in *Portunhol selvagem*, where they give written form to repeated (and not random) linguistic patterns that can function as resources or mechanisms of the language in order to prepare the way for analysing those lexical and morphosyntactical forms that we will observe in the following section.

Linguistic resources

Generally, when thinking about how languages in contact are formed, from a linguistic perspective, the general idea, unfortunately, is to consider them as a random linguistic phenomenon, a *horror vacui* of adapted and mixed expressions without any criteria, along with the belief that they are a humorous phenomenon lacking a true linguistic justification or motivation.

Notwithstanding, as it will be noted in the following pages, despite the fact that Portunhol and Spanglish do not have a regulatory institution to establish their own language or a consecrated grammar, the two hybrid modalities have some repeated and well-argued patterns and linguistic uses, which in most cases, make that negative conception of these oral and written varieties disappear.

To justify this idea, we highlight Lipski's (2003, p. 203) words, stating that the sphere of languages in contact "seems to be a chaotic process devoid of grammatical bases, but a wide series of investigations have shown that the process is governed by detailed restrictions, both syntactic and pragmatic[8]". Thus, if languages are grammatically defined, "then there is no reason to stigmatize this mode of speaking, as it is natural behavior in any bilingual setting which is not random, nor capricious" (MONTES-ALCALÁ, 2009, p. 109).

Once the linguistic originality of the languages in contact has been justified, we will focus on showing the various phenomena that derive from Spanglish and Portunhol so as to observe the possible interlinguistic similarities of both. In other words, after observing the mechanisms of each one, we will have the tools to be able to propose our own judgments and observe how similar or distant they are. So, due to researching reasons, we decided to start by showing the aspects and resources used within the scope of Spanglish.

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[8]   Original: "*Parece ser un proceso caótico y desprovisto de bases gramaticales, pero una amplia serie de investigaciones ha demostrado que el proceso está regido por restricciones detalladas, tanto sintácticas como pragmática*s (LIPSKI, 2003, p. 203).

First, we must name the main and most recurring resources that happen in the sphere of Spanglish, which would be loanwords (lexical or syntactic) and code-switching. In relation to loanwords, Otheguy's (2009) research should be considered. Secondly, we highlight the works on Spanglish code-switching by linguists such as Hammink (2000) and, more focused on pragmatics, the research by Montes-Alcalá (2005).

Unfortunately, and not being the subject of this research, there are many valid opinions when it comes to classifying all these resources, since in the absence of an established grammar, each linguist has a certain freedom to create their own judgments regarding the resources of the languages in contact. In other words, there are linguists who classify loanwords as a subcategory of code-switching, or even adding other categories like calques or hybrid creations.

As a result, given the large number of proposals on the resources available to Spanglish,[9] we tend to show a general classification, which collects all the proposals previously shown, enabling us to apply it to the study of Portunhol. Consequently, let us observe the classification proposed by Tugues Rodríguez (2019, p. 36-37).

Table 1 – Spanglish Linguistic Resources

1. Loanwords
1.1   Pure loanwords: *tiene el pelo straight*.

1.2   Hybrid creations: *calendador, troka.*
    a) Prepositions: *conocí mi esposa.*
    b) Verbs: *lunchear, spikear, empecé a mirando la TV*.

1.3   Calques: *máquina de responder, fuerza policía.*
    a) Loss or disappearance of resources and syntactic mechanisms.
    b) Expansion in the use of existing syntactic processes.

1.4   Semantic Extension (Phraseology): *¿Qué tiempo es?, ¿Qué es tu nombre?*
2. Code-switching:
2.1   Intersentential change: saying one sentence in one language and the next in another. *No vas a decir nada... You are not gonna say anything.*
2.2   Intrasentential change: the change takes place within the same clause. *I told him that pa'que la trajera ligero.*

Source: Tugues Rodríguez (2019, p. 36-37).

After observing the previous table, in this classification applied to Spanglish resources, we see two main broad categories: loanwords and code-switching. In the first group it is also possible to find four subcategories: 1) pure loanwords would be those entirely in the selected language; 2) hybrid creations are elements created from the two languages; 3) by calques we mean phrases in one language adapted from another language; 4) finally, in the semantic extension we can display all these phraseological units of one language adapted to the other language in contact. In the second group, we

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[9]   See Tugues Rodríguez (2019).

observed two types of code-switching: intersentential (outside the same sentence) and intrasentential (within the same clause). However, it is also interesting to add another table, proposed in the study by Montes-Alcalá (2005), where it shows some pragmatic phenomena that motivated speakers to change the code, mainly between Spanish and English online conversations and in emails.

Table 2 – Pragmatic phenomena of code-switching

Quotes	Direct: NO ME EXPLICA DE MOMENTO NADA PERO ME PONE [=DICE] "I have very strong feelings that it was him, it was not by chance that he moved into my office Indirect: DESPUÉS QUEDÉ PENSANDO POR LO QUE DIJISTE QUE that would make the other guy mad.
Emphasis	ASÍ QUE TE GUSTÓ MUCHÍSIMO LO QUE LLEVABA… So embarrassing! YO NO ME PONGO COSAS ASÍ NI PARA CARNAVAL.
Clarifications	I'm sure he'll aprreciate it, AUNQUE LE DUELA.
Parenthetical comments	BILL ME EXPLICA, in details, LO QUE PENSABA CUANDO YO LE LLAMÉ.
Idiomatic expressions	PUES, believe it or not, YO TENGO PRESO A F. R.
Provoked changes	ASÍ QUE CUANDO TERMINES TU CLASE ESTARÉ YA EN EL **parking lot**, I'll be looking out for you.
Stylistic changes	YA TE LO HABÍA DICHO YO! Call me M. The prophet!
Lexical Necessity	ME CONFIRMÓ JUAN QUE FUI MUY OBVIO, Y NO SOLAMENTE EN LA produce section, TAMBIÉN EN EL check-out line (ELLOS ESTABAN EN EL express lane).
Free changes	YO ESTOY DE ACUERDO on the group nomination.
Secret code changes	PUES, AQUÍ ESTABA CONTÁNDOTE COSITAS DE you know who, Y LLEGA JUAN Y TUVE QUE CANCELAR MI MENSAJE…

Source: Montes-Alcalá (2005, p. 175-183).

Then, focused on Portunhol, it is possible to find similarities in the linguistic resources previously shown. This is affirmed in Daïrou's words, stating that "the main characteristics of Portunhol speech are the absence of norm, simplification, hybridization and calques[10]" (DAÏROU, 2011, p. 31). In the research by Daïrou (2011) we find several examples of these linguistic resources, in phonic or morphosyntactic aspects, such as the simplification of double consonants *-rr-* (*irrealizable – irealizable*), substitution

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[10] Original: "*las principales características del habla portuñola son la ausencia de norma, la simplificación, la hibridación y el calco*" (DAÏROU, 2011, p. 31).

of -nh- for -ñ-, apocope of words ending in fricative velar such as /x / (*reloj – reló*). It is also possible to observe resources in the grammatical sphere, as the omission of the preposition *a*, in the near future or present continuous paradigm in Portuguese: *Voy ø hablar un lenguagem direito*.

In addition, morphological hybridization, also known as hybrid creations, has an important function in Portunhol, since it works in a similar way to Spanglish, making use of composition and derivation: (*catchorrinho – cachorrinho; perguntita – preguntita*). Another very interesting example is shown by Lipski, in relation to the use of verbal endings in Spanish (with a Portuguese spelling). According to Lipski (2006, p. 5), these Spanish terminations show: "clear violations of the Free morpheme Constraint of Poplack (1980), bus also common in other portunhol manifestations: *yo terê* (Spanish *tendré*, Portuguese *terei*)".

We believe that it is necessary to mention the works by Azevedo (2000) and Elizaincín (1979, 1992), since they provide an accurate description of sociolinguistic aspects and resources in general.

After observing the previous examples, which we could classify as loanwords, we should mention the existence of code-switching in Portunhol. As in Spanglish, Portunhol also has two main types of code changes: intrasentential and intersentential. Besides, there are several configurations that encourage the change from one language into another in sentences between Spanish and Portuguese. These combinations were studied in Lipski (2006, p. 12) and would be as follows:

1) Between a pronominal subject and a predicate:
O que bocês entienden por mierda?
Porque tuyo eh u reinu, y a podé, y a gloria.

2) Between a pronominal clitic and the verb:
Un senõr sombrio com viestes negronas los sorri suspiendendo el longo chapéu negron, a el lado del funerária.
Me fico mucho felice en saber que hay hermanos rrornalistas que nos ajudan a divulgar el saite de portuñol.
Jo quieres hacer amor con nosotros ou con noí memo?

3) Between a sentence-initial interrogative word and the remainder of a sentence:
Quém no se olvida de Super Rato, que passaba el cartún en SBT.
Onde que los hijos de puta de la Pepsi hacen una promocíon como esta????

4) Between an auxiliary verb (especially *haber*) and the main verb:
Y no noh dexéh cair na tentazón

5) Adverbs of negation are normally in the same language as the verbs they modify:
As veces podemos até tirar leciones de moral.
Douglas Diegues: "Sabedoria bocê non puede comprar, ni puede bender."

As a curiosity, it is of great importance for this comparative study, to show that the same linguist exposes other similar grammatical configurations that originate the code change in Spanglish. Thus, Lipski (2003, p. 240) demonstrates that there is a change in the following situations :[11]

1) The anticipated presence of a name or noun in the other language:
Escucharon a *Lisa López's latest álbum*, una canción titulada... Mezcal va a tocar *this coming Friday*.
I'm a Jiménez, todos los demás son Torres.

2) Between a main and a subordinate phrase, introduced by a relative pronoun or complement (*que*, *porque*, etc.):
There are are many families on the block *que tienen chamaquitos*.
No sé porque *I never used itsaite de portuñol*.

3) The presence of a coordination conjunction (*y, pero*):
They're still meeting at Ripley house every Thursday night *y la gente se está juntando ahí*.
Sometimes te pones serio *and you know that, you make good points*. One more time Ruth, *pa que la gente se cuente y* they can call you at...

Notwithstanding, in the case of Spanglish and in the same study, Lipski[12] (2003, p. 243) displays some grammatical restrictions that circumscribe the change of languages, which means that the following changes would be unacceptable or artificial:

1) Between a pronominal subject and a predicate:
*Él lis coming tomorrow.
*He viene mañana

2) Between a clitic pronoun and a verb:
Juan lo said*.
Juan quiere decir *it**.

3) Between an interrogative word moved to the starting position and the rest of the sentence:
Cuándo *will you come*? **¿When* vas a hacerlo?

4) Between an auxiliary verb (mainly *haber*) and the main verb:
* María *ha finished the job*. *We had acabado de comer.

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[11] Original: *1) La presencia anticipada de un nombre propio en la otra lengua. 2) Cambios entre una frase principal y una frase subordinada, introducida por un pronombre relativo o un complementador (que, porque, etc.). 3) La presencia de una conjunción de coordinación (y, pero).* (LIPSKI, 2003, p. 240).

[12] Original: *"1) Entre un sujeto pronominal y el predicado". 2) Entre el clítico pronominal y el verbo. 3) Entre una palabra interrogativa desplazada a la posición inicial y el resto de la oración. 4) Entre un verbo auxiliar (sobre todo haber) y el verbo principal.* (LIPSKI, 2003, p. 243).

Hence, an aspect that really catches our attention is the similarity of these last restrictions in Spanglish code-switching with the possible permissions or configurations in Portunhol. Even though the settings are the same, there is a permission or a greater use in Portunhol, while it would be a violation or prohibition in the general use of Spanglish.

Finally, despite having some differences regarding the settings in code-switching, we may affirm that there is a certain parallelism and similarity between the processes and linguistic resources of both Spanglish and Portunhol in loanwords and code-switching. Therefore, we would like to observe these similarities from a more practical perspective and through an analysis of samples extracted from the literary work already mentioned in the introduction of this research: *Era uma vez en la fronteira selvagem* (2019) by Douglas Diegues. It consists of a set of allegorical tales about animals and fictional or magical characters in the Brazilian, Argentine and Paraguayan Triple Border region. The choice was made, in the first place, since it is a current and contemporary text, allowing us to observe Portunhol from a current and recent timeline. Secondly, due to the textual language it offers. In the tales, we find samples of Spanish, Portuguese and Portunhol, the three languages altogether. In fact, there were some lexical elements typical of Guarani (in the Paraguayan variety) and even neologisms in Portunhol created by the author himself.

Methodology of analysis and resources in Portunhol extracted from Diegues' tales

In the development of this research we used samples of Portunhol extracted from tales written by Douglas Diegues. It is of great importance to emphasize that the work belongs to the literary movement known as *Portunhol selvagem*, that is, mixing linguistic elements from Spanish, Portuguese and Guarani.

We will specifically analyse and mark those samples that are most important and that can be recognised within the classification of Tugues Rodríguez (2019).

Thus, we classify all the examples collected in tables divided between loanwords (and their subcategories such as pure loan, calques, hybrid creations and semantic extensions) and code-switching (intersentential and intrasentential). In each one we will display one section with the unit within the context, another one where the type of phenomenon appears and, finally, another part with the relevant linguistic observations.[13]

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[13]   Only relatable samples to the classification of Tugues Rodríguez (2019) will appear, rejecting repetitions and anything we do not consider appropriate.

Table 3 – Selected loanwords from Douglas Diegues's tales

Sample[14]	Linguistic phenomenon	Observations
Las **crianzas** latinoamericanas vivem hoy em comunidades monolingues (p. 9).	Hybrid creation	The word is formed with the lexical unit in Portuguese exchanging the spelling -ç-, non-existent in Spanish, for the spelling -z-.
La escrita em Portunhol Selvagem, ou **el** portunhol falado, **es** uma prática subversiva (p. 9).	Pure loan in Spanish	Three pure Spanish loanwords appear in the Portuguese text.
Nunca saberemos que gosto tem uma pitaya bermeja perfumada se **non** experimentamos (p.9)	Hybrid creation	Negation formed by the Spanish form 'no' and nasalization in Portuguese.
Como se fosse um **mitaruzú** que acabava de chegar de Nova York (p.12).	Pure loan in Guarani	In the work it will be possible to find loans from Guarani, mainly descriptive adjectives.
Pois fora daquele poço non existia **puerra ninguma** (p.14).	Semantic and phraseological extension	The phraseological unit in Portuguese 'porra nenhuma' is calqued and adapted in a more Hispanicized way: *porra > puerra*; *nenhuma > ninguma*. In the case of '*ninguma*', it could also be considered as a neologism.
Las ruas ficavam ainda mais belas cobertas de pétalas de **muchos colores** (p.15).	Pure loan in Spanish	The pure loan comprises a pronoun and a noun following the Spanish and Portuguese concordance rules.
Algunos dias después, um **catchorrinho** entrou en la Casa de los Espejos (p. 19).	Hybrid creation	The hybrid creation is formed trying to follow the phonological pattern of Spanish / tʃ /.
Comenzamos a colocar goiabas **nel** fundo de grandes garrafas (p. 22).	Hybrid creation	Portuguese preposition 'em' mixed to the determinant article in Spanish 'el'.
Todas las noches la sala del Cine Guaraní estaba **lotada** (p. 27).	Pure loan in Portuguese	In this case we found a loan in Portuguese.
Non había TV **nim** DVD **nim** pen drive (p. 29).	Hybrid creation	Negation formed by the Spanish form 'ni' and the nasalization in Portuguese of the negation 'nem'.
O que vocês querem fazer na terra? **Pô jerá**? Ou **Pô jopy**? (p. 30).	Pure loan in Guarani	Again, it is possible to find adjectives borrowed from Guarani.
Entón, ele tirou um celular do bolsillo del sobretudo punk (p. 38).	Hybrid creation	Adverb created from the form 'então' in Portuguese and the ending '-ón' in Spanish.

Source: Tugues Rodríguez (2019, p.36).

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14   Samples ordered by occurrence in the original text.

Table 4 – Code-switching

Sample	Linguistic phenomenon	Observations
El Sapo de All Star parecía um daqueles **cinquentones** que gostavam de usar **solamente** roupas de adolescente (p. 12).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	We highlight the appearance of a hybrid creation based on the Portuguese 'cinquentões' and the Spanish 'cincuentones'.
Porque el Outono era la mais bela **de las estaciones, y** em Paris las ruas ficavam ainda mais belas cobertas de pétalas de **muchos colores** (p. 15).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	The change takes place within the same sentence.
El Mandorová entonces foi embora y morreu numa boa colado numa árvore imensa, **porque cuando la noche está fresca los mandorovás** morrem melhor (p. 17).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	The change appears in a clause separated by commas, but within the same sentence.
Algunos días después, um catchorrinho entrou en la Casa de los Espejos que hazia ainda abandonada, **y pudo ver**, refletido naqueles espejos sucios, mais ou menos uns catchorrinhos (p. 19).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	The changes appear between commas with the intention of adding some complementary information.
Dentro de cada garrafón, los cazadores colocaban **uma goiaba perfumada** (p. 22).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	The change appears at the end, emphasizing a typical Brazilian fruit. For this reason, the use of Portuguese is preferred.
Diziam **que la iluminación** non estava bem, **porque las imágenes** apareciam desfocadas em **la** tela gigante, **lo que dificultaba bastante la** leitura de **las** legendas (p. 27).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	We found isolated loans in another language within one sentence.
El tamanduá es uno de los habitantes **mais antigos** de las Fronteras Salvajes desconocidas del Brasil con el Paraguay (p. 32).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	The change is only intended to emphasise the adjective *antigo* and gives this connotation about the Tamanduás.
Los amigos **queriam** llevar a **sério** las palabras del Índio**, mas non conseguiam** y empezaban después a cagarse de risa (p. 34).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	We observe that the changes constitute verbs or verbal phraseological units.
Entonces los índios inventaron unos tambores para marcar el ritmo **enquanto imitavam los passos** y los saltos del viejo Tamanduá (p. 35).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	In this example, we see a sentence in Spanish with a smaller clause in Portuguese.
Depois mandaram uma mensagem informando que assim que descobrissem **la respuesta** telefonariam para **el** Lobo Mau (p. 41).	Intrasentential - pragmatic subtype: emphasis	Again, the change carries an emphatic connotation, that is, highlighting the main object of the prayer: 'la respuesta'.

Source: Tugues Rodríguez (2019, p.37).

Final considerations

As we might perceive, in the previous samples from Douglas Diegues, it is possible to find linguistic elements in Portunhol classifiable within the list elaborated by Tugues Rodríguez (2019). Although there was a big number of samples in the entire reading, we decided to show only the most relevant ones regarding the previously mentioned linguistic resources.

Thus, we highlight in the first place the appearance of loanwords. The main surprise was being able to find examples of the main subcategories of loanwords: pure loans, hybrid creations and semantic and phraseological extensions. However, it was not possible to find any grammatical or morphosyntactic calques.

In any case, the appearance of pure loans was one of the main resources used by the author, who provided loanwords in the three languages that make up the *Portunhol selvagem* variety: Spanish, Portuguese and Guarani. In fact, it is essential to mention that in several situations it was difficult to reach a conclusion regarding the choice of a word as a loan from Portuguese or Spanish, since both languages appear mixed and sharing a similar syntactic paradigm and many lexical elements. This reflection has already been studied by Lipski (2006, p. 14), stating that:

> […] the range of syntactic combinations arising during Spanish-Portuguese hybridization does not fit easily into any of the accepted theoretical typologies, primarily because of the high degree of syntactic and lexical congruence between Spanish and Portuguese (LIPSKI, 2006, p. 14).

Conversely, a feature that appeared with greater recurrence was the hybrid creation between elements of Portuguese and Spanish. We found nouns, such as the example of 'crianzas', originated by the substitution of the spelling -ç-, which does not exist in Spanish, by a -z-, more common in both languages. We also observed creations made up of pronouns such as 'nel', linking the contraction of Portuguese 'no' to the Spanish form 'el'. Other examples were adverbs of the same type in both languages: 'non', 'nim', 'entón'. Finally, it was possible to observe a hybrid creation following phonetic patterns. The example was the word 'catchorrinho', created to be pronounced with the Spanish phoneme / tʃ /.

Consequently, regarding code-switching, it was interesting to note that in Diegue's tales, predominated the intrasentential type, that is, those changes made within the same sentence or clause. Mainly, these changes appeared in both Spanish and Portuguese in an uninterrupted manner throughout the text. In some cases, the change comprised isolated words or short sentences: "diziam **que la iluminación** non estava bem, **porque las imágenes** apareciam desfocadas em **la** tela gigante, **lo que dificultaba bastante la** leitura de **las** legendas". However, in other cases, the change functioned as a specific clause within the same sentence: "entonces los índios inventaron unos tambores para

marcar el ritmo **enquanto imitavam los passos** y los saltos del viejo Tamanduá". None of the examples shown could be understood as intersentential changes, since everything is arranged within the same sentence.

We believe that the author's intention to use these types of intrasentential code-switching is characterised as purely stylistic, since he writes a children's book with the intention of giving visibility to *Portunhol selvagem* by intensifying it.

Finally, after analysing the samples, we must conclude stating that, effectively, Portunhol shares somehow the linguistic resources proposed, in the first place, for Spanglish. The experience of this research showed us that it is possible to find loanwords and code-switching, but with some peculiarities specific to the two modalities in contact. In the case of English and Spanish, the similarity of grammatical and lexical paradigms is not that visible due to linguistic distance. Contrary, in the case of Spanish and Portuguese, the line that separates the two languages is smaller, creating a greater interlinguistic space where it would be difficult to define whether a word would be proper to Spanish or Portuguese.

▪ *RESUMO: O presente trabalho tem como objetivo estudar e argumentar uma possível relação existente entre as línguas em contato a partir de um enfoque comparativo entre o Spanglish dos Estados Unidos da América e o portunhol, principalmente na tríplice fronteira Paraguai, Argentina e Brasil. Assim, a partir dessa hipótese, se estudarão e observarão os diferentes recursos e mecanismos linguísticos de cada uma das duas modalidades e as possíveis relações interlinguísticas entre ambas, ou seja, quais processos predominam em cada uma e em que situações aparecem. Já que não existe uma gramática estabelecida sobre ambas as variedades (Enghels, Van Belleghen y Vande Casteele, 2020), nos centraremos, especificamente, em observar a aparição e o funcionamento dos empréstimos léxicos (Otheguy, 2009) e as mudanças de código (Montes-Alcalá, 2005; Hammink, 2000) no portunhol, baseando a pesquisa nos principais recursos extraídos do Spanglish na classificação de Tugues (2019). Dessa forma, para poder comparar e observar a correlação linguística das duas modalidades híbridas, pretendemos criar um corpus selecionando amostras da obra literária em portunhol Era uma vez en la Fronteira Selvagem (2019) do escritor brasileiro-paraguaio Douglas Diegues. O corpus a ser analisado servirá à coleta de todas aquelas amostras em portunhol e entender melhor todos os recursos e comparar essas amostras com os fundamentos teóricos do Spanglish. Por fim, os resultados da pesquisa responderão quais práticas linguísticas se encontram nas duas modalidades, quais recursos se consideram mais legítimos e argumentará a existência de um continuum de similitude entre o espanhol/português e o inglês/espanhol.*

▪ *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: línguas em contacto; linguística comparada; spanglish; portunhol.*

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