Family ties, dwelling and mobility in the development of Barranquenho

Vínculos familiares, vivienda y movilidad en el desarrollo del Barranquenho

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Resumen

La localidad de Barrancos está ubicada en el valle del río Murtiga sobre el sur de la frontera hispanoportuguesa a tan sólo 9 km de Encinasola. Los contactos culturales entre Barrancos y Encinasola se remontan al período de al-Ándalus. La periferia geográfica, histórica y económica en relación con el poder centrado en Lisboa y Madrid ha sido determinante en la identidad de barranqueños y marochos, siendo para ambos la marginalidad y la periferia tan importantes como las relaciones intra- e intercomunitarias. Así, la lealtad de ambos hacia su propia variedad lingüística se apoya sobre una triple linguodiversidad: los dialectos locales (Barrancos / Encinasola), las variedades regionales (Alentejo / Andalucía) y las normas nacionales (Portugal / España). El barranqueño es un caso de hibridación lingüística con un grado de interpenetración entre variedades regionales del español y portugués ausente en muchas otras hablas de contacto fronterizo.

En este estudio se investigan los lazos de familia y las redes sociales formados a través de los casamientos, las movilidades en el espacio y en la sociedad, y el cruce de la frontera entre Barrancos y Encinasola. El paradigma de las movilidades sirve de marco explicativo más amplio para explicar el cambio lingüístico en Barrancos usando como unidades de análisis la familia y la educación, la identidad, el espacio y el tiempo. Finalmente, se propondrá que las varias formas de movilidad y anclaje han condicionado las formas de comunicación transfronteriza.

Palabras clave: movilidades – sociolingüística – dialectos portugueses – dialectos españoles – estudios de fronteras.

Abstract

Barrancos (Portugal) and Encinasola (Spain) are located across the river Murtiga valley on the southern Portuguese-Spanish border; they are separated by about seven miles. The proximity and the centuries-old cultural exchanges between these two towns reaches back to the *Al-Andalus* period. In addition, their geographical, historical and economic periphery with regard to regional and national centers of power of Lisbon and Madrid were important in determining *Barranquenhos'* and *Marochos's* peripheral identities. To them these values are as equally significant for their shared geography, history and strong cultural perceptions of separation as for their distinct intra- and intercommunity linguistic practices and representations. In this respect, language loyalties in Barrancos and Encinasola configure a triple axis made up by the local dialects (Barrancos / Encinasola), regional varieties (Alentejo / Andalusia) and national standards (Lisbon / Madrid). A special case of varied linguistic manifestations is the Portuguese-Spanish hybridity in the Barranquenho dialect, having a degree of mixing not found in other contact dialects spoken on the border separating Portugal and Spain.

As the result of inter-communal marriages, spatial and social mobility, and travel across-the-border, family ties and new social networks have been constantly forming throughout history. Given the relevance of social network and identity for sociolinguistic variation, and of space and time for linguistic change in general, this paper seeks to interpret language change on the Portuguese-Spanish border within the mobility paradigm. It will show ideological outcomes of mobility in these border towns are connected to questions of language, place and identity as they relate to movement and crossing to and from Barrancos and Encinasola. In particular, the mobilities paradigm is used to understand language across the border as tied to different forms of mobilities and moorings over space and time.

Key words: mobility – sociolinguistics – Portuguese dialects – Spanish dialects – identity.

1. Introduction

Some attention has been paid to the contact situation on the Uruguay-Brazil border where a swath of border land once belonging to Brazil became part of Uruguay in the 19th century. Although a 70-mile strip in Uruguay on the Uruguay-Brazil border has been part of the country for more than 120 years, a variety of Portuguese is still maintained in the area which has been referred to as Portuñol or Fronterizo. (Carvalho 2003; Couto 2009)

The border area between Portugal and Spain –locally known as La Raya– has received scholarly attention (Carrasco González 1996-7; Navas Sánchez-Élez 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 2001; Oliveira 2002; Clements 2009), but the contact situation has not been made known to a wider audience in contact linguistics, although it is one of considerable interest because parts of the border area, especially south of Badajoz, Spain, have gone back and forth between these two Iberian countries for centuries. In this study, I concentrate on one such area, Barrancos, a village which currently forms part of Portugal. First, I will give a brief historical overview of the area from the Middle Ages onward in order to show the extent to which the region has been subjected to political turnover and shaped by inter-communal marriages, spatial and social mobility, travel across-the-border, family ties and new social networks forming throughout history. Then, I comment on some key contrastive traits of the variety spoken in Barrancos in relation to regional Portuguese and Spanish, which I'll attempt to interpret as the result of language change within the mobility paradigm. The study is based on fieldwork I carried out on the Portuguese-Spanish border and research in archives of Torre do Tombo in Lisbon and in the municipal archives of Barrancos and Encinasola over the last decade. Given that this paper is part of an ongoing study, I offer no firm conclusions about the exact nature and amount of language contact as reflected in the variety spoken by the inhabitants of Barrancos, a variety that would be currently considered more one of Portuguese than of Spanish.[1]

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[1] When using the terms *Portuguese* and *Spanish* here, we are referring exclusively to European Portuguese and Andalusian Spanish. However, with regards to clitic forms and placement in Spanish, generalizations apply to Spanish in general.

2. Sociohistorical background and family ties in Barrancos[2]

Barrancos (Portugal) and Encinasola (Spain) are located across the river Murtiga valley on the southern Portuguese-Spanish border; the two towns are separated by about seven miles.

Map: Barrancos and Encinasola

The history of Barrancos and the nearby Noudar castle goes back to the middle Ages. For centuries, the area was under rule of the Moors who had conquered the Iberian Peninsula in the 8th century. Between 1167 and 1253, there was a struggle between Moors and Christians which the latter ultimately won, but Portugal and Castile then were at odds about who was entitled to the area. At that time, a treaty was signed whereby Noudar castle and Barrancos remained in the possession of Castile. The area was given to a king's daughter in 1283, and in 1303 was gifted to a religious order. But it was taken by Castile in 1339 and thus began a tussle during which Noudar Castle and the village of Barrancos went back and forth for literally centuries up to the present day (cf. the chronology presented by de Matos Coelho 1999:65-74).

In the more recent history, at the beginning of the 19th century (1803) there were attempts to resolve the issue of possession, without agreement. The matter languished until 1886, the year in which Portugal and Spain named delegations that would negotiate the issue

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[2] Unless otherwise indicated, the historical information is gleaned from de Matos Coelho (1999). The reader should also consult Navas Sánchez-Élez (1996) for a discussion on settlements in the area.

of possession. This set of negotiations culminated in 1893 in the ratification of the Convention to divide the contested territory, and in 1910 Noudar Castle was classified as a national monument in Portugal.

In the history of the 20th century, Spain seemed to be the more prosperous of the two countries and Barranquenho women are described as routinely crossing the border from Portugal to Spain to buy food and other commodities. When in 1939 the dictatorship of Franco began in Spain, crossing began to be more difficult, but a steady commerce of goods and services in that border area continued through smuggling.

If Barranquenho women carried out most of the cross-border commerce, then this could explain why they maintained their variety of Spanish. And even after the Spanish dictatorship fell and the dictatorship in Portugal dissolved in 1975 through a peaceful revolution, Barranquenho women still sought goods and services routinely on the Spanish side of the border. Today, the situation is largely the same in many ways. For example, Barrancos inhabitants reported that in Spain health care is more accessible and that there is a greater diversity of merchandise at less expensive prices. Nowadays, all Barranquenhos, not just women, are able to cross the border freely either way to shop and socialize on a regular basis in Spain (Clemens and Lorenzino 2006). The major consequence of this state of affairs for Barrancos is that women have maintained Spanish to a greater extent.

3.0 Methods

The data was collected during two ethnographic fieldwork trips to Barrancos and Encinasola[3]. Data collected resulted in forty hours of language recordings in analog format, later digitalized for processing and analysis. All recordings were transcribed and linguistically coded with the assistance of a local primary school teacher from Barrancos fluent in Barranquenho and Portuguese, who was trained for this purpose. A total of twenty informants participated in the recordings, all carefully chosen to represent a balanced population reflecting distinction across age, sex, occupation, social class and education (see Table 1).   In addition, informants were asked to respond a sociolinguistic questionnaire which included, besides self-reported

biographical information, several items intended to elicit data about language attitudes, practices, use and other relevant social language factors. Recordings and questionnaires were processed, tabulated and analyzed to relate findings on the social and functional distribution of linguistic codes to their sociolinguistic context among Barranquenho speakers and other dialects' speakers in the region.

Informant	Age	Gender	Highest Education	Work
1	72	M	grade 2	Retired
2	19	F	grade 12	No
3	11	M	grade 6	No
4	24	M	grade 12	administration
5	27	M	grade 8	carpenter
6	51	M	grade 12	agriculture
7	83	M	grade 4	shoemaker
8	19	F	grade 12	no
9	28	F	grade 10	tourist info-
10	36	M	university	school teacher
11	31	F	grade 9	administration
12	35	M	grade 11	administration
13	64	M	grade 3	agriculture
14	26	F	university	administration
15	86	F	never	agriculture
16	33	F	grade 9	school auxiliary
17	52	F	grade 4	school janitor
18	57	F	grade 4	hairdresser
19	14	M	grade 9	no
20	78	F	grade 4	agriculture

Table 1: Informants´ data

My ethnographic investigation on family lineage and archival research on birth, baptism and death certificates, marriages, travel permits and land titles found in the *Torre do Tombo* from the mid-1600s to 1800 shows a continuous Spanish presence in Barrancos as well as mixed marriages with people from Encinasola. This suggests that Barranquenho's mixing of Spanish and Portuguese may be the linguistic outcome of long-term Spanish-Portuguese bilingualism. For example, birth records not only give the parents' place of origin but also detailed genealogical information about the grandparents'. Likewise, wedding certificates indicate the couple's and their parents' origin. Naturalization records demonstrate the time Encinasola migrants spent between their arrival to Barrancos and the time they became Portuguese nationals. Finally, trade records offer a rare glimpse of the socio-economic status of Barranquenhos and Marochos reflected in their occupation, land ownership, number of servants, travel and housing. Their closed relationship is more than simply the result of sharing a changing political border. Rather, their lives have been so much connected by mobility that some type of language contact in the Barranquenho dialect would be expected.

Table 2 shows the relative distribution of births in Barrancos between 1650 and 1800 based on the parents' origin:

- father and mother from Encinasola: E ♂ + E ♀
- father from Encinasola and mother from Barrancos: E ♂ + B ♀
- father from Barrancos and mother from Encinasola: B ♂ + E ♀
- father and mother from Barrancos: B ♂ + B ♀

The data point to nearly half of all children (.48) born in Barrancos to be of parents of mixed origin, i.e. either father from Encinasola and mother from Barrancos or father from Barrancos and mother from Encinasola:

- E ♂ + B ♀ = (.25)
- B ♂ + E ♀ = (.23)

E♂+E♀	E♂+B♀	B♂+E♀	B♂+B♀
36 (.16)	54 (.25)	50 (.23)	78 (.34)

Table 2: Births by first generation's origin, 1650-1800
(E: Encinasola, B: Barrancos; N: 218)

Even for births where father and mother were from Barrancos, the demographics trends favored one or two grandparents born in Encinasola, as shown in Table 2. Data for first and second generations include grandparents and parents of children born between 1650 and 1800, respectively:

E ♂ (.22) + E ♀ (.19) = (.41) ▶ B ♂
E ♂ (.26) + E ♀ (.26) = (.52) ▶ B ♀

First Generation ▶ / Second Generation ▼	E ♂	E ♀	B ♀	B ♂
E ♂	84 (.48)	77 (.44)	5 (.03)	8 (.05)
E ♀	72 (.47)	77 (.50)	4 (.02)	1 (.01)
B ♂	55 (.22)	54 (.19)	75 (.29)	75 (.29)
B ♀	66 (.26)	67 (.26)	62 (.24)	60 (.24)

Table 3: Births by first and second generation's origin, 1650-1800
(E: Encinasola, B: Barrancos)

Marriage composition shows also that the people from Barrancos and Encinasola valued family ties that crossed the Portuguese-Spanish political border. More than half of all marriages (63%, Table 4) in Barrancos between 1650 and 1800 were between Encinasola women and Baranquenho men. In other words, it was more common for an Encinasola woman to marry a Barranquenho and live in Barrancos than the opposite case. This trend could have had an important role in the transmission of Andalusian features into the Barranquenho language since children were likely to grow up bilingual. Presently, the opposite trend may be the case with Barranquenho women marrying Marochos and moving to Encinasola due to a decreasing trend of men leaving Barrancos for jobs elsewhere.

E ♂ + E ♀	E ♂ + B ♀	B ♂ + E ♀	B ♂ + B ♀
1 (.02)	16 (.20)	24 (.43)	15 (.41)

Table 4: Marriages by Second Generation's Origin, 1650-1800
(E: Encinasola, B: Barrancos)

The data summarized in Table 5 can be decomposed further by considering the next generation's contribution to Barrancos-Encinasola relationships since most marriage certificates for the 1650-1800 period contain information not only on bride's and groom's parents, but also their parents' origins. Table 4 shows that Encinasola men and women living in Barrancos were born to only Encinasola parents. On the other hand, Barranquenho brides and grooms had at least one parent from across the border:

$$E ♂ (.22) + E ♀ (.21) = (.43) \quad \blacktriangleright B ♂$$
$$E ♂ (.30) + E ♀ (.24) = (.54) \quad \blacktriangleright B ♀$$
$$E ♂ (.22) + E ♀ (.21) = (1.00) \quad \blacktriangleright E ♂$$
$$E ♂ (.50) + E ♀ (.50) = (1.00) \quad \blacktriangleright E ♀$$

Parents▶ Bride/Groom ▼	E ♂	E ♀	B ♂	B ♀
E ♂	17 (.50)	17 (.50)	0	0
E ♀	21 (.50)	21 (.50)	0	0
B ♂	16 (.22)	15 (.21)	20 (.28)	21 (.29)
B ♀	21 (.30)	17 (.24)	14 (.20)	19 (.26)

Table 5: Marriages by Parents' Origin, 1650-1800 (E: Encinasola, B: Barrancos)

4.0 Barranquenho's distinctive phonological features

José Leite de Vasconcelos, the father of Portuguese philology, wrote in the early 20th century the first description of what he called 'a curious colloquial dialect spoken in the village of Barrancos' (1955). He described it as having the base of the Portuguese dialect spoken south of the Tagus River with influence of Andalusian Spanish[4].

Vasconcelos discusses three salient phonological features of Barranquenho, namely, the aspiration and deletion of -/s/ in coda position, the lack of labiodental fricative /v/, and the reduction and raising of unstressed vowels, as shown in Table 6:

Phonological Feature	Barranquenho	Regional Portuguese	Andalusian Spanish
aspiration and deletion of –/s/ in coda position	+	-	+
lack of labiodental fricative /v/	-	+	-
reduction and raising of unstressed vowels	+	+	-

Table 6: three phonological features in Barranquenho

Portuguese does not have a morphonemic marking for –s aspiration ([h]/[Ø]) in coda position ("tu falaş"); on the other hand, aspiration or deletion is attested frequently in Barranquenho ("tu falah/falaØ") and Andalusian Spanish ("tú hablah", hablaØ). In addition, Portuguese possesses the labiodental fricative /v/ ("vinho"), whereas Barranquenho and Spanish do not ("[b]ino"). However, the rising and reduction of unstressed vowels in Barranquenho is likely a Portuguese trait ("vinhu"), not found in the Spanish spoken in the region ("vino").[5] In terms of feature sharing, Barranquenho shares two of the three phonological features with Andalusian Spanish, and one

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[4]Even though Encinasola is part of Huelva in western Andalusia, some traits in Barranquenho appear to derive from Extremeño Spanish (Plans 1981; Clements and Lorenzino 2006)

[5] Unlike the phonology, Barranquenho´s morphosyntactic features such as the pronominal clitics have been less studied, including Vasconcelos himself who dedicated just a few pages to them (however, see Navas Sánchez-Élez (1992:239, Clements 2009). Though clitic placement will not be discussed here, it is likely to throw additional light on contact-induced changes in Barranquenho.

with regional Portuguese; Spanish and Portuguese share none. The following analysis will be limited to the aspiration and deletion of –/s/ in coda position according to age and discourse style, leaving for a future study a more comprehensive one correlating this phonological feature with other social variables like gender and educational level.

Table 7 summarizes the total number of tokens of /s/ variants in Barranquenho in three discourse styles: (A) biography ("where were you born?"), (B) storytelling and free-style conversation ("how does Barrancos celebrate its traditions?"), and (C) linguistic attitudes and perceptions ("Is it important to speak in Barranquenho? Why or why not?").

The variant [h] was the most frequent variant in the three styles (39%, 48%, 54%) compared to [s] and [Ø]. On the other hand, [s] production decrease from style A (30%) to style C (17%), whereas deletion did not vary much (29-31%) for style.   That styles B and C favored aspiration and deletion is not surprising since speakers are less self-conscious and thus monitor less their speech more in informal than formal styles.   The data in Table 7 is ambivalent in regards the direction of change, if any, since the higher [h] production may be the result of [s] deletion or the reinstatement of [s] in its aspirated form from [Ø]. However, the variation of [s] according to the speakers' age may clarify some trends in the phonological changes undergone by Barranquenho.

Style	[s]		[h]		[Ø]		N_T
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
A	649	.30	862	.39	683	.31	2194
B	2153	.22	4792	.48	3053	.30	9998
C	968	.17	3130	.54	1756	.29	5854
	3770		8784		5492		18046

Table 7: style distribution of Barranquenho [s], [h] and [Ø]

The date in Table 8 represent the realization of the three variants of /s/ based on three age gradients: (1) less than 24 years old, (2) between 24 and 50, and (3) older than 50, respectively. Style effects were also included in this part of the analysis to assess other correlations between the phonological variable and the two independent ones (age, style).

The speakers who are 24 or younger used [s] less frequently regardless of conversational style (12%, 9%, 9%). Slightly higher frequencies were found for the oldest generation (19%, 17%, 15%). This is in contrast with middle-generation (24-50 yrs.) having a considerably higher frequency of [s] for all styles (47%, 29%, 24%). Aspiration and deletion of [s] are generally higher among the youngest Barranquenhos for whom style seems to have no effect on the language variety ([h]: 58%, 55%, 52%; [Ø]: 40%, 36%, 39%). This apparent style-free speech suggests that [h] and [Ø] generalized to all Barranquenho utterances, including those favoring [s] insertion in controlled language.

The higher frequency of [s] among middle-age speakers (47%, 29%, 24%) compared to both younger and older speakers may be a combination of several facts such as education as well as work and travel outside Barrancos. These are social forces that are relevant in explaining linguistic variation among middle-age Barranquenhos growing up in the post-Salazar regime. Likewise, identity may underline similar aspiration/deletion trends observed for both old and young Barranquenhos. Studies on the relationship between language and identity has identified many speech communities in which younger speakers look up to the traditional lifestyle attached to older speakers, mostly unaware of adjustments they are introducing in their speech, called covert changes. The pioneering work by William Labov in Martha's Vineyard pointed towards such linguistic phenomena broadly referred to as covert changes (Labov 1972).

style	[s]			[h]			[Ø]		
	<24	24-50	>50	<24	24-50	>50	<24	24-50	>50
A	36 (.12)	421 (.47)	192 (.19)	180 (.58)	266 (.30)	416 (.42)	93 (.40)	202 (.23)	390 (.39)
B	161 (.09)	1436 (.29)	556 (.17)	945 (.55)	2153 (.44)	1694 (.50)	610 (.36)	1323 (.27)	1122 (.33)
C	138 (.09)	537 (.24)	290 (.15)	843 (.52)	1173 (.52)	1114 (.56)	627 (.39)	527 (.24)	602 (.29)
N$_T$	335 (.09)	2394 (.30)	1038 (.16)	1968 (.54)	3592 (.45)	3224 (.51)	1330 (.37)	2052 (.25)	2114 (.33)

Table 8: age distribution of Barranquenho [s], [h] and [Ø]

5. The southern Portuguese-Spanish border and mobility

In addition to family network built by Barranquenhos and Marochos over the centuries, mobility and dwelling may contribute to understanding the language history of Barranquenho. In this respect, the fluidity of the Portuguese-Spanish border, the physical proximity travelled along well-known paths or roads, social interchanges and a collective memory forged over the centuries reinforced in Barranquenhos and Marochos a community identity meaningful for its shared history. This was not an impediment to construct a real and imaginary demarcation based on different senses of community. In *Sociology beyond societies: Mobilites for the twentieth first century* (2000), John Urry writes about three types of communities. One has the topographical sense based on geographical proximity with no implication as to the quality of the social relationships. A second one is the local social community with bounded interrelationships of social groups and local institutions. And the third community has the human association or communion characterized by "close personal ties, belongingness and warmth between its members" (133). The display of loyalties to local, regional and national speech varieties may be aligned with those various senses of communities. Nonetheless, a revealing pattern of across-the-border family and communal ties between Barrancos and Encinasola formed by intermarriage, commercial transactions and movement of people and objects fostered human associations, an intensification of dwelling and place-making,

and the flux and reflux of traditions and ideas that cement the third type of community in Urry's classification.

Mobility may be understood as more than just the physical movement of people, objects, information and ideas. Instead, I adopt its metaphorical meaning of an "imagined presence" or co-presence serves as a counterpart to the more immediate one encountered in face-to-face interaction realized by spatial contiguity and driven by multiple and intersecting mobilities along economic, social and political relations (Büscher et al. 2011: 5). Language change in such mobility context allows for an alternative conceptualization at the macro- and micro-level[6] of the non-linguistic dimensions that gave rise to the Barranquenho contact features.

The metaphorical orientation for contact on the Portuguese-Spanish border engages language change by departing from the common understanding of space and time, and acquiring the mobility-minded concepts of dwelling and place-making. Indeed, mobility brings to mind Derrida's understanding of *différance* (differentiation) as that which "...is incompatible with the static, synchronic, taxonomic, ahistoric motifs in the concept of structure" (Urry 2007: 33). Or using Hetherington's analogy (1997) between 'place' and 'ship: a ship moves around within networks of human and non-human agents. So 'place-making' is more about relationships to a certain set of objects which are not "fixed through human subjects with unique meanings and interactions" (Urry 2000: 134). Taking 'place-making' one step further, language contact in a mobility turn may require discourse as being in a moving state, communicating different meanings of place, dwelling and time through history and geography.

The pre-modern roots and rural context of Iberian contact seems to present a methodological problem for mobile studies since these generally deal with processes involving the contemporary and urban - rather than the past and rural- connecting transportation, tourism and the technologies of travel and communications related to mobility. So, how the 'mobility turn' and its questioning of long-held assumptions about place and stability put forward by Cresswell (2006) and Urry (2007) in the social sciences (Mondada 2011: 138) may help us

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[6] Here, micro-level analysis applies to displacement possibilities and their impact on language change in relation to resource exchanges (time, money, status, education, information, etc.). On the contrary, macro-level links between national, social and geopolitical policies and how these may influence language change at a local level.

understand language-identity formation and development on the Barrancos-Encinasola border? One initial step would be to reexamine the physical nature of 'space' by decomposing it into the more abstract notion of 'dwelling' or 'place' and how it underlies a person's belongings. For Heidegger, 'dwelling' means 'to reside or stay, to dwell at peace, to be content at home in a place' (Urry 2000: 131). He draws an example of people who *inhabit* public buildings like railway stations, but do not *dwell* within them since dwelling has the sense of staying or connecting with things as people go through spaces. 'Dwelling' stands in a relationship to 'space' as 'mobility' is to 'movement' and together they help us reconstruct the relations of belongings. Neither one is of much help in variationist sociolinguistics or quantitative dialectology since, unlike 'space' or 'distance', 'place' or 'dwelling' are non-measurable and non-discrete.

Language is two-way communication, minimally one speaker and one listener connected in some way within a social network. Therefore, I would like to put forward the idea that as with any other moving object, language has been mapping people's discourse of belonging and movement between Barrancos and Encinasola. Hence, Barranquenhos and Marochos have interacted for a long time using language varieties of Portuguese and Spanish to express the real and imagined presence of each other. This way, mobility allows to give further meaning to the here and now vis-à-vis the over there and past. Such language transcends the structural linguistics units (phonemes, morphemes, phrases) and allows speakers to communicate diverse forms of dwelling.

Barranquenho became the contact outlet for expressing shared memories, family relationships and social exchanges created over common feelings of place and travelling. The pride in their variety reflects people's living side by side, but also their emotional separation to the far and dispersed regional and national centers of power. Mobility also should help us understand the social maintenance of Spanish alongside Barranquenho, mostly women. Such gender differentiation in language use, with men speaking mostly Barranquenho regardless of interlocutor's gender while women speaking mostly Spanish to other women and Barranquenho to men may be thought as the consequence of factors such as porous border, the presence of Spanish in Barrancos since the middle Ages, the predominance of Encinasola women marrying local men and moving to Barrancos as early as 1650 and border-crossing mostly by women in

more recent times. Yet, the historical record suggests that nearly as many Marocho men married Portuguese women and the oral tradition is rich with stories about smuggling by men; yet use of Spanish by Barranquenho men is not as frequent. I would like to suggest that Spanish use in Barrancos alongside the local variety may require a multiple mobility interpretation hinging on social stratification and inequality, rights of movement, citizenship and freedom. Eventually, one would like to connect them with other mobility concepts such as dwelling and place-making.

Finally, Barrancos is not the only border area where there are substantial signs of Portuguese-Spanish language contact that could be studied from a mobility perspective and compared to. In the Spanish town of Valencia de Alcántara one may hear to this day Portuguese spoken in the town square by its locals, and there are certainly other contact situations that make research in La Raya a promising case study for alternative views of language contact and mobilities studies.

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