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PRESENTATION

This issue opens the volume 60/2016 under the sign of change. The change which happens to be in editorship suggests, in principle, a farewell shade between the lines of an inevitable evaluative speech. First, however, I will make a short introduction of the content presented to the reader.

Rather than propose a summary of the papers, I intend to base my presentation on the most interesting aspect which is the profile of this first issue in the light of the issues raised and theoretical perspectives assumed by each author in the treatment of her/his object of study.

Three out of eight papers examine matters related to diachrony. The first diachronic study covers the external history from a socio-ideological viewpoint (Severo); the second text focuses on the internal history of the Romance languages from a functional perspective (Cabraia et al.); the third provides an analysis of official letters to examine whether certain text formats are preserved throughout the history (Lima and Melo).

It is natural that *Alfa* reflects on its pages certain concern about diachronic studies, since the internal and external history of languages have returned into the agenda of the linguistic research for the past twenty years and especially in Brazil for the past ten years with the development of Project *For the History of Brazilian Portuguese*.

Other area which is represented here by two works is that of Terminology either applied to literature (Medeiros) or to the analysis of dictionaries in face of new social demands (Rodrigo and Muñoz). The last three texts closing this issue deal with the process of acquisition of language (Vasconcelos and Leitão), with linguistics applied to teaching (Silva and Spindola) and with a comparison between two phonological systems from an experimental viewpoint (Marusso). These three areas of research have appeared with great frequency in the pages of this journal.

As the reader can testify, this issue introduces a relevant set of contributions, especially due to the theoretical diversity of the proposals, the variety of phenomena involved and the different levels of analysis examined. As such, it represents an effort of the Editorial Board for maintaining the high quality level of the journal, widely attested by ranking A1 obtained from CAPES system of classification and in its indexing in SciELO. Here I begin to provide a brief evaluation of these last four years in which I acted as editor.

In 2012 when *Alfa* celebrated its 50th anniversary, it had its academic status fully recognized by SciELO. Today, being 54 years old it became a proper respectable lady with great capacity of innovation. Indeed, if, on one hand, volume 58 has inaugurated

the quarterly periodicity, on the other, volume 59 has converted *Alfa* into a Portuguese/English bilingual publication. This conversion, an effort for internationalization, also represented a significant opening of the content to a much wider audience, especially those researchers from abroad who are interested in Brazilian Portuguese.

It is for these reasons that the farewell shade happens to be that of a party. If today *Alfa* already occupies a prominent place in Brazilian journals top ranking, it has more than enough conditions to go on contributing positively to the advance of linguistic science in Brazil. This opinion gains an air of certainty when, from the next issue of this volume on, the editor's baton, so far in my hands, passes onto the hands of Professor Rosane Andrade Berlinck, brazilian renowned researcher, who will keep the work of permanent construction of this journal.

Roberto Gomes Camacho

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE COLONIAL INVENTION OF LANGUAGES IN AMERICA

Cristine Gorski SEVERO*

- **ABSTRACT:** We aim at critically discussing the colonial process of language discursivization in America. Such discursivization integrated the Iberian colonial mechanism, centered in Spain and Portugal, from the sixteenth century on. The paper presents and discusses the way languages and people were put into discourses from a power framework centered on the logic of modernity/coloniality. Examples of this discursivization include the production of grammars, dictionaries, word lists, catechisms and the translation of religious and administrative European discursive genres to a non-European context. It is argued that the colonial discursivization of peoples and languages was framed by an Eurocentric interpretation which left its effects until today. The article relies on the theoretical framework of colonial Linguistics and Latin American postcolonial criticism, both focused on a historical and discursive perspective. Finally, we consider that the colonial experience is complex, which means that the colonial encounter produced the emergence of resistance and cultural hybridizations
- **KEYWORDS:** Indigenous language. Portuguese. Spanish. Colonization. America. Christian missions.

Introduction

This article is based on the idea that America and its languages were invented in the colonial context. The perspective that takes America – and the languages spoken in this continent – as realities that were invented is allied to a postcolonial criticism of hegemonic and Eurocentric discourses and practices. This paper considers modernity and colonialism as mutually constitutive projects (O’GORMAN, 1958; MIGNOLO, 2005; QUIJANO, 2000). We also consider for the purpose of theoretical discussion the works on Colonial Linguistics (SEVERO; MAKONI, 2014; DEUMERT, 2010; MAKONI; PENNYCOOK, 2006; MAKONI; MEINHOF, 2004; IRVINE, 2008; MARIANI, 2003; ERRINGTON, 2001; FARDON; FURNISS, 1993, PHILLIPSON, 1992). From these critical perspectives, languages are taken as a product of colonial enterprise, which means that they are seen as a product of colonialism whose purpose

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was to control people and lands: “[...] languages and their hierarchical organization always integrated the civilizing project as well as the idea of progress”¹ (MIGNOLO, 2005, p. 94, our translation). The discursivization of language in the colonial context – i.e. the practice of producing discourses on languages – produced differences, hierarchies and the naturalization of cultural and human inequalities (ERRINGTON, 2001).

Thus, the colonial discourses on languages are not neutral, but constitute a paradigm of modernity, which is strongly rooted in both Christianity and Enlightenment. This paradigm is a political colonial framework of exploration and control of land, people and languages. The colonial practice of naming and describing people and languages is political (FOUCAULT, 1999a, 1996) and inaugurated a typical way of producing discourses on the “New World”, based on the European conceptual framework (O’GORMAN, 1958; GALEANO, 2014). Such discourses, in turn, made the trajectories and experiences of existing peoples and cultures invisible (LEITE, 1996), turning them into a target of colonizing and modernizing practices, such as Christianization, folklorization, scientification and schooling. Such practices produced specific colonial effects. Not surprisingly, in the African context, literacy and language education played an ambivalent role: as instruments of control and as a form of social emancipation (MAKONI, 2003).

In this article we intend to discuss the process of invention of languages by the modern and colonial enterprise, as well as to consider the practices of resistance against such enterprise. We consider as object of analysis the colonial experience that took place in the part of America colonized by Spain and Portugal, from the sixteenth century on. The historical perspective is justified because it enables a critique of colonial categories. Such historical view aims at making a revision of colonial framework from the perspective of the dominated people, as proposed by Mignolo (2005, p.17, our translation): “The perspectives of colonialism [...] arise from the ‘colonial wound’, the feeling of inferiority imposed on human beings who did not fit the predetermined model for Euro-American stories.”² It is not our purpose to present a detailed historical perspective, but to comprehend how discourses on colonial experience built and legitimized a relatively homogeneous way of interpreting languages and colonized people. For doing so, we present and discuss a number of examples, from different discursive genres, which are taken as illustrative of the argument on the invention of languages. By doing so, we aim at submitting the logic of modernity to a post-colonial criticism. It is noteworthy, however, that the colonial experience can not be seen as a unilateral, one-way movement. Rather, colonialism involves various forms of resistance and subversion that emerge from colonial meeting (COOPER; STOLER, 1997).

¹ “*las lenguas y su organización jerárquica siempre formaron parte del proyecto civilizador y de la idea de progreso*”. (MIGNOLO, 2005, p.94).

² “*Las perspectivas de la colonialidad [...] surgen de la ‘herida colonial’, el sentimiento de inferioridad impuesto em lós seres humanos que no encajan en el modelo predeterminado por los relatos euroamericanos.*” (MIGNOLO, 2005, p.17).

The article is structured as follows:

- (i) the colonial context and the invention of America;
- (ii) the invention of languages in the colonial enterprise;
- (iii) the gaps and ambiguities of colonial device.

The colonial context and the invention of America

We argue that America and Latin America are colonial inventions, which means that the forms of their discursivization are strongly affected by the colonial dispositif³ (FOUCAULT, 1999b). Such dispositif includes a wide and heterogeneous set of practices and discourses that comprise laws, documents, treaties, letters, cartography, travelers' notes, chronicles, artistic illustrations, grammars, dictionaries, word lists, translation of texts, invention and adaptation of alphabets, among others. Such discursive arsenal has contributed to the production of a colonial and colonialist perspective on the experiences in America, from the point of view of colonial agents. This colonial perspective was constitutive of the emergence and consolidation of European modernity in the sixteenth century, bringing together political, economic, religious and epistemological events around the emergence of "[...] a science of the gaze, of observation, of the established fact, a certain natural philosophy, no doubt inseparable, too, from religious ideology, the emergence of new political structures, also inseparable from religious ideology; this was, without a doubt a new form of the will to know"⁴ (FOUCAULT, 1996, p.62). We consider that the "will to know" about languages in the colonial context brought together religious conversion and political domination, as we will illustrate throughout this article.

The critical perspective means to consider the political nature of the Iberian colonial device, based on Portugal and Spain. The nomination and description of colonial experience by colonial agents structured the idea of America in the sixteenth century:

[...] the key to solve the problem of the historical emergence of America was to consider this event as the result of an invention of Western thought and not as the result of a purely physical discovery, also made by chance (O'GORMAN, 1958, p.2, our translation)⁵.

³ A dispositif encompasses "[...] a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid" (FOUCAULT, 1999b, p. 244, our translation).

⁴ "[...] *uma ciência do olhar, da observação, da verificação, uma certa filosofia natural inseparável, sem dívida, do surgimento de novas estruturas políticas, inseparável também da ideologia religiosa: nova forma, por certo, da vontade de saber.*" (FOUCAULT, 1996, p.24).

⁵ "[...] *la clave para resolver el problema de la aparición histórica de América estaba en considerar ese suceso como el resultado de una invención del pensamiento occidental y no ya como el de un descubrimiento meramente físico,*

[...] the invention of America entailed the appropriation of the continent and its integration into the Eurochristian imagination (MIGNOLO, 2005, p.29, our translation)⁶

The colonial context which made the idea of America possible brought together discourses and practices centered on Portugal and Spain. This means that it was a period when a series of interconnected events were shaping the colonial experience: mercantilism, the expansion of trade routes in the era of great voyages, the expulsion of Moors and Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, the Portuguese and Spanish patronage, the emergence of bourgeoisie and of Protestantism and the Enlightenment. These events helped to constitute the framework from which the colonial experience was produced. Such experience included four interconnected spheres (MIGNOLO, 2005): (i) economic, by the appropriation of land and exploitation of labor through slavery; (ii) political, through the imposition of authority, violence and hierarchies; (iii) social, by controlling gender and sexuality; (iv) epistemic and subjective, through the appropriation and production of knowledge and ways of being.

Rationalisation of European States ran in parallel with the maritime expansion, consolidation of mercantilism, emergence of large territorial, administrative and colonial states, and the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements that put into question the form of individual conduct (FOUCAULT, 1999a; SEVERO, 2013). It is about an Eurochristian perspective (GALEANO, 2014; MIGNOLO, 2005; LOURENÇO, 1992) that produced an intense range of discourses about the Other, characterized in the colonial context as the exotic or primitive.

More specifically in the colonial context, the driving force that led to exploration and invention of peoples and languages was a Christian impulse to convert and evangelize people, as can be noted in reports made by Christopher Columbus (1984, p.27, our translation):

[...] Your Majesties, as Catholics and Sovereign devout of the holy Christian faith, your enhancers and enemies of Mahomet sect and of all idolatry and heresy thought to send me, myself, Christopher Columbus, to the regions of India to go and see the so called princes, peoples, the disposal of their land and the way we could stick to their conversion to our faith; and they ordered that I did not go through the East, the usual path, but I should take West direction.⁷

realizado, además, por casualidad." (O'GORMAN, 1958, p.2).

⁶ "[...] *la invención de América implicó la apropiación del continente y su integración en el imaginario eurocristiano.*" (MIGNOLO, 2005, p.29).

⁷ "[...] *Vossas Majestades, como católicos cristãos e Soberanos devotos da santa fê cristã, seus incrementadores e inimigos da seita de Maomé e de todas as idolatrias e heresias, pensaram em enviar-me, a mim, Cristóvão Colombo, às mencionadas regiões da Índia para ir ver os ditos príncipes, os povos, as terras e a disposição delas e de tudo e a*

This colonial dispositif of exploitation and control of the Other was productive since the sixteenthth century and put into function frameworks based on: (i) Catholicism, especially in missionary work, whose most intense period lasted until the end of Portuguese and Spanish patronage, in the eighteenth century; (ii) the European Enlightenment that characterized the emergence of Nation States; (iii) the scientific discourse about language, mainly the comparative philology and the language description of “exotic” languages, which gained visibility in European scholars’ thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The practice of comparison and ranking of languages from a philological perspective, based on the naturalist concept of “language evolution” (ERRINGTON, 2001). Such political and epistemic practices are not mutually exclusive, but they reinforce each other.

The Catholicization of politics and the politicization of missionary Catholicism were two sides of the same coin in the Iberian colonial enterprise. Such practice was impacted by the medieval crusades that aimed at the expulsion of the Moors from the region: “The feat of discovering America could not be explained without the military tradition of the Crusades that prevailed in medieval Castile”⁸ (GALEANO, 2014, p.30, our translation). In addition to the Crusades, another movement that influenced the Catholic expansion was the Counter-Reformation, a reaction of the Catholic Church against the Protestant Reformation that took place in the sixteenthth century. Examples of Catholic reaction against the emergence of a reformist strand were the emergence of *Society of Jesus* and the resumption of Inquisition. Great part of the evangelising missions in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies were linked to the Jesuit tradition established by the former Basque soldier Ignatius of Loyola, in 1539:

[...] the Jesuits released to the universe a network of missions, especially in China and in the two Americas. Their overall influence – some may call it as “policy” – continued to increase, thanks in particular to a kind of practice that had been established between the Catholic sovereigns of Europe: all, or nearly all, chose as main confessor a member of the Company of Jesus⁹ (GUILLERMOU, 1973, p.132, our translation).

The rationalization of modern states, from the eighteenth century on, destabilized the relations between Christians projects (Catholic missions) and political projects (formation of secular states) in the European and colonial contexts. Spain and Portugal

maneira que se pudesse ater-se para a sua conversão à nossa fé; e ordenaram que eu não fosse por terra ao Oriente, por onde se costuma ir, mas pelo caminho do Ocidente.” (COLOMBO, 1984, p.27).

⁸ “*A façanha do descobrimento da América não poderia se explicar sem a tradição militar da guerra das cruzadas que imperava na Castela medieval.*” (GALEANO, 2014, p.30).

⁹ “*Os jesuítas lançaram sobre o universo a rede de suas missões sobretudo na China e nas duas Américas. Acrescentemos que sua influência geral – alguns chamá-la-ão “política” – não cessou de aumentar; graças, em particular, a uma espécie de costume que se estabeleceu entre os soberanos católicos da Europa: todos, ou quase todos, escolhiam como confessor titular um membro da Companhia de Jesus.*” (GUILLERMOU, 1973, p.132).

responded differently from other European countries to the State rationalization process, as we can note by the prologing of patronage system, a political and economic agreement of mutual support established between the Church and the Kingdom, which granted the Sovereign the power to appoint bishops and build churches. The patronage tied evangelization to a national project, in which conversion was also a task of the empire (NAVARRO, 2008; OLIVEIRA, 2008). In this context, the teaching of Portuguese and Spanish to Indigenous people (as part of a nationalist project) and the teaching of Indigenous languages to missionaries (as part of a Christian project) were concurrent during the evangelizing process. An example of Spanish patronage was the creation of 34 bishoprics by the Spanish reign in the colonies, between 1511 and 1620, especially in Mexico and Peru (COMBY, 2001). The end of the patronage system came only in the eighteenth century: in Brazil, the expulsion of the Society of Jesus by Marques de Pombal resulted from a Portuguese State rationalization process; in parallel, it was during this period that Portuguese was made official in Brazil by the *Directory of the Indians* in 1759, along with the establishment of secular education. The Jesuits were expelled from Spanish colonies in 1767.

Having made this historic presentation of the colonial dispositif centered in Spain and Portugal, in the next section we explore the process of invention of languages as a result of colonial encounters. We consider historical cotextualization important to understand the emergency of discourses on languages in the colonial context. The epistemic framework that produced knowledge about the Other binds to a given political, cultural and economic of the time.

The invention of languages in the colonial enterprise

In line with O’Gorman’s thesis (1958) about the invention of America, we propose a linguistic discussion based on the works of Colonial Linguistics (SEVERO; MAKONI, 2014; DEUMERT, 2010; MAKONI; PENNYCOOK, 2006; MAKONI; MEINHOF, 2004; IRVINE, 2008; MARIANI, 2003; ERRINGTON, 2001; FARDON; FURNISS, 1993; PHILLIPSON, 1992). From this perspective, languages are not seen as autonomous and abstract realities, waiting to be discovered and described. The very act of describing and naming is what makes it possible the invention of languages. An example of this invention was the production – according to a language policy of grammatization (AUROUX, 2009) – of grammars and dictionaries of exotic languages spoken in a colonized context, motivated by a Christian interest in local languages and people for evangelization purposes. Grammatization created conditions for the emergence of a number of genres written in local languages, through translation practices.

We argue in favor of the idea that the “will to know” (FOUCAULT, 1999a) on language diversity in colonial context (SEVERO, 2013) is based on the same power-knowledge framework that led to the invention of America and Latin America.

Languages were taken as a colonizing instrument capable of being named, classified, described and transcribed according to a Latin model. For example, Manoel da Nobrega (1955, p.499), a missionary leader in the sixteenth century in Brazil, defended that the evangelist should know local languages for conversion purpose: “[...] *quantos estudantes moços pudieren para acá estudar em nuestros collegios, porque en estos no ay tanto peligro, e estos juntamente van deprendiendo la lengua de la tierra, que és la más principal sciencia para acá más necessária*”. Such *línguas da terra* (native languages) were learned through linguistic tools produced by missionaries for the purpose of conversion. Grammatization (AUROUX, 2009) of local languages, through the production of linguistic tools on these languages (grammars and dictionaries), created the conditions for the introduction of literacies in oral societies, as well for the hieraquization of (new) written practices in relation to oral practices. Translation of religious texts also played a central role in this process.

The interest for “exotic” languages was constitutive of the Catholic missions, as can be noted by the wide profusion of grammars, glossaries and word lists on Indigenous languages produced by missionaries in Latin America during the colonial period, involving a total of 33 languages with grammars and dictionaries in Spanish America by the end of the century; 96 languages in the late seventeenth century; and 158 languages in the late eighteenth (AUROUX, 2009; NAVARRO, 2011). Examples of language products in Spanish America included: the production of grammars, catechisms, sermons and theater in Nahuatl language in Mexico, and in Quechua in Peru (COMBY, 2001). The *Arte de la Lengua mexicana con la declaración de todos sus adverbios* (1645) was written by the jesuit Horacio Carochi, who produced the first grammar of Nahuatl according to the metalinguistic and descriptive Greco-Latin grammars model, with special focus on the description of the phonological system of this language. In Peru, the *Gramática da lingua general de los índios de los reynos del Peru* was written in 1560 and systematized Quechua.

In the Brazilian context we can mention (i) the grammars of Tupi written by Priest Anchieta – a *Arte de grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil* (1595) – and by Luis Figueira – a *Arte de grammatica da lingua brasilica* (1621); (ii) a grammar on language Quiriri written by priest Luís Vincencio Mamiani – a *Arte de grammatica da lingua brasilica da naçam Kiriri* (1699); (iii) the description of General Language of Mina, by Antônio da Costa Peixoto – the *Obra nova da língua geral de mina* (1731/1741). By way of illustration, in the context of Portuguese colonization in Africa, the translation of the first Bible for a Bantu language was made by a priest in 1642 (SPENCER, 1974). Furthermore, “[...] by 1957 there were probably between 8.000 and 10.000 missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, in Sub-Sahara Africa [...] Perhaps fifty to sixty percent of missionaries in Africa can claim some competence in an African language.” (WELMERS, 1974, p.192-193).

In dialogue with the objective of the article, we defend the idea that this intense discursive production of languages – grounded in a given framework of knowledge-

power – invented Indigenous languages, giving them names and alphabets and opening paths for the introduction of literacies in societies of oral tradition (MAKONI; MEINHOF, 2004; IRVINE, 2008). The general languages that were grammaticalized in Brazil by Anchieta and Figueira were, according to Mattoso (1975), the “Jesuit Tupi”. They were languages invented for the purpose of evangelization. Navarro (2011), on the other hand, relativized Mattoso’s view by defending a certain originality of Anchieta grammar in relation to Latin grammar, by considering “specific phenomena” of Indigenous language. Navarro, however, recognizes the political use of Latin grammars as metalanguage to encode local languages.

This intense production of linguistic knowledge by the Christian colonial enterprise was appropriated by the rational and national states as, for example, the idea of language as a unit, a product of colonial practices of nomination, differentiation and classification of languages (MAKONI; PENNYCOOK, 2006). The conception of language that framed the new Nation States was inherited from classical models and focused on the ideas of language as mirror of thought and language as mirror of national culture, confirming an overlap between language, culture and thought (HUMBOLDT, 2006).

The positivist conception of languages as fixed codes that were capable of being described, named, classified and divided into smaller units justified and legitimized the language policy of the National States. One example would be the political use of census and linguistic maps for the purpose of linguistic demarcation of ethnic groups in relation to the territories in African contexts (FARDON; FURNISS, 1993). It is all about the ideological use of language as a criterion for ethnic differentiation, as we can note by the use of the term “ethno-linguistic” used to differentiate and group people. The idea that languages name and assemble people in ethnic groups comes from the colonial enterprise, which tried to create differences where there were similarities and establish similarities where there were differences, such as the territorial demarcation strategy used by missionaries for political interests (MAKONI; MEINHOF, 2004).

This process of invention of languages in the colonial context from an Eurocentric framework can be considered as an example of epistemic, subjective and political colonization (MIGNOLO, 2005). However, the colonial process can not be seen as a unilateral imposition of ideas, values, behaviors and beliefs. It is about a complex process involving the conflicting encounter between different cultures and worldviews. Such meeting produced subtle forms of resistance and transgression by local people, as we may briefly present in the next section.

The gaps and ambiguities of the colonial dispositif

The colonial period in America, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, produced a profusion of language tools, as well as translation of texts and Christian genres to Indigenous languages, which can be taken as colonial signs. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries we can still find religious interests in Indigenous languages,

as the Bible Society of Brazil. According to information posted on the website of this company, the Bible translation to indigenous languages involves knowledge of indigenous worldview and the standardization of local languages through the creation of alphabets. For doing so, it is required that the translators-missionaries know “[...] the cultural reality of the local population so that they may find within the language forms to explain the Scriptures.” (Bible Society of Brazil¹⁰). Evidence shows that such missionary activity produced the translation of the Bible to 44 Indigenous languages. Although apparently this Christian interest may show contemporary motivations, one must take into account that such motivation must be seen in the light of contemporary political experience.

Regarding the colonial context, some examples are emblematic of the missionary work of translation. It was not only a matter of identifying a possible linguistic correlation between languages, but of inscribing new ways of understanding and of social and verbal interaction in Indigenous culture. José de Anchieta, the most important translator, in the sixteenth century translated three European genres (ALVES FILHO, 2008): dialogues, lyrical and *autos* to Tupi General Language. The first, widely present in Spain, was based on Roman Catechism (as *Disputatio Puerorum*, in use since the eleventh century) and aimed at adjusting people’s behavior to Christian morality. Lyrics were widely circulating literary genres in Europe – also known as song of settlers – that, by being translated to Indigenous language, brought into this culture Manichean Christian themes and compositional structure in the form of rhymes. The *autos*, which totalized eight productions by Anchieta, were inspired by Portuguese theater plays – mainly Gil Vicente’s works – and included religious themes with a pedagogical tone, multilingual indigenous, biblical and historical characters, music and dance, in an attempt to incorporate Indigenous culture (ALVES FILHO, 2008).

These three discursive genres presented oral features, in line with the musical and oral traditions of Indigenous people. Anchieta translated to the General language the Iberian literary tradition: “In its poetry, rhyme, meter and rhythm are characteristic of Romanesque versification, but its sound comes from Tupi”¹¹ (ALVES FILHO, 2008, p.77). Although the mention to the sound of Tupi may appear a simple observation, it helps us to understand some gaps of this practice of translation that resist to colonial domination, operating as a place of resistance: sound plays a central role in the indigenous worldview. Another example of Christian oral genre translated to Indigenous practices is confession: in Brazil, Father Navarro was the first one to “listen” to confessions in Tupi, in 1551 (HUE, 2006). Nobrega also used Christians songs as strategy of evangelisation.

In Peru, Francisco Dávila (1646 apud COMBY, 2001) translated Christians sermons to Quechua Christians. Other translated genres included pedagogical

¹⁰ Available at: <<http://www.sbb.org.br/>>. Access in: 20 mar. 2016.

¹¹ “*Em suas poesias, a rima, a métrica e o ritmo são característicos da versificação românica e a sonoridade é Tupi*” (ALVES FILHO, 2008, p. 77, our translation).

texts from Jesuit schools, texts of administrative communication, such as letters, instructions and documents sent to other Jesuits or to the Kingdom. Such texts were both founding of everyday administrative dynamics, and of a personal and corporate / institutional Jesuit identity (NELLES, 2014). The use of administrative and religious literacy practices in the colonial context was not restricted to European colonial agents, but it was appropriated by Indigenous people who have assumed administrative and religious functions in the colonial enterprise. Some prestigious administrative functions, related to accounting or auditing, required from Indigenous people a certain literacy in the eighteenth century: “Several Guarani people who were literate share similar qualities to those of clerks, mainly the ones who went through missionaries cabildos, ie, individuals who were prepared to administrative tasks”¹² (NEUMANN, 2007, p.59, our translation). In addition to these administrative genres, Guarani people from South America made use of other written genres such as diaries, letters, personal accounts and notes, written both in Guarani and Spanish. For example, the Indigenous leaders Chrisanto Nerenda, Pasqual Yaguapo and Valentin Ybariguá wrote texts of resistance against the Spanish rule, especially in the period of Guaranítica war (1750-1756) that was motivated by the new territorial demarcation proposed by the Treaty of Madrid (NEUMANN, 2007).

The colonial translation process included several strategies, such as approximating Indigenous and Christians myths. One example is the Indigenous myth of deluge, interpreted by Christians as being the biblical deluge, as signaled by Manoel da Nobrega (1955, p.440, our translation): “They have the memory of deluge, though falsely.”¹³ In addition to Christian interpretations of indigenous myths, the linguistic and discursive colonization also included lexical uses semantically marked by the Christian perspective, such as the creation of neologisms in Tupi language: the term *tupãoka* (Tupã + Oka) was renamed as “church” (Tupã’s house) and the word ‘hell’ was translated as *Anhangá rata* (Anhangá fire) (ALVES FILHO, 2008). The translation process conducted by missionaries considered the Latin language as a linguistic model, as we notice in Manoel da Nobrega’s view (1955, p.446) about the incompleteness of native languages in relation to European language: “*Tiene muy pocos vocablos para le poder bien declarar nuestra fe, mas com todo dámosse a entender ló mejor que podemos y algunas cosas le declaramos por rodeos.*” This “linguistic incompleteness” was also mentioned by Anchieta in his description of Tupi language: “Their pronunciation is subtle, they speak low that it seems they do not understand each other, they hear and penetrate everything; in their pronunciation they do not use F, L, Z, S and RR, and don’t use the liquid as Bra, Craze”¹⁴ (ANCHIETA, 1933, p.441, our translation).

¹² “*Diversos guaranis letrados manifestaram qualidades semelhantes às dos escrivães, principalmente os indígenas com passagem ou cargo nos cabildos missioneiros, ou seja, os individuos que foram preparados para as tarefas administrativas*” (NEUMANN, 2007, p.59).

¹³ “*Eles têm a memória do dilúvio, embora falsamente*” (NÓBREGA, 1955, p.440).

¹⁴ “*Na pronunção são subtis, falam baixo que parece que não se entendem e tudo ouvem e penetram; em sua pronunção não põem F, L, Z, S e RR, nem põem muta com liquida como Bra, Craze*” (ANCHIETA, 1933, p.441).

Another example of semantic translation is the word *yãmĩy*, from Maxakali language, translated as *spirit*. The Eurocentric dimension of this translation was reported by Andrade (2008, p.247, our translation): “That word, we know, does not reflect the richness of nature, this other spiritual geography. Worse than that, the word *spirit* is already contaminated by secular significance of Western culture, of Judeo-Christian culture”¹⁵. Considering the Maxakali’s worldview, *yãmĩy* also means song. Such meaning reinforces the role given to songs in social practices and Indigenous epistemology. Musicality is so constitutive of the Indigenous universe. Notions of language and wisdom, for some ethnic groups, are connected to the songs, as highlighted by an Indian teacher from Yawanawá and Shawãdawa / Arara, in Acre (Brazil):

For us, singing comes first. [...] He [the intelligent man] will sing the whole night for you to listen, saying words, but also singing. And they are the deepest words that every people have. Those are not the same words I use every day to talk to my wife and children, no ... So we believe that singing is the starting point of people ... who have much knowledge¹⁶ (MAHER, 2010, p.43, our translation).

Colonial experience is not unilateral nor dichotomous, but complex and heterogeneous. It results from the encounter of cultures, subjects and discourses that produces, as a result, ambivalent and contradictory signs: “[...] colonial dichotomies of ruler and ruled, white and black, colonizer and colonized only reflect part of the reality in which people lived [...] these dichotomies took hard work to sustain, were precariously secured, and were repeatedly subverted.” (COOPER; STOLER, 1997, p.34). The colonial encounter was based on violent and authoritarian acts and produced forms of resistance that were made invisible (LEITE, 1996) by hegemonic discourses, which favoured the emergence of hybrid speeches and practices as signals of resistance. Some examples are the various hybridization processes that affected languages, cultures, beliefs and institutions, as the contemporary Indigenous Portuguese (REZENDE, 2011), Indigenous literature (MUNDURUKU, 2008), Indigenous medicine (ANDRADE, 2008) and Indigenous Catholicism (ALVES FILHO, 2008). These are examples of practices and discourses that reveal an ambivalent and double-voiced sign, as we can notice in relation to Indigenous Catholicism: “[...] the results of transplantation of European religion to Indigenous imagination created, ultimately, a third religion or belief among

¹⁵ “[...] *essa palavra, sabemos, não traduz a riqueza da natureza, dessa outra geografia espiritual. E o pior, ela, a palavra ‘espírito’, já vem contaminada pela significação secular da cultura ocidental, da cultura judaico-cristã*” (ANDRADE, 2008, p.247).

¹⁶ “*Pra nós, cantar, ele tá em primeiro lugar. Não é igual a... a professora [faz]... Ele [o homem inteligente] vai cantar a noite inteirinha pra você escutar, falando as palavras, mas cantando também. E são as palavras mais profundas que cada povo tem. Que não é essa palavra que eu uso todo dia pra falar com a minha mulher, com os filhos, não... Então a gente acha que cantar é o ponto de partida das pessoas que... que TÊM muito saber.*” (MAHER, 2010, p.43).

the natives, which only the colonial situation made possible”¹⁷ (ALVES FILHO, 2008, p.97, our translation).

We argue that in colonial experience the process of “assimilation” of the Other’s culture is not passive, which means that people affected by colonialism were also able to transform “authoritative word” into “internally persuasive word” (BAKHTIN, 1998). This enabled the emergence of bivocal discourses (BAKHTIN, 1998) and ambivalent practices whose interpretation is made possible through different perspectives. The example below shows an excerpt from an Indian writer, Kaka Werá Jecupé, which reveals the bivocality in the translation of “Tupa Tenondé” and its resistance against an Eurochristian rational perspective. This shows that the invisibility of Indigenous knowledge also works as a place of epistemic resistance:

The First Great Sound – also called Tupã Tenondé, expression originated from the words tu (sound), pan (suffix indicating completeness), Tenondé (the first, the beginning) – was how in the sixteenth century the Tupinambá people tried to communicate to the foreign religious when they were asked about the Indigenous concept of God; yet [. . .] those who came across the Great Waters understood only a superficial aspect of that Almighty Thunder- Being¹⁸ (JECUPÉ, 2001, p. 33, our translation).

We believe that post-colonial critique of the modernity/coloniality paradigm may be strengthened by considering the narratives and individual experiences. The examples shown in this section work in favour of the argument on the process of invention of languages in the colonial context. This article is in line with contemporary discussion on the Indigenous colonial experience; such ideas were intensified in recent decades with the studies on Indigenous ways of writing (NEUMAN, 2007).

Although the concept of dispositif operates as a productive framework to understand colonialism, it can be problematic since it tends to focus on institutional discourses and practices. To understand the colonial experience one has to be confronted with contextualized speeches:

[...] reconstructing people’s arguments about, justifications for, and interpretations of what they and others are doing would explain how social life proceeds. It would show that although the terms of their discourses

¹⁷ “[...] os resultados do transplante da religião europeia no imaginário indígena criavam, em última instância, uma terceira religião ou credo entre os nativos, que somente a situação colonial tornaria propícia” (ALVES FILHO, 2008, p.97).

¹⁸ “O Grande Som Primeiro – também chamado Tupã Tenondé, expressão desdobrada das palavras tu (som), pan (sufixo indicador de totalidade), tenondé (primeiro, início) – era como no século XVI os Tupinambá tentaram comunicar aos religiosos estrangeiros quando eram interrogados a respeito do conceito indígena de Deus; no entanto [...] aqueles que vieram do outro lado das Grandes Águas entenderam apenas um aspecto superficial desse Altíssimo Ser-Trovão.” (JECUPÉ, 2001, p.33).

may be set [...] within these limits, people contest interpretations of what is happening, strategize, feel pain, and live their lives.” (ABU-LUGHOD, 1991, p. 476).

Final remarks

Although this paper has focused on the Iberian colonial context of domination (Spain and Portugal), we believe that the comments made may surpass the colonial period. We consider that a post-colonial perspective is not chronologically identified with the post-independence period, since colonial power relations carry their epistemic, political and cultural memories. A historical and critical perspective helps us to understand the roots of the colonial discourse that are still alive. It is, for example, when we are faced with the need for intercultural dialogue – as proposed by the Brazilian Law 11.645 on the inclusion of the theme “History and Afro-Brazilian Culture and Indigenous” in the school curriculum – that we are asked about the colonial history of Indigenous languages in Brazil. In line with the demands and policies experienced by the African context regarding their local languages, “[...] it is only now that the full implication of the work of missionaries is beginning to dawn on us” (MAKONI, 2003, p.141).

Finally, instead of providing a final conclusion to the reflections made in this article, we consider relevant to point out the importance of studies exploring colonial experience’s echoes in contemporary academic practices. Examples of these studies – that can contribute to the reflections made in the Linguistic field – are the problematization, by Edward Said (1989) and Lila Abu-Lughod (1991), about the renewed interest in the description and understanding of other cultures:

Is there not an assumption on our part that our destiny is that we should rule and lead the world, a role that we have assigned to ourselves as part of our errands into the wilderness? (SAID, 1989, p.216)

We need to ask questions about the historical processes by which it came to pass that people like ourselves could be engaged in anthropological studies of people like those [...] We need to ask what this “will to knowledge” about the Other is connected to in the world. (ABU-LUGHOD, 1991, p.473)

SEVERO, C. A invenção colonial das línguas da América. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.11-27, 2016.

- *RESUMO: Trata-se de uma proposta que visa discorrer criticamente sobre o processo colonial de discursivização das línguas na América. Considera-se que tal discursivização integrou*

o dispositivo colonial ibérico, centrado na Espanha e em Portugal, a partir do século XVI. O texto apresenta e discute a maneira como as línguas e os povos foram discursivizados a partir de uma matriz de poder centrada na lógica da modernidade/colonialidade. São tomados como exemplos dessa discursivização a produção de gramáticas, dicionários, listas de palavras, catecismos, além de uma profusão de traduções de gêneros europeus religiosos e administrativos para o contexto não-europeu. Defende-se que a discursivização colonial implicou o enquadramento dos povos e línguas em uma chave de interpretação eurocêntrica, gerando efeitos ainda vivos contemporaneamente. O artigo apoia-se no referencial teórico da Linguística colonial e da Crítica pós-colonial latino americana, ambas focadas em um olhar histórico e discursivo sobre as práticas coloniais. Considera-se, por fim, que a experiência colonial é complexa, o que significa que o encontro colonial produziu também a emergência de resistências e hibridizações culturais.

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Línguas indígenas. Português. Espanhol. Colonização. América. Missões cristãs.*

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DEMONSTRATIVES IN MEDIEVAL ROMANIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS IN A FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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- **ABSTRACT:** This paper presents a comparative study of demonstratives in the medieval translation in different languages (Latin, Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese) of the same work (an ascetic treatise of Isaac of Nineveh) in a functional perspective. It was confirmed the hypothesis that the demonstrative systems were restructured in the language change process from Latin to Romance languages, not only in terms of forms but especially in terms of functions: the demonstratives began to perform functions which, in the Latin, were expressed by conjunction, explanatory phrase, present participle, relative pronoun, anaphoric and identity pronoun, intensive pronoun and even by the lack of formal resource. Finally, it was found that the context in which there was a major retention of the use of demonstratives is in the expression of immediate contrast.
- **KEYWORDS:** Historical linguistics. Romance linguistics. Functionalism. Demonstratives. Latin. Romance languages.

Introduction

The complexity of the demonstratives already has drawn the attention of linguists for some time (for example, the classic works of Brugmann (1904) and Bühler (1934)) and studies that focus only this linguistic category have recently appeared, but covering data from several languages in order to identify their universal and particular aspects (DIESEL, 1999; DIXON, 2003).

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According to Diessel (1999), the demonstratives (a) are deictic expressions serving to specific syntactic functions (functioning as independent pronouns, noun modifiers or locative adverbs); (b) generally serve to specific pragmatic functions (primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on an object or on a location in a speech situation, but they may also function to organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse); and (c) are characterized by specific semantic features, contrasting the proximal (reference to the entity close to the deictic center) and the distal (indication that the referent is at some distance from the deictic center), although there are languages in which the demonstrative is neutral in relation to distance.

Although the Romanic nominal demonstrative systems (independent pronouns and noun modifiers) derive from the same matrix (the Latin system), now they show great diversity in their configuration (LAUSBERG, 1981).

We regret that the absence of systematic descriptions, made exactly under the same parameters for Latin and the many Romance languages in its different historical phases complicate significantly the task of even recognizing the effective patterns of organization of the demonstrative systems. (CAMBRAIA; BIANCHET, 2008).

Functionalism

As Neves has explained (1997), functional grammar stands for a theory of grammatical organization of natural languages that fits into an overall theory of social interaction and that considers that grammar is subject to pressures of usage. Neves (1997) has pointed out that the functional paradigm is characterized by the following features: (a) defines the language as a social interaction tool; (b) considers that the primary function of language is communication; (c) has as the psychological correlate the communicated competence, understood as the ability to interact socially through language; (d) states that the linguistic system should be studied within the context of use; (e) requires that the linguistic description provides data to account for their function in a given context; (f) believes that language acquisition is done with the help of an extensive and structured input of data presented in the natural context; (g) explains the language universals based on communication, biological / psychological and contextual constraints; and (h) prioritizes pragmatics, framework within which semantics and syntax are studied.

Moreover, as stated by Martelotta and Areas (2003), premises that are part of the functionalist conception of language in Givón's view (1995) are: (a) language is a socio-cultural activity; (b) structure serves cognitive and communicative functions; (c) the structure is non-arbitrary, motivated and iconic; (d) change and variation are always present; (e) meaning is contextually dependent and non-atomic; (f) categories are not discrete; (g) the structure is malleable and non-rigid; (h) grammars are emergent; and (i) rules of grammar allow some exceptions.

In addition, it is assumed that linguistic structure derives from discourse and is shaped by it, as in the approach advocated by Votre and Naro:

The fundamental hypothesis of this proposal is that the use of language — communication in the social situation — originates the form of the language, with characteristics that are peculiar, including different degrees of instability associated to different subsystems. This implies to understand language as a malleable, probabilistic and non-deterministic object. Therefore, in this view, structure (or the form of the language) is a dependent variable, resulting from the regularities of situations in which one speaks.¹ (VOTRE; NARO, 1996, p. 51-52, our translation).

A functionalist model that has proven to be especially productive for the study of language change is the typological-functional model of Givón (2001), due to its ability to integrate a functionalist orientation, which emphasizes the communicative function of language in the analysis and is based in the study of language in its context of use, to a typological orientation, which seeks to account for linguistic diversity.

Givón (2001), in the latest version of his theoretical model, classifies demonstratives as forms that fit both in the class of determinants (often unstressed and clitics) and in the class of the independent pronouns (usually stressed and independent)². Givón (2001) has pointed out that certain types of grammatical morphemes may have a sharper differentiation between determinant and independent pronoun (as in French *ce* × *celui*). Pronouns — and, therefore, also the demonstratives — are located by Givón (2001) in the intersection of two functional domains: semantic and discourse-pragmatic. From the semantic point of view, pronouns, in its classic paradigm, are grammatical morphemes encoding classificatory traits, among which most commonly person or speech act participants [SAP] (speaker = 1st person, 2nd person = listener; non-SAP = 3rd person), spatial deixis related to SAPs (proximity and/or visibility of the speaker or of the listener), number (singular, dual, plural), class or gender (masculine, feminine, neutral, etc.), and case (subject, direct object, etc.; ergative or absolutive; agent, patient, etc.). Givón (2001) points out, however, that spatial orientation of the demonstratives can be expanded to temporal orientation related to some reference point in time. From the discourse-pragmatic point of view, pronouns are part of the resources that are in the core of the grammar of referential coherence, namely: zero-anaphora, unstressed anaphoric pronouns (in which the demonstratives are included as determinants), stressed

¹ In the original: “A hipótese fundamental desta proposta é que do uso da língua — a comunicação na situação social — origina-se a forma da língua, com as características que lhe são peculiares, inclusive, diferentes graus de instabilidade associados a diferentes sistemas. Isso supõe entender a língua como um objeto maleável, probabilístico e não-determinístico. Portanto, nessa visão, a estrutura (ou forma da língua) é uma variável dependente, resultante de regularidades das situações em que se fala.”

² In the grammatical tradition, it is common to name these types as adjective and pronoun.

independent pronouns (in which the demonstratives are included as pronouns) and definite full NPs.

It is precisely because demonstratives play distinct roles (semantic coding of person and/or space and discourse-pragmatic coding referential coherence) that its system is of so great complexity. One could say that it is a system in permanent “tension” because of the competition between different functional pressures:

That fact that clausal grammar codes simultaneously propositional-semantic information and discourse-pragmatic function has far reaching consequences. For the coding requirements of the two are often in conflict, so that the resulting structure is an *adaptive compromise* between the competing functional pressures. (GIVÓN, 2001, v.1, p.19, italics of the author).

Although we adopt in this research the typological-functional model of Givón (2001), it should be noted here that we observe the consideration of working with a moderate approach of functionalism, as defended by Votre and Naro:

We do not deny the existence of structure, on the contrary we want to understand their basic motivations, even if these can be exclusively diachronic in certain situations. However, we take this opportunity to note that some functionalists do not share our moderate position, considering [those functionalists] that the structure has no independent existence of language use [...].³ (VOTRE; NARO, 1996, p.52, italics added, our translation).

Working hypothesis

In view of the principles postulated within the framework of functionalism, we will take as a working hypothesis the idea that *the demonstrative systems have restructured themselves in the process of linguistic change from Latin to the Romance languages, not only in terms of forms, but especially in terms of functions*. Several studies have described these changes from a formal point of view, but comparative studies with empirical basis analyzing the issue from a functional point of view are rare.

³ In the original: “*Não negamos a existência de estrutura, pelo contrário queremos entender as suas motivações básicas, admitindo que essas podem ser exclusivamente diacrônicas em determinadas situações. Entretanto, julgamos oportuno observar que alguns funcionalistas não compartilham de nossa posição moderada, considerando [os referidos funcionalistas] que a estrutura não possui existência independente do uso da língua [...].*”

Methodology

The comparative study of Romance languages of earlier stages always comes up against many difficulties. Certainly the most important difficulty, considering the functionalist perspective, is the identification of texts of the same nature or at least of strongly similar nature: how can one make a precise comparison from the functional point of view if, in different texts, contexts where the functions are present are also different? Due to that, an interesting approach is to work with parallel texts, that is, texts with the same content but in different languages, case in which the translations are the most typical examples.

This study has followed this orientation: the corpus is constituted by medieval translations in Latin, Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese of the so called *Book of Isaac*. This work consists of an ascetic treatise written by the anchorite Isaac of Nineveh (7th century) in Syriac, which was then translated into Greek (around 8th century), from this translation into Latin (by the 3rd quarter of 13th century), and then into the Romance languages (CAMBRAIA, 2000). Since there is no critical edition of this work for all mentioned languages, we have chosen here to analyze the demonstratives in just one testimony of each language (except in the case of Spanish, as it will be explained below). The adopted testimonies were as follows (all are manuscripts, except the one of Seville, which is a printed edition)⁴:

- (A) Latin (*L*): Milan, Pinacoteca Accademia Ambrosiana Library, A 49 sup, 13th cent., ff. 1^r-75^v;
- (B) Italian (*I*): Florence, Riccardiana Library, Ricc. 1489, 14th cent., ff. 10^r-155^v;
- (C) French (*F*): Paris, National Library, Lat. 1489, 15th cent., ff. 308^r-365^v;
- (D) Spanish-1 (*E1*): Madrid, Royal Palace Library, II/795, year 1484, ff. 1^r-123^r;
- (E) Catalan (*C*): San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Royal Library of the Monastery, n.I.16, 15th cent., ff. [0^r]-69^r;
- (F) Spanish-2 (*E2*): Seville, year 1497, ff. 127^v-162^v;
- (G) Portuguese (*P*): Rio de Janeiro, National Library, 50-2-15, 2nd half of the 15th cent., ff. 1^r-114^r.

We must present some information about the Latin-Romance tradition of the *Book of Isaac* in order to enable a better understanding of what these testimonies represent.

The handwritten Latin tradition is composed of approximately 100 manuscripts, and *L* is one of the oldest and the one which is the most faithful to the original text (CAMBRAIA; LARANJEIRA, 2010). The Italian tradition consists of approximately 25 manuscripts, and *I* is the most complete and faithful among the oldest (VILAÇA,

⁴ We present the data of *C*, *E2* and *P* always in this sequence, in order to facilitate the perception of the influence of the model of one over the other, since, as it will be explained later, the translational route must have been Catalan > Spanish (represented by *E2*) > Portuguese.

2012). The French tradition consists of only one manuscript (MELO, 2010): *F*. The Catalan tradition comprises 3 testimonies (with two independent translations, one of them fragmentary): *C* is the most complete testimony (CAMBRAIA; CUNHA, 2008). The Spanish tradition is divided in two independent translations, one – *E1* – probably is derived from the Latin translation and the other – *E2* – from the Catalan. The Portuguese tradition is composed of 4 manuscripts: *P* is the most faithful and complete, and is derived from the Spanish translation (the Portuguese tradition is bound to the tradition of *E2*, but not directly to this testimony). The traditions in Italian, French, Catalan and Spanish (*E1*) are derived directly from Latin (though not necessarily of the same Latin testimony). See below a simplified representation of the genetic relationship⁵ between these testimonies, adapted from Avellar (2011, p. 4), where **L* (= hypothetical Latin testimony/ies), **C* (=hypothetical Catalan testimony) and **E* (= hypothetical Spanish testimony):

Figure 1 – Simplified stemma



Source: Author’s elaboration embased on Avellar (2011, p.4).

It is important to clarify that this simplified stemma is intended only to show the relationship between the 7 testimonies used as the source for the present study: it is estimated that there are several intermediate testimonies (hypothetical and remaining) among the stated ones, but even though the stemma allows to see clearly their relationship in terms of branches of tradition.

The stemma also shows the need to always consider the interpretation of data depending on the type of influence of the model: in *I*, *F*, *E1* and *C*, there is a supposed influence of the Latin model, but in *E2* and in *P* the influences would be respectively of the Catalan model and the Spanish model. It should be also noted also that, given the profusion of Latin testimonies of this work in medieval Europe, one has to consider the Latin influence also in the latter two languages, by contamination in the tradition, that is, simultaneous access to models in Romance language and in Latin (CAMBRAIA, 2005).

⁵ For further discussion of the genetic relationship between the testimonies, see Cambraia (2002, 2010) and Cambraia, Melo and Vilaça (2008/2009).

Of course these considerations immediately cast doubt on the productivity of working with translated texts, but to this objection can be argued that: (a) the interference of Latin in the Middle Ages was widespread and this is not an isolated case⁶ and (b) the system of demonstratives in these texts, albeit with Latin influence, should represent, even partially, the system in use, otherwise the texts obviously would not be understood by readers of that time.

Given the complexity of working with such particular texts, a sample of the collection was imposed: we have collected all the data through the first chapter of the Latin translation (it consists of approximately 3300 words) and the respective chapters in Romance translations (which appear generally divided into more than one chapter). The excerpts appear transcribed conservatively⁷ (CAMBRAIA, 2005), but with development of abbreviations (without its indication with italics) and with inclusion of word separation with space or apostrophe, both procedures to facilitate the reader's job.

Again, given the complexity of the data, it was necessary to differentiate contrastive demonstratives [= CDs] (those that oppose themselves in terms of space and/or person, as those of the Portuguese system with *este/esse/aquele*) and not contrastive demonstratives [= NCDs] (those that do not take part in the aforementioned oppositive system, such as Portuguese *o*): it was considered NCDs the forms *ciò* in Italian, *ce* in French, *çò* in Catalan, *el/lo* in Spanish and *o* in Portuguese. A second fundamental difference between CDs and NCDs is the possibility of expression of exophora and endophora by the former, while the latter express only endophora (either as anaphora, either as cataphora).

Data collection had as reference the CDs and their inflections: Latin *hic/iste/ille*; Italian *questo/codesto/quello*; French *cist/cil*; Catalan *aquest/aqueix/aquell*; Spanish *este/ese/aquel*; Portuguese *este/esse/aquele*⁸ – and their reinforced variants (as French *icil*, Spanish *aqueste*, Portuguese *aqueste*, etc.). For each occurrence of these forms in the corpus, we sought the corresponding expression in the other translations, even if they were not being expressed with CDs – this is, by the way, one of the central tasks of this study: to know the different formal expressions of the same function.

⁶ Just recall the thesis of Maurer Jr. (1951) that the unity of western Romania is related, among other things, to the learned influence of Latin. This influence was in fact found in a study of the lexicon of religion in Latin, Italian, French and Portuguese translations of the work of Isaac which are the subject of this study (CAMBRAIA; MELO; VILAÇA, 2013).

⁷ The transcriptions were adapted from the following sources: *L*, Cambraia and Laranjeira (2010); *I*, Vilaça (2008); *F*, Melo (2010); *E1* e *E2*, França (2004); *C*, Avellar (2011). The one of *P* was made directly from the manuscript. Due to the adoption of short reproductions in the examples, we chose to remove all punctuation, since it wouldn't contribute to the understanding of the examples.

⁸ For ease of general reference to these forms, we use the following abbreviations: in ternary systems (*L*, *I*, *E1*, *C*, *E2* and *P*) *F1* for the first of the serie; *F2*, for the second; and *F3* for the third; in binary systems (*F*), *F1*, for the first of the serie; and *FII* for the second.

Data description

Applying the method of data collection described above, it was possible to identify 244 places in the corpus where one or more language had a form of CD.

Inventory

In this section we present the inventory of CDs collected in the corpus of this research, adding some necessary comments. In the tables below, the subscript number after a form is the number of occurrences in the corpus. As for *L*, *E1*, *C*, *E2* and *P* there is no different systems for determinant and independent pronoun (except for neutral in *E1*, *C*, *E2* and *P*, which is always an independent pronoun), we did not include this distinction in the tables: we inform in note, however, the forms of the category that is less frequent.

Table 1 – Medieval Latin translation⁹: *L*

Determinant ¹⁰ /Independent pronoun							
	m.s.	f.s.	n.s.	m.p.	f.p.	n.p.	Total
F1	<i>hic</i> [nm.] ₃ ,	<i>hec</i> [nm.] ₁ , <i>hac</i> [ab.] ₁	<i>hoc</i> [nm.] ₄ ,	–	–	<i>hec</i> [nm.] ₁ ,	33 (59%)
	<i>huius</i> [gn.] ₅ ,		<i>hoc</i> [ac.] ₂ ,			<i>hec</i> [ac.] ₄ ,	
	<i>hoc</i> [ab.] ₂		<i>huic</i> [dt.] ₁ ,			<i>hiis</i> [dt.] ₁ ,	
	<i>hoc</i> [ab.] ₄	<i>hiis</i> [ab.] ₄					
F2	<i>iste</i> [nm.] ₁	–	<i>istud</i> [nm.] ₁	–	–	<i>istorum</i> [gn.] ₁	3 (5%)
F3	<i>ille</i> [nm.] ₃ ,	<i>illam</i> [ac.] ₂ , <i>illa</i> [ab.] ₃	<i>illud</i> [nm.] ₁ ,	<i>illos</i> [ac.] ₁ ,	–	<i>illa</i> [ac.] ₁ ,	20 (36%)
	<i>illum</i> [ac.] ₁ ,		<i>illud</i> [ac.] ₂			<i>illis</i> [dt.] ₁	
	<i>illi</i> [dt.] ₂ ,						
	<i>illo</i> [ab.] ₂						

Source: Author's elaboration.

In Latin, there was an instance of *hic* that was not computed in Table 1 because, as a matter of fact, it is an adverb (in the function of contrast between *illic/hic*), as seen in the excerpt 1 below:

Exc. 1

L: *illic* enim sollicitudo est necessaria *hic* uero dilatatio cordis (f. 1v20) [*“there then (where) care is needed, here (there is) truly the extension of heart”*]¹¹

⁹ Abbreviations: nm. = nominative; gn. = genitive; ac. = accusative; dt. = dative; ab. = ablative.

¹⁰ Determinants (22%): *hac*₁ (f.s.) [ab.], *hoc*₂ (m.s.) [ab.], *huius*₃ (m.s.) [gn.], *illa*₁ (f.s.) [ab.], *illo*₁ (n.s.) [ab.], *illam*₂ (f.s.) [ac.].

¹¹ Throughout this text, we use italics in the examples to identify the forms in discussion.

It is interesting to note in Table 1 the existence of the use of F2 in *L* only without its traditional value of reference to the listener: we note the result of a trend that had been marked by Keller (1946) in Classical Latin.

Table 2 – Medieval Italian translation: *I*

	Determinant ¹² /Independent pronoun				Independent pronoun			Total
	m.s.	f.s.	m.p.	f.p.	m.s.	f.s.	m./f.p.	
F1	<i>questo</i> ₁₃	<i>questa</i> ₄	–	<i>queste</i> ₇	<i>questi</i> ₄	–	–	28 (35%)
F2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
F3	<i>quel</i> ₂ , <i>quello</i> ₅	<i>quella</i> ₇	<i>quelli</i> ₂	<i>quelle</i> ₁₀	<i>quegli</i> ₄ , <i>colui</i> ₁₂	–	<i>coloro</i> ₁₁	53 (65%)

Source: Author's elaboration.

It is interesting to note for Italian the fact of not appearing any occurrence of the forms of F2, namely *codesto* and inflexions.

Table 3 – Medieval French translation¹³: *F*

	Determinant				Independent pronoun					Total	
	m.s.	f.s.	m. p.	f.p.	m.s.	f.s.	n.s.	m.p.	f.p.		
NC	<i>cis</i> ₁	<i>ceste</i> ₁	–	<i>ces</i> ₂	<i>cis</i> ₂ , <i>cis ci</i> ₃	<i>ceste</i> ₁	–	–	–	10 (14.3%)	
FI DOC	–	–	–	<i>ces</i> ₃	–	–	<i>est</i> ₁	–	–	4 (5.7%)	22 (31.4%)
IOC	<i>cest</i> ₂	<i>ceste</i> ₂	–	<i>ces</i> ₃ , <i>ices</i> ₁	–	–	–	–	–	8 (11.4%)	
NC	–	–	–	–	<i>cil</i> ₄ , <i>celi</i> (?) ₁ , <i>celui</i> ₁	–	–	–	<i>ical</i> (?) ₁	7 (10%)	
FII DOC	–	<i>cele</i> ₂ , <i>celle</i> ₂	–	–	<i>celui</i> ₁	–	–	<i>ceuls</i> ₁	<i>celles</i> ₁ , <i>icelles</i> ₁	8 (11.4%)	48 (68.6%)
IOC	<i>cel</i> ₂	<i>celle</i> ₆	–	–	<i>celi</i> (?) ₂ , <i>celui</i> ₃ , <i>icelui</i> ₁	<i>celle</i> ₁ , <i>icelle</i> ₃	–	<i>cil</i> ₁ , <i>ceuls</i> ₇ , <i>iceuls</i> ₂	<i>celles</i> ₁ , <i>icelles</i> ₃	33 (47.1%)	

Source: Author's elaboration.

¹² Determinants (33%): *questo*₁₃, *questa*₄, *queste*₇, *quel*₂, *quella*₇, *quelli*₂, *quelle*₁₀. It is worth noting here the form *quell*, that only appears as a determinant in the corpus: the absence of final vowel (vs. *quello*) is due precisely to its status as proclitic form, therefore dependent on a nucleus.

¹³ Abbreviations: NC = Nominative Case; DOC = Direct Oblique Case (non prepositional); IOC = Indirect Oblique Case (prepositional).

With regard to French, there was some data, included in the respective tables, which are uncommon. There are 3 instances of *celi* as masculine singular independent pronoun, but the form *celi* in medieval French was used for feminine singular in the indirect regime case (MARCHELLO-NIZIA; PICOCHÉ, 1998): it is possible that it is a mistake of the scribe, who omitted the *u* of the masculine form *celui*, as seen in the excerpt below:

Exc. 2

F: Aussi comme cil qui ne uoit le soleil de ses yex ne puet a aucun fors de son oie seulement reciter la lumiere de *celi* (f. 312v20-22) [“As one who does not see the sun with his eyes can to no other only by his ear describe the light of *that* (sun)”]

Since this form occurred 3 times, there may be another explanation: in the disappearance process of *celi* (absent of modern French), it is possible that this has been confused with *celui*, being that interpreted as a phonological variant of this.

Another unforeseen occurrence is the one of *cil* as masculine plural as independent pronoun in the indirect regime case, although it usually serves to subject case, the most common being *ceuls* to (direct or indirect) regime case:

Exc. 3

F: Ce est a savoir des fausaires et de *cil* qui vendent les devins parlemens (f. 311v10-11) [“Namely: of the counterfeiters and of *those* who sell the divine words”]

Also for this case, it seems to be possible the two previous explanations: mistake of the scribe or syncretism between forms (since *cil* also disappeared).

The occurrence of *ical* for feminine plural in the subject case is also unusual, because the expected form would be *celles* or the reinforced *icelles*: it may have been a confusion of the scribe.

Exc. 4

F: Mais se mistrent en la mer de cest siecle a sauuer les ames des autres comme *ical* fussent encore malades et perdirent eus meismes de l’esperance de dieu (f. 310v19-22) [“But (they) were cast into the sea of this world to save the souls of the others, since *those* were still ill, and have lost themselves of the hope of God”]

It is also worth noting the fact that there is already record of the combination of demonstrative and adverb, as in the case of *cis ci*, a feature that would grammaticalize in the course of the history of French language. It is interesting to note that, as evidenced by Dees (1971) in relation to his corpus, the first pattern of combination is between forms of same content — either proximity (as in *cis ci*), either distance — up to approximately 1350. It is a curious fact because Ouy (1999, t. 1, p. 303) has proposed approximately

1425 as date for *F*: we assumed then that the language of *F* is conservative, as it is common in religious texts.

Finally, there is the form *est*, which is curious, since French forms usually present a *c-* as a remain of the Latin *ecce* of reinforcement. It is probably an archaism, since it appears in very ancient texts such as *La Vie de Saint Alexis* (11th cent.): “*De tot est mond somes nos jugedor*” (GODEFROY, 1885, v.4, p. 618, italics added).

Table 4 – Medieval Spanish translation: *EI*

	Determinant ³ (except n.s.)/Independent pronoun					Total
	m.s.	f.s.	n.s.	m.p.	f.p.	
F1	<i>este</i> ₁₁	<i>esta</i> ₇	<i>esto</i> ₂₁ , <i>aquesto</i> ₁	–	<i>estas</i> ₅	45 (48%)
F2	–	<i>essa</i> ₂	<i>esso</i> ₁	<i>essos</i> ₁	–	4 (4%)
F3	<i>aque</i> ₁₇	<i>aquella</i> ₇	–	<i>aquellos</i> ₈	<i>aquellas</i> ₁₃	45 (48%)

Source: Author’s elaboration.

It is worth noting the presence of an occurrence of reinforced neutral form *aquesto*: perhaps this is the context of greater resistance for its loss.

Table 5 – Medieval Catalan translation: *C*

	Determinant ¹⁵ (except n.s.)/Independent pronoun					Total
	m.s.	f.s.	n.s.	m.p.	f.p.	
F1	<i>aquest</i> ₁₂	<i>esta</i> ₁ , <i>aquesta</i> ₅	<i>aço</i> ₁₁	–	<i>aquestes</i> ₁₃	42 (40%)
F2	–	–	–	–	–	–
F3	<i>aque</i> ₂ , <i>aquell</i> ₁₆ , <i>cell</i> ₇	<i>aquella</i> ₆	<i>allo</i> ₃	<i>aquells</i> ₁₁ , <i>cells</i> ₆	<i>aquelles</i> ₁₂	63 (60%)

Source: Author’s elaboration.

There are three aspects that stand out in the Catalan data: the absence of F2 (*aqueix* and inflexions), the presence of the not reinforced form (*esta*) and the presence of the forms *cell* and *cells*. The prevalence of reinforced forms (*aquest*, etc.) suggests that the language is from the final archaic phase, since in the beginning of it the reinforced forms were less frequent. The absence of the forms of F2 seems to be related to the question of textual genre, as we will comment below, in the end of this section. Finally,

¹⁴ Determinants (38%): *este*₈, *esta*₇, *estas*₅, *essa*₂, *aque*₂, *aquella*₅, *aquellos*₁, *aquellas*₅.

¹⁵ Determinants (30%): *aquest*₉, *esta*₁, *aquesta*₂, *aquestes*₁₂, *aquell*₁, *aquella*₅, *aquelles*₄. These data allow verifying, in relation do Table 5, that *cell* and *cells* are forms reserved to be used as independent pronouns.

the forms *cell* and *cells*, in 13 occurrences, have the specificity of always appearing as introducer of relative clause (for example: “*cell* qui uol nobles uestirs no pot auer humjls cogitacions”). Although Badía i Margarit (1994, p.313) mentions the existence of opposite related form (*cest*), this one did not appear in the corpus.

Table 6 – Medieval Spanish translation: *E2*

Determinant ¹⁶ (except n.s.)/Independent pronoun						
	m.s.	f.s.	n.s.	m.p.	f.p.	Total
F1	<i>este</i> ₆ , <i>aqueste</i> ₂	<i>esta</i> ₄	<i>esto</i> ₅₁ , <i>aquesto</i> ₁	–	<i>estas</i> ₉	73 (54%)
F2	–	–	<i>eso</i> ₂ , <i>esso</i> ₄	–	–	6 (4%)
F3	<i>aquel</i> ₂₇	<i>aquella</i> ₅	<i>aquello</i> ₁	<i>aquellos</i> ₁₇	<i>aquellas</i> ₆ , <i>aquallas</i> ₁	57 (42%)

Source: Author’s elaboration.

Table 7 – Medieval Portuguese translation: *P*

Determinant ¹⁷ (except n.s.)/Independent pronoun						
	m.s.	f.s.	n.s.	m.p.	f.p.	Total
F1	<i>este</i> ₁₁	<i>esta</i> ₆	<i>sto</i> ₅ , <i>esto</i> ₃₇ , <i>aquesto</i> ₁	–	<i>estas</i> ₉	69 (57%)
F2	–	–	<i>eso</i> ₁ , <i>esso</i> ₃	–	–	4 (3%)
F3	<i>aquel</i> ₁₈ , <i>aquell</i> ₃ , <i>aquela</i> ₁ , <i>aquelle</i> ₂	<i>aquela</i> ₄ , <i>aquella</i> ₁	<i>aquelo</i> ₁	<i>aquelles</i> ₁₇	<i>aquellas</i> ₃	48 (40%)

Source: Author’s elaboration.

Data from the second Spanish translation (Table 6) and from the Portuguese one are very similar, with remains of reinforced forms and forms of F2, as in other Spanish translation. In the case of reinforced forms, *P* shows the same pattern of *E1* with only neutral forms, while *E2*, despite having one form of neutral, presents two forms of masculine.

It is interesting to note that in all instances of F2 in *P* and in almost all in *E2*, the demonstrative appears accompanied by *mesmo/meesmo*, suggesting that they are semantically related to the idea of intensiveness.

¹⁶ Determinants (18%): *este*₂, *aqueste*₁, *esta*₃, *estas*₉, *aquel*₃, *aquella*₄, *aquellas*₃.

¹⁷ Determinants (22%): *este*₃, *esta*₃, *estas*₉, *aquel*₃, *aquela*₃, *aquella*₁, *aquellas*₂. It is interesting to notice here that, differently of Italian, the form without final vowel *aquel* doesn’t occur only as determinant in medieval Portuguese.

Comparing the tables, it is possible to note firstly that, in general, F2 has very little expression in *L*, *E1*, *E2* and *P* and does not occur in *I* and *C* (never existed in *F*). One possible explanation for the low or zero frequency is the rare reference to listener in the text in this kind of textual genre: being an ascetic doctrinal text, there is virtually no opportunity for reference to the listener nor for dialogues.

A second interesting aspect is the difference in preference between the forms of proximity and/or 1st person (F1 and FI) and the ones of distance and/or 3rd person (F3 and FII): *I*, *F* and *C* make more frequent use of the former; and *E2* and *P*, of the latter. For *E1*, there is no preference¹⁸. A possible generalization would be that the binary demonstratives systems would favor the forms of distance and/or 3rd person, while the ternary one would favor the forms of proximity and/or 1st person or, put in a more functional perspective, the most common would be the unmarked forms of each system.

Patterns of relation

In the data collected in the corpus there are basically 3 large patterns of relation.

(a) *Pairing of the same class*: the presence of the same excerpt with CD in all translations.

Exc. 5

L: Labores *huius* seculi qui pro ueritate fiunt non comparantur delicijs (f. 1r14-15)

I: Gli exercitii *di questo* secolo li quali si fanno per uanitate. Non si aguagliano alle delitie (f. 10v13-15)

F: Li labours *de cest* siecle qui sont fait pour la nesescite du cors ne soient mie compare aus delices (f. 308v33-35)

E1: Los trabajaos que *en este* siglo por la verdat se çufren; no tienen comparacion con los gozos y deleytes (f. 2r21-2v1)

C: Los trebaylls *dequest* secgla qui son fets per uerjtat no son comparables als deljts (f. 0vb21-22)

E2: Los trabajos *deste* mundo no son comparados a los deleytes (f. cxxvij-vb4-5)

P: E os trabalhos *deste* mundo ão som comparados aos deleitos (f. 4r16-17)

(b) *Pairing of different classes*: the presence of the excerpt with CD in one or more translations, but not in all, with expression of the content through other explicit formal resource.

¹⁸ In an extensive study on the CDs of the two Spanish translations (CAMBRAIA, 2008, p. 2381-2382), the following values were verified: *E1*, F1 670 (58%), F2 47 (4%), F3 439 (38%), total 1.156 (100%); *E2*, F1 728 (58%), F2 20 (2%), F3 494 (40%) and total 1.242 (100%). The total data situate, as expected, the ternary system of *E1* in the pattern of preference for the forms of proximity and/or 1st person (F1). One can see that the selected corpus comprises approx. 11% of the total forms in each Spanish translation.

Exc. 6

- L*: Sicut secuntur *seminantes* in lacrimis manipuli exultationis (f. 1r16-17)
I: sicome *ad coloro che seminano* in lagrime seguitano bracciate di gioconditade (f. 10v16-18)
F: Auci comme les manieres des leecemens ensieuent *les semans* en lermes (f. 308v36-38)
E1: Ca assi como *aquellos que siembran* en lagrimas e lloros coxen fascas de soberano gozo (f. 2v3-6)
C: axi com *cells quj sembren* en lagrames consequen guardo de gran alegria (f. 0v25-27)
E2: assi como *aquellos que siembran* en lagrimas alcançan galardon de grande alegria (f. cxxvij-vb7-9)
P: assy como *aquelles que semeã* as lagrimas alçãçam galardom de grande alegria (f. 4r18-19)

Note that, in *L* and *F*, there is no demonstrative as in the other translations, rather a present participle (lat. *seminantes* and fr. *semans*).

(c) *Pairing with gaps*: the presence of the excerpt with CD in one or more translations, but not in all, with cases without expression of the content through other explicit formal resource, as in the following case¹⁹:

Exc. 7

- L*: et comprehendit illam rem pro qua christus aduenit Ø (f. 8v4-5)
I: et ae compreso quella cosa per la quale uenne christo Ø (f. 24r1-2)
F: et comprent celle chose pour la quelle ihesu crist vint Ø (f. 314v8-9)
E1: e comprende aquella cosa por la qual hiesu christo vino en *el* mundo (f. 14r-12-13)
C: E a aquella cosa consegujda per la qual nostre senyor Jhesu christ uench en *aqwest* secgla (f. 6vb15-17)
E2: e ha fallado aquella cosa: por la qual nuestro señor ihesu christo vino en *este* mundo (f. cxxxi-ra40-42)
P: e ha achada aquela cousa pola qual o nosso Senhor Jhesu christo ueco ã *este* mundo (f. 14v4-5)

Note that, in *L*, *I* and *F*, there is not the excerpt in which appears the demonstrative in *C* (*aqwest*), *E2* (*este*) and *P* (*este*). In *E1*, on the other hand, there is the excerpt, but in the place of DC there is the article *el*.

¹⁹ We use the sign Ø to mark the absence of corresponding form or passage in relation to the other translations.

Pairing of the same class

Of the 244 points in the text with CD in one or more translations, only in 21 (9%) there is pairing of the same class. These data are distributed into 3 subtypes: 10 occurrences of *pairing with the proximal form* (F1 and FI), as in Exc. 5 above; 10 occurrences of *pairing with the distal form* (F3 and FII) as in Exc. 8 below; and 1 occurrence of *pairing with variation* (distal in *I* but proximal in the others), as in Exc. 9 below.

Exc. 8

- L:* et consolationem *illam* non sentiet de qua erat apostolus consolatus (f. 8r19-20)
I: Ne non sentira *quella* consolatione de la quale era consolato L'apostolo (f. 23v4-5)
F: et ne sentira *cele* consolation de la quel li apostre estoit consolles (f. 314r36-37)
E1: ny sentira *aquella* consolacion de la qual era ell apostol sant pablo aconsolado (f. 13v16-17)
C: ne sintra *aquella* consolacio daquell apostol sent paul era consolat (f. 6va18-19)
E2: ni sentira *aquella* consolacion de la qual era consolado el Apostol (f. cxxx-ra17-19)
P: nẽ sentira aquela cõsolaco da qual era consolado o apostolo (f. 14r10-11)

Exc. 9

- L:* Attende igitur o homo *hec* que legis (f. 8v2-3)
I: Adumque o homo considera *quelle cose* che tu leggi (f. 22v19-20)
F: Entent donques os tu homs *ces choses* que tu lis (f. 314r15-16)
E1: Para mientes pues o hombre en *esto* que lees (f. 13r15-16)
C: O hom guarde ben e entin *aquestes cosas* que ligs (f. 6rb23-25)
E2: O hombre guarda e entiede bien *estas cosas* que lees (f. cxxx-vb33-34)
P: Oo homẽ esguarda e entende bem *estas cousas* que lees (f. 13v9-10)

The essential question is: why exactly in these 21 cases was there the maintenance of CD in all translations? Or, rather, which functions are these that require the specific use of CD for its expression?

The 21 occurrences are distributed between 3 functions: (a) spatial deixis expressing proximity to the speaker (see Exc. 5), with 2 occurrences ; (b) cataphora (relative clause introducer) (see Excs. 8 and 9), with 10 occurrences ; and (c) anaphora, with 8 occurrences . It is interesting to note that, of 18 occurrences of the latter two categories, 7 (4 cataphora and 3 anaphora) are in the context of immediate contrast, that is, there is an opposition with different resources between sentences that follow one immediately after the other (be in two consecutive sentences, be in two consecutive clauses of the same sentence). See in Chart 1 below (we have marked with superscript R the terms that are introducers of relatives):

Chart 1 – Expression of the function of immediate contrast²⁰

	Exc. 10	Exc. 11	Exc. 12	Exc. 13	Exc. 14	Exc. 15
<i>L</i>	<i>hec... ab illa</i>	<i>hic... ille^R</i>	<i>is^R... ille^R</i>	<i>iste... illo^R</i>	<i>qui... illi^R</i>	<i>facientes... illis^R</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>questa... da quella</i>	<i>questi... colui^R</i>	<i>colui^R... colui^R</i>	<i>questo... colui^R</i>	<i>chi... quelli^R</i>	<i>coloro^R... coloro^R</i>
<i>F</i>	<i>ceste... d'icelle</i>	<i>cis ci... celui^R</i>	<i>ci^R... celi^R</i>	<i>cis ci... celi^R</i>	<i>qui... ceuls^R</i>	<i>faisans... ceuls^R</i>
<i>E1</i>	<i>esta... de aquela</i>	<i>este tal... aque^R</i>	<i>el ciego^R... aque^R</i>	<i>este... aque^R</i>	<i>quien... aque^R</i>	<i>aque^R... aque^R</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>aquesta... dequella</i>	<i>aquest... cel^R</i>	<i>aque^R... dequell^R</i>	<i>aquest... dequell^R</i>	<i>cel^R... aque^R</i>	<i>aque^R... aque^R</i>
<i>E2</i>	<i>esta... da aquella</i>	<i>este... Ø</i>	<i>aque^R... de aque^R</i>	<i>Ø... de aque^R</i>	<i>Ø... aque^R</i>	<i>aque^R... aque^R</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>esta... daquela</i>	<i>este... Ø</i>	<i>aque^R... daquell^R</i>	<i>Ø... daquell^R</i>	<i>Ø... aque^R</i>	<i>aque^R... aque^R</i>

Source: Author's elaboration.

Exc. 15 (chart 1)

- L:* Noli comparare *facientes* signa et prodigia et virtutes in mundo *illis* qui in solitudine sunt scienter (f. 3r8-10)
- I:* Non aguagliare *coloro che fanno* isegni et lemarauagle et le uirtudi nel secolo *ad coloro* che sono sauamente insolitu dine (f. 14v3-7)
- F:* Ne ueilles mie comparrer *les faisans* signes merueilleus et vertus en monde *a ceuls* qui sont sagement en solitude (f. 310r29-31)
- E1:* No fagas comparacion *de aquellos que fazen* senyales milagros e virtudes en el mundo *con aquellos* que discretamente y como deuen moran en la solitut (f. 5r17-19)
- C:* No vuller comparar *aque^Rlls qui* en lo mon *fan* grans senyals e mjracles *a aque^Rlls* qui sientalment son en soljtut (f. 2ra30-2rb2)
- E2:* No quieras ygualar *a aquellos que* en el mundo *fazen* milagros e virtudes e grandes marauillas *con aquellos* que estudiosamente estan en apartado (f. cxxvij-va21-22)
- P:* Nom queiras Jgualar *aque^Rlls* que en no mundo *fazê* milagres e uirtudes e grandes marauilhas *cô aque^Rlls* que estudosamête estam ã apartado (f. 7r2-4)

Of the data presented in chart 1, the 7 occurrences of pairing of the same class are: the two terms of Exc. 10, the first term of Exc. 11 and the second term of Excs. 12 to 15.

Since, even in this context of immediate contrast, there is no categorical use of CDs (check the first term of the Exc. 6), one must necessarily understand its use as a

²⁰ We don't inform the folios of each record in this table in order to avoid information overload and consequent reading difficulty.

variable phenomenon. It is possible to imagine that, since in the context of contrast it can also appear the need of the relative clause introducer, there would be then an overlap of motivations leading to a major preference for the use of CD in this case: this overlap is present in the paired terms of Excs. 11 to 16.

Pairing of different classes

Of the 244 points of the text with CD in one or more translations, 115 (47%) presented pairing of different classes.

A first point of interest is to evaluate the productivity of CDs for expression of the set of functions comprehending these 115 points of the text. The data are distributed as follows:

Table 8 – Resources for the expression of the same set of different functions

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>EI</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
CD	23 (20%)	45 (39%)	28 (24%)	39 (34%)	52 (45%)	82 (71%)	73 (63%)
NCD	–	24 (21%)	27 (23%)	13 (11%)	30 (26%)	3 (3%)	4 (3%)
Other resources	92 (80%)	46 (40%)	60 (52%)	63 (55%)	33 (29%)	30 (26%)	39 (34%)

Source: Author’s elaboration.

The first interesting result of the comparison is that demonstratives in general (CD and NCD) are more frequent in Romance languages than in Latin.

A first explanation for this Romance profusion of demonstratives is partially in the history of Latin conjunction (*Cj*): most conjunctions were monosyllabic and disappeared, being their function of inter-clausal articulator assumed by conjunctive phrases containing demonstratives.

Table 9 – Correspondence in the function of inter-clausal articulator (coordinate and/or adverbial clauses)

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>EI</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
Cj	27 (100%)	–	–	–	–	–	–
CD	–	–	–	–	–	25 (93%)	19 (70%)
NCD	–	21 (78%)	4 (15%)	–	22 (81%)	–	–
Other resources	–	6 (22%)	23 (85%)	27 (100%)	5 (19%)	2 (7%)	8 (30%)

Source: Author’s elaboration.

Exc. 16

- L*: Perseuera legens in solitudine *ut* mens tua semper ad dei mirabilia de[d]ucatur (f. 2r24-25)
- I*: Perseuera in solitudine leggendo *adcio ke* la tua mente sempre sia menata alle marauiglose cose di dio (f. 13r5-8)
- F*: Perceuer en solitude lisant *si que* ta pensee soit toudis demenee aus merueilles de dieu (f. 312r8-9)
- E1*: Lee de continuo en la soledat *porque* sea tu piensa siempre ocupada en las marauillas de dios (f. 4r11-12)
- C*: perseuera ligent en la solitut *per ço que* la tua pensa sie tostemp endressade en les mereuelles de deu (f. 1va28-30)
- E2*: Perseuera leyendo en apartado *por esto que* el tu pensamiento sea todos tiempos traydo en las marauillas de dios (f. cxxij-rb8-11)
- P*: Perseruera senpre leendo em apartado *por tal que* teu penssamento seia todos tenpos tragido en nas marauilhas de deus (f. 6r1-3)

Table 9 refers to the conjunctions and conjunctive phrases that act as inter-clausal articulators for coordinate and/or adverbial clauses in the Latin data of pairing in cases of different classes and the corresponding forms in other translations. It is remarkable how the demonstratives were employed to play the function of articulator in Romance languages: in the data of *L* there isn't any occurrence of demonstrative in the function of articulator, while in Romance languages there is a clear prevalence in *I*, *C*, *E2* and *P*, although not in *F* and *E1*. Of 27 occurrences of articulators in *L*, no less than 16 are the final conjunction *ut* (that did not survive in any of the Romance languages): to express this function, the preferred way in each translation is *adcio/accio que/ke* in *I*, *si que* in *F*, *porque* in *E1*, *per ço que* in *C*, *por esto que* in *E2* and *P*. A significant difference among the data of Romance languages is the fact that NCD is the preferred demonstrative for the function of articulator in *I*, *F* and *C*, while in *E2* and *P* it is CD: since the function of articulator is expressed by the conjunctive phrases with the preposition, one can understand that NCD is not preferably employed in *E2* and *P*, since it is unstressed monosyllabic and, therefore, incompatible with the function of prepositional complement.

A second explanation is in the expression of the function of introducer for clarification, which in most Romance languages was restructured with a demonstrative. To show this, we present a new table, now differentiating the data with these functions in Latin and their corresponding in Romance languages.

Table 10 – Correspondence in the function of introducer for clarifying

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>EI</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
CD	–	–	–	1 (50%)	–	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
NCD	–	2 (100%)	2 (100%)	–	2 (100%)	–	–
Other resources	2 (100%)	–	–	1 (50%)	–	–	–

Source: Author's elaboration.

Exc. 17

- L:* nisi fiat misericors supra iusticiam non est misericors *id est* quod hominibus non solum misereatur de propriis (f. 2r4-6)
- I:* se lhomo misericordioso non e piu che giusto non. e misericordioso *cioe* che non solamente faccia misericordia altrui dele proprie cose (f. 12r12-16)
- F:* se tu nes mesericors outre iustice. *Cest* que nemie seulement tu faces misericorde de ton propre (f. 312r8-9)
- EI:* [si el miseri]cordioso no anduuiere sobre la iusticia fun[dado no] es misericordioso. *Esto es dezir* que no solo faga misericordia en los hombres de lo proprio (f. 3v5-7)
- C:* si no es misericordios sobre Justicia ell no es misericordios ço es que no tant solament aye merce de cosas proprias als altres (f. 1rb26-29)
- E2:* si no es misericordioso sobre la iusticia que no es misericordioso. *Esto es* que no tan solamente fagas merced e limosna de las cosas propias a los otros (f. cxxiiij-ra20-24)
- P:* sse nõ he mjsericordoso sobre a Justiça que nõ he misericordoso *esto he* que nom tam solamente aya mercee de cousas proprias aos outros (f. 5r22-5v1)

In data of *L* there is no instance of demonstrative as introducer for clarification while in Romance languages there is a clear prevalence in *I*, *F*, *C*, *E2* and *P*, although not in *EI*. Again one can see the fact of NCD being the preferred demonstrative for introducer for clarification in *I*, *F* and *C*, while for *E2* and *P* is CD: unstressed NCD would be avoided, since it would take the function of nucleus of the subject of the verb *to be*.

A third fact that would explain the lower frequency of demonstratives in Latin in relation to Romance languages is related to the expression of the function of agentive, presented in *L* mainly through present participle (PrP). Interestingly, although PrP have survived in Romance languages as a form that is more nominal than verbal, it seems there is no recruitment of it as frequently as in Latin. In several data of the corpus there is an opposition between the PrP in Latin and a structure with demonstrative (mainly followed by relative) in one or more Romance languages.

Table 11 – Correspondence in the function of agentive

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>E1</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
PrP	12 (100%)	–	7 (58%)	–	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	–
CD	–	10 (83%)	3 (25%)	7 (58%)	11 (92%)	11 (92%)	11 (92%)
NCD	–	–	2 (17%)	3 (25%)	–	–	1 (8%)
Other resources	–	2 (17%)	–	2 (17%)	–	–	–

Source: Author's elaboration.

In Table 11, it is seen that 12 occurrences of *L* with PrP correspond preferably to structures with demonstrative (followed by relative), except in *F*. See below a group of data illustrating the different types of correspondence:

Exc. 18

L: *ne nolentibus*²¹ *intueri* res breviores (f. 5r26-27) [PrP]

I: *adcio che coloro che uoglion uedere* le cose suttili (f. 18r20-21) [CD + Relative]

F: *pour ce que eus veulians regarder* le plus brief chose (f. 312r8-9) [PrP]

E1: *porque a los que las mas breues y menores cosas quisieren* profundamente *veer* (f. 9r5-6) [DNC + Relative]

C: *per ço que cells qui encare no saben* les coses menors ne pus baxes (f. 4ra23-25) [CD + Relative]

E2: *Por esto que aquellos que no saben: ni han comprendido* las menores cosas (f. cxxix-va38-40) [CD + Relative]

P: *E por que aquelas que nõ sabem nõ comprehendem* as meores cousas (f. 10r7-8) [CD + Relativa]

A fourth fact is related to the expression of the function of inter-clausal articulator for substantive clauses, expressed by the relative pronoun (RP) in free relatives (without antecedent) in *L*, often corresponding to demonstrative with relative in Romance translations.

Table 12 – Correspondence in the function of inter-clausal articulator (substantive clauses)

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>E1</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
RP	13 (100%)	5 (48%)	6 (46%)	5 (48%)	2 (15%)	2 (15%)	2 (15%)
CD	–	8 (62%)	3 (23%)	1 (8%)	8 (62%)	10 (77%)	10 (77%)
NCD	–	–	3 (23%)	6 (46%)	3 (23%)	1 (8%)	1 (8%)
Other resources	–	–	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	–	–	–

Source: Author's elaboration.

²¹ We estimate, based on some Romance translations, that the genuine form was *volentibus* ("who want"), since the idea of denial would be expressed in conjunction *ne*.

In Table 12, it is seen that the 13 occurrences of *L* with RP correspond preferably to structures with demonstrative (followed by free relatives), again except in *F*. See below a group of data illustrating the different types of correspondence:

Exc. 19

- L*: *qui* splendida diligit humiles cogitationes habere non potest (f. 2v15-16) [RP]
I: *ki* ama li splendidi uestimenti non puote auere humili cogitationi (f. 13v13-15) [RP]
F: *qui* aime choses resplandisans il ne puet auoir humbles cogitacions (f. 310r6-7) [RP]
E1: *el que* las cosas ricas e fermosas dessea y codicia: no puede hauer humildes cogitaciones (f. 4v12-13) [NCD + Relative]
C: *cell qui* uol nobles uestirs no pot auer humjls cogitacions (f. 1vb26-28) [CD + Relative]
E2: *aquel que* quiere aver nobles vestiduras no puede auer humildes cogitaciones (f. cxxijj-rb35-37) [CD + Relative]
P: *aquel que* quer auer nobres vestiduras nõ pode auer homjldosas cuydacones (f. 6r23-6v1) [CD + Relative]

A fifth fact which would explain the lower frequency of demonstratives in Latin in relation to Romance languages is related to the expression of the function of anaphora made by the anaphoric pronoun (AP) *is/ea/id* and their identity pronouns (IdP) correlates *idem/eadem/idem* (FARIA, 1958): in 11 cases, the presence of this form in Latin corresponds often to demonstratives in Romance languages.

Table 13 – Correspondence in the function of anaphora

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>E1</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
PA/PI	11 (100%)	3 (27%)	3 (27%)	5 (45%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	2 (18%)
CD	–	3 (27%)	5 (45%)	–	4 (36%)	5 (45%)	3 (27%)
NCD	–	–	2 (18%)	5 (45%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)
Other resources	–	5 (46%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	3 (27%)	4 (36%)	4 (36%)

Source: Author's elaboration.

In Table 13, it is seen that 11 occurrences of *L* with AP/IdP correspond preferably to structures with demonstratives (not necessarily followed by relative clauses) in *F*, *C*, *E2* and *P*, except in *I* and *E1*. See below a group of data illustrating different types of correspondence:

Exc. 20

- L*: *et ab eis* elongauerit se omnino (f. 8r24-25) [AP]
I: *et da esse* al postutto si dilunghera²² (f. 23v13) [PP3]

²² Although *esse* derives historically from *ipsae* (intensive pronoun), it is considered to be a personal pronoun of 3rd person (PP3) already in medieval Italian, having taken the function of intensive pronoun the forms *stesso* (< *istu ipsu*) or *medesimo* (< *metipsissimu*).

- F*: et sera *de eus* du tout eslongie (f. 314r1) [PP3]
E1: e del todo dalli adelante se apartare *dellos* (f. 14r2-3) [PP3]
C: es sera ben lunnyat *dequells* de tot (f. 6va29-30) [CD]
E2: e apartara assi mesmo *de aquallas* de todo en todo (f. cxxxi-ra28-29) [CD]
P: e apartar sy meesmo *dellas* de todo en todo (f. 14r19) [PP3]

Finally, the sixth relevant fact which would explain the lower frequency of demonstratives in Latin in relation to Romance languages is the intensive pronoun (IP) *ipse/ipsa/ipsum* (FARIA, 1958): in 9 occurrences, the presence of this form in Latin corresponds often to demonstratives in Romance languages:

Table 14 – Correspondence in the function of intensiveness

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>E1</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
IP	9 (100%)	–	–	–	–	–	–
CD+IP	–	–	–	2 (22%)	–	–	–
CD	–	2 (22%)	7 (78%)	3 (33%)	4 (44%)	4 (44%)	2 (22%)
NCD	–	–	1 (11%)	–	–	–	–
Other resources	–	7 (88%)	1 (11%)	4 (44%)	5 (56%)	5 (56%)	7 (78%)

Source: Author's elaboration.

In Table 14, it is seen that the 9 occurrences of *L* with IP correspond preferably to structures with demonstratives in *F* and *E1*, but not in *I*, *C*, *E2* and *P*. See below a group of data illustrating the different types of correspondence:

Exc. 21

- L*: et postmodum *ipsi* qui uiuificarunt alios ad execrabilia vicia et horribilia ceciderunt (f. 3r28- 3v2) [IP]
I: et poi *essi* che anno uiuificati gl'altri sono caduti in cose maligne et orribili (f. 15r7-9) [Other resource:PP3]
F: et apres *ce* qu'il ont viuifies les autres sont cheus en pechieus aueulables et orribles (f. 310v14-15) [NCD]
E1: Empero despues al fin *essos mismos* que dieron vida a los otros cayeron en detestables vicios spantables e abhominables peccados (f. 5v20-6r1) [CD+IP]
C: E puy *ells* qui aujen los altres endressats cahegueren en greus ujcis e an greus peccats (f. 2va4-6) [Other resource: PP3]
E2: e despues *ellos mesmos* en feos pecados cayeron (f. cxxviii-vb7-8) [Outro recurso: Other resource: PP3+IP]
P: depois *elles meesmos* ã feos peccados cairam (f. 7v2) [Other resource: PP3+IP]

Pairing with gap

Of the 244 points in the text with demonstratives in one or more translations, 108 (44%) present pairing with gap.

The gaps allow considering the hypothesis of cases of the pairing of same class disrupted by the absence of data in one or more translations; however, among the 11 cases of CD in *L*, only in one such hypothesis would be valid, since in the others, although there is gap in one or more translation, another resource is used, excluding these data from a hypothetical pairing of same class.

Therefore, cases of pairing with gap are actually cases of pairing of different class, with the particularity of having gap in one or more translations. The patterns repeat in a way what was verified in the previous section: there is a greater use of demonstratives (CD and NCD) in Romance languages as a correspondence, in *L*, to inter-clausal articulator of coordinates and/or adverbial clauses (7 cases), introducer of clarification (5), agentive (3), inter-clausal articulator (substantive clauses) (2), anaphora (11) and intensiveness (6).

A specific case belonging to this pattern is the absence of determinant in *L*, but its presence as demonstrative in one or more translations:

Table 15 – Correspondence in the function of specification

	<i>L</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>E1</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E2</i>	<i>P</i>
Absence	17 (100%)	6 (35%)	1 (6%)	4 (24%)	3 (18%)	2 (12%)	3 (18%)
CD	–	2 (12%)	4 (24%)	8 (47%)	6 (35%)	3 (18%)	3 (18%)
NCD	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 (6%) ²³
Article	–	9 (53%)	8 (47%)	5 (29%)	6 (35%)	10 (59%)	8 (47%)
Other determinants	–	–	2 (12%)	–	2 (12%)	2 (12%)	2 (12%)
Gap	–	–	2 (12%)	–	–	–	–

Source: Author's elaboration.

In Table 15, it is seen that the 17 occurrences of *L* without determinant correspond preferably to structures with demonstratives (CD and/or DNC) only in *E1*, being more frequent with articles in *I*, *F*, *E2* and *P* and drawing the two cases in *C*. Anyway, there is an opposition between the prevalence of absence of determinant in *L* in relation to the different options of formal expression in Romance languages. See below a group of data illustrating the different types of correspondence:

²³ In this case, the NCD isn't followed by a noun, rather introduces a relative clause: "cõprender o que ha de uijr por conhecimento dos entendimẽtos".

Exc. 22

- L*: coronatur non Ø coronis que sunt in lege iustorum (f. 2r8) [Absent]
I: sara coronato non *de le* corone ke sono nela legge de giusti (f. 12r19-20) [Article]
F: elle est courounee. nemie seulement *des* courounees qui sont en la loi de iustice (f. 309v 6-8) [Article]
E1: es coronado. no *de aquellas* coronas que son en la ley de los justos (f. 3v10-11) [CD]
C: es coronat. No solamente *de les* coronas que son en la lig dels Justs (f. 1rb32-1va1) [Article]
E2: es coronado no solamente *de las* coronas que son en la ley de los iustos (f. cxxiiij-r27-28) [Article]
P: seeras coroado nō tam solamente *das* coroaas que som ãna ley dos Justos (f. 5v4-5) [Article]

The fact that there is often absence of resource in Latin suggests that the perception of the specificity of the referent would be held by discourse-pragmatic means (internal and/or external context) and not by lexical means (with a demonstrative, for example).

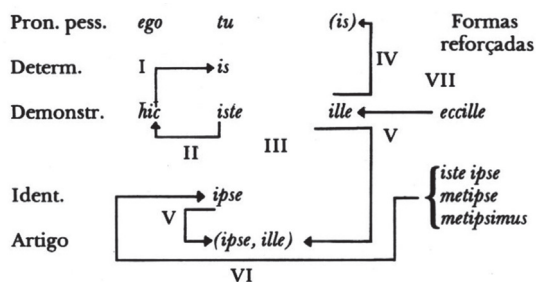
In most of the other cases of pairing with gap, there is a gap precisely in the data of *L* (36 cases), which precludes useful generalizations about the process of change in the demonstrative system from Latin to the Romance languages.

Discussion

Based on the gathered data, it was possible to confirm the hypothesis that the demonstrative systems would have been restructured in the process of language change from Latin to the Romance languages, not just in terms of *forms* but especially in terms of *functions*.

Descriptions of the restructuration process of the demonstratives system in terms of forms have been presented in various works of Romance linguistics and we present here a synthesis. According to Väänänen (1995, p.212-213), the demonstrative system was restructured basically by the following changes: (a) *is* disappeared due to its (formal) brevity, initially taking its place *hic*; (B) *hic* disappeared then, passing to play its function *iste*; (C) *ipse* lost its own value, came into competition with *iste/il*le and took the place of *idem*, occupying in the end the place of *iste* (originally linked to the second person). The widespread use of the demonstratives in substantive and adjectival function led to the loss of its original value and generated two major change processes involving essentially the demonstrative of 3rd person *ille*: the creation of a personal pronoun of the 3rd person, from its use in substantive function, and the creation of the definite article, from its use in adjectival function. Väänänen (1995) also notes that in the language used in conversations the demonstratives *iste* and *ille* were reinforced with the preceding or prefixed particle *ecce* (and *eccum*). Wartburg (1975, p. 138) outlines the restructuring of the demonstratives system as follows:

Figure 2 – Restructuring of the demonstratives system



Source: Wartburg (1975, p.138).

The stages of the restructuring are: I, *hic* takes the place of *is*; II, *iste* extends its scope to the 1st person; III, *ipse* takes the place of the 2nd person (only in parts of Romania); IV, *ille* takes the function of personal pronoun of the 3rd person; V, *ille* or *ipse* (depending on the region) acquires the function of article; VI, new structures are formed for the expression of reinforcement; and VII, a form of reinforcement (*eccille* or *eccuille*) takes the place of demonstrative of 3rd person.

Maurer Jr. (1959), when dealing with demonstratives in Vulgar Latin, draws attention to three important facts:

(a) Preserved demonstratives: of the six demonstratives of Classical Latin (*hic*, *iste*, *ille*, *is*, *ipse* and *idem*), only three would be conserved in Vulgar Latin (*iste*, for 1st person; *ipse* for 2nd; and *ille*, for the 3rd in its reinforced form).

(b) Reinforcement of demonstratives: in Vulgar Latin the demonstratives were often reinforced with *ecce*, *eccu(m)* [*ecce* + (*h*)*un(c)*] or **accu* [*atque* or *atque* + *eccu*].

(c) Vulgar forms and their declination: *ipse* and *ille* followed the declination of *iste*, already reduced to nominative, accusative and genitive-dative.

What descriptions like these (WARTBURG, 1975; MAURER Jr., 1959) do not show is the fact that there were also changes in terms of the recruitment of demonstratives for the expression of certain functions.

As seen in the previous section of data description, the demonstratives would be less frequent in Latin than in Romance languages: this is due, according to what was demonstrated here, to the recruitment of demonstratives to express functions which in Latin were expressed by conjunction (inter-clausal articulator of coordinates and/or adverbial clauses), explanatory phrase (introducer of clarification), present participle (agentive), relative pronoun (inter-clausal articulator of substantive clauses), anaphoric and identity pronoun (anaphora), intensive pronoun (intensiveness) or absence of resource (specification).

It is curious to note that in many cases the change seems to confirm the trend of replacing a synthetic pattern for an analytic one in formation of Romance languages: this applies to the issue of conjunctions (replacement of a conjunctive form by a phrase,

as, for example, in the case of *ut* in Latin by *per ço que* in Catalan), of present participle (replacement of a verbal-nominal form by a phrase as, for example, in case of *volentibus* in Latin by *coloro che uoglion* in Italian), of relative pronouns (for replacement of pronominal form by a phrase, as, for example, in the case of *qui* in Latin by *aquel* in Portuguese) and of intensive pronouns (replacement of pronominal form by a phrase, as, e. g., in case of *ipsi* in Latin by *ellos mesmos* in Spanish). The formal reduction would lead to the disappearance of a form and the speakers would then recruit another structure, more complex, discursively related to the function expressed by the form that has disappeared, to take the place of the latter.

The issue is, however, still more curious, given that, in some cases, such as the present participle and the relative pronoun, there was a historical continuation of these resources, since the present participle still exists in the Romance languages, as a noun form (see *amante* in Portuguese), and also as a relative pronoun (see *quem* in Portuguese, derived from the accusative of *qui* in Latin). Thus, it is not a matter of filling the gaps, since there is also a process of change in the preference of structures to express certain functions: Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese have relative pronoun to initiate subjective clause (respectively *qui*, *quien* and *quem*), but, in the data (Table 11), the preferred form to represent Latin *qui* was the phrase with demonstrative (respectively, *cell/aquell qui*, *aquel que* and *aquele que*). One possible explanation for these preferences would be the principle of isomorphism (a form for a function): a forma as *qui* in Catalan, being homonymous between relative pronoun and interrogative pronoun, would be recruited preferentially to one of these functions (in this case, the interrogative), being recruited to another function (the relative one) the phrase with the demonstrative. Complementary to the principle of isomorphism in this particular case, there would be the need for disambiguation: since *qui* in Catalan, for example, is interrogative and relative, there could be contexts in which it would be difficult to realize which function it would be expressing and this would accentuate a previous trend to separate a form for each function in this case.

To rigorously prove the action of the principle of isomorphism in the selection of demonstratives a much more extensive work will be needed, identifying all the functions that the demonstratives express and their competing forms. The data gathered here have made it clear that the selection of demonstratives is, in most cases, a trend, not a categorical process, which means having to insert, in more extensive analysis, a variationist perspective.

One last point is related to the methodological question of this study: the study of translations has any bias that can determine certain patterns in the data?

A first answer is yes: just check the patterns between *E2* and *P* to verify the fact that the Portuguese translation being derived from the Spanish one is a reason for the similarity in the distribution of the data. As an example, the data in Table 12, where *E1* and *E2* are radically different (although they are the same language, Spanish), but *E2* is fully in line with *C* (*E2* derives from a Catalan model) and with *P*

(*E2* represents a tradition that served as a model to *P*). One must consider, however, that *E1* and *E2* may reflect dialectal differences: *E1* would have been translated by Catalan Father Bernardo Boil (c.1445-c.1520), who even says that his translation is in Aragonese²⁴, while *E2*, having been published in Seville, may reflect the dialect of this other region. In a previous study on *E1* considering five phonological aspects (CAMBRAIA, 2007), however, there was no detection of any proper Aragonese characteristic, only of Spanish in general.

It should be noted, however, that the subordination of one translation to another did not mean absolute obedience to the pattern of the model: see, e. g., in Table 9, that *E2* and *P* use preferably CD as a resource for conjunctive phrases, but not to the same extent, indicating that the translator of *P* was able to detach from his Spanish model, to be, perhaps, more faithful to his own linguistic pattern.

Final considerations

The study carried out here showed that, alongside formal changes in Latin demonstrative system to Romance languages, there was also functional changes, with the increasing recruitment of demonstratives to express functions which, in Latin, were expressed by other resources.

The validation of the hypothesis of the functional changes of demonstratives suggests that, for new studies, one should prioritize the functional aspect in the description of these elements in order to identify not only the functions they express but also the forms that compete with the demonstratives in expressing such functions, opening therefore space for the inclusion of the variationist perspective in the discussion about the history of this word class.

It will also be interesting doing the same study (comparative, empirical and functional) with data of modern Romance languages to evaluate whether there has been a simple continuation of the medieval trends of preference for demonstratives in certain functions or whether these functions would have come to be expressed by new forms.

CAMBRAIA, C.; MELO, T. A. de; VILAÇA, C.; SALTARELLI, T. Demonstrativos na românia medieval: uma análise comparativa em uma perspectiva funcional. . *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.29-59, 2016.

- *RESUMO: Neste trabalho, apresentamos um estudo comparado de demonstrativos na tradução medieval em diferentes línguas (latim, italiano, francês, catalão, espanhol e português) de uma mesma obra (tratado ascético de Isaac de Ninive) em uma perspectiva funcional. Confirmou-se*

²⁴ “Pedistes me senyor en los días passados: el nuestro Abbat ysach el qual yo por su maravillosa doctrina: y ensenyança / a ruego delos padres / y hermanos desta nuestra montanya en el comienço de mi conuersion de latino hauia fecho *Aragones* / o si mas querres *Castellano*. no daquel mas apurado stilo dela corte. mas daquel llano que ala profession nuestra segun la gente / y tierra donde moramos paraque le entiendan satisfaze.” (f. Aij-v, l. 1-12; italic added).

a hipótese de que os sistemas de demonstrativos se reestruturaram, no processo de mudanças linguísticas do latim às línguas românicas, não apenas em termos de formas, mas, sobretudo, em termos de funções: os demonstrativos passaram a exercer funções que, no latim, eram expressas por conjunção, locução explicativa, particípio presente, pronomerelativo, pronome anafórico e de identidade, pronome intensivo e mesmo por ausência de recurso formal. Por fim, verificou-se que o contexto em que houve maior retenção do uso de demonstrativos foi o de expressão de contraste imediato.

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Linguística histórica. Linguística românica. Funcionalismo. Demonstrativos. Latim. Línguas românicas.*

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A MICROANALYSIS OF *RIO GRANDE DO NORTE OFFICIAL LETTERS*

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- **ABSTRACT:** Between variation and change, as we know, not only language, but also the texts, with their structures, undergo changes over time. This article aims to analyze textual changes observed in letters of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. These documents are part of the *corpus* called “Rio Grande do Norte official letters” connected to the regional project History of Brazilian Portuguese in Rio Grande do Norte (PHPB-RN) and the national one: History of Brazilian Portuguese (PHPB). We perform a micro-analysis of these letters, built upon the ideas of Coseriu and on the studies about discursive traditions (KOCH, 1997; KABATEK, 2006), according to which, texts are shaped to follow their own tradition (COSERIU, 2007). Firstly, we focus on the “letter” genre and its macro-structure; and afterwards, on the micro-structure *clausula* (valediction). This analysis shows some processes of variation and change which these official letters underwent, as well as how textual dynamics can indicate social change.
- **KEYWORDS:** Variation and change. Discursive traditions. Rio Grande do Norte official letters. Diachronic corpus.

Introduction

Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades,
Muda-se o ser, muda-se a confiança;
Todo o mundo é composto de mudança,
Tomando sempre novas qualidades.
[...]
(CAMÕES, 2001, p.127)

We begin our study with a fragment of Camoens’sonnet. The word “change” (“mudam-se”, “muda-se”, “mudança”), with different meanings in the Camonian text,

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seems to be a very interesting term for us to outline an essay that intends to point out the linguistic features of handwritten texts from another time – precisely from the first half of the 18th Century to the first one of the 20th – besides presenting the material available to the researchers whose studies are concentrated in the domain of Diachronic Studies. The texts referred to are part of the regional project History of Brazilian Portuguese in Rio Grande do Norte (História do Português Brasileiro no Rio Grande do Norte – PHPB-RN). We offer the reader a micro-analysis derived from a larger work developed more in depth by Melo (2012). We also follow another major national project, Towards the History of Brazilian Portuguese (Para a História do Português Brasileiro – PHPB), coordinated at present by Ataliba de Castilho, from the University of São Paulo (Universidade de São Paulo – USP). The two projects were joined together due to the main goals of each one: establishing a minimum common *corpus* that could be useful for linguistic research elaborated in Rio Grande do Norte (state in Northeast Brazil) as much as for the construction of a national database (formed by data from each region in Brazil).

Therefore, we created a *corpus* to represent the material based on which we would carry out the studies about the process of tradition-innovation, which is especially noticeable from a diachronic point of view, i.e. in the history of the language.

The arrival of a new movement of Diachronic Studies in Brazil took place in the 1980s and more intensively in the mid-1990s, its most important event possibly being the foundation of PHPB. The project originally covered states from the South and the Southeast – as well as Bahia, with its own tradition of very productive studies on Diachrony – and these have since been the ones that have supported the project the most. As Castilho wisely puts it, we are still far from achieving a whole history of Brazilian Portuguese, because “[...] it seems more feasible for researchers to consecrate themselves to diachronic knowledge of its regional varieties and, in a second moment, to get a global view [...]”¹ (CASTILHO, 1998, p.15). Therefore, we trust that by means of the challenge to which we have put ourselves – namely, to select and transcribe the official letters from Rio Grande do Norte – we can somehow contribute to writing some of the regional history of Brazilian Portuguese.

The PHPB decided to put together a database, discriminated according to two types of *corpora* that are common to all teams affiliated to the PHPB project: the “minimum common *corpus* – manuscripts” and the “minimum common *corpus* – print”. To the first group belong the following “clusters” of texts: 1) wills ; 2) criminal cases; 3) council minutes; 4) private letters; 5) private administration letters; 6) official letters. In the second group are: 1) letters from editors / editorials; 2) letters from readers; 3) advertisements. Besides these two *corpora*, there is still a common differential *corpus*, “to be used depending on regional availability and the subject”² (CASTILHO, 2010, p.8),

¹ In the original: “[...] parece mais factível consagrar-se ao conhecimento diacrônico das variedades regionais do português brasileiro para, num segundo momento, obter-se a visão do conjunto [...]”. (CASTILHO, 1998, p.15).

² “a ser usado dependendo da disponibilidade regional e do tema”. (CASTILHO, 2010, p.8).

which may comprise: 1) inventories; 2) memoirs / historical reports and travel journals; 3) interludes and other drama; 4) oral inquiries (NURC) (HORA; SILVA, 2010).

Our research deals with one of the segments of the minimum common *corpus* – the “manuscripts”, the official letters, and goes through the time frame specified by PHPB, ranging from the 18th to the 20th century, each analyzed in its first and second halves separately. We were guided by the demands of PHPB, aiming at obtaining 5,000 words for each half-century, from the first half of the 18th century until the second half of the 20th. However, since we have only found typed texts from the second half of the 20th century and we had limited ourselves to manuscripts only, we decided to abandon the 1951-2000 texts. Our new time frame thus encompasses the first half of the 18th up to the first half of the 20th, totalling five sets of 50 years and at least 25,000 words.

The *corpus* is composed of official letters, a textual category³, so named because it consists of several genres, each one with its own functionality and structure: administrative letter (“ofício”), letter (“carta”), letter of registration (“carta de registro”), royal charter (“carta régia”), warning (“aviso”), application (“requerimento”), certificate (“certificado”), consultation (“consulta”) and provision (“provisão”).

Once the letters were described, transcribed and edited, we carried a central search: describing, investigating and analyzing the macro-structure of genres and micro-structures such as “formulaic expressions” both synchronically and diachronically, since we would operate in the temporal thread that generates the dynamics between maintenance (tradition), variation and change. The latter (change) is reflected on the temporal course of official letters and also reveals changes in the social conjuncture of Brazil, significantly perceived in formulaic expressions.

On the constitution of official letters of Rio Grande do Norte

Once the doors are open to working with texts from past synchronies in order to constitute a single *corpus*, the first step to be taken is to find sources from which to get the data to be selected. When browsing through texts from the public administration, the sources are supposed to be the public organs such as chambers, institutes etc. Therefore, the first repository was the Historical and Geographical Institute of Rio Grande do Norte (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte – IHGRN), one of the most important collections of historical documents in the State, where we

³ We discriminate “genres” and “textual categories” because there are some PHPB demands that are not configured as genre, as “private administration letters” and “official letters”, the latter concerning the letters that circulated in public administration. Unlike other requests - such as wills, criminal cases, letters from readers and inventories - which are traditionally classified as genres, we consider “private administration letters” and “official letters” textual categories, once these designations act as “umbrella terms”, for the reason that each represents not one, but a certain set of genres. Under the first term, for example, there can be the circular genre (“circular”) or the memorandum (“memorando”), while in the second textual category we can find an administrative letter (“ofício”) and a letter (“carta”). (MARCUSCHI, 2008, p.158; COSTA, 2009, p.27).

began our search, concentrated initially on the 19th century. But resorting to more data became necessary. We discriminate, below, the material that makes up the *corpus* and the means used to obtain them:

- a) Texts from the 18th century were transcribed from the photographs of some manuscripts relating to the Captaincy of Rio Grande found in the Overseas Archives of Lisbon (Arquivo Ultramarino de Lisboa) documents, catalogued by Lopes (2000), professor at the UFRN (University of Rio Grande do Norte) History Department, as part of the Barão do Rio Branco Project.
- b) Texts from the 19th century: again we use the *corpus* organized by Lopes (2000). The other texts, both from the first half as well as all from the second were administrative letters (*ofícios*) located in the IHGRN, preserved in eight filing boxes, each one with sub-folders organized by date. The oldest administrative letter of our *corpus* dates from 1812, and the latest 1889. These documents had not been photographed, as those from the 18th century. Consequently, field work was needed in order to view the collection, select the letters and photograph them so as to do the proper transcription.
- c) Texts from the 20th century: transcribed from documents photographed in the Administration Department of the Municipal Archives of Currais Novos, during a field trip made by the PHPB-RN team to the city.

Initially, we selected documents and subsequently transcribed them. In the case of texts from the IHGRN, we photographed more letters than required, so we had to make choices. As for the letters from the 18th and 20th centuries, we had access to a large amount of data already photographed, so our task was only to select them according to criteria of readability.

The official letters, once edited, totalled 107 documents. Each letter is represented by C next to its number, ranging from C1, the first letter from the eighteenth century, dated 1713; to C107, the last letter from the first half of the twentieth century, dated 1931. Each half century is symbolized by the century in Roman numerals followed by a period and either the number 1, indicating the first half of the century, or 2, indicating the second half. The letters are thus distributed as follows:

- XVIII.1⁴ – 19 letters, from C1 to C19 ;
- XVIII.2 – 15 letters, from C20 to C34;
- XIX.1 – 23 letters, from C35 to C57;
- XIX.2 – 29 letters, from C58 to C86;
- XX.1 – 21 letters, from C87 to C107.

⁴ We thank professor Carmen Alveal, from the UFRN Department of History, and her research team for having given us a transcript of nearly 2,000 words to our *corpus* from the first half of the 18th century.

For the transcription, we followed the standards proposed by the PHPB. The transcription model is available in Mattos e Silva (2001) and is entitled “Standards for transcription of handwritten documents to the history of Brazilian Portuguese”⁵. In 2010, they were passed on to all regional project teams, among which to the PHPB-RN branch, with some updates, entitled “Standards transcription of manuscripts and printed documents”. The model offers guidelines towards a semi-diplomatic editing of documents, which Spina (1977, p.79) also called interpretive-diplomatic, since

[...] it goes further in the interpretation of the original, as it already represents an attempt to improve the text, with the division of words, the development of abbreviations (bringing the letters, which do not appear in the original, bracketed) and sometimes even punctuating it⁶.

In the case of the criteria proposed by the PHPB, there is no inclusion of punctuation and words that are joined by linguistic reasons, such as the clitic nature of some of the terms. However, those joined due to the unique morphology of the manuscript letters (because of their usually elongated lines, they reach the next word by their ornaments) must be separated. The transcription of the *corpus* was an exercise of significant importance, especially because, by opening a sort of Pandora’s box, we could discover manuscripts, corroded by dust and by the time that shed light on the roads that language and texts travelled from the 18th to the 20th century.

An analytical microfilm

The main activity which allowed us to profile the official letters of Rio Grande do Norte, regardless of the route taken for their description, was a careful reading of each of them. During this inevitable and fundamental task, we enhanced our perception to understand the letters through two different means: that of the genre (a more generalized viewpoint, because first we had to perceive the genres, and, to a further extent, on a deeper internal level, the macro-structure of those genres), and that of the micro-structures, especially in terms of formulaic expressions. Both, genres with their macro-structures, as well as the micro-structural level, were seen as discursive traditions (henceforth to be named “DT”), and therefore a brief presentation of this theoretical model is necessary before moving on to the analytical microfilm.

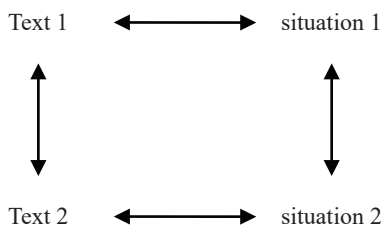
⁵ Mattos e Silva (2001) reports that the criteria were set up in the II Encontro Nacional de Normatização Paleográfica e de Ensino de Paleografia, event that took place in São Paulo on September 16th and 17th of 1993, becoming effective those principle from then. Those criteria can also be found in Berwanger and Leal (2008).

⁶ “[...] vai mais longe na interpretação do original, pois já representa uma tentativa de melhoramento do texto, com a divisão das palavras, o desdobramento das abreviaturas (trazendo as letras, que não figuram no original, colocadas entre parênteses) e às vezes até com pontuação.” Spina (1977, p.79).

The discursive traditions

To Kabatek (2006), the defining feature of DT is the repetition. However, not every repetition is configured as DT, because a DT must possess sign value, i.e. it must represent something that is external to itself, symbolizing it. To develop the notion of repetition, Kabatek (2006) elicits that of evocation, taken from Coseriu (1977). A DT is repeated when it is evoked by the same discourse constellation, according to the following schema (KABATEK, 2006, p.511):

Figure 1 – Kabatek’s schema for the **evocation**



Source: (KABATEK, 2006, p.511).

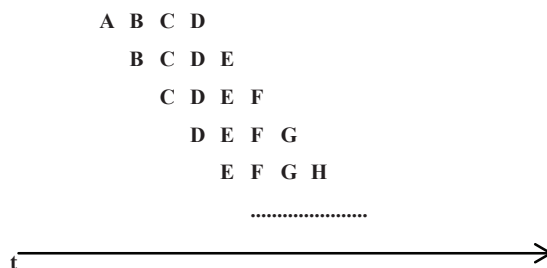
We see, in the schema, that a situation 1 (which is the discursive constellation) evokes the production of a text 1. Using Kabatek’s example (2006, p.511), the situation of an encounter on the street evokes a greeting (the text that is a DT). Every time this discursive constellation occurs again, that is, when this constellation updates itself in another historical moment (a position 2, 3, 4 ...), the same DT will be evoked. We consider important to note that, from the point of view of representation, both conditions (1 and 2) as much as both texts (1 and 2) must be considered the same. They are, however, from the viewpoint of realization, different, since each situation will occur in a chronotopia (that is to say, an inseparable junction of time and space, for that reason, unique and unrepeatable) and each text will be enunciated in that chronotopia. That is why it seems better or clearer to us the use of the term “update” than of “repetition”.

Probably the concept of DT most often referred to in Brazil is that of Kabatek. The author defines the DT as “[...] the repetition of a word or a textual form or a particular way to write or speak that acquires its own sign value”⁷ (KABATEK, 2006, p.512). This shows the broad domain of the DT studies: from a speech act (of a question, for example), through a genre (e.g., an application) to a more abstract level, as the style (e.g., the affectionate style).

⁷ “a repetição de um texto ou de uma forma textual ou de uma maneira particular de escrever ou falar que adquire valor de signo próprio”. (KABATEK, 2006, p.512).

Following Koch’s ideas (1997, p.17), it is important to note that DTs are part of cultural traditions and, consequently, never grow out of nothing – “*never arise ex nihilo*” – and are always in a dynamic relation between conservatism and innovation. Below we show a representative plan that Koch, quoting from Strube (1989 apud KOCH, 1997, p.16), uses to comment on these other attributes of DT:

Figure 2 – Strube’s diachronic identity schema, revisited by Koch



Source: Strube (1989 apud KOCH, 1997, p.16).

The schema shows that the ABCD tradition bequeathed three of its traits to the next one, BCD. That is, BCDE underwent a process of innovation, bringing a new unknown element from its earlier tradition, E, but kept other three that reveal its conservatism. With the passage of time (t), we arrive at an EFGH tradition that, after several successive innovations, preserves not a single element that was found in its original tradition, ABCD. We realize, apart from that, the traditions were not born from nothing, but always came from a previous one. In the case of the first expression, if it did not come from another discursive tradition, it emerged certainly from some pre-existent cultural tradition.

Criteria for the identification of genres and their macro-structures

In order to operate the identification of genres that shape the official letters, we elected – from the three dimensions identified by Bakhtin (2010, p.261-262), by which the genre reflects its purpose (“the thematic content, style and compositional construction”⁹) – the compositional construction, i.e., an inner macro-structural organization. We added another criterion to this formal one, which is its communicative function/intention, usually taken as a definitive principle to distinguish one genre from another.

⁸ “*nunca surgem ex nihilo*”. Koch (1997, p.17).

⁹ “o conteúdo temático, o estilo e a construção composicional” (BAKHTIN, 2010, p.261-262).

In this sense, we matched communicative intention and structure, attributing to them extra-linguistic features, namely, the nature of the sender and the addressee, and on a secondary level, the relationship established between them. This was done also because we decided to preserve certain limits which are presupposed in the field of textual genres and Diplomats. In practical terms, the effects of such a choice can be explained in the following situation. Basically, the letter genre, the administrative letter (*ofício*) and royal charter have the same communicative intention, which is to obtain facts – in the case of our official letters, facts relating to Rio Grande do Norte – that need to be known to the public administration. Their functional specificities (ordering, sending, asking, etc.) notwithstanding, possibly there was that common denominator. However, the fact of being addressed to the king, being written between members of the government other than the royal authority and being sent by the king, is what makes these documents what they are, respectively: letter, administrative letter (*ofício*) and royal charter.

Despite the fact that there is no record of the term “royal charter” (“*carta régia*”) in any document from our *corpus*, and, instead, an expression akin to “letter of His Majesty” is always used, we wanted to keep the distinctive label of “royal charter” as determining a category in Diplomats (BELLOTO, 2002, p.54), and even to follow a symmetry in discriminating letters, in line with the distinction “letter” and “administrative letter (*ofício*)”: nature of the sender and/or addressee.

As for the structure, we were based on the study of the form made in Diplomats, a science which has as its object “the formal structure of the document” (BELLOTO, 2002, p.18) and presents, thus, among other functions, the function of classifying “[...] classes or documentary groups, based on the relationship of producer and external and internal structures of the document [...]”¹⁰ (BERWANGER; LEAL, 2008, p. 27).

As for the macro-structure of the official texts, Spina (1977, p.53) summarizes it as two parts that intrinsically organize a document: an internal one, called “text” that “constitutes the body of the document and contains the fact registered”; and an exterior part, the “protocol”, formed by an exordium (opening), also called “protocol”, and a peroration (conclusion), the “eschatocol”. Belloto (2002) introduces the same idea, systematized, however, in a three-part classification: the initial protocol or just “protocol” (Spina’s (1977) “exordium”), the text, and the “eschatocol” or final protocol (Spina’s (1977) peroration). For the analysis of macro-structures of the genres of our official letters, we chose the word “protocol” for this pre-textual section; “Text” to the main part of the document; and “eschatocol” for the post-textual fragment.

¹⁰ “[...] classes ou grupos documentais, baseada na relação da entidade produtora e estruturas externa e interna do documento [...]” (BERWANGER; LEAL, 2008, p. 27).

Each of these parts has a number of components. In a complete model there would be *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, *inscriptio* and *salutatio* in the protocol; *prologus* or *exordium*, *notificatio* or *promulgatio*, *narratio*, *dispositio*, *sanctio* or *minatio* and *valoratio* or *corroboratio* in the text section; and *subscriptio*, *datatio* and *apprecatio* in the “eschatocol”¹¹. Not all these components appear in official letters of Rio Grande do Norte and do not include the “valediction” which we will also name in Latin as *clausula*. It is important to remember that, for better visualization, tables were created in Melo (2012), that record all possibilities of realization of each of these three analytical partitions of the document, as Spina called (1977). Below, we reproduce one of these tables (Table 1), where the possibilities of arrangement of one of the parts of the official letters in study, the protocol, are registered, without taking into account the nature of *inscriptio* and *subscriptio* or the order in which they have their elements:

Table 1 – Kinds of protocols in the *official letters*

Inscriptio	C 1, C 3, C 5, C 16, C 22, C 9, C 10, C 20, C 24, C 15, C 11, C 13, C 19, C 26, C 31, C 33, C 34, C36, C45, C 46, C 47, C 48, C 49, C 50, C 51, C 52, C 53, C 55, C 56, C 57, C 58, C 59, C 60, C 61, C 62, C 63, C 65, C 66, C 76, C 81, C 88, C 89, C 90, C 91
datatio + subscriptio	C 2, C 4, C 6, C 12, C 13
subscriptio + intitulatio	C 7, C 21, C 29
inscriptio + subscriptio + intitulatio	C 17, C 18, C 27, C 28 (we could not find the <i>inscriptio</i>), C 30
inscriptio + salutatio	C 23, C 32
inscriptio + subscriptio	C 25, C 54, C 74, C87
Intitulatio	C 35
<i>datatio + inscriptio</i>	C 64, C 67, C 69, C 70, C 71, C 72, C 73, C 75, C 80, C 83, C 85, C 92, C 93, C 94, C 95, C 96, C 97, C 98, C 99, C 100, C 101, C 102, C 103, C 104C, 106, C 107
<i>Datatio</i>	C 68, C 77, C 78, C 79, C 82, C 84, C 86

Source: Melo (2012, p. 226).

¹¹ We are based on the ordering of Belloto (2002) and we preferred, for stylistic reasons, the Latin terms used by the author rather than the vernacular ones. Spina (1977, p.55) names these components solely in Portuguese and differs only in grouping *narratio* and *dispositio* as one single section, not forgetting to warn, however, that the narrative part “may often be missing”. Each of these terms and their semantic specificity are widely exploited in Melo (2012).

Analytical sampling

The case of the “letter”

The tradition of the letter is formally very similar to that of the administrative letter (*ofício*), but it is evoked by another discursive constellation, which is the need to communicate to the King any matter relating to public administration, and therefore they all have as *inscriptio* only the appellation “Senhor”. Such an appellation, as stated by Fonseca (2003), is addressed exclusively to the royal authority. Due to the fixity of its address, the King, it is always an official letter directed upwards, that is to say, written by someone hierarchically inferior to the person to whom the document is addressed. The letter is responsible for 9.3% of the *corpus*¹² and, like the administrative letter (*ofício*), it presents a plurality of communicative functions represented, in the documents in question, by communicating any subject (C1), committing to the fulfillment of any royal order (C3), submitting a document (C5), arguing in the defense of someone and proposing an attitude (C15), and requesting (C16). Thus, their common denominator lies in socio-functional elements: the context of production and the nature of the person to whom the document is addressed.

The macro-structure present in 90% of letters (9 out of 10 letters) is illustrated below by the C3 model.

MODEL

Protocol (*inscriptio*) - Text (*narratio + dispositio*) – Eschatocol (*clausula + datatio + subscriptio*).

¹² “Official letters” is the general term we borrowed from Fonseca’s work (2003) to describe our *corpus*, consisting of nine textual genres, namely: 10 letters (9.3% of the *corpus*), one royal charter (0.9 %), 2 certificates (“*certificado*”) (1.8 %), 3 consultations (3.8%), 5 letters of registration (4.6%), 9 applications (“*requerimento*”) (8.4%), 1 provision (“*provisão*”) (0.9 %), 75 administrative letters (“*ofício*”) (70 %) and 1 warning (“*aviso*”) (0.9 %). In this analytical sampling, “The case of the letter”, we treat that particular genre (quite similar to the royal charter and administrative letter [“*ofício*”] from the viewpoint of its structural organization, but different, however, because of the role of its partners: the royal charter is drawn up by the king, the letter is addressed to the king and the “*ofício*” does not involve the king as addresser nor addressee).

Chart 1 – Macrostructure of the genre “letter”, illustrated by the C3 model

Extra -textual element, written on the upper left margin.	<Para por vista segue. 8 de Mayo de 1713. [<i>inint.</i>]> ¹
ESCHATOCOL (1) <i>Inscriptio</i>	(1) Senhor
TEXT (2) <i>Narratio</i>	(2) V. Magestade foi servido ordenarme em carta de 9 de Fevereiro deste Anno, por queixa que fizeram a VMagestade os oficiais da camara da Villa do Principe, que os Capitans mores desta Cappitania costumavaõ dar de seismarias os Re- gongos, sendo estes do uzo commundospo vos, e VMagestade me ordena naõ dê terras de sismaria sem nova hordem de VMagestade,
(3) <i>Dispositio</i>	(3) eu asnaõ tenho dado tocante aos Regongos athe o prezente e fiquo adevirtido para asnaõ dar,
ESCHATOCOL (4) Fecho	(4) A Real Pesoa de VMagestade Guarde Deos como todos seus vassallos avemos mister.
(5) <i>Datatio</i>	(5) Cidade do Natal 3 de Agosto de 1713.
(6) <i>Subscriptio</i>	(6) Salvador Alvares da Silva

Fonte: Melo (2012, p. 129-30).¹³

The other letter C15 (the remaining 10%), diverges from this model because it presents, in the text section, a *prologus* before the *narratio*, and its *datatio* is composed only by the topical date. Unlike the most common models of the administrative letter (“ofício”), the letter does not reveal a *inscriptio* in *eschatocol*, certainly because of the important character of the King, who is one and unique. Neither *Manual* (BRAZIL, 2002) or Medeiros (2006) point out the letter as a genre of official writing anymore. Medeiros (2006) defines it only by the terms found in Brazilian dictionaries, that is to say, this species is starting to be generally conceptualized, losing thereby the particularity it had in the 18th century, the only period when it occurs in the *corpus*.

¹³ The angles indicate insertions by another hand. In this case of C3, that insertion was written in the upper left margin of the document. This convention, like all other notations used throughout this work, is according to the rules of transcription mentioned above (MATTOS E SILVA, 2001).

Criteria for identification of micro-structures such as “textual formulae”

For the analysis of textual formulae - which are the micro-structures dealt with by Melo (2012) -, we departed from the same starting point of the study of textual genres: the reading of the texts. As we were reading them, we charted the textual components that seemed to possess characteristics of a new sign, that is, expressions that received a new stratum over the “one signifier - one meaning” denotative layer, a significant meaning to a new layer in which the signifier started to gain a new meaning; in other words, we listed the possible DTs. The following examples illustrate the procedure: in the first of the letters that were read, C1, an expression appeared, shortly after the *inscriptio*: “Foi VMagestade servido ordenarme por carta | de coatro de fevereiro deste anno, de [inint.] a rezão | que tinha”; and in C77, starting the *narratio*, there is “Inteirado pelo officio de V. Ex.^a de | hoje datado”. Both the expressions “Foi VMagestade servido ordenarme” and “Inteirado pelo officio de V. Ex.^a de | hoje datado” looked like possible DTs to us. In the first case, we thought of a possible textual tradition evoked as a mention of the King’s prior order starting the *narratio* and, in the second case, as a strategy to start the *narratio* with a participle, from which the information of *dispositio* derives.

To some of these achievements, as we were reading the *corpus*, other forms were gathered, identical, similar or different, but responsible for the expression of a particular meaning (evoked by the same discursive constellation, according to the terms of the DT). This happened with the expression “Foi VMagestade servido ordenarme”, which reappears in the same way in C5; and by the “V. Magestade foi servido ordenarme” and “foy V. Magestade servido determi= | nar” in C3 and C19 respectively. Some impressions, however, were not matched to others from our official letters and were therefore excluded from the chart, such as the use of the participle of C77. We also counted as DTs only the elements that were repeated (i.e., which appeared in more than one letter), for they were the only ones allowed – empirically (not speculative) and based on an examination limited to our *corpus* (without resorting to other texts to check the likelihood of repetition by the evocation of the same discursive constellation) – to prove the value of a new sign.

The case of *clausula*

One of the most recurrent formulaic expressions in the letters is represented by the notation “Deus guarde (muitos anos) + nome do beneficiário (+ ‘para amparo dos vassallos’ or a similar idea, in some letters from the 18th century)”. It is evoked by the opening of the final protocol of the letters and acts as *clausula*. This pattern occurs in 57 (65.5%) of 87 letters that have *clausula* or 53.2% of the total of the official letters. The update of that fixed expression changes with the passage of time. The first time it occurs is in C1 as “A Real Pessoae | VMagestade guarde Deos como todos seus

vassallos avemos mister”, which is updated in C3 by the recurrence of the exact same construction. The arrangement of the elements of this DT varies, sometimes the verb coming before, as in “Guarde Deos aVMagestade | muitos annos”, in C5, or by adding vows to God’s care, as in C15: “Deus a VMagestade guarde pormuitos efelises | annos, para bem, econsolação de seus vassa- | los fieis”.

In these instances, as noted, they are “letters” because they are being sent to the King. That same DT, however, is also actualized in administrative letters (“ofícios”), for which the DT works almost as a badge throughout the 19th century. It still appears as *clausula* in the only warning (“aviso”) of the *corpus*, always evoked by the discursive constellation of completion, marked diplomatically by the “eschatocol” section. The almost Baroque strategies of the first occurrences will give way to simpler variants, up to culminating in the laconic “Deus guarde aVossa Excelência”, the variant most often actualized the DT in question, representing 43 of the 57 appearances (75.4%). This formula that had already been performed by four elements - “Deus Guarde”, as element A; “muitos anos”, B; the name of the benefitted person, C; and “para amparo dos vassalos” or a similar expression as D – generating therefore an ABCD discursive tradition – it is actualized throughout the 19th century as concisely as AC.

There is yet another strategy, in the 18th century, that can act as *clausula*, expressed by the notation “reference to God + verb + benefitted person recipient of divine grace + good wishes + for subject’s and, in particular, sender’s protection”. It shows in the *disposition* of C32, as “o alticimo comceda aV. Ex.^a e juntamente acom | panhada de todas as felicidades dignas de sua | bem conhecida ver tude p.^a meu emparo e detodos | os que vivem debaixo da portecam deV. Ex.^a”, with the *clausula* filled by “aVEx.^a q’ Deus guarde muitos annos”. The letter C26, however, does not require this valediction, so that we can understand “DEUS comceda a V.Ex.^a aquelas felecidades que todos | os seus humildes subditos lhedesejaõ, e[cu] muito emparticular p.^a meu amparo” as a new closing strategy, especially for its location, the typical place of this introductory of eschatocol component: at the end of the letter, immediately before *datatio*.

Hence we see how even inside a synchronic stage a discursive constellation can evoke different DTs or, to be more exact, DT of different expressions, formally different, but functionally equivalent; and how the same expression can accumulate signifying layers in a given text, representing a DT, as it happens in C26, or be merely an expression of its denotative sense, as in C32.

Mainly from XX.1 (the first half of 20th century), the same discursive constellation that evoked “Deus guarde a” and its variants, besides of “DEUS comceda a V.Ex.^a aquelas felicidades [...]” in C26, begins to evoke other DTs. One of them is the textual formula “Saúde e Fraternidade”, representing 5.7% of the *clausulae* of official letters and 4.6% of the total of these letters; the other is noted by “(modifier+) + the expression ‘saudauções’”, recurrent in 18.3% of *clausulae* and present in 14.9% of the *corpus*. With these new DT all other elements disappear, AC, and there are new features, conforming a new DT: an E, “Saúde e Fraternidade”, representing a DT; an F, the possibility of

a modifier prefixing “Saudações”, and G, “Saudações”, resulting, for example, in a tradition of the FG sort, like “Cordeaes saudações” in C88, or just G, “Saudações”, in C89. This no longer reveals the dynamic variation through which the DT goes, but the process of change.

Discussing the *clausulae*, the Manual de Redação da Presidência da República (style handbook of the Presidency) (BRAZIL, 2002, p.11, emphasis added) narrates and recommends:

The closing of the official communication has, besides the obvious purpose of ending the text, to welcome the addressee. The models for closure that had been used were regulated by Ordinance No. 1 of the Ministry of Justice, 1937, which established fifteen standards. Aimed at simplifying and standardizing them, this book establishes the employment of only two different closures of official communication:

a) to higher authorities, including the President of the Republic:

Respeitosamente (Respectfully),

b) to authorities of the same hierarchy or lower hierarchy:

Atenciosamente (Sincerely).¹⁴

Two considerations can be drawn from that excerpt. The first concerns a fortunate find in the last letters of the *corpus*. We relied on chance, because our *corpus* was randomly composed from the point of view of its content, since it was readability that conducted the selection of documents. For the DT we represented as “(modifier+) the expression ‘Saudações’”, emerged as the *clausula* of C102, the form “Respeitosas saudações” and occasionally of C107, the official letter that finishes our *corpus*, updates the same DT by the formula “Atenciosas saudações”. It is inevitable to compare these two *clausulae* appearing in 1930 and 1931, respectively, with the recommended valedictions “Respeitosamente” and “Atenciosamente” established by the Style Handbook of the Presidency. The element F, as we claim above, i.e. the possibility of a modifier prefixing “Saudações”, can be seen as a source-feature, from which the present famous and familiar “respeitosamente” e “atenciosamente” emanated. We could even suppose the process of this change: “cordial” and “atenciosas” lost their dependence as adjectival satellites of the *clausula*, acquired adverbial status on a certain moment in the 20th century and became an autonomous fixed formula, emancipated, in official letters until it was valued in a specific Brazilian social-political situation, as the ideal forms to fill out the closing component in the letters of public administration.

¹⁴ O fecho das comunicações oficiais possui, além da finalidade óbvia de arrematar o texto, a de saudar o destinatário. Os modelos para fecho que vinham sendo utilizados foram regulados pela Portaria nº 1 do Ministério da Justiça, de 1937, que estabelecia quinze padrões. Com o fito de simplificá-los e uniformizá-los, este Manual estabelece o emprego de somente dois fechos diferentes de comunicação oficial: a) para autoridades superiores, inclusive o Presidente da República: Respeitosamente, b) para autoridades de mesma hierarquia ou de hierarquia inferior: Atenciosamente.

The second consideration concerns society and it is an overview of all the other *clausula*. We have observed that the change from the DT “Deus guarde a” to “saudações” or “saúde e fraternidade” has a parallel development with the history of Brazil, even if strictly referential. This change happens in the *corpus* for the first time in C84, in 1891, with “Saúde e Fraternidade”. These are the first official letters after 1889, since its antecessor, C83, dates from 1887. This means such a change occurs immediately after the proclamation of the Republic, when a secular state is imposed, to the detriment of the monarchy, a form of government which had affinities with Catholicism in across Europe and therefore with Portugal, from which Brazil inherits it. And the reduction of possibilities suggested (by the Style Handbook of the Presidency) harmonizes with an increasingly objective and impartial culture, especially, at least in theory, on a governmental level. These changes let us see another facet of DT, which relates to its connection with cultural traditions. According to Koch (1997), the discursive traditions are never born *ex nihilo*, always arising from another DT or from a cultural tradition. In this case, we have a new DT, “Saudações” and “Saúde e Fraternidade”, that derived not only from a discursive constellation of a textual nature, namely the need for a *clausula* introducing the eschatocol, but also from new social and political traditions that had been emerging in Brazil.

Other changes in traditional ways of writing letters in the public administration, in that sense are evidenced by the abolition of certain expressions in official letters today, like the expressions “cumpre-me”, actualized in 9.3% of the letters, or “tenho a honra de”, written in 8.4% of them. Both forms are evoked to introduce *dispositio*, just after the *prologus*, if it occurs. These expressions represent one of the diplomatic components, *notificatio* or *promulgatio*, which were obliterated in the analytic partition we proceed to. The Presidency’s Handbook, on those terms, state the following: “Avoid the use of: ‘Tenho a honra de’, ‘Tenho o prazer de’, ‘Cumpre-me informar que’, use the direct form” (BRAZIL, 2002, p.12).

Final considerations

Look in thy glass, and tell the face thou viewest,
Now is the time that face should form another;
[...]
(SHAKESPEARE, 1970, p.1043).

At the end of our presentation, we believe we have elicited the dynamic interaction between tradition and innovation, verified by studying the preservations-variations-changes that some genres and some formulaic expressions, the sort of DT that integrates letters, went through in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

We see in the texts (genres) and in their textual forms (the micro-structures, especially the formulaic expressions), or better yet, we see in the DTs that make up

the official letters of Rio Grande do Norte, we see them as their common denominator, because these DTs weave a large network of structural, formal possibilities, whose achievements, repeated over time, end up functioning as a defining characteristic of the letters. The existence – although, in some cases, potential, given, for example, the formulae do not appear in all genres – of letters, administrative letters (“ofícios”), *clausulae* such as “Deus salve a” or “Saudações” and other structures, all this represents linguistic criteria, textual criteria, which, along with extra-linguistic criteria, allow for the categorization of such heterogeneous texts under a single term: “official letters”. Moreover, by this reasoning we find it less risky to think about a form of bureaucratic language or, more accurately speaking, a virtual set of forms of bureaucratic language.

The textual changes may reflect or allow us to see changes which society goes through. If this was evident in the change of valediction from “Deus guarde a” to “Saúde e Fraternidade” in the documents of our post-Proclamation of the Republic *corpus*, we suspect that perhaps changes beyond the lexical level, such as those in the macro-structure of genres, might also reveal, under closer scrutiny, that social influence.

Our analyses and the constitution of our *corpus* - now belonging to the PHPB -RN - can contribute to the study of a category (official documents) about which Silveira (2007) says studies are almost inexistent. The author states that “[...] this kind of written production has been marginalized both in primary school and in university” (SILVEIRA, 2007, p. 1) and only mentions two academic papers dealing with administrative genres, one of which, she claims, does not exactly deal with these genres, but only discusses the “bureaucratic lingo”. So our work, with its textual character and from a diachronic perspective, contributes to this not-so-prolific investigative field, namely, the study of bureaucratic texts, more precisely the ones from public administration. We therefore hope that our study may serve in some way to usher forthcoming research.

MELO, F. LIMA, M. Uma microanálise de Cartas Oficiais Norte Rio Grandenses. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.61-78, 2016.

- *RESUMO: Entre variação e mudança, como sabemos, não só as línguas, mas os textos, com suas estruturas, também sofrem mudanças ao longo do tempo. Este artigo tem como objetivo analisar mudanças textuais observadas em cartas dos séculos XVIII, XIX e XX. Esses documentos integram o corpus denominado cartas oficiais norte-rio-grandenses, ligado ao projeto regional História do Português Brasileiro no Rio Grande do Norte (PHPB-RN) e ao projeto nacional Para a História do Português Brasileiro – PHPB. Realizamos uma microanálise sobre essas cartas, partindo das ideias de base coseriana advindas dos estudos sobre as Tradições Discursivas (KOCH, 1997; KABATEK, 2006), dentre as quais a de que os textos se configuram de modo a seguirem suas próprias tradições (COSERIU, 2007). Após uma breve incursão sobre a natureza do gênero “carta”, no que respeita à sua*

macroestrutura, concentramos nossa atenção na microestrutura clausula (fecho). Em nosso percurso, observamos que as dinâmicas textuais constituídas nos documentos analisados refletiam, de modo significativo, processos de mudança nas dinâmicas sociais.

- **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Variação e mudança. Tradições discursivas. Cartas oficiais norte-riograndenses. Corpus diacrônico.*

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CARTOGRAPHIES OF LANGUAGES: GLOSSARIES FOR LITERATURE BOOKS

Vanise MEDEIROS¹

- **ABSTRACT:** With this article we aim to contribute to the understanding of how glossaries function. In this work we consider glossaries produced for literature books and we use the History of Linguistic Ideas in conjunction with Discourse Analysis as theoretical support. This article is a reflection on glossaries for literature books, focusing on those produced from the position of the writer and which show some of his marks. It is proposed that these glossaries work as metalinguistic texts, that they influence the author's writing, and that they also work as an additional commentary about language. Differences between the production of glossaries created from the position of the writer and from the position of the editor are also shown, highlighting the way the two types of glossaries function. To elaborate on the second type of glossary, four books written in the Portuguese by an Angolan writer are analyzed. Some of the conclusions reached here are: although they are based on the illusion of making the text clearer, glossaries contain a position on language that reveals tensions in the language. Furthermore, it is possible to understand them as an instrument of grammatization of the Portuguese language in African countries as well as an instrument of grammatization of African languages in African territory.
- **KEYWORDS:** Language. Glossary. History of Linguistic Ideas.

The Author's Word

"Words are the devil"² warns Saramago (2011, p. 211, our translation), "We are arguably the echo of older voices"³ says Agualusa (2010, p. 142, our translation), "What do words tell us inside where they resonate?"⁴, questions Novarina (2003, p.14, our translation), "Between the word and the thing / a leap over nothing"⁵ Paulo

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² "*As palavras são o diabo*".

³ "*Somos sem dívida o eco de vozes mais antigas*".

⁴ "*O que as palavras nos dizem no interior de onde ressoam?*"

⁵ "*Entre a palavra e a coisa /o salto sobre o nada*".

Britto (1997, p.15, our translation) alerts, “Every word is a dead metaphor”⁶ recovers Borges (2000, p.31, our translation), or, because the list needs to be finished, “The word is perhaps all that we can know of the real”⁷ recalls Cendras (CASTELO, 2009, our translation), to whom we would say, it’s all that you can know of the real since the real is unattainable. These are phrases about words that are the crux of the glossary, the research topic of this paper. With a glossary the word, sometimes, touches or twists syntax; other times, it touches, and speeds up, orality; others still, it imposes another writing: a new skin, a new orthography. In all, it denounces the delicate relationship between subject and language.

The focus of this study is on glossaries made for literary texts. These can be made from three discursive positions: the position of the lexicographer, of the editor and of the writer. In this article, we will be looking first at the writer’s position and later at glossaries produced from the editor’s position in books written in Portuguese by an Angolan writer published in Brazil, in order to confront the functioning of these two positions in the production of glossaries.

This reflection is anchored in the field of the History of Linguistic Ideas in Brazil (AUROUX, 1992a) articulated in Discourse Analysis (ORLANDI, 2002). Such an articulation means that we consider the lexical selection produced in the glossaries as discourses about language in relation to the subject; we don’t bring into discussion the relevance of certain entries or even the absence of others. It implies understanding the definition of a word as an “imaginary attribution”, according to Nunes (2006, p. 22, our translation), “[...] as part of the real, a unity that fails, that soon fades, creating the desire to complement, recast, reissue, in a repetition that unfolds to the extent that history gives it room”⁸. And, it should be noted, still according to Nunes (2006), that we take the lexicographer not as an empirical subject, but with a historically constituted position, that allows and makes him say that “the word X means Y”⁹ (NUNES, 2006, p. 22, our translation). Since, in the case of the analyzed glossaries, we are not only working with the position of the lexicographer, which results in the unfolding of the position of the person that produces the glossary: that is why we have singled out the positions of the writer and the editor.

Folding, Unfolding and Signature

Glossaries in literature books arise from a writer’s book or work and are therefore somehow attached to the text. In this sense, in addition to constituting a metalanguage,

⁶ “Cada palavra é uma metáfora morta”.

⁷ “A palavra é talvez tudo o que podemos conhecer do real”.

⁸ “[...] imaginária a uma porção do real, unidade que falha, desvanecendo-se logo e criando o desejo de complementação, de reformulação, de reedição, numa repetição que se desdobra na medida em que a história lhe dá lugar”.

⁹ “[...] uma palavra X significa Y.”

as is the case of a dictionary, you might say that, as according to Authier-Revuz (2014), they work as metatexts¹⁰. There are two interwoven discursive positions: the position of the writer – who weaves the text – and the position of the lexicographer – who produced the glossary. This second position is centered on the work of the former and focuses on both the text and on the language. About the text, in so far as it highlights what parts of it will compose a glossary; and so, it indicates with this that this text says something about the language. It doesn't let the word run free; it takes it out to form another body: a glossary which sends it back to the text and denounces a space for language there. About the language, in so far as it separates a certain number of words, it classifies them and/or proposes synonyms, definitions, explanations. Not all the words of a literature book will belong to a glossary: completeness, unlike the dictionary, is not its operational effect – and here we refer back to what Orlandi says about the dictionary. It aims for “the effect of completeness of representation of language”¹¹ (ORLANDI, 2002, p.103, our translation). The author adds: “[...] in fact, we consider that the dictionary assures in our imaginary the unity of language and its representation: it is assumed that a dictionary contains (all) the words of the language”¹² (ORLANDI, 2002, p.103, our translation), and so, what is not in the dictionary either is part of a past so remote that is no longer relevant or no longer part of the language. The mark of the glossary is different: is singularity and, according to Auroux, otherness. Quoting: “what truly drives linguistic reflection is *otherness*”¹³ (AUROUX, 1992b, p.22, our translation, italics by the author), considering writing and pointing to lists of words or characters (in the case of Chinese) as one of the first practices to configure a linguistic knowledge.

The glossary, by separating a few words from the universe in which the book is woven, tells us about the limit of belonging to a language and the form of this belonging: it highlights some words and situates others as has-beens in the language. It points, then, to the borders in writing; it tells us about the partitions in a language (PETRI; MEDEIROS, 2013). The glossary of a literature book touches the materiality of a writer's writing, his text, and language. Its game is two-fold: it unfolds on the saying/doing while categorizes this written saying/doing.

Going forward, the glossary, by making return to the text, affects the writer's writing: on the one hand, it imposes a direction of reading. In this sense, we agree with Zoppi-Fontana's (1988) observation that the footnotes in teaching editions of literary texts function as “censorship hidden in the processes of signification of the literary text”¹⁴ (ZOPPI-FONTANA, 1988, p.64, our translation). On the other hand, we say that the glossary is also a place that tells a bit more about the language. In this case we

¹⁰ This observation stemmed from discussions with Jacqueline Authier-Revuz (2014) about the subject discussed in this article.

¹¹ “[...] o efeito da completude da representação da língua.”

¹² “Com efeito, consideramos que o dicionário assegura em nosso imaginário, a unidade da língua e sua representabilidade: supõe-se que um dicionário contenha (todas) as palavras da língua”

¹³ “[...] o que faz deslanchar verdadeiramente a reflexão linguística é a alteridade”.

¹⁴ “censura encoberta dos processos de significação do texto literário”.

are thinking about the writer's position that unfolds into the lexicographer's position: it's like there is still something more to be said, to be highlighted, that does not end in the text and one has to do it somewhere else.

There are, however, differences in the functioning of a glossary created by the writer, by the editor and by the lexicographer¹⁵. One of them concerns the signature. In the writer's position that unfolds into the lexicographer's position, there is a signature that is maintained and that works by interweaving the two positions: the author's name folds itself again onto something said in another position, that of the lexicographer. This signature, that carries the name of the writer, produces other effects in the operation of the glossary: of what is missing in the language, with the language and about the language and what is additionally said in the gesture unfolded in the lexicographer. In the two other positions discussed, it is about achieving otherness in relation to the text, which, unlike the latter, is marked by difference. In them there is no name (con)foundings positions. In the case of the lexicographers position, in which there is another person putting his name to the glossary, the signing of the text works distinctly: it confers legitimacy that comes from the authority to speak about the language and becomes part of a memory of creating a philology about the text; an archaeologist gesture about language: one that would remove from the past words with spellings, syntax and meanings that had already faded - here we are rekindling the memory of making glossaries mentioned by Auroux (2008) when he refers to the practice of creating glossaries for ancient texts whose words were unknown. However, from the editor's position, for example, in the case observed in the twenty-first century in Portuguese literature produced by African writers and published in Brazil, there is no signature for the glossary which has a distinct effect: the illusion created is that the words in the glossary are the final say (both in relation to what is not pointed out as well as that which is highlighted in the glossary), the effect of what has already been stated and does not lack certification.

Coming back to the position of the writer, there are a number or different types of glossaries that compose our corpus, that is, the part that relates to the position of the writer:

(i) the glossary that is created after the text, this is the case in Buzzo in *Favela toma conta* (MEDEIROS, 2012), among others that fall in a lineage begun by José de Alencar in *Diva* (NUNES, 2006), these are two examples of a type of glossary that occurs frequently;

(ii) the glossary which serves the writing of the author, that is, he anticipates its creation, collating words, expressions, syntax for the composition of his work; this is the case of João Antonio, for example, when he captures words from the street for his characters (MEDEIROS, 2014a), or Leo Godoy Otero (1984) in *O caminho das boiadas*, who investigates the language of Gypsies in Brazil and rewrites his book and glossary chasing for more than 20 years the right match.

¹⁵ As stated in this article the focus resides on the glossary produced from the position of the editor: the writers and lexicographers positions are only discussed when relevant to the position of the editor.

(iii) the glossary that is composed as an aid to translation to another language and with which the writer returns to the language to explain another way of saying it in another language, this is the case of Guimarães Rosa who creates a glossary from the correspondence with his Italian translator (MARTINS, 2014);

(iv) the glossary which is a literary piece, for example, Manoel de Barros (2013) in *Glossário de transnomações em que não se explicam algumas delas (nenhumas) ou menos*, in this case, the game of writer-lexicographer isn't played inside and outside of the text, but an outside-inside of the text, that is, the glossary is not a separate annex, but a text made up of eleven articles, placed one after the other in a metalanguage indicating a grammatical and gender ranking, that slide in their sonority and polysemy. In this glossary the appendix is also part of the composition.

In short, as one can tell, it is a diverse corpus. In another work (MEDEIROS, 2014b)¹⁶, it had already been noted that glossaries for literature books are located at the end of the book but can also be in the form of footnotes. There are few cases that make up a separate work. Although this is a factor that makes research more difficult (you need to flip through books to find them, an endless task), on the other hand, it allows us to observe two of the hallmarks of their functioning: the sporadic nature and the location of the glossary. To these two we can add heterogeneity which is shown in the typology of texts, that is, which stems from the making of the glossaries as we previously showed, namely, if it is in the form of an appendix, or footer text, or even if it is a separate text; with respect to the time of writing (if before or after the writing of the text); that comes from the gesture produced in directing another language and weaving it into a glossary in his own language (the case of Guimarães Rosa); and, finally, the heterogeneity that comes from the different discursive positions that engender the glossary.

Different from dictionaries, glossaries developed from the position of the writer, that is, those who carry the name of the writer, have no continuity or relationship with each other, do not refer to each other, do not repeat nor resume each other. In them, the memory and the language have other forms, it is not part of the chain that weaves itself through repetition in the entries, but that which weaves through difference or absence in relation to what is in the dictionary. Glossaries for literature books made from the position of the writer give what is personal, singular or unique. In other words, what we can see, on the one hand and with regularity, a lack in the imaginary language (ORLANDI, 1990). Orlandi proposes a distinction between imaginary language and fluid language which is important for this work. The author understands fluid language to be “[...] that which doesn't let itself be immobilized in the network of systems and formulas”¹⁷, and imaginary language, “that which analysts fix with their systemizations”¹⁸ (ORLANDI, 1990, p.74, our translation). They work on the

¹⁶ *Savoirs sur la langue et le sujet: les glossaires faits par l'écrivain*, work presented at *Journée d'étude Langue, discours, histoire*, in Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III on april 2014.

¹⁷ “*aquela que não se deixa imobilizar nas redes dos sistemas e das fórmulas*”.

¹⁸ “*aquela que os analistas fixam com suas sistematizações*”.

tension between a language in movement and language that is fixed in grammar, norms, dictionaries, and institutions.

In these glossaries by the writer what you have is absence as difference and/or an addition, as well as the possible which is not yet possible in the language: other word games, other formations, other ways of spelling and, more rarely, other syntaxes. In many cases, this absence is marked by the search for legitimacy for the “other” word. This use and function of the glossary starts with the first glossary by a Brazilian writer, José de Alencar, who, in his second edition of *Diva*, procures the rationale for the language that he produces from Latin, using it to respond to criticism that accuses him of gallicism, or distancing himself from the Portuguese language (NUNES, 2006; MEDEIROS, 2014a).

Beyond the gesture of making the words less obscure in the text, a primeval function according to Auroux (2008), in various glossaries studied, namely those created by Brazilian writers and published in Brazil, it was possible to observe the glossary as an arena in the imaginary language; or rather, working as a space of tension and disputes in the language to the extent to which they record that which does not appear in dictionaries, to which they bring up clashes on Brazilian soil. It is in this sense that glossaries make up cartographies of language(s). They capture what does not appear in the dictionary and tell us more about words by stating in another place that which isn't found in the writing or is proscribed or even which is unveiled as a new way of speaking; after all, the word, to return to the initial motto, never ceases to intrigue and instigate.

From the position of the editor

In glossaries created by the editor in Brazil, the functioning is different from the one created by the writer. Always created after the text has been written, they can repeat entries and what is inherent in them. If from the writers position the word can be thought of as specific, singular, unique, here, singular or unique doesn't seem to fit. What is at stake is different. It is what can be seen in some glossaries made for Portuguese language books by African writers published in Brazil in the 21st century; however, we are going to stick, to one writer.

We stated that glossaries made from the position of the writer are sporadic (appearing at certain times, in certain authors and in certain works); this does not mean, however, that they do not have conditions of production. One of the factors, as already pointed out, is the imaginary language that the cutting up of entries allows us to understand (see, for example, MEDEIROS, 2012); Another factor is the politics of language: here agreements on language as well as linguistic colonization and decolonization, or revolutionary moments come into play.

Mariani (2011, p.109, our translation) reminds us that, at the beginning of the 20th century, “[...] African languages spoken in Mozambique began to take written form,

establishing a circulation of opaque senses for the Portuguese”¹⁹. This writing that takes place in the press, we would add, also occurs in literature and, from it, enters glossaries, materializing the resistance, as Mariani (2011, p. 109, our translation) says, “whether it be in the oral mode or in writing”²⁰.

With regard to the Portuguese language, the 21st century opens with the question (posed at the end of the 20th century) of the orthographic reform, which brings to the scene a supposed (desired?) linguistic homogeneity out of linguistic diversity. The lusophone world, as we know, anchors itself in the illusion of a common language regardless of historical, geographical, social and ideological differences, regardless of the historicity of the language in each space of enunciation (GUIMARÃES, 2002). We understand a space of enunciation as

[...] spaces where languages function, where they split, re-split, mix, break down, are transformed by a ceaseless struggle. They are spaces ‘inhabited’ by speakers, i.e. by subjects divided by their rights to talk and ways to talk. They are spaces consisting of the equivocalness of an event: the deontology that organizes and distributes papers, and the conflict, inseparable from this deontology, that re-splits the sensitive, the social roles. The space of enunciation is a political space, in the sense that I considered the political earlier.²¹ (GUIMARÃES, 2002, p.18-19, our translation).

Lusophony enters with an argument that sustains the commodification of language that is also practiced in editorial policies in Portugal and in Brazil to publish literature by African writers in the Portuguese language. As Zoppi-Fontana (2009, p.37, our translation) notes “[...] languages, which have always been a weapon of political domination in the processes of colonization, become in contemporary times a new mechanism of financial speculation”²², that is, language becomes a commodity. In other words, it is in this scenario that, in the 21st century, both on Brazilian and Portuguese soil, literature books by African writers with glossaries in Portuguese have been published. Mia Couto, Agualusa, Ondjaki are some of the recognized contemporary authors in whose books glossaries are added, commonly at the end. They are unsigned glossaries created by the editor. They are not sporadic, unlike the glossaries created from

¹⁹ “[...] línguas africanas faladas em Moçambique começam a ganhar forma escrita, instaurando uma circulação de sentidos opacos a portugueses”.

²⁰ “seja na modalidade oral, seja na modalidade escrita”.

²¹ “[...] espaços de funcionamento de línguas, que se dividem, redividem, se misturam, desfazem, transformam por uma disputa incessante. São espaços ‘habitados’ por falantes, ou seja, por sujeitos divididos por seus direitos ao dizer e aos modos de dizer. São espaços constituídos pela equivocidade própria do acontecimento: da deontologia que organiza e distribui papéis, e do conflito, indissociado desta deontologia, que redivide o sensível, os papéis sociais. O espaço de enunciação é um espaço político, no sentido que considerarei há pouco o político.”

²² “[...] línguas que sempre foram arma de dominação política nos processos de colonização, se tornam na contemporaneidade novo mecanismo de especulação financeira”.

the writer position; they arise from measures imposed on the language and the circulation of a certain literature: in the Portuguese language and produced in Africa. This does not occur with books of Brazilian authors in Portugal or with books of Portuguese authors in Brazil. The presence of glossaries for African Portuguese-language writers in contrast to the absence of a policy on glossaries in Brazilian writers books in Portugal and Portuguese writers books in Brazil, produces the effect of stabilizing the language both in Brazil and in Portugal, with the illusion that both countries have the same language, as well as the illusion of language being constructed in African countries that have Portuguese as an official language.

There are several writers of different African nationalities published in Brazil. In this article, we will be using glossaries from the Angolan writer, Ondjaki, in order to discuss glossaries produced from the position of the editor.

Captured Words

We analyzed four books by Angolan writer Ondjaki with glossaries by four distinct editors: (i) *Bom dia camaradas* (Good day comrades), published by Companhia das Letras (ONDJAKI, 2004), (ii) the same book, *Bom dia camaradas*, published by Agir (ONDJAKI, 2006) (iii) *Os da minha rua*, (From my street), by the publisher Língua Geral (ONDJAKI, 2007), and (iv) *Os transparentes* (The transparent), by Companhia das Letras (ONDJAKI, 2013).

In the four books, the glossary is presented at the end. In them there are entries common to all, as it is the case of the word *camba*, where the definitions are repeated totally (Examples 1, 2 and 3) or in part (4) by the three different editors,

- (1) Camba: amigo, companheiro (*Bom dia camaradas*, Cia das Letras),
- (2) Camba: amigo, companheiro (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir),
- (3) Camba: amigo, companheiro (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),
- (4) Camba: amigo (*Os transparentes*, Cia das Letras);²³

there are also entries that are specific to each glossary, such as the examples below:

- (5) Bofa: bofetada (*Bom dia camaradas*, Cia das Letras),
- (6) Aldrabar: mentir (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir),
- (7) Esquebra: excedente (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),

²³ (1) Camba: friend, companion (*Bom dia camaradas*, Cia das Letras),

(2) Camba: friend, companion (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir),

(3) Camba: friend, companion (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),

(4) Camba: friend (*Os transparentes*, Cia das Letras);²³

(8) Tundem: desapareçam (*Os transparentes*, Cia das Letras).²⁴

In the glossaries of *Bom dia, camaradas*, published by Cia das Letras (ONDJAKI, 2004) and by Agir (ONDJAKI, 2006), there are repetitions of entries and definitions (examples 1 and 2) and there are entries and definitions that are specific to each of them (as can be seen in Examples 5 and 6).

The repetition of entries from the same book, as in the case of *Bom dia, camaradas*, as well as in different books allow us to observe that the function of the glossary is distinct from that in the position of the writer, in which the entry is always unique. In this case the glossary becomes closer to a dictionary, in which referencing other sources is common practice. The difference in the choices of lexicon captured in the glossary shows that a glossary, although founded on the illusion of de-mystifying the text, actually contains a position on language; the same words and expressions are not present in glossaries of the same book or of the same author. In other words, we can say that each glossary consists of a gesture of reading that distinguishes itself through a position on the language. It shows certain elements as being relevant and necessary and not others.

In these glossaries, one of the hallmarks is the record of orality, which is present in different ways; for example, in entries with quotation marks that are brought through the speech of characters:

- (9) “Abuçoitos” (“pedir abuçoitos”): pedir licença para se aposentar de um jogo ou brincadeira. (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral)
- (10) “Goiabera”: Camisa de estilo cubano (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral).²⁵

To register a word as an entry is to turn it into an autonomous sign, a sign that refers to itself (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 2008). Quotation marks can produce this effect, for example, something like, “One of the glossary entries is ‘abuçoitos.’” In this case, they are redundant since labelling it as an entry already produces autonomy. Just in the glossary of *Os da minha rua* published by Língua Geral two entries come with quotation marks (abuçoitos and goiabera); both precede other entries that appear in alphabetical order initiated by a letter, i.e. after abuçoitos and goiabera we find the entry aká without quotation marks. It is not the quotation marks that indicate entries included in persons differently from the other lexical items selected.

²⁴ (5) Bofã: slap (*Bom dia camaradas*, Cia das Letras),

(6) Aldrabar: to lie (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir),

(7) Esquebra: surplus (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),

(8) Tundem: disappear (*Os transparentes*, Cia das Letras).

²⁵ (9) “Abuçoitos” (“ask for abuçoitos”): to ask to leave a game or prank. (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral)

(10) “Goiabera”: Cuban style shirt (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral).

In other words, we cannot say that the quotation marks in *abuçoitos* and *goiabera* are autonomic quotation marks, but quotes that make the word unusual in relation to the others without quotation marks. Words kept at a distance (in reference to the article on quotation marks by Authier-Revuz, 2004). An orality that is highlighted and surprised by the redundant quotation marks in the entries and in the capture of the text in parentheses, as shown in example 9.

Indeed, the record of orality is one of the marks of the three glossaries, whether in the quotation marks of the two entries, or in the abbreviation that indicates how it should be said.

(11) aká: metralhadora de fabrico russo (AK47). (*Os da minha rua, Língua Geral*),²⁶

be it in the capture of the exclamation pointed out by the meta-language that classifies or explains,

(12) Ché: interjeição de espanto (*Os da minha rua, Língua Geral*),
(13) Ché: expressa dúvida ou surpresa (*Bom dia camaradas, Agir*),²⁷

in the foreignness, confiscated by the writing, which again brings us the spoken language, and is reported as having its source corrupted,

(14) Bigue: corruptela do inglês (*Os da minha rua, Língua Geral*),
(15) Xuínga: corruptela de chewing gum (*Bom dia camaradas, Agir*),
(16) Bizno: negócio (corruptela de “business”) (*Os transparentes, Cia das Letras*),²⁸

or in the contraction of speech which is shown in writing,

(17) masé: contração de “mas” e “é” (*Bom dia camaradas, Agir*).²⁹

It is interesting to observe that in the example (17) the entry is a contraction that is also used in Portuguese in Brazil, although it is not listed in any Brazilian dictionary or glossary since it is not a lexical item.

²⁶ (11) aká: russian machine gun (AK47). (*Os da minha rua, Língua Geral*)

²⁷ (12) Ché: exclamation of surprise (*Os da minha rua, Língua Geral*),
(13) Ché: expression of doubt or surprise (*Bom dia camaradas, Agir*),

²⁸ (14) Bigue: corruption of big (*Os da minha rua, Língua Geral*),
(15) Xuínga: corruption of chewing gum (*Bom dia camaradas, Agir*),
(16) Bizno: business (corruption of “business”) (*Os transparentes, Cia das Letras*),

²⁹ (17) masé: contraction of “but” and “is” (*Bom dia camaradas, Agir*).

Returning to the argument, orality appears in spelling, which makes use of the letter k: the way in which our dictionaries indicate a foreign word³⁰, or spell unwritten languages with the illusion of a phonetic transcription:

(18) Kitaba: pasta feita de amendoim torrado (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral)³¹,

(19) Kibidi: perseguição (*Bom dia camaradas*, Cia das Letras),³²

and also in maintenance of a pronunciation that appears in letters that come one after the other, unlike what happens in Portuguese, and is indicated as coming from another language. It is noteworthy that the entries in the following examples may refer to other entries in the glossary thereby creating a certain circularity:

(20) Ndengue: diminutivo de candengue (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir)

(21) Ndengue: (quimbundo): criança (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral)

(22) Candengue: miúdo, mais novo. (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir)

(23) Candengue (do quimbundo ndengue): criança. (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral).³³

It is relevant, before proceeding, to make an observation: when it comes to the indication of the origin, only the words coming from English are seen as a corruption (examples 14, 15 and 16); for those that come from African languages just the origin is stated, and the spelling also differs (compare the name of the language in examples 21, 23 with 24):

(24) Dikota (Kimbundu): mais velho, velho (*Os transparentes*, Cia das Letras).³⁴

³⁰ On the subject of the function of the letter K indicating foreign words, we can recover the story that Yaguello (1990) creates about the letters of the alphabet. According to the author, for a long time the letter K was considered wretched in the French language and became an exotic letter that marked word in a foreign language, such as Kiwi or Klaxon (examples by the author in French. These words have the same spelling in Portuguese). She explains that the Romans borrowed the letter K from the Greeks, but this was not the case of the French. They, instead of integrating the K, which would avoid problems of ambiguity which occur in French with the letter C, kept the letter for foreign words and kept the letter C, as it stemmed from Latin. In short, we can observe that in French the letter is marked by otherness.

³¹ The entry Kitaba is from the glossary of *Os transparentes* by Cia Letras but in it the way the peanut paste is created is removed and the entry reads solely “Peanut paste”

³² (18) Kitaba: paste made from toasted peanuts (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),

(19) Kibidi: persecution (*Bom dia camaradas*, Cia das Letras),

³³ (20) Ndengue: diminutive of candengue (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir)

(21) Ndengue: (quimbundo): child (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral)

(22) Candengue: smaller, younger. (*Bom dia camaradas*, Agir)

(23) Candengue (from quimbundo ndengue): child. (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral)

³⁴ (24) Dikota (Kimbundu): older; old. (*Os transparentes*, Cia das Letras).

Therefore, those arising from the English language are corrupted; whilst those that come from African languages enter the language adding to the Portuguese language and indicating at the same time the power of the Portuguese language to be able to coalesce and grow...

The glossary explains how to use the words in distinct environments in relation to the Portuguese language. Note that it makes use of examples, something rare in the glossaries studied:

(25) Male: “dói male” (dói muito); “vejo male” (vejo muito bem).³⁵

The transition from orality to writing in Brazil involves the passage of one space of enunciation to another. It is not only the change of a medium, but writing inscribing and de-inscribing the conflict between two distinctive spaces in the language on Brazilian soil, two spaces that say and signify differently: Portugal and Brazil. We can see this clash in these glossaries when we think of orality and observe the fluctuations that occur in them. Because of this you can understand these glossaries as grammatization instruments³⁶ (AUROUX, 1992a) for the Portuguese language in Angola as well as grammatization instruments of African languages in Angola, to the extent of what is marked as another language in that territory. There are therefore two distinct and simultaneous movements in the language. And it should be added that grammatization, according to Auroux (1992a), does not leave languages intact.

In the glossaries of Ondjaki’s books, as some entries show, at least one other African language, quimbundo / Kimbundu, is denounced as alterity. If, following Mariani, linguistic colonization imposes a silencing of the language of the colonized (here we are referring to his study of Mozambique and considering his remark as a hypothesis on the linguistic situation in Angola), we can maybe say that with these glossaries the other language will be grammatized in Portuguese. In a space, a glossary, which institutionalizes speech, that is, a space in which one you deems to stabilize speech. As an other language, captured by that one, and as part of the Portuguese language in Angola.

Words that end

In another study (MEDEIROS, 2014b), it was said that just as a grammar is not the sole representation of a language, a glossary is not the sole representative of a book or a text. If with grammar we can say that it manufactures a language (recovering COLOMBAT; PUECH; FOURNIER, 2010), we can say that a glossary by the writer

³⁵ (25) Male: “dói male” (it hurts a lot); “vejo male” (I see very well).

³⁶ By grammatization “[...] it should be understood as the process which describes and instruments a language on the basis of two technologies, which are until today the pillars of our metalinguistic knowledge: grammar and the dictionary.” (AUROUX, 1992b, p.65, our translation).

denounces the imaginary language which grammar books and dictionaries create as a national standard. A glossary by the writer indicates that something is missing in the language that monumentalizes itself as the national language. It illuminates that which occurs or may occur in the language and that, however, is not in the dictionary.

We cannot say the same about a glossary created by an editor for African authors as we can say about one produced by the writer. We believe that with these glossaries there is a grammatization of the other language in tension with Portuguese. In other words, with glossaries created by the editor in African literature books in Portuguese, other languages on African soil become known and are legitimated in Portuguese. They leave the silence that the other, official, language imposes. And so one can say that the glossary serves as the beam of light on what occurs and stands out from literature as another language. In short, if linguistic colonization, as we can read in Mariani (2011), imposes a silencing of other languages and the glossary, in Portuguese, conveys other languages, we can then think that these glossaries are language tools working somehow to decolonize linguistics.

But we cannot forget that it is a glossary for a literature book...

Zoppi-Fontana (1988), in his analysis of the notes in educational editions of literary texts, notes that they show something missing in the text - information and clarity - and in the reader - knowledge - resulting in contradictory needs: to raise awareness and, at the same time, censorship, thought of in the dimension of silence, as theorized by Orlandi (1997)³⁷.

The notes, according to Zoppi-Fontana (1988), assume the literary text as a reference in the illusory work of capturing, controlling all. It's not different from the glossary, as it can be read, for example, when the entry of that which is judged not to be understood confronts the fragment of the text where the word referenced in the glossary is located. Note the following example:

(26) *dibinga*: fezes (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),

(27) “Chegamos `a casa do sacana do Lima numa rua bem escura que era preciso cuidado quando andávamos para não pisar nas poças de água nem na *dibinga* dos cães. Eu ainda avisei `a tia Rosa, “cuidado com as minas”, ela não sabia que “minas” era o código para cocó quando estava assim na rua pronto para ser pisado.” (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral, p. 20, our italics).³⁸

It doesn't seem to be the case, then, that the word should be highlighted so that its meaning can be understood...

³⁷ Censorship is thought of as local silencing in the politics of silence.

³⁸ (26) *dibinga*: fezes (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral),

(27) “We arrived at the house of rascal Lima in a very dark street where we had to care so as not to step in puddles or in the *dibinga* of dogs. I even told Aunt Rose, “Beware of the mines”, she did not know that “mine” was the code for the dog shit when it was in the street ready to be stepped on.” (*Os da minha rua*, Língua Geral, p.20, our italics).

Before concluding, there is still a distinction between notes and glossary that deserves to be highlighted. The word that is included in the glossary can be marked in the text, in a marked heterogeneity with an asterisk or numbering, or not highlighted as a non-marked heterogeneity (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1990)³⁹. The first example is the case of notes while glossaries at the end of the text fit in the second example. They are scars in the body of the text⁴⁰ denouncing to the reader that this is speech from the other - another language - indicating another place of reading and at the same time, configuring a certain reader: in this case, one who does not know the universe(s) of language(s) in Angola. The glossary that is presented in the form of unmarked heterogeneity leaves the reader the option of searching through the end of the book. On the one hand, a supposed freedom in consultation is what sets it apart; on the other, since it does not impose a scar, it maintains the significant in its power in the text or even in its power of enigma. However, both with notes and with the glossary we forget that something always escapes as we, as Brazilian readers, can read in the passage below:

(28) “Não ia poder matabichar leite com café, como todos os dias de manhã [...]” (*Bom dia, camaradas*, Cia das Letras/ *Os da minha rua*, Agir)⁴¹

The entry *matabichar*, to give an example, cannot be found in Brazilian dictionaries, the public at whom the publications of the editors are aimed, nor can it be found in any glossaries of the analyzed books. Why does it not appear? Should it be included in the glossary?

As we have seen, if the word is sometimes opaque in the text, many times it is not. We need to return to the question that also guides this paper: why should we mark them? Why should we not mark them?

In addition to the argued need for making the text less obscure, from our point of view, we would say that the gesture that drives the glossary is traversed by the political in language, understood as a division of meaning. Political in which misconception is inscribed ... we observe, as a closing salvo, two entries:

(29) Giro: bonito, interessante (*Os da minha rua*, Agir)

(30) Sandes: sanduíches (*Os da minha rua*, Agir)⁴²

³⁹ In the theoretical framework proposed by Authier-Revuz (1990), the forms of heterogeneity shown split into marked and not marked indicating the explanation in the body of the text of the other discourse. In this sense a direct or indirect discourse, question marks for example, would find themselves in the first case where irony or allusion are non-marked forms in the discourse of the other.

⁴⁰ As pointed out in Buzzo (MEDEIROS, 2012).

⁴¹ (28) “I would not be able to matabichar milk with coffee, like every morning [...]” (*Bom dia, camaradas*, Cia das Letras/*Os da minha rua*, Agir)

⁴² (29) Giro: beautiful, interesting (*Os da minha rua*, Agir)

(30) Sandes: sandwiches (*Os da minha rua*, Agir)

Giro and sandes are entries that come from the Portuguese language from Portugal. To justify it as an error could be one solution. But as discourse analysts, we know that failure is constitutive of the ritual: in this case, the gesture that captures the otherness ... and here words from Portugal are presented in the glossary of a Brazilian editor... As a final provocation we pose this question: would they be part of a glossary created by a Brazilian editor if the author was Portuguese?

MEDEIROS, V. Cartografias das línguas: glossários para livros de literatura. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.79-95, 2016.

- *RESUMO: Com este artigo pretende-se contribuir para uma compreensão do funcionamento dos glossários. Considera-se, para este fim, aqueles produzidos para livros de literatura e tem-se como aporte teórico a História das Ideias Linguísticas na articulação com a Análise de Discurso. O artigo porta uma reflexão sobre glossários para livros de literatura centrado-se naqueles produzidos pela posição escritor e trazendo algumas das suas marcas. Propõe-se tais glossários como metatexto que afeta a escrita do autor, por um lado, e como um dizer a mais sobre a língua cujo texto não esgota. Em seguida, são evidenciadas diferenças entre a produção de um glossário feito pela posição escritor e aquele elaborado pela posição editor, mostrando marcas distintas no funcionamento dos dois tipos de glossários. Para a reflexão sobre o segundo tipo, quatro livros de um escritor angolano em língua portuguesa são analisados. Algumas das conclusões a que se chega são: embora se funde na ilusão de desopacização do texto, glossários comportam uma posição sobre a língua que revela tensões na língua. Ademais, é possível compreendê-los também como instrumentos de gramatização da língua portuguesa em países africanos bem como instrumento de gramatização de línguas africanas em território africano.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Língua. Glossários. História das ideias linguísticas.*

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LEXICAL-TERMINOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF RARE DISEASES: REVIEW OF DICTIONARIES OF THE REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA

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- **ABSTRACT:** This paper focuses on the terminological development of fifty-four rare diseases. It analyzes the degree of lexical acceptance that these terms have and have had –over time– in their treatment and inclusion in academic dictionaries of Spanish language. Until now, only twenty of the selected terms have been included in *DRAE*, accounting for 37.03 %. This situation shows the lack of solid criteria in incorporating new terms about rare diseases in this general dictionary. The most noticeable case is fibromyalgia, a pathology that has recently ceased to be considered a rare disease, which, however, does not appear in *DRAE*. If, on the one hand, it must be assumed that the *DRAE* is not a specialized medical dictionary; on the other, it must assess the degree of incorporation of these voices in social life.
- **KEYWORDS:** Vocabulary. Terminology. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*. Rare diseases.

Introduction: rare diseases

The study of less prevalent pathologies, in its various approaches, is gaining prominence in recent years; this is mainly due to the activities of the *Federación Española de Enfermedades Raras (FEDER)*. Rare pathologies are considered to be those whose prevalence rate is less than five per ten thousand inhabitants (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2008). It is further estimated that there may be somewhere between six and eight thousand diseases of this kind, many of them of genetic origin and chronic nature. The percentage of population affected by these ailments is estimated at about 7 %. Therefore, there would be three million people with this problem in Spain (ENFERMEDADES RARAS, 2009).

Furthermore, being so rare, they have the disadvantage of an unknown etiology resulting in disorientation in the diagnostic process, late or absent in most cases.

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Consequently, not enough information on the care and treatment that can improve the quality of life of these people (POSADA DE LA PAZ; GROFT, 2010) is provided. Paradoxically, as a whole, those affected by these ailments constitute a large group, but have been practically invisible until just a decade ago (MATEO, 2001; GONZÁLEZ-MENESES et al., 2008). And apart from the lack of legal cover to promote research, there is also a marked deficit of drugs specifically designed to alleviate such diseases (ENSERIO, 2009).

Similarly, they present the perverse picture of low commercial return, which directly relates to the shortage of means for treatment, although this may be disputed with the argument that research on rare diseases positively impacts the understanding of common ailments (GRIGGS et al., 2009). It is evident that those rare diseases that have attracted public attention for some time are currently benefiting from research and health care. This progress has resulted in a quantitative and qualitative improvement of life of the patients, who achieved greater public awareness of this issue.

It so happens that the number of scientific publications on rare diseases has increased in recent years, especially from a medical approach. The communication sphere has likewise been interested in investigating the health context, since the end of last century. Thus, a current named *health communication* was born in the Anglo-Saxon area. An example we cite is the recognized Gwyn's manual (2001). Meanwhile, the Hispanic world echoes this relatively nascent line of research, as evidenced by the birth of the scientific journal *Comunicación y Salud* in 2011, as well as the publication of the book *Lenguaje, comunicación & salud* (FORNIELES; URÁN, 2011).

When focusing on the study of less prevalent diseases from a linguistic angle, sources to consult encompass various works on the communicative profile (BAÑÓN et al., 2011; FORNIELES; URÁN, 2011), the discursive presentation of these conditions in the press (RIDAO, 2011; ARCOS, 2013), as well as the analysis of pathological discourse in specific diseases, such as Asperger syndrome (RODRÍGUEZ MUÑOZ, 2013) or Moebius syndrome (REQUENA, 2011).

Lexical-terminological issues: specialized idioms

Due to the nature of this research, which combines both the lexicological and terminological orientation, the scope of analysis should be comprehensive, so that it reflects critically on the lexicographical treatment that the names of fifty-four diseases that have been studied received and whether they have been included in general or only dictionaries specialized in the field of medicine, a question inherent to the debate on the difficult coexistence of the terminology of technolects in general dictionaries.

Regarding the dilemma on the existence of specialized languages, this paper supports the thesis that they do exist, though completely interwoven in the social life of the speakers. Hoffmann (1998) considers that specialized languages relate to

the linguistic resources characteristic of a particular communicative domain marked by a common specialty, and one that seeks to facilitate communication between professionals of a specific area. Mejri (2012, p.22) defines specialized discourse in a strictly linguistic approach: “[...] *il s’agit d’un discours qui se caractérise par une hétérogénéité structurelle où coexistent un discours appartenant à la communication courante et des segments spécialisés inintelligibles pour les non experts*”¹.

It would be wrong to reduce a specialized language purely to terminology, since it uses both terms, specialist designations, as well as nonlinguistic symbols in expressions where regular resources of a particular language are used; therefore, “[*la lengua especializada*] *se puede definir como el uso de una lengua natural para exponer técnicamente los conocimientos especializados*”² (LERAT, 1997, p.18).

Apart from that, the list of pathologies selected a priori vies for specialised language, even though many of them are part of the general language as a result of great frequency of usage. Rondeau (1981) and, more recently, Cabré (2010) warn of the difficulty of drawing a sharp distinction between common language and specialized vocabulary. Moreover, Cabré (1999), while referring generally to any field relating to knowledge or language, notes that it is almost impossible to discriminate between what is to be considered general and what is specific. The fact that these terms pertain to a specialized area on the one hand, but on the other, are also used in common parlance, results in such distinction being rather blurred (SANTAMARÍA, 1998).

In the introduction to the work by Mogorrón and Mejri (2012, p.13), a “consubstantial continuity” between general language and specialized languages is postulated. Furthermore it is argued that the specialized discourse follows the rules of the general language and settled that specialization should be conceived as a scale allowing for situating popularized texts in an intermediate position between the specialized and general.

This difficulty of placing the terms that belong to both the specialized language and the common language has implications for general dictionaries, as is the case of academic ones, so that inaccuracies are reflected in the incorporation of these lexical units that can be doubly regarded as specialized lexicon or common vocabulary (CABRÉ et al., 2001), as with the medical and health sciences.

The issue of incorporation of specialized vocabulary in general dictionaries has been argued over extensively. Although, as pointed Anglada (1992), no solid criteria exists for a lexicographer to shed light on, firstly, the quantitative aspects of the terms to be featured, and, secondly, the qualitative aspects concerning how to collect and define such lemmas.

¹ “[...] A discourse characterized by structural heterogeneity where the currently common communicative discourse coexists with specialized segments unintelligible to the uninitiated”. Mejri (2012, p.22).

² “(The specialized language) can be defined as the use of a natural language to disclose technically a specialised knowledge”. (LERAT, 1997, p.18).

As Gutiérrez Rodilla affirms (2005), the social life of individuals is influenced by the repercussions and applications of science, so that science and technology constitute a primary cultural element:

It follows that society needs good materials for promoting science, including specialised informational dictionaries that, besides enabling general dictionaries and lexicons to be free from much of the scientific terminology, present information related with this vocabulary in a manner suitable for people who are not specialists in each of the subjects. That is to say, dictionaries able to find the balance between scientific pressure and general accessibility.³ (GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA, 2005, p.30).

In the Hispanic world, the first 1983 edition of the *Vocabulario científico y técnico* published by the *Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales* operates with a selection of registered lexicon, consequently it should be classified among specialized dictionaries, versus general or global ones (CUESTA MARTÍNEZ; DE VEGA PÉREZ, 1992). The second edition, dated 1990, describes itself as a vocabulary of mixed character straddling terminological and encyclopedic information.

On the other hand, Lerat (1997) reports that the *Trésor de la langue française*, while describing medical terms, employs four procedures characteristic of general dictionaries: (1) An indicator on the area of expertise. The use of a label *MÉDECINE* (medicine) constituting a technical connotation of a technical dialect. (2) The use of analogy. (3) A definition for patients. (4) Absence of entry for the syntagmatic compound. This section notes that the multiple volume dictionaries do not collect more entries than those contained in a single volume, but that the quantitative difference is due to the amount of information included in each entry, not the existence of a greater number of lemmas.

Additionally, making the mistake of encyclopedism in lexicographic definitions is to be avoided. Hence Bosque (1982) warns of the often encountered impossibility of foregoing encyclopedic definition in dictionaries, mainly because it benefits readers. This occurs with median frequency when defining nouns. Accordingly, the difficult task of marking the boundaries between lexicographical and encyclopedic definitions is emerging as one of the great and interesting dilemmas inherent in modern lexicography.

³ “De ahí se desprende que la sociedad necesite buenos materiales de divulgación científica, entre los que deben encontrarse los diccionarios especializados divulgativos que, además de permitir a los diccionarios generales y a los de lengua liberarse de una buena parte de la terminología científica, presenten la información relacionada con ese vocabulario de una manera adecuada para las personas que no son especialistas en cada una de las materias. Es decir, diccionarios que sepan encontrar el equilibrio entre la presión científica y la accesibilidad general”. (GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA, 2005, p.30).

Methodology

This modest study aims to investigate the terminological profile from a lexicographical point of view, as seen from the presence of lexical units relating to certain rare diseases or ones of low prevalence in successive editions of the dictionary of the *Real Academia Española* (RAE, 2001). The time frame is established from the first installment of the glossary, *Diccionario de autoridades* (RAE, 1726-1739), to the latest modifications to the entries of the twenty-third edition underway in the online consultation directory⁴. Thus, not only the presence or absence of entries devoted to less prevalent ailments in academic dictionaries will be addressed, but we will also try to trace a brief outline of possible variations in defining them.

Terms studied have been compiled from a selection of the list of diseases that the *Federación Española de Enfermedades Raras* (FEDER) collected on its website⁵. Those are as follows: “achondroplasia”, “acromegaly”, “albinism”, “aniridia”, “brachycephaly”, “cystinosis”, “cystinuria”, “citrullinemia”, “chondrosarcoma”, “choroideremia”, “scaphocephaly”, “scleroderma”, “phenylketonuria”, “fibromyalgia”⁶, “galactosemia”, “glycogen storage disease”, “hydrocephalus”, “hypochondroplasia”, “hypopituitarism”, “leukodystrophy”, “lymphangioliomyomatosis”, “mannosidosis”, “mastocytosis”, “narcolepsy”, “nephroptosis”, “nevus”, “osteonecrosis”, “pycnodysostosis”, “plagiocephaly”, “retinoschisis”, “sialidosis”, “syringomyelia” and “thalassemia”.

This list was checked and supplemented from the base of low-prevalence diseases from the *Portal de información de enfermedades raras y medicamentos huérfanos* (Orphanet), also with online access through website⁷. Apart from the thirty-three rare diseases listed above, the following twenty-one will be considered: “anodontia”, “anotia”, “argyria”, “botulism”, “brucellosis”, “blepharospasm”, “brachydactyly”, “cryptophthalmia”, “dengue”, “diphtheria”, “exencephaly”, “favism”, “fibrosarcoma”, “gigantomastia”, “glioma”, “hemophilia”, “hypertrichosis”, “ichthyosis”, “legionellosis”, “leprosy” and “microcephaly”.

In the selection of these fifty-four words, we decided to forego the complex lexical units that cannot do without the phrases “disease / syndrome / disorder”, i.e. those that have no integrity to form by themselves simple and autonomous lexical units (eg, “Fabry disease” or “chronic fatigue syndrome”). Those units which are necessarily specified by some other modifier (as in the case of “juvenile chronic arthritis”) and in general, all those that contain proper nouns (like “Fanconi anemia”) are not included either.

⁴ RAE (2001).

⁵ FEDER (2014).

⁶ It is to be noted that fibromyalgia has recently stopped being considered a rare disease, though it is catalogued as such in the description.

⁷ ORPHANET (2014).

For technical definitions of each of the terms referring to rare diseases we have consulted mainly the Orphanet website⁸, accessible through the *Registro Nacional de Enfermedades Raras del Instituto de Salud Carlos III* (2014), as well as the specialized dictionary *Dicciomed*⁹.

Analysis and results

The first classification is set according to whether or not these words appear in various editions of *DRAE* to then we further investigate the information provided on each specific condition.

Terms with definition

This section provides a critical analysis of the twenty rare diseases, in alphabetical order, that are collected in the different editions of *DRAE*.

Achondroplasia

The disease is defined for the first time in the nineteenth edition of *DRAE* (RAE, 1970), accompanied by the designation *Pat.* (Pathology). The only variation of the definition in the twenty-second edition is the substitution with the designation of the scientific-technical discipline: *Med.* (Medicine).

It is defined as a “[...] *variedad de enanismo caracterizada por la cortedad de las piernas y los brazos, con tamaño normal del tronco y de la cabeza y desarrollo mental y sexual normales* [...]”¹⁰ (RAE, 1970, p.18). Indeed, one feature of this type of dwarfism are short limbs; however, the clinical feature of macrocephaly, or moderately disproportionate size of the head relative to the body, is not specified.

Acromegaly

The first definition for this condition appears in the sixteenth edition of *DRAE* (RAE, 1936), is repeated at the seventeenth (RAE, 1947), in the eighteenth (RAE, 1956) and, from the nineteenth edition (RAE, 1970), the designation *Pat. is* included and kept in the twentieth (RAE, 1984) and in the twenty-first (RAE, 1992) edition. In the last issue, along with the designation *Med.*, some changes concerning primarily etiology occur.

⁸ ORPHANET (2014).

⁹ DICCIOMED (2014).

¹⁰ “Variety of dwarfism characterized by the shortness of the legs and arms, with normally sized head and torso, as well as a normal mental and sexual development”. (RAE, 1970, p.18).

Generally, it is treated as a “*enfermedad crónica [...] que se caracteriza principalmente por un desarrollo extraordinario de las extremidades*”¹¹ (RAE, 1936, p.20). By contrast, it is attributed to “*la lesión de la glándula pituitaria*”¹² in the pre-2001 editions, while in the latter ones, it is explained by “*un exceso de secreción de hormona de crecimiento por la hipófisis*”¹³ (RAE, 2001). Although this supposes an advancement of the definition, a more explicit mention of gigantism is still missing (as there is reference to dwarfism in achondroplasia), although it does come announced by hypertrophy of the extremities in any case.

Albinism

This disease is defined in the twelfth edition of Academy’s dictionary (1884). The entry remained unchanged to the twenty-second edition (RAE, 2001), “quality of albino”. One wonders, therefore, why this one continually redirects to the adjective albino when the definitions of other diseases do not. One of the most plausible causes may be that this word is first defined in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (RAE, 1726, p.169) as “[...] *la persona que nace con los cabellos y carne de extremada blancura, por cuya causa ve muy poco, y menos cuanto más luce el Sol y cuanto está más cerca de la luz.*”¹⁴. This is obviously a prescientific definition already modified in the second revised and expanded edition of this dictionary where it appears as “[...] *el que de padres negros, o de casta de ellos, nace muy blanco y rubio, conservando en lo corto y retortijado del pelo y en las facciones del rostro las señales que tienen los negros y los distinguen [...]*”¹⁵ (RAE, 1770, p.139). It is difficult to assess to what extent this definition is a step forward from the prescientific character of the earlier, as it appears to be completely unscientific.

What is certain is that this definition is incorporated in the first edition of *DRAE* and that it does not change until the twelfth edition, when the scientific description of this condition emerges: “[...] *falto entera o parcialmente, y por anomalía congénita, del pigmento que da a ciertas partes del organismo los colores propios de cada especie, variedad o raza y, por tanto, con la piel, el iris, el pelo, el plumaje, etc. más o menos blanco. Dícese del hombre y del animal [...]*”¹⁶ (RAE, 1884, p.43). This is, basically, the definition that is preserved almost intact to the twenty-second edition of *DRAE* (2001), where it appears somewhat remodeled as “*Dicho de un ser vivo: Que presenta ausencia*

¹¹ “Chronic disease [...] which is mainly characterized by an extraordinary development of limbs”. (RAE, 1936, p.20).

¹² “The injury of the pituitary gland”.

¹³ “Excessive secretion of growth hormone by the pituitary gland”. (RAE, 2001).

¹⁴ “A person who is born with hair and flesh of extreme whiteness and for that sees very poorly, and even less when the sun shines and the closer to the light it gets”. (RAE, 1726, p.169).

¹⁵ “One from black parents, or their kind, very white and ruddy, but that conserves signs by which blacks are distinguished: short curly hair and facial features”. (RAE, 1770, p.139).

¹⁶ “Lacking, in whole or in part and as a congenital anomaly, in pigment that gives certain parts of the body the coloring characteristic of each species, variety or race, and thus with skin, iris, hair, plumage, etc. more or less white. It is used for man and animal”. (RAE, 1884, p.43).

*congénita de pigmentación, por lo que su piel, pelo, iris, plumas, flores, etc., son más o menos blancos a diferencia de los colores propios de su especie, variedad o raza.*¹⁷

It might be that a redesign of this entry, where there is no explicit reference to melanin deficiency and no mention of the genetic, not only congenital, character of this disease, is in order.

Botulism

First appears in the 1970 *DRAE* referring to a disease caused by a toxin of a certain bacillus contained in food that is not properly conserved. There is no apparent change to this definition in the twenty-second edition.

Brachycephaly

Here again is a definition redirected to another term, brachycephalic, defined as “*la persona cuyo cráneo es casi redondo porque su diámetro mayor excede en menos de un cuarto al menor*”¹⁸, appeared in the thirteenth edition of *DRAE* (RAE, 1899, p.1046). It has been preserved without change to the twenty-second edition of the Academy’s dictionary.

In effect, some scientific character is entailed, but it is a somewhat confusing explanation of the symptoms of a cranial deformation, basically characterized by a short, broad head with a flattened occipital part (back of a head).

Brucellosis

In 1989 the *Dictionary of the Real Academia Española* includes among its entries the brucellosis in order to define an infectious disease transmitted to humans by various animals and caused by microorganisms; Malta fever, Mediterranean fever, etc. In the twenty-second edition, the reader is offered a slightly more explicit definition which differentiates between the types of animals that can transmit the infection as well as the type of bacteria. The definition is: “*Enfermedad infecciosa producida por bacterias del género Brucella y transmitida al hombre por los animales domésticos [...]*”¹⁹ (RAE, 1989, p.238).

Dengue

In the edition of 1732 there are two entries for this word. The first defined dengue as “*melindre mugeril que consiste en afectar damerías, esguinces, delicadezas, males y à veces disgusto de lo que mas se suele guitar. Es voz modernamente inventada*

¹⁷ “Said of a living being: that has congenital absence of pigmentation, so that its skin, hair, iris, feathers, flowers, etc., are more or less white as opposed to the usual coloring of its species, variety or race”. (RAE, 2001).

¹⁸ “The person whose skull is nearly round because its larger diameter exceeds the lesser by less than a quarter”. (RAE, 1899, p.1046).

¹⁹ “An infectious disease caused by bacteria of the genus *Brucella* and transmitted to humans by domestic animals”. (RAE, 1989, p.238).

[...]”²⁰ (RAE, 1726-1739, p.69). The second entry refers to dengue as a female garment. In 1899, in the supplement to the *DRAE* specifically, the definition for dengue appeared for the first time in medical terms as “[...] *enfermedad febril, epidémica y contagiosa, que se manifiesta por dolores de los miembros y un exantema semejante al de la escarlatina* [...]”²¹ (RAE, 1899, p.321). Already in 1914 the two definitions with which the word was introduced appear, in addition to the medical definition included in the supplement of 1899. In 1925 there is a new entry for dengue with two definitions specific to Chile. The first refers to a plant and the second, to this plant’s flower.

The 1983 edition also includes an illustration. And in 1992 a new definition reads concerning the first entry for the word. The entries from 1732, commented ever since, take first and second place. A new one appears in the third: “swagger”; and fourthly the medical definition, not classified with *Med.* any longer, but with *Pat.* In the twenty-second edition the classification *Med.* is restored, as well as the third place, leaving the fourth place to “swagger”.

Diphtheria

Its first appearance dates to 1884 when it was defined as “[...] *enfermedad caracterizada por la formación de falsas membranas, que se observa en las mucosas y en la piel desprovista de epidermis* [...]”²² (RAE, 1884, p.385). In 1899, a more precise localization of the disease is offered within this definition, since the one offered in 1884 is complemented by “common in the throat”. This definition will remain for twenty-eight years, until a less explicit description is offered in 1927 but which adds the feature of “infectious disease”. In 1936 there is a more comprehensive definition that describes diphtheria as infectious and contagious disease and discloses some symptoms of the disease: “fever and prostration”. The 1950 edition presents a brief definition of diphtheria which includes only its infectious nature and the formation of false membranes on the mucosae. Six years later, in 1956, the definition from 1936 is recovered and stands for the next twenty-seven years, for in 1983 the entry from 1950 reappears. A year later, in 1984, the definition of 1936 is taken up; and in 1989 one from 1936, which is to remain in force until the twenty-second edition.

Scleroderma

This term is defined as “*enfermedad crónica de la piel caracterizada por el abultamiento y la dureza primero, y por la retracción después*”²³ in 1927, in the

²⁰ “Female fussiness consisting of affecting fragility, delicacy, hurt and sometimes disgust for what usually bothers one most. It is a modernly invented word”. (RAE, 1726-1739, p.69).

²¹ “Febrile illness, epidemic, contagious, manifested by aching members and a rash similar to the one from scarlet fever”. (RAE, 1899, p.321).

²² “Disease characterized by the formation of false membranes, which is observed in the mucosae and skin devoid of epidermis”. (RAE, 1884, p.385).

²³ “Chronic skin disease characterized by the swelling and hardness first, and then retraction”. (RAE, 1936, p.863).

Diccionario manual e ilustrado de la lengua española by *Real Academia Española* (RAE, 1927, p.863). Later, it will be included in these terms in the sixteenth edition of *DRAE* (1936) and remains to this day.

It seems advisable to specify the etiology of this disease as an accumulation of collagen in the skin and other organs, as well as extending the symptomatic spectrum beyond just skin issues, to mention also the muscular and skeletal manifestations, or even further to internal organs.

Phenylketonuria

Without referring to previous editions, the twenty-second edition of the academic dictionary takes a step forward in defining the disease as a “[...] *anomalía hereditaria que consiste en la alteración del metabolismo de la fenilalanina, que puede provocar retraso en el desarrollo y deficiencia mental* [...]”²⁴ (RAE, 2001).

Glioma

The word glioma is defined for the first time in the twenty-second edition of *DRAE* referring to a glial cell tumor.

Hemophilia

It was first included in the *DRAE* (1936, p.677) as “[...] *hemopatía hereditaria, caracterizada por la dificultad de coagulación de la sangre, lo que motiva que las hemorragias provocadas o espontáneas sean copiosas y hasta incoercibles* [...]”²⁵, and not until the current edition (the twenty-second) has there been modification, minimal at that, with respect to the vocabulary used: the word “incoercible” is replaced by “difficult to quench”.

Hydrocephalus

The term hydrocephalus is presented firstly in the fifteenth edition of *DRAE* (1925) as “dropsy of the head” and this definition remains unchanged until the twenty-second edition (RAE, 2001) where it is announced as “*dilatación anormal de los ventrículos del encéfalo por acumulación de líquido cefalorraquídeo*”²⁶. This is obviously a definition that incorporates, in this case, sufficient scientific nuance and, from a lexicographical point of view, minimizes the effect of circularity by omitting the term dropsy, equivalent to an accumulation of serous fluid above typical levels.

²⁴ “Hereditary anomaly that alters the metabolism of phenylalanine, which can cause stunted development and mental retardation”. (RAE, 2001).

²⁵ “An inherited blood disorder characterized by difficulty in blood clotting, which occasions a spontaneous or provoked bleeding to be copious, even”. (RAE, 1936, p.677).

²⁶ “Abnormal dilation of the brain ventricles by accumulation of cerebrospinal fluid”. (RAE, 2001).

Ichthyosis

The definition of ichthyosis offered by RAE in the 1927 edition, one that will remain for the next several editions, refers to it as a “*enfermedad de la piel, que se caracteriza por cubrirse ésta de un tejido escamoso*”²⁷ (RAE, 1927, p.1079). However, in the twenty-second edition, ichthyosis is defined as a “*alteración patológica de la piel, que toma aspecto escamoso*”²⁸ (RAE, 2001).

Legionellosis

It is first recorded in the *DRAE* in 2001, referring to a “*enfermedad causada por bacterias del género Legionella, que se difunde especialmente por el agua y por el uso de nebulizadores*”²⁹.

Leprosy

It is included in the 1734 edition as a “[...] *especie de sarna que cubre el pellejo del cuerpo humano con unas costras muy feas, por partes blancas y por partes negras. Hace muy áspero el cutis, y va comiendo las carnes con vehemente comezón. Es voz puramente latina* [...]”³⁰ (RAE, 1726-1739, p.386). The definition does not change in 1780.

In 1803 leprosy is defined as a “[...] *enfermedad cutánea y contagiosa que consiste en unas pústulas hediondas, arracimadas y escamosas, que se van extendiendo por todo el cuerpo, y termina en una fiebre lenta* [...]”³¹ (RAE, 1803, p.512). This one will last until the 1899 edition when some common symptoms are offered within the definition of leprosy: “[...] *enfermedad transmisible por herencia y de larga duración, que se manifiesta por manchas generalmente de color leonado, tubérculos insensibilidad de la piel, ulceraciones y caquexia* [...]”³² (RAE, 1899, p.597).

In 1925 the difficulty in curing this disease is alluded to. In the edition published in 1936 there is a new definition for leprosy in addition to the one which had previously stood since 1899, with some amplification in 1925. This new definition refers to leprosy as a “[...] *enfermedad, principalmente de los cerdos, producida por el cisticerco de la tenia común, y que aparece en los músculos de aquellos animales en forma de*

²⁷ “Skin disease, characterized by a scaly covering”. (RAE, 1927, p.1079).

²⁸ “Pathological alteration of the skin, taking a scaly aspect”. (RAE, 2001).

²⁹ “Disease caused by a bacteria of the Legionella genus, which spreads through water and the use of vaporizers”. (RAE, 2001).

³⁰ Kind of scabies that covers the skin of the human body with very ugly scabs, partly white and partly black. It makes the skin very coarse and consumes the flesh with vehement itching. It is a purely Latin word. (RAE, 1726-1739, p.386).

³¹ “Contagious dermal disease that consists of stinking bulging scaly pustules that spread all over the body, and ends in a slow fever”. (RAE, 1803, p.512).

³² “A long lasting disease transmitted by inheritance, manifested by usually tawny marks, tubers, insensitivity of the skin, ulcerations and cachexia”. (RAE, 1899, p.597).

pequeños puntos blancos [...]”³³ (RAE, 1936, p.770). This edition includes the onset of the disease and its form in animals.

The term cachexia contained in the definition of leprosy since 1899 will not be replaced by anesthesia until the edition published in 1956 and the adjective tawny characterizing the color of the marks disappears, leaving the leprosy defined as follows: “[...] *enfermedad infecciosa crónica, caracterizada principalmente por síntomas cutáneos y nerviosos, sobre todo tubérculos, manchas, úlceras y anestias* [...]”³⁴ (RAE, 1956, p.798).

From 1734 onwards, this word is not listed in any field until 1970, when both definitions are classified as pathology *Pat.* In the 1984 edition, particularly the manual volume IV (incognito-paper), anesthesia is substituted for the “*falta de sensibilidad en la zona afectada*”³⁵. As for the second definition, it gets classified with *Veter.*, since it is specific to animals. This categorization will be retained in the next edition of 1989. However, in 1992 the word anesthesia is restored in the definition, as well as the use of *Pat.* for the categorization of the second definition. In the last edition, the only change from the previous is the category of the second definition. *Veter.* is again used instead of *Pat.*

Microcephaly

In the entry from 1936 it is described as “quality of microcephalic”. The word microcephalic is defined in these terms: “[...] *dicese del animal que tiene la cabeza de tamaño menor del normal en la especie a que pertenece; y en general, que tiene la cabeza desproporcionada por lo pequeña, con relación al cuerpo* [...]”³⁶ (RAE, 1936, p.845).

It is in 1950 when the word “microcephalic”, referred to in the dictionary entry “microcephaly”, offers a not so very explicit definition: “of a small head”. Six years later, in 1956, the definition provided of microcephalic in the edition of 1936 is returned to. In 1989 the definition proposed by the *Real Academia Española* takes up the description “of a small head” again.

In the twenty-second edition of the dictionary (RAE, 2001) there are two definitions for microcephalic, which summarize the definitions given in previous editions. The first one says: “*Dicho de un animal: Que tiene la cabeza de tamaño menor del normal en la especie a que pertenece*”³⁷. And the second: “*Que tiene la cabeza desproporcionada, por lo pequeña, con relación al cuerpo*”³⁸.

³³ “Disease, primarily of pigs, caused by cysticerci of common tapeworm that appears in the muscles of these animals as small white spots”. (RAE, 1936, p.770).

³⁴ “Chronic infectious disease characterized primarily by cutaneous and nervous symptoms, especially tubers, spots, ulcers and anesthesia”. (RAE, 1956, p.798).

³⁵ “Lack of sensation in the affected area”.

³⁶ “Said of an animal that has a head smaller than normal for the species to which it belongs; and generally, having a disproportionately small head, relative to the body”. (RAE, 1936, p.845).

³⁷ “In an animal: that has a head smaller than normal for the species to which it belongs”. (RAE, 2001).

³⁸ “That has a disproportionately small head, relative to the body”. (RAE, 2001).

Narcolepsy

This condition, also known as “Gelineau syndrome” or “sleep epilepsy”, was not included until the twenty-second edition of the dictionary where it is defined as a “*estado patológico caracterizado por accesos irresistibles de sueño profundo*”³⁹ (RAE, 2001). Rather than a pathological condition, it ought to refer to a neurological disorder, even though its most characteristic symptoms are, in fact, episodes of uncontrolled and sudden drowsiness.

Nevus

This term is also incorporated for the first time in the twenty-second edition of the Academy’s dictionary, being defined as “*alteración congénita muy localizada de la pigmentación de la piel, generalmente de color marrón o azulado*”⁴⁰ (RAE, 2001). It is a proliferation of melanin cells in the skin and mucous membranes that causes localized marks.

Thalassemia

In the twentieth edition of *DRAE* (1984, p.1281), it is defined as “[...] *cualquiera de las anemias hemolíticas hereditarias, que se presentan de modo preferente en individuos de países mediterráneos y se deben a un trastorno cuantitativo en la producción de hemoglobina*”⁴¹. This definition is maintained until 1992. It will be the twenty-second edition in which there is change in form, not content: “*Anemia hemolítica hereditaria, que se presenta de modo preferente en individuos de países mediterráneos y se debe a un trastorno cuantitativo en la producción de hemoglobina [...]*”⁴² (RAE, 2001). In any case, it is a complete definition, from a medical perspective for it combines data on the type of the disorder, its etiology, even its geographically localized incidence (in fact, this disease is also known as “Mediterranean anemia”).

Terms not defined

Hereafter the pathologies lacking entry in the various editions of *DRAE* are included, adding up to a total of thirty-four diseases of low prevalence.

Aniridia

Interestingly, aniridia, an ailment that can have such a simple definition as “clinical absence of the iris”, does not gain an entry in the Academy’s dictionary.

³⁹ “Pathological state characterized by irresistible bouts of sleep”. (RAE, 2001).

⁴⁰ “Highly localized congenital disorder of pigmentation of the skin, usually of a brown or blue color”. (RAE, 2001).

⁴¹ “Any hereditary hemolytic anemia that occurs primarily in individuals from Mediterranean countries and is due to a quantitative disorder in hemoglobin production”. (RAE, 1984, p.1281).

⁴² “Hereditary hemolytic anemia, which occurs primarily in individuals from Mediterranean countries and is due to a quantitative disorder in hemoglobin production”. (RAE, 2001).

Anodontia

This term has no place in *DRAE* even if it constitutes a “*enfermedad congénita rara que se caracteriza por la ausencia de un número de dientes*” [“rare congenital disease characterized by the absence of a number of teeth”].

Anotia

Anotia, the definition of which refers to the congenital absence of one or both ears, does not have entry in *DRAE* either.

Argyria

Argyria is a disease characterized by the change in skin color, from a natural color to a dark blue.

Blepharospasm

Blepharospasm is an abnormality in the function of the muscles of eyelids that causes unintentional closing of these. It is also associated with muscle spasms of the face.

Brachydactyly

The brachydactyly refers to an abnormal shortness of fingers or toes.

Cystinosis

As cystine appears defined, it would be consistent that cystinosis was reclaimed in the dictionary as a rare metabolic disease that causes accumulation of cystine in body tissues and thus the appearance of crystals of this amino acid in the cornea, marrow, lymph nodes and organs such as the kidney, mainly.

Cystinuria

The same is true concerning cystinuria, another uncommon, inherited disease that is characterized by a disruption of the reabsorption of basic amino acids that causes the formation of concretions in kidney, ureter and bladder.

Citrullinemia

Nor is there an entry for citrullinemia, metabolic disorder in which there is a deficit of Argininosuccinic acid synthase, an enzyme required for the incorporation of ammonia in the urea cycle.

Chondrosarcoma

Chondrosarcoma lacks an entry in *DRAE*, being a type of malignant bone tumor that develops in cartilage cells.

Choroideremia

Neither the choroid membrane nor the illness directly associated with it, choroideremia, are defined in the dictionary. This is a rare hereditary disease characterized by progressive degeneration of several layers of cells at the back of the eye.

Cryptophtalmia

The cryptophtalmia is the complete adhesion of the eyelids and is not collected in the *DRAE* either.

Scaphocephaly

There are no results for scaphocephaly in Academy's dictionaries. It is another cranial deformity (as brachycephaly and plagiocephaly) that develops during the first months of life, affecting especially premature babies, and is characterized by the elongation and the narrowness of the head.

Exencephaly

Exencephaly is a malformation in which the brain is located outside the skull.

Favism

The lemma of favism refers to red cell related diseases.

Fibrosarcoma

The fibrosarcoma encompasses rare bone diseases or rare tumors.

Fibromyalgia

The medical term fibromyalgia, which refers to a set of musculoskeletal symptoms characterized by persistent pain and extreme fatigue, including psychological ones, has no entry in *DRAE*. However, words like *acedia* (sloth, slackness, but also sadness, anxiety) have a long lexicographical record in Academy's dictionaries, since *Diccionario de autoridades* (RAE, 1726-1739), noting some of the clinical features that are often associated, for example, with fibromyalgia. The combination of physical and psychological disease components in the concept of *acedia* seems clearly linked with rare diseases like chronic fatigue syndrome or the aforementioned fibromyalgia.

Galactosemia

Galactosemia, a disease characterized by enzyme deficiencies that affect the metabolism of galactose, does not receive lexicographical treatment in dictionaries of the *Real Academia*, although they do have an entry dedicated to term galactose.

Gigantomastia

Gigantomastia is defined as a rare gynecological disease that involves excessive, diffuse and even disabling one or both breasts growth.

Glycogenosis

Glycogenosis, understood as a group of metabolic diseases characterized by a disruption in the process of formation and use of glycogen, is not included in *Real Academia Española*'s lexicographic repertoire either.

Hypochondroplasia

Unlike achondroplasia, the Academy's dictionary does not include the term hypochondroplasia, referring in this case to the condition characterized by disproportionately short stature.

Hypertrichosis

Hypertrichosis is known as a congenital condition consisting in an increase both in the quantity and thickness of hair.

Hypopituitarism

The lemma hypopituitarism is not present in editions of *DRAE*. This is a medical term referring to an abnormal decrease in the hormones secreted by the pituitary gland.

Leukodystrophy

Genetic disorders grouped under the term leukodystrophy, resulting in the degeneration of fatty myelin sheath covering nerve fibers of the brain and adrenal glands, are also omitted.

Lymphangiomyomatosis

Lung ailment, the most common symptom of which is progressive respiratory dyspnea, known as lymphangiomyomatosis, is not defined.

Mannosidosis

Neither is mannosidosis, a hereditary disease caused by a disruption of carbohydrate metabolism that includes facial deformities and mental retardation.

Mastocytosis

Neither the term mastocytosis (abnormal growth of mast cells in the body), nor mastocyte (cell originating in stem cells from bone marrow and involved in mediating inflammatory processes) are included.

Nephronophthisis

There is no information in the dictionary on a condition called nephronophthisis, characterized by the small size of the kidneys with numerous small cysts.

Osteonecrosis

Osteonecrosis is a rare disease caused by decreased blood flow to the bones of the joints, entailing deterioration.

Pycnodysostosis

Pycnodysostosis is an unusual type of bone dysplasia.

Plagiocephaly

Plagiocephaly, already referred to in the section on scaphocephaly, is characterized by an asymmetrical distortion (lateral flattening) of the skull.

Retinoschisis

Retinoschisis, meanwhile, refers to the formation of intraretinal cyst, due to the separation of the layers of the retina.

Sialidosis

Furthermore, sialidosis is a metabolic disorder characterized by a defect in the sialidase enzyme. There is no defined term in the twenty-second edition of Academy's dictionary for this condition.

Syringomyelia

These dictionaries do not reveal syringomyelia, a damage to the spinal cord due to formation of a fluid-filled area within it, either.

Discussion

After transferring the preceding data to percentage, a total of 37.03 % of the analyzed terms feature definitions in any of the various editions of *DRAE*, compared to 62.96 % of words lacking an entry in that glossary. Table 1 shows details of the date of incorporation of the terms selected on rare diseases that do appear collected in various editions of the Academy's dictionary:

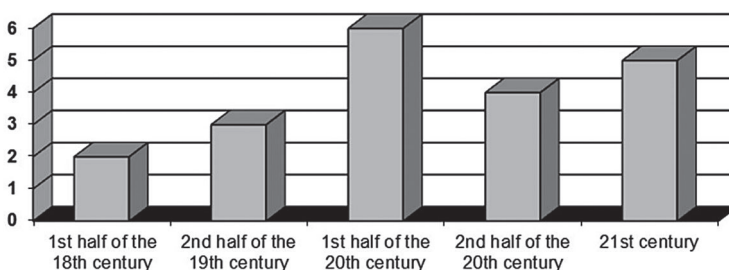
Table 1 – Dates of lemmatization of rare diseases

YEAR OF PUBLICATION	PATHOLOGY
1732	Dengue
1734	Leprosy
1884	Albinism Diphtheria
1899	Brachycephaly
1925	Hydrocephalus
1927	Scleroderma Ichthyosis
1936 [1939]	Acromegaly Hemophilia Microcephaly
1970	Achondroplasia Botulism
1984	Thalassemia
1989	Brucellosis
2001	Phenylketonuria Glioma Legionellosis Narcolepsy Nevus

Source: Own elaboration.

When doing statistics according to the century in which these twenty words first appeared, the following graph is established:

Graph 1 – Distribution by century of the definitions of rare diseases



Source: Own elaboration.

As it can be seen in Graph 1, the highest rate of incorporation in the Academy's dictionary of the terms for diseases of low prevalence selected to carry out this research took place in the first half of the twentieth century. The twenty-first century is left second place, taking into account that it has not advanced much and that *DRAE* only

has the 2001 edition and the progression of the twenty-third so far. The latter can be justified by the magnificent work of highlighting these conditions, along with the implied consequences, conducted by *FEDER* since the late twentieth century.

Having seen this history of absences, one might wonder what criteria the *Real Academia* applied to include some terms in the dictionary and not others, all of them relating to rare diseases. While it used literary sources from the beginning, it seems logical that the main reasoning to guide the inclusion of this medical terminology is a more or less frequent use of the terms by the speakers. But how to measure their use by an average speaker? Could it be a case of a not so objective judgment? In this regard, it seems significant that the *DRAE* does not incorporate fibromyalgia, a disease that has recently ceased to be regarded as less prevalent.

Perhaps these criteria, at first not very specific, became more evident when looking up entries grouped under the lemma syndrome or disease, where only those that seem to have a high social recognition and for which there is already public awareness are included. Incidentally, it seems advisable to include the syntagm rare disease in this second entry, or rather a less common disease as it has been called in recent years to avoid the metonymy in the connotations of rare; that is, to clear the mistaken belief that an individual suffering from a rare disease must be, by extension, odd.

This situation results from the goals initially set by the *Diccionario de autoridades* since it granted only secondary relevance to incorporating the technical vocabulary related to medicine, with reservation of creating a work dedicated solely to this question. Thus, only the more common or precise scientific terms were included, although there are examples that cast doubt to a successful completion of this objective. That is, the problem of the selection of entries is manifest from the first edition of this dictionary (GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA, 1993).

Clearly, the twenty-second edition is an improvement with respect to the lexicographical treatment of some of the specialized terms on low prevalence disorders. So much so that in this small selection, there are new lexicographic definitions for phenylketonuria, narcolepsy and nevus. The effort to adapt certain medical definitions to advances in science is also commendable, as in the cases of acromegaly or hydrocephalus.

However, there are still several entries that call for a reworking according to these scientific advances (eg incompletely specified symptoms of achondroplasia, or the definition of brachycephalic that is obscure to some extent, etc.). Moreover, the referrals of the definitions of certain nouns (as albinism, brachycephaly) to its corresponding adjective (albino, brachycephalic) are inconsistent when similar entries on nouns (eg, hydrocephalus) get a complete definition. Therefore, it seems advisable to remodel some of these lexicographical entries that have, in many cases, remained unchanged for several decades in the various editions of the Academy's dictionary (for example brachycephalic or scleroderma).

As Gutiérrez Rodilla claims, the authors of the *Diccionario de autoridades* in the eighteenth century based themselves on the literary tradition to create a common vocabulary. Thus, the medical terms were included to help in the understanding of literary works, marginalising in that way the needs of language users in understanding the reality. “*Es una situación que se continúa en gran medida en la lexicografía actual: no sólo en lo que ésta (sic) actitud tiene de razonable, sino también en sus rasgos más extremos, como el culto excesivo que nuestros diccionarios tienen al pasado [...]*”⁴³(GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA, 1993, p.471).

From another viewpoint, without going into a detailed analysis on the formation of lexical units relating to rare diseases, both those collected in the *DRAE* and those that are not, it should be noted that they share the same morphological mechanisms as other more common words. For example, “aniridia”, “anodontia” or “anotia” (with the negative prefix “an-”), “exencephaly” (with the prefix “ex-”, meaning “out of”), “hypopituitarism” or “hypochondroplasia” (prefix “hypo-”, “under”), “hypertrichosis” (“hyper-”, or “above”).

Similarly, there are compounds as “hydrocephalus” (“hydro-” = “water” and “-cephalus” = “head”), “microcephaly” (“micro-” = “very small”) and “brachydactyly” or “brachycephalic” (“brachy-” gr. *brachys* – “short”, refers to “fingers” and “head”). Some words incorporate a second element denoting blood “-emia”: “galactosemia” < “galactose”; “citrullinemia” < “citrulline”; “choroideremia” < “choroid”; “thalassemia” < gr. *thalassa*, “sea”. The nominalisation with suffixes like “-osis” (“glycogenesis” < “glycogen”; “legionellosis” < “legionella”; “brucellosis” < “brucella”; “mastocytosis” < “mastocyte”; “sialidosis” < “sialidase”) and “-ism” (“albinism”, “botulism”) is frequent as well.

According to the above, it is not possible to determine if the cause of inclusion or exclusion of lemmas on rare diseases in Academy’s dictionaries, resides in an inconsistency with respect to the usual rules governing the processes of word formation in Spanish language.

Conclusions

1. This paper highlights the imprecision in the lexicographical criteria that manage the inclusion and treatment of specialized lexical units in Academy’s dictionaries; specifically, in terms to the area of medicine and health sciences, as accounted in the heterogeneous group of terms for rare diseases that have been selected. From a total of fifty-four conditions, only twenty (37.03 %) are lemmatized in *DRAE*. The absence of the term fibromyalgia is particularly noteworthy, since it has been considered a prevalent disease in recent years and yet, does not have an entry in the cited dictionary.

⁴³ “It is a situation that persists largely in the current lexicography: not just inasmuch as this stand is reasonable, but also in its most extreme aspects such as excessive worship of our dictionaries for the past [...]” (GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA, 1993, p.471).

2. Consequently, it has not been possible, in this study, to deduce exact principles applied in the treatment of lexical entries on rare diseases. We, therefore, conclude that this group of terms does not appear systematically collected in Academy's dictionaries, despite having the same characteristics as other words in general vocabulary.

3. The Academy's dictionary satisfies the needs of the users (non-specialists, media professionals without formal training in medicine and health sciences, among others) seeking information on various lexical aspects (definitions, variations in the encoding of words, to name a few) of less prevalent diseases in a very partial manner. However, we must necessarily indicate the merit of the growing inclusion of terms related to these diseases in the different editions of *DRAE*, which has taken place since the last century to this day.

4. In any case, the dictionary of the *Real Academia* is a key reference, at least to any Spanish speaker, when resolving lexical-terminological doubts and, in this sense, one should not lose sight of its overall mission to clarify the meaning of those words, specialized or not, that are becoming part of the heritage of our language and being repeated daily in discourse, whether longstanding or not.

5. It would therefore be advisable that the dictionary extend the list of definitions for rare diseases, thus being able to generate an approximate and primarily informative, not scientific, idea of those considered more usual (for example, based on the index of references made to them in the mass media), in that way also expanding the general understanding of these conditions today.

6. It would also be expedient to undertake, from a scientific and specialized point of view, the arduous task of preparing a dictionary on rare diseases, or rather less frequent diseases, with the goal of making the terminology of these conditions more accessible to a nonspecialist public. While it is true that *FEDER*, on a national level, and *EURORDIS*, on European level, assemble in their online pages very useful and updated information on this issue.

7. A further step in the study of the presence of words that designate rare diseases in dictionaries should be consulting the dictionary of medical terms (*Diccionario de términos médicos*) from the *Real Academia de Medicina* (2012) and could be completed with the search in other directories as *Vocabulario científico y técnico* by the *Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales* (1996).

RIDAO RODRIGO, S.; RODRÍGUEZ MUÑOZ, F. J. Evolución léxico-terminológica de las enfermedades raras: revisión de los diccionarios de la Real Academia Española. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.97-121, 2016.

- *RESUMEN: Este artículo indaga en la trayectoria terminológica de cincuenta y cuatro enfermedades raras. Se analiza el grado de aceptación lexicográfica que tienen y han tenido –a lo largo del tiempo– en su tratamiento e incorporación en los diccionarios académicos de la lengua española. Hasta la fecha, tan solo veinte de los términos seleccionados están*

lematizados en el DRAE, lo que representa el 37.03 %. Esta situación demuestra la inexistencia de criterios sólidos en la incorporación de términos nuevos sobre enfermedades raras en el citado diccionario general. El caso más reseñable es fibromialgia, patología que recientemente ha dejado de ser considerada una enfermedad poco frecuente y que, sin embargo, carece de lema en el DRAE. Si, por un lado, se debe asumir que el DRAE no es un diccionario médico especializado; por el otro, hay que valorar el grado de incorporación de estas voces en la vida social.

- **PALABRAS CLAVE:** Léxico. Terminología. Diccionario de la Real Academia Española. Enfermedades raras.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTO-ARGUMENTATION IN ADULT-BABY INTERACTION¹

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- **ABSTRACT:** The present article focuses on the genesis of proto-oppositional conduct, defined as infantile actions interpreted as opposition to commands, desires and actions. The article assumes, as proposed by Leitão (2010; LEITÃO; FERREIRA, 2006), that such conduct constitutes remote older verbal actions of contraposition and response to opposition, seen as central constituencies of the argumentation. Based on references which place the genesis of human action and cognition in the realm of relations that are dialogically constituted (BAKHTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986; VYGOTSKY, 1980, 2012; WERTSCH, 1978), this article analyzes video-graphic records produced with two children, ages between the fourth week and six months of life, interacting with adults in a domestic context. Based on micro and macro-genetic analyses of these records (GRANOTT; PARZIALE, 2002), three moments were identified in the development process of proto-oppositional conduct: attribution of oppositional sense to crying; construction of infantile actions such as 'refusal' and, finally, interpretation of the infantile action as complex contraposition. In this last one, which implicates a displacement of the discursive place attributed to the child (LEITÃO, 2012), not only is the child seen as opposing the initiated actions by an adult, but also as proposing new actions.
- **KEYWORDS:** Protoargumentation. Child argumentation. Cognitive development.

Introduction

The present paper focuses on the emergence of proto-argumentative productions, specifically, proto-oppositional ones, during the initial phases of the child's development. In order to do so, it considers an argumentation concept as a cognitive-

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discursive activity marked by negotiation between opposing perspectives. Based on this assumption, Leitão defines *proto-arguments* and *proto-oppositions* as antecedents of the argumentative actions being developed. Hence, the prefix *proto* indicates the precursor of child actions that tend to be interpreted by the adults as *the assertion of a point of view* (of desires, wishes, goals) and *opposition* (to desires, wishes, goals, commands on the other's part). Leitão claims that in virtue of being interpreted in such a way those actions would constitute the remote antecedents of productions considered as truly argumentative, such as defence of point of view, contraposition and response to opposition (LEITÃO, 2010; LEITÃO, FERREIRA, 2006).

The child's proto-argumentative productions are analysed here from a dialogic perspective, taking into account the whole range of actions performed by the baby (such as gazing, arm and leg movements, vocalizations, cries, etc.) which are delimited and interpreted by the mother, in such a way as to acquire a meaning from the child's actions, at first diffused and disconnected. In everyday interactional situations, we normally respond simultaneously to different signs, by interpreting not only words produced by the interlocutor, but also elements such as intonation and facial expressions he/she makes use of, even if such elements are employed in a redundant way. When we focus on the initial stages of the language acquisition process, this comprehensive response appears especially important, as a whole range of actions and processes on the baby's part seem to acquire a semiotic value for the parents, who treat them as linguistic behaviour. These different elements are called here *productions*. They are delimited and combined by the adults, who, in Bakhtin's expression, give them *completion* in language, making use of their own speech to ascribe structure and meaning to the child's actions (SCARPA, 1999, 2005, 2008).

According to the perspective taken, argumentation is distinct from other cognitive-discursive activities (narration, explication, etc.) due to the presence of specific linguistic-discursive elements. Among such elements, opposition is emphasized, for it generates in the participants the discursive need of negotiation of points of view seen as antagonistic (VAN EEMEREN et al., 1997). According to Leitão (2000, 2007, 2008b, 2011) this process of negotiation allows, in the individual psychological functioning, a reflection about ideas and alternative perspectives that are brought to the argumentation by the three basic elements that constitute it: the argument (point of view and support elements), the counter-argument (oppositive elements that challenge the argument) and the response to the oppositive elements.

According to the same author, the examination/evaluation of diverse perspectives, to be established in an argumentation, is a privileged resource in the knowledge construction processes, being equally effective in the development of what the author calls *reflexive thinking*. This reflexive thinking is defined as a particular form of psychological functioning that allows the individual to displace his/her attention from the *reflection about the world's objects and events* (cognitive plan) to the meta-cognitive plan of *reflection about his/her own thought* on those objects and events.

Reflexive functioning, which is intrinsic to argumentation, is characterized by an action of attention, pursuit and evaluation of the fundamentals and limits of our own arguments (LEITÃO, 2007).

Based on this reference framework, which establishes strict connections between argumentation and cognition, the study of the conditions of the emergence and development of argumentative productions in the child is particularly relevant in order to fully understand the infant's cognitive-discursive development. Based on this idea, the present study attempts to investigate the initial stages of the child's development, with a specific focus on the child's engagement in activities considered *proto-argumentative*.

Argumentation and proto-argumentation in the child

As far as we know, studies about the development of proto-communication in children are relatively meager (some of them will be dealt with later). In practical terms, we have been unable to find other investigations that focus specifically on the development of proto-argumentation. Up to the end of the present study, reference searches on key words such as *proto-argumentation*, *proto-argument*, *proto-opposition* (and the equivalent ones in Portuguese, French and Spanish) have not been fruitful. The lack of studies about proto-argumentation would probably be due to the assumption that argumentation is a late acquisition in the child's language development. This assumption, according to Leitão (2010) and Leitão and Banks-Leite (2006), subordinates the emergence of argumentation in the child's speech (and the emergence of language itself) to the child's general cognitive development. However, several studies that stem from a different theoretical perspective actually challenge this idea and show that the child's engagement in argumentative activities can be seen earlier (BANKS-LEITE, 1998; CASTRO, 1996, 2003, 2004; DEL RÉ, 2010; DEL RÉ; PAULA; MENDONÇA, 2014; DODANE; MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 2010; LEITÃO, 2008a; LEITÃO; FERREIRA, 2006; LEITE, 1996; VIEIRA, 2010).

Despite the lack of agreement about the precise moment when children would be able to create arguments (LEITÃO; BANKS-LEITE, 2006), an expressive set of studies undertaken during recent decades point to an early development of argumentation in the child. Stein et al. (1996), for instance, show that at already two and a half years old children do offer justifications for goals they wish to fulfil and defend choices facing an opponent, which are truly argumentative actions. These results confirm and expand those of the pioneer study of Eisenber and Garvey (1981), considered as a reference point in the investigation of the theme. The authors argue that children as young as three to six years old not only are able to justify positions, but they also expect the same from their partners, and understand that justifications are decisive elements in 'winning' during an argumentation. In a similar way, Pirchio and Pontecorvo (1997) show that three to five year old children, being observed in their interaction with their

parents at dinner time, use complex conversational strategies of opposition and refusal, as well as ways of intensifying and lessening their opposition, being able to generate explanations and justifications for their disagreements. Leitão and Ferreira (2006) assert that children from two to five years old, being observed in an environment similar to that of the Pirchio and Pontecorvo study (lunch time) do produce a variety of counter-argumentative utterances, being actually able to anticipate oppositions to their demands (LEITÃO, 2008a).

Even at earlier ages, the child would already show a type of 'desire for discourse', through prosodic elements, making use, for instance, of high pitch and raised intonation to mark opposition. This was shown by Del Re (2010), whose study was based on investigation of oppositive utterances that were produced by children between 20 and 33 months old. In a similar direction, Dodane and Massini-Cagliari (2010) identified in 14 to 28 month old children's speech not only the presence of negation, but also its differentiation in categories, through specific prosodic markers to express refusal (usage of raised contours, high pitch and important syllable duration). Additionally, Vieira (2010), in an analysis of data produced by a child between 20 and 33 months, shows that from an very early age children would be able to reproduce prosodic elements related to argumentation (such as intonation in the adult's speech). Her results allow her to suggest that, as assumed by Leitão (2010; LEITÃO; FERREIRA, 2006; LEITÃO, 2008a), the development of proto-argumentation would already have taken place in early moments of the child's development, starting with body movements, crying, vocalizations and prosodic elements that shape them (pitch, duration, intensity, etc.). The study presented here is an attempt to contribute to the progress of this discussion being, as such, a developmental study. In order to do so, this article it is based on Vygotsky's (1980, 2012) socio-semiotic conception of development.

Theoretical framework: language and development

According to the theoretical framework above mentioned, in the present study we assume: the existence of close relationships between thought and language (VYGOTSKY, 1980); the regulatory function of language over human cognition (MORATO, 1996); the role of the initial adult-child interactions in the origin of meta-cognition (WERTSCH, 1978), interactive context essentially being the place where language acquisition takes place (FRANCOIS, 2006; ROMMETVEIT, 1992; SALAZAR-ORVIG, 2010). We assume, as does Vygotsky (1980, 2012), that the newborn baby is initially endowed with basic psychic processes, reflexes and elementary ways of psychic functioning, that allow him/her to act in a direct way (immediate) over the environment, being oriented by external environmental stimuli and without any auto-regulation resource. By contrast, higher mental processes will only appear depending on the child's access and appropriation of culturally developed material and symbolic resources.

Based on this perspective, development is understood here as a process of change through the active appropriation of socio-semiotic resources, especially language (BAKHTIN, VOLOCHINOV, 1986; OLIVEIRA, 1997; VYGOTSKY, 1980). As far as proto-argumentations are concerned, child and adult are considered active partners that build the meaning of the baby's productions together, at first based upon verbal and non verbal actions from the adult's part, and then shared in the interaction child-adult (LEITÃO, 2010). More specifically, we assume, as does Leitão, that the appropriation of socially shared ways of either holding points of view or taking opposition and responding to opposition (which form argumentation) would have their more remote origin in a negotiation process involving the meaning of the child's actions, similar to those being investigated and described here.

To deal with the appropriation of (proto)argumentative resources based on remote adult-child negotiations means to understand language acquisition as a process that takes place in specific dialogic contexts. Being so, Bakhtin's perspective is a theoretical support which allows one to understand that words are not acquired via dictionaries, with closed and complete meanings, but, instead, through the understanding of the ways in which they acquire meaning and form reality in the particular discursive contexts where they appear (BAKHTIN, 1990; BAKHTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986). It is also important to consider that the construction of meaning is produced not only from discursive verbal elements, but also from utterance chaining, through the interactional scenario where verbal action takes place, as well as through discursive non verbal factors such as intonation, for instance (BAKHTIN, 1990). Any utterance can only be understood within the discursive whole to which it belongs, comprehension being deeply rooted in the multiple elements that dialogically create its sense, here and now.

As we assume this reference framework in the understanding of the adult-child relation during initial stages of the child's development, it is possible to say that the senses the adult ascribes to the child's actions are dialogically built from the child's actions and from a whole series of historical, social and situational elements that affect them. Take, for instance, the general knowledge of adults about children, about the history of this particular child with whom he/she relates, and about the immediate context where their interaction takes place.

A second point of Bakhtin's perspective is relevant in the reference framework undertaken in this study. It has to do with the recognition that no utterance can be taken in isolation, but is rather dialogically oriented/related (responsively) both to previous utterances (produced by others or by ourselves), and to anticipations of future utterances (BAKHTIN, 1990). In the child's case, during the initial phases of his/her development, it is possible to assume a similar phenomenon: "even the cry of a nursing infant is 'oriented' toward its mother" (BAKHTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986, p.87). Therefore, the author's assumption axiomatically claims that social/dialogical orientation in human relations does not begin only with the production of the first structured utterances, but already takes place during the very first baby/partner interactions. From this

assumption a developmental perspective can be derived: one that claims that from the initial interactions the child starts to notice the existence of someone else who reacts to his/her actions, and to whom he/she can also respond. Even if initially the child's "cries" are not considered as intentional, nor conscious, they will be the antecedents of enunciative possibilities that will unfold during the child's development.

It is assumed here that since movements, vocalizations, prosodic elements are inevitably directed towards someone, it is only from this someone else's response that any utterance can acquire sense, in a dialogical process considered via Bakhtin's concept of *responsivity* (BAKHTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986). *Mutatis mutandis*, we can assume that starting with the initial adult-child interactions the partners would act in a mutually regulatory way, verbal actions being complemented through applause, smiles, vocalizations, etc. Together, these actions would then ultimately allow that the child's productions acquire mutual sense in the interaction between the partners (BAKHTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986). As we hope to show through the data to be presented here, already during the initial phases of interaction with the baby the adult shapes different discursive situations (questions and answers, play and argumentative situations, etc.) in which he/she responds to the child in a way he/she considers adequate and may encourage the child to do the same. We assume that through playing like this it will be possible for the child to develop his/her responsive role in interaction.

Taken together, the ideas above shape the reference framework through which the present study investigates the hypothesis proposed by Leitão (2010) about the development of proto-argumentation. This author's hypothesis claims that the child is interpreted by the adult "as if" he/she were engaged in assertive and opposite actions well before he/she were conscious of those productions, or showed any type of regulation over them. These interpretations, together with the complete series of utterances addressed to the child in communicative situations of this sort, would be fundamental for the gradual mastery of proper argumentation by the child.

Initial development of semiotic actions: some landmarks in empirical research

In the study of interactive routines between mother and baby, Cavalcante (2009) asserts that the development of verbal means of communication begins with processes that happen very early between the child and his/her caretakers. Her studies pertain to child language acquisition and emphasize the joint attention construction of touch and speech directed towards the child as fundamental elements in the development of shared forms of comprehension and communication.

In a similar way, in their analysis of the development of mother/baby communication, Lyra (2000, 2006, 2007) and Scorsi and Lyra (2013) show how utterances, rhythm and intonation that the adults use in their interaction with the baby are "chosen" as a result of what is built, at each moment, in the interaction. At each

moment, the child's and adult's acts adapt themselves in a continuous dynamic joint construction. In Lyra's theory of the development of mother/baby communication shows three phases of organization, which are described via the developmental model that the author calls EEA (establishment, extension and abbreviation). At first, the joint attention and sharing of interests between mother and child (Establishment) would take place; then there would be the extension and addition of new elements to the routines initially established (Extension), and finally interactions would occur in a more rapid and smoother way (Abbreviation). The author also suggests that the development should be regarded as a transformation process which simultaneously joins variability and universality.

By the same token, Moro and Rodrigues' investigations (1991, 1998, 2008) are equally relevant. The authors analyse the origin and role of gestures considered *proto-declaratives*, *proto-interrogatives* (seen as gestures used to "call for attention" from the adults and to "ask" for actions) and three types of *private gestures* – *ostensive*, *indexical* and *symbolic* (analysed as gestures through which the child can regulate his/her own behaviour). The authors suggest that different communicative functions are initially co-constructed by adult and child from interactional situations (RODRIGUES, 2009). They assume that because he/she cannot act alone in the world, but only together with the adult caretaker, the child starts to understand the methods that his/her culture use in order to produce meaning. While they are semiotically built subjects, adults constantly ascribe meaning to objects and actions, thus enabling the child to start establishing mediated relations with the world (MORO; RODRIGUEZ, 2008). These authors' hypotheses show relevant parallels with the reflections to be defended here. The origin of proto-oppositional productions is analysed here from observation of the ways the caretakers affirm, oppose and respond to opposition in the interaction with the child (thus building argumentative situations), as well as from the ways they ascribe similar argumentative meanings to the child's productions.

Equally relevant for our study is another research, undertaken by Pea (1980) about the origins, in children's speech, of the different usages of negation (*don't*, *not*, *no* and *gone*). Pea (1980) noted that the first negation forms the children used were related to the way the adults produced the same negations in their interaction. He concluded that physical restrictions, linked to head movements and to word utterances such as *no*, (actions that were frequently performed by adults), formed the way the children initially got hold and later mastered these gestures/utterances as signs to indicate negation. In the same vein, Freitas (2012) argues that the usage of certain facial expressions, physical restrictions and prosodic traces of maternal speech would create a *reprehension* context that allows the child to grasp the meanings of 'no'. The present study takes this reference framework as fundamental and focuses on the emergence of opposition, seeking to understand how child actions (such as cries, vocalizations and agitation) establish themselves as proto-oppositional during the period of observation (CASTRO, 2005; LEITÃO, 2010).

Method

In this study we make use of the ideographic perspective, characterised by the systemic analysis of phenomena in their variability and context (SATO et al., 2007; YIN, 2009). We analyse data from two pairs of adult-baby partners, in an attempt to find similarities and variability, to allow us to derive a model of the development of proto-argumentation.

Data construction procedures

Two children were observed: Lara and Pedro (fictitious names). They are both only children of medium class families; the first lived in Recife, while the second lived in Maceio. In addition to these two children, the participants in this study are the adults who interacted with them during video-recorded sessions. They were the parents, the cameraman, uncle and aunts and grandparents. In both cases we made use of the same data construction procedures: video-recorded sessions produced every fortnight in the children's homes, each lasting 20 minutes, alternating the parents and the research assistant, during the period of time the children were one to six months old. We registered daily situations such as meals, bath time and play.²

Analysis procedures

Both macro and micro-genetic analysis procedures (GRANOTT; PARZIALE, 2002; MEIRA, 1994) were used for the data analysis during three phases. During the first, proto-argumentative episodes were identified through close and repeated observation of all the records. *Proto-oppositional episodes* were identified from the children's actions being interpreted as opposition, which comprises: the parents/interlocutors actions that immediately anticipated an action from the child, being interpreted as opposition; the child's action according to his/her parents interpretation; and the child's reaction to the parents' intervention. The second phase in the analysis involved the detailed transcription of these episodes, while the third consisted of raising hypotheses about possible developmental milestones of proto-oppositions.

Unit of analysis

Leitão (2000, 2007, 2008b) assumes as units of analysis in argumentation the three basic parts that composes it: the *argument* (point of view and support elements), the

² Lara's records belong to the Database of the Research Group on Argumentation, (Nucleo de Pesquisa da Argumentação/NupArg). Post-graduate program in Cognitive Psychology at UFPE, under the responsibility of the second author. Pedro's data were produced during this study and later added to the Database above.

counter-argument (verbal or non verbal actions that challenge the argument) and the *response* (reactions to counter-arguments). The presence of argumentation in discourse depends on the presence of these three parts, in an explicit or implicit way. In order to analyse proto-argumentation phenomena, Leitão recommends that this very same unit of analysis be adapted in such a way that proto-argumentative episodes be identified from the observation of infantile *productions* that are interpreted by adults as *proto-assertions, proto-oppositions and proto-responses* (LEITÃO, 2010). However, in a way that differs from what can be seen in proper argumentation, proto-argumentative elements are not structured verbalizations, but, instead, they are child productions that are interpreted, structured and treated as linguistic by the adult.

Results³

Given the specific goal of this study, the analysis to follow will focus on actions being interpreted as proto-oppositions. Unless otherwise stated, child actions referred to as *opposition*, either in the data transcription or in the analysis, should be taken as *proto-oppositives*: that is child actions interpreted by the adults as oppositions.

The beginning of opposition: crying, whining and crying expression

The analysis of the video-recorded data in both cases made it clear that, during the whole period of observation, forms of crying, whining and crying expression were the child actions most consistently interpreted by the adults as oppositions. While ‘crying’ was produced in a rhythmic and lasting way, whining was similar, but less strong and briefer, with sudden rises and discontinuous rhythm. This distinction is similar to that used by Fonte (2011) and Cavalcante (1999), who distinguish ‘crying’ and a milder version of it, using similar criteria based on rhythm and duration. In addition, the authors characterize whining as a type of cry used to call for attention. Crying expression, on the other hand, is marked by eye closure, skin wrinkling around the eyes, forehead and nose, mouth opening and eyebrow lowering.

During this same time period it was noticed that other child actions were also interpreted as opposition (e.g. dropped pacifier or toy, interpreted as opposition when these objects were offered by the adults). Such actions were interpreted by the parents not only as a refusal of the object, but also as oppositions to their offerings, as if the child was irritated with their presence or offerings, demanding that they should be taken away. Parents tended to react by immediately taking them away, far from the child’s sight. A sort of ‘development’ of this type of interaction will be analysed on

³ Although the authors recognize the importance of performing a specialized acoustic analysis, mainly of the vocalizations and crying, to allow for a consideration of the prosodic aspects of the child’s productions, such analysis will not be made here, due to the analytical boundaries of the present paper and textual space limitations. Such aspects will be considered in future research.

page 136 (opposition as refusal), when we will describe the circumstances where the parents start to establish routines in the interaction (such as object offering routines), in the hope to get more active participation from the child. The child's non participation in these routines is then interpreted as a refusal; therefore, opposition. However, this type of interpretation is rarely made, as the child's action is not yet interpreted as a refusal. Instead of an opposition to performing an action he/she would be able to perform, the child's action is considered a type of request – the child would like to get rid of the object, but can't manage to do so, because of which his/her parents take it away for him/her. Crying, whining and crying expressions are the actions most clearly interpreted as oppositions during this initial phase (see graphs I and II, pages 143 and 144). In contrast to this, the child's quietness, at this phase, seemed to be interpreted as acceptance and compliance.

It should also be noted during this initial phase that the parents ascribe a certain 'demanding' quality to the child's proto-oppositions. In fact, they seem to consider that because their children were not able yet to get rid of objects/people/situations they rejected, they would express their opposition through crying, as a sort of demand to parents to do something they themselves could not do. In doing so, the parents act in a way that could be called 'complementary' to the child's actions, by acting and speaking *for* the child. When they speak in the child's place, they mark the change of enunciator ('utterer') in this 'dialogue' via specific discursive elements such as: speech in *falsestto* (characterised by sharp high pitch tones), the use of childish speech (e.g. 'granny' instead of 'grandmother'), the use of diminutive words (e.g. 'little belly', instead of 'belly') and self reference such as 'mom, mommy and daddy'; as if they took the place of the child, and 'spoke in his/her turn', this way, giving voice to the child as an enunciator. Among such discursive traces, speaking in *falsestto* is the most frequently used. Through this, the adults mark moments in which they 'speak in behalf of the child', by contrast to those moments in which they 'speak for themselves'. Furthermore, it is also possible to notice utterances that were produced by two enunciators: in one part it is produced with *falsestto* (as if the child was the producer), while the other is not (showing that the adult goes back to his place as a producer).

An instance of this type of utterance production can be observed during interaction between Pedro and his mother, when Pedro was only one month old. The baby had just awoken and was lying in his crib, moving his arms and head, when his mother produces (without *falsestto*): *say* (changes to *falsestto*) *I am already getting annoyed, I want to get up, I want, can't you understand me, Mommy? I want to get up, yes!* The use of "say", without using *falsestto*, shows the enunciative position of the mother, as if 'she herself' was directing her child a demand. Through this initial utterance, she seems to orient Pedro to 'say' what he feels, as immediately she herself does, using *falsestto* "I am already getting annoyed (...). The use of *falsestto* shows a change of utterer in the mother's discourse, as if at that moment she 'spoke for Pedro', producing a complaint directed to herself. It is possible to see how the utterance construction works in an

explicit dialogic form: the mother stages a small dialogue between herself and Pedro, giving 'voice' to his point of view through her own speech.

This communicative episode shows how the child's actions at this initial phase are still not distinguishable and not so clear, apparently not containing any elaboration/distinction that could make interpretation easier. Children seem to produce a very limited number of actions (basically cries and some movements), which they repeat in different contexts. This lack of differentiation makes it difficult to ascribe a particular meaning to each action. Crying, for instance, can be interpreted as sadness, anger, hunger or pain depending on the diverse contexts, even if the crying itself apparently doesn't vary very much. In the construction of interpretations of the child's utterances, the adults seem to place themselves in a sort of 'interpretative cycle' which can be characterized by the presence of three activities. At first, they create a hypothesis about the meaning of the child's behaviour. After that, they act according to this hypothesis, as if to 'test' it, and at the same time they observe how the child reacts to their action. Take, as an example, the fact that if they assume that the child is hungry, they try to feed him/her and observe how he/she reacts. If the child calms down, they interpret that he/she has 'accepted' the adult intervention and 'confirm' their hypothesis (by interpreting quietness as acceptance and confirmation). If, on the other hand, the child reacts by crying, or whining, they interpret this behaviour as if the child resisted the intervention made (feeding), which would lead the adults to abandon the original hypothesis and create a new one, starting a new interpretative cycle. Taking this view, the first oppositions on the child's part seem to be built from the combination of his/her actions and the adult's (verbal and non verbal) actions and hypotheses. In this context, crying and whining acquire opposite roles due to the parents' interpretation and actions.

Continuing on, we reproduce part of the transcription and analysis of one of the first episodes that were registered with Pedro, one which seems to us compatible with the interpretative construction we have just described (similar aspects were also registered with Lara's data). During the presentation of this episode, as well as some others, we combine the narration of the moments that precede or interleave with other episodes, and the transcriptions themselves.⁴ The following episode took place in the paternal grandparents' house, when the child (Pedro) was one month and one week old. The child and his mother are sitting on the sofa and the mother plays with the baby; grandmother occasionally interacts with him. The child's father uses the camera.

⁴ Symbols used in the transcriptions: [] for the researcher's comments on the participants' speeches, for speech in *false* and identification of the duration of crying/whining and crying expression in Lara, in seconds. () for the non verbal actions of the participants. An exclamation mark (!) identifies exclamative utterances. The symbol (:) to the right of a letter indicates sound lengthening. The symbol (I) indicates simultaneous actions. The symbol (+) indicates pauses up to two seconds. The symbol (++) indicates pauses that last for more than two seconds. (...) indicates incomprehensible speech. (/...) indicates interrupted or unfinished speech. (†) indicates rapid raising of intonation, generally used for reprehension. Finally, and due to space limitations of the present paper, the symbol (...) indicates that parts of the transcription have been suppressed.

Episode 1

Pedro is quiet, looking at his mother. The mother looks at Pedro, moves her head down and says (3m.45s): *hey, where's granny? Where is granny? Granny? Granny: where's granny?* Pedro moves a bit and yawns.

1. **Mother** (3m 57s): (Looks at Pedro, moves her head down) *Granny*
2. *where is she? Hey? Hey love?*
3. **Pedro** (3m 59s): (Pedro is agitated and produces some sounds, as if about to cry)
4. **Mother** (4m 03s) *Where is Granny? I don't want to know about Granny now, what I*
5. *want is to stand up [falsetto]* (She makes Pedro stand up on her lap)
6. **Pedro** (4m 06s): (Looks at his mother)
7. **Mother** (4m 09s): (Looks at Pedro) *hum? hum?*
8. **Pedro** (4m 10s): (Produces crying expression)
9. **Mother** (4m 11s) *What happened? What do you want? Tell me.*
10. **Pedro** (4m 13 s): (Keeps crying expression)
11. **Mother** (4m 15s): (Kisses Pedro, turns him in the direction of the camera) *Look, Daddy!*
12. **Pedro** (4m 17s): (Keeps crying expression and starts to produce some sounds)
13. **Mother** (4m 18s): *Say Da:dy: (!)*
14. **Pedro** (4m 20s): (Produces some sounds)
15. **Mother** (4m 22s): (Agitates Pedro) *What do you want?*
16. **Pedro** (4m 24s): (Stops crying expression and looks backwards)
17. **Mother** (4m 26s) (Holds Pedro again, facing her) *Do you want the pacifier?*
18. **Pedro** (4m 27s): (Looks backwards, puts his tongue out).
19. **Mother** (4m 28s) (Agitates Pedro) *Hey? Hum Hum.*
20. **Pedro** (4m 32s): (Moves his head and produces sounds similar to whining)
21. **Mother** (4m 33s): *No! (!). You don't want? Tell Mummy, come on (!)* (turning
22. Pedro and agitating him)
23. **Pedro** (4m 35s): (Looks at mother, quiet).

In this episode, Pedro's mother tries to direct his attention to his grandmother (Lines 1 and 2). Pedro gets agitated, produces some sounds and crying expressions (Line 3), then his mother says: *I don't want to know about granny now, what I want is to stand up* (Lines 4 and 5). She seems to interpret Pedro's actions (agitation, sounds, and crying expression) as oppositions, as if Pedro manifested discomfort for being kept lying down (*what I want is to stand up*). Then his mother lifts him, trying to resolve his discomfort, acting for him. However, Pedro does not calm down, but produces another crying expression (Line 8). In view of this action, his mother questions him: *what happened? What do you want? Tell me* (Line 9), abandoning her prior interpretation (according to which Pedro wanted to stand up). She considers that the child is opposed to that interpretation and consequently asks him to express his wish: *tell me*.

Next, Pedro's mother turns him towards his father, producing *Look. Daddy* (Line 11), apparently ascribing a new meaning to his behaviour and interpreting it as a wish to see his father. However, Pedro, once again, does not calm down, but reinforces his crying expression (Line 12). His mother then goes back to asking: *what do you want? Do you want the pacifier?* (Lines 15 and 17). She once again seems to interpret his actions as a refusal of her previous interpretations, and creates a new hypothesis, according to which Pedro does not want to see his father, but wants his pacifier instead. Again Pedro whines (Line 20) and his mother once again ascribes an opposite meaning to his whining, as a lack of agreement, a sign of her previous interpretation being incorrect: *No (!) You don't want? Tell Mummy, come on(!)* (Line 21).

In this episode, it is possible to note how Pedro's mother creates a sort of interpretative cycle in her interaction with him. At first, she seems to ascribe a certain meaning to his actions, creating a hypothesis ('point of view') about his behaviour (he would like to see grandmother, to stand up, to see his father, to get his pacifier). However, if Pedro produces crying expressions or whining in all these situations, these actions are interpreted by his mother as 'lack of agreement', oppositions that make her abandon her initial 'point of view' and create a new meaning for the child's behaviour. This cycle seems to reflect the three minimal elements that define argumentation according to Leitão (2007): at first an *assertion* is made – a 'point of view' is created – about Pedro's behaviour. Going on, Pedro (re)acts, with actions (mainly whining and producing crying expressions), to which the mother ascribes an opposite meaning (*proto-opposition*) and responds to them by abandoning her initial 'point of view' and producing a new assertion (creating a new 'point of view') about Pedro's behaviour (*response*). As a result, this episode shows the interpretative actions made by Pedro's mother, elucidating the way she interprets some of the child's actions (whining and crying expressions) as oppositions, speaking and acting for him.

Opposition as refusal

During the period of observations, it was possible to see how new actions differentiate and become integrated with the ‘oppositive repertoire’ of the children. As the children develop, the adults start to expect them to accomplish more specific actions, asking for a more complex participation in their daily routines, thus seeming to gradually demand more from them. Apparently it was this goal that made the adults repeat routines in their interaction with the children, offering certain objects, as if hoping that the child would produce specific actions. Whenever the child reacted in an expected way (e.g. accepting the object being offered), they interpreted this action as agreement. However, when the child did not react and/or refused the objects and stimuli, the adults tended to interpret this action as opposition. While in the previously described phase the adults seemed to interpret lack of action as ‘lack of capacity’, and acted for the child, now they seemed to interpret lack of action as a ‘deliberate choice’ on the child’s part, as opposition, or refusal to interact. In the creation of these interpretations, the adults seemed to anchor themselves in the fact that the children frequently react positively in some situations (when they produce the expected actions). Otherwise, when they do not, this may indicate that the child actively opposes them and refuses to act.

An example of this type of interpretation can be observed in a piece of interaction between Pedro (two months and two weeks old) and his father. In this episode, Pedro’s father tries to give him the pacifier, but Pedro doesn’t grasp it. Then the adult says: ‘*you don’t want? Hey, cutie?*’ in a way he seems to interpret the child’s action (not grasping the pacifier) as a refusal, which makes him conclude that the child doesn’t want it. Following on, in this same episode, Pedro’s father offers him the pacifier again, but this time the child reacts opening his mouth and accepting it. At this moment, his father interprets that the child wanted the pacifier. It is possible to observe how the child’s development happens in a regulated way. As the child develops and broadens the actions he/she can produce, it becomes possible for the adults to ascribe to and/or ask for new actions from them, thus demanding more and more and altering their interpretations – in this case altering the way in which they interpret the child’s lack of action after an adult offer. As they observe the child’s development, the adults stimulate this development by creating situations that inspire the child’s actions and requiring him/her to perform specific actions.

Another example of this type of stimulation, similar to the offering of the pacifier, comes later when Pedro is lying down and his father tries to lift him. But, instead of touching him in a passive way, placing him on his lap and lifting him, the father holds his arms and starts to pull them, making the child lift his own neck and head. By doing so, his father stimulates him to perform a certain action, even in a very preliminary way, in the process of standing up. We argue that through actions of this type the adult tries to stimulate the child’s development by broadening his/her role

in the interaction. Despite this, the child's actions produced at this moment are not completely free, but they are made possible by the parents, that is to say, they are limited by the situations and contexts which the parents specifically create to make the children act.

Now, we analyse a further example showing similar types of constructions. This time we take an episode involving Lara, at three months of age, where her mother tries to make her drink the rest of the juice out of her bottle. Video recording of this episode took place in grandmother's home; the child was on the sofa of the living room, and the camera was used by one of her aunts.

Episode 2

1- Mother (5s): (making Lara lie down on her lap) *You are looking at the camera, are you? Take the juice (!)*

3- Lara (7s): (Gets agitated, stretches her body backwards and produces crying expression)

4- Mother (8s) (Fixes bottle in the child's mouth) [without *falsetto*]: melon juice, the one you like [*falsetto*] *(I am) not annoyed, annoyed, annoyed.*

6- Lara (11s) (She has the bottle in her mouth and calms down (++) gets agitated, moves her arms and chest)

8- Mother (15s) (*falsetto*) *Hum, what a delicious juice (!)* (Holding bottle in Lara's mouth)

As shown, Lara's mother tries to make her drink the rest of the juice (Lines 1 and 2). Lara moves her body backwards and produces a crying expression (Line 3), an action that was interpreted by her mother as opposition (doesn't want to drink the juice). Lara goes on drinking, reacting in a way her mother expected (Lines 6 and 7). Mother then says (*falsetto*) '*what a delicious juice*', giving 'voice' to Lara and showing signs of interpreting the child's action as an agreement and indication that she likes that juice, because of this she drinks it (Line 8). Let's now examine a third episode, which follows this one:

Episode 3

10- Mother (57s): (Holding bottle in Lara's mouth)

11- Lara (1m): (Doesn't seem to drink the juice, produces some sounds)

- 12- Mother** (1m3s): (Takes bottle out of Lara's mouth) *You don't want (it)?*
- 13- Lara** (1m5s): (Looks quietly to camera)
- 14. Mother** (1m7s): (Places herself on the sofa) *Take (it) (!)* Puts bottle back in
- 15- Lara's** mouth)
- 16- Lara** (1m8s): (She has the bottle in her mouth, but doesn't seem to drink (+)
- 17-** (gently moves her arms and head)
- 18- Mother:** (1m12s): (Takes bottle out of Lara's mouth) *I think she doesn't want it,*
- 19- she won't drink it** [very low]

In this episode, Lara's mother once again tries to make her finish her juice. However, Lara doesn't react/drink (Line 11). Lara's mother takes the bottle out of her mouth and says "*you don't want (it)?*" (Line 12), by interpreting her lack of reaction to the bottle as an opposition. Then, Lara's mother goes back to trying to fix the bottle in the child's mouth (Lines 14 and 15), but again Lara doesn't react/drink, only gently moving her arms and head (Lines 16 and 17). Her mother then takes the bottle out of her mouth and says "*I think that she doesn't want it, she won't drink (it)*" (Lines 18 and 19), making explicit the way in which she interprets Lara's actions, by concluding that the child doesn't want to drink the juice. We note at this moment that opposition is marked by the actions of 'moving away from', or 'not accepting' (the bottle in this case). The mother brings the bottle close to the child, whose reaction (not accepting it) is then interpreted as an opposition/refusal.

From opponent to proponent

During the final stages of the period under investigation, it was possible to observe how the child's actions seemed to get clearer to the parents, who interpreted them and responded more rapidly and with fewer hesitations. Such actions also seem more related to the contexts, more directly related to the environment and objects around them – the child actively going towards whatever attracted his/her attention and moving away from whatever annoyed him/her (by contrast to earlier stages when the parents did only act to bring or move away objects). By doing so, the children made it possible for the adults to ascribe a meaning to their actions more easily. Also the children seemed to acquire the ability to act in a way more directly opposed to the adult, by moving away from what they rejected and searching for objects, even when an adult directly opposed this action, by trying to avoid the child reaching an object. Finally, we can observe, at this stage, how the child's actions, which were interpreted as oppositions, become more and more complex, not limited only to cries, but now including vocalizations and the handling of objects.

To the extent that the children actions acquired a clearer meaning for the parents, it was possible to observe how they (the parents) seemed to feel less and less need to speak *for* the children, to complement the children's actions with their utterances (as they had done previously). Instead of doing so, the parents now start to speak *with* the children. Based on these observations, it seems possible to conclude that as the child's ability to act more directly over their environment increases, the parents start to ascribe a certain 'point of view', and they now concentrate on trying to defend their own points of view, in opposition to the child's. Instead of ascribing to the child only the role of opponent, who reacts to the parents' actions, they also start to ascribe to them the role of proponent of new actions.

A clear example of this can be seen in Lara's case, in a brief section of interaction between the child and her mother when Lara was five months and three weeks of age. Lara was sitting on her mother's lap and seemed interested in the belt of her dress, as she held it and tried to pull it. At this moment her mother says: '*Are you going to undress me, are you?*' and '*No↑*', trying to get it back from Lara's hand. From what has been registered in this episode, we can say that at that moment Lara's mother was pondering the meaning of the child's action (why would she pull the belt), by suggesting that this action was not planned by her, the mother, but surprisingly it was initiated by Lara. In addition to this, we can observe that the mother no longer speaks *for* Lara, but instead, for herself, in an opposition to Lara's action, expressing her disapproval and asking Lara to interrupt the action, to release the belt. Therefore, this episode makes it possible to notice a type of differentiation in Lara's actions; she not only does respond to actions that have been initiated by the adults, but her actions now seem to 'propose something' which the mother in turn, opposes: Lara pulls the belt, while her mother wishes her to release it.

This example shows that the child starts to act over objects and people, as if experiencing her role of 'agent' in the interaction. Based on Leitão (2012), it would be possible to say that a '*discursive displacement*' takes place here, in a way in which the child no longer is placed only in the opponent role (the one who reacts to stimuli from someone else), but also in the proponent role, that of someone who acts over the environment with a 'point of view of her own'. It is interesting to observe how the new actions of the child start to be captured in the maternal discourse in such a way as to consider the discursive role of the child becoming more and more complex. The child's action seems to be no longer interpreted as just simple opposition, but also as a form of complex contraposition, via which not only does she oppose the adult, but also 'proposes' an action.

Finally, with regard to the child's actions interpreted as oppositions during this period of time, it is possible to observe how crying, whining and crying expressions start to get established as child oppositionive actions. Interpreted as oppositions from an early stage in the two cases under analysis, these actions continue to be interpreted in this way. However, at this moment, the parents start to interpret actions as if their

children start to intentionally make use of these actions, which suggests that they start to establish their oppositional status in the interaction. In order to illustrate these constructions, we reproduce part of a transcription and analysis of the last recording with Pedro, when he was five months, three weeks and two days old. In this episode, Pedro was in his baby seat (used for feeding him, with a tray at the front), being fed by his mother, who gives him a piece of banana with a spoon; the child's grandmother is also present (camera standing on a tripod).

Episode 4

- 1- Pedro** (7m29s): (looks at dish, verbalizes, raises his arms, hits the tray)
- 2- Mother** (7m30s): (moves the spoon towards Pedro) *'all right, mother, take it'*
- 3- Pedro** (7m31s): (opens his mouth and eats, holds spoon in his mouth and verbalizes)
- 4-Mother** (7m37s): (tries to get the spoon from Pedro) *'what happened, son? Are you sleepy,*
- 5- aren't you?'**

In this episode, as in others at the same period, a type of cycle is created, where Pedro acts looking at the dish, vocalising, raising his arms and hitting the tray (Line 1). Given these actions, his mother reacts by taking the spoon to his mouth quickly to feed him (Line 2). From these interactions it is possible to conclude that Pedro's mother interprets his actions as demands, as if Pedro hit the tray trying to call for her attention, persuading her to take the spoon to his mouth. The repetition of this cycle of actions seems to suggest that Pedro starts to understand that he can affect the environment and get things done via the adults, in this case, to get food from his mother, starting to play a protagonist role in interaction (the role of proposer).

Episode 5

- 5- Mother** (10m46s): *What is it you want? Do you want the dish? Is it the dish?*
- 6- Pedro** (10m49s): (verbalizes with crying expression, raises his arms)
- 7- Mother** (10m52s): (she brings the dish and places it on Pedro's tray) *Take it.*
- 8- Pedro** (10m53s): (looks at dish, touches it, dilutes his crying expression, vocalises)
- 9- Mother** (10m56s): (sits down in the sofa in front of Pedro) *"You are crafty(!)*
- 10- Shall we have a bath?**

- 11- Pedro** (10m58s): (moves the dish and almost lets it fall down)
- 12- Mother** (11m): (holds the dish and takes it away from Pedro) *a, a, a, a:*
- 13- Pedro** (11m01s): (looks at his mother, produces crying expression, and whines)
- 14- Mother** (11m02s): (brings back the dish and takes it away from Pedro, producing some
- 15 - sounds)**
- 16- Pedro** (11m03s): (looks at his mother, rises his arms, produces crying expressions and
- 17- whines).**
- 18- Mother** (11m04s) (places the dish on his tray)
- 19- Pedro** (11m04s): (looks at dish, dilutes crying expression and stops whining
- 20- Mother** (11m05s): *Boy, you are smart, see?*
- 21- Pedro** (11m06s): (touches the dish quietly)
- 22- Mother** (11m10s): *Look at this, Mum!*
- 23- Pedro** (11m14s): (raises the dish)
- 24- Mother** (11m15s): (gets the dish from Pedro) *Give it to Mummy.*
- 25- Pedro** (11m17s): (looks at dish, produces crying expression and whines)

In this episode, Pedro's mother asks "What is it you want? Do you want the dish, Is it the dish?", and gives Pedro the dish, interpreting that the child wants to play with it (Lines 5, 6 and 7). As soon as Pedro gets hold of the dish, he dilutes his crying expression (Line 8). He then touches the dish and almost lets it fall down, so his mother takes it away from him (Line 12). Pedro looks at his mother, produces a crying expression and whines (Line 13). We highlight the way in which the mother brings the dish close to Pedro, to take it away soon after, as if testing his reactions. She notes that Pedro reacts by whining every time the dish is taken away (Line 16). In a similar way, when the dish is brought back (Line 18), Pedro immediately reacts diluting his crying expression and stopping the whining (Line 19). Then his mother says: 'Boy, you are smart, see!' (Line 20) as if she were surprised with his behaviour. The mother notes that Pedro starts to make use of his whining, hoping that she would respond to him, by persuading her to give him the dish.

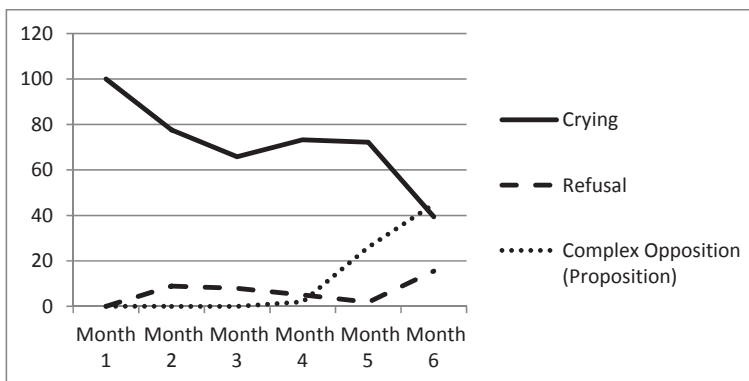
It should be observed that Pedro seems to make use of his crying expression and whining to show irritation and to try to persuade his mother to do something (give the

dish). Here, Pedro reacts rapidly and repetitively to his mother's intervention, always whining whenever the dish is taken away, and diluting his whining as soon as the dish is brought back. It seems plausible to hypothesise that the continuing reactions and interpretations on the parents' part oriented his development, by stimulating him to repeat those actions (crying/whining) that were continually defined and interpreted by them.

Macro-analysis: idiosyncrasies in the development of proto-opposition

In general, this study describes three stages in the developmental process of the child's actions interpreted as oppositions. The first one is identified by the presence of crying, whining and crying expression as the child's actions are most consistently interpreted as oppositions. In the second, refusal is added to the child's repertoire. Finally, the child's actions start to be interpreted as complex contrapositions through which not only can the child oppose him/herself to the adult, but also can offer actions from his/her 'own' point of view. This general pattern can be observed in both cases under analysis, although there are variations in some characteristics of the developmental path of each child. The graphs presented make these variations explicit. In the graphs all the child's actions interpreted as oppositions (by the adults who interacted with them) are registered, during the six months of data collection. The continuous line identifies all the moments where crying (crying, whining and crying expression) were interpreted as opposition. The pecked line shows the frequency with which the child's actions were interpreted as opposition in the context of 'refusal' (the parents offer an action or object and interpret that the child refuses/opposes it). The dotted line comprises the child's actions interpreted as complex oppositions, and was created based on the number of times the child's action was not only interpreted as opposition, but also as proposition. Note that the latter only does start to appear during the two last months under analysis. Referring to the graphs it is possible to observe that the development of Lara and Pedro present distinctions.

Graph 1 – Pedro’s actions interpreted as oppositions⁵

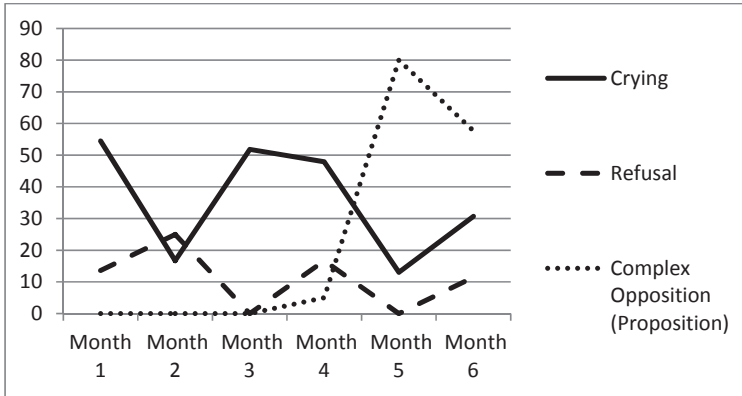


Source: Survey’s data.

In Pedro’s case, crying appears as the action most frequently interpreted as an opposition, showing a constant tendency to diminish during the period under observation. In relation to the other actions that were interpreted as oppositions, these appear less frequently at the initial phases of development, and show a reasonably constant tendency to go up during the same period. These observations suggest that in Pedro’s case crying gets established as an opposition sign first and is more frequently used. However, to the extent Pedro develops and widens his capacity to perform different actions, the frequency with which crying is interpreted as opposition falls, while the frequency of the other actions starts to increase, thus suggesting that these actions progressively get established as opposition signs in the interaction.

⁵ For the construction of the graph we considered all the episodes under analysis. In Pedro’s case 105 episodes were demarcated during the whole period (02 episodes in the first month, 28 in the second, 20 in the third, 17 in the fourth, 19 in the fifth and 19 in the sixth). In Lara’s case 118 episodes were demarcated (24 episodes in the first month, 22 in the second, 13 in the third, 23 in the fourth, 16 in the fifth and 20 in the sixth month). For the construction of this graph all the child’s actions interpreted as opposition were counted, within each episode; more than one child action could be interpreted as opposition. In Pedro’s case, 291 actions were identified and interpreted as oppositions, in Lara’s case, 170 actions were interpreted as oppositions.

Graph 2 – Lara’s actions interpreted as oppositions



Source: Survey’s data.

By contrast, in Lara’s case, it is possible to observe how the actions under analysis show abrupt oscillations in the frequency with which they appear during the period under observation. Nevertheless, even in face of these oscillations, it is possible to detect the same developmental tendency found in Pedro’s case. Firstly, we observe how crying also appears as the child’s action most frequently interpreted as opposition during the initial stages of development. In contrast, it is possible to observe the inversely proportional relation between the crying frequency and the frequency of the other actions interpreted as oppositions. When the crying frequency diminishes (at the second and fifth month), the frequency of refusal increases (at the second month complex opposition had not yet appeared, while refusal had, and its frequency increased during this period). In a similar way, when crying frequency increases (at the fourth month), the frequency of the other actions diminishes. At the fourth month, complex opposition starts to appear, although still in a very limited way, showing more expressively at the fifth and sixth month.

Concluding remarks

According to the theoretical framework adopted in this investigation, we observe that the process of development described is built up in a very co-regulated way (MORATO, 1996; VYGOTSKY, 1980). Adult actions stimulate the process of child development, while they themselves are modified in view of this development. Although the adults’ participation at first may seem the majority – since the child’s actions are still limited and undifferentiated – it is due to the characteristics of the child’s actions that adult interpretations are made possible, even at this early phase. In the final stages of the period under observation and as the child’s development progresses, the child’s

role seems to stand out. The child is increasingly considered as someone who proposes actions and opposes some of the adult's actions. Underlying this transition we can highlight some factors that make it possible and drive it forward. In first place we can emphasize the constant and continuous reaction on the adults' part towards the child's actions. The fact that they keep a certain routine and stability in the child's everyday life is an important factor that makes it possible for the child to learn and internalise the culturally established meanings of the actions that emerge from the interaction (MORATO, 1996; VYGOTSKY, 1980).

A second aspect stands out is the importance of the adults' responses during the process under investigation. The parents' actions, constantly responding to and producing meaning for the children's actions, make it possible for certain actions to be established as meaningful – acquiring a meaning - in the mother-child dialogue (BAHKTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986). In both cases under analysis, it is clear how crying/whining that appear initially in a way that could be considered undifferentiated, start to acquire the specific meanings of opposition and 'attention calling' (depending on the meaning the adult ascribes them). We propose that this transition is favoured by the way in which the adult constantly limits and interprets these behaviours, reacting to them in a consistent way (BAHKTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986).

It should also be emphasized that it was the theoretical/methodological framework adopted in this study that made it possible, during the period under observation, to identify not only the progressive assignment of meaning to the child's actions, but also a type of displacement in the discursive role that he/she occupied. The child was no longer considered an opponent, but seemed also able to assume the role of proponent in the interactions that were observed (LEITÃO, 2012).

The preliminary investigation of the proto-argumentative actions described here was built from observation of the similarities and idiosyncrasies in the two cases investigated. Through this descriptive effort, it was possible to characterise three stages that seem crucial to us in the development of the actions under investigation. These stages, which appeared in a similar way in both cases, equally showed developmental peculiarities deserving to be registered. Consequently, we suggest that this first description should be widened and altered in the future, particularly by investigating other situations that are more distinct from the ones analysed in this paper.

VASCONCELOS, A.; LEITÃO, S. Desenvolvimento da protoargumentação na interação adulto-bebê. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.123-150, 2016.

- *RESUMO: O presente artigo focaliza a gênese de produções proto-opositivas infantis, definidas como movimentos corporais, gestuais e vocalizações infantis interpretadas como oposições a comandos, vontades e ações. Assume-se, como proposto em Leitão (2010; LEITÃO; FERREIRA, 2006), que tais produções constituam antecedentes remotos da contraposição e da resposta à oposição, vistas como constituintes centrais da argumentação. Fundamentando-se*

em referências que inserem a gênese da ação e cognição humanas no âmbito das relações dialogicamente constituídas (BAKHTIN; VOLOCHINOV, 1986; VYGOTSKY, 1980; 2012; WERTSCH, 1978), este estudo analisa registros videográficos produzidos com duas crianças, entre a quarta semana e os seis meses de vida, em interação com adultos, em contexto doméstico. Com base em análises micro e macrogenéticas desses registros (GRANOTT; PARZIALE, 2002), três momentos foram identificados no processo de desenvolvimento de produções proto-opositivas: atribuição de sentido opositivo ao choro; construção de produções infantis como 'recusa' e, por fim, interpretação da ação infantil como contraposição complexa. Neste último, que implica um deslocamento do lugar discursivo atribuído à criança (LEITÃO, 2012), esta passa a ser vista não só como oponente de ações iniciadas pelo adulto, mas, também, como proponente de novas ações.

- **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Protoargumentação. Argumentação infantil. Desenvolvimento cognitivo.

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SCHOOLTEACHER REPRESENTED IN PRE-SERVICE TEACHER'S REFLEXIVE ACADEMIC WRITING

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- **ABSTRACT:** The present paper investigates some representations of Brazilian basic schoolteachers in professional reflexive writing, that is, a differentiated academic writing produced by pre-service teachers as the final assignment during their supervised compulsory pre-service Portuguese teacher training. The focus of attention is given to the clauses where the schoolteachers are construed as the grammar subject of actions. The methodological framework assumed in this research is that of the transdisciplinary approach of Applied Linguistics, which is characterized by the use of theoretical-methodological categories resulting from the many fields of knowledge applied in the construction of the object of study. Schoolteachers are represented as the main social actors accountable for the processes identified, which might ask for a complexification of pre-service teacher's view as regards the compulsory environment of pre-service teaching. Results indicate the demand for a more useful application of the professional reflexive writing in pre-service teacher education.
- **KEYWORDS:** Applied Linguistics. Systemic Functional Linguistics. Language Education. Academic Writing.

Introduction

In the Brazilian context, the first formal education teachers receive happens at an undergraduate degree level¹. These degrees, named *Licenciaturas*², cover several school subjects, such as Biology, Geography, History, Mathematics and Portuguese, which are

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¹ This paper was presented during the 40th ISFC – International Systemic Functional Linguistics Congress – in Guangzhou, China, 15-19th July 2013. It is part of the Postdoctoral project entitled “Representations of Basic School Teachers in Written Reports of Supervised Pre-service Training in the Licensures: from Grammar to Discourse”, developed by the first author of this paper, at The Hong Kong Polytechnic University (PolyU). The project is funded by CAPES Foundation, Ministry of Education of Brazil (BEX 11536/12-8). It also contributes to the scientific investigations developed by the research group “Práticas de Linguagens” – PLES (UFT/CNPq).

² *Licenciatura* can be translated into *Licentiate*, however, due to the many possible translation equivalents assigned to such a term, we are using the general umbrella term Degree. *Licenciatura* is the degree awarded to “a person who has received a formal attestation of professional competence to practice a certain profession or teach a certain skill or subject” (THE COLLINS ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 2013). The results of the present research took on where Silva (2014) has left off.

chosen by the candidate according to his/her preference when entering university. After undertaking the compulsory credits/subjects, which takes approximately four years, students (here called pre-service teachers) are awarded the degree of licensed teacher. This degree is the minimum required degree that one may take so as to undertake any teacher role in basic school teaching contexts. When students reach half of their undergraduate program, they are required to attend supervised compulsory pre-service teacher training, a period known as *practicum*. During the practicum, universities and basic schools develop concurrent activities. This kind of partnership is not common in the Brazilian educational context where a relationship carrying some traces of tenseness and disharmony³ can be observed.

The data set composing this study includes two sets of written texts produced by a group of Brazilian pre-service teachers who have attended their compulsory training focusing on the teaching of Portuguese Language and Literature, an option offered by the Undergraduate programme named *Licenciatura em Letras – Habilitação em Língua Portuguesa* (BA in Letters – Major in Portuguese). Moreover, this paper investigates the way Brazilian schoolteachers are represented when they are textualized in field notes and, then, retextualized in pre-service teacher training reports. These texts – training reports – result in what we are calling here *professional reflexive writing*, that is, a distinctive register construed in pre-service teacher education. The reports are the final assignment of the pre-service training written by pre-service teachers.

In the context of language education and teacher training, the present research presents an innovative way of looking at reflexive writing in practicum stages, that is, it uses the tools offered by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL, henceforth) for analyzing text produced by teachers in training. By innovative we mean professional reflexive writing reports produced in the encounter of basic schools and universities have not yet been given focus in the interface of educational linguistics and SFL, let alone in the Brazilian context of academic writing. Despite the existence of research within the educational linguistics realm of enquiry oriented by genre-based literacy approaches using SFL, these studies do not touch upon the encounters of two distinct institutions. Martin and Rose (2008), Christie and Derewianka (2008), Ryan (2011) and Hewings and North (2006) are some of the studies that have value bearing for the research at hand. While Martin and Rose (2008) look into Literacy Programme activities developed by the Sydney School, Christie and Derewianka (2008) look into children's writing development from primary to secondary schools, from childhood to adolescence. Ryan (2011) has proposed an "Academic Reflexive Model" to improve reflective writing skills of higher education students, also in the Australian educational

³ As a response to such tense and disharmonious relationship, the Brazilian government has created some programs to motivate collaborative work between these two educational institutions. These programs are known as: PIBID (Programa Institucional de Bolsa de Iniciação à Docência) and Prodocência (Programa de Consolidação das Licenciaturas). Groups of pre-service teachers receive scholarships to develop teaching and research activities, within the context of basic schools, under the supervision of a university teacher. As for the former program, schoolteachers and university teachers, who are members of a team, may also receive scholarships. The guiding aim of such programs is the consolidation of pre-service teacher education inside public basic schools in Brazil

context. In England, Hewings and North (2006) have compared conventional academic writing produced by geography and history undergraduate students.

The present paper is further divided into *Theoretical and Methodological Framework* subdivided into (i) synthesis of the main theoretical concepts and (ii) methodological procedures for this study. These sections are followed by the *Reflexive Professional Writing Production Context*. In a succeeding section, namely *Pre-service teacher training writing* is discussed. The next section – *Representation of Brazilian Schoolteachers* – is subdivided into two subsections offering the findings and discussion of both quantitative and qualitative analysis of this investigation. And, finally some *Final Considerations* regarding the implications and the ongoing research status is given.

Theoretical and methodological assumptions

A Functional perspective of representation

The institutional social spaces of basic schools and universities are of importance for the present research as they run in parallel with the premises of SFL, that is, language is a linguistic system that is realized within and according to specific contexts of use. The speaker/writer creates meaning on the basis of choices, because it [choice] represents an option on the part of the addresser for the creation of a stretch of language, i.e. the text⁴. The choices the speaker/writer makes, either consciously or unconsciously, will control the configuration of the lexicogrammatical realization of the register construed from the activity being carried out in combination with the interactional relationship of the social context. In this sense, the text is a result of the contextual factors and internal lexicogrammatical configuration, an operation of words that are exchanged in context and which get their meaning from the socio-semiotic activities where words are construed based on social agents and goals (HALLIDAY, 1989).

According to Halliday (1989, p.4), “language is understood in its relationship to social structure”. Therefore, language is understood here as a social semiotic process through which discourses and social practices are spread out in different institutional settings, as is the case of the context where compulsory pre-service training takes place. Both discourses and practices are amenable to textually oriented analysis. This is no different when looking into the texts that constitute the data of this research, that is, they are texts characterized by the distinct social practices of the educational settings in which they are immersed. In this sense, when the representation of basic schools teachers is investigated it will, inevitably, also reveal concerns around pre-service teacher education. By dedicating attention to the pedagogical activities carried out in

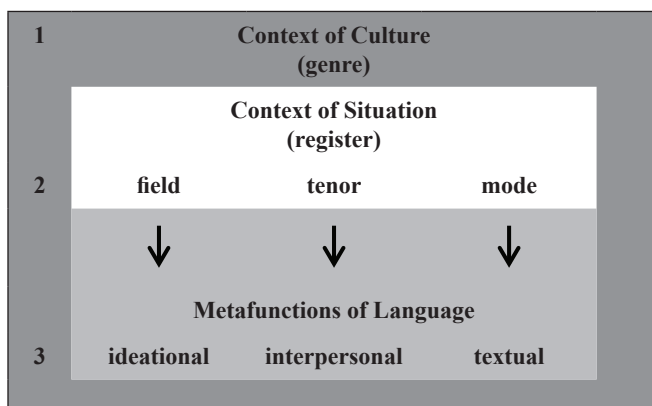
⁴ According to Halliday (1989, p.10), “[...] the text is a product in the sense that it is an output, something that can be record and studied, having a certain construction that can be represented in systemic terms. It is a process in the sense of a continuous process of semantic choice, a movement through the network of meaning potential, with each set of choices constituting the environment for a further set.”

pre-service training it is feasible to elaborate future pedagogical activities for teachers focusing on their workplaces.

In the context of diversified interactive situations of a literate society, pre-service teacher training being an example, written texts “mediate our social lives” and “discourses come to us via texts” (FAIRCLOUGH, 2010, p.549). The set of texts under investigation construe discourses in a complex social space, namely pre-service teacher training, where nebulous boundaries between universities and basic schools meet. According to Van Leeuwen (2008, p.6), “[...] discourses are social cognitions, socially specific ways of knowing social practices, they can be, and are, used as resources for representing social practices in text. This means that it is possible to reconstruct discourses from the texts that draw on them.”

Texts are the instantiation of language in context. SFL allows language investigation as it organizes language in a hierarchy of stratification. The stratified notion of language in context put forward by Halliday (1978) may be seen in the representation in the figure below. Context of culture is the broadest category where genre, discourses and language are realized; this is followed by the context of situation, which encompasses the metafunctions of language.

Figure 1 – Hierarchy of Stratification



Source: Author’s elaboration.

In explaining the difference of the contexts of the hierarchy of stratification, Matthiessen and Halliday (2009, p.88) say that:

Context is a higher-level semiotic system in which language is “embedded”. More specifically, language is embedded in a context of culture or social system and any instantiation of language as text is embedded in its own context of situation. Context is an ecological matrix for both the general system of language and for particular texts. It is

realized through language; and being realized through language means that it both creates and is created by language.

The relationship between language and context is characterized by the ‘principle of functional diversification’. Register, the mid-region between text and context, is simultaneously organized by three situational domains, namely, *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*. Field is realized by what is going on in the situation, that is, the social activity being carried out; tenor represents the social interactants of the social activity; and mode is concerned with the channel used to textualize language (MATTHIESSEN; HALLIDAY, 2009). The three register categories are immediately related to the three metafunctions of language: *ideational* (“grammatical resources for *construing* our experience of the world around us and inside us” –TRANSITIVITY); *interpersonal* (“grammatical resources for *enacting* social roles in general, and speech roles in particular, in dialogic interaction” –MOOD); and *textual* (grammatical resource for *construing* “*presentation* of ideational and interpersonal meaning as information that can be shared by speaker and listener in text unfolding in context” –THEME) (MATTHIESSEN; HALLIDAY, 2009, p.53-54).

As the attention of the present research is dedicated to a comparative analysis between representations of basic schoolteachers in two sets of texts belonging to different genres, the notion of register will be used as it offers theoretical categories for analyzing the contexts in which the texts were instantiated. Taking into consideration the research objective, we will focus on the ideational metafunction of language, more precisely on the TRANSITIVITY system, of the clauses in which pre-service teachers make referent to basic schoolteachers. Matthiessen (2001, p.99) argues that “the clause is a strong candidate for the unit of analysis” and that “detailed lexicogrammatical analysis of [...] texts are an important source of insight” for studies of language in context. Bearing this in mind together with the idea that the clause is realized simultaneously by the three metafunctions, our choice in focusing on the ideational one does not exclude reference to and reliance on the other two since they are inextricably crucial to the realization of language in context. As the focus of attention of the present study is given to analyzing and discussing the representation of basic school teachers in two set of texts, the ideational metafunction was isolated for investigative purposes as it allows us unpack the realization of participants construed from the configuration of processes within a determined context of situation, as discussed by Matthiessen and Halliday:

TRANSITIVITY is concerned with *construing* one particular domain of our experience – our experience the flux of “goings-on”, as configurations of a process (of some general type: material, mental, relational), the participants involved in it (Actor, Goal; Sensor, Phenomenon; Carrier, Attribute; and so on), and circumstances attendant on it (Cause, Location, Manner (including means and instrument), Accompaniment, and so on) (MATTHIESSEN; HALLIDAY, 2009, p.57).

In line with the ideational strata of meaning, *Representation* is conceptualized in this study from a socio-semiotic perspective as established in the interface of SFL and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, henceforth). Representation can be defined, in functional terms, as meaning construed from linguistic choices as a way of construing basic school teachers *in* and *beyond* the environment of compulsory supervised pre-service teacher training interactive context, including its discourses and social practices.

Research methodology

This research is situated in the transdisciplinary field of Applied Linguistics. Even though having SFL as the main theory informing the present study, other areas of enquiry are used to establish a dialogue of scientific knowledge in order to complement and shed light on the fuzzy boundaries that may be found during investigation. This complex and complementary methodological approach is justified from the very fact that the texts investigated here are construed in a complex contextual environment. In other words, the texts involve two educational institutions, namely, the university and the basic school and the functional focus is given to the language structure as it is inherently motivated by the discourses and social practices surrounding the compulsory pre-service teacher training academic subject.

In order to have a holistic view over the data, theoretical and methodological categories are used combining knowledge from distinct areas of research that can contribute with complementary angles and perspectives for the complex research paradigm proposed here. Not mutually exclusive, quantitative and qualitative approaches are used. For the quantitative line of enquiry, we employ the computational software known as WordSmith Tools 5.0 (SCOTT, 2008) and for the qualitative approach we rely on, but not solely on, the analytical categories offered by SFL as they offer grounds for describing the ways basic school teachers are represented in the data set of the present research. As an example of how we will blend distinct areas of research to aid qualitative investigation, on the one hand, Education Studies (LÜDKE; BOING, 2012; NÓVOA, 2007) come in to take care of the relationship of the two institutions under investigations, namely, the basic school and the university. On the other hand, studies produced in the field of creative writing (HUNT; SAMPSON, 2006) and literacy (LILLIS; SCOTT, 2007; SILVA, 2013; 2012a; 2012b) are made use of for they are able to characterize the professional reflexive writing under investigation. Such combination of voices and critical review of literature is required for the description of the research context for a well-grounded development of the linguistic data analysis.

The data of this research is composed by two sets of texts that are available for academic activities in a documentation and study center named Centro *Interdisciplinar de Memória dos Estágios Supervisionados das Licenciaturas* (CIMES), located at

Universidade Federal do Tocantins (UFT), Araguaína Campus, Brazil⁵. These texts were produced during field notes and pre-service training. The data consists of 8 texts for field notes and 8 texts for pre-service teacher training reports. The field notes may be seen as attachments in the final pre-service teacher training report, which is a final assignment that students have to submit in the end of the semester. There were a total of 12 (twelve) reports at CIMES, however, only in 8 (eight) of them the attachment (field notes) were made available. Due to concentrating research effort on the retextualization of field notes into the reports, we have excluded the 4 (four) reports that did not include notes attached. Another criterion was to look only at the most recent documents made available in CIMES.

In a nutshell, the research looks at the training subject in which the pre-service teacher observes Portuguese Language lessons that were taught by basic schoolteachers. In the training subject, the reports focus on school social actors (basic school teacher, students, documentation, to name but a few); whereas during the field notes pre-service teachers need to bring into discussion the performance of schoolteachers as well.

Reflexive professional writing production context

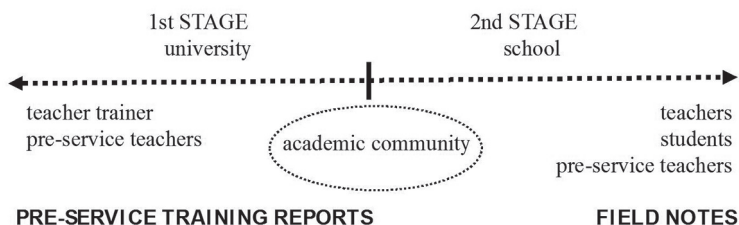
Compulsory pre-service teacher training is organized in two distinct stages of learning. In the first stage, at university, pre-service teachers attend theoretical and practical lessons where academic knowledge is introduced as it can contribute more directly to their practices in the basic schools. During orientation sessions, lessons and pedagogical materials are planned in order to be used by the pre-service teachers in basic schools. Sometimes, during these sessions, there is also space where pre-service teachers can verbally share their experiences lived during their practicum. The practicum is the second stage of learning. The practicum is carried out at a basic school and pre-service teachers observe lessons that are taught in a subject connected to their undergraduate teacher-training program. After observing these lessons for five teaching hours, pre-service teachers have to teach 21 teaching hours, in accordance with the workload of each subject. Pre-service teachers will do their teaching, preferably, in the same group of students they have been observing. The whole process is supervised by the teacher responsible for the compulsory pre-service teacher-training subject.

Figure 2 below represents the organization of the compulsory pre-service teacher-training environment. Such context is subject to analysis from two genres that are seen as tools that mediate learning in the pre-service teacher scenario, namely, field notes and pre-service teacher training reports. Both of these products are characterized as academic literacy events, texts that are commonly a requirement of undergraduate

⁵ Currently, there are approximately 3 thousand written training reports available at CIMES. These documents were produced by pre-service teachers in different undergraduate degrees in Araguaína Campus (Chemistry; English Teaching; Geography; Mathematic; Physics; Portuguese Teaching).

teacher-training program. For the present study, we have only selected the texts that were produced during the first compulsory pre-service training, in which pre-service teachers only observe lessons. During the following three semesters of the undergraduate program, there are subjects that pre-service teachers need to observe as well as teach, but these subjects are out of the scope of this research.

Figure 2 – Context of the compulsory pre-service training



Source: Adapted from Silva (2014, p.55).

The two learning stages of the compulsory pre-service training are displayed in Figure 2 above together with the main social actors who are involved in the writing interaction triggered in the literacy events aforementioned. The field notes are produced by pre-service teachers during their visits to the basic schools while observing the classes that are being developed by the schoolteachers, being this the first teacher training subject pre-service teachers attend. As for the teacher trainers, s/he is not portrayed in the figure above, as the academic subject investigated here does not supervise observation, which is the main focus of the present study.

In principle, the field notes are firstly written as an aid to help pre-service teachers remember all the experienced lived while observing the classes in basic schools, and later they become an aid in writing the pre-service training report. Usually, the field notes are handwritten during pre-service teacher’s stay at the basic school. Later on, the field notes are formatted and typed, so that they can be presented as short texts respecting a chronological sequence that is identified by the date and number of class observed. When the reports are written, the field notes are attached into the final version of the reports (i.e., a final assignment of the subject). Meaning that these notes do undergo some kind of revision based on the pre-service teacher’s re-writing, but on the other hand, the teacher trainer becomes the pre-service teacher ‘interlocutor’, when these notes have to undergo revision based on the teacher trainer’s comments.

The pre-service teacher reports results in what we call *reflexive professional writing*. We see such as a type of writing that is used as an instrument of mediation to promote the empowerment of pre-service teacher education. The textual organization of the reports are quite diverse, this is mostly due to compulsory pre-service teacher training at universities not having a systematic structure of the dynamism of such training/

contexts. Silva (2012a, p.287) points out to “[...] the lack of consensus among the educators responsible for coordinating and teaching the supervised pre-service training subjects as regards the operationalization of official guidelines concerning the subject.”

Despite not being our objective to investigate the schematic structure of the selected reports, in general terms, a simple internal organization could be observed (SILVA, 2013; 2012a; 2012b). Besides including *pre-textual elements*, such as, covers, index, acknowledgment and epigraph, *references* and *attachment* most of them also included: (i) an *introductory section*: containing the objectives of his/her compulsory pre-service teacher training; and, the general information about the school, the teacher and the group of students; (ii) a *core section*: part that reports and discusses the experiences lived in the basic school, the discussion part is, at times, presented in a separate section or in subsections focusing on the school infrastructure and/or contents concerning Portuguese Language Teaching, such as reading, writing and grammar; (iii) a *conclusion section*: this section explores pre-service teacher’s most relevant aspects of the experiences reported previously as well as discussing contributions of the practicum to their education. All of these sections are identifiable by headings or by paragraph division when in a single section.

Although the social actors directly involved in the compulsory pre-service teacher training as represented in Figure 2, in the set of texts under investigation, the only interactants portrayed are the pre-service teachers and their trainers, while schoolteachers and students are almost not given reference to. Usually basic schools teachers and students do not have access to the pre-service teacher training reports, regardless the fact that all of the reports from the past four years are made available for consultation in the CIMES documentation center. The writers of the reports do not aim at writing this to basic schoolteachers and students since these social actors are not immersed in the academic context and therefore, they do not make use or even visit the services and spaces provided by CIMES. The non-contact that basic schools actors have with the training reports is evidence of the absence of a close cooperation between the two institutions involved in the supervised compulsory pre-service teacher training subject.

Pre-service teacher training writing

Over the past years, Brazilian undergraduate teacher training programs have been criticized due to their overvaluation of theoretical knowledge and undervaluation of teaching practice demands (LÜDKE; CRUZ, 2005). Because of this sort of critics, a great responsibility falls on the compulsory pre-service teacher training subject, as the subject provides a closer approximation of university and basic schools, which goes in accordance with Lüdke and Boing’s (2012, p.430) claim that “[...] we are convinced that the preparation of teachers-to-be, currently the responsibility of universities, is in

fact lacking on the practical side, since universities are more concerned with theoretical training.”

The responsibility mentioned in the paragraph above is not restricted to the situational context of the present research, this is an issue that is widespread worldwide as observed by Nóvoa (2007) in a study carried out in the Portuguese context. In this study, the author highlighted his concern in terms of the need for education that is more centered on practice and practice analysis as a challenge for teacher education. He says:

Teacher education is, sometimes, excessively theoretical, other times, excessively methodological, but there is deficiency in practices, in reflecting about practices, in knowing how to do. It is hopeless to see certain teachers who are genuinely willing to do differently, but just do not know how. They have the body and mind full of theories, books, thesis, authors, but they do not know how all of that becomes practice, how all of that is organized in a coherent practice. This is the reason why, I have for so many years, supported the idea of *education – training – that is centered in practices and in the analysis of such practices*. (NÓVOA, 2007, p.14, italics added, our translation)⁶.

The fact that the author points to practice in teacher education is not the most relevant aspect of his idea. Practice that is isolated may also become ineffective. However, the very fact of pointing to the education that offers tools for teachers-in-training to build up the capacity of reflecting and analyzing practices experienced in the workplace (NÓVOA, 2007) should be at the core of any teacher training program. In this context, the uses of reflexive professional writing are taken as a didactic strategy that strengthen the practical work undertaken by pre-service teacher in their undergraduate teacher training programs.

Pre-service teachers produce the written texts under investigation as a linguistic-discursive space. This kind of written allows the pre-service teacher to combine, explicitly or implicitly, academic theories with the pedagogical practices from basic schools. Therefore, these texts are oriented by theoretical and practical knowledge with the utmost aim of reminding, critically discussing and reflecting the teaching/learning situations experienced by pre-service teachers in basic schools. Likewise, these texts are commonly known as “reflexive writing” in research contexts of Applied Linguistics, Education and Psychology, in studies developed by Burton et al. (2009), Gibson (2003), Silva (2013; 2012b) and Hunt and Sampson (2006), for instance.

⁶ “A formação do professor é, por vezes, excessivamente teórica, outras vezes, excessivamente metodológica, mas há um déficit de práticas, de refletir sobre as práticas, de trabalhar sobre as práticas, de saber como fazer. É desesperante ver certos professores que têm genuinamente uma enorme vontade de fazer de outro modo e não sabem como. Têm o corpo e a cabeça cheios de teoria, de livros, de teses, de autores, mas não sabem como aquilo tudo se transforma em prática, como aquilo tudo se organiza numa prática coerente. Por isso, tenho defendido, há muitos anos, a necessidade de uma *formação centrada nas práticas e na análise dessas práticas*.” (NÓVOA, 2007, p.14, italics added).

In the field notes and the pre-service training reports, the focus of attention is given to reflexive professional writing from a linguistic point of view. According to Lillis and Scott (2007, p.19) this kind of writing is “[...] an increasingly common type of writing in university courses related to professional/vocational practice and experience.” In teacher education contexts, the common use of *reflexive professional writing* can be accounted for if compared to the traditional academic literacy practices. That is, the world represented in writing seems to be distanced from the writer, and the need of academic theoretical voices might silence pre-service teachers from representing in their own words the experiences lived during their compulsory pre-service teacher training in basic schools. Moreover, these might be students’ first steps into the academic field. It is through this kind of writing that pre-service teachers will be able to express their point of views, feelings, emotions and evaluation about the experienced lived during their practicum in the basic school classroom. Within the field of creative writing, Hunt and Sampson (2006, p.4) say that

Reflexivity is a different process and potentially a deeper one. At its heart is a particular kind of ‘engagement with an ‘other’’, whether another person or oneself as ‘other’. Where reflection could be said to involve taking something into oneself – a topic, an event, a relationship – for the purpose of contemplation or examination, reflexivity involves putting something out in order that something new might come into being. It involves creating an internal space, distancing ourselves from ourselves, as it were, so that we are both ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ ourselves simultaneously and able to switch back and forth fluidly and playfully from on position to the other, giving ourselves up to the experience of ‘self as other’ whilst also retaining a grounding in our familiar sense of self.

Field notes are the embryonic step into the chain of the literacy events that are generated during the compulsory pre-service teacher training. This process results in what is called here as *reflexive professional writing*, which can be seen as a hybrid distinctive register construed in pre-service teacher education in the training reports. Such reflexive writing may allow compulsory pre-service teacher training to become a more practical approach to the combination of practice and theory as opposed to the other academic subjects that make use of mere academic writing per se.

As a way of exemplifying what *reflexive professional writing* is, we reproduce below a sample of training report taken from the data of the present study, in which pre-service teachers highlight some uses of field notes for teacher education both during pre-service teacher training as well as for application in their future workplace while carrying out teaching activities after concluding their undergraduate degrees. Example 1 discusses both the subject matter, in italics in both Portuguese as well as in the English translation, and the function (underlined in both Portuguese and English versions) of

text production within teaching workplace. Field notes are seen as a facilitation tool of the teacher's daily professional activities. In writing notes, pre-service teachers become familiarized with reflecting over their own actions and ideas still during their undergraduate degrees (*Os diários são mais que meras anotações, são um meio para refletir a respeito dos aspectos do meio escolar. –The diaries are more than simple notes, they become a means for reflection about aspects of the school environment.*). During the compulsory pre-service training, the reflection that the pre-service teacher refers to in example 1 is enabled through the retextualization process, when students (pre-service teachers) retextualize their field notes into their training reports.

Example 1	
Durante o tempo em que as aulas foram observadas, foram escritos diários que abordavam <i>o comportamento de professora e alunos, os conteúdos repassados, métodos utilizados pela professora nas aulas, formas de avaliação entre outras peculiaridades</i> . Os diários são mais que meras anotações, são um meio para refletir a respeito dos aspectos do meio escolar. Anotações a respeito do contexto escolar <i>devem ser feitas sempre que necessário e consideradas não só durante o estágio, mas no decorrer da vida docente do educador, como um método que auxilie no aperfeiçoamento da prática pedagógica</i> . (Introduction – Training Report 2)	Portuguese (original)
During the period that the classes were observed, diaries concerning <i>teacher's behavior, the content and the method used by the teacher, the kind of evaluation among other peculiarities</i> were written. The diaries are more than simple notes, they become a means for reflection about aspects of the schooling environment. Notes regarding the school context <u>should be always taken when considered necessary not only during training period, but during the educator's professional life as a method that aids improving pedagogical practices</u> . (Introduction – Training Report 2)	English (our translation)

In order to exemplify pre-service teacher's perception regarding the chain of literacy events involved in their training, Example 2 is given below. In this passage, it becomes evident that pre-service teachers make use of training reports as an important tool for thinking/reflecting on the experiences they lived during the practicum in the basic schools (*é importante para pensarmos a respeito da prática pedagógica que começaremos a desempenhar dentro de pouco tempo–[Øit] is important to think about the pedagogical practice that we will start to carry out in a very short time*).

A rather intriguing aspect to bring into the fore here is that pre-service teachers do not see their experiences in the basic schools as a moment for knowledge exchange with the teacher being observed, but as a moment where their observation will allow them to improve the inefficient pedagogical practices that they are able to detected during their practicum (*planejar melhor as aulas e fazer diferente o que foi visto como reprovável durante o período de observação.– to better plan lessons and try*

to make different what we have seen as unapproving during the observation period). In the Brazilian university context, several times, what is observed is that pre-service teachers use reflexive professional writing as a tool for reproducing the asymmetrical relationship between universities and basic schools. When the student feels that he has the freedom to only criticize basic schools, he puts himself in a prestigious position as he is talking from the university stand.

Example 2	
Creio que a etapa de observação e a elaboração deste relatório é importante para pensarmos a respeito da prática pedagógica que começaremos a desempenhar dentro de pouco tempo. Assim, temos a oportunidade de <u>planejar melhor as aulas e fazer diferente o que foi visto como reprovável durante o período de observação.</u> (Conclusion – Training Report 2)	Portuguese (original)
I believe that the period of observation and elaboration of this report is important to think about the pedagogical practice that we will start to carry out in a very short time. In this way, we have the opportunity to <u>better plan lessons and try to differentiate what we have seen as failing during the observation period.</u> (Conclusion – Training Report 2)	English (our translation)

In both writings investigated in the present study, pre-service teachers represent numerous social actors who play a role in the experiences lived during the compulsory teacher-training subject. However, we will devote direct attention to the representation of Brazilian basic schoolteachers as realized in both field notes and training reports. The main objective of this investigation is to demonstrate through a linguistic based analysis what these representations construe in terms of pre-service teacher education. Furthermore, these representations might be indicative of pre-service teacher’s view regarding the social actors involved in the complex context of the compulsory pre-service teacher training, more specifically in what regards schoolteachers as they are the central participants in teaching institutions. According to Lüdke and Boing (2012, p.448), the basic school teacher is to be seen as “[...] a cognizant subject who is able to feel emotions, who acts under tensions in a situation that is structured and yet open in a significant measure.”

In this context, the data analyzed so far in this research proves that the pre-service teachers in focus do possess a more critical view as compared to other research (SILVA; MELO, 2008; SILVA; PEREIRA, 2013, for instance) developed in Brazil, but which focus on single stages of the supervised compulsory training in the same undergraduate degree. Lüdke and Boing (2012, p.448) say that this more critical view owned by pre-service teachers are a “in-situation approach”, that is, it is a view made possible by having access to the complex approach that allows the observer to visualize the network that connects the many social actors interacting within the various social school spaces. The authors claim that

within a reality that is socially and culturally constructed, there is action and interaction between and among several players, and in the center of the stage are the teacher and his or her students. This in-situation approach has sought to unveil how these subjects, by simultaneously taking into consideration the demands and constraints inherent in the situation (programs, curricula, norms, settings and other elements characteristic of the “school form”), but by also being attentive to the undeniable role of creativity and initiative proper to the teacher and his or her students, make up what the researchers call configurations. There are a considerable number of unpredictable aspects in every classroom and there is an important component of creativity and initiative within the teacher’s jurisdiction. He or she acts as an individual, as a member of a community (of a time, of culture, of a *métier*), having received a given training and making use of resources learned during the training and from others, as an active subject, making his professional way, and seeking fulfillment from his or her work, to which knowledge the contributions of sciences such as sociology and psychology are essential. (LÜDKE; BOING, 2012, p.448)

From a quantitative point of view, pre-service teachers construe the *student* and the *teacher* as the main social actors in their writing. This finding can be seen in Table 1 where the ten most recurrent lexical words of the data can be found. For the quantitative analysis presented in this section, we have made use of the analytical tools made available by WordSmith Tools 5.0 (SCOTT, 2008), namely Wordlist. The total number of lexical and grammatical words in field notes was 13,382 and 20,954 in the pre-service training reports.

Table 1 – Most frequent lexical words

SOCIAL ACTOR	FIELD NOTES		REPORTS		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Student	403	3.01	331	1.57	734	2.14
2. Teacher	306	2.28	224	1.06	530	1.54
3. Lesson	220	1.65	215	1.03	435	1.27
4. Activity	190	1.41	58	0.27	248	0.72
5. Text	77	0.57	109	0.52	186	0.54
6. School	17	0.13	124	0.59	141	0.41
7. Reading	60	0.44	66	0.31	126	0.37
8. Education	2	0.01	117	0.56	119	0.35
9. Classroom	53	0.40	66	0.31	119	0.34
10. Language	1	0.00	84	0.40	85	0.25

Source: Silva (2014, p.65).

An important aspect that was revealed by looking at the number of words in each text is the fact that even though field notes are shorter texts, the number of occurrences of the *student* and the *teacher* are more expressive in these texts as compared to the training reports. Despite these two social actors being of central importance in the context of teaching and learning in accordance with pre-service teachers' points of view, the repetition of these two lexical items are seen as a less elaborated text as its lexical density becomes lessened (HALLIDAY, 1993). Therefore, field notes function as tools for registering noticeable interactional situations during the lessons observed in the basic schools as well as an aid material for later retextualizing the most relevant situations into pre-service training reports

In the field notes column, the first four participants (1 – 4) are the most frequent items occurring as lexical words when compared to the report column. These words cover general participants who are recognized by diverse pre-service teachers from other undergraduate teaching programs and not only by the undergraduate pre-service teachers from the Portuguese Language and Literature programs. The other six lexical words (5 to 10) are imbued with pre-service teachers' awareness of the next writing assignment they need to complete, that is, the training reports. This result shows that even though focusing significantly on the *student*, *teacher*, *lesson* and, *activity* students do take into consideration the whole social semiotic environment involving other social actors such as the ones found in Table 1 from 5 to 10, in doing so pre-service teachers are able to handle the text as regards the social actors responsible for the problems and virtues observed at the basic schools. In these texts, students' discourse about social actors are directly related to language teaching (i.e. *text*; *reading*; *language*) as well as the social actors that enable articulations with broader issues in the education sphere (i.e. *school*; *education*; *classroom*).

Within this discourse complexity, the uses of *education* and *language* are genuine examples of the expressive differences occurring in the retextualization process. The lexical word *education* besides representing the educational level where the supervised pre-service training takes place (as *Basic Education*) allowing the writers to expound on the challenges of teaching the mother tongue as well as the other challenges faced among the diverse school subjects. When making use of the lexical word *language*, students are able to elucidate the issues related to the specificities of teaching the mother tongue stating that what frequently happens is the articulation of the academic literature as an authority argument and a 'didactization' tool (MELO; GONÇALVES; SILVA, 2013).

The two sets of texts also underwent a lexical density quantitative analysis. The field notes and pre-service teacher training reports are compiled together in the table below. That is, we have displayed the number of *token*, *types* and *type/token ratio*⁷ for

⁷ According to Cheng (2012, p.218), token refers to "each word in a corpus irrespective of whether or not it is repeated"; type refers to "each distinct word in a corpus (a frequency count of type does not include repeats of each distinct word)"; type/token ratio refers to "the proportions of distinct words and total number of words in a corpus".

every set of text (1 to 8) for each genre. The numbers point to the finding that when in the process of retextualization, reflexive professional writing undergoes improvement. Such fact may be evidence to reinforcing the unbalanced relation of the encounter of the two educational institutions tackled in this study.

Table 2 – Lexical density

GENRE		TOKEN	TYPE	TTR
		N	N	%
1	Field Notes	1,481	469	31.67
	Reports	2,337	857	36.41
2	Field Notes	2,053	694	33.80
	Reports	3,860	1,143	29.61
3	Field Notes	1,152	462	40.10
	Reports	1,775	684	38.54
4	Field Notes	2,154	682	31.66
	Reports	2,539	898	35.37
5	Field Notes	1,272	415	32.63
	Reports	1,607	639	39.76
6	Field Notes	1,832	627	34.22
	Reports	3,359	1,086	32.33
7	Field Notes	1,187	423	35.64
	Reports	3,730	1,230	32.98
8	Field Notes	2,251	660	29.32
	Reports	1,747	670	38.35
TOTAL Field Notes		13,382	2,388	17.84
TOTAL Reports		20,954	3,633	17.34

Source: Silva (2014, p.68).

Nearly all the paired texts show that pre-service training reports are longer texts when compared to field notes, the only exception being pair number eight. Despite pre-service teachers selecting facts registered in their field notes, they discuss these facts based on their points of views backed up from academic literature, trying to link, in this way, their points of views to the theoretical knowledge gained during their undergraduate teacher training courses. Another relevant aspect of reports being longer is the fact that when retextualizing, pre-service teachers usually have given a much more detailed description of the school and the group of students where the classes were observed. Besides detailing this information, they include considerations concerning the contributions of the compulsory pre-service teacher training for their education, which is never found in the field notes.

The increase of number of tokens in the reports, as may be seen in Table 2 above, does not follow the same proportion of number of types. This is observed in occurrences 2, 3, 6 and 7 in which the type/token ratio becomes smaller in the reports when compared with the numbers observed in the field notes, which might be an indication that reports are less elaborated as they present a higher number of repeated words. Moreover, the total type/token ratio of the paired texts shows a very similar relation in terms of lexical density. The similarity here observed is indicative of the lack of supervision during the process of retextualization, since the field notes are rather simple texts and transfer some of its linguistic features to pre-service training reports.

Representations of Brazilian schoolteachers

Processes related to the basic schoolteacher as the grammatical subject

A quantitative analysis regarding the total number of process encountered in the data of this ongoing study was carried out in order to have a general picture of how often the basic schoolteacher was construed as the grammatical subject of the clause. For the present study we are looking at the grammatical subject as “the person with whom the message is concerned” (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004, p.55). To facilitate searching for this participant, WordSmith Tools, in particular Concord Tools (SCOTT, 2008) was applied to investigate the occurrences in the data set. In Table 3, the four types of process identified in the set of texts as well as their frequency are presented⁸. For a better visualization of the number of occurrences of each process type, we also present the results in a graphic display.

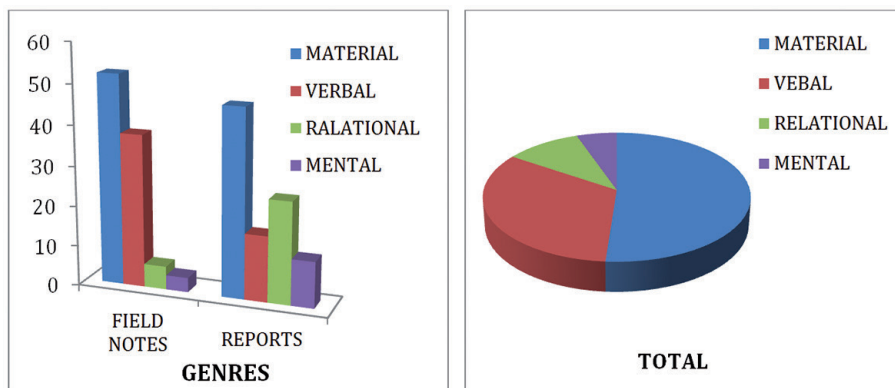
Table 3 – Process types

PROCESS	Material		Verbal		Relational		Mental		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Field Notes	216	52.4	157	38.1	24	5.8	15	3.6	412	77.1
Reports	57	46.7	20	16.4	31	25.4	14	11.5	122	22.8
TOTAL	273	51.1	177	33.1	55	10.2	29	5.4	534	100

Source: Silva (2014, p.86).

⁸ Besides the four process types identified in Table 3, in the field notes there was one occurrence only of existential process in which schoolteacher is realized as the Existent.

Chart 1 – Process types



Source: Silva (2014, p.86).

In the results in the table above, material (216 occurrences) and mental (15 occurrences) process are the most and the least recurrent choices, respectively, of process realization in the field notes, however, when compared with the training reports the number of clauses realized by a material process (57 occurrences) falls drastically. Relational process, though, are much more frequent in the training reports (31 occurrences) as compared to fields notes (24 occurrences), and the number of mental clauses is very similar in both genres. Another fact concerns verbal process, on the one hand field notes frequently construe the teacher involved in a verbal clause (157 occurrences), on the other hand, the teacher is much less involved in verbalizing in the training reports (20 occurrences). These numbers point to the inherent purpose of each of the texts, that is, while field notes are devoted to penning down as many of the situations experienced in the practicum as possible, the pre-service training reports will pass through a selection of all of these experiences lived and penned down in the notes in order to retextualize in a more academic fashion his/her former words. A more balanced use of process types as may be seen in the training reports is evidence of the discourse complexity involved in this genre.

These results show that basic schoolteachers are represented as social actors who undertake their occupations by doing (material process) and talking (verbal process). What this suggests is that pre-service teachers' eye is oriented towards the external performances of the basic schoolteacher in the workplace, that is, towards what pre-service teachers are able to explicitly observe in the teaching context without dedicating too much effort to understanding in between lines.

The clauses given below are rather illustrative examples of these kinds of occurrences found in the data set of the present study. The following four examples were chosen for they contemplate the same topic both in the field notes as well as in the training reports. By doing so, we are able to compare the realization of the

representation categories of Brazilian basic schoolteachers, as discussed in the following subsection⁹.

Example 3 – <i>Teacher as Agent: Teacher’s Own Actions – Explicit</i>		
<u>Material</u>	1 A professora apenas <u>passou</u> a atividade e +2 <u>pediu</u> para que os alunos respondessem isso sem nenhuma explicação prévia. (Field Note 6)	Portuguese (original)
<u>Verbal</u>	1 The teacher only <u>gave</u> the activity + 2 and <u>asked</u> the student to answer this without any explanation. (Field Note 6)	English (our translation)
Example 4 –		
<u>Material</u>	α A professora <u>busca levar</u> para a sala de aula outras metodologias, como: livrinhos de literatura de cordel, outros livros didáticos, e obras literárias, xβ para que sejam feitas as leituras em casa e posteriormente datadas em suas fichas de leitura. (Reflexive Report – Training Report 6)	Portuguese (original)
	α The teacher <u>tries to bring</u> to the classroom other methodologies, such as: <i>cordel</i> literature reading books, other didactic books, and literary work, xβ so that they can be done at home and later dated on the reading documentation. (Reflexive Report – Training Report 6)	English (our translation)

In Examples 3 and 4 above, the schoolteacher is construed as the *agent* responsible for the actions carried out in the Portuguese lessons observed. When the teacher takes part in a material clause (*passou; busca levar - gave; tries to bring*) s/he becomes the Actor of the process, while verbal clauses (*pediu - asked*) s/he is construed as the Sayer of the verbal process. The element *A professora (The teacher)* is quite often realized as the Theme of clauses giving evidence to the relevance of this social actor in the texts under investigation. These two examples show how the same experience of the external world may be represented in two distinct ways. In other words, while in the field notes modalizers (*apenas, sem nenhuma explicação prévia - only and without any previous explanation*, respectively) are used to point to the teacher as the sole responsible for the unproductive teaching activity; in the training reports, pre-service teachers highlight the relevance of reading activities through short literature books, impinging the focus of attention to the more productive didactic procedures instead of those less productive ones. At a later stage of the report, the pre-service teacher presents some suggestions and contributions in what concerns the optimization of the activity that was merely proposed by the teacher, this kind of further reflection characterizes reflexive professional writing.

⁹ Throughout the examples reproduced in this paper, we use some systemic functional linguistic analysis conventions to facilitate data reading. These are: number: paratactic clause; lowercase Greek alphabet: hypotactic clause; = : elaboration; + : extension; x : enhancement; “ : locution; ‘ : idea.

Taking into consideration the fact that relational clauses serve to characterize and to identify (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004), the low number of occurrences of relational process in the set of texts here investigated may be evidence of pre-service teachers' avoidance of directly judging basic school teachers. However, as observed in the occurrences presented above, some traces of judgment may be seen in the example 3 given above.

The construal of mental clauses tend to require an extensive involvement from the writer as the world represented through language is a creation of an event once construed in the writer's mind and not a mere direct description of the fact experienced. The projected ideas found in the mental clauses, of the data set of reports at hand, are used for enhancing pre-service teacher's reflexive professional writing. Such uses happen to a lesser extent in the field notes since field notes are recorded during the exact same time as basic schoolteachers are performing their professional duties within the observed classroom. Such finding is likely to be accountable of the expressive number of occurrences of relational and mental clauses in the training reports under investigation.

In order to illustrate how relational and mental clauses are construed in the data here analyzed, Examples 5 and 6 are presented in tabular form below. The ideas that pre-service teachers convey in the next two examples (field notes) seem to be rather incisive once these are the textualization of what is happening within the classroom during the practicum.

Example 5 – <i>Teacher Painted as: By Others – Explicit</i>		
Relational	α Tenho em mente ‘ β a se os alunos e a professora <u>mantivesse</u> um dialogo continuo + β as atividades e o aprendizado poderia ser desenvolvido bem melhor (Field Note 6)	Portuguese (original)
	α I have in mind ‘ β a if the students and the teacher <u>would keep</u> a continuous dialogue + β the activities and the learning could be developed much better. (Field Note 6)	English (our translation)
Example 6 – <i>Teacher as Agent: Teacher's Own Actions – Explicit</i>		
<u>Mental</u>	1 Hoje os alunos estavam comportados e lendo as respectivas literaturas, +2 α mas percebi “ β que a professora não <u>soube aproveitar</u> a oportunidade e <u>fazer</u> com que essa aula fosse maravilhosa. (FN6)	Portuguese (original)
	1 Today the students were well behaved and reading their literatures, +2 α but I noticed “ β that the teacher <u>was not able to use</u> the opportunity <u>to make</u> this class a marvelous one. (Field Note 6)	English (our translation)

In the Example 5 above, the possessive relational clause (*os alunos e a professora mantivesse um diálogo contínuo –if the students and the teacher would keep a continuous dialogue*) is a projection of what the writer assumes/thinks (*Tenho em mente – I have in mind*) to be an efficient way of dealing with the activities proposed. Such kind of realization is characterized as basic schoolteacher *painted by*, in the case here, *pre-service teacher*. Driving attention to example 6, the mental process *percebi* (*I noticed*) allows the projection of another mental clause (*que a professora não soube aproveitar – that the teacher was not able to use the opportunity*). The pre-service teacher is, then, the *Senser* of the latter clause. In other words, the internal world of consciousness of the pre-service teacher construed while s/he is observing the teaching situation is externalized in the field notes as s/he is evaluating and exposing his/her personal experiences in how to create a more effective teaching situation. Therefore, the schoolteacher is represented as *an agent responsible for the action* as projected through the pre-service teacher's own mental configuration of the experience lived in the classroom.

Representation of schoolteacher as the grammatical subject

The set of texts composing the data of the present study has provided us with macro-categories used for representing schoolteachers, these categories emerged from the types of clauses produced by pre-service teachers writing. The categories are: (i) *Teacher as agent*, realized in material, verbal and mental clauses; (ii) *Teacher painted as*, realized in relational clauses. The two macro-categories are presented in Table 4 below together with the corresponding clause number used for exemplification purposes in this paper and the grammatical configuration in which the schoolteacher is represented.

Table 4 – Categories of representations

Representation Category: <i>Teacher as Agent</i>			
Teacher's Own Actions		Action Proposed by Others	
Explicit (3, 4, 6, 10)	Implicit (7)	By PST (8, 10)	By Legal Agent (9)
Description of Grammatical Pattern			
Teacher is explicitly represented functioning as Actor, Sayer or Senser. The clause is realized in the indicative MOOD and it can be projected by a mental clause.	Teacher is implicitly represented in the material or verbal clause, realized in passive constructions. This construction might even be a projection of a mental clause.	Teacher is explicitly represented functioning as Actor, Sayer or Senser. The clause is usually modalized and it can also be a projection of a mental clause	Teacher is explicitly represented functioning as Actor. The clause is usually modalized. The clause is the projection of a verbal clause. The legal agent can be any official document or author.
Representation Category: <i>Teacher Painted as(something)</i>			
By Others			By himself (10)
Explicit (5)	Implicit (7)		
Description of Grammatical Pattern			
Teacher represented in a relational clause that is the projection of a mental clause in which the Senser is recorded (active voice).	Teacher represented in a relational clause that is a projection of a mental clause in which the grammatical subject is not explicated (passive voice). The teacher is also represented in single relational clause.		Teacher is represented in a relational clause accompanied by a reflexive pronoun.

Source: Silva (2014, p.91).

Teacher's Own Actions Implicit is shown in Example 7 below, which is realized by a clause complex. On a first note, the pre-service teacher uses of a projection (*indentificar que – identify*) as a way of judging the schoolteacher's actions as one who does things (*estava sendo colocado; era colocado – was being given; was put*, respectively) but is not accountable for it explicitly in the clauses. Through the use of projection the author is able to construe passive realizations where the Actor is left implicit to the reader's comprehension, taking all of the responsibility out of the writer's hands when s/he judges the way teaching of reading and writing is being taught during his/her in-class observations. This kind of grammatical construction does not foreground the basic school teacher, is found to be typical in the type of texts produced during the practicum,

since this type of observation is prone to generate either compliments or criticisms. In the second clause complex, a different construction is observed: the Brazilian schoolteacher is realized in hypotactic constructions as the one accountable for the quality of teaching. However, once more, the pre-service teacher does not appear in this construction as the one who has observed and experienced all of those situations being described. Similar to the first clause complex of Example 7, this type of grammatical pattern emerges quite frequently in order to raise criticisms as regards the educational setting being observed by pre-service teachers, but in the embedded relational clause the Brazilian schoolteacher is *painted by pre-service teacher* in an *implicit* way.

Example 7 – <i>Teacher Painted as: By Others – Implicit</i>		
<u>Material</u>	<p>α Durante as observações foi possível identificar 1'β que o ensino de língua materna principalmente na leitura e produção de texto <u>estava sendo colocado</u> de forma fragmentada para o aluno, +2 onde havia espaço para trabalhar outras disciplinas, +3 mas não <u>era colocado</u> em prática. α Ao relacionar a metodologia recomendada pela teoria com o praticado na sala de aula, foi constatado 'β α que a docente <u>estava permeada</u> de uma concepção β que vê o ensino de forma separada, caracterizando a inclusão das outras disciplinas como pouco significativas não valorizando a interdisciplinaridade. (Development – Training Report 1)</p>	Portuguese (original)
<u>Relational</u>	<p>α During the observations it was possible to identify 1'β that mother tongue teacher mainly reading and writing <u>was being given</u> in a fragmented way to the student, +2 where there was space to work other subjects, +3 but it <u>was not put</u> to practice. α When relating the recommended theory with what was practiced in the classroom, it was observed 'β α that the teacher <u>was</u> full of a conceptualization β that sees teaching in a separate way, characterizing the inclusion of other subjects as not significant and not giving value to interdisciplinarity. (Development – Training Report 1)</p>	English (our translation)

Teacher as agent of action proposed by pre-service teacher is presented in Example 8. Based on the teaching situation experienced, the writer links his/her previous reference to the literature in order to suggest didactic procedures that could be followed by the basic schoolteacher as a form of improving students' education. These suggestions are reinforced by the use of the modal operator *deve* (*should*) to form verbal groups in combination with material and verbal process (*orientar, incentivar, explicitar – guide, motivate, explain*). The basic schoolteacher is here represented as not only doing and saying, but one endowed with consciousness.

Example 8		
<u>Material</u>	α Para isso, o professor deve <u>orientar</u> e <u>incentivar</u> os alunos a preparar e fazerem apresentações orais, xβ que estejam além da leitura em voz alta, por exemplo, escolher temas para uma apresentação oral e em seguida <u>explicitar</u> como o aluno poderia falar oralmente sobre aquele assunto. (Reflections from observation – Training Report 2)	Portuguese (original)
<u>Verbal</u>	α For such, the teacher <u>should guide</u> and <u>motivate</u> the students to prepare and give oral presentations, xβ which should be more than mere reading out loud, for example, choose themes for an oral presentation and later <u>explain</u> how the student could talk orally about the chosen subject. (Reflections from observation – Training Report 2)	English (our translation)

Having the *Teacher as an agent of actions assigned by legal agents* is a feature found in training reports as can be seen in the clause complex of Example 9 below. In this occurrence, the official national curriculum guideline to Portuguese language teaching in Brazil (called PCN) is thematized as the Sayer of the projecting clause. By making use of a legal voice, the writer is able to expose the adoption of a more effective teaching of grammar that is to be employed by the schoolteacher, who, according to the pre-service teacher report, is making use of a traditional grammar approach. In the training reports, theoretical knowledge regarding the school subject focused here is presented in opposition to the pedagogical practices observed, ignoring reasons that might explain certain didactic procedures undertaken in the classroom. The projected hypotactic clause of clause complex, Example 9, is an expansion of the idea of how the PCN's suggest the teaching of this form of grammar.

Example 9 – <i>Teacher as Agent: Action Proposed by Legal Agent</i>		
<u>Material</u>	α Os PCN's, propõem “αβ que os professores de Língua Portuguesa <u>adotem</u> em sala de aula uma gramática relevante, +1β que seja funcional, contextualizada, +2γ que traga algum tipo de interesse, +3δ que libere, +4ε que possibilite entender e se expressar em diferentes situações. (Experiences during observation – Training Report 1)	Portuguese (original)
	α PCN's, suggest that “αβ Portuguese Language teachers <u>ought to adopt</u> within their classrooms a relevant grammar +1β that is functional, contextualized, +2γ one that brings some kind of interest, +3δ one that is liberating, +4ε one that allows students to understand and express themselves in different situations. (Experiences during observation – Training Report 1)	English (translated by us)

A clause complex that can be segmented into four paratactic clauses constitutes Example 10 given below. In these complexes of clauses we are able to identify what we have classified as *Teacher painted by him/herself* (see Table 4 above). In the second clause of the clause complex, the Carrier (*A professora – The teacher*) is an elliptical

element which can be retrieved from verbal inflection realized in the relational process *mostrava* (*looked*). The reflexive pronoun as seen in the Portuguese construal(*se*) appearing before the process *mostrava* (*looked*) takes any responsibility away from the writer as s/he states that the teacher presented him/herself in such unmotivated way. The schoolteacher is also the Subject of the other clauses in example 10, s/he is explicitly represented as the *teacher agent of his/her own actions* through the construal of mental and material clauses.

Example 10		
<u>Mental</u>	1 a professora pouco se <u>importava</u> com a situação, +2 se <u>mostrava</u> mais desmotivada do que os alunos, +3 <u>parecia</u>	Portuguese (original)
<u>Relational</u>	<u>ter desistido</u> da turma, +3 <u>cumpria</u> apenas a carga horária. (Reflexive report – Training Report 7)	
<u>Material</u>	1 The teacher couldn't <u>care</u> less about the situation, +2 she <u>looked</u> more unmotivated than the students, +3 she <u>seemed to have given up</u> on the group, +3 she only <u>followed</u> the teaching schedule. (Reflexive report – Training Report 7)	English (our translation)

The representation of basic schoolteachers points to a need of complexifying the view construed by universities as regards what is done in basic schools. Such construal is done in a way that students from the Teacher Training Undergraduate Studies (*Letras* in this case) end up seeing several other actors responsible for teaching and learning in basic education, which leads to a certain pre-judgement of the teacher who is responsible for the classroom. Pre-service teachers need, therefore, to try to comprehend possible reasons for the scenarios observed during practicum. Despite this finding, the present research also demonstrated that this special kind of academic writing, reflexive professional writing, can in fact contribute to training a teacher that is critical and aware of the demands coming from the workplace. When we compared report writing to the field notes, which were produced previously during practicum, it was possible to observe that in the reports students were able to expand their views as regards teaching practices of the subjects that they have observed and are being trained for.

Final considerations

As the grammatical subject of the clause, Brazilian basic schoolteachers are represented in the data analyzed as an agent who is often acting or saying something to ensure a bearable interaction between the social actors involved in the classroom. Such representation was more expressive in the field notes, where pre-service teachers are concerned with recording the maximum amount of information as possible so as to retextualize a substantial training report.

As for the training reports, pre-service teachers seem to complexify their views regarding the classes observed. Other social actors are brought into discussion in the

reports reducing schoolteachers' responsibility in terms of the encountered teaching situation. Brazilian basic schoolteachers are represented in the reports as the agents who are able to decide or reflect on the teaching situation in their workplaces, even if this decision/reflection is construed by an external actor. They are also represented as professionals who are, explicitly or not, subject to evaluation.

On a more practical level, which may be seen as the strongest contribution of this research, we observed that Brazilian schoolteachers are not represented as pre-service teachers' interlocutors, which suggests a lack of experience exchange. This result gives evidence to the fact that there is a continuous disharmony at play between the educational institutions involved in the compulsory pre-service teacher training program.

Especially construed in the training report, reflexive professional writing is able to trigger an important function on pre-service teacher education, even though its current uses in the academic field still require a more comprehensive application so as to enhance teacher's critical literacy.

Finally, it is of utmost importance to recall that results presented here belong to an ongoing research. In the next steps, we intend to develop a quantitative analysis of the categories of representation that were discussed here. Also the research will continue to investigate the representation of Brazilian teachers, however, looking at him/her as realized by other grammatical function(s), that is, as a participant target of an action or as a circumstantial element in the construction of the data set of the present research. The language of evaluation, as basic schoolteachers are praised or criticized while being represented, also deserves a closer attention in pre-service teachers' writing, as is the case of the study at hand.

SILVA, W.; ESPINDOLA, E. Professor da Escola Básica representado na escrita reflexiva acadêmica do aluno mestre. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.151-178, 2016.

- *RESUMO: Neste artigo, investigamos algumas representações de professores brasileiros da escola básica na escrita reflexiva profissional, aqui identificada como uma escrita acadêmica diferenciada. Esse registro é produzido por alunos-mestre (estagiários) como trabalho escrito final durante o estágio supervisionado obrigatório da Licenciatura Plena em Língua Portuguesa. São focalizadas nesta pesquisa as orações em que os professores da escola básica são posicionados como sujeito gramatical da ação expressa. O referencial teórico assumido nesta pesquisa é informado pela abordagem transdisciplinar da Linguística Aplicada, caracterizada pelo uso de categorias teórico-metodológicas originárias de diferentes campos do conhecimento científico em função da construção do objeto de investigação. Os professores da escola básica são representados como principais atores sociais responsáveis pelos processos identificados, o que pode demandar uma complexificação do ponto de vista do aluno-mestre sobre o espaço do estágio obrigatório. Os resultados apontam uma demanda de usos mais produtivos da escrita reflexiva profissional na formação inicial do professor.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Linguística Aplicada. Linguística Sistêmico-Funcional. Educação Linguística. Escrita Acadêmica.*

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VOWEL VARIABILITY AND DISPERSION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE AND BRITISH ENGLISH: A CASE STUDY¹

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- **ABSTRACT:** This paper aims at studying the effect of vowel inventory size on acoustic vowel space in languages with different size inventories: Portuguese with seven oral vowels and English with eleven. Based on Dispersion Theory, this study analyzes acoustically vowel variability and dispersion in those two languages. Contrary to the theoretical predictions, in our data, the phonetic realization of English vowels is less precise and presents greater variability than those of the smaller system (Portuguese). As for vowel dispersion and acoustic space area, contrary to predictions, our Portuguese vowels are more dispersed, occupying more extreme positions in the vowel space, covering a greater acoustic area than those of English. Our results are aligned to other research that fails to find empirical proof for the predictions proposed by Dispersion Theory. We advance another interpretation for the facts. We hypothesize that the vowel systems of English and Portuguese are somehow unstable now; however, Dispersion Theory fails to capture such facts as it is based on categorical phonemes disregarding variable allophones. Probably, a theoretical approach that takes languages as dynamic and complex systems (ELLIS; LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2009) could offer stronger evidence to understand these facts. Such approach will be undertaken in the future.
- **KEYWORDS:** Vowel variability. Vowel dispersion. Acoustic analysis.

Introduction

The size of vowel inventories varies widely from language to language. However, cross-linguistic studies show that certain vowels and vowel inventory configurations are more frequent in natural languages. Maddieson (1984) analyzed 317 languages and observed that vowel inventories vary from languages having only 3 to others with 15 distinct vowel qualities. Two-thirds of the languages in this sample have between 5 and 7 vowel contrasts and the specific vowels most frequently preferred tend to be the same. The systems with five vowels generally have /i,e,a,o,u/, Spanish, for instance;

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¹ This paper presents some results from the research “*Vowel variability and dispersion in L1 and L2: a case study*”, developed during a Post-Doctorate course at POSLIN/UFMG.

those with seven have these five plus /ɛ,ɔ/, for example, Portuguese. In addition, the vowel inventories of most languages in the world include the vowels /i,a,u/. These three vowels define the extremes of the vowel space and are known as the *point vowels* or *corner vowels*. It is evident that vowel inventories are structured in a way that enhances contrast, by maximally dispersing vowels in the auditory-perceptual space. That is why /i,a,u/ are systematically present in natural languages; front vowels are generally unrounded while back vowels are rounded; and vowels tend to be spread along the periphery of the acoustic and perceptual space (BECKER-KRISTAL, 2010).

These tendencies observed in cross-linguistic studies raised the hypothesis that there are linguistic or physical (auditory and articulatory) constraints on possible speech sounds and their co-occurrence. That there are universal and/or language specific constraints that determine those most frequent patterns and that there is correlation between vowel inventory size and acoustic vowel space. Since Liljencrants; Lindblom (1972), Dispersion Theory has been used as the generic term for the theoretical approach that systematizes certain principles and makes explicit qualitative predictions in terms of how vowel systems are structured. The attempt to provide empirical evidence for those principles and predictions has rendered a number of studies. Some of them compare a large number of languages, e.g. Becker-Kristal (2010) and Livijn (2000), others contrast dialects, e.g., Recasens and Espinosa (2006, 2009), others contrast languages with small and large vowel inventories, e.g. Bradlow (1995) and Meunier, Espesser e Franck-Mestre (2006).

However, it has been difficult to understand the exact nature of these constraints and their interaction that produces the observed vowel inventories in natural languages. Thus, this study is interested in the effect of inventory size on the acoustic vowel spaces of languages with different inventory sizes: Portuguese with seven oral vowels and English with eleven. Taking the Dispersion Theory predictions, this paper aims to analyze vowel variability and dispersion in those two languages.

The article starts presenting the theoretical background that guided the analysis. Then, the methodology section describes the data, elicitation and recording; and acoustic measurement criteria. The results are presented separately for each language, first Portuguese, second English. In each case, individual results are analyzed first, and then they are compared to those of the group as a whole. After this analysis of the results for each language, the characteristics of vowel variability and dispersion of both systems is compared. Finally, our results are contrasted with the Dispersion Theory predictions.

Theoretical background

Previous studies regarding the structure of vowel systems have led to the development of several theoretical positions. Dispersion Theory claims that the vowels of a given language are arranged in the acoustic vowel space in such a manner that the

potential for perceptual confusion between the distinct vowel categories is minimized. The theory is based on the following principles.

The first principle establishes that vowels should be maximally perceptually dispersed from one another (LILJENCRANTS; LINDBLOM, 1972). This means that extreme vowel qualities are preferred, because the more extreme the vowel is, the farther and more perceptually distinct it is from other vowels (BECKER-KRISTAL, 2010). Studies of the “Hyperspace Effect”, such as Johnson, Flemming and Wright (1993) and Johnson (2000), provide some empirical support for this principle for speakers of English. In these studies, listeners judged as more prototypical exemplars of the point vowels /i,a,u/ those with extreme formant frequencies rather than stimuli with more natural formant ones. That is to say, when given the choice, listeners preferred a maximally dispersed version of the inventory.

The second principle states that the value of individual vowel qualities and their contribution to the inventories are relational. Thus, a vowel is good within an inventory if it is perceptually distant from other vowels in that inventory. The same vowel may be optimal for one inventory and unacceptable for another (BECKER-KRISTAL, 2010, p.12). Therefore, vowel qualities are adaptive. Minimal structural changes in the inventory may result in an arrangement of vowels in the inventory that is less dispersed, and so vowels shift and assume new positions to maximize dispersion (LILJENCRANTS; LINDBLOM, 1972). In their acoustic studies of the inventories of four Catalan dialects, Recasens e Espinosa (2006, 2009) present empirical evidence for the relational nature of inventories and the adaptive behavior of their vowels.

The third principle claims that maximization of dispersion is achieved by equidistant spacing between vowels (FERRARI-DISNER, 1984). This even spacing refers to a requirement that different pairs of adjacent vowels should maintain a certain minimal distance between them.

The cross-linguistic interpretation of the third principle makes three predictions (BECKER-KRISTAL, 2010). First, there should be an upper limit on the number of vowels in inventories; otherwise, the minimal distance cannot be maintained because the acoustic space is finite. This prediction is empirically supported by the typological finding that nine vowels tend to be the upper limit in inventories. Above that number, inventories become rare (CROTHERS, 1978; SCHWARTZ et al., 1997). Therefore, a system such as that of English, with eleven vowels, is atypical. Second, so as to keep minimal distance between vowels, the phonetic realization of them should be rather precise in larger inventories, while greater variability in phonetic realization is allowed in smaller inventories without violating the sufficient contrast criterion. Taking this prediction into account, it is expected to find greater variability in Portuguese vowels, as it is a less crowded inventory; and a more precise phonetic realization in English, with eleven vowels. However, there is no empirical evidence for the correlation between the number of vowels and phonetic precision (RECASENS; ESPINOSA, 2009). Third, inventories with a greater number of vowels should cover a larger acoustic space than

those with fewer vowels. This prediction, at the same time, manifests the principle of vowel adaptive behavior in the case of point vowels /i,a,u/, which have to shift if the acoustic space size differs as a function of inventory complexity. Considering the fact that the languages here studied differ as to inventory size, the theory predicts that /i,a,u/ will occupy more peripheral positions in English than in Portuguese. On the other hand, it is expected that the English inventory, with eleven vowels, covers a greater area of the acoustic vowel space than Portuguese, with just seven vowels. This prediction has been addressed in several studies that compare acoustic data of vowel inventories differing in the number of their respective vowels. Some of these studies provide empirical support to the hypothesis that the acoustic space size differs as a function of inventory complexity, for instance, Ferrari-Disner (1983), Jongman, Fourakis and Sereno (1989), Guion (2003), Altamini and Ferragne (2005), Recasens and Espinosa (2006). Others; however, show null results, for example, Bradlow (1995), Meunier et al. (2003), Recasens and Espinosa (2009). This disparity shows that the theory demands improvement. Our work sets out to enrich the discussion arisen by the latter studies.

The chart below summarizes the principles of Dispersion Theory.

Chart 1 – Principles of Dispersion Theory

- Vowels should be maximally perceptually dispersed (LILJENCRANTS; LINDBLOM, 1972).
- More extreme qualities are preferred, as the more extreme the vowel is, the farther and more perceptually distinct it is from other vowels (BECKER, 2010).
- Maximization of dispersion results from equal spacing between vowels (FERRARI-DISNER, 1984). Therefore, different pairs of adjacent vowels should keep a certain minimal distance between them.
- The cross-linguistic interpretation of that last principle makes three predictions (BECKER, 2010): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An upper limit on the number of vowels in inventories is requested. Above that limit the minimal distance between vowels cannot be maintained because the acoustic space is finite. • So as to keep minimal distance between vowels, their phonetic realization should be more precise in larger inventories, whereas greater variability in phonetic realization is accepted in less crowded inventories without violating the sufficient contrast criterion. • Inventories with a greater number of vowels should cover a larger area in the acoustic space than those with fewer vowels.

Source: Our elaboration.

The principles of Dispersion Theory allow us to make certain predictions that lead to the following hypotheses regarding vowel variability and dispersion in English and Portuguese:

- H1: Greater variability is expected in Portuguese (with seven oral vowels) than in English (with eleven).

- H2: point vowels /i,a,u/ will occupy more peripheral positions in English, and English vowels will cover a larger area in the acoustic space than Portuguese vowels.

Methods

Taking into account the theoretical background presented in the previous section, this paper sets out to answer the following research questions:

Q1: What variability will be found in two vowel inventories of different size: Portuguese, with seven oral vowels, and English, with eleven?

Q2: What area will those vowels occupy In the acoustic vowel space?

The data

A specific experiment was developed to answer those two questions above. In order to turn the test material in both languages comparable, each oral vowel of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) was equated to the closest vowel in British English (RP) in acoustic, auditory and articulatory terms. Almost homophonous words were found in both languages so as to minimize coarticulatory effects. Examples of these words are exhibited in Chart 2 below.

Chart 2 – Examples of the data for each vowel

<i>Brazilian Portuguese</i>		<i>British English</i>	
<i>Cida</i>	[ˈsɪdə]	<i>cedar</i>	[ˈsi:də]
<i>sêca</i>	[ˈsekə]	<i>sicker</i>	[ˈsɪkə]
<i>peca</i>	[ˈpɛkə]	<i>packer</i>	[ˈpækə]
<i>paca</i>	[ˈpakə]	<i>parker</i>	[ˈpɑ:kə]
<i>cola</i>	[ˈkɔlə]	<i>collar</i>	[ˈkɒlə]
<i>Lola</i>	[ˈlɔlə]	<i>lawler</i>	[ˈlɔ:lə]
<i>luta</i>	[ˈlutə]	<i>looter</i>	[ˈlu:tə]

Source: Our elaboration.

Chart 2 above exemplifies the data with each vowel in stressed position, in both languages: the seven oral vowels in BP /i e ε a ɔ o u/ and the closest RP vowels /i: ɪ æ ɑ: ɒ ɔ: u:/. About ten different words for each stressed vowel were analyzed in each language (66 words in BP and 63 in RP). Each participant read each word once.

The total number of tokens analyzed in both languages was 516. The data consisted of words with penultimate stress, presented to the speaker in a printed frame question, *Did he say cedar? Ele diz Cida?* As the examples show, the data are accented and final in the utterance, keeping the same prosodic environment in both languages. The words have a CV.CV. syllable structure to minimize coarticulatory effects.

Elicitation and recording

Four native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese and four native speakers of British English served as volunteers in the experiment². All of them were female; therefore, the data are comparable. None reported any hearing or speaking difficulties.

The Brazilian speakers were born in Belo Horizonte city, where they live. They are university students and they are between 20 and 26 years old. The British speakers were born and live in the southeast of England. Three of them are university students and one is a university professor, they are between 20 and 36 years old.

Six pages containing two columns of sentences or questions (including test material and fillers) were presented to the speakers in printed form. An extra introductory page was provided with instructions to read each sentence as naturally as possible, without pausing between words and to avoid reading the sentences as if they were just a list. The Brazilian speakers received the material in Portuguese and the British, in English.

The experimenter monitored each utterance for errors. If a mistake was detected, a repetition was requested immediately.

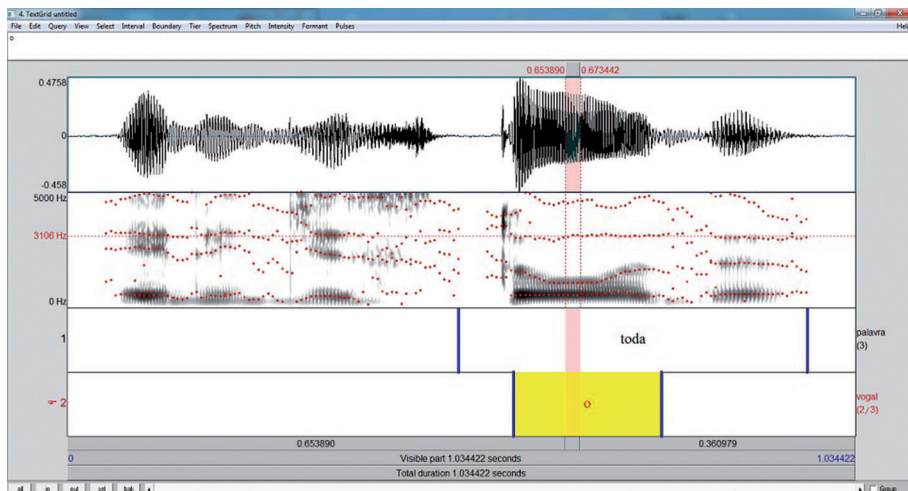
Recordings were made in the sound-attenuated recording studio at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil. For the English data, recordings were made within a sound proof recording studio at the University of Edinburgh.

Acoustic measurements

The data were analyzed using PRAAT 5.3.23 © (BOERSMA; WEENINK) and were previously converted to a 10kHz sample rate which is more appropriate for vowel quality analysis in female speakers. Measurements were made using a temporal window which included the oscillogram, the spectrogram (wide band) and the formant tracts for the first five formants, as it is shown in the figure below.

² This work sets out to analyze new aspects of data recorded in previous stages of our research. These previous research projects had been submitted and approved by the Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa/UFOP (CAAE-0003.0.238.000-08; CAAE-0054.0.238.000-9).

Figure 1 – Oscillogram and spectrogram of the question: *Ele diz toda?*



Source: Our elaboration.

To measure vowel quality, 20ms. of the central part of the vowel were selected and the program provided the mean for that portion in terms of the first three formants³. It is the highlighted portion of the vowel [o] in the example shown in Figure 1. When the vowel was too short, a single point at the center of the vowel was measured, avoiding the first and last 30ms., as those portions present greater coarticulatory effects.

Data normalization

So as to minimize physiological differences among speakers, data were normalized using the LOBANOV method. Such a procedure was necessary in order to make it possible to compare the results taking into account only linguistic information. LOBANOV uses a vowel-extrinsic formula⁴. According to Adank, Smits e Van Hout (2004), LOBANOV is one of the best methods for preserving sociolinguistic variation and effectively reduces anatomic/physiological variation in acoustic measurements. This method takes as input formant frequency values from different vowels produced by different speakers and generates output in normalized versions of those formant frequencies. Furthermore, LOBANOV makes easy-to-read plots of vowels that resemble F1/F2 formant plots. However, as the results are not in Hertz-like values,

³ All our analysis is based on the first two formants which are the most appropriate to describe vowel quality.

⁴ The formula is $F_{n[V]}^N = (F_{n[V]} - \text{MEAN}_n) / S_n$ where $F_{n[V]}^N$ is the normalized value for $F_{n[V]}$ (i.e., for formant n of vowel V). MEAN_n is the mean value for formant n for the speaker in question and S_n is the standard deviation for the speaker's formant n .

scaling is necessary to convert the normalized values so that they look like those with their values in Hz. In this paper, all the graphs and tables present normalized formant values of F1 and F2⁵. Data normalization was done through the website⁶ (THOMAS; KENDALL, 2007).

Results

The methods described above were crucial to obtain adequate and reliable results that would allow us to answer our research questions on vowel variability in languages with different inventory sizes (English: 11 vowels; Portuguese: 7 vowels) and on dispersion of those vowels in the acoustic space that is finite.

This section presents the results of the vowel quality analysis of the seven oral vowels in BP /i e ε a o u/ and the closest RP vowels /i: ɪ æ ɑ: ɒ ɔ: u:/. First, the results for each Brazilian participant are presented and interpreted. Then, the results from the four Brazilian speakers are compared so as to reach some understanding of how vowel variability and dispersion work in BP vowel system. Second, the same procedure is carried out with the results from the British participants. Finally, vowel variability and dispersion in both vowel systems are compared and analyzed according to the principles of Dispersion Theory.

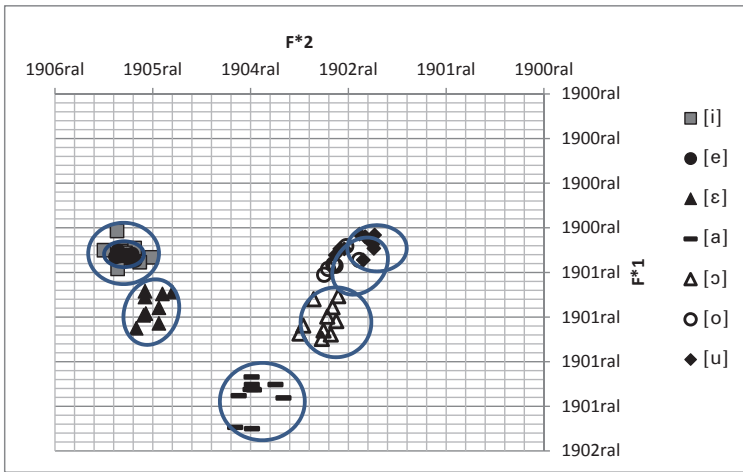
Brazilian Portuguese results

This section presents dispersion graphs showing the exact position of each token in the acoustic vowel space for each one of the four speakers. Then, a table shows the statistic description/analysis of the results in terms of mean value, median, standard deviation and maximum and minimum values. In each case, the graph provides information on vowel dispersion and the table on vowel variability.

⁵ F*1 and F*2 are used in order to show that the values are not in Hz.

⁶ Available in: <<http://ncslaap.lib.ncsu.edu/tools/norm>>. Access in: 17 mar. 2016.

Speaker 1 (BP)
Graph 1 – Vowel dispersion in BP (speaker1)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- i/e merger: [i] occupies a larger area that includes [e]. Notice that [i] presents F1 near 400, which shows that it is being lowered;
- The merger does not result from greater variability;
- There are “contact points⁷” between e/ɛ and o/ɔ;
- Overlapping of some tokens of u/o;
- Symmetry of ε/ɔ, both between them and in relation to the other vowels;
- [a] occupies a larger area in the vowel space.

Table 1 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 1 results (BP)

Spk. 1	[i] F*1	[i] F*2	[e] F*1	[e] F*2	[ɛ] F*1	[ɛ] F*2	[a] F*1	[a] F*2	[ɔ] F*1	[ɔ] F*2	[o] F*1	[o] F*2	[u] F*1	[u] F*2
Mean	355	2141	363	2144	477	2004	678	1480	507	1132	380	1057	339	940
Median	354	2158	362	2151.5	479	2036	662.5	1493.5	514	1117.5	382	1074	340	919
SD	22.39	68.45	7.48	38.53	31.43	59.49	39.61	75.14	33.98	68.41	19.95	60.73	19.26	76.56
Min.	307	2008	351	2090	442	1899	634	1332	453	1052	341	945	314	866
Max.	392	2250	374	2191	525	2085	750	1579	549	1250	405	1124	372	1067

Source: Our elaboration.

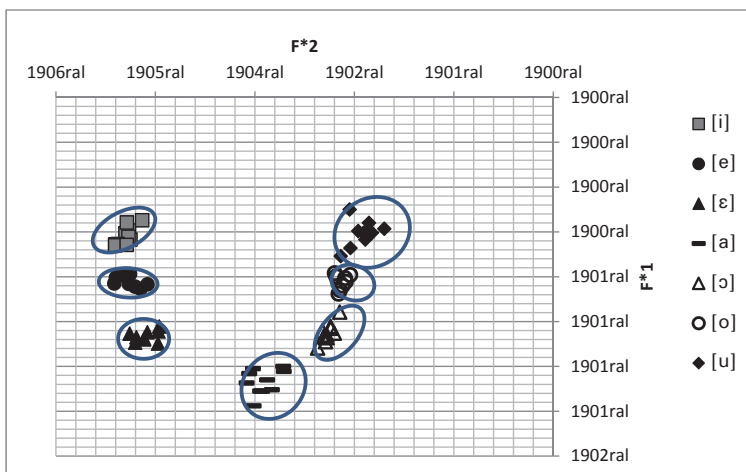
⁷ We call “contact point” the contact between the ellipses of two or more vowels.

The table above shows mean, median, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values for F*1 e F*2 for each vowel produced by speaker 1. The standard deviation (in bold) provides information on the degree of variability. Those results show:

- All vowels vary more in terms of F2;
- The vowels [i a o u] are those that vary the most in the horizontal dimension with standard deviation (SD) about 70;
- The vowel with the greatest variability is [a] and the one with the least variability is [e];
- The degree of variability of the other vowels is somehow uniform; however, back vowels [o u] vary more than their corresponding front ones [ε e i].

Speaker 2 (BP)

Graph 2 – Vowel dispersion in BP (speaker 2)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- Vowels with well defined areas without any overlapping;
- The difference between i/e is mainly in terms of height of the tongue;
- The vowels are symmetric, equidistant and peripheral.

Table 2 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 2 results (BP)

Spk. 2	[i] F*1	[i] F*2	[e] F*1	[e] F*2	[ɛ] F*1	[ɛ] F*2	[a] F*1	[a] F*2	[ɔ] F*1	[ɔ] F*2	[o] F*1	[o] F*2	[u] F*1	[u] F*2
Mean	310	2150	411	2134	533	2049	635	1459	526	1133	411	1064	303	963
Median	314	2144.5	415.5	2131	535	2057	633.5	1469	528	1138	407	1066	301.5	949.5
SD	20.81	40.99	12.24	60.44	12.50	55.17	27.87	66.91	21.58	31.51	16.75	26.59	28.59	63.24
Min.	274	2067	394	2040	511	1981	600	1355	479	1074	392	1021	250	850
Max.	330	2203	427	2207	549	2130	688	1542	559	1185	438	1099	354	1069

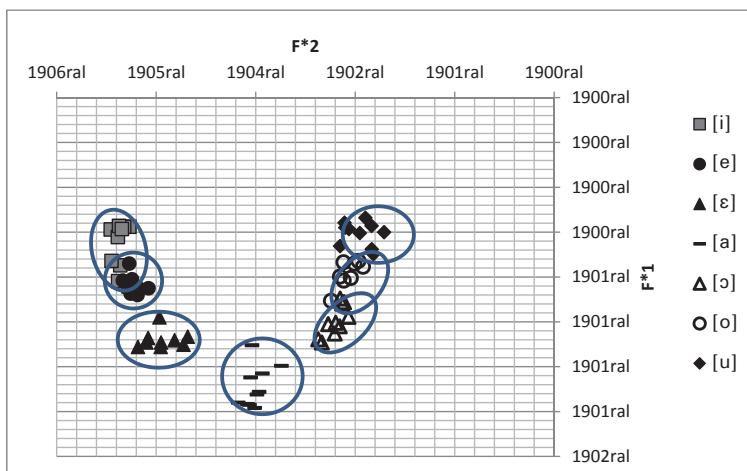
Source: Our elaboration.

Table 2 shows:

- All vowels vary more in terms of F2;
- The vowels that vary the most in the horizontal axis, in decreasing order, are [a u e] (SD between 60 and 67);
- There is little variability in F1 of [e ɛ o ɔ i];
- The two vowels that occupy a greater area in the acoustic vowel space are [a u]. Both vary the most in F1 and F2, as well;
- Front and back vowels are not distinguished by a different pattern of variability;
- This speaker’s vowels present the least overall variability.

Speaker 3 (BP)

Graph 3 – Vowel dispersion in BP (speaker 3)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- There is overlapping of i/e and, to a lesser degree, of u/o and o/ɔ;
- [i] presents some tokens with F1 above 400;
- There is some symmetry. Comparatively, front vowels are a bit more open than the corresponding back ones.

Table 3 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 3 results (BP)

Spk. 3	[i]	[i]	[e]	[e]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[a]	[a]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[o]	[o]	[u]	[u]
	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2
Mean	333	2182	418	2114	539	1970	645	1503	498	1100	393	1036	304	974
Median	302.5	2184	425	2122	546	1978	659	1512.5	503.5	1088	388	1040	296.5	963
SD	53.77	31.27	21.39	37.17	20.21	85.36	46.05	57.33	34.71	49.26	29.86	52.97	26.85	75.53
Min.	286	2135	370	2039	490	1842	552	1371	448	1034	364	961	268	855
Max.	421	2229	440	2168	556	2092	692	1588	546	1186	453	1122	349	1076

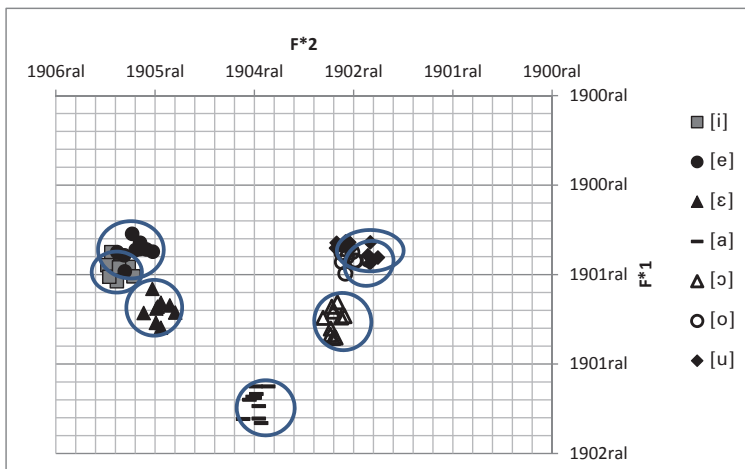
Source: Our elaboration.

Table 3 shows:

- All vowels, but [i], present greater variability in terms of F2;
- The most variable vowels, in decreasing order, are [ɛ a u].

Speaker 4 (BP)

Graph 4 – Vowel dispersion in BP (speaker 4)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- There is great overlapping of i/e and u/o;
- [i] has F1 values above 400, some F1 values are above those of [e];
- There is symmetry between front and back vowels;
- All vowels cover approximately the same area in the vowel space, except [u e] that cover a slightly larger area;
- The overlapping of i/e and u/o results from a greater degree of opening of the high vowels i/u. The high vowels i/u have F1 values near 400.

Table 4 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 4 results (BP)

Spk. 4	[i]	[i]	[e]	[e]	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	[a]	[a]	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[o]	[o]	[u]	[u]
	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2	F*1	F*2
Mean	385	2192	347	2103	479	1980	687	1493	504	1099	367	1014	342	995
Median	382.5	2196	345	2098	476	1988	678	1491.5	496.5	1103.5	368	1020.5	338.5	1016
SD	18.88	41.78	22.43	57.46	25.37	46.63	30.00	34.26	28.92	30.23	14.85	44.61	16.87	77.91
Min.	350	2109	309	2012	432	1899	650	1430	462	1046	350	927	326	878
Max.	415	2241	393	2191	519	2058	732	1557	542	1154	398	1060	375	1089

Source: Our elaboration.

Table 4 shows:

- All vowels present greater variability in terms of F2. In decreasing order, [u e] are the most variable;
- The vowels [i o ɔ] are the least variable.

Summary of the results of variability in BP taking into account the four speakers together:

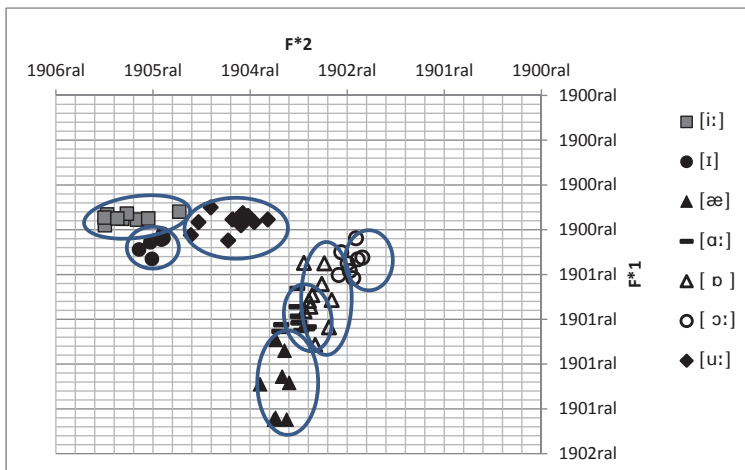
- Three speakers present merger or overlapping of high and higher-mid vowels;
- The cases of merger show high vowels with F1 values near 400, which indicates that high vowels are being lowered;
- The merger does not result from greater variability;
- Speaker 2 is the only one that has well defined areas for all vowels. Even if [i u] have F1 means above 300, there is no overlapping with the mid vowels because the latter also have higher F1 values ([e] 411 [ɛ] 533 [o] 411 [ɔ] 526);
- There is symmetry between front and back vowels;
- Speaker 3 presents the greatest overall variability (SD mean: 44.41), on the other hand, speaker 2, presents the least overall variability (SD mean: 34.66).

British English results

This section presents dispersion graphs showing the exact position of each token in the acoustic vowel space for each one of the four speakers. Then, a table shows the statistic description/analysis of the results in terms of mean value, median, standard deviation and maximum and minimum values. In each case, the graph provides information on vowel dispersion and the table on vowel variability.

Speaker 1 (RP)

Graph 5 – Vowel dispersion in RP (speaker 1)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- There is overlapping of $\alpha:/\text{ɒ}$;
- There are contact points of $i:/ɪ$, $i:/u:$, $\text{æ}/\alpha:$, $\text{ɒ}/\text{ɔ}:$;
- The vowels $[i: u: \text{æ } \text{ɒ}]$ occupy a larger area in the vowel space. The high $[i: u:]$ in terms of F2, and the low $[\text{æ } \text{ɒ}]$ in terms of F1;
- There is no symmetry between front and back vowels.

Table 5 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 1 results (RP)

Spk. 1	[i:] F*1	[i:] F*2	[ɪ] F*1	[ɪ] F*2	[æ] F*1	[æ] F*2	[ɑ:] F*1	[ɑ:] F*2	[ɒ] F*1	[ɒ] F*2	[ɔ:] F*1	[ɔ:] F*2	[u:] F*1	[u:] F*2
Mean	273	2143	331	1991	650	1354	501	1260	456	1160	372	982	283	1596
Median	274	2172	325	1981.5	643.5	1351.5	510	1253.5	458	1172.5	370.5	978	280	1569
SD	8.41	123.88	20.21	49.52	69.32	47.94	29.66	49.41	57.35	51.23	29.21	41.95	21.93	127.36
Min.	260	1865	309	1946	546	1299	431	1198	374	1080	319	922	250	1409
Max.	290	2250	365	2072	724	1449	527	1350	557	1223	408	1044	324	1805

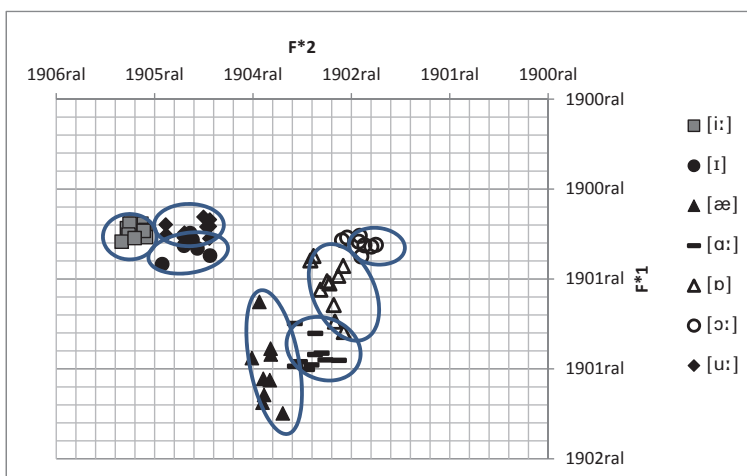
Source: Our elaboration.

Table 5 shows:

- The high vowels [i: u:] are the most variable in terms of F2 (SD >120);
- The low vowels [æ ɒ] are the most variable in terms of F1 (SD >57);
- The other vowels vary the least (SD < 40).

Speaker 2 (RP)

Graph 6 – Vowel dispersion in RP (speaker 2)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- Little overlapping of i:/u:;
- Contact points of i:/ɪ, i:/u:, æ/ɑ:, ɑ:/ɒ, ɒ/ɔ:;
- There is no symmetry between front and back vowels.

Table 6 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 2 results (RP)

Spk. 2	[i:] F*1	[i:] F*2	[ɪ] F*1	[ɪ] F*2	[æ] F*1	[æ] F*2	[ɑ:] F*1	[ɑ:] F*2	[ɒ] F*1	[ɒ] F*2	[ɔ:] F*1	[ɔ:] F*2	[u:] F*1	[u:] F*2
Mean	293	2101	331	1824	603	1434	568	1198	418	1112	321	956	290	1809
Median	292	2112	329	1814	622	1444	580.5	1194	407.5	1101	320.5	954	290.5	1800.5
SD	15.07	44.18	24.59	80.93	75.52	44.23	33.07	71.27	56.64	59.40	14.33	57.37	17.05	89.99
Min.	273	2044	298	1719	451	1349	499	1064	349	1039	304	876	262	1720
Max.	317	2168	367	1962	699	1506	601	1288	518	1209	350	1048	310	1944

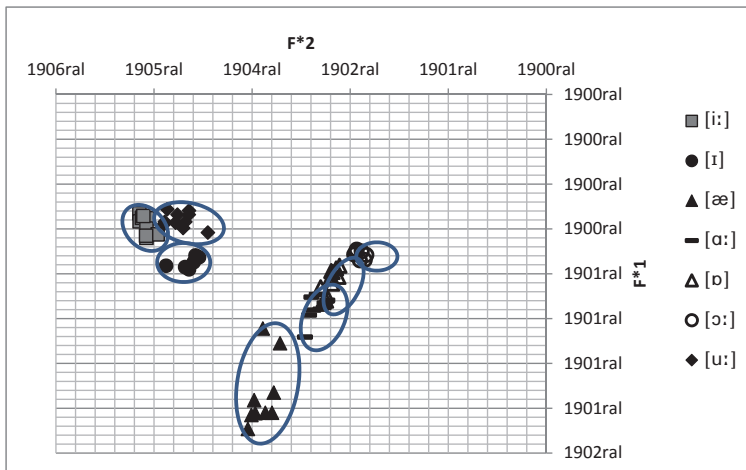
Source: Our elaboration.

Table 6 shows:

- All vowels, but [æ], vary more in F2. In decreasing order, the most variable in F2 are [u: ɪ ɑ:];
- The vowels [æ ɒ u: ɪ ɑ:] are the most variable (SD between 50 and 60).

Speaker 3 (RP)

Graph 7 – Vowel dispersion in RP (speaker 3)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- Little overlapping of i:/u:/ɑ:/ɒ;
- Contact points of i:/ɪ, ɪ/u:/; ɒ/ɔ:;
- [æ] occupies the greatest area in the vowel space and [ɔ:] the smallest one.

Table 7 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 3 results(RP)

Spk. 3	[i:] F*1	[i:] F*2	[ɪ] F*1	[ɪ] F*2	[æ] F*1	[æ] F*2	[ɑ:] F*1	[ɑ:] F*2	[ɒ] F*1	[ɒ] F*2	[ɔ:] F*1	[ɔ:] F*2	[u:] F*1	[u:] F*2
Mean	293	2044	376	1827	668	1447	477	1170	413	1096	357	953	280	1866
Median	291	2040	378	1810	710	1446	475	1171	406.5	1094.5	354.5	959	284	1866.5
SD	21.06	26.58	12.44	60.36	77.43	56.75	28.28	39.22	26.23	29.70	8.91	22.62	16.87	68.99
Min.	265	1982	359	1771	522	1358	446	1117	382	1055	346	918	256	1726
Max.	320	2075	390	1939	746	1522	541	1231	460	1151	370	980	308	1949

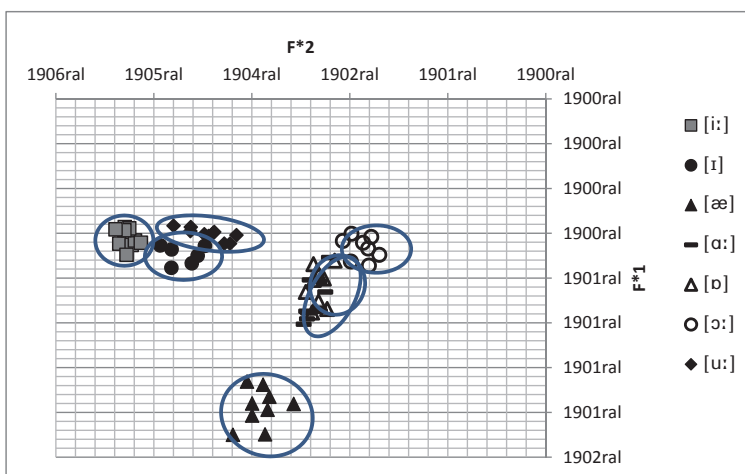
Source: Our elaboration.

Table 7 shows:

- All vowels, but [æ], vary the most in F2. In decreasing order, the most variable in F2 are [u: ɪ];
- [æ] presents the greatest general variability (SD mean: 67.09).

Speaker 4 (RP)

Graph 8 – Vowel dispersion in RP (speaker 4)



Source: Our elaboration.

The graph above shows:

- Great overlapping of [ɑ:]/[ɒ];
- Little overlapping of [ɪ]/[u:];
- Contact points of [i:]/[ɪ], [ɑ:]/[ɒ]/[ɔ:];
- [æ] occupies the greatest area in the vowel space;
- There is symmetry only between [i:]/[ɔ:].

Table 8 – Descriptive statistics of speaker’s 4 results(RP)

Spk. 4	[i:] F*1	[i:] F*2	[ɪ] F*1	[ɪ] F*2	[æ] F*1	[æ] F*2	[ɑ:] F*1	[ɑ:] F*2	[ɒ] F*1	[ɒ] F*2	[ɔ:] F*1	[ɔ:] F*2	[u:] F*1	[u:] F*2
Mean	309	2135	348	1852	688	1457	448	1179	414	1160	333	938	302	1721
Median	304.5	2136.5	343	1858.5	681	1443	470.5	1181	402.5	1163.5	327.5	920	301	1710
SD	20.98	37.35	20.93	89.99	42.36	87.26	47.31	45.15	40.98	42.17	25.90	63.17	13.32	99.57
Min.	286	2067	327	1740	631	1287	354	1107	361	1078	301	850	283	1579
Max.	348	2196	377	1968	750	1597	503	1236	477	1225	372	1036	323	1900

Source: Our elaboration.

Table 8 shows:

- Great variability of [u: ɪ æ] in F2 (SD > 80);
- Great variability of [ɑ: æ ɒ] in F1(SD >40);
- The least variable vowel is [i:].

Summary of the results of variability in RP taking into account the four speakers together:

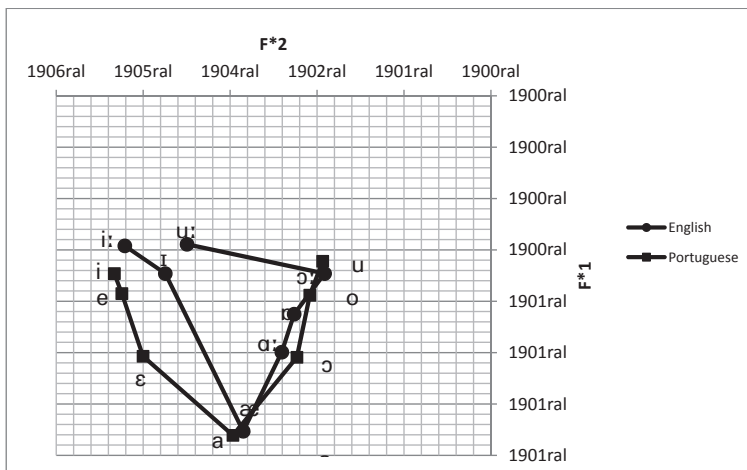
- There is some overlapping of [ɪ u:] and [ɑ: ɒ];
- [u:] is very fronted;
- [æ] presents the greatest variability;
- There is no symmetry between front and back vowels;
- Hypothesis of chain shift: [u:] is fronted, therefore, it leaves empty the space in the high back region. At the same time, the back vowels [ɑ: ɒ ɔ:] become higher and [æ] becomes lower and less fronted⁸.

Comparison of vowel dispersion and variability in English and Portuguese

This section compares vowel dispersion and variability in the two languages. In order to do so, the results of the four speakers together of each language will be used. A dispersion graph was drawn using the mean for each vowel in each language to show the vowel system configuration. Then, a table with the means and SD for each vowel makes it possible to compare variability in both languages.

⁸ Our results for [u:æ] in RP have been corroborated by Paul Boersma (2012). (personal communication): “I just looked into the 2000 version of Gimson’s book, edited by Alan Cruttenden. He explicitly states that /u/ has been fronted and /æ/ has fallen during the last 30 years (pages 83, 99). The formants that he shows are quite close to the ones that you found.”

Graph 9 –Vowel dispersion in English and Portuguese



Source: Our elaboration.

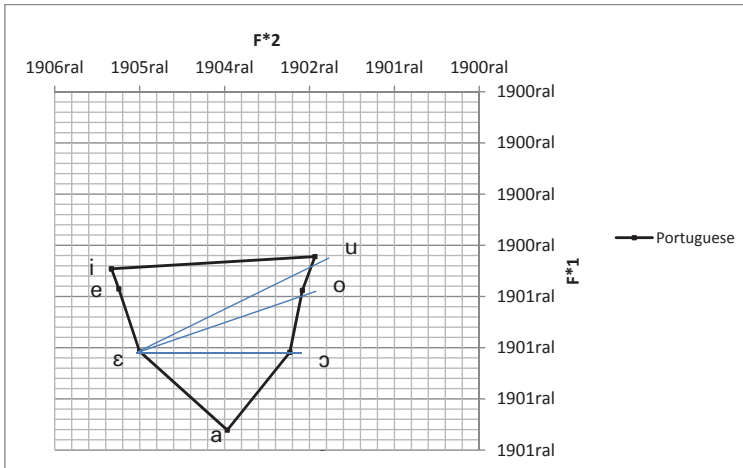
The graph above was made using the means of all data for each vowel as produced by the four speakers of each language together. The graph shows:

- Portuguese vowels are more dispersed and occupy more peripheral areas of the vowel space;
- English high vowels are higher than those in Portuguese;
- In Portuguese, there is great symmetry between front and back vowels.

In order to test whether this visual impression corresponded to reality, the vowel space area for each language was calculated using Heron's method⁹ (JACEWICZ; FOX; SALMONS, 2007). To do so, the total vowel space was divided into triangles. The graphs 10 and 11 below show this procedure.

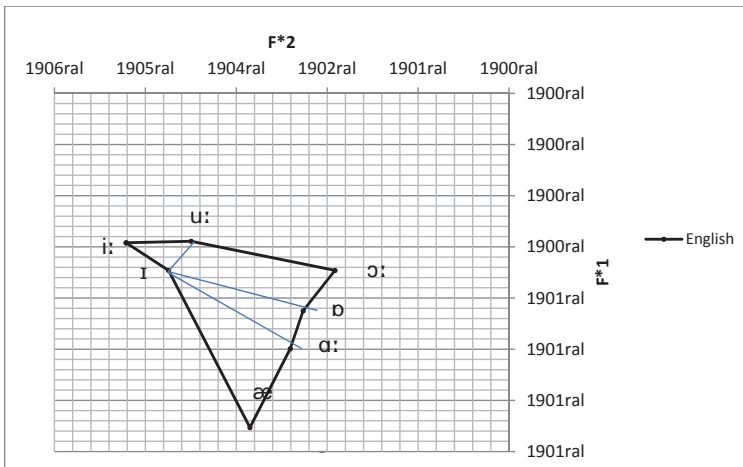
⁹ This method is used for calculating the area of a triangle when you know the length of all three sides. Let a, b, c be the lengths of the sides of a triangle. The area is given by: $A = \sqrt{p(p-a)(p-b)(p-c)}$ where p is half the perimeter, or $\frac{a+b+c}{2}$.

Graph 10 – Vowel space area in Portuguese



Source: Our elaboration.

Graph 11 – Vowel space area in English



Source: Our elaboration.

The total sum of the triangles' area of the vowel space was 12.20 in Portuguese and 8.65 in English. Therefore, Portuguese vowels occupy an area about 30% larger than that of English vowels.

Table 9 – Means and SD of English and Portuguese vowels

English	[i:] F*1	[i:] F*2	[ɪ] F*1	[ɪ] F*2	[æ] F*1	[æ] F*2	[ɑ:] F*1	[ɑ:] F*2	[ɒ] F*1	[ɒ] F*2	[ɔ:] F*1	[ɔ:] F*2	[u:] F*1	[u:] F*2	SD Mean
mean	292	2106	346	1873	653	1425	499	1203	425	1132	346	957	289	1748	
SD	20.93	77.72	26.37	97.06	72.22	71.37	56.80	62.11	48.68	53.63	28.42	49.05	18.92	140.11	58.81
Portuguese	[i] F*1	[i] F*2	[e] F*1	[e] F*2	[ɛ] F*1	[ɛ] F*2	[a] F*1	[a] F*2	[ɔ] F*1	[ɔ] F*2	[o] F*1	[o] F*2	[u] F*1	[u] F*2	
mean	346	2166	385	2123	507	2001	661	1484	509	1116	388	1042	322	968	
SD	42.04	50.57	35.46	49.98	37.04	67.88	41.49	60.29	30.86	48.61	26.13	49.24	29.35	73.40	45.88

Source: Our elaboration.

Table 9 shows the mean values for each vowel of all data for the four speakers of each language. There are some similarities and some differences.

- Similarities:

- All vowels (except [æ]) present greater variability in terms of F2;
- The degree of variability of front and back vowels presents no symmetry nor any differentiating pattern;
- The greatest variability in F2 is in [u] in Portuguese and in the corresponding nearest vowel in English [u:];
- Portuguese [a] and the corresponding nearest vowel in English [ɑ:] have the second higher SD in F1;
- The vowels that vary the least are [o] in Portuguese and in the corresponding nearest vowel in English [ɔ:].

- Differences between the systems:

- English presents greater general variability than Portuguese. The SD mean for all vowels is 58.81 for English and 45.88 for Portuguese;
- The progression of variability is also different in both languages. In decreasing order of variability, English has: u:>æ>ɪ>ɑ:>ɒ>i:>ɔ:; while Portuguese has: ε>u>a>i>e>ɔ>o.

After presenting our results, we resume our research questions:

Q1: What variability will be found in two vowel inventories of different size: Portuguese, with seven oral vowels, and English, with eleven?

In our data, English presented greater general variability than Portuguese. In both languages, vowels tend to vary more in terms of tongue projection or retraction than

in terms of height of the tongue. Maybe this is so because both languages make more distinctions in the vertical than in the horizontal axis. For instance, in English, there is contrast between *i:/ɪ*, but there is no opposition between *i:/ɨ*. That is to say, in both languages there are front and back vowels that are distinguished mainly by tongue height. On the other hand, there is no symmetry in the degree of variability between front and back vowels, nor any distinguishing pattern. In each language, variability affects each vowel differently.

Q2: What area will those vowels occupy in the acoustic vowel space?

Portuguese vowels are more dispersed and occupy more peripheral areas in the acoustic space. There is great symmetry in the spatial distribution of front and back vowels. Spacing between higher-mid and lower-mid vowels tends to be equidistant with that between lower-mid and low vowels. Such even spacing is not present between high and higher-mid vowels due to the lowering of the former.

Portuguese vowels draw a *v* shape in the acoustic space, with front and back vowels clearly distinct. English vowels draw a triangle due to the fronting of [u:]. In English, the highest back vowel is [ɔ:]. Vowels are not evenly spaced, for example, in terms of F1, the distance between [ɪ æ] or between [æ ɑ:] is greater than that between other vowels.

Final remarks

We summarize here those predictions of Dispersion Theory that gave rise to our hypotheses:

- So as to keep minimal distance between vowels, their phonetic realization should be more precise in larger inventories, whereas greater variability in phonetic realization is accepted in less crowded inventories without violating the sufficient contrast criterion;
 - H1: Greater variability is expected in Portuguese (with seven oral vowels) than in English (with eleven).
- Inventories with a greater number of vowels should cover a larger area in the acoustic space than those with fewer vowels. This prediction also manifests the principle of vowel adaptiveness in the case of point vowels /i,a,u/, which have to shift if the acoustic space size differs as a function of inventory complexity.
 - H2: point vowels /i,a,u/ will occupy more peripheral positions in English, and English vowels will cover a larger area in the acoustic space than Portuguese vowels.

Our results seem to contradict those predictions of Dispersion Theory. As to vowel variability (cf. H1 above), in our data, the phonetic realization of the vowels in the larger inventory, i.e., in English, is less precise and presents greater variability, both in terms of F1 and F2, than those of the Portuguese system, therefore, H1 is refuted.

As to vowel dispersion and area in the acoustic space, again contrary to expectations, our results refute H2 above, because Portuguese vowels are more dispersed and peripheral occupying a larger acoustic area than those of English. However, it is crucial to highlight that the fronting of [u:] in English might have broken the system stability. That is why we raise the hypothesis of a vowel chain shift that also affects the back vowels [ɑ: ɒ ɔ:], which are being raised and drags [æ] to a lower and less fronted position.

On the other hand, Portuguese system tends to respect the premise that vowels should be evenly spaced (FERRARI-DISNER, 1984). However, the lowering of the high vowels [i u] makes them closer to the higher-mid [e o]. This lowering of the high vowels in Portuguese demands further research.

As previously pointed out in the Theoretical Background session and corroborated by our results, the predictions of Dispersion Theory are controversial. We have already seen that some works support the theory while some empirical studies contest it. Our results allow us to raise the hypothesis that the systems of English and Portuguese are somehow unstable at present. In English, the fronting of [u:] breaks the expected balance of point vowels /i, a, u/, vowel [ɔ:] occupies the space left empty by [u:] and ends up dragging a chain shift that affects not only the back vowels but also vowel [æ]. That is to say, there is ongoing reorganization of vowel space in English.

In Portuguese, there is great overlapping of high and higher-mid vowels in stressed position. That is not the consequence of greater variability, but of the lowering of high vowels [i u]. As in English, there is ongoing reorganization of vowel space in Portuguese.

It seems necessary to investigate such reorganization of vowel space in both languages taking into account that vowel systems are both changing and stable at the same time. As shown in this paper, Dispersion Theory fails to capture such facts as it is based on categorical phonemes and deterministic predictions. Probably, a theoretical approach that takes languages as complex dynamic systems (ELLIS; LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2009) might offer more grounded elements that would shed light on the facts here presented. Such proposal will be undertaken in future studies.

MARUSSO, A. Variabilidade e dispersão vocálica em Português Brasileiro e Inglês Britânico: um estudo de caso. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.60, n.1, p.179-204, 2016.

- *RESUMO: Este artigo objetiva discutir o efeito do tamanho do inventário no espaço acústico de línguas com inventários vocálicos de tamanhos diferentes: português com sete e inglês com onze vogais. Partindo das predições da Teoria de Dispersão Vocálica, este estudo analisa acusticamente a variabilidade e dispersão vocálica nessas duas línguas.*

Contrariamente ao previsto pela teoria sobre a variabilidade vocálica, em nossos dados, a realização fonética das vogais do sistema vocálico maior (inglês) é menos precisa e apresenta maior variabilidade que as do português. Quanto à dispersão vocálica, também contrariando o previsto, as vogais do português estão mais dispersas e periféricas cobrindo uma área acústica maior que as do inglês. Nossos resultados estão em consonância com trabalhos que questionam a comprovação empírica das predições da Teoria de Dispersão. Nosso avanço é quanto à interpretação dos fatos. Levanta-se a hipótese que os sistemas vocálicos do inglês e português estejam parcialmente instáveis atualmente, entretanto, a Teoria de Dispersão não captura esses fatos por estar mais pautada em fonemas estanques que em alofones variáveis. Possivelmente, uma abordagem teórica que entenda as línguas como sistemas dinâmicos e complexos (ELLIS; LARSEN-FREEMAN, 2009) ofereça elementos mais sólidos para a compreensão dos fatos apresentados. Tal proposta será fomentada futuramente.

- **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Variabilidade vocálica. Dispersão vocálica. Análise acústica.

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The keywords in English. For papers written in Portuguese, French, Spanish, and Italian, the keywords in English should be typeset in *italics*, be preceded by the word *ABSTRACT*, typeset in *italics* and in CAPITALS, and be placed three blank single-spaced lines after the abstract in English.

NOTE: For papers written in English, the title, abstract, and keywords referred to in 7, 8 and 9 above, respectively, should be written in Portuguese.

References. The subtitle **References** should be set in **bold**, with no indentation for the first line, and placed two blank single-spaced lines after the keywords. The reference list should be single-spaced and ordered alphabetically and chronologically (see 3.3.1 below), placed three blank single-spaced lines after the keywords in English. **12. Bibliography.** The bibliography list, if essential, should come after the reference list. The word “**Bibliography**” should be set in **bold**, with no indentation for the first line, and placed three blank single-spaced lines after the reference list, aligned to the left. It will include all works not mentioned in the paper or in its footnotes.

3.3. Further instructions

3.3.1 Reference guidelines Both reference and bibliography lists should be ordered alphabetically by the last name of the first author. A single space should separate one reference item from the other. The names of the translators must be specified.

Examples:

Books

AUTHIER-REVUZ, J. **Palavras incertas:** as não coincidências do dizer. Tradução de Cláudia Pfeiffer et al. Campinas: Ed. da UNICAMP, 1998.

CORACINI, M. J.; BERTOLDO, E. S. (Org.). **O desejo da teoria e a contingência da prática.** Campinas: Mercado das Letras, 2003.

LUCHESI, D. **Sistema, mudança e linguagem:** um percurso na história da linguística moderna. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2004.

Book chapters

PÊCHEUX, M. Ler o arquivo hoje. In: ORLANDI, E. P. (Org.). **Gestos de leitura: da história no discurso.** Tradução de Maria das Graças Lopes Morin do Amaral. Campinas: Ed. da UNICAMP, 1994. p.15-50.

Thesis and dissertations

BITENCOURT, C.M.F. **Pátria, civilização e trabalho:** o ensino nas escolas paulista (1917-1939). 1998. 256 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1998.

Papers in journals

SCLIAR-CABRAL, L.; RODRIGUES, B. B. Discrepâncias entre a pontuação e as pausas. **Cadernos de Estudos Linguísticos**, Campinas, n.26, p. 63-77, 1994.

Online papers

SOUZA, F. C. Formação de bibliotecários para uma sociedade livre. **Revista de Biblioteconomia e Ciência da Informação**, Florianópolis, n.11, p. 1-13, jun. 2001. Disponível em: <...> Acesso em: 30 jun. 2001.

Newspaper articles

BURKE, P. Misturando os idiomas. **Folha de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, 13 abr. 2003. Mais!, p.3.

EDITORA plagiou traduções de clássicos. **Folha de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, 4 nov. 2007. Ilustrada, p. 6.

Online publications

UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL PAULISTA. Coordenadoria Geral de Bibliotecas. Grupo de Trabalho Normalização Documentária da UNESP. Normalização Documentária para a produção científica da UNESP: normas para apresentação de referências. São Paulo, 2003. Disponível em: <...>. Acesso em: 15 jul. 2004.

Paper in edited volumes, conference proceedings, and working papers

MARIN, A. J. Educação continuada. In: CONGRESSO ESTADUAL PAULISTA SOBRE FORMAÇÃO DE EDUCADORES, 1., 1990. **Anais...** São Paulo: UNESP, 1990. p. 114-118.

Films:

Macunaíma. Direção (roteiro e adaptação) de Joaquim Pedro de Andrade. Filmes do Serro/Grupo Filmes/Condor Filmes. Brasil: 1969. Rio de Janeiro: Videofilmes, 1969. Versão restaurada digitalmente, 2004. 1 DVD (105 minutos), color.

Paintings, photographs, illustrations, drawings:

ALMEIDA JÚNIOR. **Caipira picando fumo**. 1893. Óleo sobre tela. 17 cm X 23,5 cm. Pintura pertencente ao acervo da Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

PICASSO, Pablo. [**Sem título**]. [1948]. 1 gravura. Disponível em: <<http://belgaleria.com.br>>. Acesso em 19 ago. 2015.

Music CDs (as a unit or tracks)

CALAZANS, T. **Teca Calazans canta Villa Lobos**. Rio de Janeiro: Kuarup Discos, 1999. 1 CD.

CALAZANS, T. Modinha. In: CALAZANS, T. **Teca Calazans canta Villa Lobos**. Rio de Janeiro: Kuarup Discos, 1999. 1 CD.

3.3.2. In-text references and quotations

For references in the text, the surname of the author should be in CAPITALS, enclosed in parentheses; a comma should be placed between the author's last name and year, e.g. (BARBOSA, 1980). If the name of the author is part of the text, only the year is enclosed in parentheses: "Morais (1955) argues..."

Page numbers follow the year and are preceded by "p."; note a comma and a space between year and "p.", and between "p." and the number, e.g. (MUNFORD, 1949, p. 513).

References of the same author with the same year should be distinguished by using lower case letters in alphabetical order, e.g. (PESIDE, 1927a), and (PESIDE, 1927b). For references with one author and up to two co-authors, semi-colons are used to separate the surnames, e.g. (OLIVEIRA; MATEUS; SILVA, 1943); for references with more than two co-authors, the expression "et al." substitutes for the surnames of the co-authors, e.g. (GILLE et al., 1960).

Quotations longer than three text lines should be set in 11-point font size, and set out as a separate paragraph (or paragraphs) on a new line. The paragraph (or paragraphs) should be 4.0 cm from the left margin throughout, without any quotation marks. Quotations shorter than three text lines should be included in double quotation marks in the running text. Quotations from texts in foreign languages must be translated into Portuguese. Published translations should be used whenever possible. The original text should appear in a footnote.

3.3.3. Italics, bold, underlining and quotation marks

Italics: Use italics for foreign words, book titles in the body of the text, or for emphasis.

Bold: Use bold only in the title of the article and in the text headings and subheadings.

Underlining: Avoid using underlining.

Quotation marks: can be used to highlight parts of the major works, such as titles of poems, articles, chapters. The major works should be highlighted in italics, as the statement above; quotation marks must be used in the body of the text for quotations of excerpts of works. Example: A linguística é uma disciplina que "[...] se baseia na observação dos factos e se abstém de propor qualquer escolha entre tais factos, em nome de certos princípios estéticos e morais" (MARTINET, 1972, p.3).

3.3.4. Footnotes

Footnotes should be kept to a minimum and placed at the bottom of the page. The superscript numerals used to refer to a footnote come after any punctuation sign (comma, semicolon, period, question mark, etc.).

3.3.5. Figures

Figures comprise drawings, graphs, charts, maps, diagrams, formulas, models, photographs, x-rays. The identifying caption should be inserted above the figures, centered, preceded by the designation word designative (Chart, Map, Figure etc); if there is more than one, figures must be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals using the same font and size of the body of the text. Indication of the source and other information necessary for its understanding should appear below the figure. Figures should be submitted as separate files, saved in the program in which they were generated. Maps, photographs and radiographs should also be submitted as separate files, high-resolution (300 dpi). Author(s) are responsible for image copyrights.

3.3.6. Tables and text frames

Tables should be used to present statistical information, and text frames should be used to summarize and organize textual information. The title is inserted above the table, centered, beginning with **Table 1** in bold, followed by a hyphen and the title without emphasis, in the same font and size of the body text; the title of figures should be presented above the figure,

centered, beginning with Figure 1 in bold, followed by a hyphen and the title without emphasis, in the same font and size of the body text. The numbering is consecutive, in Arabic numerals; if you need to specify the data source, it must be placed below the table or the table and the text aligned to the left. Tables should be built with the open side borders and no lines separating columns.

3.3.7. Appendixes and Annexes

When absolutely necessary to the text comprehension, and within the limit of 30 pages, Annexes and / or appendixes, following the subsection style, should be included in the end of the paper, after the references or bibliography.

3.3.8. Review format

The review should contain, at the beginning, the complete reference to the book being reviewed, including number of pages, in Times New Roman, 14 point size, single spaced, no title, no summary, no keywords. The name(s) of the review author(s), in 12 point size, must appear on the third line below the reference of the book reviewed, preceded by "reviewed by [name(s) of author(s)]". Names must be followed by an asterisk referring to a footnote containing the following information: full name and acronym of the institution to which the review author(s) belong; city; state; country; zip code; email. The text of the review should begin on the third line below the name(s) of the author(s) in Times New Roman, 12 point size 12 and spacing 1.5.

Page format is as follows: paper size: A4 (21.0x 29.7 cm); left and top margins 3.0 cm, right and lower 2.0 cm; minimum length of 4 and maximum of 8 pages, including bibliographic references and annexes and/or appendices; indentation: 1.25 cm to mark the beginning of the paragraph; spacing: 1.5.

3.3.9. Translation format

Translated articles are subjected to a peer review process, to decide on the opportunity and the convenience of their publication. They should follow the article format, where applicable. In the second line below the name of the author of the translated text, right-aligned, the name(s) of the translator(s) should appear in the following format: "Translated by [name(s) of the translator(s)]", with an asterisk referring to a footnote with the following information: full name and acronym of the institution to which the translator(s) belong; city; state; country; zip code; email. The translated text must be accompanied with a written authorization of the publisher responsible for the original publication.

3.3.10. Interview format

Interviews are subjected to a peer review process, which decides on the opportunity and the convenience of its publication. The format of the interview is the same required for articles, but the title should contain, besides the general theme, the expression "Interview with [interviewee name]", without emphasis, with an asterisk referring to a footnote containing a brief review of the biography of the

interviewee, which clearly demonstrates her/his scientific relevance. The author(s) of the interview should follow, according to the rules established for articles.

3.3.11. English version

The author(s) of paper accepted for publication in Portuguese, French, Spanish or Italian must provide the English version of the text until the deadline shown in the e-mail notification of acceptance. The standards for citation of authors in the text and the references of the English version are the same as the ones in Portuguese. *Alfa* appoints reviewers to evaluate the English version of the article. The review is restricted to checking the quality of translation, i. e. adequation to the standard norms of English usage for research papers.

In case there are citations of works with an English-language edition, this edition should be used both in the text and in the references. In case there is no English edition, the quoted text should be translated into English, and the text in the original language of the edition used must be included in a footnote.

If the text contains figures scanned from advertisements in newspapers, magazines or similar media, in Portuguese or another language, the English version of the text must be included in a footnote.

When the text contains examples the understanding of which involves the need to clarify morphosyntactic features, a literal version of them in gloss should be included, followed by the common English translation in single quotation marks. Example:

- (1) isso signific-a um aument-o de vencimento-s (D2-SP-360)
this mean-IND.PRS.3.SG a.M raise-NMLZ of salary-PL
'this means a raise in salary.'

Conventions for the glosses: *The Leipzig Glossing Rules: conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*, edited by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel); available in <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.

3.3.12. Copyright transfer – publication authorization

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