

**ALFA**  
**Revista de Linguística**

SÃO PAULO STATE UNIVERSITY

*Chancellor*

Sandro Roberto Valentini

*Vice-Chancellor*

Sergio Roberto Nobre

*Pro-Chancellor for Research*

Carlos Frederico de Oliveira Graeff

Support:

**PROPe**  
Pró-Reitoria de Pesquisa



SÃO PAULO STATE UNIVERSITY

**ALFA**  
**Revista de Linguística**

ISSN 1981-5794 (ONLINE VERSION)

Alfa	São Paulo	v.61	nr.3	p.555-768	2017
------	-----------	------	------	-----------	------

Alfa: Revista de Linguística  
UNESP – Univ Estadual Paulista,  
Pro-Reitoria de Pesquisa  
Rua Quirino de Andrade, 215  
01049-010 – São Paulo – SP  
alfa@unesp.br

*Editor-in-Chief*  
Rosane de Andrade Berlinck

*Executive Board*  
Erotilde Goreti Pezatti  
Luciane de Paula  
Odilon Helou Fleury Curado  
Roberto Gomes Camacho

*Proofreading*  
Ana Carolina Freitas Gentil Cangemi

*Technical Advisor*  
Ana Paula Menezes Alves

*Desktop Publishing*  
Eron Pedroso Januskevitz

*Computer advisor*  
Luiz Borges

*Cover*  
Adriana Bessa Damman

#### *Editorial Board*

Ângela Cecília Souza Rodrigues (USP), Ataliba Teixeira de Castilho (USP), Bento Carlos Dias da Silva (UNESP), Christian Hudelot (CNRS), Christian Lehmann (Universität Erfurt), Daniel Leonard Everett (University of Manchester), Dermeval da Hora (UFPA), Diana Luz Pessoa de Barros (USP), Edair Gorski (UFSC), Eduardo Calil (UFAL), Esmeralda Vailati Negrão (USP), Ester Miriam Scarpa (UNICAMP), Fábio Lopes da Silva (UFSC), Freda Indurski (UFRS), Gladis Massini Cagliari (UNESP), Helena Hatsue Nagamine Brandão (USP), Ieda Maria Alves (USP), Ingedore G. V. Koch (UNICAMP), Jacques Fontanille (Université de Limoges), Jacyntho Luís Brandão (UFMG), João Azenha Júnior (USP), João Wanderlei Geraldi (UNICAMP), John Lachlan Mackenzie (ILTEC), John Robert Schmitz (UNICAMP), José Borges Neto (UFPR), Kanavillil Rajagopalan (UNICAMP), Kees Hengeveld (Universidade de Amsterdã), Laurent Danon-Boileau (Paris V – CNRS), Leda Bisol (PUC-RS), Leonor Seliar Cabral (UFSC), Lúcia Teixeira (UFF), Luiz Carlos Travaglia (UFU), Maria Beatriz Nascimento Decat (UFMG), Maria Bernadete Marques Abaurre (UNICAMP), Maria Helena de Moura Neves (UNESP), Maria Luiza Braga (UFRJ), Maria Margarida Martins Salomão (UFJF), Maria Marta Pereira Scherre (UnB), Mariangela Rios de Oliveira (UFF), Renata Coelho Marchezan (UNESP), Roberta Pires de Oliveira (UFSC), Rosemary Arrojo (State University of New York), Sérgio de Moura Menuzzi (UFRGS), Seung Hwa Lee (UFMG), Sirio Possenti (UNICAMP), Vera Lúcia Paredes Pereira da Silva (UFRJ), Zélia de Almeida Cardoso (USP).

#### *Editors for the English version*

Solange Aranha (UNESP), Melissa Alves Baffi Bonvino (UNESP), Alvaro Luiz Hattner (UNESP), Celso Fernando Rocha (UNESP), Aduari Brezolin (Universidade Metodista de São Paulo) and Deusa Maria de Souza Pinheiro Passos (USP).

#### *Quarterly publication*

Alfa: Revista de Linguística / Universidade Estadual Paulista. – Vol. 1  
(1962)– . – São Paulo : UNESP, 1962–

Quarterly  
From 2014 the journal was only published online.  
ISSN: 1981-5794 (online version)

Ficha catalográfica elaborada pela equipe da Biblioteca da Faculdade de Ciências e Letras – Unesp – Araraquara.

*The articles published in Alfa: Revista de Linguística are indexed by:*

BLL – Bibliography of Linguistic Literature; CLASE – Cich-Unam – Citas Latinoamericanas en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades; Francis Database; IBZ – International Bibliography of Periodical Literature in the Humanities and Science Galé; LLBA – Linguistic and Language Behavior Abstracts; MLA – International Bibliography; ProQuest; SciELO – Scientific Electronic Library Online

## PRESENTATION

Alpha closes its 2017 volume, presenting to the readers eight articles, unpublished fruits of the work of Brazilian and foreign researchers. In addition to the specificity of object and approach of each one, the set of texts is organized in three subgroups.

The two articles that open this issue focus on the analysis of morphosyntactic and morpho-semantic phenomena in Spanish and in Purépecha (a native language of Mexico) respectively. In the first one, Sánchez, Jaichenco and Sevilla present and discuss the results of an experiment that aimed to measure the possible influence of syntactic (order of constituents) and semantic (distributive reading) factors on the processing of agreement in Spanish. Agreement is a phenomenon widely investigated in Spanish and Portuguese varieties, but especially from a production perspective. The authors' study explores the perspective of perception, concluding by the interaction of factors in the processing of agreement.

The study on Purépecha, in turn, focuses on the uses and values derived from the *-perani* suffix, which can be added to numerals. Maldonado, author of the study, shows that such numerals produce a definite reading of the noun phrases they integrate. The role of the affix in the referential system is highlighted by the absence of a definite article in Purépecha. In addition to describing how it works in Purépecha's system, the analysis reveals an organization that contrasts with that of European languages, contributing, in a possible and desirable contrastive perspective, to a better understanding of the processes of referencing that operate in language.

A second subset of four articles gravitates around the common axis of discourse, exploring different objects, issues, and theoretical-methodological approaches. Santos and Rodrigues discuss the relationship between the modes of appropriation of the discourse of others and the expression of ideological positions through the analysis of news published in newspapers *Diário de Pernambuco* and *Jornal do Commercio* regarding the then presidential candidate Eduardo Campos. They take the perspective of the Bakhtin Circle to analyze the position of the subject-journalist regarding his object of enunciation.

It is this same theoretical view that is adopted by Fuza in his study on the heterogeneity of academic writing. The author takes as hypothesis the non-pertinence of a current conception regarding the homogenization of academic-scientific writing and analyzes Brazilian scientific articles related to the various areas of knowledge. She concludes that both objective and subjective strategies and elements are present in the texts of all areas, but that this presence expresses as a gradation of greater subjectivity in texts of Humanities and less subjectivity in texts of other areas.

Soares explores the dialogue of different languages in the construction of meanings, particularly of persuasion, when analyzing linguistic and imagistic choices applied in the production of two covers of the popular newspaper *Super Notícia*. In a case study, based on the assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodality, the author reaffirms the relevance and necessity of considering multimodal interaction, which serves to create both explicit or implicit discourse at the service of ideologies.

The fourth paper on discourse proposes to investigate the role of connectors in the ‘co-construction of identity images’, choosing as the specific object of study the use of the conjunction *mas* in electoral debates. Taking as its theoretical basis the Modular Discourse Analysis Model, Cunha interprets the effect of the use of *mas* in this process, identifying two types of discursive maneuvers: attacking the opponent (*heteroattack*) and attacking the candidate himself (*autoattack*).

To conclude this issue, we have two articles on the theme of the relationship between language and teaching-learning. The text by Ninin and Magalhães results from the analysis of a corpus of discussions about didactic-pedagogical practices, by teachers participating in a training project. Based on the proposals of the ‘language of critical collaboration in agency development’ and the Critical Research on Collaboration, the authors discuss how the participants express their position about their practices, revealing a transformation process in the direction of a ‘responsive professional practice’.

Oliveira’s article, which closes this edition, brings to discussion foreign languages teaching learning process. This field still poses many challenges for educators and linguists, particularly regarding the development of reception and oral production. Besides, it is marked by an expanding development and use of computer applications, platforms, portals for educational purposes, resources that place the learner as the main agent of the process. In this context, the author proposes to describe and to evaluate the potential effectiveness of English-language educational portals, particularly those aimed at learning English for specific purposes.

With this set of texts, added to those published in the two other issues of 2017, Alfa reaffirms its commitment to the dissemination of high quality research, in tune with recent developments and inquiries in our area.

As this work is an effort that depends on many, it is time to thank the authors, the generous dedication of the evaluators, the interest of the readers and the numerous technical team members that made it possible, with extreme competence, to publicize our three annual issues. The continuity of our journal depend on all of you.

May all have a useful reading and may our partnership continue and consolidate even more in 2018.

*Rosane de Andrade Berlinck*

## CONTENTS

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

- Order, distributivity and attraction during agreement production  
*María Elina Sánchez, Virginia Jaichenco e Yamila Sevilla* .....565
- Definite numerals in purepecha  
*Violeta Vázquez Rojas Maldonado* .....585
- The presumed impartiality of journalistic discourse: ideological positioning in appropriating the discourse of others  
*André Cordeiro dos Santos e Siane Gois Cavalcanti Rodrigues* .....609
- Objectivism/subjectivism in scientific articles from different fields: the heterogeneity of academic writing  
*Ângela Francine Fuza* .....629
- Analysis of *Super Notícia* popular newspaper through a critical and multimodal perspective  
*Leonardo Antonio Soares*.....657
- The role of connectors in the co-construction of identity images: the use of the *mas* in electoral debates  
*Gustavo Ximenes Cunha* .....681
- The language of critical collaboration in High School teachers' agency development  
*Maria Otilia Guimarães Ninin e Maria Cecília Camargo Magalhães* .....707
- The use of English educational portals in ESP teaching and learning  
*Flávia Medianeira de Oliveira* .....733
- SUBJECTS INDEX.....753
- AUTHORS INDEX .....755
- PAPER SUBMISSION INSTRUCTIONS .....757





***ORIGINAL ARTICLES***



# ORDER, DISTRIBUTIVITY AND ATTRACTION DURING AGREEMENT PRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

María Elina SÁNCHEZ\*  
Virginia JAICHENCO\*\*  
Yamila SEVILLA\*\*\*

- **ABSTRACT:** Several studies have found that factors of different nature (semantic, morphological and syntactic) affect the computation of subject-verb agreement during sentence production (BOCK; MILLER, 1991; FRANCK; VIGLIOCCO; NICOL, 2002; HARTSUIKER et. al., 2003; HASKELL; MACDONALD, 2003; VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; SEMENZA 1995) The aim of this paper are: a) to investigate the influence of the linear order of constituents, exploiting the relative flexibility of Spanish; b) inquire whether a semantic variable, such as distributive reading, and a morphological variable, such as manipulation of the number of local noun, are factors that affect the processing of the agreement. We designed an experiment using an image description task with preambles in which the order of the subject of the sentence (pre-verbal or post-verbal), the type of preamble (nominal phrases with distributive and non-distributive reading) and the number of the local noun (singular-plural) was manipulated. The results showed a main effect of the local noun number, the type of preamble and the linear order of the constituents: more subject-verb agreement errors occurred when the sentence presented an asymmetry in the number of nouns (N1 Singular- N2 Plural), the phrases had a distributive reading and the order was subject-verb. The results seem to indicate that syntactic, semantic and morphological factors interfere together in the agreement processing in Spanish and support the postulates of the interactive models of agreement production. In addition, they provide evidence to a general processing model in which the different factors work as keys to the retrieval of information in the agreement computation (BADECKER; KUMINIAK, 2007).
- **KEYWORDS:** Psycholinguistics. Sentence production. Agreement. Linear order. Distributivity. Spanish.

---

\* University of Buenos Aires (UBA), Institute of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Buenos Aires – Argentina. [mesanchez@filo.uba.ar](mailto:mesanchez@filo.uba.ar)

\*\* University of Buenos Aires (UBA), Institute of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Buenos Aires – Argentina. [vjaichenco@filo.uba.ar](mailto:vjaichenco@filo.uba.ar)

\*\*\* University of Buenos Aires (UBA), Institute of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. Buenos Aires – Argentina. [ysevilla@filo.uba.ar](mailto:ysevilla@filo.uba.ar)

<sup>1</sup> CONICET - Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas.

## Introduction

The phenomenon of agreement has been studied from different views, both in Linguistics and Psycholinguistics. Among other issues, linguists have debated about how computation is implemented, its time course within the formulation process and the differences among languages. Since the beginning of the 1990 decade, Psycholinguistics has experimentally addressed some of the problems that theoretical linguistics had been discussing. With regard to language production, the initial interest was to investigate under what circumstances the speakers make errors of agreement and try to explain those errors in the framework of sentence processing models, following the pathway initiated by Fromkin (1973) and Garrett (1975) for other speech errors. Sentence production models are divided between those that support the idea that information flows exclusively forward and those that accept, to some extent, bidirectional flow. They emphasize different aspects of the available evidence. The former consider that the activation is spread from the message level to the phonological level, going through a grammatical level, in a serial and encapsulated way (BOCK; LEVELT, 1994). For these models agreement occurs at grammatical encoding level and is impervious to semantic and morphophonological influence. On the other hand, interactive models (BATES; MACWHINNEY, 1989; BADECKER; KUMINIYAK, 2007; DELL, 1986; MACDONALD; PEARLMUTTER; SEIDENBERG, 1994; STEMBERGER, 1985; TANENHAUS et al., 1995) assume that, during the formulation of a sentence, information from different sources may play a role simultaneously. Thus, semantics, morphology and phonology could interact with syntax, even in the case of a process as agreement, eminently syntactic in nature.

## Attraction

The errors that have been specially exploited in the investigation of the subject-verb agreement are *attraction errors* (QUIRK et al., 1972). In these errors, the agreement is established between the main verb of the sentence and a local noun (N2), instead of being established between the verb and the head of the subject (N1), as in (1):

- (1) \*La etiqueta (N1) de las botellas (N2) son rojas. [The label (N1) of the bottles (N2) are red].

Experiments were designed to test if the processes of agreement at the syntactic level are influenced by the representations of the semantic and morphophonological levels. The scene continues to be conflictive. Some studies support the idea that agreement remains encapsulated and isolated from non-syntactic information (BOCK; EBERHARD, 1993; BOCK; EBERHARD; CUTTING, 2004; BOCK; MILLER, 1991; RODRIGUES 2006), while others found evidence indicating that semantic and

/ or morphophonological factors affect the processing of agreement (VIGLIOCCO; FRANCK, 1999; VIGLIOCCO; HARTSUIKER, 2002; VIGLIOCCO et al., 1996, among others). In the following sections we will present the most relevant background evidence of the role of syntactic, semantic and morphological factors during the production of agreement in different languages.

### **Semantic and morphological factors**

Experimental studies of the production of agreement have shown that factors of different nature strengthen the bias to make attraction errors, which suggests that these factors play a role during the computation of the agreement. In this sense, it has been investigated whether semantic factors, such as the conceptual representation of the number (or referent numerosity), could affect syntactic processing (BOCK et al., 2001). Specifically, it was studied whether the distributive reading of the noun phrases generates interference in the computation of the agreement, since there is the possibility of relating the head of the subject with a single instance of a referent (single token) or several (multiple token), depending on the semantic-pragmatic nature. Different studies have reported a consistent effect of distributivity in different languages (EBERHARD, 1999, for English, RODRIGUES, 2006, for Portuguese: VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; GARRETT, 1996, for Spanish, French and Dutch, VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; SEMENZA, 1995, for Italian, among others). Some authors attributed the distributive effect obtained in the Romance languages to the particular features of the languages: the morphological richness, the possibility of post-verbal subject and the null subject. The hypothesis is that in these languages grammatical information of subject number would not always be available quickly, so the verb number would be specified based on conceptual information, coming from the message level. After this, the agreement between the subject and the verb is specified. Thus, the semantic effect would be determined by an interference of the conceptual number coming from the level of the message. Thus, in languages with rich morphology this effect is caused by an inconsistency between the grammatical information of the subject number and the verb number information (VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; SEMENZA, 1995; VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; GARRETT, 1996). The explanation offered by the authors is that the verbal morphology would be highly informative, which is interpreted as an indication that the verb number information is defined directly from the message level.

The effect of distributivity was usually found together with an effect of singular-plural asymmetry of the nouns that appear within the determinant phrase. Here the incidence of the richness of the morphology in the size of the semantic effect plays a determining role; two hypotheses aim to explain this interaction. On the one hand, the maximalist hypothesis (VIGLIOCCO et al., 1996) argues that languages with rich morphology could be prone to the influence of conceptual number, thanks to

the penetration of meaning in the processing of agreement. The agreement errors, in this way, are possible due to the interaction between the different levels in the speech production system. On the other hand, the minimalist hypothesis (EBERHARD; CUTTING; BOCK, 2005) predicts that languages with rich inflectional morphology are less sensitive to the notional or semantic number, given that the inflectional morphemes would filter the effect of the meaning related to the number (ANTÓN-MÉNDEZ; HARTSUIKER, 2010; FOOTE; BOCK, 2011; LORIMOR et al., 2008; SÁNCHEZ; SEVILLA; JAICHENCO, 2013). This hypothesis holds that interference of semantic and / or morphophonological factors is set at levels before or after the calculation of the agreement. Therefore, the autonomy of the syntactic formulator in the matching process is preserved. In this sense, these hypotheses posit that the input that the encoder receives from the conceptual structure is restricted to the use at the message level. The solution found by minimalist hypotheses when locating semantic and morphophonological interference in an anterior or posterior stage, respectively, to the computation of agreement, does not seem to be compatible with translinguistic evidence. Different studies found, on the one hand, an extensive conceptual influence in the construction of the agreement of number and also of gender (BOCK; NICOL; CUTTING, 1999; EBERHARD, 1999; VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; GARRETT, 1996; VIGLIOCCO et al., 1995; VIGLIOCCO; FRANCK, 1999; HARTSUIKER et al., 2003, among others), confirming that grammatical coding cannot remain isolated at least from conceptual structures.

### **Syntactic factors**

Syntactic theory has placed its interest in determining the syntactic aspects of the phenomenon of agreement, especially in theoretical frameworks such as those proposed by formal theory (CHOMSKY, 1995, 2001) that provide models of the structural conditions that govern agreement. Experimental studies generated a number of conclusions that are summarized below. First, syntactic encoding involves an abstract representation in which words are organized hierarchically before their linearization. Second, attraction is sensitive to structural proximity in the syntactic structure, that is, the place occupied by the local noun in the hierarchy influences the generation of attraction errors. Thus, the lower nouns in a tree structure generate less interference than the higher nouns (For example, *\*la correa de los perros del verdulero son azules* vs. *la correa del perro de los verduleros es azul* [*\*the belt of the greengrocer's dogs are blue* vs. *the green dog's belt is blue*]) The first condition give rise to more errors that the second, despite the linear proximity to the verb in the latter). Third, local nouns that are internal to the subject and internal to the predicate do not interfere in the same way, suggesting that the left and right ramifications may be involved differently in attraction (BOCK; MILLER, 1991; FRANCK; VIGLIOCCO; NICOL, 2002; FRANCK et al., 2006; FRANCK et al., 2010; RODRIGUES, 2006; SÁNCHEZ; SEVILLA, 2013; SÁNCHEZ; JAICHENCO;

SEVILLA, 2014; VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; SEMENZA, 1995; VIGLIOCCO; NICOL, 1998). However, the proposed interpretation for the data is based on a very broad analysis of the syntactic structure, and a fine theoretical framework that fully accounts for the attraction is not established. Few studies have dealt with the role of the order of the constituents. Thus, in most of the studies that investigated the attraction in sentence production, the preambles or experimental items were constructed in the subject-verb order, where the whole determinant phrase (which includes the head noun and the local nouns) is always produced before the verb.

In order to separately evaluate the question of linear and syntactic distance, Vigliocco and Nicol (1998) requested participants to ask a question from the preamble they had heard, which led to producing the verb in the first place. In the preambles they manipulated the number of the head noun of the subject and of the local noun. Although they found an effect of number attraction, with more errors when the N1 appeared in singular and the N2 in plural, they did not verify an effect of the linear order of the head noun, which undermines the idea that the element closest to the verb interferes with the agreement. Following this line, Franck and collaborators (2006) discussed linear order, adopting a view that incorporates minimalist assumptions and a derivational approach to the formulation of a sentence. In an approach of this kind, when a sentence is computed, multiple intermediate representations reflect a cyclical derivation of the sentence. For the authors, these intermediate representations are presented in a tree format that specifies hierarchical relationships between the syntactic nodes (dominance) and also involve different linear orders (precedence). According to Franck et al. it is necessary to analyze the derivation of the sentence to verify if at any moment the local noun intervenes linearly between the subject and the verb. They reinterpreted the data of Vigliocco and Nicol (1998) presented previously, since they consider that in both interrogative and declarative sentences, there is a moment in which the plural noun would be between the subject and the node of the agreement. According to this analysis, the contrast between both types of sentences does not allow excluding an effect of linearity, understood in terms of linear precedence.

## Objectives

In this work, we will focus on a syntactic factor not studied in the literature: the linear order of the constituents of the sentence, and we will put it in relation to a semantic factor (distributive reading) and a morphological one (number of local noun). On the one hand, this work intends to investigate the influence of the linear order, exploiting the relative flexibility of our language, and on the other hand, to investigate whether a semantic variable, such as distributive reading, and a morphological variable, the number of local, are all factors that affect the agreement processing.

Our experimental design will try to contribute data to the discussion about the modularity in language production, since it was manipulated, at the same time,

information of different levels of processing, and in addition, we intend to give a unified answer to the evidence found from a general model of language processing.

## Overview of the experiment

We designed an experiment in which the pattern of subject-verb agreement errors and omissions in the sentences production of Spanish has been studied. We used an image description task with preambles in which the Number of the local noun (singular-plural), the Type of preamble (distributive and non-distributive) and the Linear order (pre verbal subject – post verbal subject).

## Method

### Participants

Fifteen native Spanish speakers participated in the experiment: 4 men and 11 women. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 40 (with a mean of 26.93 years and standard deviation (SD) of 7.6). All participants had completed high school (Mean of scholarship; 15.53 years; SD: 1.72) and signed a written consent.

### Materials

The experimental items consisted of an image that represented a complex preamble consisting of noun phrase (N1), prepositional phrase (PP) with other noun (N2 or local noun). The images were in black and white and the object with which they should produce the image was colored (head noun of the subject or N1). The following variables were manipulated: Number of N2 (singular-plural), Type of preamble (distributive-non distributive) and Linear order (pre verbal subject-post verbal subject). Thus, 8 conditions were created, divided into 2 lists. Each subject was given a list containing 64 targets and 16 fillers. Examples of a sentence in the 8 experimental conditions are shown in Table 1.

In the lists, every two target items, filler appeared. The fillers were constructed in both experimental conditions of linear order, but the two nouns that appeared in the sentence (head noun and local noun) were always in plural (for example, *Los vestidos de las mujeres son amarillos* or *Son azules las polleras de la niñas*). In this way, subjects throughout the experiment were forced to produce plural sentences.



**Table 1** – Examples of experimental preambles

Condition	Preamble
N2Sing-D-SV	<i>El candado (N1) del armario(N2) es amarillo [The padlock of the locker is yellow]</i>
N2Pl-D-SV	<i>El candado de los armarios es amarillo</i>
N2Sing-ND-SV	<i>La luz de la mesa es violeta [The light on the table is violet]</i>
N2Pl-ND-SV	<i>La luz de las mesas es violeta</i>
N2Sing-D-VS	<i>Es amarillo el candado del armario</i>
N2Pl-D-VS	<i>Es amarillo el candado de los armarios</i>
N2Sing-ND-VS	<i>Es violeta la luz de la mesa</i>
N2Pl-ND-VS	<i>Es violeta la luz de las mesas</i>

N1: Head noun

N2: Local noun

Sing: Singular Number

Pl: Plural Number

D: Preamble distributive

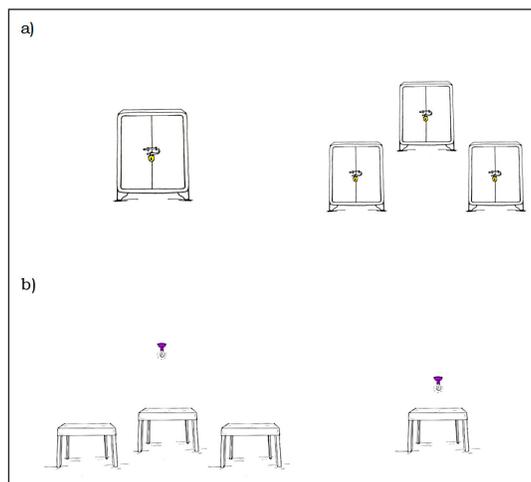
ND: Preamble non distributive

SV: subject-verb order (pre verbal subject)

VS: verb-subject order (post verbal subject)

**Source:** Author's elaboration.

**Figure 1** – Examples of experimental images. a) shows an example of distributive item in singular and plural : *El candado del (os) armario (s) es amarillo*. b) shows an example of non distributive item in singular and plural: *La luz de la (s) mesa (s) es violeta*.



**Source:** Author's elaboration.

## Procedure

Participants were tested individually while seated in front of a computer screen. A sentence production task was designed from a drawing presented in the centre of the screen. Each experimental item was composed of two drawings that appeared next to each other. On the first screen appeared a drawing with the complete sentence written above and the participants had to read it aloud. In the second screen appeared the drawing for 4 seconds and the participants had to produce the sentence beginning with the noun that was colored. This second drawing always belonged to a condition of number of N2 always different with respect to the first drawing. Every two target items, a filler item was inserted that was always plural.

For the key of the linear order, the instruction was that in the second screen they had to respect the sentence order presented in the first one. If in the first screen the order of the written sentence was SV, in the second screen they should begin with the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, if in the first screen the order was VS, in the second it was to begin to produce the verb in the first place.

Before the experimental items, the participants went through a training stage in which they saw the 48 black and white drawings (16 distributive, 16 non-distributive and 16 fillers) to familiarize with the type of sentences that they must produce. Then began the practice stage in which they saw four practice items, and received visual and orally indications of the task. Corrections were also made. Each participant was evaluated in an individual session of 15 minutes.

## Scoring criteria

We studied the pattern of subject - verb agreement errors and omissions pattern. Sentences were scored according to the following criteria:

- 1) Correct responses: when the participants correctly produced the sentence from the drawing and used the correct form of the verb.
- 2) Agreement errors: the verb was produced with an incorrect number feature.
- 3) Omission responses: when the participant did not produce any production from the drawing in the stipulated time.

## Data analysis

Analyses of variance by participant were performed using as dependent measure the transformation of the proportion of agreement errors and omission responses (JAEGER, 2008).

## Results

Analyses were performed over a total of 960 data points. There were 870 correct responses (90.62%), 49 subject-verb agreement errors (5.1%), and 41 omissions (4.27%). Table 2 displays mean (M) and standard deviation (SD) of agreement errors and omissions per experimental condition.

**Table 2** – Mean and standard deviation per experimental condition. Accuracy-error and accuracy-omission

<i>Condition</i>	<i>Errors</i>		<i>Omissions</i>	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
N2Sing-D-SV	7.60	.299	7.09	.288
N2PI-D-SV	4.09	.297	7.11	.327
N2Sing-ND-SV	7.60	.299	7.09	.288
N2PI-ND-SV	6.63	.307	6.25	.297
N2Sing-D-VS	7.60	.303	6.71	.288
N2PI-D-VS	5.88	.300	6.89	.305
N2Sing-ND-VS	7.60	.299	7.09	.288
N2PI-ND-VS	7.33	.299	7.08	.290

M: Mean / SD: Standard deviation

N1: Head noun / N2: Local noun

Sing: Singular Number/ Pl: Plural Number

D: Preamble distributive / ND: Preamble non distributive

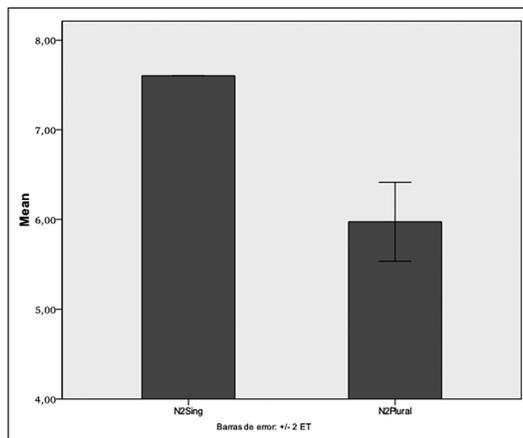
SV: subject-verb order / VS: verb-subject order

**Source:** Author's elaboration.

### Agreement errors

The ANOVA showed a main effect of the Number of N2 ( $F(1, 14) = 57.77, p = .000$ ) with more errors produced by the participants when the N2 was in plural (see Figure 2).

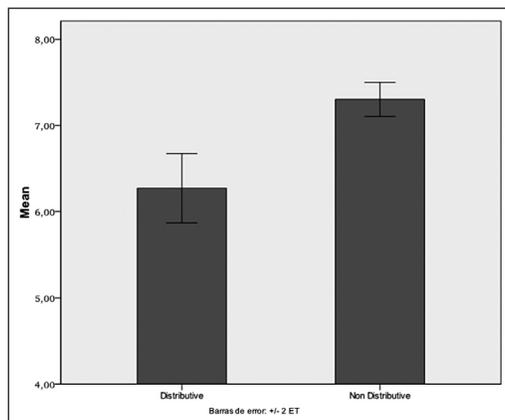
**Figure 2** – Accuracy mean to Number of local noun (Singular vs. Plural).



**Source:** Author's elaboration.

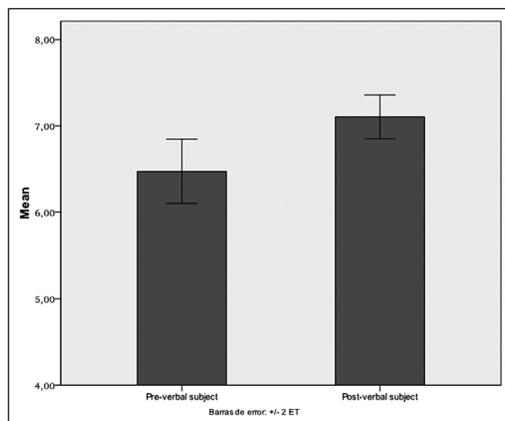
A main effect of the Type of preamble ( $F(1, 14) = 22.14, p = .000$ ) (see Figure 3) and Linear order ( $F(1, 14) = 8.62, p = .003$ ) (see Figure 4) were found. More agreement errors when the preamble was a reading distributive in Subject-Verb order.

**Figure 3** – Accuracy mean to Type of preamble (Distributive vs. Non distributive).



Source: Author's elaboration.

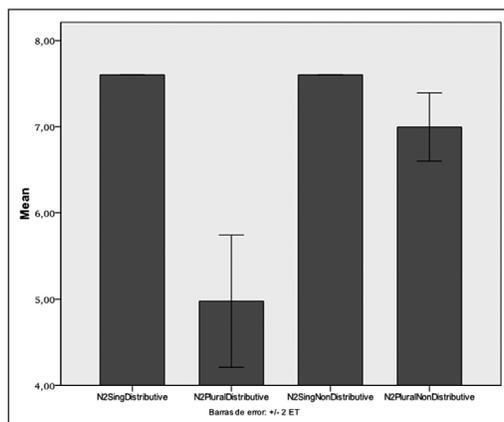
**Figure 4** – Accuracy mean to Linear order (pre-verbal subject vs. post-verbal subject).



Source: Author's elaboration.

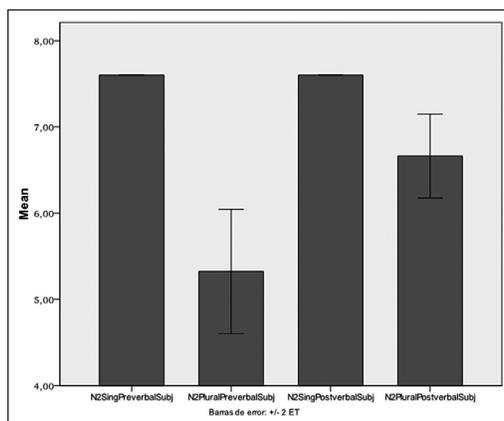
The following interaction was found: Number of N2 and Type of preamble ( $F(1, 14) = 22.14, p = .000$ ). The post-hoc analysis shows that the conditions with N2 plural and distributive preamble were significant different of the other conditions. In addition, an interaction between the Number of N2 (in favour of the plural) and the Linear order (Subject-Verb) was found:  $F(1, 14) = 8.62, p = .003$  (see Figures 5 y 6).

**Figure 5** – Accuracy mean to Type of preamble (Distributive vs. Non distributive) and Number of local noun (Singular vs. Plural).



Source: Author's elaboration.

**Figure 6** – Accuracy mean to Linear order (pre verbal subject vs. Post-verbal subject) and Number of local noun (Singular vs. Plural).



Source: Author's elaboration.

## Omissions

ANOVA showed no main effect or significant interaction between the variables manipulated. The omissions were homogeneously distributed among the different experimental conditions.

## Discussion

We have presented an experiment that aimed to elicit errors in number agreement in sentences with pre and post verbal subject, where the head of the subject was a noun that either could or could not admit a distributive reading. The data try to answer to two questions related to the factors that influence agreement processing during sentence production: the distributivity (semantic factor), the number of the local noun (morphological factor), and the subject's order (syntactic factor).

### Attraction and distributivity

The data from our experiment revealed a main effect of *Number of the local noun or N2*. That is, speakers made more agreement errors when N2 was plural (and N1 singular). We also found an effect of Type of preamble, with more errors when the preferred reading of the determinant phrase was distributive. It is interesting to point out that the interaction between these two factors was also significant. This is key to showing that the semantic effect is associated to a morphological effect. In this sense, the *minimalist hypothesis* and Eberhard, Cutting and Bock (2005)'s model of agreement production would not be able to explain why, in the conflict of conciliating the functional marking and the morphological marking, the conceptual number imposes itself and marks the whole noun phrase as plural – and consequently transmits this feature to the verb. The prominence of the conceptual number at the moment of phonological marking shows that the semantic level intervenes at the grammatical level, keeping the conceptual information active. As predicted by the *maximalist hypothesis* (VIGLIOCCO et al., 1996), Spanish, a morphologically rich language, is prone to be influenced by the conceptual number, which is part of the message level, at the stage in which agreement is computed. The results of the main effects and interaction obtained in our experiment suggest a certain penetration of information from previous (semantic) levels during the grammatical encoding and therefore contribute evidence in favour of interactive models of agreement production.

### Attraction and linear order

Being a language with relatively flexible order, Spanish makes possible the experimental study of whether there is an influence of the linear order of constituents in agreement production. Speakers produced more errors when the order was subject-verb than when it was the reverse (verb-subject). Moreover, we found an interaction between *Linear order* and *Number of the local noun* (more errors in sentences with subject-verb order and plural N2). This data suggest that a local plural noun or N2 perform a greater attraction when the constructions present the subject-verb order.

Franck and colleagues (2006) present data from an experiment in which they evaluated linear precedence and the double-checking of agreement features hypothesis. In one of their experiments they looked at the difference between structures with subject-verb (SV) and verb-subject (VS) order. In the VS structures, the subject remains internal to the verbal phrase; there is no raising movement of the subject, so it would not be possible to have an effect of linear intervention that would produce more errors. Besides, given the syntactic configuration of these sentences, agreement would be established by simple feature checking with the *Agree* operation. It is not the same in SV structures. In these, the derivation involves, first, subject movement to the position of specifier of the AgrS node (where agreement with the verb is established). In this movement there is a moment in which the subject's modifier (this is where the interfering noun is) intervenes in terms of linear precedence between the subject's head noun and AgrS, which affects agreement with the verb, leading to the production of more errors. Furthermore, in these constructions agreement is carried out in two moments: first, features are checked through the *Agree* operation; then, those features are checked again in the specifier-head configuration. This study found an effect of order, with more errors in the SV condition (as is derived from the previous explanation). This result is compatible with the idea that order, understood in terms of linear precedence (not in terms of superficial order), is a factor that plays a role in agreement processing.

The results from our experiment are aligned with this explanation, in which the structural aspects specific to the derivation of two different syntactic structures are related to the morphological features of the subject's head noun and of the intervening noun. In other words, following Franck et al. (2006), in the derivation of every sentence, agreement is established through the *Agree* operation between the subject agreement node (*AgrS*) and the unmoved verbal phrase-internal subject (CHOMSKY, 1995). In the sentences with post-verbal subject, such as *Es amarillo el candado* (N1) *de los armarios* (N2), the N2 does not intervene linearly nor hierarchically between AgrS and the subject's head noun or N1 (*candado*), because it is to the right of N1 as well as of the verb and performs no attraction (in this condition there were hardly any errors of the type of *\*Son amarillos el candado de los armarios*). The following example (2) shows the formal description of the derivation of these structures (VS), which illustrates the previous explanation:

Example (2) *Es amarillo el candado del armario*

- a) [AgrS] [[el candado del armario] es amarillo] AGREE
- b) [AgrS 3S [[el candado del armario] es amarillo] movement of V to AgrS
- c) [AgrS es amarillo] [[el candado del armario] t]

On the contrary, in preambles like *El candado de los armarios*, the movement of the subject to the position of specifier of the subject agreement node, *AgrS*, also drags the movement of the local noun and induces the consequent agreement check. In this

configuration, the local noun (*armarios*) intervenes linearly between the noun head and the *AgrS* node, and attraction is generated. The errors made in the production of this structure are of the type: \**El candado de los armarios son amarillos*.

To sum, the reported effects (linear order, distributivity and number of the local noun) indicate that factors of different nature play a role and can interfere with processing when agreement is computed in Spanish. This means that, as opposed to what is proposed by strictly modular models, in the production of language and, specifically, of agreement, there is interaction between the processing levels, in particular between the semantic and the syntactic levels (FRANCK et al., 2008; VIGLIOCCO; HARTSUIKER, 2002). The reported evidence allows us to discuss the discrete and encapsulated character of the components in the speech production system; however, given the characteristics of the design, it does not provide data for the discussion of the directionality of the information flow, in particular, whether there is feedback between the phonological and grammatical levels.

The ensemble of the data presented here can be interpreted within the framework of a general model of agreement in which syntactic, semantic and morphological factors function as cues for the retrieval of information (BADECKER; KUMINIAK, 2007).

### **Agreement and attraction in a processing modelling**

The theories that focus on the processing mechanisms can provide a unified framework to account for the phenomena we have just exposed. In this sense, a model like the *Working Memory Retrieval Model* (*WMRm*, BADECKER; KUMINIAK, 2007) could provide a unified explanation for the different effects found in our study. In general, the model works on the basis of a search for active elements in order to relate them and carry out production. For the model both the linear order of constituents and the morphological and semantic information of the subject's nouns play an active part in the search and function as guides during the computation of agreement.

The *WMRm* proposes that only a limited amount of information can be processed simultaneously (MCELREE; BEVER, 1989; LEWIS; VASISHTH; VAN DYKE, 2006). As language production is incremental, that is, as speakers planify a fragment of their message before starting to speak and continue the planning online, which guarantees speed and fluency in speech, only a small amount of information can be maintained active for a certain time. The elements processed later on in the sentence might need to retrieve information about the elements previously processed, which implies retrieving information that was held in working memory (WM). For example, to establish an agreement relation it is necessary to retrieve a controller, defined as the element that will transmit the necessary features, and put it in accordance with another element, the target. Once a noun phrase (or, more generally, some item marked with  $\Phi$  features) has been produced or retrieved, it is kept active in WM (or at least its associated features are). Then, once an item requiring the selection of a morphological agreement form (e.g.,



a verb or an adjective) is retrieved for production, a search for a relevant antecedent (the controller) begins in WM.

Following Lewis and Vasishth (2005), we assume that the level of activation of the features decreases with time or, equivalently in our proposal, with the amount of linguistic material of different types that has been produced or retrieved during a very short period of time. It is assumed that the parser, that has to work under time pressure and with strong working memory restrictions, needs a clear indication of the nature of the elements it has to connect through the *Agree* operation. In this sense, both the linear order of the constituents in the sentence and the morphological features function as cues for the retrieval and allows to choose the right noun. However, selecting a controller might not be a direct task if in the search space there is more than one candidate that was previously active. This means that, if a determinant phrase with two or more nouns is produced, the search and the retrieval can become more complicated. Thus, if an active interfering or local element is strong enough, agreement is more prone to error, since its morphosyntactic properties (and its semantic properties too, as we will see later) are strongly associated to a representation able of carrying out the agreement (BADECKER; KUMINIYAK, 2007). In other words, the system encounters the possibility of retrieving multiple candidates for controlling the agreement or the possibility of not retrieving any. In this way, the sentence becomes vulnerable to attraction and agreement errors appear (in this case, number agreement error).

As we have reported, there are no number agreement errors in sentences with post-verbal subject. Indeed, it seems that, in the linear order in which the subject is after the verb, the subject's nouns (head and local) are not in an active position and, therefore, according to this model, do not guide the search for the right controller during the computation of agreement. An important question for this kind of approach has to do with the definition of an active interfering element, since this would provide input for the reflection about what kind of information is stored in WM and consequently what kind of information is relevant for the parser to establish the agreement relation. Here, both marking (e.g. plural) and linear position could play a crucial role.

The greatest advantage of considering attraction within the framework of a WM model is that grammatical processing is implemented in the search for an agreement controller in an abstract structure possibly motivated by a more general mechanism, as might be similarity. Grammatical information only functions as an ensemble of cues driving the search. In this sense, the interference of semantic factors, such as the one reported in phrases with distributive reading, could also be explained in relation to similarity. The semantic or conceptual information of number could also function as a search cue. That is, if the subject's head noun is encoded as plural on the basis of its semantics and then a grammatically plural local noun appears, the similarity in the information of +plural features can lead the system to produce an agreement error. In general, it can be seen that the data are explained in accordance with a process that comes into play during agreement where the retrieval of an agreement controller is required within specific content in WM.

This model allows to explain the different effects found in the psycholinguistic studies of number (and also gender) agreement production, relating the semantic, syntactic and morphological factors with online measures of processing. Because of this, its value is not limited to the question of the interactivity between the levels in the formulation of a sentence; it has a much wider interpretative power.

## Conclusions

We have reported data about a syntactic factor affecting agreement that has been scarcely studied in Romance languages and never tested experimentally in Spanish. Results were explained using different language production and agreement processing theories as a framework but also taking into account more theoretically grounded theories of syntax. Taken together, results show that the plural feature of the local noun modulates the attraction at semantic and syntactic levels by directly interfering with the computation and processing of the agreement between the subject and the verb in Spanish. In addition, both the plural feature and the subject-verb linear order and the semantic information of the subject's nouns work as cues to trigger the search and establish agreement relationships.

SÁNCHEZ, M.; JAICHENCO, V.; SEVILLA, Y. Orden, distributividad y atracción en la producción de la concordancia. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.565-584, 2017.

- *RESUMEN: Varios estudios han comprobado que factores de distinta naturaleza (semánticos, morfológicos y sintácticos) afectan el cómputo de la concordancia sujeto-verbo durante la producción de oraciones en numerosas lenguas, entre ellas el español (BOCK; MILLER, 1991; FRANCK; VIGLIOCCO; NICOL, 2002; HARTSUIKER et. al., 2003; HASKELL; MACDONALD, 2003; VIGLIOCCO; BUTTERWORTH; SEMENZA 1995; entre otros). Los objetivos de este trabajo fueron: a) investigar la influencia del orden lineal de constituyentes, explotando la relativa flexibilidad del español; b) indagar si una variable semántica, como es la lectura distributiva, y una variable morfológica, como es la manipulación del número de sustantivo interfiriente, son factores que afectan el procesamiento de la concordancia. Se diseñó un experimento utilizando una tarea de descripción de imágenes con preámbulos en los que se manipuló el orden del sujeto de la oración (preverbal o postverbal), el tipo de preámbulo (sintagmas nominales con lectura distributiva y no distributiva) y el número del sustantivo interfiriente (singular-plural). Los resultados mostraron un efecto principal del Número del sustantivo interfiriente, del Tipo de preámbulo y del Orden lineal de los constituyentes: se produjeron más errores de concordancia sujeto-verbo cuando la oración presentaba una asimetría en el número de los sustantivos (N1 Singular- N2 Plural), los sintagmas tenían una lectura distributiva y el orden era Sujeto-Verbo. Los resultados presentados parecen indicar que factores sintácticos, semánticos y morfológicos interfieren en conjunto en el procesamiento de*

*la concordancia en español y apoyan los postulados de los modelos interactivos de producción de la concordancia. Además, aportan evidencia a un modelo general de procesamiento en el que los distintos factores funcionan como claves para la recuperación de la información en el cómputo de la concordancia (Badecker & Kuminiak 2007).*

- **PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Psicolingüística. Producción de oraciones. Concordancia. Orden lineal. Distributividad. Español.*

## REFERENCES

ANTÓN-MÉNDEZ, I.; HARTSUIKER, R. Morphophonological and conceptual effects on Dutch subject-verb agreement. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, v.25, p.728-748, 2010.

BADECKER, W.; KUMINIAK, F. Morphology, agreement and working memory retrieval in sentence production: evidence from gender and case in Slovak. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.56, p.65-85, 2007.

BATES, E.; MACWHINNEY, B. Functionalism and the competition model. In: MACWHINNEY, B.; BATES, E. (Ed.). **The crosslinguistic study of sentence processing**. Nueva York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. p.3-76.

BOCK, K.; EBERHARD, K. M. Meaning, sound and syntax in English number agreement. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, v.8, p.57-99, 1993.

BOCK, K.; LEVELT, W. J. M. Language production: grammatical encoding. In: GERNSBACHER, M. (Comp.). **Handbook of Psycholinguistics**. Nueva York: Academic Press, 1994. p.945-984.

BOCK, K.; MILLER, C. Broken agreement. **Cognitive Psychology**, Maryland Heights, v.23, p.45-93, 1991.

BOCK, K.; EBERHARD, K. M.; CUTTING, J. C. Producing number agreement: how pronouns equal verbs. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.51, n.2, p.251-278, 2004.

BOCK, K.; NICOL, J.; CUTTING, J. C. The ties that bind: creating number agreement in speech. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.40, p.330-346, 1999.

BOCK, K. et al. Some attractions of verb agreement. **Cognitive Psychology**, Maryland Heights, v.43, p.83-128, 2001.

CHOMSKY, N. Derivation by phase. In: KENSTOWICZ, M. (Ed.). **Ken Hale: a life in language**. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001. p.1-52.

CHOMSKY, N. **The minimalist program**. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.

- DELL, G. S. A spreading activation model of retrieval in sentence production. **Psychological Review**, Washington, v.93, p.283-321, 1986.
- EBERHARD, K. M. The effect of conceptual number on the production of subject-verb agreement in English. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.41, p.560-578, 1999.
- EBERHARD, K. M.; CUTTING, J. C.; BOCK, K. Making syntax of sense: number agreement in sentence production. **Psychological Review**, Washington, v.112, n.3, p.531-559, 2005.
- FOOTE, R.; BOCK, K. The role of morphology in subject-verb number agreement: a comparison of Mexican and Dominican Spanish. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, v.27, n.3, p.429-461, 2011.
- FRANCK, J.; VIGLIOCCO, G.; NICOL, J. L. Subject-verb agreement errors in French and English: the role of syntactic hierarchy. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, v.17, n.4, p.371-404, 2002.
- FRANCK, J. et al. Object interference: the role of intermediate traces of movement. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.62, n.2, p.166-182, 2010.
- FRANCK, J. et al. The interplay of syntax and form in sentence production: a cross-linguistic study of form effects on agreement. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, v.23, n.3, p.329-374, 2008.
- FRANCK, J. et al. Agreement and movement: a syntactic analysis of attraction. **Cognition**, Amsterdam, n.101, p.173-215, 2006.
- FROMKIN, V. **Speech errors as Linguistic evidence**. La Haya: Mouton, 1973.
- GARRETT, M. The analysis of sentence production. In: BOWER, G. (Ed.). **Psychology of learning and motivation**. Nueva York: Academic Press, 1975. v.9, p.133-177.
- HARTSUIKER, R. J. et al. Morphophonological influences on the construction of subject-verb agreement. **Memory and Cognition**, New York, v.31, p.1316-1326, 2003.
- HASKELL, T. R.; MACDONALD, M. C. Conflicting cues and competition in subject-verb agreement. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.48, p.760-778, 2003.
- JAEGER, T. F. Categorical data analysis: away from ANOVAs (transformation or not) and towards Logit Mixed Models. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.59, p.434-446, 2008.
- LEWIS, R. L.; VASISHTH, S. An activation-based model of sentence processing as skilled memory retrieval. **Cognitive Science**, Hoboken, v.29, p.1-45, 2005.

- LEWIS, R. L.; VASISHTH, S.; VAN DYKE, J. A. Computational principles of working memory in sentence comprehension. **Trends in Cognitive Science**, Langford, v.10, n.10, p.447-454, 2006.
- LORIMOR, H. et al. Agreement and attraction in Russian. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, v.23, p.769–799, 2008.
- MACDONALD, M. C.; PEARLMUTTER, N. J.; SEIDENBERG, M. S. The lexical nature of syntactic ambiguity resolution. **Psychological Review**, Washington, v.101, p.676–703, 1994.
- MCELREE, B.; BEVER, T. The psychological reality of linguistically defined gaps. **Journal of Psycholinguistic Research**, New York, v.18, p.21–35, 1989.
- QUIRK, R. et al. **A grammar of contemporary English**. Londres: Longman, 1972.
- RODRIGUES, E. dos S. **Processamento da concordância de número entre sujeito e verbo na produção de sentenças**. 2006. 197f. Thesis (Doctor in Lettres) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro, 2006.
- SÁNCHEZ, M. E.; SEVILLA, Y. La concordancia de número sujeto-verbo en la producción de oraciones del español: ¿efectos de distancia lineal o jerárquica? In: JAICHENCO, V.; SEVILLA, Y. (Coord.). **Psicolingüística en español: homenaje a Juan Seguí**. Buenos Aires: Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2013. p.241-262. (Colección Saberes).
- SÁNCHEZ, M. E.; JAICHENCO, V.; SEVILLA, Y. Errores de concordancia sujeto-verbo en la producción de oraciones en español: el papel de la distancia lineal y de los modificadores. **PSIENCIA: Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencia Psicológica**, Buenos Aires, v.6, n.2, p.55-63, 2014.
- SÁNCHEZ, M. E.; SEVILLA, Y.; JAICHENCO, V. Interferencias en la producción de la concordancia sujeto-verbo en el español: un estudio sobre el rol de los factores semánticos y morfofonológicos. **Revista Argentina de Ciencias del Comportamiento**, Córdoba, v.5, n.3, p.15-23, 2013.
- STEMBERGER, J. P. An interactive activation model of language production. In: ELLIS, A. (Ed.). **Progress in the psychology of language**. Londres: Erlbaum, 1985. v.1, p.143-186.
- TANENHAUS, M. K. et al. Integration of visual and linguistic information in spoken language comprehension. **Science**, Washington, n.268, p.1632–1634, 1995.
- VIGLIOCCO, G.; FRANCK, J. When sex and syntax go hand in hand: gender agreement in language production. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, v.40, p.455–478, 1999.

VIGLIOCCO, G.; HARTSUIKER, R. The interplay of meaning, sound and syntax in sentence production. **Psychological Bulletin**, Washington, v.128, n.3, p.442-472, 2002.

VIGLIOCCO, G.; NICOL, J. Separating hierarchical relations and word order in language production. Is proximity concord syntactic or linear? **Cognition**, Amsterdam, n.68, p.13–29, 1998.

VIGLIOCCO, G.; BUTTERWORTH, B.; GARRETT, M. F. Subject-verb agreement in Spanish and English: differences in the role of conceptual constraints. **Cognition**, Amsterdam, n.61, p.261-298, 1996.

VIGLIOCCO, G.; BUTTERWORTH, B.; SEMENZA, C. Constructing subject-verb agreement in speech: the role of semantic and morphological factors. **Journal of Memory and Language**, Maryland Heights, n.34, p.186-215, 1995.

VIGLIOCCO, G. et al. One or more labels on the bottles? notional concord in Dutch and French”. **Language and Cognitive Processes**, Oxon, n.11, p.407-442, 1996.

Received in December 2016

Approved in July 2017

# DEFINITE NUMERALS IN PUREPECHA

Violeta Vázquez Rojas MALDONADO\*

- **ABSTRACT:** In Purepecha (language isolate spoken in the state of Michoacán, central western Mexico), numeral expressions can bear a final marker *-perani*. This suffix has been described as a collective and as a distributive marker. In this paper I show that numeral phrases with *-perani* have the semantics of a definite noun phrase, in the sense that they can only be used when the cardinality expressed by the numeral matches exactly the total cardinality of the set denoted by the noun in the context of use. Furthermore, numeral phrases with *-perani* can have anaphoric uses and cannot introduce new referents in discourse. The existence of an explicit marker of definiteness in numerals contrasts with its complete absence in simple noun phrases: Purepecha is well known as a language without definite articles. Lastly, the syntactic distribution of numerals with *-perani* does not exactly match the distribution of numerals with definite articles in European languages. Numerals with *-perani* may co-occur with demonstratives and may not appear as the restriction of a partitive construction. I also show that simple numerals (that is, without *-perani*) can have indefinite or partitive interpretations, and do not receive definite readings.
- **KEYWORDS:** Numerals. Definiteness. Maximality. Purepecha. Semantics.

## Introduction

Purepecha<sup>1</sup> (ISO 639: tsz) does not have a definite article or a marker of simple definiteness (LYONS, 1999). In order to refer to an entity that has previously been introduced in discourse, this language resorts to bare noun phrases (i.e., noun phrases without a determiner) (VILLAVICENCIO, 1996). Bare noun phrases may also be used to refer to an entity which has not been explicitly mentioned before, but which can be identified in the utterance context by being the only one that satisfies the descriptive content of the noun. These two properties, known in the literature as *familiarity* and

---

\* El Colegio de México (COLMEX), Mexico City - México. Assistant Professor at Center of Literature and Linguistics. [vazquezrojas@colmex.mx](mailto:vazquezrojas@colmex.mx).

Purepecha has no genetic affiliation with any other languages. In 2015, INEGI (National Institute for Statistics, Geography, and Computing) registered 141,177 speakers of purépecha who are three years of age or older (LENGUAS..., 2015). As we know, bare numbers are not sufficient criteria to establish the degree of endangerment faced by a language. All indigenous languages in Mexico are in a disadvantageous situation with respect to Spanish, despite recent State policies aimed to protect them.

*uniqueness/maximality*, respectively, are considered the main characteristics of simple definite noun phrases.<sup>1</sup>

Western European languages usually express simple definiteness by means of definite articles. Other languages mark definiteness by clitics, affixes or changes in constituent order (DRYER, 2013). Lastly, there are also languages that do not encode definiteness explicitly, but which express it in determinerless noun phrases –this is the case in Hindi, Russian (DAYAL, 2012) and Purepecha. In this paper I argue that, while definite noun phrases in Purepecha do not bear an overt marker, noun phrases with numerals do: the suffix *-perani* in the numeral word explicitly marks the corresponding noun phrase as definite.<sup>2,3</sup>

Definiteness markers are usually adjacent to the noun, and for this reason we may conclude –perhaps prematurely– that Purepecha does not have any. However, definite numerals in Purepecha suggest that, at least in some languages, definiteness markers surface only in projections higher than the noun itself. This would support the idea that definiteness is subject to crosslinguistic variation, not only with respect to its semantic make-up (ARKOH; MATTHEWSON, 2012; BARLEW, 2014; SCHWARZ, 2013), but also with respect to the functional projection in which it is expressed. Another interesting feature of definite numerals is that, while the historic and compositional source of definiteness markers is usually found in demonstratives –at least in the case of definite articles (DE MULDER; CARLIER, 2011; DRYER, 2013), this is clearly not the case for Purepecha definite numerals. The suffix *-perani* therefore, opens up

---

<sup>1</sup> Demonstrative descriptions, pronouns and possessive descriptions are also considered “definite” in the sense that the entities they refer to are highly specific and identifiable. I agree with Wolter (2006) in that these types of definite noun phrase may be associated with the uniqueness/maximality property described above. However, they also contribute an additional “semantic ingredient” (like deixis, or relational-possessive character), that crucially distinguishes them from what we call *simple* definite descriptions (LYONS, 1999). Another difference between simple definite descriptions and other types of definite noun phrases is that, in some languages, the former may lack an overt marker, while there are no known languages where demonstrative or possessive meanings are expressed by bare nouns with no marking.

<sup>2</sup> Although for brevity I refer to it as a suffix, it is more appropriate to call it a “suffixal complex” because, evidently, *-perani* is not a simple morpheme. The ending *-ni* is highly productive in Purepecha, and it is not possible to know for certain when we are dealing with diverse functions of a single suffix and when we are presented with homophonous morphemes. There is, for instance, an “infinitive” *-ni*, which attaches to verbal stems, and another *-ni* that, attached to noun phrases, marks objective case. These two *-ni* are very likely just homophones. Numerals with distributive markers also end in *-ni*: *t’á-echa-ni* ‘in fours’, *tsimá-nta-ni*, ‘in twos’ In these endings one can recognize the plural marker *-echa*, which allows us to segment *-ni* as a separate morpheme (VÁZQUEZ ROJAS, 2013). In the marker that we are describing here, it is possible to segment the suffix *-pera*, which is possibly the same one that can be found in verb stems expressing reciprocal meaning. This is merely a hypothesis that requires further confirmation. It is hard to assign a gloss to the element *-ni* of distributive and definite numerals, among other reasons, because these numeral markers never occur without *-ni*. For this reason, I opt to treat the whole sequence *-perani* as a single, indivisible marker.

<sup>3</sup> The form of the whole suffixal complex is subject to dialectal variation. In the variety of Carapan (Gorge of Eleven Towns), the form is the one I adopted in this paper. In Puacuaro (Lake variety), its form is *-perarani*: this way, what in Carapan surfaces as *t’aperani*, in Puacuaro it is realized as *t’aperarani*, ‘the four’. Monzón (1997, p. 59), describing the Highlands variety of Angahuan, talks about a suffix *-paani*, with a form and distribution similar to *-perani*, and which might be its cognate. There is also allomorphic variation among numeral stems: *-perani* is realized as *-rani* when attached to the stem *tsima*- ‘two’, and as *-perani* in the rest of the number words. I have not been able to confirm if this is due to a semantic requirement imposed by *-pe* or if it is a simple allomorphy arbitrarily conditioned by the stem. Lastly, the numeral *ma* ‘one’ is incompatible with the suffix: *\*marani*, *\*maperani*. This fact is interesting, but its explanation is outside the scope of this paper.



more possibilities regarding the categories associated to definiteness, and calls into question the assumption of looking for them exclusively in the vicinity of the noun.

Definiteness markers in numerals are by no means exclusive of Purepecha. Morales Lara (2006, p. 29) reports having found them, at least, in three Mesoamerican languages: in Pocomam (SMITH-STARK, 1983 apud MORALES LARA, 2006) and in two Zapotec languages: Isthmus Zapotec (PICKETT; BLACK; MARCIAL CERQUEDA, 2001) and Zoogocho Zapotec (LONG; CRUZ, 2000).<sup>4</sup> For what one can see in the very brief data cited by Morales Lara, the suffix *-a:l* that marks definiteness in Pocomam numerals is formally distinct from what seems to be the definite determiner in that language. In Isthmus Zapotec, definite numerals are expressed by a derived form similar to that of ordinal numerals (which are expressed by a modification in the final vowel of the numeral stem). Thus, definite numerals are not an idiosyncratic phenomenon in Purepecha, but the subject has been scarcely explored in other languages as well.

This paper is organized as follows: To begin with, I present the previous analyses of numerals ending in *-perani* and the proposals in the literature on how definiteness is expressed in numerals in Purepecha. Following, a methodological section lays out the criteria upon which definite noun phrases are identified. The next section applies these criteria to numerals with and without *-perani*; it is in this section that I come forward with the conclusion that only the numerals with *-perani* receive definite interpretations. The subsequent section argues that *-perani* is not a collectivity marker. In the final section, some distributional differences between numeral phrases with *-perani* and English numeral phrases with a definite article are exposed.

### Previous analyses: numerals with *-perani* and definite numerals in Purepecha

Numeral phrases with *-perani* have been briefly mentioned in different texts and grammars but, to date, no one has provided an exhaustive study of their distribution and meaning. Nava (1996, p. 403), without proposing an explicit analysis, translates numerals with *-perani* as expressions involving collectivity, as can be seen in his examples reproduced in (1):<sup>5</sup>

- (1) “*tsimáarhani*, ambos, juntos los dos, *tsimárerani* ‘entre/a los dos’, [...] *taníperarani* ‘entre/a los tres’”.  
“*tsimáarhani*, both, the two together, *tsimárerani* ‘between/to the two of them’, [...] *taníperarani* ‘between/to the three of them’”.

(NAVA, 1996, p. 403).

---

<sup>4</sup> Both references cited by Morales Lara (2006, p. 29)

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviations used: 1 first person; 1/2 first or second person, 3 third person; ACC accusative; ADT temporal additive of a state, ASER assertive; COMP complementizer; DEF definite; DEM demonstrative; DIST distributive; STA stative; EXCL exclusive; FOC focus; HAB habitual; IND indicative; INDEF indefinite; INSTR instrumental; OBJ objective case; PAS past; PERF perfect; PFVE perfective; PL plural; POSTP postposition; PRES present; PROG progressive; REC reciprocal; REFL reflexive; SUB subordinate mood; SUJ subject.

Foster (1969, p. 158) identifies the suffix {pera} as a classifier, to which she assigns the value ‘in sets of’. She offers the examples shown in (2) (I present the original transcription):

- (2) *ci-ma=pera-ni* ‘in two’s’, *ci-ma=pera-ra-ni* ‘to be in two’s’.  
(FOSTER, 1969, p. 159).

Even though Foster does not call it a “distributive suffix”, the gloss she proposes suggests this interpretation.<sup>6</sup> Both Nava’s translation in (1) and Foster’s in (2) relate to collectivities or groups of individuals; however, they have different implications: in Nava’s translation “together” or “between the N”, one can infer that there is a condition that the individuals that constitute the group act jointly in a single event, while from Foster’s translation one can infer that the groups named by the numeral with *-pera* are part of a multiplicity of groups with the same cardinality.

Monzón (1997, p.59), describes the Sierra variety of Angahuan. She mentions shortly a suffix *-paani*, which is apparently the correlate of *-perani*. She identifies this suffix with the function of “indicating that the number of participants is higher than one”, and reports having found this suffix already in documents of the XVI century. She offers the example reproduced in (3), in which the translation proposed also refers to a group of three individuals acting together as participants of a single event:

- (3) *tanípaani-mpu=sī juánku-t’i wakasi-ni*  
all.three-INSTR=FOC bring-PERF.PRES.3 cow-ACC  
‘Between the three they brought the cow.’  
(MONZÓN, 1997, p. 59).

de Wolf (1991: 93-94) does not offer an explicit gloss of the morpheme, but in his translations it appears consistently as the equivalent of a numeral with a definite article in Spanish, as one can see in example (4):

- (4) *ka juchá siempri niárasī taníperani*  
‘Finally the three of us arrived.’  
(DE WOLF, 1991, p. 93-94).

Regarding the expression of definiteness in numeral phrases, Nava (1997, p. 17 *apud* VILLAVICENCIO, 2006, p. 76), claims that when a noun combines with a numeral, the nominal plural suffix is optional, but, when it occurs, it contributes a definite meaning to the whole phrase. Chamoreau (2004, p. 7) agrees with this analysis, and asserts that “in quantifying animate entities, the plural marker might be omitted”.

---

<sup>6</sup> The gloss that Foster (1969, p.159) proposes for *-pera* is identical to the one she proposes to the numeral suffix *-nta*, which, as I have argued in Vázquez Rojas (2013), is a true distributive suffix.

She shows the examples in (5) and (6) (I provide an English translation of the original free translation into Spanish, as well as English equivalent for the lexical items. The functional morphemes are glossed and transcribed as in the original; however, it is my choice in these examples as well as the next one to emphasize through the use of bold lettering):

(5) **tsimani** waʔiti-**itʃa** waʔa-ʃa-ti-kʃi  
 two women-PL dance-PROG-ASER.3-3PL  
 ‘The two women dance.’

(6) **tsimani** waʔiti waʔa-ʃa-ti- kʃi  
 two women dance-PROG-ASER.3-3PL  
 ‘Two women dance.’

(CHAMOREAU, 2004, p. 7)

Chamoreau (2004, p.8) explains that “[...] the absence of [the plural] marker in (6) [(20) in the original] points to the speaker’s will to insist on the indefiniteness of the term, while the presence of the marker in (5) [(19) in the original] indicates clearly that the women are definite to the speakers.” The same situation is presented when the numeral occurs in its pronominal form, without a noun: “The head of a definite noun phrase (7) [(21) in the original] and indefinite (8) [(23) in the original] might be omitted. In the first case, the plural marker will be present [...], in the second case, it will be absent.”

(7) **tsimani-icha** waʔa-ʃa-ti-kʃi  
 two-PL dance-PROG-ASER.3-3PL  
 ‘The two of them dance.’

(8) **tsimani** waʔa-ʃa-ti-kʃi  
 two dance-PROG-ASER.3-3PL  
 ‘Two of them dance.’

(CHAMOREAU, 2004, p. 8).

In sum, although there is no specialized study about the semantics of numerals with *-perani* or about the co-occurrence of simple numerals with nominal plural markers, in previous descriptions of Purepecha, numerals with *-perani* are considered collectives (NAVA, 1996) or distributives (FOSTER, 1969). They are also translated by other authors as definite numerals (DE WOLF, 1991), but without showing the empirical grounds on which they sustain such an equivalence. Furthermore, the expression of definiteness in adnominal or pronominal numerals is attributed to the presence of the plural marker *-icha* (NAVA, 1996; CHAMOREAU, 2004). No description has explicitly associated the marker *-perani* with the definite interpretation of the numeral

phrase based on its contexts of use. In this paper, I show the semantic arguments that allow us to attribute *-perani* the meaning of definiteness. One consequence of this argument is that “simple” numeral phrases –i.e numeral phrases without *-perani*– only allow indefinite interpretations, and in this respect our results contradict the previous descriptions. What is crucial is that, without *-perani*, numeral phrases cannot refer to the maximal sum of individuals at a given context of use.

### Definite noun phrases: criteria for their identification

*Simple* definite noun phrases (LYONS, 1999) contrast with indefinite noun phrases as well as with other types of noun phrases that are considered definite but which contribute additional semantic contents (like deixis or possession). These contrasts have led to discuss and define the basic semantic characteristic that constitutes simple definiteness. Although there is no agreement in this regard, two main options have been considered. The first one of them is that simple definite noun phrases refer to entities that are known to speaker and addressee. This characteristic –known as *familiarity*– explains why definite noun phrases are not naturally used to introduce new entities in discourse, but, on the contrary, tend to refer to individuals which have already been mentioned. Familiarity is, thus, the property that underlies the anaphoric uses of definite noun phrases (CHRISTOPHERSEN, 1939; HEIM, 1982; KAMP, 1981). If a noun phrase refers to an entity that is already known, it is expected that it will not occur in existential contexts, whose purpose is to assert the existence of an entity and introduce it for the first time. This is why the definite description in (9b) is ungrammatical:

- (9) a. There was **a gorgeous desk** at the San Angel market.  
b. \*There was **the gorgeous desk** at the San Angel market.

Other authors argue that the defining characteristic of definite noun phrases is that their reference is *maximal* (SHARVY, 1980) or *inclusive* (HAWKINS, 1978). That means that a definite noun phrase refers to the total sum of entities that satisfy the descriptive content of the noun. Therefore, the sentence predicate applies to this total sum, which it takes as an argument.<sup>7</sup> When the definite noun phrase is singular, the individual to which it refers must be unique in the context of use (hence the “singular” version of inclusiveness or maximality is known as *uniqueness*). This explains why the singular definite noun phrase in (10) is inadequate:

- (10) Context: At the entrance of a furniture store, where many desks are visible from the display, a vendor tries to persuade a potential customer:  
# Come on in, **the desk** is for sale.

---

<sup>7</sup> The semantic characterization presented here can be extended to predicative noun phrases too, but I will not consider them here.

The only interpretation for the vendor's utterance in (10) is that he picked an odd way to convey that the totality of desks in his store are on sale, since, with no further contextual specifications, the addressee is unable to locate an object that uniquely satisfies the description *desk* –being there many of them. Now, let us suppose that, exactly in the same context, the vendor uses sentence (11), instead of (10):

(11) Come on in, **the desks** are for sale.

The immediate interpretation that the addressee assigns to an utterance of (11) would be that the totality of the desks in the store are on sale, and he would be right to be upset if, upon entering the store, the vendor revealed that by *the desks* he meant to refer only to two desks in the corner.

As can be seen in example (11) *the desks* refers to the totality of desks in the context (in this particular case, the ones in the store), even though they are not previously known to the hearer. This shows a clear case in which definite reference is not necessarily familiar, but it is, however, maximal or inclusive.

We will assume that these two properties, familiarity and maximality, account for simple definiteness. We do not claim that this choice settles a long theoretical debate, but rather we believe that both properties together convey clear empirical criteria to identify whether a noun phrase is definite, according to its appropriateness (or lack thereof) in particular contexts. This way, when we argue that a certain noun phrase in a language is definite, we base our claim on what speakers judge about its occurrence in the contexts in which simple definite phrases are expected.

Let me now point out a simple remark about recollection of semantic evidence. A noun phrase will not be considered definite (or indefinite) based solely on the fact that its corresponding translation into another language happens to bear a definiteness (or indefiniteness) marker. Rather, we abide by the standard practice in semantic fieldwork of not supporting our analysis on mere translations, but on truth-value judgments as well as acceptability judgments for expressions in proposed contexts (MATTHEWSON, 2004). The idea of definiteness that we have adopted –by which it amounts familiarity and maximality of reference– predicts that definite noun phrases will occur in certain contexts and will be rejected from other contexts (like existential sentences, or those in which the speaker intends to refer only to a partial sum of entities). In order to show that a noun phrase is definite, it must pass both kinds of tests: it must be accepted where it is predicted to be accepted (positive evidence) and it must be rejected from the contexts in which it is predicted to be rejected (negative evidence).<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> I use “acceptable / unacceptable” as a cover term for various cases in which speakers reject a certain expression or sequence of expressions in particular contexts. In some of these cases, a sentence is rejected for being false. In other cases, the reason is less clear: a sentence might be rejected because some content associated with some of its expressions is not adequate or is not satisfied in the proposed situation. The unacceptability of a sentence in these cases might be due to presupposition failure or to the triggering of unwanted inferences. They can be considered cases of infelicity, but I chose to stick to the deliberately vague adjective “unacceptable”. I will use the symbol “#” to signal

## Testing for definiteness in Purepecha numeral phrases

### Familiarity: distribution in existential contexts

Given that a definite noun phrase already presupposes the existence of a referent that is known to the speaker as well as the hearer, it will not occur as the theme of an existential construction, as we explained above. Our claim that numeral phrases with *-perani* are definite predicts that they will be judged unacceptable in case they occur as arguments of existential predicates. The following examples show that this prediction is indeed correct:<sup>9</sup>

- (12) Context: The beginning of a story, in which the characters are being introduced for the first time:

\**Jarhástiksĭ má xanháru tanĭperani kúchi sapíraticĥa.*

jarha-s-ti=ksĭ      ma    xanharu    **tani-perani**    kuchi    sapirati-echa  
be-PFVE-3.IND=3PL    INDEF road      three-DEF    pig    small-PL

Lit.: \*‘One upon a time, there were the three little pigs.’

There is no specialized existential construction in Purepecha. As it happens in many other languages, existence predications are made with verbs that can also be used to predicate locations. The verb *jarhani* may occur as a predicate of the sort “there is an x in y” as well as a locative predication like “an x is in y”. In (12), we tried to minimize this potential ambiguity, by specifying the context of use as one in which the intended referent is being introduced for the first time. In an existential context like (12), the numeral phrases with *-perani* are not acceptable, while simple numeral phrases are:

- (13) *Jarhástiksĭ má xanháru tanĭmu kúchi sapíraticĥa.*

jarha-s-ti=ksĭ      ma    xanharu    **tanĭmu**    kuchi    sapirati-echa  
be-PFVE-3.IND=3PL    INDEF road      three    pig    small-PL

‘Once upon a time, there were three little pigs.’

### Familiarity: anaphoric reference

The familiarity of reference that characterizes definite descriptions allows them to be used in anaphoric references, that is, they can recover entities that have been

---

those sentences that are unacceptable in the proposed context, while ‘\*’ is reserved for sequences that are syntactically ill-formed.

<sup>9</sup> The examples in this text are presented in four lines: the first one is a surface representation based on a practical orthography. The second line is a phonological representation with morphological segmentation. The third line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and the fourth one offers a free translation (or a literal translation, if the example is ungrammatical). The following symbols merit explanation: /rh/ is a retroflex flap [ɾ]; /nh/ is a velar nasal [ŋ]; /i/ is the high central vowel [i]; /j/ represents an aspiration [h]; and /x/ corresponds to the voiceless alveolar fricative [ʃ].

explicitly mentioned in the preceding stretch of discourse. If numeral phrases with *-perani* are definite, as we claim, then they must be able to make anaphoric reference. Example (14), obtained as the direct translation of a short tale, confirms this prediction:

- (14) a. *Jarhástiksī má xanháru tanímu kúchi sapiráticha.*  
 jarha-s-ti=ksī ma xanharu tanimu kuchi sapirati-echa  
 be-PFVE-3.IND=3PL INDEF road three pig small-PL  
 ‘Once upon a time, there were three little pigs.’
- b. *Taníperanksī kútsapiráticha chkári jingóni ánychikwarsirempti.*  
**tani-perani**=ksī kutsi sapirati-echa chkari jinkoni anchikwari-sirem-p-ti  
 three-DEF=3PL pig small-PL wood INSTR work-HAB.PAS-PAS-3IND  
 ‘The three pigs were carpenters (worked with wood).’

Simple numeral phrases (without *-perani*), crucially, cannot make anaphoric reference—whether or not they bear a plural marker in the noun—and this discards them as possible definite expressions:<sup>10</sup>

- (15) a. *Jarhástiksī má xanháru tanímu kútsapiráticha.*  
 jarha-s-ti=ksī ma xanharu tanimu kuchi sapirati-echa  
 be-PFVE-3.IND=3PL INDEF road three pig small-PL  
 ‘Once upon a time, there were three little pigs.’
- b. *#Tanímuksī kútsapiráticha chkári jingónksi ánychikwarsirempti.*  
**tanimu**=ksī kutsi sapirati-echa chkari jingoni=ksī anchikwari-sirem-p-ti  
 three=3PL.SUJ pig small-PL wood INSTR=3PL.SUJ work-HAB-PAS-3IND  
 Lit: ‘Three little pigs / Three of the little pigs were carpenters.’

In (15b), the simple numeral phrase *tanimu kuchi sapirátiecha* (stripping away the subject agreement clitic, which is not relevant in this discussion) cannot refer back to the total sum of three pigs that was introduced in the existential sentence in (15a). Rather, it can be interpreted in one of the two following ways: (a) as a simple indefinite, in which case it introduces new referents in the discourse (three little pigs), which are different from the ones mentioned before, or (b) as a partitive indefinite, referring to three pigs out of a previously mentioned set in which, crucially, there are more than just three pigs. Both interpretations are inadequate in the context of (15) and therefore, the simple numeral phrase in (15b) results in an infelicitous utterance.

<sup>10</sup> Schwarz (2013, p.539) claims that some languages “divide up the labor” of definiteness in two different markers -which in his data are always articles- in such a way that one of them specializes in anaphoric reference (familiarity), whereas the other one in maximal reference (uniqueness/inclusiveness). He calls the first type “strong definite article” and the second type “weak definite article”. In such a case, anaphoric capacity is a sine qua non condition for strong definite articles, but not for weak definite articles.

A definite phrase with an anaphoric interpretation is not always traced back to an antecedent that has exactly the same descriptive content. When this happens, we talk about the anaphoric relation being rather “associative” than direct. In associative anaphora, an entity that has been previously introduced in discourse implies the existence of other entities (e.g., parts of the individual just mentioned, the producer of an object, etc.). The use of a definite noun phrase is, thus, predicted to be adequate in these contexts, but not that of a demonstrative (HIMMELMANN, 1996, p. 210; HAWKINS, 1978, p. 149). Therefore, when there is doubt as to whether a given expression is a marker of simple definiteness or if it is a demonstrative, the possibility of making associative anaphora is considered an indicator of simple definiteness. Although there is no doubt that numerals with *-perani* are not demonstratives, it is worth noting that they are perfectly capable of occurring in contexts of associative anaphora:<sup>11</sup>

- (16) *Intsikuarestitsini ma bisikléta, peruksi tsimárani wirhipitarakuecha p’orhóntusti.*

Intsikuare-s-ø-ti=tsini      ma      bisikleta, peru=ksi  
 give-PFVE-PRES-3IND=1.OBJ INDEF bicycle      but=3PL.SUJ

**tsima-rani wirhipitarakwa-echa** p’orhontus-ø-ti  
 two-DEF      tire-PL      pierce-PFVE-PRES-3IND  
 ‘They gave me a bicycle, but the two tires are flat’

- (17) *Xanháru jimbo xekurhintaska ma waxántskua, peruksi nu sesi jarhasti t’aperani jukántukuecha.*

Xanharu jimpo xe-kurhi-nt’a-s-ø-ka      ma      waxantskwa,  
 road      POSTP see-REFL-ADT-PFVE-PRES-1/2.IND INDEF chair

peru=ksi      no sesi jarha-s-ø-ti      **t’a-perani jukantukwa-echa.**  
 but=3PL.SUJ no well be-PFVE-PRES.3.IND four.IND leg-PL  
 ‘I found this chair on the street, but the four legs are broken.’

Summing up, in this section I presented three empirical pieces of evidence that allow us to confirm that numeral phrases with *-perani* refer to entities which are familiar

---

<sup>11</sup> The examples of associative anaphora presented here correspond to relations between a part (‘two tires’, ‘four legs’) and a whole, which is the entity previously introduced (‘bicycle’, ‘chair’). Part-whole associative anaphors are considered among the ones that would pick as a marker the “weak” definite article, shall the language present a distinction between two definiteness markers (see fn.6). Associative anaphora based on a producer-product relationship (of the kind *I read a novel. The author is Greek*) would be expressed by the “strong” article (SCHWARZ, 2013, p. 543). Nothing hinders simple numerals and other indefinite noun phrases from occurring in such contexts, and for this reason associative anaphora is not a useful diagnostic to distinguish definite from indefinite reference. As I mentioned, it is only used to discern between simple definite descriptions and demonstrative descriptions (HIMMELMANN, 1996), and, in the relevant cases, between “weak” and “strong” definite articles (SCHWARZ, 2013). In Purepecha, none of these latter oppositions is at play in the analysis of *-perani*, but I provide the example in order to show that numerals with this suffix have the expected behavior of a regular, simple definite noun phrase.



to the speaker as well as the hearer: (i) they cannot occur in existential constructions in which an entity is mentioned for the first time to the hearer; (ii) they can establish direct anaphoric relations; (iii) they can establish associative anaphoric relations. Next, I will show that, besides fulfilling the semantic requirement of familiarity, numeral phrases with *-perani* also make maximal reference, another unequivocal indicator of simple definiteness.

## Maximality

A definite noun phrase can refer to entities that have not been mentioned previously, but which are present in the situation that surrounds the speech act (HAWKINS, 1978). In such cases, a necessary condition for the use of a definite noun phrase is that the entity referred to corresponds to the total or *maximal* sum of entities that satisfy the description denoted by the noun (see example 18). This condition must be fulfilled also when the reference is anaphoric (familiar), and for this reason some scholars propose that it is *maximality*, and not *familiarity*, which accounts for the proper meaning of definite descriptions (KADMON, 1990). The following example, adapted from Gillon (2015, p. 187) shows this condition clearly:

(18) I saw a caribou and six bears. I killed the bears, #but one of them escaped.

In the second sentence in the sequence in (18), the noun phrase *the bears* refers to the total sum of six bears that were mentioned in the preceding sentence. The interpretation is, thus, anaphoric. But one can see that the reference is also maximal, because continuing the sentence *I killed the bears* with *but one of them escaped* is infelicitous, since it had already been stated that the totality of six bears had been killed.

In English, we know in advance that *the bears* is a definite noun phrase, and example (18) confirms that its reference is, as expected, maximal. But, what happens when we must describe the semantics of an expression about which we do not know whether it makes definite reference or not? The reasoning is: if it is capable of making *non-maximal* reference (i.e., if it can be used in a context in which its reference does not comprise all the entities that fulfill the property described by the noun), then it will not be definite. Maximality is a *sine qua non* condition for simple definiteness.

The following examples show that numerals with *-perani* make maximal reference and that they are not acceptable in contexts in which the referent is not maximal. The evidence in this respect is, thus, negative: the speaker judges as unacceptable the phrases with *-perani* in which the cardinality of the (purported) antecedent is higher than the one expressed by the numeral stem. In (19a), a set of three little pigs is introduced in discourse for the first time. In (19b), this same set is recovered in its totality by the numeral *taniperani*. In (19c) the numeral *tsimarani* is intended to refer to a subset of the three little pigs introduced in (19a), but this is judged unacceptable. The reason is that *tsimarani kuchi sapiratiecha* ‘the two little pigs’ directs its reference to a total

sum of two pigs, while the cardinality of the intended antecedent is larger than two (it contains three elements). There is, thus, no *maximal* sum of two elements in the context.

(19) a. *Jarhástiksī má xanháru tanímu kúchi sapíraticha.*

jarha-s-ø-ti=ksī ma xanharu tanimu kuchi sapirati-echa  
 be-PFVE-PRES-3.IND=3PL INDEF road three pig small-PL  
 ‘Once upon a time, there were three little pigs.’

b. *Taníperanksī kútsapíraticha chkári jingóni ánychikwarsírempti.*

**tani-perani**=ksī kuchi sapirati-echa chkari jinkoni anchikwari-sirem-p-ti  
 three-DEF=3PL pig small-PL wood INSTR work-HAB.PAS-PAS-3IND  
 ‘The three little pigs were carpenters.’

c. *#Tsimáranksī kútsapíraticha chkári jingóni ánychikwarsírempti.*

**tsima-rani**=ksī kuchi sapirati-echa chkari jinkoni anchikwari-sirem-p-ti  
 two-DEF=3PL pig small-PL wood INSTR work-HAB.PAS-PAS-3IND  
 Intended reading: ‘Two (of the) pigs were carpenters.’

The following example shows a similar case; however, in this particular situation, the individuals have not been verbally introduced in discourse: they are in the sight of the speaker, who had been presented with the visual situation in Figure 1:

**Figure 1 – Situation A**



Source: Bruening (2012).

(20) *Yúperanksī nanáksapícha waxákatixati*

**yu-perani**=ksī nanaka sapi-echa waxaka-ti-xa-ti  
 five-DEF=3PL.SUJ girl small-PL sit-STA-PROG-3IND  
 ‘The five girls are sitting.’  
 FALSE in Situation A

(21) #*T'áperanksi nanáksapicha waxákatixati*

**t'a-perani**=ksĩ      nanaka      sapi-echa      waxaka-ti-xa-ti  
four-DEF=3PL.SUJ      girl      small-PL      sit-STA-DUR-3IND  
'The four girls are sitting.'

*Consultant's comment:* "No, because you are not counting one of them"  
(Proposes (22) instead).

(22) *Jarhásti yúmu nanáksapicha, ka t'ámuksi waxákatixati*

jarha-s-ti=ksĩ      yumu      nanaka sapi-echa<sup>12</sup>  
be-PFVE-3IND=3PL.SUJ      five      girl      small-PL

ka      t'amu=ksĩ      waxaka-ti-xa-ti  
CONJ      four=3PL.SUJ      sit-STA-DUR-3IND

'There are five girls and four of them are sitting.'

*Consultant's comment:* "That's how you would say it".

Sentence (20) with *yuperani*, is judged to be false, because it targets the maximal sum of girls (i.e. the five girls in the picture), and it is not the case that they are all sitting. However, the four girls who are sitting cannot be referred to by using the numeral 'four' with *-perani*, as intended in (21) According to the speaker's comment, this would be like not taking into account one of the girls, which is consistent with the requisite that the numeral with *-perani* refers to the totality of entities that are girls in that situation. One acceptable –and truthful– way of describing the situation depicted in Figure 1 is by means of sentence (22), in which both numerals are indefinite: the first one (*yumu* 'five') occurs in an existential context, asserting the existence of five girls. The second one, *t'amu* 'four', makes reference to a subset of the previously introduced set of five girls, thus making partial anaphoric reference. None of these functions are characteristic of definite phrases, and for this reason we know that *yumu* and *t'amu* are indefinite numerals.

Another way of testing if a noun phrase must make maximal reference is submitting it to the consistency test (LÖBNER, 1985). When a noun phrase can refer to different subsets of a set in a single context, it is a suitable argument for contradictory predicates, because in each occurrence it will refer to a different entity or sum of entities. This can be seen in an indefinite noun phrase in English, like *three little pigs are lazy and three little pigs are hard-working*. Given that each of the coordinated sentences may refer to a different (sub)set of pigs, the coordination is not a contradiction. Now: for each set there is only one maximal (sub)set, (i.e., only

---

<sup>12</sup> Simple numerals in Purepecha can be segmented into a root, which occurs in all derived forms (definite, distributive and locative-distributive) and an ending *mu*. As it will become clear in the next section, numerals ending in *-mu* have an indefinite interpretation. In a previous work I glossed this morpheme as a sum-operator, but for the purposes and scope of the present paper, this gloss is not relevant. What must be kept in mind is that numerals ending in *-mu* cannot receive definite readings.

one subset can correspond to the totality of entities in a particular context of use). Therefore, a definite noun phrase cannot refer in each of its occurrences to different subsets or entities, and, as a consequence, definite noun phrases with contradictory predicates yield a contradiction. The coordination #*The three little pigs are lazy and the three little pigs are hard-working* is a contradiction because, unlike *three little pigs*, the definite numeral phrase *the three little pigs* cannot refer to different sets in each occurrence. Numeral phrases with *-perani* pass this test: sentence (23a) is a contradiction, while (23b), with a simple numeral, is not:

(23) a. #*Tsimáranksi takúkukataecha jimbánisti ka tsimaranksi takúkukataecha takúsisti*

tsima-rani=ksĩ      takúkukata-echa jimpani-s-ti      ka  
two-DEF=3PL.SUJ      notebook-PL      new-PFVE-3IND CONJ

tsima-rani=ksĩ      takúkukata-echa takusĩ-s-ti  
two-DEF=3PL.SUJ      notebook-PL      old-PFVE-3IND

#‘The two notebooks are new and the two notebooks are old’  
(CONTRADICTION)

b. *Tsimánksi takúkukataecha jimbánisti ka tsimaranksi takúkukataecha takúsisti*

tsima-ni=ksĩ takúkukata-echa jimpani-s-ti      ka  
two-ni=3PL.SUJ notebook-PL      new-PFVE-3IND CONJ

tsima-ni=ksĩ takúkukata-echa takusĩ-s-ti  
two-ni=3PL.SUJ notebook-PL      old-PFVE-3IND

‘Two notebooks are new and two notebooks are old.’

Summing up, I have shown that numeral phrases with *-perani* fulfill the empirical characteristics expected of definite noun phrases: (a) they can make anaphoric reference; (b) they are not acceptable in existential contexts; (c) they can refer to the maximal sum of entities described by the noun; (d) they yield a contradiction if they appear as argument of contradictory predicates. The entities that these phrases refer to may have been introduced previously in discourse or be physically present in the speech situation. The pattern of semantic judgments they trigger corresponds exactly to the one that characterizes definite noun phrases (GILLON, 2015; ARKOH; MATTHEWSON, 2012; HAWKINS, 1978) among others.

## “Simple” numerals are always indefinite

When the numeral word does not have the ending *-perani*, but instead occurs in its simple form, the noun phrase in which it appears has only an indefinite interpretation<sup>13</sup>, in the sense that, either it introduces new entities in the discourse, or it refers back to elements of a previously known set, but without covering the totality of it.

A simple numeral phrase in Purepecha can appear in an existential context, introducing a new set or sum of entities in the discourse, as in (24):

- (24) *Jarhástiksī má xanháru tanímu kúchi sapíraticha.*  
jarha-s-ti=ksī      ma xanharu tanimu kuchi sapirati-echa  
be-PFVE-3.IND=3PL INDEF road      three pig      small-PL  
‘Once upon a time, there were three little pigs.’

It can also make reference to parts or sub-sets of sets that have been previously introduced; that is, they can have *partitive* interpretations. Thus, sentence (24) admits a continuation like the one in (25):

- (25) *Tsimánksī kútsapíraticha chkári jingóni ánychikwarsirempti*  
tsimani=ksī kuchi sapirati-echa chkari jinkoni anchikwari-sirem-p-ti  
two=3PL pig      small-PL      wood INSTR work-HAB.PAS-PAS-3IND  
‘Two (of the) little pigs were carpenters.’

If reference to a subset or a part of a previously known set is not available, then simple numeral phrases unequivocally introduce new referents. In (26a), a set of three pigs is presented. In (26b), given that the cardinality of the numeral matches the totality of the previously mentioned set, the partitive interpretation is not possible. The numeral phrase *tanimu kuchii sapíraticha*, ‘three little pigs’, cannot recover the totality of the previously mentioned referent, because, crucially, this kind of numeral cannot have direct anaphoric interpretations. The only option is that it refers to a new set of little pigs, and this explains the infelicity of (26b) as a continuation for (26a):

- (26) a. *Jarhástiksī má xanháru tanímu kúchi sapíraticha.*  
jarha-s-ø-ti=ksī      ma xanharu tanimu kuchi sapirati-echa  
be-PFVE-PRES-3.IND=3PL INDEF road      three pig      small-PL  
‘Once upon a time, there were three little pigs’

---

<sup>13</sup> The numerals I call “simple” are not morphologically simple, since they can be segmented into a root, which expresses cardinality, and an ending *-mu* in numerals ‘three’ to ‘six’ (the rest are compound), or *-ni* in numerals ‘two’ and ‘ten’. The numeral *ma* ‘one’ is morphologically simple and is not compatible with the definite derivation, as we said before.

b. #*Tanimuksī kútsapiraticha chkari jingónksī ánychikwarsirem̃ti.*

tanimu=ksī kuchii sapirati-icha chkari jinkoni=ksī  
three=3PL.SUJ pig small-PL wood INSTR=3PL.SUJ

anchikwari-sirem-ti

work-HAB.PAS-3IND

Lit. Trans. #‘Three little pigs / three of the little pigs were carpenters’.

In sum, simple numeral phrases in Purepecha may introduce new entities in discourse (or sets of new entities) with the cardinality described by the numeral stem; or they can have a partitive interpretation, in which case they refer to a sub-set of a previously known set of entities. Unlike English, in Purepecha there is no explicit partitive construction of the form *three of the N*.

Plural marking in the noun that accompanies a simple numeral is obligatory for some nouns (like animates and other count-nouns) and optional in others (mostly inanimate, non-count or number-neutral). Contrary to what has been described before (NAVA, 1996; CHAMOREAU, 2004), in our data, the presence of a plural marker in the noun combined with a numeral does not result in definite reference. It is likely that obligatory plural inflection in the noun is also subject to dialectal variation. Meanwhile, I will not address this point. It will suffice to say that indefinite interpretations (both novel and partitive) in a simple numeral phrase are available independently of the presence of a plural marker in the noun. Crucially, simple numeral phrases cannot make maximal reference, that is, they do not comply with one of the main conditions of definiteness and therefore, they cannot be interpreted as definite at all.

## The collective interpretation

Nava (1996, p. 403) describes numerals with *-perani* as collectives. In my analysis, I have been able to confirm that, even though these numerals might have collective readings, these are not obligatory, therefore I conclude that collectivity is not a necessary ingredient of their core semantics. If a numeral necessarily has a collective interpretation, the noun phrase in which it occurs must provide a multiple participant for what must be interpreted as a single event. For instance, predicates like ‘pile up’ or ‘gather’ are collective predicates, since they require a multiple participant which acts as a unit in a single event. In *The demonstrators gathered at the main square*, a single event is described with a multiple subject (the demonstrators), each one of whose parts (i.e., each individual demonstrator) act together with each other as a single participant of a gathering event. In Purepecha, numerals with *-perani* can certainly occur in this type of context:

(27) *T’áperanksī takúkukataecha kuchajperatixatiksī*

**t'a-perani**=ksĩ takukukata-echa kucha-p'era-ti-xa-ti=ksĩ  
 four-DEF=3PL.SUJ notebook-PL pile.up-REC-STA-PROG-3-IND=3PL.SUJ  
 'The four books are stacked on top of each other'

(28) *Jimájkuechaksĩ waxákasti taníperanksĩ nanáksapiratiecha*  
 jima-k'u-echa=ksĩ waxáka-s-ti **tani-perani**=ksĩ nanaka sapirati-echa  
 there-EXCL-PL=3PL.SUJ sit-PFVE-3IND three-DEF=3PL.SUJ girl small-PL  
 'The four girls sat together there.'

(29) *Tsimáranksĩ warhíticha tarhátaxati kájaechani.*  
**tsima-rani**=ksĩ warhiti-echa tarhata-xa-ø-ti kaja-echa-ni  
 two-DEF=3PL.SUJ woman-PL carry-PROGR-PRES-3IND box-PL-OBJ  
 'The two women (together) are carrying the boxes'

Although it is true that, as Nava (1996) points out, numeral phrases with *-perani* can receive collective readings –exemplified in (27)-(29) –, this interpretation is not obligatory. In examples (30) and (31), numeral phrases with *-perani* occur with strictly distributive predicates –hence, in such cases a collective reading is impossible:

(30) *Tsimáranksĩ yurhítskiriecha engaksĩ úntaka kwínchikwa piástiksĩ t'áchanisĩ khatákata charanda.*

tsima-rani=ksĩ yurhítskiri-echa enka=ksĩ unta-ka kwínchikwa  
 two-DEF=3PL.SUJ young.woman-PL COMP=3PL.SUJ make-SUB party

pia-s-ti=ksĩ t'a-echani=isĩ khatakata charanta  
 buy-PFVE-3.IND=3PL.SUJ four-DIST=so box charanda  
 'The two young ladies who organized the party bought four boxes of liquour each.'

(31) *Taníperanksĩ tsíkíataechaksĩ khwetsápisti tsimándan kilu.*

tani-perani=ksĩ tsíkíata-echa=ksĩ kw'etsapi-s-ti tsima-ntani kilu  
 three-DEF=3PL.SUJ basket-PL=3PL.SUJ weigh-PFVE-3IND two-DIST kilo  
 'The three baskets weigh two kilos each'.

It is apparent from these examples that neither the set of girls who organized the party in (30), nor the set of boxes in (31) are participants of a single event, because the numeral marked with the distributive suffix requires that each individual of the set denoted by the subject be considered separately in different events. This way, (30) involves two events of 'buying two boxes of liquour', and (31) involves two events of 'weighing two kilos'. If the meaning of *-perani* was to contribute collectivity, these readings would not be at all possible. In sum, collective readings with *-perani* are possible, but not necessary, and therefore, we can discard collectivity as the basic meaning of the suffix.

## Definite numerals in Purepecha and definite numerals in languages with articles

So far, the distribution and interpretation of numeral phrases with *-perani* resembles what in English would consist of a numeral phrase with a definite article, either as a description ('the three N') or as a pronoun ('the three of them'). We must keep in mind that Purepecha does not have a definite article, and simple definiteness in this language is expressed in bare noun phrases, as has been already shown by Villavicencio (1996). For the lack of a definite article, definiteness in numeral phrases is marked with the suffix *-perani*. In Spanish—and other languages—the definite article cannot co-occur with the numeral 'one' (*\*El un cochinito* 'The one little pig'). Likewise, in Purepecha the *-perani* ending cannot attach to numeral *ma* 'one' (*\*maperani*, *\*marani*). The functions that would be fulfilled by a definite numeral 'one' are realized by the bare noun instead:

(32) *Context*: There is a small glass and a large glass on the table.

a. *Chuchundi kheri jánharisti.*

chuchunti k'eri janhari-s-ti  
 glass big dirty-PFVE-3.IND  
 'The large glass is dirty.'

b. *\*maperani / \*marani chuchundi kheri jánharisti.*

ma-perani / ma-rani chuchunti k'eri janhari-s-ti  
 one-DEF / one-DEF glass big dirty-PFVE-3.IND

One important difference between definite numeral phrases in English and numeral phrases with *-perani* in Purepecha is that, while in English the presence of a definite article precludes the occurrence of a demonstrative in the same noun phrase (*\*These the two cups*), in Purepecha, numeral phrases with *-perani* may be introduced by a demonstrative, as in (33). In such cases, both the numeral with *-perani* and the simple numeral are acceptable, without there being a perceptible change in meaning:

(33) *Arhíksĩ tsimáni / tsimárani chuchúndicha noksí jánharisti,*

arhi=ksĩ tsimani / tsima-rani chuchundi-echa no=ksĩ janhari-s-ti  
 DEM=3PL.SUJ TWO / two-DEF glass-PL no=3PL.SUJ dirty-PFVO-3IND

*ka arhíksĩ máteru tsimani / tsimárani chuchúndiecha jánharisti.*

ka arhi=ksĩ ma-teru tsimani / tsima-rani chuchundiecha janhari-s-ti  
 CONJ DEM=3PL.SUJ INDEF-other two /two-DEF glass-PL dirty-PFVO-3IND  
 'These two glasses are not dirty, and these other two glasses are dirty.'

Another contrast between Purepecha and English definite numerals is that, while the latter may occur in the restriction of an overt partitive construction, the definite numerals of Purepecha cannot do so. Thus, the way to express the equivalent of (34)



in Purepecha is not (35). The idea that the totality of cups consists of four units must be conveyed by a construction like (36) or (37):

(34) **Three of the four glasses** are blue.

(35) \**tanimu=ksī t'a-perani chuchundi-echa chupi-s-ti.*  
three=3PL.SUJ four-DEF glass-PL blue-PFVE-3.IND  
Intended reading: 'Three of the four cups are blue.'

(36) *Inde t'áperani wératini, tanímuksī chúpisti, ka ma xunhápisti*  
inte t'a-perani wera-ti-ni, tanimu=ksī chupi-s-ti,  
DEM four-DEF exit-STA-INF three=3PL.SUJ blue-PFVE-3IND

ka ma xunhapi-s-ti.  
CONJ one green-PFVE-3IND  
'From these four, three are blue and one is green.'

(37) *Tanímuksī chuchúndicha chúpisti, ka ma xunhápisti.*  
tanimu=ksī chuchundi-echa chupi-s-ø-ti, ka ma xunhapi-s-ti  
three=3PL.SUJ glass-PL blue-PFVE-PRES-3IND CONJ one green-PFVO-3IND  
'Three (of the four) glasses are blue and one is green.'

One last difference between English and Purepecha definite numerals is that English definite numerals in their pronominal form cannot be predicates (*\*We are the three* / *\*We are the three of them*). In Purepecha, in contrast, De Wolf (1991) provides the following example:<sup>14</sup>

(38) *Juchá taníperaniska: tátempa ka amámpa ka wáhpa*  
Juchá taní-perani-s-ka: tátempa ka amámpa ka wáp'a  
we three-DEF-PFVE-1/2.IND father CONJ mother CONJ son  
'We are three: the father, the mother and the son.'

(DE WOLF, 1991, p. 24).

In our data, the consultants' comments reveal that the predicative function of *taníperani* (lit. 'the three') is restricted, seemingly on semantic grounds. But we have not been able to determine exactly under which conditions numerals with *-perani* may be used as predicates. For the time being, we merely report the fact and we leave its explanation pending:

---

<sup>14</sup> The translation is de Wolf's, the interlinear gloss is mine.

- (39) a. *Juchá iúperaniska*  
 jucha yu-perani-s-ka  
 we five-DEF-PFVE-1/2.IND  
 ‘We are five’

Consultant’s comment: “[It’s ok] If we are, for instance, a basquetbol team, but not if we are five siblings”

- b. *Juchá yúmуска eráchicha.*  
 jucha yumu-s-ka erachi-echa  
 we five-PFVE-1/2.IND brother-PL  
 ‘We are five brothers.’

## Conclusions

I have shown that numerals with *-perani* occur in the same contexts in which we would expect a definite description: when the totality of entities that satisfy the nominal description in the context amounts the cardinality expressed by the numeral stem, and when such entities are not new in the context or discourse. I also showed that numeral phrases with *-perani* are rejected in the same environments from which definite descriptions are rejected, for instance, when they introduce entities for the first time or when their reference is not maximal.

Purepecha has no definite articles, and although it seems reasonable to conclude that *-perani* conveys the same meaning of definiteness that in English or Spanish is conveyed by a definite article, it is very clear that the Purepecha suffix *-perani* and the articles of Western European languages have different distributions: numeral phrases with articles do not co-occur with demonstratives ( *\*These the three pigs/ \*Estos los tres cochinitos*), while definite numerals with *-perani* do; numeral phrases with definite articles may constitute the restriction of a partitive quantifier (*Two of the three, Dos de los tres*), while numerals with *-perani* cannot occur in such constructions –in fact, Purepecha does not have an overt partitive construction.

The fact that Purepecha, despite lacking a definite article, has an explicit marker of definiteness in numeral phrases is interesting because usually we look for definiteness markers in strict adjacency to the noun. The results of this investigation show that, if we expand our search field beyond the simple noun phrase, there might appear markers for semantic categories that were not initially thought to be expressed in that particular language. The suffix *-perani* is, thus, a definiteness marker licensed only after an overt expression of cardinality higher than ‘one’.

Another remarkable point is that, as it is well known, in several languages definiteness markers are related to demonstratives. This relationship is not only diachronic –there is a well-known grammaticalization pattern that leads from demonstratives to definiteness markers (DE MULDER; CARLIER, 2011)– but also synchronic and compositional:

demonstratives and definite articles share part of their semantic core (WOLTER, 2006), and this “semantic ingredient” is what licenses the historical development of one category into the other and, in some languages, the morphosyntactic derivation of demonstratives on the basis of definite articles.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, the definite suffix *-perani*, undoubtedly derives from some other source, since it bears no formal resemblance with demonstratives in Purepecha. The analysis of its etymology and its synchronic relation to other morphemes of similar form remains pending of further investigation.<sup>16</sup> For the time being, it will suffice to conclude that, according to the analysis put forth in this paper, it is worth thinking that definiteness marking in some languages might go beyond the strict domain of determiners.

## Acknowledgments

I want to express my gratitude to Berenice Gómez González, Alaide Rodríguez Corte and Ana Aguilar Guevara and two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable comments to this article, as well as to María Eugenia Aparicio Velázquez, who collaborated in a previous presentation of some of the data presented here at the *X Coloquio de Lingüística en la ENAH*. This work would have not been possible without the generous collaboration of Guillermo Alejo Carlos, to whom I am deeply grateful. Thanks also to Alessandro Loria for his careful proofreading of the English Version. The mistakes that, despite their careful observations, still remain in this version, are strictly my own.

MALDONADO, V. Los numerales definidos del purépecha. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.585-608, 2017.

- *RESUMEN: En purépecha (lengua aislada hablada en el estado occidental de Michoacán, México), los numerales pueden presentarse con una marca final -perani. Este sufijo se ha descrito como colectivo y como distributivo. En este trabajo mostraré que las frases numerales con -perani tienen el significado de una frase nominal definida, pues sólo pueden aparecer en contextos en donde la cardinalidad del numeral es idéntica a la cardinalidad total del conjunto denotado por el sustantivo en la situación de uso. Además, las frases con -perani pueden tener usos anafóricos y no pueden emplearse para introducir por primera vez entidades en el discurso. La existencia de una marca explícita de definitud en los numerales contrasta con su total ausencia en las frases nominales sin numeral, pues, como se sabe, el purépecha es una lengua sin artículo definido. Hay algunas características en la distribución de los numerales con -perani que los hacen diferentes a los numerales con artículo definido de las lenguas*

---

<sup>15</sup> This can be seen in the description of San Mateo del Mar Huave in Herrera Castro (2016), and apparently it is also common in Otomian languages (Hernández-Green p.c. October 2016).

<sup>16</sup> I am thinking, especially, about the reciprocal verbal suffix *-pera*, o *-p'era*.

*europas: los numerales con -perani pueden co-aparecer con demostrativos y no pueden funcionar como la coda de una expresión partitiva. Los numerales simples (sin -perani) pueden recibir interpretaciones indefinidas y partitivas, pero no pueden interpretarse como definidos.*

- **PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Numerales. Definitud. Maximalidad. Purépecha. Semántica.*

## REFERENCES

ARKOH, R.; MATTHEWSON, L. A familiar definite article in Akan. **Lingua**, [S.l.], v.123, n.1, p.1-30, 2012. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.09.012>.

BARLEW, J. Salience, uniqueness, and the definite determiner -tè in Bulu. In: SEMANTICS AND LINGUISTIC THEORY, 24., 2014, New York. **Proceedings...** [S.l.]: SALT Proceedings, 2014. p. 619–639. Available in: <<https://journals.linguisticsociety.org/proceedings/index.php/SALT/article/view/24.619/2789>>. Access on: 30 nov.2017.

BRUENING, B. **The scope fieldwork project**. 2012. Available in: <<http://udel.edu/~bruening/scopeproject/scopeproject.html>>. Access on: 10 oct. 2016.

CHAMOREAU, C. Dinámica del plural en purépecha. In: ESTRADA, Z. et al. (Ed.). **Estudios en lenguas amerindias: homenaje a Ken L. Hale**. Hermosillo: Universidad de Sonora, 2004. p.107–126.

CHRISTOPHERSEN, P. **The articles: a study of their theory and use in English**. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1939.

DAYAL, V. Bare noun phrases. In MAEINBORN, C.; VON HEUSINGER, K; PORTNER, P. (Ed.). **Semantics: an international handbook of natural language meaning**. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012. p. 1087–1108.

DE MULDER, W.; CARLIER, A. The grammaticalization of definite articles. In HEINE, B; NARROG, H. (Ed.). **The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 522-534.

DE WOLF, P. **Curso básico del tarasco hablado**. Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1991.

DRYER, M. S. Definite articles. In: DRYER, M.; HASPELMATH, M. (Ed.). **The world atlas of language structures online**. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, 2013. No paginado. Available in: <<http://wals.info/chapter/37>>. Access on: 10 oct. 2016. /

FOSTER, M. L. **The Tarascan language**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

GILLON, C. Investigating D in languages with and without articles. In: BOCHNAK, M. R.; MATTHEWSON, L. (Ed.). **Methodologies in semantic fieldwork**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. p. 175-204.

HAWKINS, J. A. **Definiteness and indefiniteness**: a study in reference and grammaticality prediction. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1978.

HEIM, I. **The semantics of definite and indefinite noun phrases**. 1982. 263 f. Tesis (Doctoral en Philosophy) – University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1982.

HERRERA CASTRO, S. **Sintaxis y semántica de la frase nominal en huave de San Mateo del Mar**. 2016. Tesis (Doctorado en Lingüística) – El Colegio de México, México, 2016.

HIMMELMANN, P. Demonstratives in narrative discourse: a taxonomy of universal uses. In: FOX, B.A. (Ed.). **Studies in anaphora**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996. p. 205-254.

KADMON, N. Uniqueness. **Linguistics and Philosophy**, Dordrecht, v.13, p. 273–324, 1990.

KAMP, H. A theory of truth and semantic representation. In: GROENENDIJK, J.; JANSSEN, T.; STOKHOF, M. (Ed.). **Formal methods in the study of language**. Amsterdam: Mathematical Centre Tracts, 1981. p. 277-322.

LENGUAS indígenas en México y hablantes (de 3 años y más) al 2015. INEGI, 2015. Disponible en: <[http://cuentame.inegi.org.mx/hipertexto/todas\\_lenguas.htm](http://cuentame.inegi.org.mx/hipertexto/todas_lenguas.htm)>. Acceso en: 30 nov. 2017.

LÖBNER, S. Definites. **Journal of Semantics**, [S.l.], v.4, p. 279–326, 1985.

LONG, C.; R.; CRUZ, S. **Diccionario zapoteco de San Bartolomé Zoogocho, Oaxaca**. México, DF: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 2000.

LYONS, C. **Definiteness**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

MATTHEWSON, L. On the methodology of semantic fieldwork. **International Journal of American Linguistics**, [S.l.], v.70, n.4, p. 369-415, 2004.

MONZÓN, C. **Introducción a la lengua y cultura tarascas**. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1997.

MORALES LARA, S. **Las frases numerales mesoamericanas**: morfología y sintaxis. México, DF.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2006.

NAVA, F. Notas sobre los números del p'urépecha. **Anales de Antropología**, [S.l.], v. 33, p. 397-411, 1996.

PICKETT, V. B.; BLACK, C.; MARCIAL CERQUEDA, V. **Gramática popular del zapoteco del Istmo**. Juchitán: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo Binnizá and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 2001. Available in: <[http://www.mexico.sil.org/es/lengua\\_cultura/zapoteca/zapoteco-zai](http://www.mexico.sil.org/es/lengua_cultura/zapoteca/zapoteco-zai)>. Access on: 10 oct. 2016.

SCHWARZ, F. Two kinds of definites cross-linguistically. **Language and Linguistics Compass**, [S.l.], v.7, n.10, p. 534–559, 2013.

SHARVY, R. A more general theory of definite descriptions. **The Philosophical Review**, [S.l.], v.89, n.4, p. 607–624, 1980. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2184738>.

VÁZQUEZ ROJAS, V. Los numerales distributivos del purépecha. **Lingüística Mexicana**, [S.l.], v.7, n.2, p. 81–102, 2013.

VILLAVICENCIO, F. **P'orhépcha kaso sīrátahenkwa**: desarrollo del sistema de casos del purépecha. México: El Colegio de México, 2006.

VILLAVICENCIO, F. La frase nominal sin determinante en purépecha: una función semántica. In: GARCÍA FAJARDO, J. (Ed.). **Análisis semánticos**. México: El Colegio de México, 1996. p.79-124.

WOLTER, L. K. **That's that**: the semantics and pragmatics of demonstrative noun phrases. 2006. Tesis (Doctorado en Lingüística) – University of California, Santa Cruz, 2006.

Received in December 2016

Approved in March 2017

# THE PRESUMED IMPARTIALITY OF JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE: IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING IN APPROPRIATING THE DISCOURSE OF OTHERS<sup>1</sup>

André Cordeiro dos SANTOS\*  
Siane Gois Cavalcanti RODRIGUES\*\*

- **ABSTRACT:** This article engages with the discussion on the tension between objectivity and subjectivity in the field of journalism theory. Addressing the place of language in these studies, we propose that the modes of appropriating the discourse of the Other can be a way to reconcile this tension, as we raise the hypothesis that it is a mark of the socio-ideological positioning of the journalist-subject in relation to the object of utterance. Therefore, we begin with the concept of language from the Bakhtin Circle, examining the news from two of the most widely read newspapers in the State of Pernambuco – the *Diário de Pernambuco* and the *Jornal do Commercio*, respectively – which addresses Eduardo Campos, candidate to the presidency of Brazil in 2014. The analysis carried out shows that the means of appropriation of the discourse of the Other can serve to effect various meanings, and that, when appropriating the discourse of the Other, the journalist-subject does not give his place to the Other, but rather speaks together with him, demonstrating ideological positioning in the news item.
- **KEYWORDS:** Journalistic discourse. Appropriation of the discourse of the other. Socioideological positioning.

## Introduction

In our contemporary society the media has clearly gained great importance given globalization and, consequently, the increasing need to access information. This importance has even risen to the point of the media being considered ‘the fourth power’, which functions to control the other three – legislative, judicial and executive. This *status* of the media derives from the supposed condition of exemption, from occupying a privileged place in the democratization of information, and for having the power to

---

\* Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Letters and Linguistic Department, Maceió – AL – Brazil. Doctorate Student in the Postgraduate Program in Letters and Linguistics. rdnao@hotmail.com.

\*\* Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), Arts and Communication Center, Recife – PE – Brazil. Associate Professor of Letters Department. sianegois@yahoo.com.br.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Jennifer Sarah Cooper.

“raise awareness” and “mobilize” the population in relation to relevant socio-political events in society (COUTINHO, 2013)<sup>2</sup>.

Along this vein, Lage (2014, p. 24), addressing the classic concept of journalism, the main exponent of the media, presents a discussion of the media’s subjective nature, and journalism as being an ethical activity in which the journalist must be faithful to the facts. Therefore, it represents an activity exempt from subjectivity, which seeks to avoid causing damage through errors or inadequacies in reporting facts.

However, even though this concept fuels the *status* of the fourth power, within the very field of social communication studies, there is a great impasse in reference to the media’s presumed exemption. We can deduce this, for example, from the following by Alsina (1989, p.6), who discusses the making of a news story. For the author

1. Events are generated through phenomena that are external to the subject.
2. But events do not have meaning outside of their subjects, since it is the subjects who confer meaning on the events.
3. The external phenomena that the subject perceives becomes an event because of this acting upon it. The events are composed of the characteristics of the external elements to which the subject applies his knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

From what Alsina postulates, we can perceive that the relationship between journalistic language and subjectivity is evident, without being able to disassociate these elements without compromising the meaning making, since the subjectivity of the speaking subject (the journalist) is part of the constituent and determiner of this meaning.

We see, then, that, in having, on the one hand, those who defend journalism as a practice exempt from valuations, and, on the other, those who defend that it is a practice inseparable from subjectivity, there is a clash within the theory of journalism.

Taking up this discussion, we propose to approach it from the discursive slant, basing our approach on the theoretical precepts of the group, known as, the Bakhtin Circle – the Russian scholars, Bakhtin, Voloshinov, and Medvedev, among others. We opt for this approach citing Voloshinov (1973, p.80) who defends that, “Any real utterance, in one way or another or to one degree or another, makes a statement of agreement with or a negation of something.” Thus, as journalism is a discursive practice realized in language, it cannot be exempt from this evaluative moment that is essential to utterance.

---

<sup>2</sup> In the original Portuguese: “concientização” e “mobilização”.

<sup>3</sup> In the original Spanish version: 1. Los acontecimientos se generan mediante fenómenos externos al sujeto. 2. Pero los acontecimientos no tienen sentido al margen de los sujetos, ya que son éstos los que le dan el sentido. 3. Se da una relación de inclusión, por la que los fenómenos externos percibidos por el sujeto se convierten en acontecimientos por la acción de éste sobre aquéllos. Los acontecimientos están compuestos por los caracteres de los elementos externos a los que el sujeto aplica su conocimiento (ALSINA, 1989, p. 6). Translator’s note. There is no previously translated English version.



In light of this, our objective in this article is *to investigate the relationship subject(journalist)-object of utterance, through the means of appropriation of the discourses of others in news reports about Eduardo Campos from two of the most widely read newspapers in Pernambuco – Diário de Pernambuco (heretofore DP) and Jornal do Commercio (heretofore, JC).*

For our analysis, we take a news item from each of these journals, and which deals with the same theme: the supposed involvement of Eduardo Campos in corruption schemes of Petrobras through a plea bargain. In our analysis, initially, we analyze the means of the DP's appropriation of the prosecutor's discourse and the image included in the report, followed by the same analysis of a similar report in JC. Finally, we compare the positioning evidenced in the two news reports.

That said, we follow with a discussion of the theoretical elements that support our analysis.

### **The dialogic concept of language and the appropriation of the discourse of the other**

To develop the analysis, and fulfill the aforementioned objective, as previously initiated, we begin our discussion based on an understanding of language from the Bakhtin Circle, which is essentially socio-dialogic; (BAKHTIN, 1981; VOLOSHINOV, 1973; BAKHTIN, 1993, 1986a, 1986b; BAKHTIN; MEDVEDEV, 1978). In this modeling of language, all the socio-discursive relationships are, and carry, reflections and refractions<sup>4</sup> of the social environment in which they arise, determining the utterances, which are the units of verbal interaction, as understood by the Circle scholars, in all of their dimensions.

In *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, this perspective of language is defended by Voloshinov (1973) from the criticism woven to the two linguistic-philosophical currents of the time (beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) – *Idealistic Subjectivism* (which put the focus of language studies on questions of the individual-psyche) and *Abstract Objectivism* (which investigated only the system). According to the author, language is social in all of its dimensions. Thus, one perceives that there is an understanding that the system of signs alone, does not account for the reality of linguistic phenomena. We also perceive that language is understood as a phenomenon in process, and that this process is activated by interaction; that the laws of linguistic evolution are sociological; that the creativity of a language is linked to the ideological values and this creativity originates from a social need/ and that the utterance is purely social/ideological.

For this reason, the members of the Circle, conceive the *discursive genres*, in the words of Bakhtin (1986a), as characteristic of the discourse domains, and that they arise from the need of these groups to carry out determined socio-discursive

---

<sup>4</sup> For Bakhtin, meanings are constructed from two simultaneous processes: reflection and refraction, or rather, the language does not only describe the world such that it is, but, also, constructs different points of view about it.

practices. Consequently, these forms of language originate from a dialogue with their instances of discourse and carry specificities that speak directly to their *discursive sphere* of origin.

This understanding runs through the entire work of the Circle. Voloshinov (1983), for example, in his essay *The Construction of the Utterance*, on addressing utterance, conceives it as being constituted of two parts – **verbal** and **non-verbal**. The **verbal** part corresponds to the *intonation*, to the *selection of words* and to *their inner speech* (VOLOSHINOV, 1983, p.105); the **non-verbal** part corresponds to the *situation* (that covers space and time, the object or theme and the attitude of the speakers faced with what occurs (VOLOSHINOV, 1983, p.107, p.113) and the *auditory* (VOLOSHINOV, 1983).

This recognition raises questions beyond the system, and brings them into the game in the effort to understand language phenomena, and in this sense Bakhtin (1981, p. 276) defends that, as language is ideological, in the utterance (*discourse*)<sup>5</sup> there is always the interaction of voices: “it weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group.”

For this reason, the members of the Circle defends that, when one adopts the utterance as a unit of verbal communication, there is no way to set aside the dialogic nature (above all, *dialogue among voices*) in the constitution of speech and, moreover, for Voloshinov (1973, p. 117, emphasis added)

The productive study of dialogue presupposes, however, a more profound investigation of the forms used in reported speech, since these forms reflect basic and constant tendencies in the *active reception of other speakers' speech*, and it is this reception, after all, that is fundamental also for dialogue.

In this way, the phenomena of language must be seen always as a result of an appropriation, by a subject, of a linguistic system, and of the *voices of others*, in a given instance of discourse, and with an expressive intonation of this subject in relation to the utterance. In addition, one must consider that the utterance is constructed as a reflection and refraction of previous speech. In what concerns this expressive intonation – characteristic of the *point of view* –, it is determined in a dialogical way, based on different factors, voices, interlocutors, ideologies, facts, etc. and transpires in the utterance from the ideological and dialogical marks.

Thus, one point raised by Voloshinov (1973, p.119), and which has primordial importance in this discussion, is the fact that, according to the author,

[...] the true object of inquiry ought to be precisely the dynamic inter-relationship of these two factors, the speech being reported (the other

---

<sup>5</sup> Utterance here is understood as synonymous with discourse.

person's speech) and the speech doing the reporting (the author's speech). After all, the two actually do exist, function, and take shape only in their interrelation, and not on their own, the one apart from the other. [...] This dynamism reflects the dynamism of social inter-orientation in verbal ideological communication between people [...]

Moreover, the different angles on discourse previously cited, Voloshinov (1973, p.115) are distinguished as two types: *linear style* and *pictorial style*. The former holds that the creation of clear outlines, corresponding to reduced susceptibility to the internal, individual-compositional. In other words, this style of appropriation is less subject to intrusions from the speaker, even though these are not annulled (characteristic of direct discourse and marked indirect). In the later perspective, there is a tendency to attenuate the clear, exterior outlines of the other speaker's words, allowing the author to infiltrate his responses and commentaries (characteristic of indirect discourse without an apparent subject and of free indirect discourse).

These *styles*, according to Voloshinov (1973), impose on the utterance the effects of diverse and specific meanings that they bring to journalistic texts, demonstrating the *relationship between the journalist-subject and the object of utterance* as relevant to shine a light on the problem in the field of social communication.

Therefore, in the following section, we need to situate the discussion concerning the specific field of social communication – journalism. We open the discussion as follows.

### **In search of a theory of journalism: Sousa's unionist theory (2002)**

There is a great problem concerning a Theory of Journalism, as Sousa (2002) and Rublescki (2010) state, there is no consensus on this point. What there is, are different theories that propose a theory of Journalism. With that in mind, in this section we present the unionist theory of journalism proposed by Sousa (2002), who, faced with the different perspectives, proposes a theoretical perspective that arises from the intersection between them. However, before that we must situate the discussion around the attempt at instituting this theory and present the different existing theories.

The departure point of studies in this field, aiming to institute a satisfactory theory of journalism that would enjoy wide ranging acceptance, has been the socio-linguistic-discursive practices of the domain in question: journalistic. Specialists in the field have been pursuing this consolidation of a scientific theory of journalism for quite some time. Nevertheless, according to Rublescki (2010) it was only from the mid 1950's that a truly robust debate around forming a theory of journalism rose to the forefront of discussions within the field of journalism itself.

Contrary to what you would imagine, this intensification of the debate, instead of consolidating a single theory, prompted the rise of various currents – in some cases conflicting – which sought to answer the following questions: “Why is the news the

way it is?” Also, “How does it circulate, how is it received, and what effects does the news provoke?” (RUBLESCKI, 2010, p. 2)<sup>6</sup>.

From these questions, identified by the author, which guided (and continue to guide) the debate for a theory of journalism, we perceive that the news report (journalistic *speech*) plays a central role in the construction of a theory of journalism. What the author says, also, corroborates with Sousa’s idea (2002, p.2), scholars in the field of journalism and seeking to form a theory of journalism, defend that

A scientific theory of journalism has to conceptually delimit the phenomena that explains or predicts it. The theory of journalism must be seen essentially as a theory of the news report, since the news report is the intended result of the journalistic process of the production of information. In other words, the news report is a phenomenon that must be explained and previewed by the theory of journalism, and, therefore, any theory of journalism must endeavor to delimit the concept of news report.<sup>7</sup>

From this excerpt, once again, we see that the news is the point of departure for the discussion and consolidation of the theory of journalism. Additionally, with the objective to form a proposition-synthesis, aiming for a single theory of journalism, the news is also Sousa’s (2002) starting point.

It is important, however, to highlight that the concept of news in the previous excerpt is regarded in its broadest sense, as journalistic *speech*, since, for the author, news can be understood in two dimensions: a “tactical” dimension and a “strategic” dimension. In the words of the author,

The tactical dimension is limited within the theory of journalistic genres. In this dimension, news is distinguished from other genres, such as interview or reporting. However, the strategic dimension regards news as the totality of journalistic utterance. (SOUSA, 2002, p. 2-3)<sup>8</sup>

In the author’s view, what the theory of journalism is concerned with is the news in the “strategic” sense, and for this, it will serve as a basis for his reflections, as follows. For Sousa (2002), the guiding questions for the construction of the theory of journalism

---

<sup>6</sup> Original: “Por que as notícias são como são?” e “Como circulam, são recepcionadas e quais efeitos geram as notícias?” (RUBLESCKI, 2010, p. 2).

<sup>7</sup> Original: “Uma teoria científica tem de delimitar conceptualmente os fenómenos que explica ou prevê. A teoria do jornalismo deve ser vista essencialmente como uma teoria da notícia, já que a notícia é o resultado pretendido do processo jornalístico de produção de informação. Dito por outras palavras, a notícia é o fenómeno que deve ser explicado e previsto pela teoria do jornalismo e, portanto, qualquer teoria do jornalismo deve esforçar-se por delimitar o conceito de notícia.” (SOUSA, 2002, p. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Original: “A dimensão táctica esgota-se na teoria dos géneros jornalísticos. Nessa dimensão, distingue-se notícia de outros géneros, como a entrevista ou a reportagem. Todavia, a dimensão estratégica encara a notícia como todo o enunciado jornalístico.” (SOUSA, 2002, p. 2-3).

(similar to those presented by Rublescki (2010)) are concentrated on two axis: one speaks to the production of the news/ the other the circulation and consumption of the news, to the effects caused by it. With this in mind, the author states, “[...] a scientific theory of journalism must seek to integrate diverse phenomena in the field of journalism, emphasizing the result of the process of producing journalism, the news.” (SOUSA, 2002, p.2). For Sousa,

[...] a news item is a linguistic artefact that represents specific aspects of reality – the result of a process of construction where personal, social, ideological, historical, physical and technological factors interact – distributed through journalistic means, and comprises information with comprehensible meaning in a specific moment in history and in a specific socio-cultural milieu, even though the final attribution of meaning depends on the consumer of the news item. (SOUSA, 2002, p. 03)<sup>9</sup>

This perspective on the news is in harmony with the dialogical nature of language as conceived by Bakhtin, as Sousa sees the news, which is utterance and language, as a construct in which different factors are taken into consideration in its construction.

From this, to solidify the basis of his proposal for a unifying theory of journalism, the author (SOUSA, 2002, p. 4-6) presents the diverse perspectives on the theory of journalism, synthesized as follows. According to the author, taking the news (from the “strategic” dimension) as a point of departure, the following theories with their ‘diverse’ notions of news:

- **Mirror theories** – In this theory, the news is seen as a mirror of reality.
- **Personal Action theories** - In this *démarche*, the news is seen as the result of the selection of events scheduled from the particular choices of the journalist.
- **Organizational theories** – In this perspective, the “[...] news is the result of the organizational conditionings in which they are manufactured, such as the hierarchies, the forms of socialization and acculturation of the journalists, etc.” (SOUSA, 2002, p. 04)<sup>10</sup>
- **Political action theories** – This theory proclaims that the news is the fruit of the distortion of reality, due to the subjectivity of the journalist to specific ideological controls.

---

<sup>9</sup> Original: “[...] uma notícia é um artefato linguístico que representa determinados aspectos da realidade, resulta de um processo de construção onde interagem fatores de natureza pessoal, social, ideológica, histórica e do meio físico e tecnológico, é difundida por meios jornalísticos e comporta informação com sentido compreensível num determinado momento histórico e num determinado meio sócio cultural, embora a atribuição última de sentido dependa do consumidor da notícia.” (SOUSA, 2002, p. 03).

<sup>10</sup> Original: “[...] notícias são o resultado das condicionantes organizacionais em que são fabricadas, como as hierarquias, as formas de socialização e aculturação dos jornalistas etc.” (SOUSA, 2002, p. 04).

- **Structuralist theories** – The news is seen as “[...] a socially constructed product that reproduces the dominant ideology and legitimizes the *status quo* [...]” (SOUZA, 2002, p.5).<sup>11</sup>
- **Constructionist theories** – Understands the news as artefacts that are a result of a process of linguistic, organizational, cultural, and social construction, which are part of the reality that helps to construct and rebuild it.
- **Interactionist theory** – In this perspective, the news is the result of a process of perception, selection and transformation of events into news, by a group of professionals that share the same culture, under deadlines.

With respect to these theories, Sousa (2002, p. 6) says that it is possible to perceive that these different perspectives possess “[...] bridges, points of contact and shared explanations”<sup>12</sup>, which justifies, according to the author, his “unionist” proposal.

Besides this, the author looks for support, also in light of the justification of his proposal, from what he indicates as the second guiding axis in the construction of the theory of journalism: *the circulation and consumption of news, the effects cause by them*. For the author (SOUZA, 2002), the news can produce, in its readership, three types of effects: cognitive, affective and behavioral. The cognitive effects refer to the capacity to shape the perception of the receptor of reality subjects. The “affective” effects speak to the capacity to provoke emotions and feelings, even when they are directed to reasoning. The behavioral effects compete with the capacity to be able act in a person’s behavior, activating or not behaviors.

Having outlined these guiding principles of the two axis necessary in the construction of the theory of news or journalism, the author makes his unionist proposal. For Sousa (2002, p. 9-10),

The news is the result of the simultaneous historical interaction and imbued with energies of a matrix that is personal, social, (organizational and extra-organizational), ideological, cultural, in the physical milieu and with technological devices, having cognitive, affective and behavioral effects on people, who in their turn produce effects of change or permanence and the formation of references about societies, cultures and civilizations.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Original: “[...] um produto socialmente construído, que reproduz a ideologia dominante e legitima o *status quo* [...]” (SOUZA, 2002, p. 05).

<sup>12</sup> Original: “[...] pontes, pontos de contato e explicações comuns”

<sup>13</sup> Original: “A notícia é o resultado da interação simultaneamente histórica e presente de forças de matriz pessoal, social (organizacional e extra-organizacional), ideológica, cultural, do meio físico e dos dispositivos tecnológicos, tendo efeitos cognitivos, afetivos e comportamentais sobre as pessoas, o que por sua vez produz efeitos de mudança ou permanência e de formação de referências sobre as sociedades, as culturas e as civilizações.” (SOUZA, 2002, p. 9-10).

This definition by the author applies to journalism, which is presented as a field of human knowledge in which different factors of diverse orders interact in the construction of a socio-discursive practice of great importance in current society. In other words, it is a field of human knowledge that is by nature dialogic; it is a project originated from the interaction of different forces; a dialogical product.

Returning to the theoretical questions that are the basis of our analysis, in the following section, we analyze two news items, one from DP and the other from JC, regarding the supposed involvement of Eduardo Campos in the Petrobras' corruption scandals, through the plea bargain by Alberto Youssef.

### **Analysis of the journalistic discursive events**

In this section, we present the News that was published seven months after Campos' death. The news from both newspapers narrate the same fact: the involvement, prosecutor's denouncement, Campos' name associated with corruption scandals in Petrobras. In other words, about the investigation process of corruption in Petrobras (known at operation *Lava Jato* – Car wash), the prosecutor, Alberto Youssef, through a plea bargain agreement, declared that Campos had benefited from corruption schemes involving enterprises that rendered services to Petrobras.

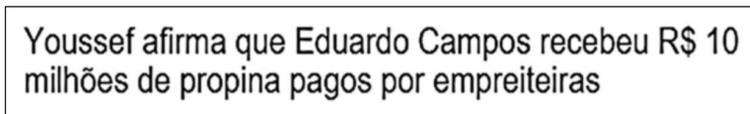
In this way, through the news, we analyze the means of appropriation of the discourses of the other, the same textual organization and track terms that show evaluative positions regarding Eduardo Campos.

As these two news items narrate the same event, we analyze, also how the mode of each newspaper reports the fact is indicative of socio-political-ideological positions different from each other presented in the following analysis.

### **The DP News**

Given the importance of the headline as an attention grabber for the target audience, and, moreover, as an indicator of the socio-political-ideological position of the newspaper, we perceive that the DP-3 narrates the fact using in the very title a linear style of appropriation the discourse of the other, in an indirect way. Thus, the journalist-subject turns the discourse of the prosecutor Alberto Youssef more susceptible to his/her assertions. (VOLOSHINOV, 1973). See the following image:

**Figure 1 – DP headline<sup>14</sup>**



Youssef afirma que Eduardo Campos recebeu R\$ 10 milhões de propina pagos por empreiteiras

**Source:** (YOUSSEF..., 2015).

---

<sup>14</sup> Youssef states that Eduardo Campos received R\$10 million in kickbacks from contractors.

In the headline, the journalist-subject uses Youssef's discourse to say that Campos received 10 million in kickbacks paid by contractors involved in corruption scandals (VOLOSHINOV, 1973; BAKHTIN, 1993).

In addition, this way of taking Youssef's statement also suggests an interaction between the speech of the journalists and the prosecutor (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), since the journalist did not use any artifice that would supposedly increase his exemption in relation to the *other's voice* taken to the composition of the journalistic utterance. Within these artifices, the DP could have made use of the other's direct discourse, quoting him directly within quotation marks, or in some verbal way that would give greater space to question the veracity of the information, since it deals with a declaration that needs to be proven before taken as true.

Regarding the compositional structure, this news item does not have a *lead*<sup>15</sup>. Right after the title, there is the presence of an image that, together with the title, can indicate a sociopolitical-ideological position, which will become more evident when compared to the image in JC-3. Note the image in DC:

**Figure 2** – Image from the DC



Source: (YOUSSEF..., 2015).

Although our research does not propose the analysis of the verbal-visual dimension of the News, following the same line of what is suggested in the title, leaves the impression of wyliness, of someone who is happy about something, and data from the index of the title, of someone who is happily taking advantage of something. In this case, the advantage would be the fact of supposedly having benefited from receiving 10 million in corruption schemes by Petrobras. It is in this way that the image selected by the journalist-subject is suggestive of a ratification of what Youssef said.

---

<sup>15</sup> *Lead* is a word in English that means “to conduct”, and as the meaning in Portuguese suggests, it aims to conduct the reader to the reported information, and, for this reason, bring a quick retelling of the fact that will be presented throughout the text.



Just after the image of Campos, the journalist-subject follows with the news, continuing to adopt Youssef’s discourse, as can be seen in Figure 3.

**Figure 3** – DP news excerpt<sup>16</sup>

O doleiro Alberto Yousseff afirmou em depoimento da delação na Operação Lava-Jato que o ex-governador de Pernambuco, Eduardo Campos (PSB) - morto em acidente aéreo em agosto do ano passado - recebeu entre 2010 e 2011 R\$ 10 milhões de propina por meio de contrato com a Conest. Formado pelas empreiteiras Odebrecht e OAS, o consórcio era responsável pela execução de obras da Refinaria de Abreu e Lima. Ainda de acordo com Yousseff, a propina destinada a Eduardo Campos ocorreu para o governo de Pernambuco não criar dificuldades nas obras.

Source: (YOUSSEFF..., 2015).

The excerpt foregrounds the informer’s discourse to show the circumstances in which Campos would have benefitted by receiving the kickback. Since we are dealing with an accusation, the journalist-subject is careful to always use the name of the dealer as an artifice to maintain his supposed exemption, or rather, use a linear style of appropriating the other’s discourse (VOLOSHINOV, 1973). However, in the excerpt, similar to the title, the discourse of the informant is put in an indirect form, and the Campos’ involvement is stated again with the use of the verb “receive” in the past perfect indicative, and, given that it would be possible to use mechanisms that increase the exemption toward Youssef’s discourse, this can be suggestive of a position toward the fact. It indicates, thus, once again, a position toward Eduardo Campos: an opposing position (and indirectly “accusatory”).

In addition to Campos’ supposed involvement in the scheme, the journalist-subject also mentions the supposed involvement of Eduardo da Fonte, Ciro Gomes and Sérgio Guerra, though giving little importance to this fact. The main focus of the news item is Campos. This selection of the points and the negligible focus on the involvement of the other politicians in the scheme is also indicative of a discursive project that reveals a positioning in relation to Campos (VOLOSHINOV, 1973; BAKHTIN, 1986b), as can be seen in the following:

---

<sup>16</sup> The informer Alberto Yousseff affirmed in testimony of the plea bargain in the Operation Car-Wash that the former governor of Pernambuco, Eduardo Campos (PSB) – killed in an airplane accident in August of last year – received between 2010 and 2011, R\$10 million in kickbacks from the Contest contract. Founded by the enterprises Odebrecht and OAS, the consortium was responsible for the execution of Refinery work in Abreu and Lima. According to Yousseff, the goal of the kickback destined to Eduardo Campos was to keep the government of Pernambuco from creating difficulties in their work projects.

Figure 4 – Excerpt 2 from DP<sup>17</sup>

O doleiro também afirma que o deputado federal pernambucano Eduardo da Fonte (PP) e o senador Ciro Nogueira (PP-PI) receberam entre 2010 e 2011 propinas de valores ainda não determinados pagas pela construtora Queiroz Galvão em contrato para implantação de tubovias em Abreu e Lima. O contrato referente a este serviço é da ordem de R\$ 2,7 bilhões. O ex-presidente do PSDB, o pernambucano Sérgio Guerra também teria sido um dos beneficiários pela propina paga pela Queiroz Galvão. O tucano recebeu, de acordo com Youssef, parte dos R\$ 10 milhões destinados para impedir a realização da CPI da Petrobras.

Ao custo de R\$ 18,5 bilhões a Refinaria de Abreu e Lima é a obra mais cara em curso no Brasil.

Source: (YOUSSEF..., 2015).

Despite mentioning the involvement of the aforementioned politicians, the focus of the news is, above all, Campos' alleged involvement.

After taking up Albert Youssef's discourse, the journalist-subject presents the discourse of Campos' Family, which positions him in relation to the statements. On doing so, the newspaper adopts a *linear style* of appropriating the other's discourse (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), in the form of direct discourse, signaled by quotes, as in the following:

Figure 5 – Third excerpt from the DP<sup>18</sup>

**PSB e família Campos negam**

Em nota divulgada pelo jornal *Folha de S.Paulo*, a família de Eduardo Campos e o PSB afirmam repelir "veementemente a tentativa de envolver um a pessoa que não está mais aqui para se defender". A nota afirma ainda que "todo mundo sabe" que a Petrobras é a responsável pela execução da obra "com contratos feitos pela diretoria da empresa, sem conexão alguma com o governo de Pernambuco".

O deputado Eduardo da Fonte (PP) afirmou desconhecer os fatos citados por Youssef e confiar na Justiça. O PSDB, partido do ex-senador Sérgio Guerra, disse que mantém sua posição "em defesa das investigações da Lava-Jato", e espera que os responsáveis pelo desvio bilionário de recursos da Petrobras sejam identificados e punidos.

Source: (YOUSSEF..., 2015).

<sup>17</sup> The dealer also affirms that the Federal Deputy of Pernambuco, Eduardo da Fonte (PP) and senator Ciro Nogueira (IPP-PI) received between 2010 and 2011 kickbacks in undetermined amounts, paid by the contractor Queiroz Galvão in contract for the installation of pipelines in Abreu and Lima. The contract that refers to this service is around R\$2.7 billion. The former president of the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB), the Pernambucan Sérgio Guerra would also have been among the beneficiaries of the kickback paid by Queiroz Galvão. The tucano (member of the PSDB) received, according to Youssef, a part of the R\$10 million allocated to stop the process of the CPI of Petrobras. Costing R\$18 billion, the Abreu and Lima Refinery is the most expensive project underway in Brazil.

<sup>18</sup> PSB (Brazilian Socialist Party) and the Campos family deny – In a note released by the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, the family of Eduardo Campos and the PSB affirm to repel "vehemently the attempt to involve a person that is not there to defend himself". The note further affirms that "everyone knows" that Petrobras is responsible for the execution of the work "with contracts made by the director of the firm, without any connection whatsoever with the government of Pernambuco". The deputy Eduardo da Fonte (PP) affirmed being unaware of the facts cited by Youssef and trusted in Justice. The PSDB [Brazilian Social Democratic Party], the political party of the former senator Sérgio Guerra, said that he maintains his position "in defense of the Operation Car-wash investigations", and hopes that those responsible for the extortion of billions of Petrobras resources are identified and punished.

The use of quotes to signal the discourse of the other – Eduardo Campos' Family – in the middle of indirect discourse is indicative of a position toward this speech (VOLOSHINOV, 1973). In other words, the use of the visual appropriation of the other's discourse (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), with sections marked between quotation marks, can be indicative that the journalist-subject's position does not collude with the opinion of the Campos family.

Thus, this way of framing the Campos family discourse can be indicative, although veiled, that the journalist-subject believes that the trajectory of Eduardo Campos could have been marked also by schemes of corruption. This discursive construction of the news in DP shows forces of diverse orders corroborate in the composition of the news item (SOUSA, 2002): the corruption scandals interfere in the constitution of the image of Eduardo Campos in this period.

The journalist-subject also brings discourses in defense of Eduardo da Fonte and Sérgio Guerra, but, once again, little emphasis is given to these politicians. Thus, it is clear that the way these voices of others are taken up in the texture of the DP News is indicative of the discursive project (BAKHTIN, 1986b) that reflects and refracts a position in opposition to Campos, proving, once again, that all utterance either agrees or disagrees with something (VOLOSHINOV, 1973).

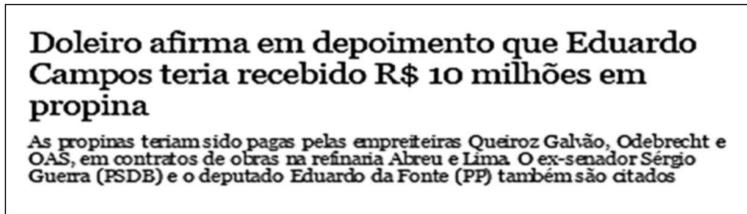
Analyzing the image comprised of Campos in the DP news item, we continue with an analysis of the image of the news item in JC, ultimately to be able to compare the two.

### **The JC news item**

The JC news item reports the same fact that is reported in the DP: the involvement of the name Campos in the corruption scheme of Petrobras by Alberto Youssef. However, there are differences among the modes of organizing the utterance, and, consequently, between the axiological positions evidenced by it, as shall be shown in this section.

The news in JC presents the discourse of Alberto Youssef also in a linear style (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), indirectly, but there is, in the way the discourse is taken up, indications that give room to possible doubt about the truth of the statements by the informer and the plea bargainer. This is clear from the very beginning of the news item, presented in Figure 6:

Figure 6 – Title and lead of the JC news item<sup>19</sup>



Source: (DOLEIRO..., 2015).

In the title of the news, on using the speech of Youssef, while referring to the alleged receipt of kickbacks for Campos, instead of using the verb in the past perfect indicative, the JC adopts the discourse of the other using the verbal locution – **would have received** (future past plus participle). This verbal mode gives greater room for doubt as to the truth of the information given in the informer’s testimony, as it makes implicit the idea that the information contained in the plea bargain needs to be proven. This artifice is also used in the lead of the news item. These linguistic choices clearly reveal that the position of the JC in relation to the other’s discourse and the fact reported is of a different nature than the one observed in the DP news (VOLOSHINOV, 1973).

Similar to the DP news, the JC news item also provides an image as part of its composition, which, instead of giving the impression of wiliness, and happiness toward something, suggesting that Campos could really have benefited, it has a semblance of worry, which could indicate a socio-political-ideological position that diverges from the one in DP. Note the following image:

Figure 7 – Image from the news item in JC



Source: (DOLEIRO..., 2015).

<sup>19</sup> Informer affirms in testimony that Eduardo Campos would have received R\$10million in kickbacks. The kickbacks would have been paid by the Queiroz Galvão, Odebrecht and OAS enterprises, in contracts for refinery projects at Abreu and Lima. The former senator Sérgio Guerra (PSDB) and deputy Eduardo da Fonte (PP), were also named.

Just after the image, Youssef's discourse continues to be adopted in the textual composition, but with a focus that is directed to the involvement of Eduardo Campos in the corruption scheme is not the same one that DP proposes. Using the linear style of indirectly appropriating Youssef's discourse, the JC puts all of the politicians named in the statements of the plea bargainer on a similar plane. This way of bringing the informer's discourse about Campos, putting the politician together with the other politicians, puts the alleged involvement of the politicians close to him on the same level, without giving the idea that Eduardo Campos' involvement had been much more serious than that of the others, even though the title of the news item focuses solely on Campos. Note this move in the following excerpt:

Figure 8 – Excerpt from the JC news<sup>20</sup>

O doleiro Alberto Youssef, uma das peças-chave mais emblemáticas da Operação Lava Jato, que investiga esquemas de desvio de dinheiro na Petrobras, afirmou em depoimentos de delação premiada que o ex-governador de Pernambuco Eduardo Campos (PSB), morto em um desastre aéreo ano passado, o ex-presidente do PSDB Sérgio Guerra, que morreu em 2014, e o deputado Eduardo da Fonte (PP-PE) teriam recebido propina em contratos das obras da refinaria Abreu e Lima. O doleiro detalhou dois casos específicos, nos quais mais de R\$ 40 milhões foram movimentados para, entre outras medidas, impedir a criação de uma CPI envolvendo a estatal. As informações foram divulgadas pelo jornal Folha de S. Paulo.

Source: (DOLEIRO..., 2015).

It is worthy to note that on bringing the discourse of the informer about the involvement of the politicians, in the indirect, linear style (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), the journalist-subject, once again, uses the future past plus participle (**would have received**) to indicate the receipt of kickbacks again, giving greater room for doubt regarding the testimony. This artifice, which supposedly would give take account of conferring a major exemption of the journalist- subjective faced with the fact, is indicative of a position with regard to the facts (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), not openly opposed.

In the following sections, the JC unravels information from the previous excerpt, putting Campos' involvement in one paragraph and that of the other politicians in another.

---

<sup>20</sup> The informer Alberto Youssef, one of the most emblematic key elements of the Operation Car-wash, which investigates extortion schemes in Petrobras, affirmed in plea bargaining testimonies that the former governor of Pernambuco, Eduardo Campos (PSB), killed in an airline disaster last year, the former president of PSDB, Sérgio Guerra, who died in 2014, and the deputy Eduardo da Fonte (PP-PE) would have received kickbacks in contracts from Abreu and Lima refinery projects. The informer detailed two specific cases, in which more than R\$40million were moved to, among other measures, impede the creation of a CPI involving the State. The information was released by the Folha de São Paulo newspaper.

**Figure 9** – Excerpt 2 from JC<sup>21</sup>

Em seu depoimento, o doleiro afirma que Eduardo Campos teria recebido, entre 2010 e 2011, R\$ 10 milhões de propina das empreiteiras Odebrecht e OAS para a instalação de unidades de processamento em Abreu e Lima. Eduardo Campos teria recebido o montante para evitar dificuldades no andamento das negociações.

O total da propina foi de R\$ 30 milhões, valor dividido entre o ex-governador, Paulo Roberto Costa e o PP. A propina teria sido entregue a Eduardo Campos no Recife.

Source: (DOLEIRO..., 2015).

The discourse that is taken up in the excerpt above presents a major focus on the alleged benefits gained by Eduardo on receiving the bribe, contrary to the supposed equality between the involvement of the politicians in the previous excerpt. However, despite this, it is notable that the way of bringing Youssef's discourse in the JC, even in the same way as the DP – indirect linear style (VOLOSHINOV, 1973) –, presents evidence of a less oppositional position to Campos than the news from the DP, characterizing different positions by the two newspapers. The following two excerpts hold to the alleged participation of other politicians in the kickback schemes by the contractors who assigned contract and services rendered with Petrobras, as follows:

**Figure 10** – Excerpt 3 of the JC news<sup>22</sup>

Além dos políticos pernambucanos, o delator também envolveu em seus depoimentos o senador Ciro Nogueira (PP-PI), e o ex-diretor de abastecimento da Petrobras Paulo Roberto Costa, que está preso. Youssef afirmou que Nogueira e Fonte teriam, entre 2010 e 2011, recebido propina da construtora Queiroz Galvão para formalizar um contrato para implantação de tubovias na refinaria Abreu e Lima. Na época, tanto a Queiroz Galvão quanto a lesa assinaram contrato no valor de R\$ 2,7 bilhões para a implantação das tubovias.	na Lava Jato e CGU
	STJ nega pedido de liberdade de empresário preso na Lava Jato
	Advogados têm até quarta-feira para pedir transferência de presos na Lava Jato

Source: (DOLEIRO..., 2015).

<sup>21</sup> In his testimony, the informer affirmed that Eduardo Campos would have received, between 2010 and 2011, R\$10million in kickbacks from the Odebrecht and OAS enterprises for the installation of the processing units in Abreu and Lima. Eduardo Campos would have received this amount to prevent difficulties in carrying out negotiations. The total amount was R\$30 million, which was divided between the former governor, Paulo Roberto Costa and the PP. The kickback would have been delivered to Eduardo Campos in Recife.

<sup>22</sup> Besides the Pernambuco politicians, the informer also involved the senator Ciro Nogueira (PP-PI), and Petrobras' former director of supplies, Paulo Roberto Costa, who is incarcerated. Youssef affirmed that Nogueira and Fonte would have received kickbacks, between 2010 and 2011, from the contractor Queiroz Galvão to formalize a contract for the

In this excerpt, Youssef's discourse is taken to talk about the alleged involvement of other politicians in the corruptions schemes. In the following excerpt, the focus continues on the naming of other people in the Petrobras corruption scandal.

**Figure 11** – Excerpt 4 of the JC news<sup>23</sup>

O contrato teria sido assinado no Rio de Janeiro, na presença de um representante da Queiroz Galvão, Paulo Roberto Costa, o ex-presidente do PP, José Janene, morto em 2010, o ex-assessor do PP João Genu e o próprio Youssef. Na negociação, a empreiteira foi pressionada para dar celeridade aos processos, sob a ameaça de que fosse criada uma CPI da Petrobras, à época estimulada pela oposição.

O operador do esquema foi Fernando Soares, também preso pela Lava Jato. Parte da propina foi paga em doações oficiais aos políticos e a outra destinada a Youssef, que repassou para Ciro Nogueira e Eduardo da Fonte. Sérgio Guerra entra na história para impedir a realização de uma CPI na Estatal. Para isso, o ex-senador teria recebido R\$ 10 milhões.

Source: (DOLEIRO..., 2015).

As we can see, the two excerpts presented are directed at those involved in the corruption scheme and not Eduardo Campos.

Thus, from the analysis of the JC news, which, despite the citation of his name in the corruption scandals, Campos gains a greater right to doubts about his involvement, owing to the fact that the journalist-subject is careful to use verbal forms that give space to it. Consequently, we have the image of a politician that had his name cited in about corruption, but that, despite this, his participation in it is not certain.

In the following subsection we compare the images of the two newspapers.

### **A comparative look at the journalistic images of Campos in the DP and the JC**

From the analysis of the two news items, we perceive that the ways the two newspapers presents the declarations of Alberto Youssef regarding Eduardo Campos are diverse, despite both unfolding in an indirect linear style: the DP, through the mode of organization, selection and use of verb tenses, reveals a position that suggests opposition, and suggests, also, that the discourse of the plea bargainer is true; the JC, for the same reasons as the DP, gives room for doubt, which suggests a softer opposition than the DP.

---

installation of pipelines at the Abreu and Lima refinery. At the time, both Queiroz Galvão and the accused signed the contract in the amount of R\$2.7 billion to install the pipelines.

<sup>23</sup> The contract would have been signed in Rio de Janeiro, in the presence of a representative of Queiroz Galvão, Paulo Roberto Costa, the former president of the PP, José Janene, killed in 2010, the former assessor for the the PP, João Genu and Youssef himself. In the negotiation, the contractor was pressured to speed up the law suits, under the threat of a CPI (Parliamentary Inquiry Commission) from Petrobras, at the time urged by the opposition. The operator of the scheme was Fernando Soares, also imprisoned by the Car wash operation. Part of the bribe was paid in official donations to the politicians and the other destined to Youssef, who passed it on to Ciro Nogueira and Eduardo da Fonte. Sérgio Guerra enters the story to stop the carrying out to s CPI on the State. For this, the former senator would receive R\$10 million.

With this, we perceive, also, that the styles of appropriation of the discourse of the other can be used, in the utterance, to cause effects of different meanings. This confirms that, even when the use of the linear style of appropriation of the other's discourse is used, which has delimited contours, in the textual composition, the journalist-subject will always be, in some way, revealing a position in relation to the object and to the utterance (VOLOSHINOV, 1973).

Likewise, these valuative positions that are evidenced in the news are constituted dialogically in the interaction with different instances of speech (BAKHTIN 1986b) and with different forces – factors that are personal, social, ideological, historical in nature, and physical and technological (SOUSA, 2002). Consequently, this valuation (dialogically constituted) will always be unique because each discursive moment counts on instances that are also unique and it is for this reason that the subject and the utterance are always shown as an event (BAKHTIN, 1993).

### **Final considerations**

In this research, recognizing the great importance that the media has as an institutionalized system of disseminating information and forming public opinion, we seek to investigate the question of the relation between socio-political-ideological valuation and the journalistic task. To this end, we carried out an immersion into the problematic that is put in the field of social communication – the journalistic – about the relation between subjectivity and objectivity, and, having done so, opted for an approach to it through the discursive bias.

From the trajectory outlined, we can arrive at the following conclusions. The first of them is that, journalism being a socio-discursive practice, therefore social/ideological (VOLOSHINOV, 1973), in carrying out the task cannot be exempt from socio-ideological valuations. Consequently, in covering general issues, but, above all, in those that speak to political processes, this will always be imbued with ideologies that demonstrate a position in relation to the information, confirming what Voloshinov (1973) and Bakhtin (1993) defend with regard to the presence of valuations of the enunciating-subject in all of the utterances of verbal communications.

Marked in this confirmation, we can also conclude that the ways in which the journalist-subject appropriates other's discourse in the textual composition of the news are artifices that favor the construction of effects of specific meanings and diverse among themselves (VOLOSHINOV, 1973). These ways speak to the very dialogue that is established in the utterance with the instances of enunciation, through which the subject is inscribed as a single being (although collective) in the world. Consequently, on taking up the discourse of the other, the speaker never conserves it such that he is it in the context of the origin, or rather, in taking up the discourse of the other, even when it is through the style of contours delimited (*linear style*), the speaker does not give over his space to the other, but rather speaks together with him (VOLOSHINOV,



1973). This also became very evident by the use of the verbal form that was introduced in the other's discourse.

Finally, regarding the study of language in general, we reaffirm what Voloshinov (1973) defended about the study of the discourse cited, that the study of the forms of appropriation of the discourse of the other is important to the very understanding of the dialogue which is the basis of the language. Moreover, if the subjects (and the world) are constituted in language (which is essentially dialogic) the study of the modes of appropriation of the discourse of others is important to the very understanding of the interaction; to the understanding of the world.

SANTOS, A.; RODRIGUES, S. Discurso jornalístico e a suposta imparcialidade: os modos de apropriação do discurso de outrem como indicativos de posicionamentos ideológicos. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.609-628, 2017.

- *RESUMO: Tomando parte na discussão que há no campo da teoria do jornalismo sobre a objetividade e a subjetividade, e falando do lugar da linguagem, neste trabalho, propomos que os modos de apropriação do discurso de outrem podem ser um meio à resolução desse impasse, pois levantamos a hipótese de que eles evidenciam posicionamentos sócio-ideológicos do sujeito-jornalista em relação ao objeto de enunciação. Para tanto, partimos da concepção de linguagem do chamado Círculo de Bakhtin e tomamos notícias dos dois jornais mais lidos do estado de Pernambuco, Diário de Pernambuco e Jornal do Commercio, respectivamente, sobre Eduardo Campos, candidato à presidência do Brasil em 2014. As análises feitas mostraram que os modos de apropriação do discurso de outrem podem servir a efeitos de sentidos diversos entre si e que, quando da apropriação do discurso de outrem, o sujeito-jornalista não cede lugar ao outro, mas, sim, fala junto com ele, evidenciando posicionamentos ideológicos por meio das notícias.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Discurso jornalístico. Apropriação do discurso de outrem. Posicionamentos sócio-ideológicos.*

## REFERENCES

ALSINA, R. M. **La construcción de la noticia**. Paidós: Barcelona, 1989.

BAKHTIN, M. M. **Toward a philosophy of the act**. Translated by Vadim Liapunov and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.

BAKHTIN, M. M. The problem of speech genres. In: BAKHTIN, M. M. **Speech genres and other late essays**. Translated by Vern McGee. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986a. p.103-131.

BAKHTIN, M. M. The problem of the text in linguistics and philology and other human sciences. In: BAKHTIN, M. M. **Speech genres and other late essays**. Translated by Vern McGee. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986b. p.103-131.

BAKHTIN, M. Discourse in the novel. In: BAKHTIN, M. **The dialogic imagination: four essays by M. M. Bakhtin**. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981. p.259- 422. (Slavic Series, n. 1).

BAKHTIN, M.; MEDVEDEV, P. **The formal method in literary scholarship: a critical introduction to sociological poetics**. Translated by Albert J. Wehrle. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978.

COUTINHO, A. N. L. **A construção da militância editorial**: disputas por hegemonia em discursos de editoriais da mídia impressa nas eleições presidenciais de 2010. 2013. 183 f. Tese (Doutorado em Letras) - Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, 2013.

DOLEIRO afirma em depoimento que Eduardo Campos teria recebido R\$ 10 milhões em propina. **Jornal do Commercio**, Recife, 03 mar. 2015. Available in: <<http://jconline.ne10.uol.com.br/canal/politica/pernambuco/noticia/2015/03/03/doleiro-afirma-em-depoimento-que-eduardo-campos-teria-recebido-r-10-milhoes-em-propina-170541.php>>. Access on: 29 Nov. 2017.

LAGE, N. Conceitos de jornalismo e papéis sociais atribuídos aos jornalistas. **Pauta Geral: Estudos em Jornalismo**, Ponta Grossa, v.1, n.1, p.23-28, 2014.

RUBLECKI, A. Teorias do jornalismo: questões exploratórias em tempos pósmassivos. In: CONGRESSO BRASILEIRO DE CIÊNCIAS DA COMUNICAÇÃO, 33., 2010, Caxias do Sul. **Anais...** Caxias do Sul: Intercom, 2010. p. 1-15.

SOUSA, J. P. Por que as notícias são como são? construindo uma teoria da notícia. **Biblioteca On-line de Ciências da Comunicação**, [S.l.], p.01-17, 2002. Available in: <<http://www.bocc.ubi.pt/pag/sousa-jorge-pedro-construindo-teoria-da-noticia.pdf>>. Access on: 16 Apr. 2015.

YOUSSEF afirma que Eduardo Campos recebeu R\$ 10 milhões de propina pagos por empreiteiras. **Diário de Pernambuco**, Recife, 03 mar. 2015. Available in: <[http://www.diariodepernambuco.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2015/03/03/interna\\_politica,563859/youssef-afirma-que-eduardo-campos-recebeu-r-10-milhoes-de-propina-pagos-por-empiteiras.shtml](http://www.diariodepernambuco.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2015/03/03/interna_politica,563859/youssef-afirma-que-eduardo-campos-recebeu-r-10-milhoes-de-propina-pagos-por-empiteiras.shtml)>. Access on: 29 Nov. 2017.

VOLOSHINOV, V. N. The construction of the utterance. In: SHUKMAN, A. (Ed.). **Bakhtin school papers**. Translated by Noel Owen. Somerton: Old School House, 1983. p.93-113.

VOLOSHINOV, V. **Marxism and the philosophy of language**. Translated by Ladeslay Matejka and I. R. New York: Tutinik, Seminar Press, 1973.

Received in June 2016

Approved in July 2017

# OBJECTIVISM/SUBJECTIVISM IN SCIENTIFIC ARTICLES FROM DIFFERENT FIELDS: THE HETEROGENEITY OF ACADEMIC WRITING

Ângela Francine FUZA\*

- **ABSTRACT:** This paper is aimed at discussing the homogenization of scientific and academic writing in the process of text constitution, by analyzing aspects related to objectivism and subjectivism in academic texts. The selection of some A1 Brazilian scientific articles from different fields of knowledge was carried out according to specific genre: compositional form, style and theme which delimit texts in terms of objectivism and subjectivism. The work is guided by the dialogic assumptions of the Bakhtin's Circle regarding genres, as well as some authors from the New Literacy Studies framework. Results show that: a) every utterance consists of subjective and objective elements; b) aspects delimiting objectivity and subjectivity are predominantly marked in the compositional and architectural forms and in the text style related to the theme; c) articles of different fields are similar while dealing with elements concerning objectivity, such as compositional form and language resources; d) the articles differ by showing aspects which, although observed in verbal materiality, find meaning in the extra verbal context, pervading subjectivity as a thematic choice as well as some variation in the amount of authors; e) objectivity and subjectivity nuances observed in the discourse allow us to characterize traces of heterogeneous writing in these fields.
- **KEYWORDS:** Objectivism. Subjectivism. Academic writing. Scientific articles.

## Introduction

Academic-scientific writing has been widely discussed in academic world by researchers of the Language Studies field in a variety of scopes and from diverse methodological perspectives. Among the research works we observed the academic community difficulty in producing the genres requested in their fields, since in many cases there is no definition for the practice of written production; in other words, it is assumed that their conventions are shared by all writers (LILLIS, 1999), leading to what may be called writing homogenization. Moreover, in dealing with academic writing,

---

\* Federal University of Tocantins (UFT), Câmpus de Porto Nacional, Porto Nacional – TO - Brazil. Permanent Professor of the Graduate Program in Languages and Literature. [angelafuza@uft.edu.br](mailto:angelafuza@uft.edu.br).

there is a view that the common sense conventions are transparent to those participants of academic community and to the new writers in the referred field (LILLIS, 1999).

Those stances in writing academic genres, such as scientific articles, fall within the framework of autonomous literacy (STREET, 1984) and the model of academic socialization proposed by Lea and Street (2014). Through a homogenizing attitude, language is conceived in accordance with the assumptions of idealistic subjectivism<sup>1</sup> and abstract objectivism, as a stable system or as an inert source, disregarding factors external to communication (VOLOŠINOV, 1973).

Based on that assumption, this research conceives language in its social nature (VOLOŠINOV, 1973) and takes into account the discourses constituted by norms and restrictions, pervaded by discursive questions of utterance<sup>2</sup>.

Thus, this paper<sup>3</sup> aims at analyzing scientific articles from different areas of knowledge, discussing the heterogeneity of writing<sup>4</sup> from the elements that constitute the genre: compositional form, style and theme. Thereto, this qualitative-interpretative study focuses on articles from A1 national journals of different fields – Human Sciences, Engineering, Social Sciences, Health Sciences, Linguistics, Languages, Literature and Arts, and Exact and Earth Sciences – collected on the WebQualis system<sup>5</sup>. In other words, following the discussion on academic writing homogeneity, this paper intends to examine how the question of objectivism/subjectivism is observed, highlighting the writing aspects as an element to be treated heterogeneously.

The research is grounded on the dialogical approach of language analysis, addressed by Bakhtin (1986) and Vološinov<sup>6</sup> (1973), regarding dialogism, genres, objectivism

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Rodrigues (2001), there must have been problems ascribed to the referring language guidance for the term “idealistic subjectivism”. For the author, in “Marxism and Philosophy of Language”, there are two denominations for the same trend: “Idealistic subjectivism” and “individualistic subjectivism.” However, in *Les frontières entre poétique et linguistique* (BAKHTIN; VOLOSHINOV, 1981), the term used is “individualistic subjectivism” (RODRIGUES, 2001, p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Based on Bakhtin (1984), “discourses” are “language in its concrete living totality. They are not language as specific object of Linguistics, but something achieved through a completely legitimate and necessary abstraction from various aspects of the concrete life of discourse” (BAKHTIN, 1984, p. 181). The discursive issues are not restricted to a mere linguistic scope of the utterance, but also to the enunciative context of realization, considering extra verbal factors.

<sup>3</sup> Text based on the investigations of the author’s PhD thesis (FUZA, 2015), which deals with other discussions about the heterogeneity of academic writing.

<sup>4</sup> As in Fuza (2015), in this paper, the notion of heterogeneity is originally based on Bakhtin and Vološinov. The author deals with the dialogical nature of language and the heterogeneity instituted as its property. The utterances do not present an absolute end or a definitive conclusion, with the principle of “inconclusiveness”, of the preservation of heterogeneity (BAKHTIN, 1984). Corrêa (2004, 2006) claims the heterogeneous way of the constitution of writing – which justifies the treatment of academic-scientific writing in this text as heterogeneous and not as homogeneous practice. The heterogeneity in writing is then addressed, according to Corrêa (2004), because heterogeneity is understood as something inherent to its own practice.

<sup>5</sup> It is a platform (<https://sucupira.capes.gov.br/sucupira/public/index.jsf>), made available by CAPES ([www.capes.gov.br](http://www.capes.gov.br)), which allows the classification of journals that represent the intellectual production of Brazilian graduate programs in all areas of knowledge.

<sup>6</sup> For Faraco (2009, p. 12), there is “widespread confusion about the authorship” of Bakhtin Circle texts. Thus, there are three different trends to follow: “1) recognizing as Bakhtin’s texts only those published under his name; 2) assigning all published work to Bakhtin; 3) including the two names in the authorship.” (OHUSCHI, 2013, p.25). In this study, we chose the latter trend, an option also used in the research group *Interação e Escrita*, so, when referring to the work “Marxism and philosophy of language”, quoted as Vološinov (1973).

and subjectivism, and on research works based on the assumptions proposed by the New Literacy Studies principles.

In the analysis, one article from each scientific area was selected and discursive-declarative regularities were found mainly on the compositional and stylistic levels of the scientific article genre, with emphasis on the theme. Specifically, in the compositional and stylistic contexts, aspects which highlighted the similarities and differences between the texts were verified. As outlined in the Methodology section, this strategy made it possible to deal with writing homogeneity and heterogeneity.

This paper is linked to the research project *Práticas de letramento acadêmico-científicas: a constituição dos discursos escritos* (UFT). Firstly, it deals with the question of the heterogeneity and homogeneity of discourse genres, objectivism and subjectivism in scientific writing. Secondly, it highlights the methodological section, the analysis of the observed data, results and discussion.

### **Discourse genres: homogeneous and heterogeneous aspects**

Bakhtin (1986) states that the boundaries of each utterance are defined by alternating the subjects in the discourse, because “[...] words may cross our speech through others’ individual utterances, thereby retaining to a greater or lesser degree the tones and echoes of individual utterances.” (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 88). Language has a founding role in the construction of the subjects’ singularity as well as in the constitution of their marks of belonging to social groups (GOULART, 2006). This premise should be verified in the academic-scientific scope, since each knowledge area presents marks of its scientific communities that can be verified through their journals and articles. Therefore, academic writing should be conceived in its diversity and not in its unity.

By conceiving language as a dialogic process, discourse is manifested through texts and these are organized within certain discourse genres. Bakhtin (1986, p.60) defines three elements that shape the genre: the thematic content, the style, the compositional form: “All three of these aspects are inseparably connected to the whole of the utterance and are equally determined by the specific nature of particular sphere of communication [...]”.

Vološinov (1973, p. 99) posits the theme as “the expression of concrete, historical situation that engendered utterance”, that is to say, it is determined not only by linguistic forms, but also by non-verbal elements of the situation, such as ideology. In general, the theme indicates the senses born out of the dialogical interaction, linked to the “ideological views on reality” (SOBRAL, 2009, p. 76), and the “meaning conveyed by the discourse in a real and unique situation of verbal interaction” (CEREJA, 2005, p. 203).

For Sobral (2009), the genre form should be understood as the materiality of the text (compositional form) and as discursive surface, that is to say, the way in which the material and the content are articulated (architectural form). This is pervaded by

ethical-moral values, objectives determining, for example, the relationship with the interlocutor and the compositional form (SANCHES, 2009).

According to Brait (2012), style reflects the subject's judgment on the theme; it considers previous experiences and what the other subjects may say about this theme. Bakhtin (1986) postulates that the impossibility of printing the personal style obscures the view of its enunciator, because style is the element that best explains its enunciator and it is fundamentally connected to the theme, since style is inseparable from thematic units. Its materialization is clearly manifested by linguistic choices made, regarding its interlocutor and the subject at hand.

In dialogue with Bakhtinian theories, Côrrea (2004, 2013b) addresses the homogeneous and heterogeneous aspects of discourse genres. In the first case, there is a strong trend in the verbal and compositional focus of the text, while heterogeneity goes beyond the limits (CORRÊA, 2013a) covering the "extra verbal context" (VOLOŠINOV 1976), that is, the "presumed ones" (CORRÊA, 2011, p. 394) which follow the word use as in "the theme of the genre", the institutional framework in which it is produced and the perspectives which, from outside the text, guide it [as the interlocutor's finishing]". These aspects go beyond a strictly pragmatic interpretation to reach "a socio historical dimension which bypasses the transparency of some strictly linguistic sense" (CORRÊA, 2013b, p.496).

In *Reflexão teórica e ensino da escrita*, Corrêa (2013b) argues on the "oppositions between "verbal" + "extra verbal" and its correlate: "Socially presumed" (VOLOŠINOV, 1976), on the one hand, and "hidden aspects of literacy" (STREET, 2009), on the other" (CORRÊA, 2013b, p. 494).

The term reference "hidden literacy" dates from Street's works (2009, 2010). The author has dealt with the hidden dimensions of academic writing assessments, which, for the most part, remain implicit. His interest was in "[...] hidden criteria that are used by counselors [...] by journal reviewers. [He] wanted to make these dimensions explicit so that the authors could foresee what their readers would say about the work produced" (STREET, 2010, p.542, emphasis added). In class, he elaborated with his students<sup>7</sup> a list of dimensions composed by: framing (genre, audience; purposes/objectives/arguments); contribution/ "What for?" (for knowledge, for research area, for future research); author's voice; point of view; linguistic marks; structure. On the aspects of literacy, Corrêa (2013b) asserts that they clearly refer to the non-explicit verbal materiality. In addressing them, there is the risk of keeping them restricted to some characteristics of the compositional structure or the lexical grammatical choices which characterize genre styles.

In "Discourse in Life and Discourse in Art", Vološinov (1976, p. 5, emphasis in the original) delimits three factors that make up the extra verbal context: "1) *the common spatial purview* of interlocutors [...]; 2) *the interlocutors' common knowledge and understanding of situation*, and; e 3) *their common evaluation of situation.*"

---

<sup>7</sup> To go deeper in each of the dimensions, see Street (2010).

According to Fuza (2015), in scientific articles from different areas of knowledge, the academic sphere encompasses this genre. The scientific communities of each field present in this larger sphere would be understood as a (1) researchers' *common spatial horizon* with their own compositional writing characteristics, with their own culture of knowledge dissemination through the scientific article genre. To produce such knowledge, there are (2) the interlocutors that constitute the academic community's *common knowledge and understanding* of the situation, which enables the (3) *common evaluation* of the situation, or a scientific article, for example. Scientific article reviewers make an exact "evaluation" of the material that they receive, considering their own common space horizon of knowledge about the specificities of their scientific community. According to Vološinov (1976):

On this 'seeing together' [scientific articles to be evaluated]; 'knowing together' [the authors' norms for submission of the articles and the norms of evaluation of the material used and known only by journal reviewers] and 'unanimously evaluated' [The reviewers of each area of knowledge express a common sense in the evaluation of the texts, making them in accordance with the specificities of their scientific community] – 'The enunciate is directly dependent on all that and everything is captured by its real and alive implications.' (VOLOŠINOV, 1976, p. 99).

The production of the scientific article genre occurs in the social relationship among the speakers and it is strictly connected with life itself which should not be divorced from life without losing its meaning (VOLOŠINOV, 1976, p. 4). In that sense, discourse genres must be understood in their heterogeneity, linked to the discursive area project, whose presupposition opposes unifying notions of writing.

## **Objectivism and subjectivism in scientific writing**

Universal rationality and reason are the conceptual basis of scientific discourse. For Cortes (2009, p. 3), scientific discourse "[...] presents things as if they are acquiring life and speaking by themselves, postulating a neutrality character though." For Rodrigues (2009), the intent of scientific texts being objective and impartial are related to their effects of meaning: "[...] there are resources that allow them to "feign" that objectivity [...]. The main strategy is to produce discourse in the third person, in the time of "then" and in the space of "there" [...] We pretend to distance ourselves from enunciation, which is by its turn "neutralized" (BARROS, 2005, p. 55-56 apud RODRIGUES, 2009, p. 4).

Among the formal strategies used in the text, which may cause the illusion of objectivity, the use of third person and passive voice stand out, pointing out to the absence of the research participant, constituting norms imposed by the scientific

community and accepted by each new member as the only true form of reasoning, of doing science (CORACINI, 1992). In view of that, Bakhtin (1993) poses that: “[...] It is an unfortunate mistake (a legacy of rationalism) to think that truth (*pravda*) should only be the truth (*istina*) if it is composed of universal moments; That the truth of a situation is precisely what is repeatable [...]” (BAKHTIN, 1993, p. 37), disregarding individual truth.

For Bakhtin (1986), unity is formed by putting two concepts together, approaching subjectivity and objectivity, and the intention (subjective element) comes in combination with the object of meaning (objective) to form an indissoluble unity, the concrete utterance (indissoluble unit). It is possible to affirm that the dialogue between the intention and the object of meaning originates in the notions of idealistic subjectivism and abstract objectivism (VOLOŠINOV, 1973). While in subjectivism the focus is on the subject, in objectivism the focus is on the structure. Despite the apparent dichotomy between concepts, the authors postulate the dialogue between the individual and the other, because their choice is shared with other discursive subjects.

From that distinction, Sobral (2009) conceives the subjectivity in psychic, social and historical terms, instead of in purely psychological ones. The condition of possibility of subjectivity is the subject of language as an agent that acts in other agent(s') presence; in other words, he/she dialogues with several interlocutors.

For Cortes (2009), the alleged objectivity of scientific discourse is shaped as a moment which constitutes utterance. Thus, it is possible to conceive it according to the principle of “ixotopy” (BAKHTIN, 1993). In fact it is understood as the author's detachment from the object, followed by the moment of objectification. Cortes (2009, p. 4) states that “the moment of objectification should not be confused with indifference towards the object”, since, once it has been uttered, it already means that the subject has assumed a certain attitude toward it.

The focus on objectivism and the defense of the scientific neutrality stems from the positivist assumptions used to prevail in the human sciences (RODRIGUES, 2009). According to Pasquotte-Vieira (2014), science centered on positivism focuses on observation and the act of writing academically would be like describing a state of the world (HAMMERSLEY; ATKINSON, 2007 apud PASQUOTTE-VIEIRA, 2014), without a positioning. However, nowadays, some sciences, such as the Human Sciences, question the principles of objectivity, “seeking to implicate the subjects who do science, preventing them from acting as mere reproducers of the scientific *status quo*” (RODRIGUES, 2009, p. 5).

Considering the role that discourse genre has played in this research (especially in scientific articles), as well as the issues related to objectivism and subjectivism, the methodology for selecting and choosing the corpus for analysis was developed as following.



## Methodology

We chose the scientific article as our object of research because it is the most frequent genre in the academy and also because it characterizes important features of the academic community and the subjects involved. The journals and scientific articles analyzed were selected in the year 2012. Some criteria were considered in the selection of these objects, such as: the A1 classification in the *Qualis* ranking; knowledge fields; form of contribution; time of the journal and year of the data collection.

A1 journals have been selected because they convey the academic domain expectations in terms of excellence. According to *Qualis*, the journals have acknowledged publications in the area; they are in accordance with the standards of the Brazilian Association of Technical Standards (ABNT) and they also have national and international members in their editorial board.

Table 1 shows the number of journals in stratum A1:

**Table 1** – Number of Stratum A1 journals according to *WebQualis* (2012).

AREAS	TOTAL OF A1 BRAZILIAN JOURNALS	TOTAL OF A1 FOREIGN JOURNALS	TOTAL OF A1 JOURNALS
AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES	00	449	449
BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES	00	753	753
HEALTH SCIENCES	2	1,677	1,699
EXACT AND EARTH SCIENCES	5	642	647
HUMAN SCIENCES	72	307	379
APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES	26	178	212
ENGINEERING	1	899	900
LINGUISTICS, LANGUAGE AND ARTS	55	78	133

**Source:** Fuza (2015, p. 118).

In the investigated areas of knowledge, the amount of foreign A1 journals is higher than that of Brazilian journals. On an increasing scale of Brazilian A1 journals, it is observed that there is no A1 ranked journal in Agricultural and Biological Sciences area; there is only one A1 journal in Engineering; there are two A1 journals in Health Sciences area; five in Exact and Earth Sciences; twenty-six in Applied Social Sciences; fifty-five in Linguistics, Language and Arts; and finally, there are seventy-two journals in Human Sciences.

Given that written production is pervaded by multiple practices, some articles from different areas of knowledge were selected. After the survey, their websites were accessed, the selection of journals of each area were made taking into account time acknowledged by their area or academic field. These journals were founded, respectively,

in 1929 (Area: Multidisciplinary; subarea: Engineering), 1950 (Human Sciences; subarea: History), 1979 (Applied Social; sub area: Social Service), 1983 (Linguistics, Language and Arts; sub area: Language/Linguistics), 1985 (Exact Sciences; sub area: Education), 1993 (Human Sciences; sub area: Nursing). The journals are identified by their areas of knowledge instead of by their titles, since that datum is not relevant for the study.

The selection of journals provided the search for a representative article which covered general characteristics of each area. In addition, certain singularities were taken into account, such as remarkable elements for their area, enabling the discussion of writing heterogeneity. In each website two journals published in 2012 (year of data collection on *Qualis*) and two issues published in 2013 were observed (the number of articles read from journal to journal varies, because of the number of texts published in each area).

Table 2 shows the number of articles read for possible selection:

**Table 2** – Survey of articles in journals for text selection.

AREAS	Number of articles read for possible selection
HEALTH SCIENCES	88
EXACT AND EARTH SCIENCES	64
HUMAN SCIENCES	40
APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES	24
ENGINEERING	10
LINGUISTICS, LANGUAGE AND ARTS	32

**Source:** Author’s elaboration.

An article from each area was selected and their discursive-declarative regularities were found. The regularities focused mainly on the compositional and stylistic levels of the scientific article genre, with emphasis on the theme<sup>8</sup>.

In the compositional and stylistic aspects, similarities and differences from different texts and areas were found. As for the first aspect, there is objective evidence that tends to writing homogenization, such as (i) the organization of articles in “Introduction, Methodology, Results and Discussion” or “Introduction, Theoretical Section and Conclusion”; (ii) linguistic choices such as the use of the passive voice and the forms that indeterminate the subject, such as the *se* (one/it) particle.

At the same time, there are aspects that distinguish the articles from each area and characterize subjective evidences which tend to writing heterogeneity, such as (iii) subject matter choice, (iv) variation in the amount of authors, (v) use of verbal

---

<sup>8</sup> This methodological proposal for the texts analysis by genre elements is justified for research purposes. Since they have an indissoluble character in the concrete materialization of the utterance, when dealing with composition and style, consequently, it is necessary to re-address the theme.

and non-verbal resources; (vii) submission to the Ethics Committee; (viii) language style with variations in the person of discourse, in verb use, pronouns, expressions and blunt explanations.

Through the above-mentioned aspects, it is possible to discuss what confers a more objective and/or subjective character to writing, as well as to approach the issue of writing heterogeneity and homogeneity.

## **Objectivism and subjectivism in the articles of different areas: brief analysis**

In this section, we highlight the articles of each area of knowledge: Humanities, Engineering, Social Science, Health, Linguistics and Exact Sciences. Despite pre-existent categories of analysis focused on composition, style, theme of the article genre and other aspects (listed in the items *i* and *viii* of Methodology), it was decided to organize the analysis by knowledge area, reviewing some aspects whether necessary. Thus, there was no data segmentation and the reader could understand what specifically pervades the writing of each studied area.

The theme of the scientific article genre aims at communicating the results of the research, ideas and debates according to the area of knowledge and the researcher subject, within a series of possible thematic options, selects one of them to address, sharing his/her choice with other discursive subjects. Therefore, it can be stated that the thematic choice subjectively characterizes the scientific writing due to its own singularity.

The Human Sciences article (subarea: History) is entitled: *Why do humans act the way they do? Answers based on human nature and its reviewers* and aims to bring one of the possible answers to the title question.

On the subject, the utterance is organized and combined. Human Sciences articles are usually structured in three distinct sections: "Introduction, Theoretical Section(s) and Conclusion". There is no mention of the methodology, instruments of analysis or results sections, although they address issues which lead to the analysis of a topic of study. Moreover, the discussions revolve around theoretical points and they are responsible for supporting the ideas expressed and for the highlighted arguments.

Considering that the architectural form of the text is permeated by ethical-moral values and by objectives which delimit the content and the material, there are elements in its composition which allow subjectivity to be dealt with in the humanities article. The first of them, according to Coracini (1991), is the very organization of the scientific argument that will function as a persuasion strategy.

The Human Sciences area asks questions to guide the writing, although there are no explicit indications to the reader's role in answering them. From the title of the article *Why do humans act the way they do?* the abstract: *What explains the behaviors and actions of human beings?* until the theoretical sections: *collective or individual, natural or social/cultural?*, there is the frequent use of questions searching for answers through

the researcher's ideas which are added to other theorists'. It is a way of involving the reader in the search for answers, even if they are given by the researcher him/herself who states: "I will only *elaborate* one of the possible ways to answer the question in the title (Human sciences article, p. 19, emphasis added). For Amorim (2004), the patterns of division and organization of the text reveal the otherness. Moreover, the relationship between questions and answers is a way of responding to the other's questions in order to act in one's utterance.

The organization of arguments in the article composition can also be justified because the research brings out a more theoretical-documentary trait, which is organized in theoretical sections with discussions about human nature. Such structure aims at reaching a possible answer to the study question: *Why do humans act the way they do?* Thus, it approaches theories in specific sections through written verbal language, and it seeks to lead to the formation of an opinion about the theme. Thereby, in the end, one may perceive nuances of preferences for the social and cultural bias regarding human acting. There is no focus on highlighting only a panorama on the theme, yet, on establishing relationships between the theories, expressing opinions and assigning a rather subjective mode of text discussion.

The article in the Human Sciences area is characterized by the evidence of subjectivity in the thematic and compositional scopes of the genre. Besides that, it is conveyed in the linguistic choices made. While the other areas seek to erase the figure of the declarative subject, the Humanities article uses resources to emphasize it. For example, more subjective pronouns are employed,<sup>9</sup> acting "as a point of support for the clarification of subjectivity in language" (BENVENISTE, 1992, p. 53 apud RODRIGUES, 2009, p. 6) in a dialogue with other classes: demonstrative pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, to name a few.

The recommended subjective pronoun to be used in the scientific discourse genre is "it", the neutral or non-personal one. However, in addition to it, the use of the first person singular "I" and first person plural "we" was found in the Human Sciences article, which facilitates the hybridization of the role established by the researcher in the text:

[...] I will only *elaborate* one of the possible ways to answer the question of the title (p. 19) [...] *We will find* numerous questions such as these in the article. *Here, I selected* some, previous *in my opinion* (p. 20) [...] further along, *I will get into* some detail over these approaches post-1964 [...] *I would like to refer* to [...] (p. 26). (Human Sciences Article, p. 19, 20 and 26, emphasis added).

---

<sup>9</sup> For the most part of this research study, the first-person marks and modalization are considered as characteristics of heterogeneous writing, depending on the scientific articles which are objects of analysis. However, it is understood that in other situations, the marked presence of the self may also indicate the predominance of a single voice over the heterogeneity of other discourses, given the different conditions of text production.

In the highlighted examples, there is the use of verbs in the first person of singular: “I will elaborate”, “I selected”, “I would like to refer to”, and verbs in the first person of plural: “we will find”, which are marks of subjectivity and inter subjectivity used by the enunciator, since the text seeks to promote, in a way, the relationship between questions and answers. Moreover, the deixis indicator – the adverb, organizes the spatial relationship around the researcher, taking “here” as a point of reference. The subjective pronoun “we” is used by the author meaning that: either the researcher privileges himself as the main enunciator or s/he remains in doubt as to which of the “we” are affirming it. In this case, specifically, there is the search for the involvement between what the researcher and the reader can find in the text. The use of “we” can be considered a way of deleting the subject enunciator and attenuating the focus on the person (AMORIM, 2004), but it may also represent the search for the researcher’s involvement with his reader.

Furthermore, the article is characterized by the strong researcher’s voice in the sense that besides the use of pronouns and verbs in the first person, some blunt expressions and explanations are used in order to argue about the theories the author brings to discussion. For example:

[...] *I would like to refer to* which, as much in evolutionary biology as in related studies [...], it is possible to observe the metaphors that *I consider unfortunate* [...] expressions such as: “selfish gene” by Dawkins have proliferated; [...] These metaphors are, *in my view, misleading and, therefore, not very useful*. To give a single example: a gene does not interact with anything nor can have intentions [...] An individual, therefore, may eventually be characterized as selfish; *but a gene cannot!* (Human Sciences Article, p. 26, emphasis added).

Human institutions are numerous [...] in order to explain that success depend on the mere fact of leaving offspring! (Human Sciences Article, p. 34, emphasis added).

*Now*, in my view, this conviction is revealed as *doubtful* (Human Sciences Article, p. 36, emphasis added)

*Delightfully* ideological is also the opinion expressed by Morris Silver that Israel prophets’ vision was evil [...] What a *terrible* crime against our majesty, the market! (Human Sciences Article, p. 42, emphasis added).

Unlike texts of other areas, while proposing the search for answers about human action, a human sciences article is quite categorical in its statements of the researcher’s evident positions regarding the items exposed. His style of language is pictorial when using the other’s word (AMORIM, 2004), because interference may be observed in a very marked way. Moreover, it is not restricted only to the direct and literal quotations

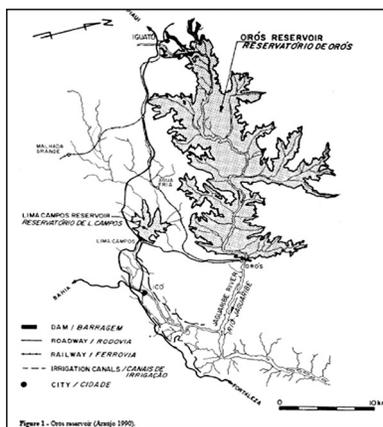
which indicate a weak form of representation of the other’s word (AMORIM, 2004). In the highlighted excerpt, adjectives and expressions are used, such as “unfortunate”, “equivocal”, “unhelpful”, “doubtful”, pointing out the researcher’s opinion in relation to theories which deal with man’s nature. The researcher uses the other’s word as a way of establishing a dialogue; s/he uses a few direct quotations; s/he privileges indirect citations and paraphrases to reformulate the other’s discourse and fit it in with the text reality (BOCH, 2013).

Another feature that is quite evident in the article writing is the use of exclamation marks (“a gene cannot!”, “leaving offspring!”, “the market!”), as well as question marks (conveyed in the title of the article), which attribute a more forceful, personal sense to the discourse. It is a rhetorical device to induce the reading of the period differently, which supposes an emotional state compatible with the conveyed sense. Thus, such device helps the researcher to imaginatively construct a virtual dialogue with the enunciator. The use of the adverb “delightfully”, which modifies the “ideological” term, appears as evidence of the researcher’s opinion about Morris’ ideas. The use of “delightfully” is not something recurrent in academic writing, due to the personal trait of expressing opinion about a fact.

The Engineering area (subarea: Engineering III) provides the article, “Risk analysis in Orós dam spillway by excess of affluent flow” (original title). The article addresses the possibility of the water level overpassing in Orós dam spillway project and evaluates the empirical formula contained in the original project.

The article is organized in the following sections: “Introduction, Methodology, Results and Discussion”, because it is an experimental research and uses verbal and non-verbal language in the data submission, a means which can lead to the area characterization. The images/figures are displayed at the introduction of the text, in the historical contextualization section of the Orós dam. One of them is of the reservoir map:

**Figure 1** – Reservoir map displayed in the Introduction of the article



Source: Engineering articles (p.406).

The map image, for example, is displayed in order to inform the reader about the location of the reservoir. There is a dialogue with the article current discourse, as a way of illustrating what the researcher has said: “The Orós dam is located in the municipality of Orós, 450 km from Fortaleza [...] (Figure 1) (Engineering articles, p. 405).

According to Miller (1998), visual elements in scientific articles have increased over the years; thus some scholars have devoted to study them<sup>10</sup>. In order to verify how scientific articles in the Electrical Engineering field combine verbal and non-verbal text, Nascimento (2002), for example, states that the use and meaning of non-verbal texts, such as figures and tables, are defined by disciplinary values “[...] according to which it is not conceived to analyze the practices of a discipline in a way that it is disconnected from its production and consumption context.” (NASCIMENTO, 2002, p. 2). For the author, the relationship between verbal and non-verbal text in academic articles is the choice of an academic community, not only regarding the formal scope of the genre (text structure), but also the discursive scope. In other words, he considers “[...] the text as a mediator of social interaction and as a vehicle for values and meanings of particular groups [...]” (NASCIMENTO, 2002, p. 3).

In a way, in the academy, especially in the Human Sciences, there is frequent use of purely verbal genres (NASCIMENTO, 2002). However, the dialogue between verbal and non-verbal information is responsible for the message constructed in the text, since scientific research articles depend on the use of visual representations such as graphs, tables, images (LEMKE, 1998).

In the article analyzed there are two figures in addition to eight tables for displaying materials and methods, results and discussion. These elements characterize one of the heterogeneity traits regarding the construction of the Engineering text, compared to those from other areas in this paper. That is due to the fact that Social Sciences employ only figures, whereas Health Sciences employs only tables. The verbal-visual marks observed in scientific articles are characterized as “an declarative-discursive dimension which reveals (individual or collective) authorship” (BRAIT, 2013, p. 62).

Some scholars<sup>11</sup>, as pointed out by Nascimento (2002), assert that regarding the distribution of non-verbal means, the section which brings them together are Results and Discussion. In the Engineering area, non-verbal resources are found in the Materials and Methods section (one figure and three tables), Results (five tables) and Discussion (one table). According to Volpato (2015), if the research focus is on the Results, and these are conveyed as numbers, consequently the best way to organize the data is by using tables.

---

<sup>10</sup> In order to group evidence to support the analysis of scientific articles, since there is a greater recurrence of studies aimed at scientific dissemination articles, this work will highlight research studies which include the verbal-visual condition of language as a discursive production and as an object of study, citing them in dialogue, in view of the relevance of the discussions.

<sup>11</sup> Researchers who address the relationship between verbal and non-verbal language in scientific texts: Johns (1998); Busch-Lauer (1998); Palmer and Posteguillo (1998), Hemais (2001).

In this article, for example, in the Discussion section, the results are presented and the risk analysis indicators are summarized through table eight, highlighted below:

**Figure 2** – Table from one of the Engineering articles

Method	b = 160; H <sub>adm</sub> = 8.5	b = 146; H <sub>adm</sub> = 8.5	b = 160; H <sub>adm</sub> = 9.0	b = 146; H <sub>adm</sub> = 9.0
AFOSM	0.3415%	0.6453%	0.1738%	0.3565%
PEM	0.0057%	0.0217%	0.0013%	0.0062%
Monte Carlo	0.2000%	0.2000%	0.0000%	0.0000%

Source: Engineering Articles (p. 414).

For Miller (1998), one advantage of using non-verbal texts, such as tables, is that they evidence a reality that is difficult to describe verbally. In order to introduce the table, the researcher uses verbal written language, using “anticipation and recapitulation” markers (NASCIMENTO, 2002, p. 19). For example, before actually displaying the table, the researcher assumes that it will summarize the calculations exposed during the text: “Table VIII summarizes all the calculations” (Engineering Articles, p. 414). Based on Swales and Feak (1994), Nascimento (2002) states that this anticipation is the first part of the organization of the comments which accompany the non-verbal text. Next, there is a description of the content: “Where: PEM is the “Point Estimate Method”; B the free length of the spill way(m)” etc. (Engineering Articles, p. 414) and, finally the concluding comment: “In the same Table VIII, we see that the risks to overpass the water depth of the project are almost insignificant [...]”.

Data organization and presentation by means of tables are part of the researcher’s choices and characterize the area. The Engineering article was configured by a quite precise English text, using the pronoun “we” in specific moments of the article: “We made” (Engineering Articles, p. 408); “we considered” (Engineering Articles, p. 409); “we found” (Engineering Articles, p. 414); “we used” (Engineering Articles, p. 414). However, by the very general characteristic of the text, which prioritizes a rather objective language, this use was only due to seeking generalization and it highlights a more massive and indefinite person (AMORIM, 2004), since there are no other explicit marks of subjectivity in the text. The impersonal tone conveyed in the text is closely related to the type of data show through tables with such detailed information.

According to Nascimento (2002), it is considered that Engineering, like other hard sciences, developed its own visual means to deal with what it researches, since only written linguistic resources were not enough to fulfill its cognitive and communicative needs: “[...] the fact that engineers use a high index of non-verbal texts in the structure of scientific articles reinforces the notion that we can no longer ignore the hybrid constitution of academic genres.” (NASCIMENTO, 2002, p. 101), since graphs, tables, etc. bring about proper meaning to the subject.

Another element which enables the discussion about the marks of subjectivity in academic writing is the use of the English language, since it is part of the journal standards. When considering writing from international journals, as in the case of the



article under review, familiarity with non-verbal language “may, to a certain extent, ease difficulties with the verbal code” (NASCIMENTO, 2002, p. 102) given the universality of the non-verbal language. Miller (1998) states that there is a rather precise description when employing numbers [...] figures; thus, the researcher groups ideas and understands them (NASCIMENTO, 2002).

The fact that the Engineering journal establishes “articles written in clear and concise English” as standards for submission responds actively to what is expected in the universe of academic publication, since scientific articles assure scientific influence through language. The journal from which the article was extracted is a pioneer in Brazil, dating from 1929, and its maintenance in stratum A1 requires the response to factors such as internationalization<sup>12</sup>.

The Social Sciences article (subarea: Social Service), *The social workers’ occupational space: their juridical and political framework*, aims at gathering the legal-political safeguards available for the challenges found in social workers’ job and seeks to know if they are enough to qualify the professional practice.

As for the compositional form, the text is organized in three sections: “Introduction, Theoretical Section(s) and Conclusion”. Moreover, the discussions address theoretical issues which support the text goals: “The normative pillars of professional practice”, “The 30-hours- law: the most recent achievement”, the “Legal-political apparatus concerning the socio-occupational space”, “The council’s audit action “ and “Law processes in progress”.

Because it is a documentary research, there is a detailed presentation of laws and resolutions which guide the work of the professional social assistance. For example, in the section about the bill on the wage floor, the paper states:

Authored by congresswoman Alice Portugal (PC do B-BA), it proposes to amend Law no. 8,662 / 1993, defining the wage floor for the category in the amount of R \$ 3,720.00 for a journey of 30 weekly hours and six daily hour shifts [...] The bill was approved with reservations [...] and currently awaits review (Social sciences article, p. 145).

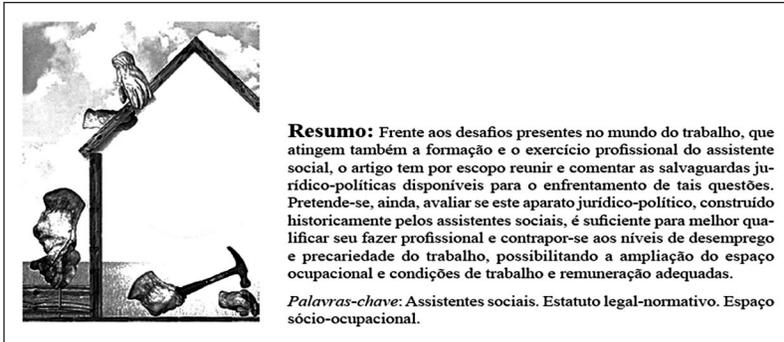
The researcher discusses laws, highlights fragments and elaborates a panorama on the subject, which allows the reader to have a general scenario of the legal-political development historically constructed by social workers.

Despite the predominance of verbal language, on the first page of the article, along with the title, author and abstract, there is a figure (there is only one in the text):

---

<sup>12</sup> In Fuza (2015), a more detailed discussion is presented on the role of the English language in academic production.

**Figure 3** – Image found in the introduction of the Social Sciences article



Source: Social Sciences Article (p. 131).

According to Volpato (2015), projections in scientific publications are still timid, but there is already a movement towards incorporating, for example, miniature figures at the beginning of the paper between the Abstract and the Introduction. The insertion of the figure seems to happen in the Social Sciences text. The image used complete text information, since it represents the building of a house foundation through the help of subjects.

Different from the image used in the engineering article, it is upon the reader to infer that the text will deal with elements which provide a basis for the discussion of the “legal-political apparatus historically *constructed* by social workers” (Social sciences article, p. 131, emphasis added), and elaborate a meaning for its use in the text. In the abstract, the researcher relies on the term “constructed” as a reference to the process of constitution of legal and political elements which are elaborated in the course of time by several hands, just as the image registers. The visual element articulates with the verbal “[...] in different ways in each statement, interfering in the compositional form, in the style and, consequently, in the themes produced. They are, therefore, verb-visually constituted projects of knowledge construction [...]” (BRAIT, 2013, p. 62).

According to Lemke (1998), scientists build their logical arguments by means of verbal information in dialogue with other expressions as images, that is to say, unique visual genres, unique to that moment of discourse production. Hemais (2001) states that academic articles, due to the popularization of science studies, establish a narrative of science. That is to say, we try to organize the events in order to defend a thesis, presupposing an audience of peers interested in the proposed study. The image displayed by the researcher indicates, in a way, the elaboration of the apparatus which underlies the social worker’s work and it is configured as a concept, since it manages to reduce, in a single resource, the central theme of the text. In general, the scientific article with the visual and the verbal help in the construction of scientific knowledge, “plotting the two languages”, adding values (BRAIT, 2013, p. 60).

In the Social Sciences area, there are traits which allow subjectivity to be addressed, such as the authors' and theorists' choices in order to ground discussion, while the style of the text seems to point out to the researcher's distance from the object studied or from the enunciator and enunciate. Therefore, linguistic resources are used as an attempt to mask subjectivity, as in the highlighted excerpt:

By its publication, *it is intended* not only having a pedagogical function for [...] the social workers' training. *It is envisaged* to critically evaluate whether this juridical-political apparatus [...] is now sufficient to better qualify its attributions and competences and *counteract* the levels of unemployment. (Social Sciences Article, p. 134, emphasis added).

The use of the passive voice and forms which indeterminate the agent subject, such as the particle itself, produces a distancing effect, for example: "It is intended not only..." (Social Sciences Article, p. 134), among other examples.

The Health Sciences article (subarea: Nursing), "Moral distress in nursing workers", seeks to analyze the frequency and intensity of moral suffering experienced by nursing workers in the South of Brazil. This is an experimental study, organized in the sections "Introduction, methodology, results and discussion".

One of the marks of subjectivity is the number of authors provided in the text. This factor is not only a formal matter of constitution of the article according to the journals standards, but an understanding that addresses the academic community that these subject- researchers are a part of. According to Sanches (2009), the authors's voice and their affiliations grant the text and the research some credibility. The Health Sciences article brings forward six authors and distance from other areas: one author (Social and Human Sciences, Engineering, Linguistics) and two authors (Exact Sciences).

The literature highlights the growth of sharing scientific production and, according to the area of knowledge, such as the Health Sciences, there is a reduction of the works signed by a single researcher. Scientific collaboration can be established amid knowledge networks through interactions between subjects, as it seems to occur in the Health Sciences article analyzed, because they are connected with "Federal University of Rio Grande".

One of the factors which favor the collaboration or the co-authorship is the research area and its nature. According to Smith (1958), theoretical works produce articles with fewer authors than experimental ones. This finding is noticed in the case of the articles analyzed in this paper, because, while there are six authors in the Health Science experimental study, the theoretical study, centered on documentary research, as in the Social Sciences area, brings only one.

In the analysis of the article, another trace of subjectivity is the use of verbal and non-verbal elements. In the Results section, the Health Sciences area uses three tables which allow the visualization of the perceptions regarding moral suffering in the analyzed teams. Busch-Lauer (1998) deals with the use of non-verbal elements in

Medical/Health sciences articles. According to him, the section which brings these texts together are mostly those of Results and Discussion, as observed in this study, and visual representations are used in practically all texts.

Its presentation form is quite standard. The tables are displayed after paragraphs exposing the results, as a form of data systematization. There is a textual explanation of the data and, by means of a cataphoric term, it signals the reader that, in the sequence, s/he will find the table: “The descriptive analysis (*Table 1*) allowed us to identify the perceptions of nursing teams” (Health Sciences Article, p. 4, emphasis added); “From the analyzes of variance performed (*Table 2*), some correlations [...]” (Health Sciences article, p. 5, emphasis added) etc.

One of the factors which characterize the writing of the article in the Health Sciences area is the approval of the work by the Ethics Committee: “The project was previously evaluated and approved by the Research Ethics Committee, with Opinion n. 70/2010.” (Health Sciences Article, p. 3), demonstrating the ethical response of the text to the legislation of research and “the collective construction of science as a collective patrimony” (FAPESP, 2012, p. 9).

The style of the text tends to objectivism, since it values, among other factors, the use of the third person, “[...] it was observed that *disrespect to the patient's autonomy* reached the highest average in the study, followed by the *insufficient working conditions construct*” (Health Sciences Article, p. 6, emphasis in the original). Although the researchers applied the questionnaire and tabulated the data, in the Discussion they try to be unbiased and highlight the strength of the data found. According to Volpato (2015), many journals present impersonal writing rather due to the custom than based on the logic of academic writing, because there are attempts to change the use of language nowadays, with a focus on personalities in writing, as in some foreign or international journals.

The authors present the data by means of verbs in the past to indicate actions that have already occurred: “The lack of competence in the work team *constituted* the construct that *presented* the greatest cause of MS in workers [...]” (Health Sciences Article, p. 6, emphasis added). In the discussion, in turn, there is a predominance of modalization. For example, “The perception of MS *seems* strongly associated with the need to exercise power [...] which *may represent* the need for confrontations of conflicts” (Health Sciences article, p. 6, emphasis added). The combined verbs “it seems” and “may represent” (modal auxiliary: verb “to be able to” and “represent”), indicate in a way doubt and/or uncertainty about the arguments, because they are interpretations on the data. According to Volpato (2015, p. 9), for a long time, it was assumed “that any reader, based on the data showed in the article, should arrive at the same conclusion as the author”, it was said: “It is concluded”, because everyone reaches the same conclusion. The article presently analyzed, while affirming something, and then, while modifying it, seems to propose the dialogue between the authors’ voices, opening up the way for possible readers’ answers.

The article, “The constitution of school writing as an object of linguistic analysis studies”, from Linguistics, Language and Arts area (subarea Language / Linguistics), addresses school writing: “In this article we observe the emergence of academic interest in written production of a scholarly nature – more specifically, textual production called *school writing*” (Linguistics, Language and Arts article, p. 283, emphasis added). Furthermore, the *corpus* of analysis consists of the “first articles on school writing published in the country” (Linguistics, Language and Arts Article, p. 284).

It is a documentary research, organized in the following sections: “Introduction, Theoretical sections merged with Discussion and Conclusion”, through verbal language. In order to expose the reader to the way writing was constituted for linguistic studies, the author highlights the following main sections: “The period of emergency of the school essay as object of linguistic analysis”, “Analysis based on linguistic knowledge”, “The opposition to the normative, arbitrary and non-exhaustive character of the traditional grammatical studies”, “The opposition to the notion of linguistic incompetence”, “The causes attributed to the problems found in school writing” and “The period of emergency: the constitutive controversy”.

The text renders a standard article writing compositional form. This fact is in the same trend as the results presented by Miranda (2016, p. 2), who observed “the reshaping of displaying forms in academic articles” in Applied Linguistics (AL) journals. For the author, the articles did not adhere to the “new formats for the displaying of scientific research contents” (MIRANDA, 2016, p. 11), as well as they remain with intercalated images and graphics, link indications, etc. Despite the finding, it states that it cannot be concluded that the articles published in AL are outdated compared to other areas, because it is necessary to consider the specificities of the area, the type of research, and the like.

As for the article writing style, it falls on the objectivity of writing, the erasing of the enunciating subject and focusing on the object of analysis. The article, as well as any discourse, presents its singularities according to the theme (school writing), theoretical choices (analysis according to French discursive perspective), the use of predominantly verbal language, etc.

From the Exact Sciences area (subarea: Teaching<sup>13</sup>), the following article is highlighted: *Reading and writing in the construction of mathematical knowledge in high school*, which investigates reading and writing strategies in mathematics teaching and the instrument through which students express their perceptions, the portfolio, during the teaching and learning process.

The article is organized in the following way: “Introduction, Methodology, Results and Discussion” and “Data Analysis”, a specific section in which the researcher analyzes the data he collected and discussed in the Methodology section. It is a more experimental sort of research which analyzes a problem, focused on the role of intervention in

---

<sup>13</sup> The fact that the subarea of the journal is “Teaching” will influence the constitution of the Exact Sciences article. Despite this, it was chosen to highlight it, since, at the time of collection, it was the only Brazilian A1 journal in this area and the texts that constitute it are all addressed to questions of teaching, involving mathematical issues.

Mathematics classes using portfolios to build knowledge. The theory is highlighted during the Introduction section and/or Results, since there is no specific section in the text, as it follows:

As for the last three students, it can be concluded that most of the instruments used and the activities carried out were hampered by their non-participatory attitude [the students'] [...] For Vygotsky (2001) the each individual's characteristics are being formed from the constant interaction with the environment [...] (Exact Sciences Article, p. 521).

The journal subarea in which the article is published is "Teaching" and this directly influences its constitution, since most of the cited authors belong to educational context, with a predominance of Vygotsky's quotations.

Similar to the Social Sciences and Linguistics articles, the language style lies in the objective molds of academic language. The use of modalization seems to bring a rather subjective feature to the text. According to Coracini (1991), this makes the enunciator assume with greater or lesser force what s/he states. This notion does not exclude scientific discourse even if it is characterized by the use of linguistic elements capable of "making one believe" (Exact Sciences article, p. 113) in the impartiality of the research. The author approaches the modalization through a pragmatic bias<sup>14</sup>, as an argumentative resource, "in favor of the enquirer's desire for impartiality which, despite this, reveals himself surreptitiously judging, evaluating, justifying his research, suggesting new research" (CORACINI, 1991, 121).

In the Exact Sciences article, in the "Results" section, the following examples can be observed:

Regarding the twelfth student, *one can conclude* that the instruments used and the activities carried out had a reasonable result, and that most of the problems *seem to be* due to difficulties with the Portuguese language [...] As for the last three students, it can be concluded that most of the instruments used and the activities carried out were hampered by their non-participatory attitude [the students'] [...] As for the last three students, it can be concluded that most of the instruments used and the activities carried out *may have been* hampered by their non-participatory attitude [the students'] (Exact Sciences Article, p. 520, emphasis added).

The excerpt shows the use of the modals by means of modal auxiliary (modal verbs "may" and "have"), in order to indicate that the results were reasonable regarding the activities performed. The researcher begins by saying: "one can conclude that [...]";

---

<sup>14</sup> The study of the modality can be amplified from Lyons (1977), in the work *Semantics*, and from Palmer (1986) in *Mood and modality*.

from that, in postulating the results, there is the use of expressions that suggest the presence, although hidden, of someone who judges, comments, as in “seems to be more [...]”. This is a way to disengage the researcher; however, it is observed that there are verified results. There is no categorical statement of the results: “may have hampered his/her development”.

The Exact Sciences area is the one that most uses the modulator resource. By using this element, the researcher intends not to be responsible in a way for what he says, demarcating doubt and uncertainty as to his/her arguments. Thus, questions, objections and attenuation of the subjectivity marks are avoided, which does not fail to reveal signs of the enunciator’s involvement with the enunciate itself, but it creates the effect of a sense of objectivity.

### **Results and discussion: differences and similarities of articles from different areas**

In the study of the scientific article discourse genre, there are relations between the homogeneous and heterogeneous aspects of writing. Some of them are responsible for the similarities among the texts of the different areas of knowledge, marked in the compositional and stylistic scopes of the genre, making the texts more homogeneous, such as: (i) the organization of articles in “Introduction, Methodology, Results and Discussion” or “Introduction, Theoretical Section and Conclusion”; (ii) linguistic choices, such as the use of the passive voice and the forms which indeterminate the subject, such as the *se* (one/it) particle.

As for the first element, there is standardization in the composition of texts, which is based mainly on academic discourses, such as the ABNT or the journals themselves, which can be understood by their norms. Furthermore, the type of research, while it characterizes the area, also leads to the standardization of the text format. The analyzed articles of the Human and Social Sciences areas organize the text according to the sections: Introduction, Theory and Conclusion, since they are documentary research<sup>15</sup>; the experimental works in the Health, Linguistics and Engineering areas show: Introduction, Methodology, Results and Discussion, adding data analysis in the case of the Exact Sciences. Thus, there is little variation in the areas regarding the compositional form.

The use of linguistic resources, in order to provide the distancing of the researcher-subject from the object, also constitutes an objective aspect, which standardizes writing. For example, in all areas, the use of the third person and the particle *se* (one/it) seen as a way of deleting the enunciator subject. These forms are not chosen randomly, but are responses to academic discourses, to the scientific spheres that postulate this normalization.

---

<sup>15</sup> These data suggests the reality of the analyzed articles and cannot be considered as a rule in the writing of other areas texts.

There is evidence of subjectivities that individualize the fields linked to compositional and stylistic aspects (compositional form and architectural form), which allows one to deal with heterogeneity as: (i) the choice of theme, (ii) variation in the number of authors in the text, (iii) the use of the English language, (iv) the use of verbal and non-verbal resources; (v) the issue of the Ethics Committee; (vi) language style, with variations in the person of discourse, the verbs employed, etc. This occurs because discourses have their “meaning determined by the contexts in which they are produced” (GOULART, 2006, p. 455).

In order to express his/her knowledge, the researcher-subject uses the scientific article and is surrounded by conditions of genre, imposed by ABNT, by the academic discourses which seek to standardize aspects of scientific writing. There is a dialogue between what is appropriate to the area, because the theme expresses a concrete historical situation, and general aspects related to the scientific sphere.

The Human Sciences article has as a compositional form: Introduction, Theory and Conclusion. However, the way in which the arguments are organized, the dialogues or discussion of the discourse place the area apart from all others, since they generally choose to organize a dialogue between theoretical texts and results obtained in their studies in an interchangeable way. The relation between question and answer occurs only in the Human Sciences area, since the text itself is constructed from this dubious relationship between asking and responding and aims at the otherness of the discourses which becomes highlighted throughout the text. According to Souza and Albuquerque (2012), the understanding of the topics which one wants to investigate in Human sciences research occurs through the researcher’s confrontations of ideas and negotiation of possible meanings. The alternation of questions and answers transforms the research study into a living process of producing meanings in terms of perceiving human nature, for the researcher does not only ask for answers, but, by asking and answering, “s/he poses himself/herself as a subject and from the researcher’s standpoint, s/he brings forth diverse perspectives and values “(SOUZA, ALBUQUERQUE, 2012, p. 308) in such a way that, in parts or moments of the text, s/he puts him/herself as the “I” of the discourse.

To a certain extent, in the Human Sciences article, the style conveyed the researcher’s value judgment of the subject, because it necessarily depends on what he wants to state. If there were, in the organization of the arguments, the alternation between subjects, consequently, it is up to the researcher to place himself in the text, impressing a particular style upon it. To do so, linguistic aspects such as the use of the first-person pronoun, expressions and explanations in the moments of theoretical discussions, pictorial citations and punctuation marks are needed attributing a personal meaning to what is being exposed in the discourse

In the Health area, two elements potentiate dealing with subjectivity, since they are not observed in other areas. The first one is the fact that the article is written by six authors, whereas others highlight one or two. Some factors promote cooperation among each other in the academy, such as: the research area and the interdisciplinarity



of Modern Science, which imposes the dialogue among researchers from various fields; the economic factors regarding the high costs of equipment/investment, such as in the Health area; the social factors related to the researcher's professional and personal network (LUUKKONEN; PERSSON; SILVERTSEN, 1992) etc.

The Health area article also acknowledges the Ethics Committee, an argument that is not included in texts of other areas, although it is delimited in the journal publication norms. The article in the Health area shows heterogeneous writing regarding ethical aspects, once in other areas the texts analyzed do not show concern about that factor. Perhaps this is due to the nature of research, as in the case of the Social and Human Sciences, which indicate a more theoretical and discursive treatment; Linguistics, Exact Sciences and Engineering focus on analytical objects and not on the human being. Therefore, in these areas, there is no room to address ethical issues.

The language style tends to objectivism, although it makes use of modalization in some parts of the text, as it happens in the Exact Sciences area differing from the others, specifically because of that and of the subject matter.

Another element which enable speaking about heterogeneity is writing in the English language, as it is observed in the Engineering area article. In addition to that, the use of verbal and non-verbal elements are characteristic of three areas only: Health, Engineering and Social Science. The images are used in the Engineering and Social articles; in the latter the figure is displayed as a way of introducing the article. In the case of Engineering, the figures emerge in dialogue with the current discourse of the article as a way of illustrating what is said, and make the text a descriptive legend for what is discussed, unlike the Social area which does not show any explanatory link between text and image, and it is up to the reader to make inferences.

In addition to images, tables are used to introduce research results, specifically in the case of the experimental studies of Engineering and Health, which are considered as a characteristic of the areas. According to Brait (2013, p. 60), the use of visual resources is not a simple illustration, since “[...] they participate in the construction of the knowledge that is being exposed, in the constitutive dialogue with the verbal element.”

Considering that there is a verbal-visual dimension essential to the comprehension of the analyzed articles, it can be understood as a moment of the organization of the verbal-visual material in the compositional form and as a materialization of the authors' discursive project. This is because verbal and non-verbal resources refer not only to the compositional aspect of the genre but to the discursive design of the areas, escaping the “transparency of the strictly linguistic” (CORRÊA, 2013b, p. 11).

## **Final Remarks**

This paper aimed to analyze scientific articles from different areas of knowledge – Human Sciences, Engineering, Social Sciences, Health Sciences, Linguistics, Language

and Arts and Exact and Earth Sciences, parting from the elements that constitute the genre.

The analysis of the articles enabled to verify that, although the academic-scientific discourse tends towards objectivity, considering the mainly linguistic means, there is evidence of subjectivity in all areas, since every statement is constituted by the dialogism between the subjective and the objective. What happens in writing is that some areas may present greater nuances of subjectivity, while others insist on the assumed objectivity of scientific discourse and seek impartiality (exception from all subjectivity). The declarative-discursive regularities, especially at the compositional and stylistic levels of the texts, also considering the subject matter, enabled us to deal with the objectivity and subjectivity of writing as ways of characterizing the areas, approaching them according to aspects such as: the organization of texts and linguistic choices, and differentiating them according to aspects such as the choice of theme, variation in the number of authors, use of verbal and non-verbal language, etc.

The results of the analysis point out to the need of thinking the articles writing according to the areas of knowledge in order to single them out, despite what is stable in the texts. This would make it possible to present the researcher-subject, besides norms of the linguistic scope, aspects that characterize his/her area of knowledge which often remain hidden from the writer and may directly influence the written production.

FUZA, A. Objetivismo/subjetivismo em artigos científicos das diferentes áreas: a heterogeneidade da escrita acadêmica. Alfa, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.629-656, 2017.

- *RESUMO: A existência do discurso que postula a homogeneização da escrita acadêmico-científica no processo de constituição do texto é a problemática que desencadeou esta pesquisa. Nesse sentido, o objetivo deste estudo é analisar artigos científicos brasileiros de periódicos A1 das diferentes áreas do conhecimento a partir dos elementos que constituem os gêneros, forma composicional, estilo e temática, delimitando aspectos que tendem ao objetivismo e ao subjetivismo nos textos. O trabalho se pauta nos pressupostos dialógicos do Círculo de Bakhtin, no tocante aos gêneros, ao objetivismo e subjetivismo, e nas pesquisas desenvolvidas segundo os princípios dos Novos Estudos do Letramento. Os resultados apontam que: a) todo enunciado é constituído de elementos subjetivos e objetivos; b) os aspectos que evidenciam objetividade e subjetividade marcam-se predominantemente na forma composicional (e arquitetônica) e no estilo dos textos, em diálogo com a temática; c) os artigos das diferentes áreas se assemelham, ao tratar de elementos que tendem à objetividade, como forma composicional e recursos linguísticos; d) os artigos diferem quando apresentam aspectos que, embora estejam na materialidade verbal, encontram significação no contexto extraverbal, perpassando a subjetividade, como escolha temática; variação no número de autores no texto etc.; e) a existência de nuances de objetividade e de subjetividade permite caracterizar a escrita nas áreas de forma heterogênea.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Objetivismo. Subjetivismo. Escrita acadêmica. Artigo científico.*

## REFERENCES

- AMORIM, M. **O pesquisador e seu outro: Bakhtin nas Ciências Humanas**. São Paulo: Musa, 2004.
- BAKHTIN, M. M. The problem of speech genres. In: BAKHTIN, M. M. **Speech genres and other late essays**. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1986. p. 60-102.
- BAKHTIN, M. M. **Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics**. Translated by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1984.
- BAKHTIN, M. M. **Toward a philosophy of the act**. Translated by Vadim Liapunov. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- BAKHTIN, M. M.; VOLOSHINOV, V. N. Les frontières entre poétique et linguistique. In.: TODOROV, T. **Mikhaïl Bakhtine: le principe dialogique**. Paris: Seuil, 1981. p. 243-285.
- BUSCH-LAUER, I. Non-verbal elements and data commentary in English medical texts. In: FORTANET, I.; POSTEGUILLO, S.; PALMER, J. C.; COLL, J. F. (Eds.). **Genres studies in English for academic purposes**. Castelló: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 1998. p.109-132.
- BOCH, F. Former les doctorants à l'écriture de la thèse em exploitant les études descriptives de l'écrit scientifique. **Linguagem em (Dis)curso**, Tubarão-SC, v. 13, p. 543-568, set./dez. 2013.
- BRAIT, B. Olhar e ler: verbo-visualidade em perspectiva dialógica. **Bakhtiniana**, São Paulo, v. 8, n. 2, p. 43-66, jul./dez. 2013.
- BRAIT, B. Construção coletiva da perspectiva dialógica: história e alcance teórico-metodológico. In: FÍGARO, R. (Org.). **Comunicação e análise do discurso**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2012. v. 1. p. 79-98.
- CEREJA, W. Significação e tema. In: BRAIT, B. (Org.). **Bakhtin: conceitos-chave**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2005. p. 201-220.
- CORACINI, M. J. O cientista e a noção de sujeito na linguística: expressão de liberdade ou submissão? In: ARROYO, R. (Org.). **O signo desconstruído: implicações para a tradução, a leitura e o ensino**. Campinas-SP: Pontes, 1992. p.19-24.
- CORACINI, M. J. **Um fazer persuasivo: o discurso subjetivo da ciência**. São Paulo: EDUC ; Campinas-SP: Pontes, 1991.
- CORRÊA, M. L. G. **Estudos linguísticos e ensino**. 2013. Mesa redonda proferida pelo professor Dr. Manoel Luis Gonçalves Corrêa ao 4º Congresso Nacional de Linguagens em Interação. Universidade Estadual de Maringá, Maringá, 2013a.

CORRÊA, M. L. G. Bases teóricas para o ensino da escrita. **Linguagem em (Dis)curso**, Tubarão- SC, v. 3, p. 481-513, set./dez. 2013b.

CORRÊA, M. L. G. As perspectivas etnográfica e discursiva no ensino da escrita: o exemplo de textos de pré-universitários. **Revista da ABRALIN**, Maceió, n. esp., p. 333-356, 2011. Disponível em: <<http://www.abralin.org/site/data/uploads/revistas/2011-vol-especial-2o-parte/manoel-luiz-goncalves-correa.pdf>>. Acesso em: 06 jun. 2013.

CORRÊA, M. L. G. Heterogeneidade da escrita: a novidade da adequação e a experiência do acontecimento. **Filologia e Linguística Portuguesa**, São Paulo, n. 8, p. 296-286, 2006.

CORRÊA, M. L. G. **O modo heterogêneo de constituição da escrita**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2004.

CORTES, G. R. O. Dialogismo e Alteridade no Discurso Científico. **Eutomia**, [S.l.], Ano II, n. 2, p. 1-11, dez. 2009. Available at: <[www.revistaeutomia.com.br/.../Dialogismo\\_e\\_Alteridade\\_no\\_Discurso](http://www.revistaeutomia.com.br/.../Dialogismo_e_Alteridade_no_Discurso)>. Accessed on: 10 jun. 2014.

FARACO, C. A. **Linguagem & diálogo**: as idéias linguísticas do círculo de Bakhtin. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2009.

FUNDAÇÃO DE AMPARO À PESQUISA DO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO [FAPESP]. **Documentos de interesse relacionados com Boas Práticas na Pesquisa Científica**. São Paulo, 2012. Available at: <<http://www.fapesp.br/6574>>. Accessed on: 10 ago. 2013.

FUZA, A. F. **A constituição dos discursos escritos em práticas de letramento acadêmico-científicas**. 2015. 368 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística Aplicada) - Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Campinas, 2015.

GOULART, C. Letramento e modos de ser letrado: discutindo a base teórico-metodológica do estudo. **Revista Brasileira de Educação**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 11, n. 33, p. 450-460, set./dez. 2006. Available at: <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbedu/v11n33/a06v1133.pdf>>. Accessed on: 10 set. 2013.

HEMAIS, B. The discourse of research and practice in marketing journals. **English for Specific Purposes**, [S.l.], v. 20, n. 1, p. 39-59, 2001.

JOHNS, A. The visual and the verbal: a case study in macroeconomics. **English for Specific Purposes**, [S.l.], v. 17, n. 2, p. 183-197, 1998.

LEA, M. R.; STREET, B. O modelo de “letramentos acadêmicos”: teoria e aplicações. Tradução de Fabiana Komesu e Adriana Fischer. **Filologia e Linguística Portuguesa**, São Paulo, v. 16, n. 2, p. 477-493, jul./dez. 2014.

LEMKE, J. Multiplying meaning: visual and verbal semiotics in scientific text. In: MARTIN, J. R.; VEEL, R. **Reading Science: critical and functional perspectives on discourses of science**. London: Routledge, 1998. p. 87-113.

LILLIS, T. Whose ‘common sense’? essayist literacy and the institutional practice of mystery. In: JONES, C.; TURNER, J.; STREET, B. (Org.). **Students writing in the university: cultural and epistemological issues**. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999. p. 127-140.

LUUKKONEN, T.; PERSSON, O.; SIVERTSEN, G. Understanding patterns of international scientific collaboration. **Science, Technology & Human Values**, Thousand Oaks, v. 17, n. 1, p.101-126, Winter 1992. Available at: <<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/689852?uid=2&uid=4&sid=21104256973951>>. Accessed on: 10 jun. 2014.

LYONS, J. **Semantics**. Cambridge: CUP, 1977. v.1.

MILLER, T. Visual persuasion: a comparison of visuals in academic texts and the popular press. **English for Specific Purposes**, [S.l.], v. 17, n. 1, p. 29-46, 1998.

MIRANDA, F. D. S. S. Interseções entre novos modelos de apresentação de artigos científicos e letramentos acadêmicos. **Travessias Interativas**, Ribeirão Preto, v. XI, p. 1-13, 2016. Available at: <[http://travessiasinterativas.com.br/\\_notes/vol11/flavia.pdf](http://travessiasinterativas.com.br/_notes/vol11/flavia.pdf)>. Accessed on: 10 jun. 2014.

NASCIMENTO, R. G. do. **A interface entre texto verbal e texto não-verbal no artigo acadêmico de engenharia elétrica**. 2002. 127 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Letras) - Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, 2002.

OHUSCHI, M. C. G. **Ressignificação de saberes na formação continuada: a responsividade docente no estudo das marcas linguístico-enunciativas dos gêneros notícia e reportagem**. 2013. 296 f. Tese (Doutorado em Estudos da Linguagem) – Universidade Estadual de Londrina, Londrina, 2013.

PALMER, F. R. **Mood and modality**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

PALMER, J. C.; POSTEGUILLO, S. Graphical input in linguistics research articles. In: FORTANET, I. et al. (Ed.). **Genres studies in English for academic purposes**. Castelló: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 1998. p. 253-267.

PASQUOTTE-VIEIRA, E. A. **Letramentos acadêmicos: (re)significações e (re) posicionamentos de sujeitos discursivos**. 2014. 262 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística Aplicada) – Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Campinas, 2014.

RODRIGUES, R. J. R. Marcas da subjetividade no gênero discursivo didático – científico. **Revista Eletrônica Letra Magna**, [S.l.], Ano 05, n. 11, p. 1-20, 2009.

RODRIGUES, R. H. **A constituição e o funcionamento do gênero jornalístico: cronotopo e dialogismo**. 2001. 347 f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística Aplicada e Estudos da Linguagem) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2001.

SANCHES, K. P. **Relações dialógicas em artigos científicos: análise de um periódico de saúde e segurança do trabalho**. 2009. 299 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Filologia e Língua Portuguesa) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2009.

SMITH, M. The trend toward multiple authorship in Psychology. **American Psychologist**, Washington, v. 13, n.10, p. 596-599, 1958. Available at: <<http://psycnet.apa.org/fulltext/1960-00275-001.pdf>>. Accessed on: 29 may 2014.

SOBRAL, A. **Do dialogismo ao gênero: as bases do pensamento do círculo de Bakhtin**. Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 2009.

SOUZA, S. J.; ALBUQUERQUE, E. D. P. A pesquisa em ciências humanas: uma leitura bakhtiniana. **Bakhtiniana**, São Paulo, v. 7, n. 2, p. 109-122, jul./dez. 2012. Available at: <<http://www.scielo.br/pdf/bak/v7n2/08.pdf>>. Accessed on: 10 may 2014.

STREET, B. Dimensões “escondidas” na escrita de artigos acadêmicos. **Perspectiva**, Florianópolis, v. 28, n. 2, 541-567, jul./dez. 2010.

STREET, B. “Hidden” features of academic paper writing. **Working Papers in Educational Linguistics**, [S.l.], v. 24, n. 1, p. 1-17, 2009.

STREET, B. **Literacy in theory and practice**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

SWALES, J. M.; FEAK, C. B. **Academic writing for graduate students**. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994.

VOLPATO, G. O método lógico para redação científica. **RECIIS: Revista Eletrônica de Comunicação Informação & Inovação em Saúde**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 9, n. 1, p. 1-14, jan.-mar. 2015. Available at: <[http://www.gilsonvolpato.com.br/new/multimedia/artigos/2\\_6fbfc0fa7d70897e18b1394d48d3c006.pdf](http://www.gilsonvolpato.com.br/new/multimedia/artigos/2_6fbfc0fa7d70897e18b1394d48d3c006.pdf)>. Accessed on: 12 dez. 2016.

VOLOŠINOV, V. N. Discourse in life and discourse in art. In: VOLOŠINOV, V. N. **Freudianism: a marxist critique**. Translated by I. R. Titunik. New York: Academic Press, 1976. p. 93-116.

VOLOŠINOV, V. N. **Marxism and the philosophy of language**. Translated by Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik, trans. New York: Seminar Press, 1973.

Received in April 2016

Approved in December 2016

# ANALYSIS OF *SUPER NOTÍCIA* POPULAR NEWSPAPER THROUGH A CRITICAL AND MULTIMODAL PERSPECTIVE

Leonardo Antonio SOARES\*

- **ABSTRACT:** This article aims to analyse, through the Critical Discourse Analysis and a Multimodal perspective, two front-pages of *Super Notícia*, a popular newspaper, to identify the relationship between the linguistic and image choices and the ideologies, hegemonies and persuasion strategies used by the newspaper's producers in search for interaction and acceptance of the product by the target audience. The analysis is based on linguistic aspects, passing through the image aspects until it reaches the explicit or implicit ideologies contained in the newspaper's front-page speech. "Critical Analysis" implies showing implicit connections and causes, since the relations between the discursive, social and cultural choices are not always transparent. The results show that, through discursive strategies, such as democratization and technologization, the newspaper seeks to persuade its audience and sell the product. Moreover, the images are used for the maintenance of practices and ideologies concerning gender, hegemony preservation and maintenance of some stereotypes.
- **KEYWORDS:** Newspaper. Persuasion. Popular. Critical analysis. Multimodality.

## Introduction

We deal with multimodal texts daily when we read newspapers, watch television, read a book, etc., and thus our semiotic framework of analysis should enable us to understand more about the contribution of the different modes in our ever-changing semiotic practices. Multimodality is being increasingly incorporated into the school curriculum and needs to be addressed in educational work. In addition to practical knowledge, it is necessary to have access to analytical tools that make such potentialities and the limits of those modalities more apparent and more susceptible to challenges and their redesign, if necessary. Literacy programs need to facilitate students' meta-analytic work. Through the critical analysis of the different media products, from different perspectives, we are contributing to the constitution of more reflexive and active human beings in the different layers of society.

---

\* Federal University of Jequitinhonha and Mucuri Valleys (UFVJM), Faculty of Humanities. Diamantina – MG – Brazil. Professor. leons@rocketmail.com

The aim of this article is to analyze, through the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodality, two front-pages of the Brazilian popular newspaper *Super Notícia* to identify linguistic and image choices, including the ideologies and power relations that underlie these elements. The analysis begins with a linguistic analysis based on the Systemic-Functional Grammar proposed by Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2013), on Appraisal theory (MARTIN, 2000), passes through the analysis of images based on Multimodality (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2006) to reach the analysis of the ideologies, persuasion and hegemonies contained in the front-pages analyzed, based on Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (ACD) (1994, 2016).

The critical analysis is based on the three-dimensional conception proposed by Fairclough (1994), which states that a truly critical analysis starts with the micro linguistic elements, considers the distribution of texts and their consumption and encompasses the social practices, which include the ideological and hegemonic aspects of the texts. Ideology, according to Fairclough (1994), represents constructs of reality present in various layers, dimensions and forms in discursive practices.

All theories used in the writing of this article are interconnected because it was from a recontextualization of the Systemic-Functional Grammar (SFG) that Norman Fairclough began his studies on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is also based on the socio semiotic view of language proposed by Halliday (1994), which in turn establishes a link between linguistic and social analysis.

On the other hand, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) state that multimodality represents an expansion of the SGF and the metafunctions proposed by Halliday, which, according to the authors, can be applied not only to the study of verbal language, but also to the analysis of different types of images used to complete the texts.

## **Theoretical basis**

### **The Systemic-Functional Grammar (SFG)**

The SFG is based on Firth's socio semiotic conception of "systems", which states that a systemic theory is a theory of choices, in which each choice is evaluated over those that have not been made.

According to Halliday (1994) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2013), language serves to simultaneously construct three meanings or metafunctions: Ideational or Experiential, Interpersonal, and Textual.

The Ideational Metafunction represents the events in sentences in terms of doing, feeling or being, through the Transitivity system, which involves: (a) Participants; (B) Processes and (c) Circumstances. If we consider the different Processes (six in number), their Participants will also be different, which can be summarized in Table 1.



**Table 1 – Processes/Participants**

Processes	Participants	Circumstances
<b>Material</b>	João <b>sold</b> his farm to his neighbor Actor      Goal      Beneficiary He <b>walked</b> through the wilderness. Actor      Extension	due to drought.
<b>Behavioral</b>	The sertanejo <b>moaned</b> of agony Behaver      Behavior	while leaving.
<b>Mental</b>	He no longer <b>believed</b> in miracles. Senser      Phenomenon	
<b>Existential</b>	Drought <u>was real</u> . Existent	in the northeast of the country.
<b>Relational</b>	He <b>was</b> a retirante*. (a) Attributive: Carrier    Attribute The retirante was a determined person. (b) Identifying: identified/token value <i>* people that try to escape from the drought and death in the northeast of Brazil. They often move to more prosperous areas.</i>	
<b>Verbal</b>	He man <b>told</b> us horrible things about the drought. Sayer Receiver      Verbiage	

Source: Adapted from Halliday (1994).

In the Interpersonal Metafunction, as stated by Halliday, the sentences are organized as interactive events, involving speaker (or writer) and the audience. The fundamental functions of the speech are: (i) give information and (ii) ask for information. The speaker is either giving, or asking something from the listener. Therefore, an “act” of speech is something that might more properly be called an “interaction”: it is an exchange, in which giving implies receiving; and asking implies giving in response.

The Textual Metafunction organizes the ideational and interpersonal meanings of a sentence. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, 2013) argue that languages have different ways of marking that some part in a sentence is prominent. This position is called Theme, and its function is to be the starting point for the message. The thematic position embraces up to the first ideational element of the sentence. The rest is called Rheme. Because the Theme is always the ground from which the sentence takes off, it also functions as the background to understand the Rheme. Example: He was a retirante. “He” represents the Theme of the sentence; and “was a retirante” represents the Rheme, something that is being stated about the Theme.

These metafunctions occur together: each choice we make accomplishes the three metafunctions. Therefore, everything we express linguistically contains, simultaneously, a piece of information (Ideational), given to someone (Interpersonal), in some way (Textual).

The text, according to the SFG, is understood as a social phenomenon and, as such, is conditioned by other social systems. Language is a semiotic system, made up of “choice” systems, which allows speakers to make lexicogrammatical “choices” according to social circumstances. These formal choices are always significant (HALLIDAY, 1994), since in making a choice in the linguistic system, what is stated acquires meaning against the choices that could have been made.

The SFG has received criticism and contributions over time. I will discuss the notion of *Appraisal*, proposed by Martin (2000), since, according to him, the Interpersonal Metafunction is not restricted to giving and receiving information or goods and services, but also includes the evaluation that the speaker / writer makes about the content of the message as well as his interlocutor.

## **Appraisal**

Martin (2000) states that the Interpersonal Metafunction has been grammatically based, functioning only at the sentence level, in which Mood and modality serve as starting points for the development of models of speech function, exchange structures, and so on (HALLIDAY, 1994). The grammar-based-tradition has focused on dialogue as an exchange of goods and services or information. What was often omitted by SFG, states Martin, is the semantics of evaluation - how the interlocutors are feeling, the judgments they make, and the appreciation of various phenomena - and along with grammar-based models, it is necessary to construct lexically-oriented systems that also deal with these elements.

Martin examines the evaluative lexicon which are used to express the speaker’s (or writer’s) opinion considering the good / bad parameters. He paired his analysis with the SFG tradition, and the system of choices used to describe this area of potential significance is called *Appraisal*.

Appraisal involves the subsystems of (a) Engagement; (B) Attitude and (c) Graduation. Attitude includes: (i) Affect, which deals with the expression of emotions (happiness, fear, etc.); (ii) Judgment, which deals with moral evaluation (honesty, generosity, etc.); And (iii) Appreciation, which deals with aesthetic evaluation (subtlety, beauty, etc.). See Table 2:

**Table 2 – Appraisal Subsystems**

ENGAGEMENT	(a) <b>monogloss</b> (no recognition of dialogistic alternatives) (b) <b>heterogloss</b> (recognition of dialogistic alternatives)		
ATTITUDE	(a) <b>Affect</b>	(un)happiness	
		(in)security	
		(dis)satisfaction	
	(b) <b>Judgment</b>	<b>Social Esteem</b>	Normality [frequent/rare]
			Capacity
		<b>Social Sanction</b>	Tenacity
			Veracity (truth)
			Propriety [ethics]
	(c) <b>Appreciation</b>	<b>Reaction</b> (impact): [Does it captivate me?]	
		<b>Reaction</b> (quality): [Do I like it?]	
<b>Composition</b> (balance): [Did it hang together?]			
<b>Composition</b> (complexity): [Is it hard to understand?]			
		<b>Valuation</b> [Was it worthwhile?]	
GRADUATION	(a) <b>Force</b>	<b>Increases</b> [ <i>completely devastated</i> ] <b>Decreases</b> [ <i>slightly upset</i> ]	
	(b) <b>Focus</b>	<b>Up-scaled</b> [ <i>a real police officer</i> ] <b>Down-scaled</b> [ <i>about four people</i> ]	

Source: Adapted from Martin (2000, p.56).

On the other hand, when the evaluation is explicitly carried out, according to Martin, it is easy to analyze the Attitude as positive or negative in relation to some event: (1) Fortunately / Unfortunately, Brazil challenged the US in the FTAA. But in some cases, the evaluation is not explicitly inscribed, as in: (2) Brazil challenged the US in the FTAA. This fact led Martin to postulate an important distinction, as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3 – Means of activating appraisal**

<b>Inscribed</b> (explicit)	The children were talking <i>loudly</i> .
<b>Evoked</b> (implicit) ( <i>Tokens</i> )	The children talked while he was teaching.
<b>Implied provoked</b> (some kind of evaluative language)	The teacher was already in the classroom, but he children kept talking.

Source: Adapted from Martin (2000, p.56).

Martin (2000) also suggests matching the ideational meaning with the interpersonal in some linguistic evaluations. Thus, a complex issue arises: the fact that evaluation may depend on the context. Hence, ideational meanings that do not use explicit evaluative lexicon can be used to express appreciation, affect, and judgment.

The SFG and its extensions served as the basis for Fairclough's (1994, 2016) studies that gave rise to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA will be discussed next in this article.

### **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is interested in questioning the relationships between signs, meaning and the socio-historical contexts that rule the semiotic structure of discourse by using linguistic analysis. The CDA seeks, by studying details of the linguistic structure in the light of the social and historical situation of a text, to bring to the level of consciousness the patterns, beliefs and values encoded in the language - which are invisible to those who accept discourse as something "natural".

The goal of a critical linguistic analysis of a text is to reveal the hidden meanings in its lexical, semantic, and syntactic structures as they gradually interfere with the general meaning. It also tries to understand how these structures are able to construct ideological content in such a way that the content cannot only be understood but also "conquered". This kind of reading is related to Fairclough's (1989, p.1 apud KITIS; MILAPIDES, 1996) statement which emphasizes that consciousness can represent the first step towards emancipation.

Fairclough's (1994, 2016) view of discourse and the power relations established through it is of a more linguistic nature, and he uses the word "discourse" more narrowly than social scientists generally do, limiting the term to the spoken or written use of language. However, he regards language use as a social practice, rather than a purely individual activity. This has two main implications: firstly, discourse is seen as a form of action on the world; and secondly, this implies a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures. On the one hand, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure in the broadest sense and at all levels, through classification systems, norms and conventions of a discursive and non-discursive nature. On the other hand, discourse is an important constituent of all dimensions of the social structure that, directly or indirectly, shapes and constrains it.

Fairclough (1994) analyzes discourses in relation to the changes that have taken place in the globalized consumer market and, consequently, in the different areas of social life. These changes affect the social relations and people's identity, and part of them consists of changes in the discursive practices, that is, in the use of the language and how it has assumed great importance as a means of production and social control.

Fairclough (1995) identifies in the discourses what he calls "synthetic personification," a simulation of the private, through mass public discourse (newspapers, magazines, radio and television). This tendency, which is linked to migration of the private discourse to institutional domains, is established through struggles and has limited stability due to the heterogeneity of its own contradictory elements that lead to more struggles and changes. Fairclough (1995) points out three

important tendencies in the contemporary discourse of the media: Democratization, Technologization, and Commercialization.

Democratization has been a parameter for discursive changes in recent decades. Fairclough (1995) points out the main areas in which democratization has been most visible: relations between languages and dialects, access to more prestigious forms of discourse, elimination of markers of power in certain institutional discourses (greater informality in the use of language) and language changes related to gender practices.

Considering the technologization, Fairclough (1995) states that in interviews and advertisements, for instance, a variety of tools are being employed in different ways, and such tools or technologies are being used by social agents in specific institutions. They hold power, and the discursive technologies are used to produce certain effects on specific types of audience (consumers) which may be not aware of them.

Commercialization is related to the growing construction of the audience as clients and the pressure on producers to entertain can be seen as part of a normalization and naturalization of consumer behavior and culture, involving ads and representations of people in various types of media messages. Media also influences some private domain discursive practices, providing models of interaction and establishing a complex dialectical relationship between media discourse and day by day interaction.

In addition to the linguistic resources, a critical analysis is concerned with the images that compose the texts. Therefore, multimodality is also relevant for this article.

## **Image analysis and the Multimodality**

Regarding images, their representations and the relations they establish with the real world, Jacques Aumont (2004) states that the production of an image is never free, since it is produced for certain individual or collective uses. He believes that the symbolic value of an image is defined “pragmatically by the social acceptability of the symbols represented” (AUMONT, 2004, p.79).

The author warns that, nowadays, it is not possible to imagine an image viewer without considering his/her prior knowledge, since the image is produced to contain certain ideologies and beliefs. The relationship between the viewer and the image occurs through a set of social determinations, which include the means and techniques used in the production, their modes of circulation, the places where they will be accessible and the supports for their diffusion.

Martine Joly (2009) states that the image is something heterogeneous, and, for analytical purposes, the following division can be made: iconic signs (images themselves), plastic signs (colors, shapes, internal composition, texture) and linguistic signs (verbal language). These signs, together, construct an explicit (global) meaning and an implicit meaning. The author also believes that the analysis of visual language is more complex because of its degree of continuity. Joly corroborates Aumont’s view that, in order to better understand a visual message, the viewers/consumers must know

for whom it was produced and that this communicative function will determine its significance. For Joly, one way to start analyzing the images would be to move from the verbal to the visual signs, since an image project is firstly verbalized.

My analysis of the popular newspaper front-pages is based on Joly's (2009) proposal, which states that a discursive analysis must start from the linguistic structure, passing through the images to reach the ideologies and representations. Another useful theory for the analysis of the images presented on the front-pages of the newspaper is Multimodality.

Macken-Horarik (2004) affirms that the multimodal text phenomenon poses a challenge for many discourse analysts, particularly those working with linguistic tools shaped for verbal texts. She analyzes the complementary contribution between images and words in the meaning-making process, relying primarily on the principles of Appraisal. For the analysis, she states that the Systemic-Functional Grammar (HALLIDAY, 1978) is suitable for multimodal discourse analysis for the following reasons:

- (a) The SFG attempts relate the linguistic structures to the social context in which they are produced;
- (b) The SFG enables to map not only words, but arrangements of words — phrases (“wordings”, for Halliday), and enables their analysis in functional terms. According to Kress at al. (1997, p. 260), however, image analysis has focused on items of content or “lexis,” rather than on the internal structure of images, or “syntax.” This is an important task for the development of “grammars” which enable us to relate linguistic to non-linguistic structures.
- (c) SFG is a grammar oriented to choices, not to rules. Linguistic choices are modeled in terms system networks — a series of options related to different meanings which are realized by particular lexico-grammatical outputs (types of clauses and phrases).
- (d) The SFG incorporates three types of meanings, the “metafunctions”, in the analysis of human communication. This metafunctional principle has provided semioticians with abstract and general categories for the analysis of different semiotic systems.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) affirm that different textual genres, whether classified by media type (comic strip, cartoons, films, TV, painting) or content (western, science fiction, novel, news), establish specific sets of modality markers, having a general value of modality that acts as basis for the genre. Such a basis may be different for different types of readers and for different texts, but these differences only acquire meaning from their relations with the central value of modality in that specific genre.

The “composition” is related to the representational and interactive meanings of the image and it presents three interrelated systems:

- (a) Information value: placement of elements (left, right, top, bottom).
- (b) Saliency: the elements are made to attract the viewer's attention to different degrees (background, foreground, size, color contrasts, etc.).
- (c) Framing: connection of elements of the image, signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense.

Related to the position of the elements in the images, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) emphasize that those elements which are placed to the left of the image can be understood as “the Given”, that is, elements that the viewer already knows. On the other hand, the elements placed to the right of the image represent “the New”, that is, elements that are being presented to the viewer/consumer.

The same authors state that, in a visual composition, there are elements placed at the top and others placed at the bottom of the image. The elements placed at the top represent the “Ideal”, while the elements placed at the bottom represent the “Real”.

The “Real” presents detailed information and practices close to reality. If the visual composition makes significant use of the center, placing a certain element in the center and the others around it or on the margins, what is in the center most often represents the core of the information. Regardless of where the element is placed, the saliency creates a hierarchy of importance, selecting some elements as more important than others.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that in everyday interaction social relations determine the distance that will be maintained in relation to the others. For them, these differences can also be identified in the field of images. At intimate distance, the viewer can see the whole face or the head. At close personal distance, one can see the head and the shoulders. At far personal distance, one sees the other person from the waist up. At close social distance, one sees the whole figure and, at far social distance one sees the entire figure, including its surroundings. At public distance, one can see the torso of at least four or five people.

The high angles make the represented participants (people and object in the images) appear small and insignificant; and, the interactive participant (reader) has power over the represented participant. At the low angles, there is an impression of superiority and triumph of the represented participants over the interactive ones.

For Hodge and Kress (1988) style, accent and grammatical structure refer to the same social phenomenon, the *metasigns*, which have the function to sustain difference from other groups and promote cohesion, stating the ideology of a specific group. The metasigns are sets of social markers of loyalty or group membership (solidarity, group identity, and ideology) that integrate most texts. These markers refer to the relations in the semiotic plane (meaning production), and may even seem arbitrary or meaningless, although they carry consistent ideological meanings.

All elements found in the media discourse, such as newspapers and magazines, including grammatical, vocabulary or pronunciation errors, numerals, bold, italics, etc. are used to represent stereotypes, reproduce an accent or a speech style, transmit ideological meanings and validate common marks in certain social groups or contexts.

Colloquial language, for instance, means direct contact with the target audience. On the other hand, acts of image, such as turning back or looking away, may represent a lack of solidarity. The metasigns are of great importance for the analysis of the language presented in popular newspapers.

### **The language of advertising: the slogan**

For Iasbeck (2000), the language of advertising is already an integral part of several discourses. It has originated in newspapers, magazines, posters, computers, television and movies and spread to everyday life conversations. The study of slogans – brief, compact, appealing and meaningful sentences able to disturb not only the production of meaning and ways of thinking and saying, but also the perception of reality - provides tools to understand this kind of language interference in the different kinds of discourses.

Iasbeck's analysis of the slogans revealed that:

- (a) The most effective slogans present merely referential character able to connect them to the objects they represent and to take advantage of symbolic connotations.
- (b) Advertising slogans create, provoke and / or reaffirm functional relations with other modes of thinking and acting that are present cultural systems.
- (c) Slogans need peripheral elements of non-culture<sup>1</sup> to avoid becoming redundant and obsolete.

For Iasbeck (2000), the slogans have a very short validity period, becoming obsolete after a few months of use. Only in some specific situations they remain active for a longer period of time.

Slogans appear in contexts related to advertising and marketing. The idea of marketing is closely linked to the capitalist mode of production. The term has American origins and refers to the act of selling and buying all kinds of products, including genres or specialties<sup>2</sup>. Marketing activities constitute a set of actions aimed at making a particular service or product consumed. For this reason, marketing studies indicate that it is imperative to know consumers and their needs, not only to provide them with the products that they need, but also to create expectations that will be satisfied with new products, thus feeding the productive system.

The slogan becomes more easily recognizable by some peculiarities of its structure: it is concise, striking, often incisive, appealing, easily perceived and memorized able to proclaim the qualities and superiority of a product, service or idea.

---

<sup>1</sup> Term used in some Slavic theses of Semiotics of Culture, it is written by the Semioticists of the Tartu and Moscow schools. It refers to all events, ideas and objects which are not part of a given culture. Thus, everything that is not part of this culture corresponds to non-culture.

<sup>2</sup> "Natural products (rice, beans, ore etc.) are genres. Industrial products are specialties." (SANT'ANNA, 1982, p.28).



Proverbs, maxims, refrains, jargons, clichés, mottos, etc. are called “effect phrases” because they are phrases that, although characterized by distinct peculiarities, have some points in common, such as brevity, condensation, authority, prestige, anonymity, ambiguity, humor, impact, cadence, and immediate communication. The three types of effect phrases able to produce more lasting effects on the consumers include proverbs, maxims, and slogans.

The slogans supported by images suggested by the written text may provide multiple readings, but they always focus, directly or indirectly, on the semantic field of an idea or object advertised. This is possible through rhetorical and poetic resources, and syntactic, semantic, rhythmic or acoustic parallels – metaphors, metonymies, among others – able to provoke unusual associations, create new meanings for stereotyped images and provide associations with what consumers wishes to find in advertisement.

Since the slogans are aimed at heterogeneous and geographically dispersed consumers, their structure can, with text economy, avoid reflective thinking about what is anonymously stated. The mottos are created by exhaustive repetition in different contexts and manage to engage one thought after another without leading the consumers to more analytical and reflective processes.

Interrupted or incomplete phrases, according to Iasbeck (2000), are also known as “telegraphic phrases” and they open up reticent spaces that will be filled by the reader. In advertising, such constructions have the merit of making consumers to complete their meaning. On the other hand, syntactic inaccuracy brings significant advantages to brevity, compacting ideas and allowing the reader to participate in this task.

Advertising texts — more specifically, slogans — use metaphors, metonymy and ellipse, thus taking the repertoire of the target audience and identifying the needs of that segment in a process which creates communication through empathy. Through metaphorical organization, it is possible to understand how a given culture organizes thoughts, the way of conceptualizing something through relations with other realities. Common experience may be the basis of these texts. All the characteristics identified in the slogans by Iasbeck are useful in the analysis of the newspaper headlines.

### **The popular newspapers and the *Super Notícia***

The popular newspaper market has grown a lot in recent years. According to Finatto et al. (2011), it is a commercial segment that aims to reach a layer of the Brazilian population with low purchasing power and schooling, which presents little reading habit. The popular newspapers offer low prices, use short and direct texts, image resources, simplified language and didacticism. The themes are linked to everyday life, including health, labor market, transportation and education, but most of the subjects are also aimed at sports, celebrities and police stories, denoting a preservation of aspects linked to traditional tabloid publications.

The *Super Notícia* newspaper presents many characteristics pointed out by Finatto et al. (2011) and its first publication took place on May 1, 2002. It belongs to *Editora Semper*, responsible for other major newspapers in Minas Gerais, such as *O Tempo*. The *Super Notícia* was created, according to information provided by its editors, to supply the lack of tabloids destined to consumers which belong to poorer social classes in the whole state of Minas Gerais, mainly in the capital and surrounding cities. Nowadays, it is read by all social classes that seek more direct, cheap and accessible information, but its wider range of readers is still in the classes to which it was originally intended. The daily publication is about 250 thousand copies, being sold in about 400 cities in all regions of Minas Gerais.

The front-pages of the newspaper follow the relevance criterion and it means that the most important news will be part of them, but news related to sports, services, crimes and tragedies is almost always present on the front-pages. The editors say that, since 2009, the making of the front-pages has followed some color patterns and that there was an increase in the number of stories on the front-pages, in addition to the main headline.

The newspaper also has an internet version, intended only for subscribers, who can access the same content of the printed newspaper, but with a more immediate update of the information. The edition published during the week costs 0.25 cents and, on Sundays, the product is sold at 0.50 cents. According to research done by the Brazilian National Association of Newspapers (ANJ) and made available on its website, in 2014, the *Super Notícia* was the best-selling printed newspaper, overcoming even traditional and well-known newspapers, such as *Folha de S. Paulo*.

## **Data analysis**

### **Analysis Methodology**

The front-pages of *Super Notícia* newspaper were analyzed from two different perspectives: micro and macro. Following this perspective, the analysis begins with the linguistic and the visual elements, and multimodal aspects until it reaches the macro elements which encompass the ideologies, hegemonies and persuasion strategies. The newspaper is a daily publication and this indicates numerous editions, that is why the focus was given only on two front-pages. It is intended to find out if there has been any significant change in the standards of the front-pages of the newspaper published on October 27 and November 2, both in 2015.

**Table 4** – Categories of analysis

<i>Linguistic</i>
Systemic-Functional Appraisal Slogans
<i>Images</i>
Multimodality
<i>Discursive</i>
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): ideology, hegemony e trends in contemporary media discourse

Source: Author's elaboration.

**Figure 1** – Front-page headline reads: “Tied Up to Utility Pole After Killing Ex-Wife” October 27



Source: Super Notícia (<http://www.otempo.com.br/super-noticia/>).

Through the analysis of this front-page, we can identify:

**Table 5 – Main headline**

METAFUNCTION	(Ellipse)	Tied up to	utility pole	after killing	ex-wife
<b>Ideational</b>	Actor	Process: Material	Circumstance: place	Process Material	Goal
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Subject	Finite+ predicator	Complement	Finite + predicator	Complement
<b>Appraisal</b>		Positive Appreciation		Negative Appreciation	
<b>Textual</b>	Theme	Rheme			

Source: Author's elaboration.

**Table 6 – Headline 2**

METAFUNCTION	Searching for	bi (championship)
<b>Ideational</b>	Process: Material	Goal
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Finite + predicator	Complement
<b>Appraisal</b>	Positive appreciation	
<b>Textual</b>	Rheme	

Source: Author's elaboration.

**Table 7 – Headline 3**

METAFUNCTION	Man	kills	ex-wife's boyfriend	by stabbing.
<b>Ideational</b>	Actor	Process: Material	Goal	Circumstance: manner
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Subject	Finite + predicator	Complement	
<b>Appraisal</b>	Negative appreciation			
<b>Textual</b>	Theme	Rheme		

Source: Author's elaboration.

**Table 8 – Headline 4**

METAFUNCTION	Journalist	denounces	death threat
<b>Ideational</b>	Sayer	Process: Verbal	Verbiage
<b>Interpersonal</b>	Subject	Finite + predicator	Complement
<b>Appraisal</b>	Positive appreciation		
<b>Textual</b>	Theme	Rheme	

Source: Author's elaboration.

**Table 9 – Headline 5**

METAFUNCTION	Impaired candidates	may	do	new tests.
Ideational	Actor	Modal: probability	Process: Material	Goal
Interpersonal	Subject	Finite + predicator		Complement
Appraisal	Positive appreciation			
Textual	Theme	Rheme		

Source: Author’s elaboration.

**Table 10 – Headline 6**

METAFUNCTION	Bacon, ham and sausage	can	cause	cancer.
Ideational	Actor	Modal: probability	Process: Material	Goal
Interpersonal	Subject	Finite + predicator		Complement
Appraisal	Negative appreciation			
Textual	Theme	Rheme		

Source: Author’s elaboration.

In the main headline, an ellipsis of the actor/subject/theme (man) is detected and this can be a way to include the readers in the universe described by the newspaper, since they will have to imagine the subject who suffered the action described in the sentence: “Tied up to utility pole after killing Ex-wife”. The use of the passive voice denotes an action attributed to third parties and two types of implicit evaluation determined by social conventions can be found in the same sentence: positive social appreciation for the fact that the murdered woman was avenged by the witnesses of the crime (*Tied up to Utility Pole after...*); and negative social appreciation for the heinous crime (... *Killing Ex-wife.*).

The second headline “*Searching for the bi*” refers to the sports world and it presents a high degree of informality. The “bi” represents the goal to be achieved by the *Sada Cruzeiro* volleyball team. The use of informality to talk about themes related to the sports world is related to the discursive tendencies of the current media pointed out by Fairclough (1995). Various discursive tools are used to reach the target audience, among which the simulation of the day-to-day discourse in the search for greater interaction with the reader. These tools also have the function to persuade the consumers to buy the product. In addition, the use of informality and abbreviated forms are related to the metasigns pointed out by Hodge and Kress (1988) and detected in most media texts.

Headline number 3 introduces a police story in which the Actor / Subject / Theme plays an active role whose social evaluation is negative: “Man Kills the Ex-Wife’s Boyfriend by Stabbing”. The female figure is one of the targets of the male action and appears as one of the victims of the action, which had the boyfriend killed by the ex-husband.

In headline 4, the Verbal Process (*denounces*) is detected and it presents positive social implicit appreciation, because the threatened journalist is not silent due to the threats. The act may represent a kind of censorship to the press. The analyzed newspaper, as a representative of this segment, positively approves, albeit implicitly, the attitude of the journalist. The topic occupies the space called “Subject of the day”, and this indicates its degree of importance in the publication. The newspaper interviewed the Union of Professional Journalists of Minas Gerais, the Military Police of Araçuaí, the city where the incident took place, the businessman accused of threatening the journalist, and the journalist himself. The tone of the interviews and the description of the facts show that, although the complaint is an act approved by the media in general, there is a certain tone of caution used by the newspaper: “A newspaper reporter from Araçuaí claims to have been attacked by businessman after publication of a story; the man accused denies the fact”. In discursive terms, it can be stated that the responsibility for the facts was transferred to those involved in the case.

The headline 5 deals with a problem detected during the application of the National High School Examination - ENEM - in the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte, which would give the candidates the right to do new tests. There is a positive social appreciation but, at the same time, the use of the modal verb “*may*” denotes lack of certainty whether or not the action will be carried out, since the application of new tests will depend on the investigation of the Federal Police and the endorsement of the National Institute of Studies and Educational Research - INEP.

The headline 6 presents the hegemonic social discourse (FAIRCLOUGH, 1994) of healthy eating, but the modal verb “*can*” also indicates lack of total certainty with regard to the harms caused by processed meats and products for health.

Considering all the characteristics analyzed in this front-page, it is possible to state that the discursive tendencies pointed out by Fairclough (1995) on the discourse of the current media are found: democratization due to the degree of informality of texts; technologization due to the research and discursive strategies used to reach and interact with the target audience, the discourses are shaped by the reality experienced by the buyers of the product; and commercialization, since the sum of all the elements analyzed points to the sale of a media product. Discourses of the private life become public, being the focus of a type of media that seeks to legitimize some practices through its informal presentation to the reader, and this leads us to Fairclough (1994) who states that “synthetic personification”, a kind of face-to-face discourse simulation, presented through mass public discourse (newspapers, magazines, radio and television) is a current media trend.

By focusing on the multimodal elements, we come across the prominent image (*Saliency*) of the singer Belo and his wife Gracyanne. Horsley (2005) states that the use of celebrities in newspapers and magazine covers is related to the way that media legitimizes the political and economic models of capitalism through the promotion of some ideologies. For him, a popular image acts as a reminder of the capitalist system, directed to the fans, and serves to reinterpret values and give meanings to many social

configurations. This way, celebrities would function as flags able to group around them many cultural meanings and consumption patterns. They also represent the materialization of desires and serve to encourage consumers to consider themselves as subjects able to arouse feelings, desires, and approval of others, just as celebrities interact with their fans.

The woman's body serves to attract the readers' attention to the front-page immediately and the information about the image receives less attention: "*The Globo Network's Production Did Not Allow the Singer's Wife to Participate in the Fátima Bernardes' TV program.*" This indicates that the image has higher value than the written information, requiring that the reader moves from the image to the written text, which will serve to anchor the flow of information about the images offered to the audience (JOLY, 2009). The couple is placed in the field of "Ideal" because they represent the readers' desire to become like the celebrities shown on TV or from the world of music. The couple does not look straight to the readers and it represents, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), an "act of offer", but instead the represented participants offer their bodies as models of beauty and desire. The couple is shown from a far social distance and from a low angle, providing greater power over the reader. It can be stated that the image expresses, in terms of Martin (2000), positive social appreciation of the lifestyle presented by the front-page couple, offering this possibility to readers.

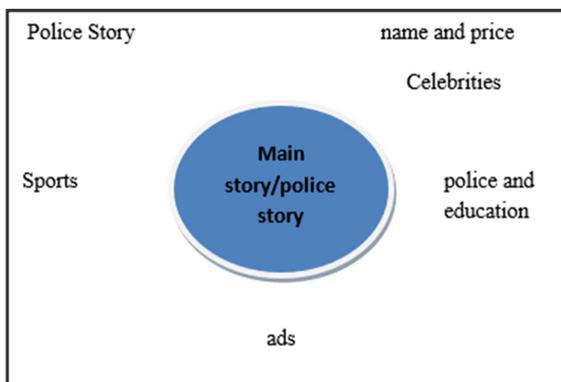
The news about the punishment imposed on the man who murdered his ex-wife occupies the center of the page and the elements that occupy the center of the composition, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), represent the *nucleus* of the information/composition.

It is also worth mentioning elements such as the name of the newspaper, the price of the publication and the sports world information. The price of the product (0.25 during the week and 0.50 on Sundays) reinforces its popular appeal and it appears close to the name of the newspaper, representing the "Ideal", on the upper right margin. The sport news also stands out and, this time, volleyball, rather than soccer, is highlighted. The volleyball team presented is called Cruzeiro and this also indicates a direct association with soccer because Cruzeiro is also one of the most popular soccer teams in Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais.

The colors of the this front-page also indicate important multimodal elements to be analyzed, since the use of colors in the images can simultaneously fill the three metafunctions proposed by Halliday (1994): Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual. In the ideational perspective, colors represent certain cultures and social contexts; in the interpersonal field, they seek interaction with different types of readers; and in the textual perspective, they give coherence to the text. In the front-page analyzed, colors, such as red, draw the reader's attention to important information; blue is associated with the ideology of the soccer team (Cruzeiro) and serves to interact with the fans. The other colors are used to make the page more coherent.

Front-page 1 can be summarized in the following way:

Figure 2 – Front-page



Source: Author's elaboration.

Figure 3 – Front-page 2 – headline reads – “Galo Falls in Horto Stadium and Championship Title Remains a Dream”. November, 02



Source: Super Notícia (<http://www.otempo.com.br/super-noticia/>).



**Table 11 – Main headline**

METAFUNCTION	Galo	falls	in Horto Stadium	and championship tittle	reamins	a dream
<b>Ideational</b>	Actor	Process: Material	Circumstance: place	Actor	Process: Material	Circumstance: place
<b>Interpersoal</b>	Subject	Finite + predicator	Complement	subject	Finite + predicator	Complement
<b>Appraisal</b>	Negative Appreciation					
<b>Textual</b>	Theme	Rheme		Theme	Rheme	

Source: Author’s elaboration.

**Table 12 – Headline 2**

METAFUNCTION	89 year-old man	kills	his wife	with a gunshot
<b>Ideational</b>	Actor	Process: Material	goal	Circumstance: manner
<b>Interpersoal</b>	Subject	Finite + predicator	Complement	
<b>Appraisal</b>	Negative appreciation			
<b>Textual</b>	Theme	Rheme		

Source: Author’s elaboration.

**Table 13 – Headline 3**

METAFUNCTION	Ellipsis (you)	Must be	in the mood.
<b>Ideational</b>	Actor	Process: Material	Goal
<b>Interpersoal</b>	Subject	Finite + predicator	Complement
<b>Appraisal</b>	Positive appreciation		
<b>Textual</b>	Theme	Rheme	

Source: Author’s elaboration.

All of the headlines analyzed have the characteristics pointed out by Iasbeck (2000), and among them are the concise, striking, incisive, appealing, easily perceived and memorized phrases. Incomplete phrases, which require the readers to insert their prior knowledge for completeness, are also identified “*Must be in the mood*”. This type of phrase invites the reader to complement the meaning of the headline by using world’s experience and prior knowledge. The systemic-functional analysis reveals that, in slogans related to police stories, sports or linked to the female image, the use of Material Processes (falls, remains, kills) indicates the newspaper’s intention to reach a specific target audience: the male audience. Falconnet (1975) suggests that male images are always shown as synonymous of adventure, war, hunting, fire, wild animals, horses, strong sensations, vast spaces, deserts, oceans, forests and mountains. Such images are often connected to verbs as *to confront*, *to conquer*, *to ride*, *to dominate*, *to train*, *to tame*, *to undertake*, *to subjugate*, *to act*, *to submit*, *to face* and *to conquer*. In headline 3, the Actor-Subject-Theme is represented by an ellipsis and this requires the reader to

fill this gap, which will promote, at the interactional level, greater access to the universe offered by the popular newspaper.

The effect of the social implicit evaluation in the headlines analyzed is also relevant. The main headline of the front-page “*Galo falls in Horto Stadium and Championship Title Remains a Dream*” refers to the defeat of one of the most popular winning soccer teams of Minas Gerais: Clube Atlético Mineiro, popularly known as Galo. Although humor is detected in the headline in question, there is an implicit negative social evaluation due to the defeat suffered by the team in its own stadium where many victories have been achieved. The Material Process “falls” represents the defeat of the team but, at the same time, symbolizes a team which is used to victories, what can be understood as the fall of a giant in its own territory.

Headline 2 presents negative social evaluation for an extremely negative and criminal social act: “... *Kills his Wife with a Gunshot*”. On the other hand, headline 3 presents implicit positive social evaluation and the female image is being offered to the male readers. Men, according to the prevailing social ideology, must take an active part in society.

The headlines analyzed in the second front-page also present the tendencies of the current media discourse pointed out by Fairclough (1995): democratization is linked to the high degree of informality used by the newspaper to interact with the readers; technologization is represented by the images and discursive resources used to reach a particular audience and this indicates that a market survey was conducted so that the newspaper could “speak the same language” of the idealized readers; and commercialization is responsible for the connection of all the elements already mentioned that contribute to the acceptance of the product by the readers. The number of ads that occupy the lower part of the composition reveals more multimodal elements. The products are placed in the field of the “Real” and this may indicate that price and products announced are within the purchasing power of the target audience.

The multimodal analysis of the elements that constitute the page reveals a strong emphasis given to the female image, the price and name of the newspaper, and the ads that help to compose the front-page to form a whole. The female image does not establish visual contact with the readers and this, as stated by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), indicates an “act of offer”, reinforcing the idea expressed by the headline “Must be in the mood”. The female model occupies the upper right corner of the page, a position considered by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) as the “New”, denoting its prominence and importance in the whole context. The colors also contribute to give it prominence, making it a salient element and causing the eyes of the reader to be directed to the image of the woman without the other elements of the page being analyzed. The image is shown through a far social distance and low angle and this makes it more powerful to the readers.

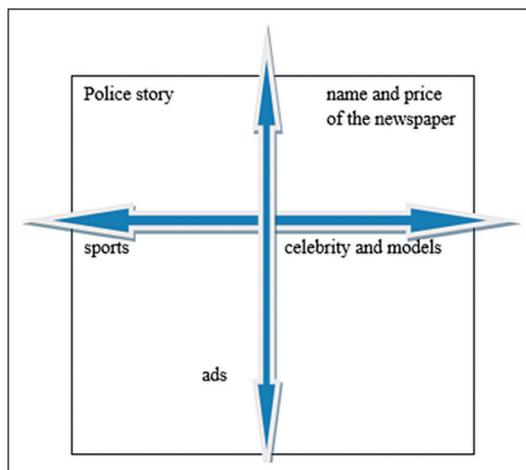
Another important element in the multimodal analysis is the main headline “*Galo falls in Horto Stadium and Championship Title Remains a Dream*”. It refers to the defeat of the Atlético Mineiro team for another important soccer Brazilian team, Corinthians,

losing the leadership of the Brazilian championship and getting further away from the title of 2015. In the same page, there is still some information about Cruzeiro, the other popular team in Minas Gerais and Atlético's rival. This may represent a way to make the fans of the opposing team also identify themselves with the edition and, as a result, buy the newspaper. The headline about Cruzeiro says: “*Allano recovers from injury, and Mano wants to have him as forward for the next Cruzeiro match.*” From a multimodal perspective, the information that occupies the center of the composition has a prominent value and centralizing it has the purpose to call the readers' attention to its high importance in specific contexts.

The newspaper name occupies the upper right corner and the price of the product (0.25 cents) is also emphasized, reinforcing the idea of popular product. The police story occupies the upper left corner and, according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the information placed in this field indicates the “Given”, that is, information already known by the reader. At the bottom of the page, some regional ads appear.

All elements of this front-page are linked by vectors, which have the function of presenting them more homogeneously, forming a coherent composition.

**Figure 4 – Elements of front-page**



Source: Author's elaboration.

## Conclusion

The aim of this article was to compare two front-pages of a popular newspaper called *Super Notícia* in order to identify how the linguistic elements and the images are connected and how they are used for the persuasion of the reader and transmission of prevailing ideologies in society.

The results of the analyses made on the two front-pages indicated that the newspaper combines more general tendencies of the current media with regional, cultural and specific aspects of the social classes to which the product is idealized. Among the tendencies, the democratization and the discursive technologization are used in the promotion of the commercialization of the product. The linguistic and multimodal elements were carefully chosen and combined to achieve the commercial aims.

The headlines are direct and require the reader to complete them with their prior knowledge, a way to provide more interaction between readers and the information or products announced on the front-pages of the popular newspaper.

On the other hand, the analysis of the images and colors chosen to compose the two front-pages reveals the maintenance of certain popular practices and ideologies related to gender issues, preservation of hegemonies and maintenance of dominant ideologies and stereotypes.

SOARES, L. Análise do jornal popular *Super Notícia* sob enfoque crítico e multimodal. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.657-679, 2017.

- *RESUMO: Este artigo tem como objetivo examinar, sob o enfoque da Análise Crítica do Discurso e da Multimodalidade, duas capas do jornal popular Super Notícia para identificar a relação entre as escolhas linguísticas e imagéticas e as ideologias, hegemonias e estratégias de persuasão usadas pelos produtores do jornal na busca de interação e aceitação do produto pelo público-alvo. A análise parte de aspectos linguísticos, perpassando por aspectos imagéticos até atingir as ideologias explícitas ou implícitas contidas no discurso de capa do jornal. “Análise Crítica” implica mostrar conexões e causas ocultas, pois as relações entre as mudanças discursiva, social e cultural nem sempre são transparentes. Os resultados apontam que, através de estratégias como democratização e tecnologização discursivas, o jornal busca persuadir seu público-leitor e vender o produto. Por outro lado, as imagens relevam a manutenção de práticas e ideologias relacionadas com questões de gênero, preservação de hegemonias e manutenção de estereótipos.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Jornal. Persuasão. Popular. Análise crítica. Multimodalidade.*

## REFERENCES

- AUMONT, J. **As teorias dos cineastas**. Campinas: Papirus, 2004.
- FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Discurso e mudança social**. Brasília: Ed. da UnB, 2016.
- FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Media discourse**. London: Hodder Arnold, 1995.
- FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Discourse and social change**. Cambridge: Polity, 1994.
- FALCONNET, G. **La fabrication des mâles**. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975.

FINATTO, M. J. B. et al. **Características do jornalismo popular: avaliação da inteligibilidade e auxílio à descrição do gênero.** [2011]. Available in: <[http://www.ufrgs.br/textecc/porlexbras/porpopular/arquivos/FINAL\\_Certo\\_Finatto\\_Scarton\\_Aluisio\\_Rocha\\_10pmj.pdf](http://www.ufrgs.br/textecc/porlexbras/porpopular/arquivos/FINAL_Certo_Finatto_Scarton_Aluisio_Rocha_10pmj.pdf)>. Access on: 10 nov. 2015.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. **An introduction to functional grammar.** London: Edward Arnold, 1994.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. **Language and a social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning.** London: Edward Arnold, 1978.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K.; MATTHIESSEN, C. M. I. M. **An introduction to functional grammar.** 4.ed. New York: Routledge, 2013.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K.; MATTHIESSEN, C. M. I. M. **An introduction to functional grammar.** 3.ed. London: Arnold, 2004.

HODGE, R.; KRESS, G. **Social semiotics.** New York: Cornell University Press, 1988.

HORSLEY, R. **Men's lifestyle magazines and the construction of male identity.** 2005. 212f. Thesis (Doctor) - Institute of Communications Studies, University of Leeds, Reino Unido, 2005.

IASBECK, L. C. A. **A arte dos slogans: as técnicas de construção das frases de efeito no texto publicitário.** São Paulo: Annablume, 2000.

JOLY, M. **Introdução à análise da imagem.** Campinas: Papirus, 2009.

KITIS, E.; MILAPIDES, M. Read it and believe it: how metaphor constructs ideology in news discourse: a case study. **Journal of Pragmatics**, Amsterdam, n.28, p.557-590, 1996

KRESS, G.; VAN LEEUWEN, T. **Reading images: the grammar of visual design.** London: Routledge, 2006.

KRESS, G.; VAN LEEUWEN, T. **Reading images: the grammar of visual design.** London: Routledge, 1996.

MACKEN-HORARIK, M. Interacting with the multimodal text: reflections on image and verbiage in Art Express. **Visual Communication**, London, v.3, n.1, p.5-26, 2004.

MARTIN, J. R. Beyond exchange: APPRAISAL Systems in English. In: HUNSTON, S.; THOMPSON, G. (Ed.). **Evaluation in text.** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p.142-175.

SANT'ANNA, A. **Teoria, técnica e prática da propaganda.** 3.ed. São Paulo: Pioneira, 1982.

Received in March 2017

Approved in August 2017



# THE ROLE OF CONNECTORS IN THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IMAGES: THE USE OF THE *MAS* IN ELECTORAL DEBATES

Gustavo Ximenes CUNHA\*

- **ABSTRACT:** This study is part of a broader research whose purpose is to investigate whether the establishment of discourse relations and its marking through connectors have implications for the co-construction of identity images. Looking for additional evidence for this research and adopting contributions from the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis, this paper studies the connector *mas* employed by candidates for public office in two electoral debates, one municipal and the other presidential. The objective is to verify to what extent *mas*, in signaling the discursive maneuvers performed by the candidates, is an important piece in the game through which they (de)construct identity images. Analysis revealed that the 55 occurrences of the connector signaled two groups of discursive maneuvers. By using the *mas* through which the candidate signals maneuvers of attack to the opponent (*mas* for hetero-attack), he tries to construct an unfavorable image of the other and a favorable one of himself. But by using the *mas* through which the candidate signals maneuvers in which he attacks himself (*mas* for self-attack), he tries to attribute to himself values such as humility and modesty, as well as anticipate future criticism from the adversary.
- **KEYWORDS:** Connector *mas*. Figuration process. Negotiation process.

## Introduction

In the last four decades, studies on the linguistic resources used in face work (GOFFMAN, 2011) have obtained relevant results in understanding the role of speech acts in the co-construction of identity images. Under the impact of the pioneering approaches of Lakoff (1977), Leech (1983), and especially Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness studies have shown that there are lexical, grammatical, and prosodic phenomena that can only be explained by the consideration of Sociological factors (face, territory, power, social distance) and pragmatic factors (principle of cooperation and its maxims, principle of politeness and its maxims, acts of speech and their conditions

---

\* Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), Faculty of Letters. Belo Horizonte – MG – Brazil. Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Linguistic Studies. ximenes Cunha@yahoo.com.br

of happiness). But, in spite of the results they have achieved, these approaches remain, in general, restricted to the notion of speech act, neglecting the role of other aspects of discourse in the joint construction of identity images (see TERKOURAFI, 2005; CULPEPER, 2011).

Contrary to studies conducted in the framework of politeness theories, researchers who adopt the approach proposed by Roulet and his team, the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis (ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001), have highlighted the role of different discourse aspects in face work (or figuration process)<sup>1</sup> (see PIRES, 1997; ROULET, 1999; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001; SIMUNIC, 2004; LANNA, 2005; RUFINO, 2011; CUNHA, 2013; TOMAZI; MARINHO, 2014). However, even with this advance, not always there is, in this theoretical perspective, the interest in proceeding to the deep and systematic study of how plans of discourse act in the figuration process.

Following the methodology proposed by the modular model, the study of this process usually takes place in some stages. Once the selection of a given discursive production has been made, the plans of this production (lexical, syntactic, relational, polyphonic, topical, compositional, periodical, operational etc) are studied separately. Then the study of the figure process is carried out. This study consists of a combination of information previously obtained in the study of discourse plans with information about faces and territories at stake in this discourse (ROULET, 1999; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001, cap. 12). In this perspective of analysis, the purpose is to understand, in a holistic way, how the participants take part of the figuration process, managing together the relations of faces, territories and places, and not as each of the planes of discourse acts in this process.

Adopting contributions from the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis, but following a distinct methodological perspective in the treatment of the figuration process, this study is inserted in a broader piece of research. In this research, I have been investigating the role of textual articulation in this process, which encompasses discourse relations (argument, counter-argument, reformulation, topicalization, time, comment, etc.) and their markers (connectors, syntactic structures, etc.). The purpose of this research is to verify if the establishment of these relations has implications for the co-construction of identity images in different contexts<sup>2</sup>.

Looking for additional evidence for this research, this paper studies the connector *mas* employed by candidates for public office in two electoral debates, one municipal (Fernando Haddad (PT) and José Serra (PSDB), 10/26/2012) and the other presidential

---

<sup>1</sup> The Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis uses the notion of figuration process. The notion of face work is not used. The difference between the notions will be further discussed. For now, it is sufficient to know that the notion of figuration process explains how the interlocutors make the co-construction of identity images.

<sup>2</sup> In recent years, using the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis, but also the Rhetorical Structure Theory (MANN; THOMPSON, 1986) in articulation with Goffman's work (1973, 2009, 2011), I have been developing studies on the role of different discourse relations in the co-construction of identity images in electoral debates (CUNHA, 2015, 2016a; CUNHA; BRAGA, 2016; CUNHA; MARINHO, 2017), reports (CUNHA, 2013, 2014) and official documents (CUNHA, 2010, 2016b).



(Dilma Rousseff (PT) and Aécio Neves (PSDB), 10/24/2014). The objective is to verify to what extent the occurrences of the connector *mas*, in signaling the discursive maneuvers performed by the candidates, are important pieces in the game through which they (de)construct identity images. To achieve this objective, I initially study the connectors, revealing their role in signaling discursive maneuvers. Then, I reveal to what extent the connectors can act as discursive strategies, that is, as linguistic items relevant to the negotiation of identity images. Finally, from the theoretical framework outlined, I proceed to analyze the occurrences of *mas* found in the two electoral debates.

### **The connectors and their role in the signaling of discursive maneuvers**

In the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis, the study of connectors is based on the contributions of Ducrot et al. (1980) on the role of connectors as the French terms *mais* (but), *donc* (therefore) and *d'ailleurs* (besides), and also on the contributions from authors who studied the connectors in the perspective of Relevance Theory (SPERBER; WILSON, 1995). On the basis of these study traditions, the connectors would be linguistic items that, when marking a relation of discourse, would limit the possibilities of interpretation of the relations between textual constituents, indicating, at the same time, the hierarchical (main or subordinate) status of these constituents (ROULET, 2006; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001). Therefore, the connectors are understood as procedural or instructional items (REBOUL; MOESCHLER, 1998; MOESCHLER, 2005), since they would give instructions on how to treat mental representations and on how to understand the structure of discourse.

I illustrate this approach with the analysis of the fragment below, extracted from Fernando Haddad's speech, protagonist of one of the debates constituent of the corpus of this research.

- (1) Serra, nesse particular dos medicamentos, as ideias estão bem estruturadas, **mas** os programas não estão funcionando.  
(Serra, about the medications, the ideas are well structured, **but** the programs are not working.)

In the passage, which constitutes an intervention (I) of the candidate, the connector *mas* signals the relation of counter-argument (c-a), linking the main act (Ma) (*the programs are not working*) to a piece of information whose origin is the subordinate act (Sa) (*Serra, about the remedies, the ideas are well structured*). In the modular approach, the result of textual articulation analysis or relational organization of a discursive production is represented in hierarchical structures, such as:

I [ Sa Serra, about the medications, the ideas are well structured,  
 c-a  
 Ma **but** the programs are not working.

With this analysis, the role of the connector is to indicate that the information brought by the first act constitutes a counter-argument to be refuted by the information brought by the second act. The analysis is centered on the instructional and structural properties of the connectors and the intervention in which they occur. Therefore, this analysis does not show that the connector is a linguistic item articulated to the context (or situation of action<sup>3</sup>) in which it is employed. In other words, considering the structuralist (Ducrot) and cognitive (Sperber and Wilson) theoretical influences, the modular approach minimizes the role of the connectors in the dynamics of a given action situation, although the study of the discourse developed by the modular approach belongs to the interactionist tradition of language studies (ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001, Chap.2; KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI 1992; VION, 1992).

To study the connectors in an interactionist perspective, which is the perspective of the modular approach, I work with the hypothesis, developed in previous studies (MARINHO; CUNHA, 2015; CUNHA, 2017), that connectors are not only instructional items, because they are also markers of the discursive maneuvers performed by the agents:

[...] the connectors are understood as signals of the discursive maneuvers that each speaker, in function of the situation of action, performs to elaborate interventions that can be considered adequate and complete by the interlocutor, who can thus develop the interaction (oral or written). (CUNHA, 2017, p.1704, our translation.)<sup>4</sup>

In this definition of connector, the notion of negotiation process is central, fundamental since the initial versions of the modular approach (ROULET, 1988; ROULET et al., 1985). According to Roulet (2003, 2006; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001), the interaction is characterized by a process in which the interlocutors negotiate their reciprocal contributions to come to an agreement about the end of the interaction. Thus, all interaction is defined by a negotiation process in which the interlocutors begin propositions and respond to them, evaluating if the interventions

<sup>3</sup> In general, to conceive context as a situation of action is to understand that interaction involves both local coordination mechanisms of actions and socio-historical representations prior to the production of discourse. In this sense, the context is shaped by internal aspects (decisions and choices of agents responsible for actions) and by external aspects (knowledge and values historically constituted). An in-depth definition of the notion of situation of action is found in Fillietaz (2006) and in Cunha (2013, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Original: “[...] os conectores são concebidos como sinalizadores das manobras discursivas que cada locutor, em função da situação de ação em que se encontra, é levado a realizar para elaborar intervenções que possam ser consideradas adequadas e completas pelo interlocutor e que permitam a este dar sequência à interação (oral ou escrita).” (CUNHA, 2017, p.1704).

are sufficiently complete and adequate for the interaction. In this way, all interaction is developed under a restriction (dialogical completeness) that foresees the reach of an agreement between the interlocutors:

[...] every negotiation has its origin in a problem that gives rise to an initiative of the speaker; this initiative asks for a reaction from the other speaker, which may be favorable or unfavorable. If it is favorable, the speaker may end the negotiation, expressing, in turn, its agreement. (ROULET et al., 1985, p.15, our translation.)<sup>5</sup>

But if the intervention produced by one speaker is interpreted by the other as inadequate, malformed or obscure, they interrupt the ongoing process and try to make the intervention more appropriate. For Roulet, when the interlocutors try to make a sufficiently complete intervention for the negotiation process, they are obeying another restriction, the restriction of monological completeness.

As Roulet notes (ROULET et al., 1985, p.9, our translation), “[...] the structure of discourse is largely determined by the constraints of verbal interaction.” From this perspective, the development of the negotiation process is not independent of the situation of action in which it occurs (cf. note 3). In other words,

The action situation restricts how speakers develop the negotiation process and hence how they can initiate propositions, react to them, detect and evaluate problems of completeness, contribute to the repair of such problems, and so on. In this perspective, the action situation restricts what discursive maneuvers the interlocutors can or cannot perform. (CUNHA, 2017, p.1704, our translation.)<sup>6</sup>

In the political debate, genre studied in this paper, the participants systematically present favorable facts about themselves and unfavorable facts about the other, to convince the audience formed by voters. Therefore, in a political debate, the interlocutors attack themselves with irony, accusations and criticisms. In this genre, there is the implicit permission for candidates, in a relatively polite way, to demean the opponent’s political past and not only to expose government proposals (AQUINO, 2008; SILVA, 2013; KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 2013; CUNHA, 2015).

---

<sup>5</sup> Original: “[...] toda negociação tem sua origem em um problema que dá lugar a uma *iniciativa* do locutor; essa iniciativa pede uma *reação*, que pode ser favorável ou desfavorável, do interlocutor. Se ela é favorável, o locutor pode encerrar a negociação, exprimindo, por sua vez, seu *acordo*.” (ROULET et al., 1985, p.15, grifo do autor, tradução nossa).

<sup>6</sup> Original: “A situação de ação restringe a forma como os interlocutores desenvolvem o processo de negociação e, consequentemente, como eles podem iniciar proposições, reagir a elas, detectar e avaliar problemas de completude, contribuir no reparo desses problemas, etc. Nessa perspectiva, a situação de ação restringe quais manobras discursivas são possíveis e quais não são possíveis de ser realizadas pelos interlocutores.” (CUNHA, 2017, p.1704).

For this reason, in this context, an important characteristic of the negotiation process is the non-obedience to the restriction of dialogical completeness. As shown in Cunha (2017), because the electoral debate is a dispute between political opponents, each candidate tries to show that the intervention previously produced by the adversary is malformed and obscure or based on false information, that is, it is inadequate for the negotiation process and does not obey the restriction of monologic completeness. Acting this way, each candidate, when producing an intervention, opens a secondary negotiation whose purpose is to reveal the inadequacy of the intervention produced by the opponent. Considering that every intervention produced by one candidate is usually evaluated by the other as inadequate, each block of a debate is characterized, from the point of view of the negotiation process, as the opening of exchanges or secondary negotiations with clearing function (CUNHA, 2017). In the debate, the interaction ends not because the adversaries agree on the end of the interaction, obeying the restriction of dialogical completeness, but because the TV channel ends the interaction.

As discussed in Cunha (2017), connectors work in two ways in this conflictive negotiation process. On the one hand, a candidate, when using connectors, signals the maneuvers to show that his intervention, by bringing arguments, refuting counter-arguments, reformulating parts of his speech, is complete for the negotiation process, that is, his intervention is clear and adequate. In this use, each candidate employs the connectors to signal the maneuvers that allow him to achieve monologic completeness.

On the other hand, a candidate signals the discourse relations with argumentative, counter-argumentative, reformulative, temporal connectors to reveal that the opponent, when elaborating his intervention, was not correct, true or honest, that the proposals of government presented by the other are inconsistent, that the intervention produced by the opponent is not understandable, that there are contradictions between pieces of information presented by the opponent, among others. In this other use, each candidate uses the connectors to try to evidence that the opponent's interventions do not obey the constraint of monologic completeness and are unsuitable for the negotiation process.

In summary, in a typical situation of action of the debate, the connectors signal the discursive maneuvers that a candidate performs to show that his speech is adequate for the interaction (it obeys the restriction of monologic completeness) and that the speech of the opponent is inappropriate for the same interaction (does not obey the restriction of monologic completeness). Since connectors are words that play a major role in the negotiation process, they can be very useful resources in the co-construction of identity images.

### **The use of connectors as a discursive strategy**

Before discussing the role that the connectors play in the figuration process, it is important to define the notion of figuration process itself, used by Roulet (1981, 1999;

ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001), and at the same time to justify why, in this paper, I use this idea and not the most recent concept of face work.

As discussed in the introduction, studies on face work and, more specifically, politeness, have traditionally investigated how elements of a micro-linguistic nature (hedges, forms of subject indetermination, pronouns etc) diminish the threat that speech acts (promise, criticism, offering, warning, order) represent to the faces of interlocutors. In Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness (1987, p.61), Goffman's notions of face and territory<sup>7</sup> are reinterpreted as positive and negative faces respectively:

- (a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.
- (b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.

In this theory, interlocutors, to avoid conflicts, neutralize the threats to the faces by doing face work. Goffman (1967, p.12) defines the notion of face work in this way:

[...] the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face. Face-work serves to counteract "incidents" – that is, events whose effective symbolic implications threaten face.

From the perspective of the author, face work corresponds to the linguistic and non-linguistic actions performed by the speakers to claim positive social values or to preserve an image of the self (face) considered satisfactory for the encounter.

By systematizing Goffman's approach to language studies, Brown and Levinson (1987) revise the concept, giving it a sense that is a little distant from the original one. For the authors, face work corresponds to the set of linguistic strategies that the speaker performs to avoid or diminish the threats that speech acts (*Face-Threatening Acts* – FTA) represent to the positive (face) and negative (territory) faces of the listener. Thus, in Brown and Levinson (1987), the notion goes through an important conceptual modification: on the one hand, the notion is limited because it corresponds only to the use of linguistic procedures (and not any procedures) that diminish the threat of speech acts; on the other hand, it is broadened, since it corresponds to the strategies used to reduce attacks to the negative face (and not only to attacks on the positive face).

In the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis, Roulet uses the notion of figuration process and not the notion of face work. In his studies (ROULET, 1999; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001), the process of figuration corresponds to the set of discursive strategies, belonging to any level of discourse, that are used by interlocutors

---

<sup>7</sup> In Goffman's approach (2011), face refers to the positive social value that a person claims for himself through the line assumed during a particular contact. Complementing the notion of face, the territory refers to the rights that each person claims and to the defense of these same rights (GOFFMAN, 1973).

to perform the management of faces, territories and places. Thus, although Roulet considers the notions of Goffman and Brown and Levinson, he goes beyond them because, with the notion of figuration process, the author defines a broader process of joint construction of identity images.

For the author, the study of this process does not specifically correspond only to the description of microlinguistic strategies employed to make speech acts less threatening, as in Brown and Levinson (1987) and in much of the literature on politeness. This study encompasses (syntactic, relational, operational, topical, polyphonic, periodic, compositional, etc.) strategies that allow each speaker, through interaction, to preserve, enhance or attack their own face, defend or expose their territory, preserve, enhance or attack the face of the other, invade the territory of the other, placing himself in a high place, or allow the other to stand out in the interaction. Furthermore, Roulet works with extensive discourses (not with isolated speech acts), authentic texts (not produced by the analyst), monological and dialogical interactions, literary and non-literary discourses such as fragments of novels, telephone conversations, bookstore interactions, letters, fragments of plays and films etc. (ROULET, 1999; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; ROULET, 2001).

The notion of face work, as elaborated by Brown and Levinson, is reductive, because it is essentially centered on the notion of speech act and on the analysis of isolated acts generally produced by the analyst, as well as on the strategies used by the speaker to decrease the level of threat of speech acts (cf. CULPEPER, 2011; KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 1992, 2005, 2006, 2013; LEECH, 2014). I therefore adopt the broader notion of the figurative process.

As for the discourse relations and their markers, such as connectors, the indications available in the literature about their role in the figuration process are punctual and non-systematic and do not offer a broad view of the phenomenon. In Brown and Levinson (1987), some strategies to make speech acts less threatening use the articulation of clauses and their markers. An example is the strategy of indicating difficulty in performing an act. With this strategy, the speaker reveals to the listener that he does not want to bother him: “I don’t want to interrupt you, but [...]” (BROWN; LEVINSON, 1987, p.188). In the final part of the book, there is also a section in which the authors, starting from the Analysis of the Conversation, recognize that the acts do not exist isolated, but they act articulated in the structure of the discourse. However, in this section, the authors basically provide an indication for future studies, suggesting a field of study for Theory of Politeness, and do not perform systematic work. Thus, in Brown and Levinson (1987), the role of discourse relations in face work is only suggested and is not the object of detailed study, such as the study of indirect speech acts or hedges.

Based on the Theory of Politeness (BROWN; LEVINSON, 1987) and on early versions of the Modular Approach to Discourse Analysis (ROULET et al., 1985), Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005, 2006) reveals that speech acts are articulated in hierarchical structures, and a main speech act may be linked to others, whose function is to prepare, justify, reformulate the main act. However, the author does not propose a systematic

study of the textual articulation in the figuration process, but merely draws attention to the role of “softener” that some acts, such as preliminary or concessive acts, can perform in relation to a principal act. In *Semantics of Enunciation*, Ducrot (1987, 2005) also reveals that acts are not isolated and notes that concessive constructs and connectors such as the French terms *mais* (but) or *donc* (therefore) play a relevant role in the construction of the speaker’s *ethos* (image). Studying the concession, the author points out: “It allows to improve the image that the speaker provides of her/himself in her/his speech. The speaker assumes the appearance of a serious, therefore trustworthy man, because, before choosing his Z position, he also pays attention to the possible objections against Z.” (DUCROT, 2005, p.29, our translation).

From a different theoretical perspective (Functionalism), but with results similar to those mentioned, Oliveira (2005), working with NURC data, reveals the role of conditional sentences in reducing the aggressiveness of threatening acts to the positive and negative faces, such as critiques and offerings. Also investigating data from NURC, but based on Discursive Semiotics, Barros (2008) points out the role that adversarial sentences introduced by *mas*, negations and hedges play in constructing a negative image of the recipient. According to the author (BARROS, 2008, p.99, our translation), “With these procedures, the speaker shows that he distances himself from the listener, that he is not interested in what the listener said or even that he does not agree.”

The sample of works presented reveals that the available indications about the role of discourse relations in the construction of identity images follow different theoretical orientations and focus on the punctual study of one or few discourse relations. Therefore, there is no theory that, like politeness theories centered on speech acts (BROWN; LEVINSON, 1987; BROWN, 2015; LAKOFF, 1977; LEECH, 1983, 2014; KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 1992, 2006; FRASER, 1990; KASPER, 1990; TERKOURAFI, 2005), offers a global explanation for the role of discourse relations in the process of figuration.

Nevertheless, the understanding of connectors as signals of the process of negotiation between the interlocutors, as proposed in the previous item, allows to comprehend in a broad way how connectors act as an important discursive strategy in the process of figuration. In any situation of action, signaling with a connector the realization of a discursive maneuver, such as refuting another’s argument or reformulating parts of the discourse, may have an impact on the negotiation of identity images.

In an electoral debate, the speaker who refutes the argument of the interlocutor can attribute to him negative social values (liar, unable, inhuman, etc.), as well as attribute to himself positive social values (sincere, competent, human, etc). In pointing out this maneuver with *mas*, for example, the candidate emphasizes the maneuver, in the expectation that the spectator (target of his interventions) understands his effort to reveal that the intervention of the adversary does not obey the monologic completeness and that, therefore, the adversary does not have the necessary social values to be a public manager.

From this perspective, the notions of negotiation process and figuration process are complementary. The co-construction of identity images (figuration process) has

an impact on the way the interlocutors develop the negotiation process and mark the development of this process with connectors and syntactic structures. In order to demonstrate the important role that a connector can play in the figuration process, I return to the fragment of the debate between Haddad and Serra previously analyzed:

- (2) Serra, nesse particular dos medicamentos, as ideias estão bem estruturadas, **mas** os programas não estão funcionando.

(Serra, about the medications, the ideas are well structured, **but** the programs are not working.)

Prior to this fragment, Serra had listed the public policies he carried out for health, when he was the mayor of São Paulo (*Quando eu cheguei a Prefeitura a distribuição [de medicamentos] estava praticamente paralisada. [...] Criamos o remédio em casa, que foi uma coisa muito importante e vamos fazer agora a cesta de medicamentos para o idoso, além de ampliar o remédio em casa [When I arrived at the City Hall the distribution [of medication] was practically paralyzed. [...] We created the “home medication” program, which was a very important thing and we will now make the basket of medicines for the elderly, in addition to expanding the “home medication” program*]). From the point of view of the negotiation process, the fragment produced by Haddad tries to show that the intervention produced by the adversary was not adequate for the development of this process, because it did not bring information compatible with reality. Thus, after Serra states that he implemented programs that improved the health of the population, Haddad retakes the opponent's argument to refute this argument (act introduced by the connector), claiming that the programs are not working. With the use of *mas*, the candidate signals the maneuver to criticize the negligence or incompetence of the adversary as public manager.

From the point of view of the figuration process, the implications for the faces are evident. By signaling with *mas* the maneuver to criticize the incompetence of the adversary, Haddad attacks the face of the other and damages the image of efficient public manager that he tried to construct in his intervention. Haddad also attacks the opponent's territory by revealing information - the inadequacy of government programs - that the other might want to hide from voters. At the same time, Haddad values his own face because he shows that he knows the reality of São Paulo and the programs in operation and because he attacks the face of the other politely, recognizing their merits (*the ideas are well structured*), to later refute them (*but the programs are not working*).

In this section and in the previous one, I have presented the theoretical framework that guided the study of a corpus formed by two electoral debates. In the next section, I present and discuss the results of the analyzes, which investigated the role of *mas* and the discursive maneuvers signaled by it in the figuration process developed by the candidates participating in the debates.



## The use of *mas* in electoral debates

As I mentioned in the introduction, Fernando Haddad (PT) and José Serra (PSDB) were the participants of the first debate which took place on 10/26/2012, in the second round of the electoral campaign by the city of São Paulo. This debate was transcribed and published by Folha de S. Paulo newspaper the day after the debate. On the second debate analyzed, its participants were Dilma Rousseff (PT) and Aécio Neves (PSDB). This debate occurred on 10/24/2014, in the second round of the campaign by the Presidency of the Republic, and was transcribed and published by Portal G1. The two debates were promoted by the same TV network, Rede Globo<sup>8</sup>. In both debates, a total of 55 occurrences of the connector *mas* were found, as shown in table 1.

**Table 1** – occurrences of *mas*

Candidatos	N	%
<b>Aécio Neves</b>	22	40.0
<b>Dilma Rousseff</b>	16	29.0
<b>Fernando Haddad</b>	09	16.4
<b>José Serra</b>	08	14.6
<b>Total</b>	55	100

Source: Author's elaboration

All the occurrences of *mas* mark the relation of counter-argument between the textual constituent they introduce and the information activated in the course of the debate, therefore stored in the discursive memory of the interlocutors. However, with these occurrences, the candidates perform more specific discursive maneuvers, such as denying or correcting information given by the interlocutor about the speaker or returning the same accusation made by the interlocutor. Because of their role in the figuration process, these maneuvers were separated into two groups. The first corresponds to the occurrences of *mas* in which the connector signals maneuvers with which the speaker clearly attacks the opponent. Therefore, this group signals hetero-attack maneuvers. Generally, in these occurrences, the point of view preceding *mas* can be assigned to the interlocutor (adversary), whereas the point of view introduced by *mas* is always the speaker's point of view.

The second group corresponds to the occurrences of *mas* with an unexpected functioning in electoral debates. These occurrences indicate maneuvers with which the speaker attacks his own face, recognizing a failure of his management, the insufficiency of actions taken or the non-accomplishment of actions in favor of the population. Therefore, the second group signals auto-attack maneuvers. As we will see, with this

---

<sup>8</sup> The debate between Fernando Haddad and José Serra can be accessed on: <<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/1176189-leia-a-transcricao-do-debate-da-tv-globo-entre-candidatos-a-prefeito-de-sp.shtml>>. The debate between Dilma Rousseff and Aécio Neves can be accessed on: <<http://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2014/transcricao-debate-presidencial-2-turno.html>>.

kind of *mas*, the speaker attacks his own face to claim positive social value (humility) and to make the listener believe that if the candidate has not completed all actions during the mandate, he must be (re)elected to complete the actions he failed to take.

Table 2 shows the two groups mentioned, the discursive maneuvers that correspond to each of them, as well as the number of occurrences of *mas* that signals each one of the maneuvers.

**Table 2** – discursive maneuvers signaled by *mas*

<b>Discursive maneuvers of hetero-attack</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
To oppose the management of the speaker to the management of the interlocutor or of members of the interlocutor’s coalition.	15	27.2
To evidence contradictions between the actions taken by the opponent in his public life, criticizing his negligence or his incompetence.	10	18.1
To indicate topic change (conversation structuring marker).	6	11.0
To deny or to correct information given by the opponent about the speaker.	3	5.5
To introduce criticism to the interlocutor, criticism preceded by politeness formula.	2	3.6
To return the same accusation made by the interlocutor.	2	3.6
<b>Partial total</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>69.0</b>
<b>Discursive maneuvers of auto-attack</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
To specify information given before the connector about the government program or the speaker’s previous management.	14	25.5
To reveal the awareness that the speaker has of the problems he will encounter, if elected.	3	5.5
<b>Partial total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>31.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Author’s elaboration

Next, I will analyze each of these maneuvers, placing emphasis on the role that these maneuvers and the connector that signals them play in the figuration process.

### **Maneuvers of hetero-attack**

In the debates studied, the number of occurrences of *mas* for hetero-attack was higher (38/69%) than self-attack (17/31%). This can be explained by the fact that the central feature of a political debate is that it is an aggressive contest between candidates for gathering votes and not for the recognition of disabilities.

With the *mas* for hetero-attack, the candidate connects the textual constituent introduced by the connector and a piece of information from the opponent’s speech. As emphasized by Roulet (1999; ROULET et al., 1985), the *mas* that connects a textual constituent and the information given by the interlocutor has a polemical and aggressive nature. The speaker recollects the other’s speech to deny or refute it and to show that

the argument introduced by *mas* must prevail. Thus, this type of *mas* is quite aggressive for the faces, since, with the information brought by the connector, the speaker denies the other's arguments and attacks his face. Therefore, this type of *mas* is a strategy of impoliteness (CULPEPER, 2011; KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 2013).

However, this general analysis is based on Ducrot's classic studies of *mais* (French) (1987; DUCROT et al., 1980) and omits relevant information about the discursive maneuvers signaled by the occurrences of *mas* in the *corpus*, because these occurrences neither present the same behavior nor produce the same effects. Thus, to verify the role of *mas* in the figuration process, this general description can be enriched by the study of the discursive maneuvers of hetero-attack that the political opponents signal with *mas*.

The maneuver most frequently signaled by *mas* is this: *to oppose the management of the speaker to the management of the interlocutor or the one of members of the interlocutor's coalition*. In our data, 15 occurrences (27.2%) signal this maneuver. In this example, candidate Aécio Neves, with *mas*, makes a criticism against the adversary (all the segment that precedes *mas*) and a promise (the segment introduced by *mas*).

- (3) **Aécio Neves:** A transposição do rio São Francisco, que levaria água para as regiões mais carentes do país. Era para ter ficado pronto em 2010, nós estamos em 2014 e aqueles que estão lá próximos das obras não acreditam mais que verão uma gota d'água. **Mas** eu, ao assumir a presidência da República, estejam certos que esta obra será concluída.

(**Aécio Neves:** The transfer of the São Francisco River, which would take water to the neediest regions of the country. It was to be completed in 2010; this is 2014 and the people who are there do not believe they will see a drop of water. **But** when I take over the presidency of the Republic, I am sure that this work will be completed.)

It is common for one candidate to accuse the other of incompetence, because of the typical aggressiveness of the debate. As this fragment shows, it is common for a candidate to use *mas* to oppose two forms of management, the adversary's management, which would be marked by delays in the delivery of work, and his own, which would be marked by efficiency. In the fragment, the candidate mentions a work that was not completed by the adversary (the transposition of the São Francisco River), a promise that, if elected, he would keep. This maneuver is important for the figuration process, because, with it, the candidate attacks both the face of the adversary, compromising his image as an efficient public manager, and its territory, because it shows supposed evidence of his incompetence.

That maneuver is similar to this: *to evidence contradictions among the actions taken by the opponent in his public life, criticizing his negligence or his incompetence*. This maneuver, in our data, was signaled by 10 (18.1%) occurrences of *mas*. The two excerpts below, taken from Fernando Haddad's speech at different moments of the debate, illustrate it.

- (4) **Fernando Haddad:** Olha, há oito anos nós estamos aguardando providências que estão sendo anunciadas agora **mas** que não foram tomadas.  
**(Fernando Haddad:** You see, for eight years we've expected for measures that only now are being announced, **but** which have not been taken.)
- (5) **Fernando Haddad:** São medidas simples que o Serra está anunciando, **mas** tiveram oito anos para fazer e não fizeram.  
**(Fernando Haddad:** Serra is announcing simple measures, **but** they had eight years to take them and they have not done anything.)

With this maneuver, the candidate, in the segment that precedes *mas*, recollects promises made by the opponent, only to inform, in the segment introduced by the connector, that these promises are actions that could have already been taken by the opponent, when he was mayor of São Paulo. The repetition of this maneuver, during a debate, aims at denying the felicity conditions (AUSTIN, 1962) of Jose Serra's promises, questioning his sincerity and suitability. With *mas*, Fernando Haddad signals the contradiction between the adversary's speech (his promises) and the way he acts in public positions.

This same maneuver (*to evidence contradictions among the actions taken by the opponent in his public life, criticizing his negligence or his incompetence*) occurs in the debate between Dilma Rousseff and Aécio Neves. In the fragment below, which is quite aggressive towards the face of the opponent, the candidate reveals the incoherence of Aécio Neves, who would be hiding corrupt acts of coreligionists.

- (6) **Dilma Rousseff:** Candidato, se o senhor me responder por que é que o chamado mensalão tucano mineiro até hoje não foi julgado, por que é que o senhor Renato Azeredo, aliás, Eduardo Azeredo, pediu, pediu renúncia do seu cargo para o processo voltar para a primeira instância, o senhor estaria sendo de fato uma pessoa correta. **Mas** não, o senhor faz uma política e adota uma estratégia nesse debate que é uma estratégia estranhíssima.  
**(Dilma Rousseff:** Mr. Neves, if you told me the reason why the “mensalão tucano mineiro” [vote-buying corruption scandal] has not been tried yet, and the reason why Mr. Eduardo Azeredo resigned from his position for the case to return to the lower court, you would indeed be a correct person. **But** no, you make politics and adopt a rather strange strategy in this debate.)

With the ‘não’ introduced by *mas*, the candidate denies the information given by her before the connector (that the opponent would be a correct person, if he provided explanation about a certain episode of corruption ‘*mensalão mineiro*’ involving his party). This way, the candidate actually denies not the discourse produced by the opponent, but a potential discourse (ROULET, 1999) or a response she wished the candidate had given.

The occurrences of *but* that signal the maneuver to indicate topic change (*conversation structuring marker*) are apparently not very aggressive for the faces involved in the debate. In these occurrences, the role of *mas* would only be to act in the topical organization of the text, indicating the end of a topic and the opening of another, as well as the hierarchically superior status of the second topic (ROULET et al., 1985; ROULET; FILLIETTAZ; GROBET, 2001). However, because the (de)construction of images affects all the elements of the discourse, with this *mas*, the candidates try to attribute positive social values to themselves and negative values to the other, as these words of Aécio Neves show.

- (7) **Dilma Rousseff:** Vocês [políticos do partido do adversário, PSDB] bateram recordes de desemprego, recordes de baixos salários, e quando o senhor se refere à inflação, estou falando do governo Itamar, e não do Fernando Henrique. **Aécio Neves:** Mais um engano da senhora, **mas** volto a Cuba que é a minha pergunta.  
(**Dilma Rousseff:** You [PSDB politicians] beat unemployment records, low wage records, And when you refer to inflation, I'm talking about Itamar's government, not Fernando Henrique's. **Aécio Neves:** You are making another mistake, **but** I'm going back to Cuba, which is the topic of my question.)
- (8) **Aécio Neves:** Candidata, muito confusa essa sua explicação. **Mas** eu vou voltar à questão central. A senhora então quer dizer que o PT controlou a inflação?  
(**Aécio Neves:** Mrs. Rousseff, this explanation is very confusing. **But** I'm going back to the central question. So you mean PT controlled inflation?)

In the constituent that precedes *mas*, the speaker criticizes the adversary, portraying the candidate as someone who gives confusing or inadequate answers to the negotiation process (*You are making another mistake and this explanation is very confusing*). In the textual constituent that succeeds *mas*, the candidate introduces a new topic (*financing of works in Cuba and control of inflation*, respectively), denying the expectation that he will continue the criticism and suggesting that he has no interest in the mistakes supposedly made by the adversary. Thus, the candidate affirms the weaknesses he attributes to the other, but suggests not having the goal of developing the attack on his face.

In this sense, the intervention formed by textual constituents articulated by *mas* as conversational marker is an important strategy of (de)construction of the faces. With the use of the connector, the candidate signals that the criticism made to the adversary is not the central topic of his intervention, because he subordinates the criticism to the new topic introduced by the connector. So, when the adversary, the target of the criticism, speaks again, she does not recollect the criticism so as to defend herself. The action of reactivating a subordinate topic from the other's speech (the criticism) would be to show that criticism is important and that denying it is more relevant than talking about the central topics of the opponent's speech, those that subordinated the

criticism: *investment in works and inflation control*. Thus, in the debate, *mas*, as a conversational marker, places the criticized person in a difficult situation. Rebutting criticism means giving importance to a secondary topic, not rebutting it, on the other hand, means remaining with the face attacked.

In an action situation in which the one that best attacks the face of the opponent wins points, the maneuver *to deny or to correct information given by the opponent about the speaker* can be very useful to the interlocutors, as in this excerpt of Aécio Neves.

- (9) **Aécio Neves:** Eu não devia lhe corrigir em público, **mas** eu era líder do PSDB.  
(**Aécio Neves:** I should not correct you in public, **but** I was PSDB leader.)

The correction announced in the act to the left of the connector is performed in the act initiated by *mas*. The act on the left can be interpreted as an indirect apology: *I apologize for correcting you in public, but...* In societies like ours, correction is seen as a very aggressive act for the positive face of the person criticized (KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 1992, 2006; LEECH, 2014). Therefore, even in the electoral debate, criticism can be preceded by attenuating procedures, which apparently would have the power to reduce their degree of aggressiveness (KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 2013).

In the fragment under analysis, the attenuation act that precedes the connector (*I should not correct you in public*) reveals the candidate's awareness of the aggressiveness of the criticism, especially if it is done in public. The presence of an audience at an occasion of attack on the face usually increases the feelings of shame, embarrassment or humiliation on the part of the person criticized (GOFFMAN, 2011). At the same time, the same attenuation act reveals the candidate's intention to make viewers understand that the act introduced by *mas* is a criticism. In the absence of an illocutionary verb, the act *I was PSDB leader* could be understood as a simple statement and not as a criticism. Thus, we perceive the illocutionary force of criticism when we read the whole intervention and not only the act introduced by *mas*.

That maneuver is similar to the one in which the candidate *introduces criticism to the interlocutor; criticism preceded by politeness formula*. The speaker opens his speech with an apology that announces that the act introduced by *but (mas)* is a criticism. This act only seems to attenuate the aggressiveness of the criticism. As in the fragment studied previously, in the next one Dilma Rousseff, who was the only candidate to perform this maneuver, recognizes the taboo that, in our society, involves criticism, even in a situation of debate, in which the attack on the faces is expected.

(10) **Dilma Rousseff:** Então, candidato, me desculpa, **mas** o senhor falou, falou e não apresentou nada de concreto. Nem no presente, agora, tampouco para o futuro.

(**Dilma Rousseff:** So, Mr. Neves, I'm sorry, **but** you've been jabbering on and have not presented anything concrete. Neither for the present, nor for the future.)

Because of the controversial nature of a political debate, candidates can develop the negotiation process by exchanging the same accusation. Thus, a maneuver found only in the debate between Dilma Rousseff and Aécio Neves is this: *to return the same accusation made by the interlocutor*. The two excerpts below show the occurrences of *but (mas)* which signal this “boomerang” maneuver.

(11) **Dilma Rousseff:** O senhor é o primeiro a falar em corrupção, **mas** eu posso enumerar todos os processos de vocês que nunca foram julgados e as pessoas estão soltas.

(**Dilma Rousseff:** You are the first to speak of corruption, **but** I can name all lawsuits filed against you that have never been settled and people remain free.)

(12) **Aécio Neves:** Se a senhora quer falar com o mensalão mineiro o chamado mensalão mineiro, vamos aguardar que ele seja julgado, **mas** a senhora agora comete um grave, talvez até uma... A senhora antecipou algo que possa, que pode amanhã lhe criar constrangimentos, porque o principal acusado do mensalão mineiro é o coordenador da sua campanha em Minas Gerais.

(**Aécio Neves:** If you want to talk about the so-called “mensalão mineiro” lawsuit, let's wait until it is settled, **but** you now make a serious mistake, maybe even a... You are bringing forward something that tomorrow may cause embarrassment to you, because the main accused of “mensalão mineiro” is the coordinator of your campaign in Minas Gerais.)

In both fragments, to show that the opponent does not deserve the confidence of the voter, the candidate initiates the intervention with the accusation of corruption made by the opponent in the previous intervention. After the candidate recollects the accusation, he uses it but to deny any inference resulting from the accusation, such as *the opponent made a fair accusation or the opponent, for making accusations against corruption, is honest*. With *mas*, the candidate introduces the criticism to complete the attack to the face of the opponent, arguing that he is the one who should give explanations for corruption.

## Maneuvers of self-attack

The occurrences of self-attack are less frequent because they are a risky strategy for a candidate in electoral debate. As shown in table 2, 17/31% occurrences of *mas* in the two debates are of this type. With these occurrences, the candidate attacks his own face, introducing, with the connector, failures or inadequacies of his own acting as a public manager. In both debates, this type of *but (mas)* occurred only in the speeches of the speakers who, at the time of the debate, were the candidates of ruling parties, Dilma Rousseff and José Serra<sup>9</sup>. Some hypotheses explain why only the candidates of ruling parties used *mas* for self-attack.

When the candidate of the ruling party attacks himself/herself, he/she provides justification for either staying in power (Dilma Rousseff) or returning to power (José Serra). If the candidate, for reasons that are independent of his/her will, has not been able to take the actions he/she had promised, the voter must vote for him/her. Only so, he/she will be able to take actions as the voter allows the candidate to be re-elected.

In addition, the candidate of the ruling party is in an unfavorable position compared to the opposition candidate. As the candidate of the ruling party has already finished his/her mandate, his/her management is widely known, his/her actions have been publicized (attacked and defended) in the media, his/her decisions have been attacked by the opposition and his fragilities have been exposed and attacked by opponents as well as justified and defended by supporters. As for the opposition candidate, although he/she might have held other public positions, the qualities and weaknesses of his/her management are less evident at the time of the debate. That is what has occurred in the debates analyzed here. The achievements and limitations of Dilma Rousseff and José Serra, candidates of the ruling parties, were more evident at the time and were therefore constantly mentioned throughout the debates<sup>10</sup>.

Thus, performing the self-attack maneuver in this situation is an effective strategy, with which candidates of the ruling party anticipate the criticisms that may be made by opponents. By anticipating criticism, the candidate assumes failures, but mostly justifies such failures and explains why and where the management has failed.

In addition, although the self-attack strategy is risky, an important effect can be achieved with this strategy. When he attacks himself, the speaker can be seen as a humble candidate who does not emphasize his past actions and who knows that no public manager can solve all the problems of the city or country. In many societies, humility is a positive social value, which makes Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1992, 2006) say that our social interactions would be governed by a law of modesty, a law that prevents self-praise. It is also the value attributed to humility that made Leech (1983, 2014) include the maxim of modesty among his maxims of politeness. According to Leech,

---

<sup>9</sup> In 2014, Dilma Rousseff attempted the second presidential term. In 2012, José Serra tried to return to the city hall of São Paulo, whose mayor was Gilberto Kassab, a political co-religionist of Serra at the time.

<sup>10</sup> This difference between the candidates explains why, in a political debate, the candidate of the ruling party tends to be more defensive, while the opposition candidate tends to be more aggressive (FIGUEIREDO et al., 1997; CUNHA, 2015).



the tendency of members of societies (Western and Eastern) to avoid disagreement or offense, obeying the Principle of Politeness, makes the subject minimize self-pleasure and maximize displeasure for the self, producing acts of self-devaluation.

On the basis of these hypotheses, it should be noted that self-attack should not be interpreted as a genuine act of self-denial. The production of this maneuver may be a strategy of the speaker to construct a favorable image of himself. In my view, this is what happens in the electoral debate analyzed.

The occurrences of *mas* from this second group basically signal two discursive maneuvers of self-attack. The first one, which is signaled by most of the occurrences of *mas* for self-attack (14/25.5%), is *to specify information given before the connector about the government program or the past speaker's management*. In the occurrences below, drawn from the two debates, the candidates use *mas* to signal that they need to do more than they did.

(13) **José Serra:** Além disso, para as mães que estiverem na fila esperando vaga em creche, foram feitas 150 mil vagas **mas** não deram conta, nós vamos dar uma bolsa, uma bolsa creche de 200 reais até que abra uma vaga para o bebê. (**José Serra:** In addition, for mothers who haven't been able to find their children a daycare center, 150 thousand openings have been created **but** they are not enough, we will give mothers a daycare grant of 200 *reais* until they can put their babies into a daycare center.)

(14) **Dilma Rousseff:** Nós conseguimos um avanço nos últimos quatro anos [no investimento em esgoto tratado], **mas** esse avanço ainda não é suficiente porque durante muitos anos nesse país não se investiu em esgoto tratado. (**Dilma Rousseff:** We have made a breakthrough in the last four years [by investing in treated sewage effluents], **but** it is still not enough because in many years there has been no investment in sewage treatment.)

In José Serra's speech, the segment that precedes *mas* brings the information that 150 openings were created in São Paulo's daycare centers. With the act introduced by *but (mas) (they are not enough)*, the candidate acknowledges that the number is unsatisfactory, countering the idea that the 150 openings would suffice. To convince the voter that his return as a mayor is necessary, the candidate uses the acts articulated by *mas* as argument for the conclusive segment: *we will give mothers a daycare grant of 200 reais until they can put their babies into a daycare center*. But this can only happen if the candidate is elected. It is as if the candidate told the voter: *I recognize that there are still problems to be solved. That's why you should elect me*.

In Dilma Rousseff's speech, the segment that precedes *mas* praises the investment in sewage treatment (*We have made a breakthrough in the last four years*). In the act introduced by *mas (this progress is still not enough)*, the candidate acknowledges that what she did was not enough. With the act introduced by *mas*, Dilma Rousseff

denies the idea that, in her management, the advance in the universality of sewage was enough. As an argument to justify the insufficiency of its action, the candidate informs that previous rulers did not invest in sewage (*because in many years there has been no investment in sewage treatment*). Thus, in order not to carry the burden of self-attack, the candidate shares responsibility for the problems of basic sanitation with other rulers.

The other self-attack maneuver signaled by *mas* is this: *to reveal the awareness that the speaker has of the problems he will encounter, if elected*. In these occurrences, the constituent introduced by *mas* shows that the candidate is willing to face the challenges of political office, as exemplified by this excerpt.

(15) **José Serra:** São Paulo é uma cidade rica, vibrante, **mas** com muitos problemas, está cheia de problemas. E eu estou pronto para enfrentar esses problemas, com a minha capacidade de fazer acontecer, com o meu sentido de justiça social, com a integridade de mim e da minha equipe, estou pronto para fazer isso.

(**José Serra:** São Paulo is a rich, vibrant city, **but** with many problems, it is full of problems. And I am ready to face these problems, with my ability, with my sense of social justice, with my integrity and the integrity of my team, I am ready to do this.)

In this excerpt, the self-attack signaled by *mas* is less evident. In the context of this debate, the act introduced by *mas* (*with many problems, it is full of problems*), mentioning problems existing in São Paulo, can be understood as a self-attack. In other words, it is possible to attribute the illocutionary force of (self) criticism to this act. The candidate recognizes the existence of problems that, however, he did not solve when he was mayor. Therefore, his opponent, Fernando Haddad, repeatedly accuses José Serra of promising that he, Serra, will solve problems that he did not solve, as in this fragment already analyzed: *Serra is announcing simple measures, but they have had eight years to take them and they have not done anything*. But even if it is possible to interpret the act as (self) criticism, José Serra only mentions the problems that exist in São Paulo to defend the idea that he is prepared to face them (*I am ready to face these problems*). It is therefore for the benefit of his own face that the candidate performs the maneuver of self-attack.

## Conclusions

This study has provided evidence that the connectors, because they signal discursive maneuvers, can act as discursive strategies of first importance, playing a fundamental role in the way interlocutors develop the figuration process. To investigate the role of connectors in this process, this research followed an interactionist conception of

connectors, a concept that more strongly amplifies structuralist or cognitivist views. According to the adopted perspective, the analysis of connectors is not limited to the study of how they indicate the hierarchy of the constituents of the text or to the study of the instructions they offer to the reader or listener.

More than that, connectors are signs of the discursive maneuvers performed by the speaker in his attempt to produce an intervention that can be considered by the interlocutor as adequate enough for the negotiation process. In this sense, connectors signal the effort of the speaker to achieve the monologic completeness. At the same time, in the interactional dynamics, connectors can be used by the speaker to signal that the intervention previously produced by the interlocutor is not adequate enough for the development of the negotiation process, by not obeying the restriction of monologic completeness.

Focusing on the use of *but* in electoral debates, I tried to show that the speaker, in performing discursive maneuvers, seeks to attack the face of the other, assigning him negative social values, and to attack or repair his own face, attributing to himself negative or positive social values, respectively. Thus, when producing an intervention, the candidate performs discursive maneuvers, such as *introducing criticism to the interlocutor*, *criticism preceded by a formula of politeness*, and *returning the same accusation made by the interlocutor*. By performing these maneuvers and signaling these maneuvers with *mas*, the candidate shows to the opponent and the voters his intention to construct a sufficiently complete intervention and to reveal that the maneuvers of the opponent, when he produced his intervention, were not adequate.

Because the negotiation process and the figuration process are deeply linked, the candidate's maneuvers, to obey the monologic completeness (negotiation process), allow him to manage the faces and territories (figuration process). By doing so, these maneuvers allow him to claim positive social values for himself – honesty, competence – and attribute negative social values to his adversary – dishonesty, incompetence. Thus, with *mas* for hetero-attack, the candidate can construct an unfavorable image of the other and a favorable one of himself. However, with *mas* for self-attack, the candidate can, by attacking himself, attribute to himself values such as humility and modesty, as well as anticipate future criticism of the opponent, justifying these criticisms.

As discussed in the introduction, this study is part of a larger piece of research that investigates the role of different discourse relations in the figuration process (see note 2). Combining the results achieved in this study with the results already obtained in previous research, I believe it is possible to contribute to the elaboration of a global approach that provides theoretical and methodological tools for the study of the role of textual articulation and its marks in the co-construction of identity images.

CUNHA, G. O papel dos conectores na co-construção de imagens identitárias: o uso do *mas* em debates eleitorais. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.681-706, 2017.

- *RESUMO: Este estudo se insere em uma pesquisa mais ampla cuja finalidade é investigar se o estabelecimento das relações de discurso e sua marcação por meio de conectores têm implicações para a co-construção de imagens identitárias. Buscando evidências suplementares para essa pesquisa e adotando contribuições do Modelo de Análise Modular do Discurso, este trabalho estuda o conector *mas* empregado por candidatos a cargos públicos em dois debates eleitorais, um municipal e o outro presidencial. O objetivo é verificar em que medida as ocorrências do *mas* nesses debates, ao sinalizarem manobras discursivas realizadas pelos candidatos, constituem peças importantes no jogo por meio do qual eles (des)constróem imagens identitárias. A análise dos debates revelou que as 55 ocorrências do conector identificadas sinalizam dois grupos de manobras discursivas. Com o *mas* em que o candidato sinaliza manobras de ataque ao adversário (*mas* de heteroataque), é possível a ele tentar construir uma imagem desfavorável do outro e favorável de si. Já com o *mas* em que o candidato sinaliza manobras em que se ataca (*mas* de autoataque), é possível a ele, atacando-se, atribuir a si valores como humildade e modéstia, bem como se antecipar a futuras críticas do adversário, justificando-as.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Conector *mas*. Processo de figuração. Processo de negociação.*

## REFERENCES

- AQUINO, Z. G. O. Diálogos da mídia – o debate televisivo. In: PRETI, D. (Org.). **Diálogos na fala e na escrita**. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2008. p.171-194.
- AUSTIN, J. L. **How to do things with words**. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- BARROS, D. L. P. A provocação no diálogo: estudo da descortesia. In: PRETI, D. **Cortesia verbal**. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2008. p.89-124.
- BROWN, P. Politeness and language. In: SMELSER, N. J.; BALTES, P. B. (Ed.). **International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences**. Amsterdam; New York: Elsevier, 2015. v.18, p.326-330.
- BROWN, P.; LEVINSON, S. **Politeness: some universals in language use**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- CULPEPER, J. Politeness and impoliteness. In: AIJMER, K.; ANDERSEN, G. (Org.). **Handbooks of Pragmatics: Sociopragmatics**. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2011. v.5, p.391-436.
- CUNHA, G. X. Conectores e processo de negociação: uma proposta discursiva para o estudo dos conectores. **Fórum Linguístico**, Florianópolis, n.14, p.1699-1716, 2017.

- CUNHA, G. X. Estudo da negociação de faces em debate eleitoral: o papel das relações retóricas. **Estudos Linguísticos**, Campinas, v.45, n.3, p.815-829, 2016a.
- CUNHA, G. X. Análise de uma cartilha institucional em uma abordagem modular da complexidade do discurso. **Revista do GEL**, Campinas, n.13, p.31-55, 2016b.
- CUNHA, G. X. **O papel das relações retóricas na negociação de faces em debate eleitoral**. 2015. 170f. Relatório de pesquisa (Pós-Doutorado em Linguística) – Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2015.
- CUNHA, G. X. As relações retóricas e a negociação de faces em debate eleitoral. **Confluência**, Rio de Janeiro, n.47, p.205-238, 2014.
- CUNHA, G. X. **A construção da narrativa em reportagens**. 2013. 601f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) - Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2013.
- CUNHA, G. X. A função de conectores argumentativos no texto da proposta curricular de Minas Gerais. **Alfa**, Araraquara, n.54, p.203-222, 2010.
- CUNHA, G. X.; BRAGA, P. B. O comentário metadiscursivo como estratégia argumentativa em debates eleitorais. **EID&A: Revista Eletrônica de Estudos Integrados em Discurso e Argumentação**, Ilhéus, n.12, p.101-118, 2016.
- CUNHA, G. X.; MARINHO, J. H. C. A expressão conectiva na verdade: contribuições para uma abordagem polifônica dos conectores reformulativos. **Signo**, Santa Cruz do Sul, v.42, p.53-64, 2017.
- DUCROT, O. Argumentation rhétorique et argumentation linguistique. In : DOURY, M.; MOIRAND, S. (Org.). **L'argumentation aujourd'hui: positions théoriques en confrontation**. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2005. p.17-34.
- DUCROT, O. **O dizer e o dito**. Tradução de Eduardo Guimarães. Campinas: Pontes, 1987.
- DUCROT, O. et al. **Les mots du discours**. Paris: Minuit, 1980.
- FIGUEIREDO, M. et al. Estratégias de persuasão eleitoral: uma proposta metodológica para o estudo da propaganda eleitoral. **Opinião Pública**, Campinas, v.4, p.182-203, 1997.
- FILLIETTAZ, L. La place du contexte dans une approche praxéologique du discours: le cas de l'argumentation dans les interactions scolaires. **Pratiques**, Metz, n.129, p.71-88, 2006.
- FRASER, B. Perspectives on politeness. **Journal of Pragmatics**, Brisbane, n.14, p.219-236, 1990.

- GOFFMAN, E. **Ritual de interação**: ensaios sobre o comportamento face a face. Tradução de Fábio Rodrigues Ribeiro da Silva. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2011.
- GOFFMAN, E. **A representação do eu na vida cotidiana**. Tradução de Maria Célia Santos Raposo. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2009.
- GOFFMAN, E. **La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne**: les relations em public. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1973. v.2.
- GOFFMAN, E. **Interaction Ritual**. New York: Pantheon. 1967.
- KASPER, G. Linguistic politeness: current research issues. **Journal of Pragmatics**, Brisbane, n.14, p.193-218, 1990.
- KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, C. Politeness, impoliteness, non-politeness, “Polirudeness” The Case of Political TV Debates. In: JAMET, D.; JOBERT, M. (Org.). **Aspects of linguistic impoliteness**. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013. p.16-45.
- KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, C. **Análise da conversação**: princípios e métodos. Tradução de Carlos Piovezani Filho. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2006.
- KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, C. **Les actes de langage dans le discours**: théorie et fonctionnement. Paris: Armand Colin, 2005.
- KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, C. **Les interactions verbales**. Paris: Colin, 1992.
- LAKOFF, R. What you can do with words: politeness, pragmatics and performatives. In: ROGERS, A.; WALL, B.; MURPHY, J. P. (Org.). **Proceedings of the Texas Conference on performatives, presuppositions and implicatures**. Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977. p.94-120.
- LANNA, M. A. L. **Ação, experiência e discurso**: a gestão da mudança na hipnoterapia. 2005. 350f. Thesis (Doctor in Linguistics) - Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2005.
- LEECH, G. N. **The pragmatics of politeness**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- LEECH, G. N. **Principles of pragmatics**. Londres: Longman, 1983.
- MANN, W. C.; THOMPSON, S. A. Relational propositions in discourse. **Discourse Processes**, Philadelphia, v.9, n.1, p.57-90, 1986.
- MARINHO, J. H. C.; CUNHA, G. X. Os conectores como sinalizadores do processo de negociação: uma abordagem cognitivo-interacionista. **(Con)Textos Linguísticos**, Vitória, v.9, p.75-94, 2015.
- MOESCHLER, J. Connecteurs pragmatiques, inferences dirrectionnelles et representations mentales, **Cahiers Chronos**, Leiden, v.12, p.35-50, 2005.

OLIVEIRA, T. P. Condicionais, atenuação e polidez: um estudo das estratégias comunicativas das condicionais. **Alfa**, Araraquara, v.49, n.1, p.123-137, 2005.

PIRES, M. S. O. **Estratégias discursivas na adolescência**. São Paulo: Arte & Ciência, 1997.

REBOUL, A.; MOESCHLER, J. **Pragmatique du discours**: de l'interprétation de l'énoncé à l'interprétation du discours. Paris: Armand Colin, 1998.

ROULET, E. The description of text relation markers in the Geneva model of discourse organization. In: FISCHER, K. (Ed.). **Approaches to discourse particles**. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006. p.115-131.

ROULET, E. Une approche modulaire de la problématique des relations de discours. In: MARI, H. et al. **Análise do discurso em perspectivas**. Belo Horizonte: FALE/UFMG, 2003. p.149-178.

ROULET, E. **La description de l'organisation du discours**. Paris: Didier, 1999.

ROULET, E. Variations sur la structure de l'échange langagier dans différentes situations d'interaction. **Cahiers de linguistique française**, Genebra, n.9, p.27-37, 1988.

ROULET, E. Échanges, interventions et actes de langage dans la structure de la conversation. **Études de Linguistique Appliquée**, Paris, n.44, p.7-39, 1981.

ROULET, E.; FILLIETTAZ, L.; GROBET, A. **Un modèle et un instrument d'analyse de l'organisation du discours**. Berne: Lang, 2001.

ROULET, E. et al. **L'articulation du discours en français contemporain**. Berne: Lang, 1985.

RUFINO, J. A. **As minhas meninas**: análise de estratégias discursivas em canções buarqueanas produzidas no período da Ditadura Militar. 2011. 337f. Thesis (Doctor in Linguistics) - Faculdade de Letras, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2011.

SILVA, L. A. Descortesia e (des)construção da imagem pública. In: PRETI, D.; LEITE, M. Q. (Org.). **Comunicação na fala e na escrita**. São Paulo: Humanitas, 2013. p.93-120.

SIMUNIC, Z. **Une approche modulaire des stratégies discursives du journalisme politique**. 2004. 380f. Thesis (Doctor in Linguistics) - Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Genebra, Genebra, 2004.

SPERBER, D.; WILSON, D. **Relevance**: communication and cognition. Oxford; Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995.

TERKOURAFI, M. Beyond the micro-level in politeness research. **Journal of politeness research**, Sheffield, n.1, p.237-262, 2005.

TOMAZI, M. M.; MARINHO, J. H. C. Discurso jurídico e relações de poder: gestão de faces e territórios. **(Con)textos Linguísticos**, Vitória, n.8, p.245-278, 2014,

VION, R. **La communication verbale**: analyse des interactions. Paris: Hachette, 1992.

Received in January 2017

Approved in June 2017



# THE LANGUAGE OF CRITICAL COLLABORATION IN HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS' AGENCY DEVELOPMENT<sup>1</sup>

Maria Otilia Guimarães NININ\*  
Maria Cecília Camargo MAGALHÃES\*\*

- **ABSTRACT:** This paper aims at discussing the language of critical collaboration in agency development (EDWARDS, 2005, 2007; YAMAZUMI, 2007; ENGESTRÖM, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011; ENGESTRÖM; SANNINO, 2011; VIRKKUNEN, 2006a, 2006b) especially focusing on high school teachers and their in-service education, taking as research context the teacher education project, LEDA - Reading and Writing in Different Areas – carried out in public schools in the city of São Paulo. Methodologically, it is anchored in Critical Collaborative Research (PCCol) (MAGALHÃES, 2009, 2011, 2012), characterized as interventionist research focusing on the decapsulation and transformation of school learning, and, in this specific case, organized as fortnightly meetings with six teachers from different epistemological areas, one pedagogical coordinator from the language area and four applied linguists. The teacher education meetings focus on the relationship between participants triggered in the discussions about didactic and pedagogical practices. Based on data produced through video recording, preliminary results highlight changes in the significance attributed by the participants about the pedagogical teaching practices in the classroom, and indicate conscious theoretically grounded positions taken by the participating teachers, characterizing the development of relational and transformative agency and the emergence of a responsive, professional practice.
- **KEYWORDS:** Critical collaboration. Critical collaborative research. Relational agency. Transformative agency.

## Introduction

Much has been discussed lately about the role of human beings in understanding and transforming the social context to which they belong and in which they act; much has also been discussed about their own understanding and transformation in this

---

\* Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC). São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Teacher of the General Coordination of Specialization, Improvement and Extension. otilianinin@terra.com.br

\*\* Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC). São Paulo – SP – Brazil. Professor of the Linguistics' Department and of the Post-Graduate Program in Applied Linguistics and Language Studies. cigamaga@gmail.com

<sup>1</sup> This text is the result of research supported by CNPq [National Council for Scientific and Technological Development]

process, influenced by this same context whose transformation occurs because of the same individuals. Studies along this line highlight the relevance of the concept of agency, with authors from various epistemological areas, all of them concerned with transformations provoked on and by human beings in the society in many ways, and often also with different understandings.

Studies have, in different fields, been dedicated to the understanding of how individuals engage in society and how they can perform their roles in such a manner that may provoke transformations for sustainability. In fact, the focus is to think about how the activities in which the human being is involved are organized so as to push them to act with a view to transformations that will affect the future. In this sense, the aim, in every learning activity, is not solely the transformation of the individual, but that of society, precisely by enhancing creative and critical modes of action.

By the same token, agency discussion in the socio-historical-cultural paradigm emphasizes studies of Edwards (2005, 2007), Engeström (2008, 2009), Engeström and Sannino (2011), Virkkunen (2006a), among others, who, above all, emphasize the development of individual agency in collaborative relationships in collective activities, focusing on conflict, and seeking to understand and explain the actions of individuals intended at creating transformation possibilities of the contexts in which they operate.

In this sense, they stress relational agency and transformative agency, whose characteristics emerge from dialogic processes and are aimed at building relationships between participants involved in the activity, focusing on decision-making in complex situations. From these theoretical assumptions and discussions about intervention research that are organized by critical collaboration (MAGALHÃES, 2011, 2012; MAGALHÃES; NININ; LESSA, 2014), considering the educational scope, this study aims at discussing the language that supports the methodological choices for the development of agency of high school teachers in an in-service teacher education project. The specific research context was the teacher education project, LEDA - Reading and Writing in Different Areas (RWDA), held in local public schools of São Paulo. Methodologically anchored in Critical Collaborative Research (PCCol) (MAGALHÃES, 2009, 2011, 2012), characterized as intervention research<sup>2</sup> focusing on the notions of decapsulation and transformation of school learning, the project is organized in fortnightly meetings with six teachers from different epistemological areas, one pedagogical coordinator of the language and its technologies area and four Applied Linguistics researchers. The teacher education meetings focused on the relationship between the participants triggered by the discussion about the teaching-learning of reading and text production based on the perspective of genres.

The paper is organized to revisit the concept of agency, present an intertwined notion of agency, collaboration, and contradiction, clarify theoretical and methodological

---

<sup>2</sup> The intervention perspective, with a focus on school learning decapsulation and transformation will be clarified in the theoretical-methodological section.

assumptions underlying the research and discuss the agency development of teachers participating in RWDA, which, as stated above, is a continuous education project. Closing the paper, a section with remarks regarding the work carried out, the constraints encountered and the emerging prospects of the teacher education project *per se*.

## Revisiting the agency concept

Agency, as previously stated, has been discussed in different epistemological areas, and its origin as a concept is reputed to Giddens (1979), evolving between the 1980s and 1990. Since then, the concept has been revisited and expanded, especially in the last decade, by socio-historical-cultural researchers in the educational field. This perspective highlights the activity system as the place for the occurrence of agency, since that is where interactions occur, and it is this same system that, driven by context and the individuals' intentional actions, organizes and promotes the interactive activity itself.

In this sense, the idea of agency cannot be understood as any action taken by the individual or the subject, but as an action that is directly related to the social structures in which the activity system is immersed. The subject's actions, intentional and conscious, in their relations to other participants, have repercussions on the transformations that the activity system undergoes. In other words, the agency we are referring to involves intentional and conscious actions, and are overlapped with the collective needs and interests of the subjects of activity. In this respect, Emisbayer and Mische (1998 cited in VIRKKUNEM, 2006a, p. 63) define agency as: “[...] a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past, oriented through evaluation of present toward future possibilities”.

What will happen in the future – i.e., how these future possibilities materialize - will depend on the actions to be taken by the subjects in social relations, but above all, on their ability to control their actions so that they are guided to the transformation of the context. Virkkunen (2006a) states that exercising such control over one's own actions entails the establishment, by the subject, of a direct relationship with the object of the activity and with the others in the activity, its collectivity. Therefore, this control would be linked to the means by which the individual accesses and uses their practical and conceptual tools, bearing in mind the rules and social relations involving the community in which the activity is immersed.

It is from this discussion that Virkkunen (2006a, p.66,) re-discusses agency, conceptualizing it as a hybrid, “[...] based on an amalgamation of different activity systems that retain their specific objects and logic and their specific ways of reproduction, although the objects of these activities overlap.” Agency has this hybrid character, when the subject evaluates the present time from both the individual and the collective perspectives, and guides future actions by linking two activity systems. Collaboration, in this agency context, is long term and takes place between at least two systems, which

aim at preserving their identities in the collaborative work, but also seek to articulate the differences, coordinating them.

By addressing educational contexts, such as the investigation reported here, the focus falls on the work of teachers and, in this aspect, Engeström (1987) already pointed out that all work activity is organized around an object that is considered the real motive for the activity. Complementing this idea, in subsequent studies, Engeström and Sannino (2011) draw attention to the fact that the object and the contradictions that accompany it have the power to generate agency. In this regard, Hekkila and Seppanen also (2014, p.7) emphasize:

This means that although a work community is understood as a collective working on a certain object, every individual employee has their own relationship to the work: every individual creates their personal sense of this meaning and object. Thus, the changes in work and especially its object may be experienced differently by different employees.

Engeström and Sannino's Studies, in several different investigations, have led to the emergence of different types of agency. Resulting from the above discussion that presupposes the agency immersed within an activity system, we seek to discuss the transformative agency which, according to Engeström (2011), emerges during the processes of educational intervention, precisely what occurs in the context of critical-collaborative teacher education considered in the investigation presented here.

Transformative agency is here understood as the ability of the subjects to consciously expand/alter their professional activity to discuss complex issues in the community (EDWARDS, 2007, 2011; ENGESTRÖM and SANNINO, 2011). In this perspective, the transformative agency emerges from the displays of contradictions, i.e., displays of conflicts and dilemmas experienced by the subjects when involved in collective activities. Engeström (2013) also emphasizes that transformative agency should be understood not as a single action by the subject, but as a very specific set of actions that potentially trigger a transformation in the collective. He, therefore, identifies six categories of transformative agency that emerge during the participation of subjects in an activity system, as shown in the following table.

**Table 1** – Categories of transformative agency

Category	Example (linguistic marks)
Resistance to change, to new suggestions and initiatives; attitude of rejection addressed to management, co-workers or the teacher educator.	No, that was not quite what I said. That's what you say...
Criticism to the activity in process and its organization; They are intended at identifying problems in the current conduction of the work.	In my opinion, this will not work if we do it that way. I think that the coordinator should have done it differently...
Clarification of new possibilities or potential possibilities in the activity, relating positive past experiences/successful practices.	That's interesting; then we could perhaps do it like this...
Prediction of new models/patterns in the activity, with suggestions for the future of the activity.	If we could do it like this, perhaps the students would take an interest in the work.
Commitment to actions so as to make them concrete and change the activity.	(Conscious and voluntary speech acts) I'm very interested in this ... I could arrange this...
Action to change the activity throughout its development.	I've already changed some things. I'm already doing that.

**Source:** Adapted from Haapasaaari, Engeström and Kerosuo (2014, p.5) and Engeström (2011).

It is also worth mentioning the type of agency that is called relational agency which, as discussed by Edwards (2007), involves the subject's ability to offer and request support for other subjects, engaging with the world through actions that take into account the positions of other participants in interactions. In this sense, the subjects' actions always occur in relation to those of others. From the researcher's point of view,

[...] the concept is intended to capture a capacity to align one's thoughts and actions with those of others to interpret aspects of one's world and to act on and respond to those interpretations. In CHAT terms [Cultural Historical Activity Theory] it is a capacity to work with others to expand the object that one is working on by bringing to bear the sense-making of others and to draw on the resources they offer when responding to that sense-making. (EDWARDS, 2007, p.4).

It is this relational agency that helps us understand how the subjects enter the tasks that are proposed to them in an activity system and how they negotiate meanings to reshape both the tasks and the activity itself. In this regard, the relational agency

focuses both on learning as a result of individual actions in the construction of social relations and on the transformation that the learning resulting from these relationships can cause to the collective context. More effectively, relational agency “[...] involves an ability to work with others to strengthen purposeful answers to complex problems” (EDWARDS, 2011, p.34).

Expanding this discussion, we turn to Edwards (2007, p.13) that, when describing relational agency as a joint action on an object within the activity, emphasizes the following:

- The possibility of contesting interpretations of the object, while working within sets of professional values;
- The mobility, or changing nature, of the object;
- The fluidity of relationships: collaborations may be with different people and relationships may shift within the action;
- The location of joint action within systems that are able to deal with expanding understandings of the object;
- That expanding objects occur within coevolving systems.

The development of relational agency occurs through the subject’s knowledge harnessing and depends on the ability they have to work collaboratively with the knowledge that is shared by the activity subjects – as well as that which is distinct. Thus, the greater the difference between the subjects, the higher the requirements in terms of conscious actions that they should take, and also the more significant the movement towards dealing with the contradictions in the activity system.

Edwards (2011, p. 34) highlights the fact that when new ideas are not too far from the expertise needed for a particular practice, the more easily the subjects will put into practice their “*relational agency*”. However, in situations where specific knowledge is more elaborate, more complex, one may need to “*transform it*” in order to make it more accessible to the individuals. In other words, and relating to the focus of the research reported here, Edwards’s argument suggests that “[...] the construction of common knowledge that allows the rapid transfer or favors the understanding is an important prerequisite for fast and responsive relational work.” (EDWARDS 2011, p.34).

Therefore, considering the importance of working, in education sessions, with knowledge that is validated by all participants, the efforts of the teacher educator participants to create spaces for discussion of shared knowledge are important because they favor the development of the subject and create opportunities for the development of relational agency when dealing with more complex situations, as stated above.

Relational agency, as emphasized by Edwards (2007), can serve different purposes at different times of professional development. In initial education, for example, it can mean sharing interpretations of existing problems in the professional context. This confirms the existence - which cannot be seen as negative – of actions of resistance

and criticism since it is through discussions involving problems that negotiations of meaning take place. It is precisely in these discussion contexts that the ability of the individuals to work with others, albeit in controversial situations involving explicitly showing resistance and differences, no longer is considered a weakness, but is seen as a tool driving negotiation and the search for consensual sharing for the development of the professional activity. Furthermore, from the findings of Edwards (2007) in this regard, we emphasize that these situations collaborate to reducing actions that only indicate the “following” of orders or prescriptions by the subjects.

### **In dialogue: agency, collaboration and contradiction**

As discussed by Virkkunen (2006a) and Edwards (2007), the questioning and transformation of action patterns historically valued in a context involve collaborative participation, but also require criticism from participants with a view to producing a new policy framework. Based on Kotter (1996), Virkkunen (2006b, p.43) points out that the concept of agency implies a form of collaboration that “crosses organizational boundaries already established”. In other words, it is necessary for the collaborative participation to involve organizations that question routine senses and meanings and the socially-historically established relationships that underpin them.

The discussion of agency in teacher education activities in schools contexts, following critical educational framework research, as carried out by us (MAGALHAES, 2011, 2012; MAGALHÃES; NININ; LESSA, 2014), centrally involves a discussion of the concepts of collaboration and contradiction in the dialectical organization of language, which allows the interweaving of participants’ voices for the production of new ways of thinking and acting. The focus is on the involvement of the participants to actually listen and act with each other, not as neutral observers, but as active agents in taking shared decisions, by questioning practices and theories for the construction of the new. As pointed out by Freire (1978), this is a pedagogy of dialogue that is built through questions and answers organized by the language of argumentation. This discursive organization may enable the construction of critical collaboration areas for understanding needs, gaps in teaching and learning, and socio-historically produced senses and meanings, aimed at involving the school as a whole in its reorganization (NININ, 2011).

As discussed in other texts (MAGALHÃES; OLIVEIRA, 2016), collaboration, as well as contradiction, are primarily philosophical constructs that organize collective experiences through which human beings are constituted and constantly transformed and, likewise, create and transform their action contexts. Collaborating is this process of building with others in which subjects work together to understand and transform themselves, and each other, in their collective context of action and the world. As Ninin (2013) and Magalhães (2014, p.25-26) point out, collaboration involves:

- creating an environment of trust and respect between participants, where, they intentionally listen to each other and - based on values and needs, fears, knowledge, the unknown, doubts, conflicts, emotions, problematic issues, agreements, and differences - disagree from each other and rethink themselves;
- developing commitment and responsibility for conducting the project;
- building productive mutuality and interdependence, in order to develop a transforming shared perspective that may question differences, agreements, and disagreements so as to promote the joint achievement of negotiated outcomes;
- sharing other ways of thinking, allowing for the expansion of their own understandings;
- creating contexts in which language is dialogically and dialectically organized, i.e., organized by means of argumentation;
- sharing theories and proposals about the reorganization of practices and social activities;
- allowing everyone the chance to speak, to deepen ideas and points of view, to question the senses attributed to the focused concepts, to ask for clarification, explain ideas and understandings about the object in question, to disagree, resume or complement ideas, describe experiences as means to link theory to practice and enable sharing of new meanings, which would not be possible without the support of colleagues;
- creating contexts in which cognitive and affective conflicts are not separated and lead to mutual internalization (JOHN STEINER, 2000), in which:
  - the participants are responsive to the actions of others and responsible for their own choices;
  - the agency's expansion is a result of the dialectical internalizing and externalizing processes as part of the joint discussion about senses and the sharing of meanings;
  - the dialectical relationship between individual and social processes for knowledge construction can be created, promoting the understanding of contradictions between senses that are socio-historically and culturally produced (VYGOTSKY - based on Marx and Engels) and create conflicts and tensions.

It is important to note that the understanding of the collaborative relationship, as defined in this paper, differs from the concept of cooperation that, to our mind, does not involve a relationship of partnership, negotiation of senses and meanings for the production and expansion of the activity under discussion. Although for many researchers (FULLAN; HARGREAVES, 2000), collaboration and cooperation are synonymous.



The discussion about contradiction is recovered by Engeström and Sannino (2011) as a central philosophical construct in Marx's discussion of the dialectical method, in terms of the existence of opposing trends in the development of a phenomenon. Contradiction is, in fact, the basis of the Marxist dialectics. Taking into account Engeström's and Sannino's (2011, p.370) point of view, contradiction cannot be understood as synonymous to "[...] paradox, tension, inconsistency, conflict, disagreement, dilemma, which, in turn, can be understood as manifestations of contradictions [...]" because the contradiction relationship is immersed in the context of "its actual historical development."

In this regard, the contradictions between/in human actions cannot be resolved through combinations and balance of competing priorities. In this paper, the various discursive displays of systemic contradictions are analyzed by means of linguistic-discursive clues, in the analysis of the utterance situation that situates participants as historically constituted subjects enabling the understanding of the dynamics of organizational transformations and agency development in the relations. Thus, we are guided by the discussions proposed by Bronckart (1999) – whose studies are more specifically anchored on Adam (Elements of textual linguistics) – when he highlights that the utterance mechanisms are the ones that, besides contributing to the establishment of pragmatic coherence in the text, allow us to understand the interlocutors' judgements, opinions, and feelings by means of voice management in interaction situations, expressions and meanings of modalization.

Based on the writings of Vygotsky (1987), we believe collaboration and contradiction to be socio-historically and culturally situated relations, and fundamental in the process through which we become who we are. This process of becoming who we are is established through a complex relationship between the individual and the collective, which involves active participation for the transformation of the self, the other and the world. As already pointed out, the understanding of how participants act to build critical-collaborative relationships is key in this paper, since this may enable everyone to act towards/in the joint production of the object under construction in the focused Activity, the focused concept the actions that supported what has been accomplished.

Therefore, this involves the recognition that a person can be a resource to another, as pointed out by Edwards (2007, 2011), when discussing relational agency, in the negotiation process, in which each participant acts as support for others, whilst understanding and jointly producing new ways of thinking and acting in relation to the questions posed, and to the methodological choices and the theory that supports them. This includes: the senses of being an educator based on theoretical and methodological discussions in today's society, in relation to the focused socio-cultural and historical contexts; expectations about who the students are and about their learning and development possibilities; and the interpretation of the needs and issues of concern indicated by the participants in these relationships. In this framework, the concept of relational agency is quite relevant for the understanding of negotiation development and of the progress of transformative agency in the actions of participants whilst producing new knowledge.

In Engeström and Sannino (2011), we find the manifestations of contradictions:

**Table 2 – Manifestation of contradiction categories**

Manifestation of contradiction categories	Examples (language marks)
<p>Dilemma: characterized by everyday thinking, related to socially shared beliefs, that brings out the individual dilemma. The issues are, in this view, reproduced/reformulated and unresolved.</p>	<p>(Marked by hesitations, pauses, on the one hand... on the other hand... yes, but...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Ex.: It is / it is / <b>yes</b> / we have seen that this is happening in class, <b>but</b> we cannot change now. We need to state it here / it is / here / on the didactic sequence / uhn / these skills because this <b>MUST</b> be registered here, you know?</li> </ul>
<p>Conflict: takes the form of resistance, disagreement, argument and criticism; It occurs when a person feels negatively affected by the judgment of another or a group because of any conflict of interest; the resolution occurs when the subject acts in terms of submission, or of a dominant third-party, or commitment, or impasse, or retreat.</p>	<p>(The strongest mark is that of denial: no, I do not agree with...; this is not true; no it's not like that...)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Ex.: Teacher educator: But it does not seem to us that teachers are so comfortable with that / with this task / as you say...</li> </ul> <p>Coordinator: <b>Yes / No / it was not quite like this</b> that I put it to them. <b>But</b> you see / I / I just asked them to do the didactic sequences because / it is / because if we leave it out to them, they would not be doing any of that. I do impose, <b>yes</b>, because they need to do it, <b>but it is not in the sense</b> / to force them.</p>
<p>Critical conflict: situations where the subject is facing internal doubts that paralyze them in the contradictory insoluble issues they cannot solve by themselves; there is a silencing of the subject due to a guilty feeling; the situation is considered impossible or unintelligible.</p>	<p>(Linguistic marks that characterize emotion, personal issues, morals, that are presented by means of the narrative structure and the use of strong metaphors, the participant seeks to find a new personal sense for the situation; it takes the form of personal liberation or emancipation)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Ex.: Participating teacher: Look / do not give up working with us, okay? <b>We're still at preschool level</b> (laughs)</li> </ul>
<p>Double bind: cases in which the subjects repeatedly face seemingly hopeless situations, which tend to worsen, generating explosive crises for the subject.</p>	<p>(Rhetorical questions that indicate urgent need to do something, but at the same time, this something seems to be impossible; desperate questions like "what can we do?" appear with a sense of urgency; transition from individual self to the collective, expressions of helplessness)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Ex.: Participating teacher: You have <b>even already explained</b> to me how to do this in class, right?/ You have talked quite a lot about that, but <b>I</b> think that <b>we still don't know</b> how to do it. I keep thinking, "<b>how can we do this / provoke this discussion during class?</b>"...</li> </ul>

Source: Adapted from Engeström e Sannino (2011, p.373-374).

The authors explain these events, highlighting their importance for data analysis in research. They propose an analogy:

We may think of the analysis of contradictions in discourse data as similar to the peeling of an onion. The outer layer of the onion consists of rudimentary linguistic cues, that is, simple expressions such as ‘but’ and ‘no’, or somewhat more vague but still relatively straightforward forms like narratives seasoned with metaphors and rhetorical questions. Going through and identifying them may help us to locate potential discursive manifestations. For example, clusters of ‘buts’ may lead us to dilemmas, and clusters of ‘we’ may lead us to conflicts.

This does not mean that rudimentary linguistic cues correspond mechanically to specific manifestations. Clearly a ‘but’ can express many other things besides a dilemma, and a rhetorical question is certainly not always a sign of a double bind. (ENGESTRÖM; SANNINO, 2011, p. 374).

Engeström and Sannino (2011) also warn readers of the fact that one cannot carry out linguistic analysis that is closed in itself; there will be situations where more rudimentary indicators may reveal much more than a dilemma - a contradiction, perhaps – much in the same way that a rhetorical question does not always indicate double binding. In this sense, it is important to note that the analysis cannot be separated from the socio-historical context in which the activity takes place; besides, the historicity of each subject involved cannot be ignored.

Collaboration categories are stressed below as per the definition provided in this paper, i.e., differing from the concept of cooperation. Also, the linguistic marks found in collaborative interactions are provided, as discussed by Ninin (2016, p.186-188).

**Table 3** – Collaboration patterns and its realization in argumentative perspective

Pattern	Subject's Action	Participating characteristic	Linguistic-discursive marks that either expand or constrict collaboration and argumentation <sup>3</sup>
Responsiveness	<p>Subject sustains one's own participation and that of the other, with a view to responding, either through action or reflection.</p> <p>Asking or answering imply considering the other's answer or question as mediating artifact for one's own development; it involves engaging with the other's response.</p>	<p>The participant details points of view seeking connection with others.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Declarative sentences that mark not only the presentation of points of view, but also the resuming of voices from other participants               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: <i>Relating to what you said... / Considering what you said, what I think is...</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>- Mechanisms of assumptions and implied meanings that can function as modifiers of the argumentation movement;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: The teachers who read the Argumentative Sentences [AS] before our discussion are better organized to discuss them (it is assumed that <i>there are teachers who do not read the AS before the discussion</i>).</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Questioning mechanisms, presenting questions at pragmatic, argumentative and epistemic dimensions;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: Does what you have said have anything to do with what Vygotsky means when he discusses...? (Epistemic Perspective)</li> <li>o Ex.: Can we relate what you have said to what she said? how? (Argumentative perspective, pragmatic or epistemic nature)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Deliberation	<p>The subject takes initiative to seek for consensus based on arguments.</p> <p>Asking implies knowing the reason for asking a given question to the other (conscious act), it implies the intention to engage in the interaction, in the asking and answering game.</p>	<p>The participant makes arguments clearly, explicit; supports one's points of views.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conversational mechanisms that mark the participation of the subjects;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: We usually do it like this... (participant's choice for collective voice, which supports his/her action)</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Voices distribution mechanisms that mark the subject's implication (involvement) in the discourse (person of speech, direct, indirect or free speeches) and indicate the responsibility of the utterer in relation to what is said;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: <i>I think that... / We consider... / We usually do... / They do it like this... / It says here: "such and such..."</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>- Voice distribution mechanisms, marking the subject's initiative to submit views;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: <i>I think that... / In the activity that [I] have developed, this happened... / About what you've said, I think ...</i></li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Alterity	<p>The subject considers one's point of view in relation to that of the other.</p> <p>Asking implies knowing the other and, in this perspective, what is asked is never something the other has no means of answering. The expected/requested response cannot be pre-established by the person who poses the question.</p>	<p>The participant is discursively articulated in moments of interaction, distancing oneself from personal positions to understand the others' points of view.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Voice distribution mechanisms, marking the subject's initiative to submit views;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: <i>I think that... / In the activity that [I] have developed, this happened... / About what you've said, I think ...</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>- Appraisal mechanisms that mark the subject's evaluation of the matter being discussed;               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: It was a <i>good</i> activity (adjectives of appreciation) / <i>I did not like</i> it (expression with derogatory value) / questions that discredit the participant's point of view.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

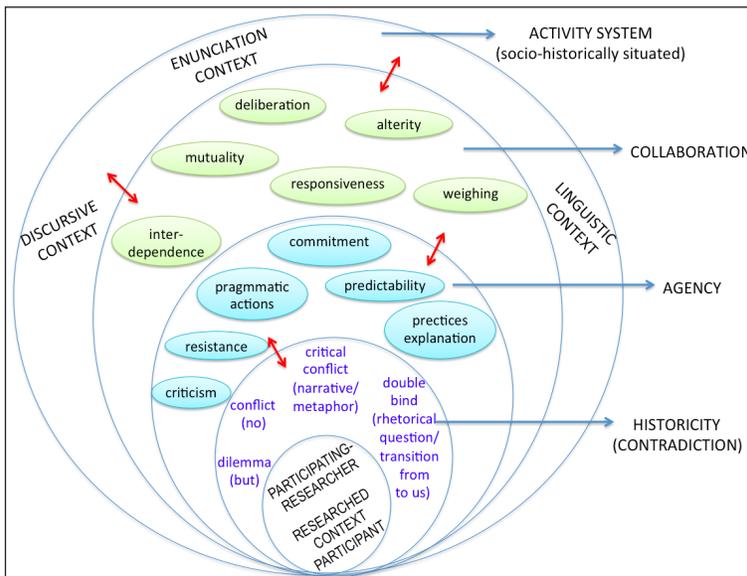
<sup>3</sup> Linguistic aspects adapted from Liberali (2013, p.74).

Pattern	Subject's Action	Participating characteristic	Linguistic-discursive marks that either expand or constrict collaboration and argumentation <sup>3</sup>
Weighting	<p>The subject abandons personal positions in favor of collective interests; balanced participation.</p> <p>Asking implies considering oneself part of a group and therefore weighing the knowledge needs of the group.</p>	<p>The participant acknowledges and puts forward for discussion both diverging and converging positions, aiming at expansion.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Verbal mechanisms of cohesion that allow us to see the nature of the positions presented in terms of temporality (sometimes referring to the moment of speech, and others referring to the act of speech production), the aspectuality (referring to the internal time in which the situation occurs) and the types of processes (verbal, material, mental, relational, existential, behavioral); <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: <i>We do</i> this kind of activity (present tense with generalizing meaning, can refer to the act of speech production or to a reference axis – teacher's actions) / <i>We did</i> this activity (past tense relating to the reference axis - the actual action by the teachers) / <i>When I did</i> this activity in my actual classes, I <i>used</i> five lessons to discuss this issue with students. / <i>I would think</i> about doing an activity with images (mental process, which expresses an action only within the mental realization) / <i>I write</i> comments on students' activities (material process, indicative of concrete practice - that can also be an effective practice of the participant or can indicate a generalization of their actions).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Mutuality	<p>The subject ensures pronouncement and participation spaces.</p> <p>Asking implies considering every and any response as a means to boost reasoning. From this perspective, there is no "<i>wrong answer</i>".</p>	<p>The participant considers any participation as legitimate.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lexical mechanisms related to lexical choices and how they are discursively articulated; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: This exercise that <i>analyzes the images</i> I find interesting and I've used it several times because students like it (lexical choice that refers to daily knowledge or scientific knowledge)</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Nominal cohesion mechanisms, that allow for the identification of the modes of connection between the arguments; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: About <i>what you've just said</i>, I think... (anaphoric constructions to recover previous speeches) / Let's discuss <i>what she said</i>. What do you think of...</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Interdependence	<p>the subject takes into account the essentially dialogic and polyphonic nature of interaction processes.</p> <p>Asking implies considering one's own knowledge as unfinished or susceptible to changes due to the several voices that crisscross the speech of responding interlocutors .</p>	<p>The participant ensures the presence and the interweaving of different discursive voices in interactions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Voice distribution mechanisms, marking the implication of the subject in discourse;</li> <li>- Modalization mechanisms that mark the truth, probability and mandatory conditions (logic modalization); righteousness (deontic modality); trial results (appreciatively modalization) and capacity (pragmatic modalization); aimed at easing relations of asymmetry and resistance; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: You <i>can do</i> this activity, but not even like this... (meaning you have permission to) / what you did was <i>nice</i> (indicator of action judgment)</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Coherence mechanisms, marking the chain of ideas (through linking words that indicate cause / consequence, restriction / concession, opposition / contrast, explanation, justification, exemplification, conclusion); aiming at the articulation of points of view; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>o Ex.: <i>In this sense</i>, this means that... / <i>However</i>, this task doesn't represent...</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

Source: Ninin (2016, p.186-188).

The following figure summarizes what happens to the subjects when immersed in an activity system, and highlights the relationship between historicity (contradictions), agency and collaboration.

**Figure 1** – Constitution of Subjects in the Activity System: contradictions, agency and collaboration



Source: Prepared by the authors, based on Engeström and Sannino (2011), Ninin, (2013, 2016).

In interaction situations throughout the investigation process, participants (both researcher and members of the researched context) impact each other. Because they were historically constituted differently, the interlocution between them occurs by the confrontation of points of view, confrontation of knowledge, bringing to the fore the sociohistorically situated contradictions that are discursively manifested by means of several levels of conflicts and dilemmas, thus provoking the subjects and pushing them to exercise agency. Agency, in turn, is displayed by criticism and resistance, in its initial stage, progressing to the individual’s commitment not only to the other with whom they interact but also to themselves and the context, in a collective perspective, aiming at transformation. Critically-collaboratively characterized, this type of action by the subject is supported by attitudes of responsiveness, alterity, deliberation, mutuality, weighing and interdependence – all of which are carried out by and in the discourse, taking into account the enunciative, linguistic and discursive spheres.

## **Theoretical and methodological assumptions**

The concept of agency, as discussed here, involves a theoretical and methodological framework in which individual and collective learning and development are embedded in a social and historical context permeated by tensions and conflicts mainly triggered by contradictions arising from the clash between traditional theories and practices and new possibilities brought to the discussion. Thus, the movements of collaboration and contradiction in the organization of relations in the teacher education context are central to the understanding of teachers' agency development in the mutual and intentional production of the focused activity object.

Thus, methodologically, this paper is based on the Critical Collaboration Research framework (PCCol) (MAGALHÃES, 2009, 2011, 2012), characterized as educational intervention research (ENGESTRÖM, 2011), focusing on the decapsulation and transformation of school learning, guided by crisis, unpredictability, humility, vulnerability, deliberation and creativity.

Why do we state that PCCol is an educational intervention type of research focusing on the decapsulation and transformation of school learning? When we analyze this methodology as interventionist, we emphasize the idea that this education intervention – collaborative in nature – “[...] seeks evidence of maturing psychological functions and considers that the individual can only make the most of these interventions because his/her developing functions recognize the assistance received by means of intervention.” (NININ, 2017). As pointed out by Virkkunen and Schaupp (2011, p.634), educational intervention “is a specific mode of collaboration projected to boost development even further”. This educational movement occurs in situations in which participants are provoked to critically look at their own actions, which causes a rupture of in their learning modes – motivated by the critical collaborative language organization in the relations. As stated by Engeström (2002, p.191), this expansive perspective breaks learning encapsulation – a phenomenon that we have been calling learning decapsulation –, thus favoring the expansion of the activity object and its transformation beyond the school context.

Theoretical-methodological choices concentrate on the organization of a collective process of involvement and transformation in search of critical collaborative solutions that are shared and may allow for learning and development of all the participants.

As already noted, the analysis and discussion of the interaction relations created and the development of agency by the participants of the school community are included in the RWDA Project, whose goal is to create teacher education spaces in the school context so that the school, understood as a learning community, may understand and transform their actions. The project is organized in fortnightly meetings with six teachers from different epistemological areas, one pedagogical coordinator from de Brazilian educational macro-area of Language and its Technologies and four researchers from the field of Applied Linguistics. Teacher education meetings have a duration of one hour and thirty minutes – as part of a weekly period reserved for the school's collective

teacher education – called Collective Pedagogical Work Time (HTPC)<sup>4</sup> – and focus on the relationship between the participants triggered by the discussion about the teaching-learning of reading and text production from the perspective of discourse genres. All meetings are filmed and/or audio recorded and transcribed (following the coordinates of the Ethics Committee at PUC-SP) for analysis and discussion. Prior to formal analysis, the data produced in each teacher education meeting are presented to the participants, in discussion and study sessions, for action clarification as well as their theoretical basis. After this moment, the data are formally analyzed by the researchers – who sign this paper. Data from this meeting were analyzed based on linguistic categories, closely related to (1) the socio-historical context in which the activity is immersed, and (2) the historicity of each subject involved, contributing to the understanding of how collaborative relationships can create relational agency contexts so that conflicts, tensions, dilemmas are focused, reflected upon and lead all participants involved (school members and university researchers) to learning and development of transformative agencies.

All excerpts analyzed here come from the same date (April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016), whose focal point was the researcher’s return to the school in order to discuss the continuity of the project and its organization. The discussions of the meeting carried out on April 4<sup>th</sup> focus on decisions taken for the development of teacher education work based on understandings of the two participating groups - the school members and the teacher educators. They mainly address the aspects that are considered important by the teachers and the coordinator for the continuity of the teacher education project.

## Agency Development

Four teacher educators attended the selected meeting (F1, F2, F3 and F4), as well as five teachers (Arts -A, Portuguese – P1 and P2; Physical Education - PE; Reading Room teacher - R) and a pedagogical coordinator (C). The meeting was organized around a proposal by the school’s general coordination, aimed at developing a guiding document for schoolteachers, called didactic sequence, whose methodological framework follows the theory discussed by João Luiz Gasparin, in the book “*Uma Didática para a Pedagogia Histórico-Crítica*” [A Curriculum for Historical-Critical Pedagogy] (GASPARIN, 2013).

According to Gasparin, who takes Vygotsky’s theoretical frame as the basis for the discussions on knowledge construction, educational actions are organized from

---

<sup>4</sup> The Collective Pedagogical Work Time (HTPC) was an achievement for the teachers and refers to the time set by the city and state schools, in order for teachers and coordinators to meet, and discuss, analyze and propose solutions aimed at to collective needs of the school’s education. This time is included in the weekly working hours of professionals and aims to promote the exchange of experience, to reflect on the teaching practice and individual and collective improvement of educators. The Collective Pedagogical Work schedules must be followed in the school by teachers under the supervision of the pedagogical coordinator.



the Content Initial Social Practice (PSI); a Moment of Challenge or Problematization, Instrumentalization and Catharsis; and Final Social Practice of the Content (PSF). The continuing teacher education has given priority to discussions that link this methodology to the teaching materials used at the school (“*Student Notebooks*” and “*Teacher Notebooks*” / Curriculum Proposed by the State of São Paulo<sup>5</sup>). The teacher session chosen to be discussed in this paper specifically focused a conversation with the school participants on how they have worked with this methodological proposal.

Initially, we chose passages in which participating teachers explicitly criticize the activity being developed, marking one of the transformative agency categories. However, as we show in Figure 1, criticism, attitudes of resistance, among other factors, mark the position of the individual that, somehow, reflects a contradiction – manifested by conflicts, dilemmas, critical conflicts or attitudes that indicate a double bind – concealed in the subject’s core. Let us observe:

### Excerpt 1<sup>6</sup>

A<sub>3</sub>: So, because I’ve gotten to the point that I went into C’s room and said ‘I’m discovering that **I do not know how to teach**’ // because all that I did in my post-graduation course, everything that I studied // Ah! I am so stupid / so because / and then C said ‘calm down, calm down [*laughs*] I will help you [*laughs*] calm down’ do you understand? Because, well, what the others say, also say, because all I will do as an Art reinterpreting is complicated, it is bound by the sequence [didactic sequence], **so I never know how far I can go**. ‘The student is asking me; **I cannot answer now**; he’s busy; I can’t [...]’.

P1<sub>1</sub>: What Gasparin proposes also gives some guidance // But honestly, **I feel a little trapped by it**. C observed a lesson of mine, she saw that I was following the sequence and immediately skipped to another part, then I came back, [...] C saw that ‘**I messed up and now what?**’ [*laughs*] I was like ‘so what am I going to do?’

The Art and the Portuguese Teachers criticize the organization of the activity, identifying a problem in it that manifests itself through conflict, linguistically marked by negations (*I cannot teach / I never know how far I can go / I cannot answer now*

---

<sup>5</sup> The State of São Paulo Curriculum constitutes basic guidelines for the teacher’s work in the classroom. To support the work carried out in five thousand state schools, the São Paulo State Education Department developed in 2008 by employing the resources of the Coordination for Basic Education Management, a curriculum for elementary, mid and high school years. [...] The Curriculum of the State of São Paulo is complete with a set of materials especially for teachers and students: The “Teacher’s Notebooks” and the “Student’s Notebooks” are organized by subject matter, according to the grades, year and term. In them, Learning Situations are presented to guide the teacher’s work in the teaching of specific subject content and guide the student’s learning. Available at: <www.educacao.sp.gov.br/curriculo>. Accessed: April 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> In the transcriptions, the / symbol indicates a short pause and the // symbol indicates a long pause.

*/ I messed up, and now what?*). While discussing complex issues during the teacher education sessions – some of which make the participants feel vulnerable, and yet, they choose to reveal their insecurities – these participants show evidence of transformative agency, because every discussion collectively enhances the changes in professional practice or, at least enhances the importance of discussing professional practice in a guided and grounded manner.

In P1<sub>1</sub>, we see a discursive display that highlights a dilemma experienced by the participant (marked by the coordinating conjunction denoting contrast, “*but*”), however modalized (*I feel a little trapped*). This demonstration may indicate collaboration, in the sense that it shows weighting, appraisal, because when the participant modalizes, she appears to be holding a position which is common to the other participants, and especially to the educational coordinator, i.e., that it is necessary to document the pedagogical practice in the school, even if it interferes with the practice, often “putting it on a plaster cast”.

### Excerpt 2

P2<sub>2</sub>: The didactic sequence is very good; it helps a lot. **We** research a lot. The comfort zone doesn’t exist at all here; // everything changes; every meeting, something new happens. Then, / I think that often **this paperwork takes a lot from the educational [work]. We waste a lot of time** filling out so much paperwork, while we could be preparing another lesson; doing things differently. Sometimes, I prepare the sequence, and send it to C well in advance **with this fear of making a mistake**. Because, sometimes, the PSI does not fit the content that you are going to work. It’s difficult to find something. You study and go back, and read Gasparin again and make changes. There are lessons that I’ve modified 8 or 9 times because they don’t work: **‘How am I going to do the first moment with the student? How am I going to do this?’** So, it is this part, you know? We end up wasting a lot of time in the bureaucratic filling out of paper/ [...]

[...]

P2<sub>4</sub>: Yeah, something like that happens, because sometimes it makes you want to cry, you know? You feel desperate. You think that everything is working out, and it is not; and you think, **‘Wow, my God, what now? Everything has to have a command; it must be so, why am I evaluating like this? Why am I doing this?’** There are times that not even I know. I gave them the critical review and asked them to rewrite it. I know that some of them did what they had to do; they got it. [...] When I started the correction, I drew up a command with 10 items; then I realized that I had failed in that command. Then I prepared the command to present

the methodology, and I also realized this failure. I said, ‘Gee, look at what I am evaluating!’

F1<sub>1</sub>: But what is the idea of ‘failed’? What does ‘failed’ mean?

P2<sub>5</sub>: For example, they presented. Then // they talked about the author’s biography; I did not put the item biography. In the poem presentation, I did not put // the intervention. I wrote down some things; **others I could not**. So, **I failed** in this part. I did a very good job with them, but **I failed** at the time of/ **how am I going to evaluate this?** Do you see? Because I have started to be critical in this part, too. ‘Am I doing it right? And now, oh! My God?’ I will wrong him because I think he didn’t do a nice job?

In this excerpt, the contradiction occurred through conflict and double bind: the participant explains repeated situations that apparently, for her, have no way out. They seem to show a tendency to worsen, and we see P2 start with criticism of the work being developed (*I think that often this paperwork takes a lot from the educational [work]. We waste a lot of time filling out paperwork*), identifying problems in the following up of the activity, but continuing with the presentation of a narrative of her actions, pervaded with rhetorical questions (*How am I going to do the first moment with the student; how am I going to do this./ Wow, my God, what now? Everything has to have a command; it must be so; why am I evaluating like this? Why am I doing this?*) and transitions from the individual self to a collective us (*I think / we waste / I do / does not fit the content that you are going to work / you study / I’ve modified / we end up wasting*), though mainly keeping the focus on the **I** to highlight the crisis that she now faces in her professional activity. The conflict becomes evident when we see the denial in the discourse of the participant (*didn’t put / could not do / do not think he did/ how am I going to evaluate this?*), indicating an agency movement that, in a way, characterizes her awareness about the activity being development. As discussed by Engeström and Sannino (2011), these manifestations of contradiction move the activity and drive the development of agency, precisely because they are shared by the subjects, that do not seem to be paralyzed by the complexity of their contexts.

### Excerpt 3

P1<sub>12</sub>: But I just think the catharsis comes, sometimes even in the PSI. Even when they already know what they are talking about, from their experiences, they just did not know the theory, right? But their practice tells them that they already know.

F3<sub>23</sub>: So what’s bothering you is that, if catharsis happens in the PSI stage, it is out of the line, right? x, y, z...

F1<sub>2</sub>: Do you mind that?

P1<sub>13</sub>: No. In this case, I don’t. It bothers me when I get out [of the order], ME! When I’m doing the PSI and during the PSI, I have

already asked a question that was supposed to problematization and not PSI, do you understand? Working on his [the student's] world knowledge, there is a problem there already, in that moment and I go back and stay there, you see? PSI, problematization, PSI, problematization ...

F3<sub>24</sub>: But when the student gets out [of the order], you like it!

P1<sub>14</sub>: Oh, I think it's perfect. (laughs).

From the perspective of relational agency, we see in this excerpt, a participating teacher who is struggling between an actual possibility for knowledge building, which took place in her lesson, and a prescription triggered by the methodology that guides their teaching practices. In P1<sub>31</sub>, the participant presents a critical conflict that could have ended with her silencing or becoming distant, precisely because she had to face a problem that she understood as seemingly hopeless (*It bothers me when I get out [of the order], ME! / there is a problem there already, in that moment and I go back and stay there, you see?*). What we see, however, is that, driven by a question (*Do you mind that?*) and by an embedded assessment inserted in the argument by a participating researcher (*But when the student gets out [of order], you like it!*) the participating teacher reveals a break, a rupture with the prescriptive model. In this sense, we see the relational agency in P1: a way of acting that can serve as support to other participants for the understanding of pedagogical practices and of the activity system. It is in this regard that relational agency becomes an instrument for the development of transformative agency.

#### Excerpt 4

A<sub>12</sub>: [...] So, for me, it is distressing because it's something new, something I do not know if I'm right or not. Do you see? From the moment that I'll get 'Hey, is this teaching sequence right?' Then / Am I on the right track?! Then, inside the classroom, I'll be able to know if I'm going to one side or the other if the student gave me opening or not. Like today, for example, in the 2nd year. They had to say to me/ I was already in the questioning [problematization]/ say to me the theater genres. And / they were making a poster. They made the poster, and they had to show it to me, to make sure that they understood correctly. I had a group that went to present to me, and they said: they took the poster in front of the class and said [to the class] 'What do you think of this picture?' // I said [thought] 'my God, poor students' they kept asking the others so that the others could / I mean, they're so conditioned / what I'm seeing, what I realize now / [is that] they are so conditioned to the PSI (laughs) / to ask the question that they asked the question to the others and I said [thought], 'Lord, now what?'

F2<sub>29</sub>: But isn't it good to ask others questions?

- A<sub>13</sub>: It's good, but // what was being proposed? I wanted them to identify TO ME the theater genres. The tragedy and comedy through words and through images. So they had to show TO ME what the group //
- F2<sub>30</sub>: THEY had to do the task.
- A<sub>14</sub>:: Yes. No. // They wanted the rest of the classroom (laughs)
- F3<sub>33</sub>: They were teaching a lesson.
- F2<sub>31</sub>: They were teaching a lesson and began at the PSI (laughs)  
((Overlapping voices))
- F3<sub>34</sub>: I think it's fantastic // the student is doing something cool and / second: you point out something important. Perhaps the pressure of all of you with the PSI is so big, so focused on it that the student is thinking, suddenly, that this is what matters. And then? How will you link things so that they don't see only this focus? // But it's really cool this.  
((Overlapping voices))
- C<sub>13</sub>: Did students answer what they saw?
- A<sub>15</sub>: (laughs) yes, they did (laughs)  
[...]
- F1<sub>3</sub>: The question is the following// you said that it bothered you to realize that students were reproducing what the teacher does. And you think that does not happen in other schools where you have worked. The other students did not reproduce what the teacher does / no. What did the other students (in the 24 and half years that you worked) do? //
- F3<sub>35</sub>: When you gave this activity?!
- A<sub>16</sub>: They did not reach this focus.
- F1<sub>4</sub>: What did they do? Tell us.
- A<sub>17</sub>: They took the poster to the front of the class and said "so this is here" "we understood it like this, and this, and so on..."
- F1<sub>5</sub>: Well, they went there and showed / for whom / what did they understand?!
- A<sub>18</sub>: they showed to me, not to the other students.
- F1<sub>6</sub>: Ah! That was the question that I wanted to ask.
- F2<sub>33</sub>: (laughs) Yeah, I also wanted to get there (laughs)
- F3<sub>36</sub>: Which of the two things did you like best // of the things that happened?
- A<sub>19</sub>: What did I like?
- F3<sub>37</sub>: Yeah.
- A<sub>20</sub>: Well, I liked what the group presented, but I said: "and now, how am I going to intervene there?"
- F1<sub>7</sub>: Oh, your doubt is about what YOU have to do now with this new situation?

In this excerpt, we highlight the moment when the discussion focused on a teacher beginning her participation in the project, in her first meeting with the group. The teacher's opening - before people that, until then, were unknown to her - explaining her views can even be understood as a reflection of the actions of the group of teachers, since, though this was her first contact with the teacher educators, in meetings held in the school only between teachers, the teacher educators - researchers had already been introduced to this teacher. We may have, as researchers, built with participating teachers a relationship of trust, so much so that they referred to us as a partner or as people who study with them, or even as people who allow them to say what they think and feel without the evaluation perspective.

The report reveals to us an agentic behavior from the part of the participating teacher, a behavior marked by critical conflict, through a narrative that shows her inner doubts, in a situation that seems like a dead end to her (*do not know if I'm right or not / if I go to one side or the other, if the student will give me opening or not*). Besides it shows the double bind, essentially marked by a dialogue with herself (*I said "my God, poor students "*) and marked by rhetorical questions (*I said "Lord, what now?" / but I said "and now, how am I going to intervene there?"*). This attitude from the part of the teacher affects the development of the group, because, as she explains her point of view, she offers the group a tool to advance the understanding of the methodology under discussion. The questions and mediation by the teacher educators are also seen as instruments to broaden this understanding. This type of agency helps us to understand the reconfiguration tasks (ENGESTRÖM; MIDDLETON, 1996). As argued by the authors, the relational agency occupies a conceptual space between keeping the focus on learning as strengthening for individual understanding and keeping the focus on learning as systemic change.

Seen in these terms, we understand the relational agency as a trigger for the transformative agency as it can evolve from individual to collective questions. Edwards also emphasizes the fact that relational agency is characterized by a sense of mutual responsibility, i.e., the agency but a step towards the development of "a mesh of mutual responsibilities" (EDWARDS, 2007, p.6) that somehow invades the professional group, interfering with the understanding of the participants. A's attitude – contesting the object of the activity, or at least explaining her strangeness with regards to it, her difficulty to understand it and her criticism as to the status of the activity, while working within a set of prescribed professional values – supported by the other positions presented by members of the group and encouraged by the mediation of the teacher educators - indicates the development of relational agency and, as a consequence, that of the transformative agency too.

## **In conclusion**

As initially shown, this paper aimed at discussing the language of critical collaboration in the development of high school teachers' agencies in a context of

continuing education focused on the decapsulation of school learning. We have discussed the concepts of collaboration and contradiction as enhancers of development of agency. The analysis of collaborative and contradiction movements found in the discursive events of participating teachers and teacher educators has revealed features of relational agency as enabling the development of transformative agency for the understanding of the complexity of the teacher education activity as an object.

The discursive events in the form of dilemmas, conflicts, critical conflicts and double bind situations have enabled the school participants and researchers to: (a) realize the difficulties in understanding the theoretical basis of the approach prescribed by the school – Gasparin Methodology; (B) identify the levels of understanding of the Gasparin theoretical basis – effective didactic-pedagogical activities in the classroom - planning of didactic-pedagogical activities (theory – practice planning – teaching practice).

The excerpts discussed revealed the strong presence of contradictions and –also showed that it was possible – especially for researchers – to plan modes of intervention that enabled the overcoming the contradictions observed. Intervention activities were planned with research participants bearing in mind the contradictions that became evident during the teacher education meetings. In general, they directly influenced lesson planning and other activities carried out with students in the school. This clearly indicates the importance of the choice of instruments in the activity systems in order to redirect tasks so that participants progress in the understanding and transformation of their action contexts.

NININ, M.; MAGALHÃES, M. A linguagem da colaboração crítica no desenvolvimento da agência de professores de ensino médio em serviço. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.707-732, 2017.

- *RESUMO: Objetiva-se, neste artigo, discutir a linguagem da colaboração crítica no desenvolvimento da agência (EDWARDS, 2005, 2007; YAMAZUMI, 2007; ENGESTRÖM, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011; ENGESTRÖM; SANNINO, 2011; VIRKKUNEN, 2006a, 2006b) de professores de Ensino Médio em serviço, tomando-se como contexto de pesquisa o projeto de formação de professores, LEDA – Leitura e Escrita nas Diferentes Áreas, realizado em escola pública de município da Grande São Paulo. Metodologicamente, está ancorado na Pesquisa Crítica de Colaboração (PCCoI) (MAGALHÃES, 2009, 2011, 2012), caracterizada como pesquisa de intervenção com foco na desencapsulação e transformação da aprendizagem escolar, e organizado em encontros quinzenais com 6 professores de diferentes áreas do conhecimento, 1 coordenadora pedagógica da área de Linguagem e 4 pesquisadores da área da Linguística Aplicada. Os encontros de formação focalizam as relações entre os participantes a partir da discussão sobre práticas didático-pedagógicas. Com base na análise dos dados coletados por meio de videogravação, resultados preliminares ressaltam mudanças na significação atribuída pelos participantes a respeito das práticas didático-pedagógicas realizadas em sala de aula e indicam posicionamentos assumidos pelos professores participantes de modo consciente e teoricamente fundamentado, caracterizando*

*o desenvolvimento de agência relacional e transformativa, bem como a emergência de uma prática profissional responsiva.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Colaboração crítica. Pesquisa crítica de colaboração. Agência relacional. Agência transformativa.*

## REFERENCES

BRONCKART, J-P. **Atividade de linguagem, textos e discursos: por um interacionismo sócio-discursivo.** Tradução de Anna Rachel Machado, Péricles Cunha. São Paulo: EDUC, 1999.

EDWARDS, A. Building common knowledge at the boundaries between professional practices: relational agency and relational expertise in systems of distributed expertise. **International Journal of Educational Research**, Oxford, v.50, p.33-39, 2011.

EDWARDS, A. Relational agency in professional practice: a CHAT analysis. **Actio: an International Journal of Human Activity Theory**, [S.l.], n.1, p.1-17, 2007.

EDWARDS, A. Relational agency: learning to be a resourceful practioner. **International Journal of Educational Research**, Oxford, v.43, n.3, p.168-182, 2005.

ENGESTRÖM, Y. A teoria da atividade histórico-cultural e suas contribuições à educação, saúde e comunicação: entrevista com Yrjö Engeström. Entrevistadores: Monica Lemos, Marco Antonio Pereira-Querol e Ildeberto Muniz de Almeida. **Interface: Comunicação, Saúde, Educação**, Botucatu, v.17, n.46, p.715-727, jul./set. 2013.

ENGESTRÖM, Y. From design experiments to formative interventiopns. **Theory & Psychology**, [S.l.], v.21, n.5, p.598-628, 2011.

ENGESTRÖM, Y. The future of activity theory: a rough draft. In: SANNINO, A.; DANIELS, H.; GUTIÉRREZ, K. (Ed.). **Learning and expanding with activity theory.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p.303-328.

ENGESTRÖM, Y. Weaving the texture of school change. **Journal of Educational Change**, [S.l.], v.9, p.379-383, 2008.

ENGESTRÖM, Y. Putting Vygotsky to work: the change laboratory as an application of double stimulation. In: DANIELS, H.; COLE, M.; WERTSCH, J.W. (Ed.). **The cambridge companion to Vygotsky.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. p.363-382.

ENGESTRÖM, Y. Aprendizagem por expansão na prática: em busca de uma reconceituação a partir da teoria da atividade. **Cadernos de Educação**, Pelotas, ano 11, n.19, p.31-64, jul./dez. 2002.



ENGESTRÖM, Y. **Learning by expanding**: an activity-theoretical approach to development research. Helsinki: Orienta-Konsultit, 1987. Disponível em <<http://lchc.edu/MCA/paper?Engestrom/expanding/ch1.htm>>. Acesso em: 20 nov. 2016.

ENGESTRÖM, Y.; MIDDLETON, D. (Ed.) **Cognition and communication at work**. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

ENGESTRÖM, Y.; SANNINO, A. Discursive manifestations of contradictions in organizational change efforts: a methodological framework. **Journal of Organizational Change Management**, Bradford, v.24, n.3, p.368-87, 2011. Disponível em: <<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1108/09534811111132758>>. Acesso em: 15 dez. 2015.

FULLAN, M.; HAGREAVES, A. **A escola como organização aprendente**: buscando uma educação de qualidade. Tradução de Regina Garcez. 2.ed. Porto Alegre: Artmed, 2000.

FREIRE, P. **Pedagogia do oprimido**. 6.ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978.

GASPARIN, J. L. **Uma didática para a pedagogia histórico-crítica**. Campinas: Autores Associados, 2013.

GIDDENS, A. **Central problems in social theory**: action, structure and contradiction in social analysis. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

HAAPASAARI, A.; ENGESTRÖM, Y.; KEROSUO, H. The emergence of learners' transformative agency in a change laboratory intervention. **Journal of Education and Work**, New York, v.29, n.2, p.232-262, 2016.

HEIKKILÄ, H.; SEPPÄNEN, L. Examining developmental dialogue: the emergence of transformative agency. **OUTLINES: Critical Practice Studies**, [S.l.], v. 15, n.2, p.05-30, 2014. Disponível em: <<http://www.outlines.dk>>. Acesso em: 12 jan. 2016.

LIBERALI, F.C. **Argumentação em contexto escolar**. Campinas: Pontes, 2013.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C. Escolhas teórico-metodológicas em pesquisas com formação de professores: as relações colaborativo-críticas na constituição de educadores. In: MATEUS, E.; OLIVEIRA, N. B. (Org.). **Estudos críticos da linguagem e formação de professores/as de línguas**: contribuições teórico-metodológicas. Campinas: Pontes, 2014. p.17-48.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C. Vygotsky e a pesquisa de intervenção no contexto escolar: pesquisa crítica de colaboração: PCCol. In: LIBERALI, F. C.; MATEUS, E.; DAMIANOVIC, M. C. (Org.). **A teoria da atividade sócio-histórico-cultural e a escola**: recriando realidades sociais. Campinas: Pontes, 2012. p.13-26.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C. Pesquisa crítica de colaboração: escolhas epistemometodológicas na organização e condução de pesquisas de intervenção no contexto escolar. In: MAGALHÃES, M. C. C.; FIDALGO, S. S. (Org.). **Questões de método e de linguagem na formação docente**. Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 2011. p.13-39.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C. Pesquisa crítica de colaboração: uma pesquisa de intervenção no contexto escolar. In: SILVA, L. S. P.; LOPES, J. J. M. (Org.). **Diálogos de pesquisas sobre crianças e infâncias**. Niterói: Ed. da UFF, 2010. p.20-40.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C. O método para Vygotsky: a zona proximal de desenvolvimento como zona de colaboração e criticidade criativas. In: SCHETTINI, R. H. et al. (Org.). **Vygotsky: uma revisita no início do século XXI**. São Paulo: Andross, 2009. p.53-78.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C.; OLIVEIRA, W. A organização argumentativa da linguagem na construção de contextos colaborativos de produção de conhecimento em Pesquisas com Formação de Educadores. In: LIBERALI, F. et al. **Argumentação no contexto escolar: desafios e reflexões**. Campinas: Pontes, 2016. p.205-35.

MAGALHÃES, M. C. C.; NININ, M. O. G.; LESSA, A. C. T. A dinâmica discursiva na formação de professores: discurso autoritário ou internamente persuasivo? **Bakhtiniana**, São Paulo, v.9, n.1, p.129-147, jan./jul. 2014. Disponível em: <<http://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/bakhtiniana/article/view/17329>>. Acesso em: 20 dez. 2015.

NININ, M. O. G. **Da pergunta como ato monológico avaliativo à pergunta como espaço para expansão dialógica**. Ed. revista e ampliada. [S.l.: s.n.], 2017. forthcoming.

NININ, M. O. G. Padrões de colaboração e argumentação: uma perspectiva crítica para análise do desenvolvimento de educadores. In: LIBERALI, F. et al. **Argumentação no contexto escolar: desafios e reflexões**. Campinas: Pontes Editores, 2016. p.175-203.

NININ, M. O. G. **Da pergunta como ato monológico avaliativo à pergunta como espaço para expansão dialógica**. São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2013.

NININ, M. O. G. Pesquisa e formação na perspectiva crítico-colaborativa. In: MAGALHÃES, M. C.; FIDALGO, S. (Org.). **Questões de método e de linguagem na formação docente**. Campinas: Mercado das Letras, 2011. p.187-209.

VIRKKUNEN, J. Hybrid agency in co-configuration work. **Outlines**, [S.l.], n.1, p.61-75, 2006a.

VIRKKUNEN, J. Dilemmas in building shared transformative agency. **Activités Revue Électronique**, [S.l.], v.3, n.1, p.43-66, 2006b.

VIRKKUNEN, J.; SCHAUPP, M. From change to development: expanding the concept of intervention. **Theory Psychology**, [S.l.], v.21, n.5, p.629-655, Oct. 2011.

VYGOTSKY, L. S. **Pensamento e linguagem**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1987.

YAMAZUMI, K. Human agency and educational research: a new problem in activity theory. **Actio: An International Journal of Human Activity theory**, [S.l.], n.1, p.19-39, 2007.

Received in May 2016

Approved in March 2017

# THE USE OF ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL PORTALS IN ESP TEACHING AND LEARNING

Flávia Medianeira de OLIVEIRA\*

- **ABSTRACT:** Besides reading and writing, the learning and development of listening and speaking skills have affected and worried a great number of learners, especially in the ESP context. Some studies have focused their attention on finding these difficulties and proposing solutions that can perhaps minimize these problems. Aiming to contribute to the debate, this study investigates listening and speaking activities displayed in five English educational portals with the objective of identifying what kind of pedagogical tasks and exercises are suggested and their textual configuration in the digital context. The results revealed that the majority of activities can be considered as additional instructional materials which can be used in the classroom because of the relevant issues presented. However, to be used directly in the digital context these activities need to be reformulated and adapted to allow teachers and learners to use all the technological resources in an effective and functional way.
- **KEYWORDS:** Educational portals. Activities. Listening. Speaking.

## Introduction

Studies in Applied Linguistics (FIGLIOLINI, 2004; RICHARDS, 2008; BAGHERI; KARAMI, 2014; MELENDEZ; ZAVALA; MENDEZ, 2014) reveal that learning and development of the oral skills – reception (listening) and production (speaking) - can be considered one of the issues that effectively worry students and teachers in the educational context.

The difficulties shown by learners have motivated numerous research studies. In the last three decades, researchers have focused their attention on finding out these difficulties. Many studies have aimed at the analysis and evaluation of learning and teaching strategies, and additional studies have been carried out on instructional materials, which can help to minimize the problems and can aid to the effective development of oral skills (OXFORD, 2003; CHAMOT, 2004; CHEN, 2005; HINKEL, 2006; CHANG, 2009; KLUGE; REIS, 2011; XAVIER; BALTHAZAR, 2011; etc.).

---

\* Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL), Faculty of Letters, Pelotas – RS – Brasil. Professor. olivafm@gmail.com

The same happens to Brazilian students in the context of language learning, more specifically, in higher education. The printed instruction material used in the English for Specific Purposes context have not proposed any pedagogical activities which emphasize or point out the use of different learning and teaching strategies in the listening and speaking tasks proposed.

Considering this question, in this study, I will present and discuss the textual configuration (SWALES, 1990) of twenty-two (22) listening and nine (09) speaking pedagogical activities provided by five English educational portals. The main objective is the investigation of alternative ways of teaching and learning that can reduce, or maybe solve the majority of difficulties presented by learners in the following teaching context: ESP classes for Tourism, Hotel and Hospitality Management and International Relations in a higher education institution.

I hope that this paper can contribute to pre-service teachers' education, providing them with a more effective discussion and orientation in terms of theoretical and methodological issues, which constitute the language teaching and learning process, more specifically the development of communicative skills and competences.

## Literature review

In the early 1990s Underwood (1989) affirmed that learners whose culture and education included oral communication and narratives presented a better performance in listening skills than those whose education and cultural background came from reading.

This finding can be observed in Brazilian context where the abilities of reading and writing seem to be those which most represent the communicative events performed in daily life, and in the educational scope (for example, reading maps and bank statements, searches on the Internet, access to social networks, thesis and report writing, article publications).

Two of the official documents which regulate Brazilian education - *Parâmetros Nacionais Curriculares de Ensino Fundamental e Médio* (BRASIL, 1998, 2000) and *Orientações Educacionais Complementares aos Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais para o Ensino Médio* (BRASIL, 2002) – give special attention to this question. In terms of foreign language teaching, these documents emphasize that “[...] learning should focus on the communicative function, giving priority to reading, the comprehension of oral and written texts, taking into account the communication in different daily life situations.” (BRASIL, 2002, p.94)<sup>1</sup>

These documents suggest that the text should be used as a teaching unit in reading as well as in production (BRASIL, 2002). This indicates an attempt to ensure the teaching

---

<sup>1</sup> Original: “[...] O foco do aprendizado deve centrar-se na função comunicativa por excelência, visando prioritariamente à leitura e à compreensão de textos verbais orais e escritos – portanto, à comunicação em diferentes situações da vida cotidiana.” (BRASIL, 2002, p.94).

and learning of communicative abilities which evince the social and discursive practices that really happen in our context, as explained in the following excerpt:

With the exception of any specific situation of some touristic regions or multilingual communities, the use of a foreign language should be, in general, related to the technical literature or leisure reading. It is also noticed that the only formal tests in a foreign language (for instance, entrance examination or post-graduation admissions) require the knowledge in reading. Therefore, on the one hand reading skill brings benefits to formal education and, on the other hand it constitutes the ability in which a student can use in his/her social context. (BRASIL, 1998, p.20).<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, even considering the relevance of teaching reading and writing, the ideas presented by the document *Orientações Educacionais Complementares* (BRASIL, 2002) stress the importance of oral abilities, including suggestions of pedagogical activities which contribute to the learning and development of students. According to the authors:

[...] during the classes, students should have the opportunity of, individually, in pairs or in groups, participate in interactions which implicate in different levels of formality. In this sense, it can be proposed from informal chats about a literary work to the judgment of a character's attitude in a literary work, using the genre debate which requires of its interlocutors a bigger level of formality and the awakening about the argumentative text that they are producing in speaking. (BRASIL, 2002, p.76).<sup>3</sup>

The same idea is proposed by the newest document *Base Nacional Comum Curricular*. The authors state that foreign language teaching and learning “[...] implicates an expansion of listening, speaking, reading and writing tasks, providing pedagogical experiences with oral and written texts which allow learners' performance in multilingual spaces.” (BRASIL, 2016, p.123).<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Original: “Com exceção da situação específica de algumas regiões turísticas ou de algumas comunidades plurilíngües, o uso de uma língua estrangeira parece estar, em geral, mais vinculado à leitura de literatura técnica ou de lazer. Note-se também que os únicos exames formais em Língua Estrangeira (vestibular e admissão a cursos de pós-graduação) requerem o domínio da habilidade de leitura. Portanto, a leitura atende, por um lado, às necessidades da educação formal, e, por outro, é a habilidade que o aluno pode usar em seu contexto social imediato.” (BRASIL, 2002, p.76).

<sup>3</sup> Original: “[...] no transcurso das aulas, os alunos devem ter oportunidade de – individualmente, em duplas ou em grupos – participar de situações dialogadas que implicam graus de formalidade variáveis. Nessa linha de trabalho, pode-se propor desde bate-papos mais informais a propósito de uma obra literária até o julgamento da atitude de uma personagem do texto literário num debate regrado, gênero oral que exige de seus interlocutores um grau maior de formalidade e de consciência do texto argumentativo que estão produzindo na fala.” (BRASIL, 2002, p.76).

<sup>4</sup> Original: “O ensino-aprendizagem de línguas implica uma expansão do trabalho com escuta, oralidade, leitura e escrita de modo a propiciar vivências com textos discursivos, orais e escritos, relevantes para a atuação do/a estudante em

In this sense, BNCC proposes the work with Orality, which involves listening and speaking skills, articulated by negotiation in the construction of meanings among interlocutors. This conception is related to Vygotsky's studies, which considerate teaching and learning as a process which aims at the meaning of construction through the interaction between teachers and learners (VYGOTSKY, 2003).

As mentioned in the new document (BRASIL, 2016, p.200):

[...] the orality also provides the development of a number of behavior and attitudes, such as take risks and make yourself comprehensible, give voice to the other, understand and accept the other's point of view, avoid misunderstandings and deal with insecurity. Through interactions in the classroom, students will have opportunities of experiences and reflection about language uses, not exactly a "pure" language, accurate, but a language "in use" and "for use".<sup>5</sup>

This theoretical and methodological framework increasingly makes part of the teaching and learning process and the development of communicative abilities. With regard to listening and speaking, the exchange of information and experiences and the negotiation among peers are essential for the development and improvement of linguistics, discursive, social and cultural aspects which involve language learning.

In his studies, Vygotsky (2003) suggests the *Zone of Proximal Development* (ZPD) conception, in which learners with low language proficiency or lexical level can improve their abilities and receive numerous benefits when interacting with learners of a higher level. The cooperative/interactive work among more experienced students and/or peers results in a more effective knowledge production.

In the case of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) teaching and learning, it is fundamental to the development of communicative abilities in different academic fields, such as Medicine, Tourism, Hotel and Hospitality Management, International Relations, Journalism, Business, Engineering, etc. In these areas, besides specific knowledge provided by reading and writing skills, these professionals need to deal with the discursive and communicative events which make part of their professional performance through listening and speaking.

In Medicine, for instance, doctors need to develop listening strategies when participating in international conferences, Tourism professionals need to improve speaking abilities when interacting with tourists for giving information or suggestions. In the same way, journalists who work as international correspondents need to develop listening as well as speaking skills.

---

espaços plurilíngues." (BRASIL, 2016, p.123).

<sup>5</sup> Original: "[...] a oralidade também proporciona o desenvolvimento de uma série de comportamentos e atitudes, como arriscar-se e se fazer compreender, dar voz e vez ao outro, entender e acolher a perspectiva do outro, superar mal-entendidos e lidar com a insegurança. É na interação discursiva em sala de aula que os alunos terão oportunidades de vivência e reflexão sobre os usos da língua inglesa, não propriamente uma língua *pura*, precisa, mas uma língua "em uso" e "para o uso". (BRASIL, 2016, p.200).

However, it can be observed that the majority of English learners cannot develop, efficiently, these two abilities in the classroom and, in many cases, they enroll in private or online courses. The investigation of instructional materials and courses online (XAVIER; BALTHAZAR, 2011; LIMA; ARAÚJO, 2016) pointed out a need for listening and speaking pedagogical activities.

With the increased use of the Internet in language teaching, educational portals can be seen as a significant alternative to teachers and learners. English educational portals can be defined as repositories of several pedagogical activities - listening, speaking, reading, grammar, vocabulary, games, culture – and multimedia - audio and video - (ARAÚJO, 2009; OLIVEIRA, 2009) which can be accessed and used by teachers as permanent or extra class materials.

Nevertheless, teacher's tasks include the choice of theoretical and methodological concepts and the selection of pedagogical activities which contribute to the effective learning of these abilities in his/her teaching context. In her studies about instructional materials displayed in educational portals, Araújo (2009, p.445) states:

[...] before be used or recommended by teachers, instructional materials should be examined with previous established criteria, observing the learning theory adopted by teachers. Furthermore, there is also the challenge of the teacher in knowing implement activities specifically for web or selecting appropriate educational materials. In order to do these tasks, educational professionals should have wide knowledge in terms of language learning theories and abilities developed by use web.<sup>6</sup>

Hinkel (2006) affirms that the oral pedagogy has the objective of enabling non-native speakers to communicate effectively and to negotiate cross-cultural interactional norms successfully. In relation to listening, the author suggests that the intensive use of metacognitive strategies<sup>7</sup> by second language learners can be more effective for the development and improvement of this skill (HINKEL, 2006).

As I found in my previous research (OLIVEIRA, 2009), Araújo (2009, p.458) confirms that the pedagogical activities suggested by educational portals:

[...] not only help learners to develop their linguistic abilities, e.g., literacy in second language through the study of authentic texts, as also they help them to explore the target language culture through the

---

<sup>6</sup> Original: “[...] antes de serem usados ou recomendados pelo professor, estes devem ser examinados com critérios estabelecidos previamente e tomando por base a teoria de aprendizagem adotada pelos professores. Em acréscimo, há também o desafio do professor de saber implementar atividades especificamente para a *web* ou de selecionar materiais educacionais adequados. Para realizar tais tarefas, o profissional da educação deve ter conhecimento mais amplo das teorias de aprendizagem de línguas e habilidades desenvolvidas pelo uso do ambiente Web”. (ARAÚJO, 2009, p.445).

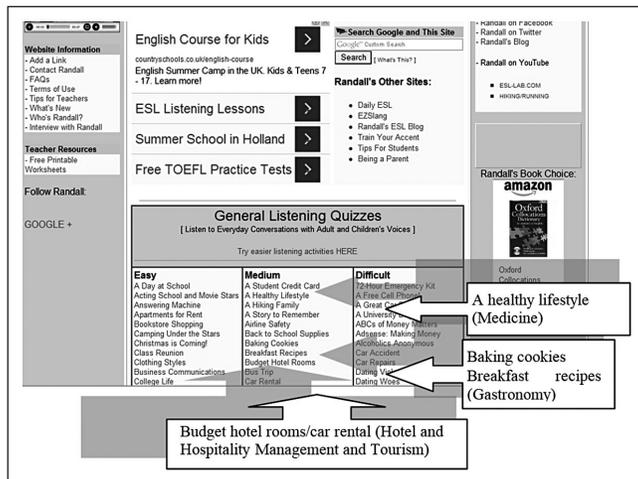
<sup>7</sup> Metacognitive strategies examples are identifying one's own learning style preferences and needs, planning for an L2 task, gathering and organizing materials, arranging a study space and a schedule, monitoring mistakes, and evaluating task success, and evaluating the success of any type of learning strategy (OXFORD, 2003).

interaction with a great diversity of people and places available on the Internet or through the dialogue with native speakers by email, chats or blogs.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, I consider that pedagogical activities, specifically listening and speaking, displayed in English educational portals can be considered additional tasks in ESP teaching and learning. The use of authentic multimedia (video and audio) and the discussions proposed about sociocultural and professional aspects, as can be seen in Figure 1, configure pedagogical tools which can contribute to listening learning and development since they emphasize relevant aspects in different areas.

Tarnopolsky (2013) declares that, in the case of ESP, tasks linked to professional contents can motivate learners once they are always interested in their future career.

**Figure 1** – List of listening activities in ESL-LAB portal



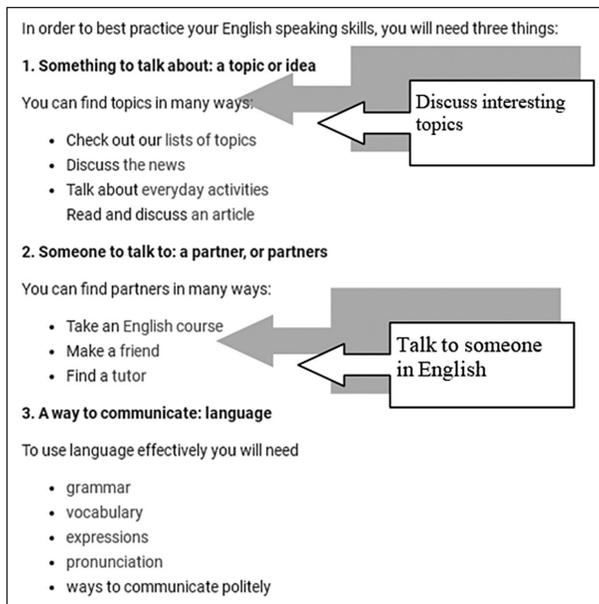
Source: Portal ESL-LAB (www.esl-lab.com).

In the same way, the investigated portals offer speaking activities (Figure 2) which allow the interaction among learners through information and communication technologies and provide the opportunities for them to discuss issues of their interest, increasing and strengthening the development of linguistic and discursive competences.

<sup>8</sup> Original: “[...] portais educacionais não somente ajudam os aprendizes a desenvolverem suas habilidades linguísticas, isto é, letramento na segunda língua, por meio do estudo de textos autênticos, como também a explorar as culturas da língua-alvo via interação com uma diversidade de pessoas e lugares disponíveis na internet ou via interação com falantes nativos através de e-mail, chats, blogs”. (ARAÚJO, 2009, p.458).



**Figure 2** – List of speaking activities in ELLO portal



**Source:** Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com)).

Based on Genre Analysis theoretical framework, my study aims at carrying out a detailed investigation into these activities with the objective of 1) describing their textual configuration and 2) verifying the main teaching and learning theories embedded in the construction of these activities.

## Methodology

The main purpose of this work is the analysis of textual configuration in listening and speaking activities selected from five English educational portals. The investigation constitutes a qualitative, descriptive and exploratory study. Chart 1 illustrates the portals investigated.

**Chart 1** – Names and website addresses of the selected portals

Portal 1 – <a href="http://www.ello.org">www.ello.org</a>
Portal 2 – <a href="http://www.esl-lab.com">www.esl-lab.com</a>
Portal 3 – <a href="http://www.eslgold.com">www.eslgold.com</a>
Portal 4 – <a href="http://www.dailyesl.com">www.dailyesl.com</a>
Portal 5 – <a href="http://www.eslflow.com">www.eslflow.com</a>

**Source:** Author's elaboration.

The portals were selected using the following keywords on the google website: esl, listening, speaking, activities. The selection took into account free access to listening and speaking activities – starter and intermediate levels – and the themes related to the fields investigated in this study: Tourism, Hotel and Hospitality Management and International Relations.

All of them are foreign portals, managed by professionals with more than twenty years of experience in language teaching. The activities are proposed by these professionals and, in the case of the ESLGOLD portal, they are also proposed by collaborators.

Two of them were created at the end of the 1990s (ESL-LAB/ESLFLOW), the other three were created in the beginning of 2000s (ELLO/ESLGOLD/DAILYESL). According to their webmasters, the portals display listening, speaking, reading and writing activities that can be used by English teachers and learners in general.

The *corpus* is composed of thirty-one (31) activities, twenty-two (22) with focus on listening exercises and nine (09) with focus on speaking tasks. It was considered the same themes offered by printed instruction materials adopted by Brazilian teachers who work in Tourism and Hotel and Hospitality Management areas. In the case of International Relations, the theme selection was based on the syllabus of different higher education institutions<sup>9</sup>.

As mentioned before, this study has a descriptive and exploratory nature. In this sense, my objective is to make a list of the activities suggested (for example, multiple choice, fill in the blanks, question-answer, problem-solution, role play, true or false, etc.) and identify the pedagogical objectives embedded in these activities.

The identification of these aspects collaborates with teachers' education in pre-service. The awareness and reflection about the activities can help them to identify learners' needs more effectively, trying to solve their difficulties in terms of listening and speaking skills.

The understanding about these pedagogical materials available on the Internet is essential for teachers to make choices that permit them to propose, reformulate, and reflect about their pedagogical objectives. Moreover, this knowledge allows them to rethink and make use of new tools and resources in language teaching and learning.

## Results and discussion

In order to explain the results of this study, I have divided this section into two parts. In the first one, I present the listening activities investigation. In the second, I focus my attention on the speaking activities.

---

<sup>9</sup> In Brazil, there isn't any specific printed instructional material for English teaching and learning in the area of International Relations. It is possible to find books with specific activities in many other areas, such as Social Service, Engineering, English for travel, Medicine, etc.

## Listening activities

The listening activities investigation showed little variation in terms of textual configuration. Out of 22 activities, 16 were multiple choices exercises titled Quiz, Portal 1; Listening exercises, Portal 2; Comprehension questions, Portal 3. In all of them, the learners have the opportunity of checking his/her answers after the answers submission, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 – Example of Quiz, portal Ello and answers submission, portal ESL-LAB

**Quiz**

1) Women usually do events that are \_\_\_\_ dangerous.

a) not  
 b) very  
 c) slightly

2) Women would usually work with a \_\_\_\_.

a) calf  
 b) goat  
 c) bull

3) She was \_\_\_\_ when the man told her to get up!

a) happy  
 b) angry  
 c) sad

Final Score    Reset

Score = \_\_\_\_\_

Correct answers:

\_\_\_\_\_

Source: Portal Ello ([www.ello.org](http://www.ello.org)) e Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com)).

Besides multiple choices tasks, Portal 1 also presents two types of drill exercises, both emphasizing lexical items, as can be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4 – Examples of drills exercises Portal ELLO

**Vocabulary Challenge**

Complete the sentences with the words below:

**undergrad • equipped • one-on-one sheltered • self-driven**

1. He is rich, so he is \_\_\_\_\_ from the real world.

2. He will succeed because he is \_\_\_\_\_.

3. We are not \_\_\_\_\_ to handle this situation.

4. Teachers try to give each student some \_\_\_\_\_ attention.

5. He is an \_\_\_\_\_ at the local college.

Check Answers    Reset

**Mixer #95 Do you worry about your appearance?**  
Several people discuss how much thought they put into their appearance.

**Gap-Fill:** Fill in the blanks with the most appropriate word.

**George, United States**  
I worry about my appearance? Yeah, I \_\_\_\_\_. In high school I didn't worry about it at \_\_\_\_\_ but I don't know, coming to college, I really became self-conscious about my image \_\_\_\_\_. I tried to reinvent myself in a way, \_\_\_\_\_ yeah.

**Aiste, Lithuania**  
I don't think I really worry about \_\_\_\_\_ appearance because I don't have much time \_\_\_\_\_ worry about my appearance, \_\_\_\_\_ I don't consider it that important, \_\_\_\_\_ maybe sometimes I'd like to spend some time on it.

**Enam, Bangladesh**  
Actually, I don't worry about my appearance \_\_\_\_\_ sometimes when it goes beyond the limit then I had to because everyone is a social being \_\_\_\_\_ it's different when it looks good \_\_\_\_\_ it's different when it looks bad. I think I lose my confidence when I look \_\_\_\_\_.

Source: Portal Ello ([www.ello.org](http://www.ello.org)).

These findings are very similar to those revealed in a research conducted by Lima & Araújo (2016) about activities proposed in an online course. The authors' conclusion points out that the activities focus on the interaction student/computer, referring to Warschauer's conception (1996) computer as tutor established in the mid of the 1990s. In other words, webmasters or teachers still have difficulties in providing activities which promote the interaction student/student or student/teacher through multimedia resources.

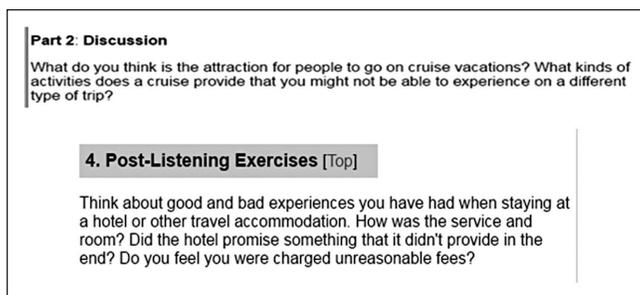
It can be noticed that even with access to numerous attractive and powerful Internet and computer tools (podcasts, videos, blogs, twitter, Facebook, smartphones, etc.) teachers, mainly in pre-service education, still need to deal with the challenges and difficulties presented by teaching and learning in real life. Many of them do not know or simply do not make use of the different technological tools offered by the digital media.

Warschauer (1996, p.4) states that it is hard “[...] not so much to have students discover the right answer, but rather to stimulate students’ discussion, writing, or critical thinking.”<sup>10</sup> Information and Communication Technology training courses, as well as Language teaching and learning studies, are fundamental for teachers to think about, share experiences and propose activities which corroborate to evidence the social practices in which learners participate in their daily life and educational scope.

As suggested by the document *Base Nacional Comum Curricular* (BRASIL, 2016, p.199), English teaching and learning should ensure the development of competences, such as “[...] the use of new technologies, with new languages and possibilities of interaction in order to research, select, share, express opinion and construct meaning in practices of literacy, with ethics, criticism and responsibility.”<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, two portals – 4 and 2 – suggest activities with the purpose of discussing deeply the topic proposed. The tasks are titled Discussion and Post-listening exercise, respectively. Figure 5 shows two examples.

**Figure 5** – Examples of activities in Portals DAILYESL and ELS-LAB



**Source:** Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com)) e Portal Dailyesl ([www.dailyesl.com](http://www.dailyesl.com))

The majority of activities in these two portals stimulate a discussion about the themes, making learners think about, argue and express their point of view through interaction. The teaching and learning process is seen as being student-centered. In

<sup>10</sup> Original: “[...] ainda é difícil fazer com que os aprendizes não apenas descubram a resposta correta, mas também estimulá-los ao debate e ao desenvolvimento da escrita e do pensamento crítico.” (WARSCHAUER, 1996, p.4).

<sup>11</sup> Original: “[...] a utilização de novas tecnologias, com novas linguagens e modos de interação, para pesquisar, selecionar, compartilhar, posicionar-se e produzir sentidos em práticas de letramento na língua inglesa, de forma ética, crítica e responsável.” (BRASIL, 2016, p.199).

Kumaravadivelu's words (2006, p.65), "[...] learning is based on activities which emphasize negotiation, interpretation, and meaning, with less attention on form."<sup>12</sup>

Nunan (1999, p.8) synthesizes that "[...] exchange information tasks force students to negotiate with each other, and this is healthy for language development because it 'pushes' the learners to reformulate and extend their language."<sup>13</sup>

Besides the interaction among learners, Portal 2 also presents a textual configuration which seems to be embedded in the communicative approach in which great part of the activities follow the pattern pre-listening, listening and post-listening. Figure 6 demonstrates two of these activities.

**Figure 6** – Examples of pre-listening and post-listening activities Portal ELS-LAB

The image shows a screenshot of a webpage from Portal ELS-LAB. It features two activity sections. The first section is titled "1. Pre-Listening Exercises [Top]" and includes a social sharing bar with icons for Twitter, Facebook, and others, along with a count of 337. The text of the activity asks: "What points do you consider when making a hotel reservation? Rank these ideas in the order of importance to you and share your reasons for your choices." The second section is titled "4. Post-Listening Exercises [Top]" and asks: "With a partner, describe an experience, good or bad, that you have had at an airport or on an airplane. What happened? What did you learn about the experience that will help you the next time you travel?"

Source: Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com))

Pre-listening activities analysis shows that webmasters/teachers have the purpose of introducing the topic to learners, pointing out the main ideas which will be worked during the listening tasks. As previous literature (NUNAN, 1999; AJIDEH, 2003; PAIVA, 2005; HINKEL, 2006) has evinced, the objective of pre-listening activities is to motivate students and enable them to do the exercises by observing the keywords, grammatical aspects, textual organization and, mainly help them to understand the topic which will be discussed. One example can be seen in Figure 7.

<sup>12</sup> Original: “[...] o foco do aprendizado está nas atividades de negociação, interpretação e expressão de significado, sem o foco explícito na forma.” (KUMARAVADIVELU, 2006, p.65).

<sup>13</sup> Original: “[...] tarefas que promovem a troca de informações forçam os alunos a negociarem entre si e isso é fundamental para o desenvolvimento da linguagem uma vez que ‘obriga’ os aprendizes a reformularem e expandirem seus conhecimentos sobre sua língua.” (NUNAN, 1999, p.8).

**Figure 7** – Pre-listening activity Portal ESL-LAB



**1. Pre-Listening Exercises [Top]**

Share This Activity |     337

What points do you consider when making a hotel reservation? Rank these ideas in the order of importance to you and share your reasons for your choices.

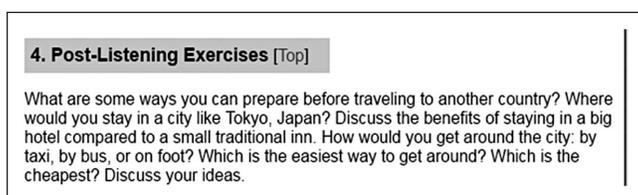
Source: Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com)).

In the example above, the purpose of the activity is to activate learners' previous knowledge about the topic. Richards (2008, p.9) classifies this kind of activity as top-down and he explains:

[...] learners make a list of things they know about the topic and things they would like to know, then they listen to and make comparisons. Besides learners describe the ideas which they expect to listen to about the topic and after the listening, they confirm if they are present or not.<sup>14</sup>

Post-listening activities aim at reviewing the new information presented by the text, they punctuate the most relevant topics and discuss different ideas proposed by the author's (AEBERSOLD; FIELD, 1997) as illustrated in Figure 8.

**Figure 8** – Post-listening activity Portal ESL-LAB



**4. Post-Listening Exercises [Top]**

What are some ways you can prepare before traveling to another country? Where would you stay in a city like Tokyo, Japan? Discuss the benefits of staying in a big hotel compared to a small traditional inn. How would you get around the city: by taxi, by bus, or on foot? Which is the easiest way to get around? Which is the cheapest? Discuss your ideas.

Source: Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com)).

As mentioned before, portals 4 and 2 are managed by the same webmaster/teacher, and seem to follow the theoretical and methodological concepts related to the communicative approach. In this sense, considering Almeida Filho's (2002, p.36) ideas "[...] the activities proposed take into account the learners' needs and interests in order to enable them to use the target-language and interact with native speakers of

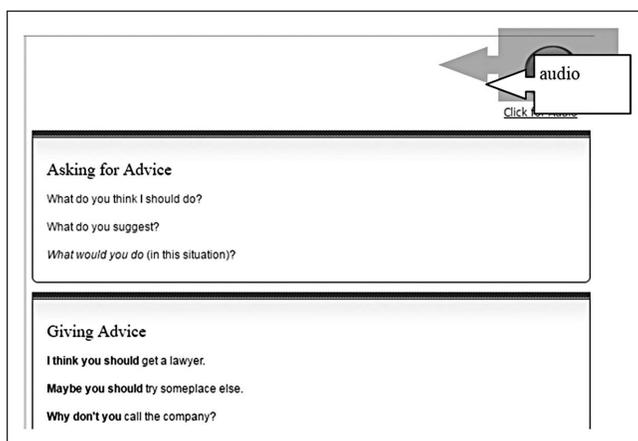
<sup>14</sup> Original: "[...] os aprendizes listam coisas que eles já sabem sobre o tópico e coisas que eles gostariam de saber, então ouvem e comparam. Além disso, os aprendizes descrevem ideias que esperam ouvir sobre o tópico e, após ouvir, confirmam se estas estão presentes ou não". (RICHARDS, 2008, p.9).

this language.”<sup>15</sup> There is learners’ empowerment in terms of language comprehension and its real uses (WARSCHAUER, 1996).

## Speaking activities

The speaking activities investigation revealed a little textual configuration variation in the nine activities analyzed. Portal 3 presented questions and answers tasks about a specific topic. The portal displays an audio, situated at the top of the page, on the right. Figure 9 exemplifies this kind of activity.

**Figure 9** – Example of speaking activity Portal ESL-GOLD



Source: Portal ESL-LAB ([www.esl-lab.com](http://www.esl-lab.com)).

This type of activity emphasizes specific linguistic structures following the repetition pattern. This outcome is similar to that found by Xavier e Balthazar (2011) in their investigation about speaking activities in Italian instructional materials. The tasks in Portal 3 present linguistic patterns with the objective of demonstrating to learners the appropriate use of specific linguistic structures. However, in this study, the patterns are linked to specific topics, such as ask for/give advice, ask for/express opinion, require details, etc.

Again, the findings suggest the webmaster/teacher’s intention of following the concepts of notions/functions presented by the communicative approach. There is an effort in proposing speaking activities which reinforce the communicative events closer to learners’ real life, mainly in the case of beginners. Figure 10 presents a list of these communicative events.

<sup>15</sup> Original: “[...] há uma tentativa em propor atividades de real interesse e/ou necessidade dos aprendizes a fim de que eles se capacitem a usar a língua-alvo e interajam com outros falantes-usuários dessa língua.” (ALMEIDA FILHO, 2002, p.36).

**Figure 10** – List of topics for beginners Portal ESLGOLD

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Greetings</li><li>• Introducing yourself</li><li>• Introducing people</li><li>• Identifying people, things</li><li>• Classroom questions</li><li>• Asking for information</li><li>• Giving information</li><li>• Simple sentences</li><li>• Simple questions</li><li>• Numbers and counting</li><li>• Talking about family</li><li>• Talking about favorite things</li><li>• Talking about here and now</li><li>• Describing People</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Telling Time</li><li>• Talking about past actions</li><li>• Talking about the future</li><li>• Talking about feelings/health</li><li>• Talking about life events</li><li>• Expressing likes and dislikes</li><li>• Simple shopping</li><li>• Contractions</li><li>• Short questions and answers</li><li>• Closing a conversation</li><li>• Expressing thanks</li><li>• Situation: At the Store</li><li>• Describing a Picture</li><li>• Talking about Occupations</li></ul> |
|---|---|

Source: Portal ESLGOLD ([www.eslgold.com](http://www.eslgold.com)).

Portal 1 follows the configuration of question/answer activities, as can be noticed in Figure 11.

**Figure 11** – Example of speaking activity Portal ELLO

**Speaking Challenge**

---

**Answer these related questions.** Then, discuss with a partner.

Q1) Have you ever been bullied?

Q2) Would you like to reinvent yourself?

Q3) Do you have a complex about your appearance?

Q4) If you could look like anyone, who would you look like?

Q5) How do you feel about men getting their nails done?

Source: Portal Ello ([www.ello.org](http://www.ello.org)).

The activities in this portal can be considered the most effective for the development of speaking skill. The tasks in pairs titled - discuss with a partner – are linked to Vygotsky’s sociocultural theory whose central point is the verbal interaction as one the main ways of language acquisition and development.

As exemplified in Figure 11, the activities are learner-centered, with less teachers’ control, giving more opportunities for students practice, interact and develop aspects, such as pronunciation, intonation, and fluency. Nevertheless, it can be observed that there is not any kind of feedback to learners through the computer. Hence it is possible to conclude that the activities should be used in the classroom since there is not any link or multimedia resource which allow learners’ interact with other learners/people while they working on that activity.



Chapelle (1998) emphasizes that when we make use of multimedia resources, it is necessary to take into account the input provided to learners, the output which can be produced and the interactions which they are capable of promoting among learners.

Portal 5 is the only one which promotes the student’s interaction with another people using a system of registration displayed in the following screen (see Figure 12).

**Figure 12 – Registration system Portal ESLGOLD**

**You Can Talk to Someone in English Now!**

Speak-English-Today.com is an online meeting place for English students and teachers from around the world. Here you can meet personal tutors, teachers and people who want to speak in English. Our website includes thousands of members, so you can begin practicing English right away! It's free to sign up and speak with other students and conversation partners. We also provide qualified tutors you can employ to help you learn English more easily.

---

**1. REGISTER** Here for a Speak-English-Today Account

It's free to sign up! Register now.

---

**2. FIND** Speaking Partners

Locate other students or qualified teachers from around the world.  
See who is online now.

---

**3. PRACTICE** Your English Skills

Source: Portal Ello ([www.ello.org](http://www.ello.org)).

Finally, in Portal 5 the webmasters/teachers make use of different examples of drill, pictures, question/answer and writing tasks. One example can be seen in Figure 13.

**Figure 13 – Example of speaking activity Portal ESLFLOW**

Talking about travel and culture  
speaking exercise eslflow.com

1 I find \_\_\_\_\_ inspiring.

2 I don't like it when people \_\_\_\_\_ at me.

3 I like to learn about other \_\_\_\_\_

4 You should get \_\_\_\_\_ before you travel to a country for the first time.

5 In most countries this is a positive \_\_\_\_\_

6 I would be too \_\_\_\_\_ to travel alone.

**1 Complete the sentences with the words below:**  
scared, point, kiss, natural scenery, language, affectionate, cultures, stare, gesture, poor, advice

**2 Discuss in groups whether you agree/disagree with each sentence.**

Source: Portal ESLFLOW ([www.eslflow.com](http://www.eslflow.com)).

The activities in Portal 5 can be classified as controlled and non-controlled. As in Portal 1, they are learner-centered. The controlled activities are represented by drill tasks with focus on grammatical and lexical aspects.

Lima e Araújo (2016, p.65) stress that this kind of activity presents limited learning because during the interaction it is predictable the absence of “possible variations during the activity on-line”. The positive aspect is the last task which promotes a discussion in groups, stimulating the social interaction in a contextualized situation.

The non-controlled activities permit information, ideas and opinion exchange among pairs or groups. Brown (1994, p.48) affirms that interactive learning suggests “[...] activities in groups that enable learners to deal with real uses of language outside the educational scope, the production of significant and genuine language and the oral practice through spontaneous conversations close to student’s real life.”<sup>16</sup>

The examples above show that speaking activities still present challenges and difficulties to be solved by their webmasters/teachers. It is necessary to reformulate and adapt them in order to become really innovative, motivating and effective in the context of computer-assisted language and learning.

## Final considerations

The investigation of listening and speaking activities provided in English educational portals reveal that Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) has had many advances since the middle of the 1990s when the Internet became popular in the educational context. However, reformulations and adaptations are necessary to help teachers and students use effectively and functionally all the technological resources offered by the digital context.

The increasing contact and use of these tools by learners in daily life or in the classroom demand new methodologies especially in language teaching and learning. As the outcomes of this study showed, the availability of audio, video, podcasts, and social net become possible to learners the access to authentic materials. These possibilities allows them to learn the language observing contextualized examples of real situations

The findings point out that the majority of listening and speaking activities constitute instructional materials which can be used in the classroom, mainly in the ESP context, considering the relevant themes suggested and observing that teachers can make necessary modifications according to his/her educational context. However, to be used directly in the digital context, these activities need adaptations, about everything if we think about teachers in pre-service education who are still processing their theoretical and methodological capacities and developing a pedagogical criticism.

---

<sup>16</sup> Original: “[...] a realização de atividades em grupos que preparem os aprendizes para usos reais da linguagem fora do contexto educacional, a produção de linguagem genuína e significativa e a prática oral por meio de conversações espontâneas e próximas da realidade do aluno.” (BROWN, 1994, p.48).

OLIVEIRA, F. O uso de portais educacionais no ensino-aprendizagem de inglês para fins específicos. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.61, n.3, p.733-751, 2017.

- *RESUMO: Dentre as quatro habilidades que constituem a competência comunicativa em língua inglesa a aprendizagem e o desenvolvimento da recepção (listening) e da produção oral (speaking) são as que mais preocupam os aprendizes, principalmente, no contexto de Inglês para Fins Específicos. Diversas pesquisas têm centrado sua atenção em detectar as principais dificuldades e na proposição de soluções que possam minimizar e, talvez, sanar esses problemas. Visando contribuir com essas investigações, este estudo investigou atividades de listening e speaking disponibilizadas em cinco (5) portais educacionais de língua inglesa com o intuito de identificar que tipo de atividades são propostas e como estas se configuram textualmente no meio digital. Os resultados revelam que boa parte das atividades se constitui como recursos didáticos adicionais que poderiam ser utilizados em sala de aula em razão da temática bastante pertinente. Entretanto, para serem utilizadas diretamente no meio digital, ainda são necessárias reformulações e adaptações que permitam aos professores e aprendizes utilizar de maneira mais efetiva e funcional todos os recursos tecnológicos disponibilizados.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Portais educacionais. Atividades. Recepção. Produção.*

## REFERENCES

AEBERSOLD, J. A.; FIELD, M. L. **From reader to reading teacher**. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

AJIDEH, P. Schema theory-based pre-reading tasks: a neglected essential in the ESL reading class. **The Reading Matrix**, Lakeland, v.3, n.1, Apr. 2003. Available in: <<http://www.readingmatrix.com/articles/ajideh/article.pdf>>. Access on: 22 Nov. 2017.

ALMEIDA FILHO, J. C. P. **Dimensões comunicativas no ensino de línguas**. 3.ed. São Paulo: Pontes, 2002.

ARAÚJO, A. D. Computadores e ensino de línguas estrangeiras: uma análise de sites instrucionais. **Linguagem em (Dis)curso**, Tubarão, v.9, n.3, p.441-461, set./dez. 2009.

BAGHERI, M.; KARAMI, S. The effect of explicit teaching of listening strategies and gender on EFL learners' IELTS performance. **Journal of Language Teaching and Research**, Oulu, v.5, n.5, p.1387-1392, 2014.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. **Base Nacional Comum Curricular (Língua Inglesa)**. Brasília, abr. 2016.

BRASIL. Secretaria de Educação Média e Tecnológica. **PCN + Ensino Médio: orientações educacionais complementares aos Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais: linguagens, códigos e suas tecnologias**. Brasília, 2002.

BRASIL. Secretaria de Educação Média e Tecnológica. **Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais**: ensino médio. Brasília, 2000.

BRASIL. Secretaria de Educação Fundamental. **Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais**: terceiro e quarto ciclos do ensino fundamental. Brasília, 1998.

BROWN, H. D. **Teaching by principles**: an interactive approach to language pedagogy. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Regents, 1994.

CHAMOT, A. U. Issues in language learning strategy research and teaching. **Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching**, Singapore, v.1, n.1, p.14-26, 2004.

CHANG, A. C. S. EFL listeners' task based strategies and their relationship with listening performance. **TESL-EJ**, Taiwan v.13, n.2, 2009. Available in: <<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ898198>>. Access on: 23 Nov. 2017.

CHAPELLE, C. Multimedia CALL: lessons to be learned from research on instructed SLA. **Language Learning & Technology**, [S.l.], v.2, n.1, p.22-34, 1998.

CHEN, Y. Barriers to acquiring listening strategies for EFL learners and their pedagogical implications. **TESOL-EJ**, [S.l.], v.8, n.4, 2005. Available in: <<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1068095.pdf>>. Access on: 23 Nov. 2017.

FIGLIOLINI, M. C. R. A utilização de estratégias de aprendizagem de compreensão oral em LE no curso de Letras. In: CONSOLO, D. A.; VIEIRA-ABRAHÃO, M. H. (Org.). **Pesquisa em linguística aplicada**: ensino e aprendizagem de língua estrangeira. São Paulo: Ed. Da UNESP, 2004. p.109-129.

HINKEL, E. Current perspectives on teaching the four skills. **TESOL QUARTERLY**, Malden, v.40, n.1, p.109-131, Mar. 2006.

KLUGE, D. C.; REIS, M. S. O benefício audiovisual na percepção de sons de língua estrangeira. In: BERGSLEITHNER, J. M.; WEISSHEIMER, J.; MOTA, M. B. (Org.).

**Produção oral em LE**: múltiplas perspectivas. Campinas: Pontes Editores, 2011. p.189-204.

KUMARAVADIVELU, B. TESOL methods: changing tracks, challenging trends. **TESOL QUARTERLY**, Malden, v.40, n.1, p.59-81, Mar. 2006.

LIMA, S. C.; ARAÚJO, J. Propostas de atividades para promoção da interação aluno/computador no ensino da compreensão e produção oral em língua inglesa na educação a distância. **Veredas on-line**: as tecnologias digitais no ensino e aprendizagem de línguas, Juiz de Fora, v.20, n.1, p.59-70, 2016.

MELLENDEZ, R. A.; ZAVALA, G. G.; MENDEZ, R. F. Teaching speaking strategies to beginners. **European Scientific Journal**, Macedonia, v.1, p.548-554, 2014.

NUNAN, D. **Second language teaching and learning**. Massachusetts: Heinle and Heinle, 1999.

OXFORD, R. L. Language learning styles and strategies: an overview. **Learning Styles & Strategies**, Gala, 2003. Available in: <<http://web.ntpu.edu.tw/~language/workshop/read2.pdf>>. Access on: 23 Nov. 2017.

OLIVEIRA, F. M. de. **A análise de propostas pedagógicas em portais educacionais para docentes de língua inglesa**: implicações para o ensino e a aprendizagem de línguas no contexto digital. 2009. 243f. Thesis (Doctor in Language Studies) - Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, 2009.

PAIVA, V. L. M. O. Desenvolvendo a habilidade de leitura In: PAIVA, V. L. M. O. (Org.). **Práticas de ensino e aprendizagem de inglês com foco na autonomia**. Belo Horizonte: Faculdade de Letras da UFMG, 2005. p.129-147.

RICHARDS, J. C. **Teaching listening and speaking**: from theory to practice. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

SWALES, J. M. **Genre analysis**: English in academic and research settings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

TARNOPOLSKY, O. Developing ESP students English speaking, reading, listening, and writing skills in internet-assisted project work. **The Journal of Teaching English for Specific and Academic Purposes**, [S.l.], v.1, n.20, p.11-20, 2013.

UNDERWOOD, M. **Teaching listening**. New York: Longman, 1989.

VYGOTSKY, L. S. **Pensamento e linguagem**. 2.ed. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003.

XAVIER, R. P.; BALTHAZAR, L. L. Uma análise do perfil de atividades orais em livros didáticos para iniciantes da LE (italiano). In: BERGSLEITHNER, J. M.; WEISSHEIMER, J.; MOTA, M. B. (Org.). **Produção oral em LE**: múltiplas perspectivas. Campinas: Pontes Editores, 2011. p.207-236.

WARSCHAUER, M. Computer assisted language learning: an introduction. In: FOTOS, S. (Ed.). **Multimedia language teaching**. Tokyo: Logos International, 1996. p.3-20.

Received in February 2017

Approved in July 2017



## SUBJECT INDEX

- Academic writing, p. 629
- Activities, p. 733
- Agreement, p. 565
- Appropriation of the discourse of Others, p. 609
- Connector *mas*, p. 681
- Critical analysis, p. 657
- Critical collaboration, p. 707
- Critical collaborative research, p. 707
- Definiteness, p. 585
- Distributivity, p. 565
- Educational Portals, p. 733
- Figuration process, p. 681
- Journalistic discourse, p. 609
- Linear order, p. 565
- Listening, p. 733
- Maximality, p. 585
- Multimodality, p. 657
- Negotiation process, p. 681
- Newspaper, p. 657
- Numerals, p. 585
- Objectivism, p. 629
- Persuasion, p. 657
- Popular, p. 657
- Psycholinguistics, p. 565
- Purepecha, p. 585
- Relational agency, p. 707
- Scientific article, p. 629
- Semantics, p. 585
- Sentence production, p. 565
- Socio-ideological positions, p. 609
- Spanish, p. 565
- Speaking, p. 733
- Subjectivism, p. 629
- Transformative agency, p. 707





## AUTHOR INDEX

CUNHA, G. X., p. 681  
FUZA, Â. F., , p. 629  
JAICHENCO, V., p. 565  
MAGALHÃES, M. C. C., p. 707  
MALDONADO, V. V. R., p. 585  
NININ, M. O. G., p. 707  
OLIVEIRA, F. M. de, p. 733  
RODRIGUES, S. G. C., p. 609  
SÁNCHEZ, M. E., p. 565  
SANTOS, A. C. dos, p. 609  
SEVILLA, Y., p. 565  
SOARES, L. A., p. 657



# PAPER SUBMISSION INSTRUCTIONS

## *Alfa: Revista de Linguística*

### 1. Editorial policy

**ALFA – Revista de Linguística** – the linguistics journal of the São Paulo State University (UNESP), sponsored by the Research Provost, publishes papers authored by professors, researchers, and PhD students in co-authorship with professors and researchers from national and international institutions of learning, teaching and research. Maximum number of co-authors should be 3. Regular issues are organized in a “continuous flow” system, and special issues are edited according to the organizers’ convenience. The journal publishes papers, book reviews, interviews and translations with a substantial contribution to any of the various branches of Linguistics.

Contributions in the form of articles should be original and unpublished and cannot be simultaneously submitted for publication in other journal. Only reviews of books published in Brazil in the last 2 years and abroad in the last 4 years should be submitted for publication in the journal. Translations should be preferably of scientific articles and book chapters published within twelve months of submission; interviews should be conducted with researchers with academic prestige acknowledged in Brazil and abroad.

All submissions are read by two anonymous referees. Authors’ identities are not revealed to the referees. Should

the judgment of the two referees be inconsistent, a third referee will be called in. Once the refereeing process is concluded, the review copies are sent to the author, or to the first author of co-authored papers, with the appropriate instructions.

Papers can be written in one of the following languages: **Portuguese, English, French, Spanish, or Italian**. In papers written in **Portuguese**, *TÍTULO*, *RESUMO*, and *PALAVRAS-CHAVE* should come before the body of the paper, and their English versions, *TITLE*, *ABSTRACT*, and *KEY-WORDS*, after it. In papers written in any of **the other languages**, the corresponding elements that come before the body of the paper should be written in the same language the paper was written; the corresponding elements that come after the body of the paper should be written in **Portuguese** for papers written in **English** and in **English** for papers written in **French, Spanish, or Italian**.

All articles are published in a bilingual format, with English necessarily as the second language version. Authors who submit for approval an article originally in English must, in case it is accepted, provide its version in Portuguese, following the same guidelines indicated for the English language. Only articles with accepted versions in Portuguese (or another chosen language) and English will be

published. If both versions are not accepted, the article will not be published.

The journal editor reserves the right to return a manuscript if it departs from the style requirements. When applicable, a personal letter will be sent to the author, asking for improvements and adaptations.

Authors are responsible for the data and concepts expressed in the paper as well as for the correctness of the references and bibliography.

## 2. Online submissions

To submit a paper, authors must be registered on the journal's website. To register, create a login name and a password by clicking **Acesso** (Access) on the journal's website. After logging in, fill in the profile by clicking **Editar Perfil** (Profile Editing) and start the submission process by clicking **Autor** (Author) and then **CLIQUE AQUI PARA INICIAR O PROCESSO DE SUBMISSÃO** (Click here to start the submission process). Follow the **five-step submission process** below:

Step 1. Confirm the agreement to the Journal Policies (**Condições de submissão**) and the Copyright Terms (**Declaração de Direito Autoral**) by checking the appropriate boxes. Select either **Artigo** (Paper) or **Resenha** (Review paper). Save the form and go to step 2.

Step 2. Enter metadata: first name, last name, e-mail, bio statement, and paper title are obligatory. Save the form and go to step 3.

Step 3. Upload the paper file. Go to step 4.

Step 4. If necessary, upload supplementary files such as appendixes and annexes with research tools, data and tables, which should conform to the ethical standards of

assessment, sources of information usually unavailable to readers, and pictures or tables that cannot be inserted into the text itself. Go to step 5.

Step 5. Confirm the submission.

After confirming the submission, authors will receive a confirmation e-mail from the journal editor. After submission, authors can follow the process up, from submission and acceptance, through assessment and final version preparation, to on-line publication.

After submission, articles will be assigned to reviewers by the Editorial Board or special issue editors. The journal's Editorial Board and Editors are responsible for the policy of paper selection, which is available at the link **Sobre a Revista>Processo de Avaliação por Pares** (About the Journal>Peer Review Process).

## 3. Preparation of manuscripts

### 3.1. Presentation

Authors should ensure that their electronic copy is compatible with *PC/MSWord*, and use *Times New Roman*, 12-point size. The page size should be set to A4 (21cm x 29.7cm), and the text body should be one-and-a-half spaced throughout. Leave 3 cm from the top of the page and on the left margin, and 2.0 cm from the bottom of the page and on the right margin. Articles should have a minimum of 15 pages and not exceed **30 pages**, including bibliography, appendixes, and annexes. The text must meet the rules of Portuguese new orthographic agreement, which became mandatory in Brazil from January 2016. Two versions of the paper must be submitted: one containing the name and academic affiliation of

author(s), and one in which all references to the author(s), including citations and bibliographical references are erased.

### 3.2. Paper format

The format below should be followed:

**Title.** The title should be centered and set in **bold** CAPITALS at the top of the first page. Runover\* titles should be single-spaced.

**Author's name:** The name of each author follows the title and should be given in full with the surname in CAPITALS and aligned to the right margin, on the third line below the title, with a footnote marked by an asterisk referring to metadata in the following order: acronym and full name of the institution to which author(s) is(are) affiliated, city, state, country, zip code, e-mail.

**Abstract.** The abstract, which must summarize the contents of the paper (goals, theoretical framework, results, and conclusion), should conform to the following: it should appear on the third line under the name(s) of the author(s), contain at least 150 and at most 200 words, be single-spaced, and, with no indentation for the first line, be preceded by the word ABSTRACT in CAPITALS in the same language of the paper,

**Keywords.** Each keyword (seven, at most) is followed by a period. They should be preceded by the word KEYWORDS in CAPITALS, and appear two lines below the abstract. The Editorial Board suggests that the keywords should match general concepts of the paper subject domain.

**Body of the paper.** The body of the paper should be one-and-a-half-spaced

throughout. It begins on the third line below the keywords.

**Subsection titles.** The subsection titles should be typeset in **bold** and aligned to the left margin. They should not be numbered. There should be two one-and-a-half-spaced blank lines before and one one-and-a-half-spaced blank line after each subsection title.

**Acknowledgements.** Acknowledgements should conform to the subsection title layout, and should be preceded by the word “**Acknowledgements**” set in **bold**.

**Title in English.** For papers written in Portuguese, French, Spanish and Italian, the title in English (with no capitals and no bold) should be placed two blank single-spaced lines after the paper text body.

**The abstract in English.** For papers written in Portuguese, French, Spanish and Italian, the abstract in English should be typeset in *italics*, be preceded by the word *ABSTRACT*, typeset in *italics* and in CAPITALS, with no indentation for the first line, be single-spaced, and be placed three blank single-spaced lines after the title in English.

**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.

LUCHESE, 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**

Following acceptance of the paper, the AUTHOR AGREES PROMPTLY TO ASSIGN COPYRIGHT to UNESP, which is granted permission to reproduce it and publish it in the journal. The terms “reproduce” and “publish” are understood

according to their definitions in the Sections VI and I, respectively, of the Article 5 of the Law 9610/98. The PAPER is permanently available to be used in both print and electronic media, and readers have FREE-OF-CHARGE ACCESS through the Internet to read, download, copy, or print the FULL TEXTS of the PAPERS. This publication authorization is permanent, and UNESP is responsible for keeping the identification of the PAPER AUTHOR(S).

### **3.3.13. Privacy Policy**

All names and addresses appearing in *Alfa* are used exclusively for the stated purposes of the journal and will not be made available for other purposes or to third parties.



STAEPE – Seção Técnica de Apoio ao Ensino, Pesquisa e Extensão  
Laboratório Editorial  
Rodovia Araraquara-Jaú, km 01  
14800-901 – Araraquara  
Fone: (16) 3334-6275  
e-mail: [laboratorioeditorial@fclar.unesp.br](mailto:laboratorioeditorial@fclar.unesp.br)  
site: <http://www.fclar.unesp.br/laboratorioeditorial>

Produção Editorial:



