ALFA
Revista de Linguística

Support:

PROPe
Pró-Reitoria de Pesquisa

Sci**ELO**

**Programa de Pós-Graduação em
Linguística e Língua Portuguesa**

ALFA
Revista de Linguística

PRESENTATION

Linguistics, like all science, is made up of continuities and ruptures, but above all of advances from previous foundations. *Alfa* has always meant to be a space for the dissemination of this knowledge, emphasizing the value of innovative research and the expression of critical analysis. It is with this keynote that we present the second issue of *Alfa* in 2018. Seven original articles and a review scrutinize subjects related to different topics under different theoretical-methodological perspectives, always guided by densely-based research, original in the definition of questions and in the construction of answers.

In the study that opens this issue, Batista retakes a debate that dominated the scenario of Brazilian Linguistics in the 1980s — the proposal of a Parametric Sociolinguistics — from the historiographic perspective. It is not a matter of analyzing the epistemological validity of the debater's arguments, but their discourses, the construction of their argumentation, applying in this analysis a socio-rhetorical theoretical and methodological framework. With this proposal the author provides a new angle to think the controversy. And he has the merit of highlighting an approach that, although motivating intense debates and questioning, was an example of the innovative potential of our researchers and paved the way for a new developmental period for Historical Linguistics in Brazil.

Machado reflects on questions «that disturb the semanticist of any affiliation», around the construction of significance. The author problematizes the relationship between structure and context, taking the concept of semantic paradox based on the Theory of Semantic Blocks. Drawing on the analysis of situations of semantic ambiguity and potentially polysemic structures, he discusses the role of structural meaning in reaching the enunciative meaning.

The third article, by Junqueira and Oliveira da Silva, investigates the discursive representations of the democratic school, the quality of democracy and violence, taking as theoretical basis the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Theory of Multimodal Social Semiotics. The object of study is analyzed from its materialization in journalistic texts of the genre article on public schools of the Federal District, posted in Metrópoles news portal. The analysis considered linguistic aspects (lexical selection), the multimodal approach and the metaphors used, revealing that the texts combine «legitimation of hegemonic social relations» and «commitment to the social identity created for the government of the Federal District».

Two articles focus on the teaching-learning universe of language(s). The first one, by Pinheiro, takes Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective to investigate teaching-

learning procedures used in a discipline of reading and producing academic texts under the *Programa de Formação Interdisciplinar Superior* (Profis) of State University of Campinas (Unicamp). Applying the concepts of Zone of Proximal Development, recursive feedback, Mastery Learning and Scaffolding, the study shows that it is "possible to take learners to new forms of knowledge" and to actual development, «by working with textual production through a process of formative evaluation» with continuous feedback.

The study of Diniz and Prieto brings to the forefront an increasingly inescapable reality — the complex interactions that characterize the frontier context. The authors' interest lies in the profile of the language teaching professional in a plurilingual education context, such as that of the Brazil-Peru-Bolivia borders. In order to identify which elements of plurilingual competence underlie this profile, considering the teachers' own perceptions, the authors conclude that these professionals are aware of the potential of the context in which they work and develop pedagogical practices conducive to plurilingual competence.

Rech and Varaschin investigate the properties of deontic modalities with different interpretations, with particular emphasis on the *ought-to-be* interpretation, which presupposes a property of a state of affairs that must occur. The authors defend the hypothesis that conceptual distinctions derive from structural differences, and then there are correspondences between these levels. Their objective is to evaluate, from Brazilian Portuguese evidence, the pertinence of analyses that propose a high position in the syntactic structure for this type of modal, based on the ordering of the functional categories in the «Cinque hierarchy». The analysis shows that this type of deontic is related to categories such as time and aspect (progressive).

The study by Abreu-Zorzi and Massini-Cagliari on the attribution of accent in adverbs in *-mente* in Portuguese closes the set of articles of this issue. The authors analyze the prosodic behavior of the adverbs at two moments in the history of Portuguese - Archaic Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese, according to Prosodic and Metrical Phonology approaches. Applying the assumptions in extensive corpora data representative of the two periods, they concluded that the adverbs in *-mente* are compounds from the prosodic point of view, embracing a lexical and a secondary accent.

We close this issue with a review of *Análise de Discurso Crítica:* um método de pesquisa qualitativa (Critical Discourse Analysis: a qualitative research method).

We wish you all an enjoyable and inspiring reading!

Rosane de Andrade Berlinck

CONTENTS

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

"TO EACH ONE WHAT SEEMS BEST TO HER/HIM": DEBATE AND CONTROVERSY AROUND THE PARAMETRIC SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN THE HISTORY OF BRAZILIAN LINGUISTICS

Ronaldo de Oliveira BATISTA [*]

- ABSTRACT: This article analyzes a debate in the Brazilian linguistics of the 1980s, when Fernando Tarallo, José Borges Neto and Ana Lúcia de Paula Müller differed on a parametric sociolinguistics. In the perspective of a study of the Historiography of Linguistics and based on a socio-rhetorical framework of analysis, which defines theoretical and methodological guidelines of this proposal, the text presents (i) considerations about what is understood in this interpretation as rhetoric and (ii) a historiographic analysis of the debate. This analytical view considers for its interpretative perspective discursive elements of the discourses adopted in the debate (that is, the rhetoric assumed by the linguists), and also elements of a social nature, which can circumscribe the discourses in specific groups of researchers (theory groups) in language science in Brazil. It is pointed out that the debate in question, several times referenced when it comes to a history of Brazilian linguistics, maintained its polemical nature, evidencing that the rhetoric of linguists, when assumed by the historiographic view, must be understood from of its social and historical inscription.

- KEYWORDS: Historiography of linguistics. Socio-rhetorical framework. Rhetoric. Brazilian linguistics. Parametric sociolinguistics.

Introduction

This article presents a historical narrative that interprets an episode of the Brazilian linguistics occurred in the 1980s through the analysis of a debate between Fernando Tarallo (1951-1992), José Borges Neto and Ana Lúcia de Paula Müller regarding the position of linguists in research projects and theoretical-methodological proposals. The *corpus* – historical documents – are papers published in journal *DELTA (Documentação em Estudos Linguísticos Teóricos e Aplicados)*.

* Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie (UPM), Communication and Literature Center, São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil. ronaldo.obatista@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0002-7216-9142

Quadro 1 – Material de análise.

AUTORES	ARTIGOS
Tarallo, Fernando	Zelig: um camaleão-linguista. 1986. *DELTA*, 2: 1.127-144.
Borges Neto, José; Müller, Ana Lúcia de Paula	Linguistas ou camaleões? Uma resposta a Tarallo. 1987. *DELTA*, 3: 1.85-95.
Tarallo, Fernando	Uma estória muito mal contada. 1988. *DELTA*, 4: 2.265-272.

Fonte: Author's elaboration.

The texts of the debate are analyzed from the methodological guidelines explained in the first section of this text, in the perspective of the Historiography of Linguistics (ALTMAN; BATISTA, 2012; BASTOS; BATISTA, 2016; BATISTA, 2013a; 2017b; SWIGGERS, 2004, 2012, 2013, 2017; KOERNER, 2014), which can be defined as the systematic, critical and interpretative study of the production, development and repercussion of linguistic ideas (the knowledge elaborated on language and languages), proposed by agents (circumscribed in theory groups[1]), interacting with the production of other agents (with which they are placed in an axis of continuity or discontinuity), situated in social and cultural contexts, in a dialogue also with a horizon of retrospection and with intellectual, cultural, scientific and pedagogical demands of a historical period.

The historiographer of linguistics, when considering his/her object - the history of knowledge produced on language and languages - has the task of constructing an interpretative narrative about ideas and knowledge. For this historiographer, the task is not only to tell what a linguist or a grammarian (among other thinkers) has considered about language in his/her work, but to go beyond the surface of historical documents (the texts produced on language) and reach a problematizing perspective focused on understanding the reason why one has thought about language in a certain way in a specific time.

This analytical perspective considers the following premises:

a) knowledge is not detached from a contextual layer, belonging to a historical period that legitimizes (or not) reflections on discourse and languages; knowledge is limited to argumentative communities, that is, every linguist (or another thinker on language) joins a current of thought pertaining to his/her period or other periods, thus belonging to specialty groups whose members share the same idea about how one should understand language;

---

[1] *Agents* are the authors who proposed ideas about language in a historical context. *Theory groups* are communities of researchers that recognize themselves socially and institutionally as members that articulate themselves around specific research projects.

b) linguistic ideas belong to research programs[2] characterized by the general view of what the language (theoretical layer) is and also by the methods and techniques (technical layer) used to describe and analyze linguistic phenomena.

The interest in rescuing the history of knowledge about language has grown, putting linguistics in a dimension of historical reflections, not in a rescue movement by the isolated construction of memories files, without an interpretative connection with the present, but, on the contrary, towards a direction in which contemporary concerns are in dialogue with inquiries and solutions located in other time contexts.

The linguists' rhetoric

Scientific discourses are linguistic manifestations ideologically and socially engaged, whose purpose is to persuade through the rhetoric[3] they adopt when defending or denying ideas and knowledges. Rajagopalan (2004) emphasizes that the arguments adopted in scientific texts are elaborated around specific styles in order to convince, and thus work as acts of speech, in our perspective they are in essence directive, since they intend to lead the other, under the mask of the objective neutrality of scientific explanation, to adhere to a viewpoint[4].

In this sense, the historical dimension of science is emphasized as one considers, as an object of analysis, an intellectual and social practice that is the human action of a researcher or thinker meeting the necessary demands of society and the institutional academic spaces he/she occupies.

---

[2] The term *investigation programs*, created by Pierre Swiggers, refers to traditions and research paradigms that define themselves by the notion of language and by a series of specific methodological procedures.

[3] The discussion starts from the sense of *rhetoric* ascribed by Murray (1994, p.23) to what he defines as *rhetoric of rupture*: "'Revolutionary rhetoric' refers to claims (by group members) to major discontinuities, not to claims of persuasion/rejection at the hands of an establishment. Choice of rhetoric (between a rhetoric of revolution and one of continuity) depends on the relative eliteness, professional age and access to recognition of group participants." There are approaches to *rhetoric*, for example, in Postal (1988, p. 129-137) and Koerner (2014, p. 175-220), used to observe epistemological or historical aspects in linguistic works. In none of these three works, however, is there a particular interest to conceptualize and problematize rhetoric as a category of analysis in historiographical studies. The meaning attributed to *rhetoric* here also relates to the meaning attributed to the term when one thinks of discursive production anchored in processes of persuasion. Thus, *rhetoric* is related to the discourses of scientists and intellectuals who intend to establish a position through the texts they elaborate or utter. It does not distance itself, therefore, from the classical meaning that the word rhetoric assumes as the art of persuasion, as explained, among others, by Reboul (2000) and Plantin (2008). We also use *rhetoric* with the sense of object of study from which one can make an analytical observation of the scientific utterances, as present in the study area understood as "Rhetoric of Science", of which Gross (1990) is one of its representatives (see also Malufe (1992) in the Brazilian context). These considerations allow us to immediately conceptualize our sense of *rhetoric* in a manner close to Plantin's (2008, p. 9) statement: "Any strategic use of a signifying system can legitimately be regarded as a rhetoric".

[4] "Now, to regard science as an enterprise marked by controversies and constant clashes of opinion amongst researchers with conflicting and competing views is to admit that scientific research is over and above everything else a human affair" (RAJAGOPALAN, 2009, p. 435). See also Swiggers (2006, p. 27): "In short, metahistoriography is there to remind us that linguistic historiography, in its study of history of language study, finally has to delve into what science prefers to eschew, i.e. into what and how we are: Menschliches, Allzumenschliches."

Starting from these accounts, we understand *rhetoric* in the Historiography of Linguistics[5] as *the discursive manifestation of an agent producing or receiving linguistic ideas, limited to a research program and to a theory group*. This enunciative practice is done through a specific genre and speech acts that establish ruptures or continuities in relation to scientific and intellectual paradigms in the field of language studies, belongings or exclusions in specific theory groups that are part of a historical axis of development of ideas and knowledges[6].

This rhetoric, therefore, is of complex configuration and contemplates different elements that must be taken as objects of observation, since: a) rhetoric is built around different argumentative strategies (selection and elaboration of arguments and their modes of exposition) to persuade the receivers of the discourses that they intend to convince about the legitimacy of knowledge, techniques, theories and methodological procedures; in this sense it concerns arguments that support linguistic ideas and that configure the very nature of a theory to be propagated, for example; b) rhetoric is developed in a network of citations and intertextual allusions that seek to validate ideas and knowledges that are propagated by the discursive and textual means employed by an author; in this sense it concerns a wide network of citations and validations of knowledge; c) rhetoric contemplates implicit elements that articulate relations between knowledges in an axis of dialogues between intellectual and scientific traditions; an author situates him/ herself in argumentative communities and in his/her rhetoric takes into account assumptions and implied meanings that are the basis of what he/ she effectively affirms; in this sense, it concerns implicit elements that seek to persuade the receivers of discourses.

Analyzing the role of rhetoric in the legitimation of linguistic ideas is a task to be performed amid procedures of the heuristic and hermeneutic phases (as in SWIGGERS, 2004), considering that the object of analysis will be approached from a *socio-rhetorical framework* through which one tries to analyze the discourses in search of convincing and persuasion of an agent producing and disseminating knowledge within a historical context. This analytical framework understands that the discourses produced in specific situations of verbal interaction around the intellectual and scientific production in the field of language studies show patterns that characterize, in turn, modes of dialogue and their social circumscription. Seen as an analytical resource (or methodological tool) to understand elements of a history of knowledge about language, this framework is interested in tasks such as: a) to understand how the legitimacy of a knowledge is constructed through the discourse adopted by historical agents related to the production and reception of linguistic ideas; b) to analyze linguistic and

---

[5]   The rhetoric referred to here is the discursive arrangement of an essentially historical nature since it seeks, through different persuasive strategies, the validation of a certain type of knowledge situated in a certain intellectual and social context. About rhetoric in Linguistic Historiography, see Batista (2013b, 2015, 2016, 2017a).

[6]   Continuity and discontinuity are not unilateral or excluding movements. Continuity is often related to progress, improvement or addition of ideas to other ideas with which it is placed in conjunction. And discontinuity is localized, for there is no total rupture with all kinds of knowledge; when one rejects a knowledge, this rejection can be related to another tradition, continuity, therefore, in another point of view.

argumentative resources used in the elaboration of rhetorics of rupture or continuity; c) to interpret knowledges, and the discourse that conveys these knowledges, in their historical, social and ideological circumscription.

Regarding methodological procedures in the configuration of the socio-rhetorical framework, the following should be considered as analysis focus: a) historical context and central purposes of argumentative procedures: analysis of the central purpose of the document under observation, with the description and interpretation of the argumentative process undertaken by the author of the document, together with the circumscription in research programs, traditions of thought, theory groups, intellectual and / or academic contexts (consideration of external factors allowing the existence of a document in a historical dynamics); b) public and modes of disclosure: description of the recipients of the document (for whom a certain type of information has been produced and who is to be convinced of an idea and a practice of description and analysis) and the mechanisms whereby it becomes present in a group (discourse genres, types of approach). Reflecting on these aspects allows us to address, for example, the question of the influence argument in historiographic studies;[7] c) *ethos*: analysis of the enunciators of a document and of the elaborated discursive images of the discursive subjects (including the recipients of the text), seeking to highlight strategies employed for the establishment of speech acts in the rhetorics of linguists; d) nature of scientific/ intellectual controversies: the rhetoric that establishes oppositions and discontinuities can be analyzed through categorizations of the type of controversies (discussion, dispute, controversy) that are established among the agents of knowledge; e) polyphony: the discursive voices (in conflict or communion) that are glimpsed in the discourses adopted by agents producing or receiving knowledge, that is, to observe how networks of dialogue and horizons of hindsight aid in the legitimation of linguistic ideas defended in specific rhetorics, since it is considered that the rhetoric in use reflects and recycles different voices that it appropriates, in a dialogue with strategies of argumentation, to achieve legitimacy and validation of a scientific or intellectual position; f) argumentative strategies that support and categorize the rhetoric adopted: use of authority and reference arguments to networks of dialogue; enunciators self-disclosure; confrontation between discursive voices; disqualification of the opponent; selection of argumentative places[8]; use of

---

[7] Batista (2015, 2016) points out external elements that may be part of the observation framework of items (a) and (b): the climate of opinion in which research programs are proposed; formation of theory and researchers groups; establishment of dialogue circles; modes of communication and dissemination of knowledge; institutionalization of scientific and intellectual knowledge; the reception of knowledge amidst the process of language studies development; social demands focusing on textual materiality.

[8] Argumentation techniques known since the Classical Western Antiquity are constituted as premises that seek to reinforce adherence to certain values. The term 'place' is used by the Greeks to indicate virtual locations in which speakers could access arguments and place them at their disposal. The places of argumentation defined by classical rhetoric are: place of quantity, place of quality, place of order, place of essence, place of person, place of what exists (PERELMAN; OLBRECHTS-TYTECA, 1996; PLANTIN, 2008). Also, a *rhetorical place* is understood as: "[…] warehouses of arguments, used to establish agreements with the auditorium. The purpose is to indicate broad and general assumptions used to ensure adherence to certain values and thus re-hierarchize the beliefs of the auditorium." (FERREIRA, 2010, p. 69).

different types of examples and/ or data; irony; comparisons, analogies, and use of metaphors; g) textual structure: analysis of linguistic (lexical, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, textual) factors of historical document composition that constitute the textual materiality of rhetoric[9].

Some of these aspects - linguistic and social - will be considered further in this article in relation to our *corpus*, analyzed only in some of the possible themes that it raises for a historiographical observation.

Tarallo *vs.* Borges and Müller: controversies about the parametric sociolinguistics

In 1986, the sociolinguist Fernando Tarallo published an article in which he proposed the intersection of theoretical models - in the name of "a global theory of discourse [that] can and should be constructed" (TARALLO, 1986, p. 127) – for analysis of syntax-related linguistic phenomena. From this stance came the title of his article, "Zelig: a chameleon-linguist", in reference to both a historical episode and a film by the American director Woody Allen.

> The twenties of this century in the United States witnessed a challenge to medicine and psychiatry in the figure of Zelig: a human chameleon, a mutant who adapted his physical form and personality to those of other people with whom he was in contact. (TARALLO, 1986, p. 127).[10]

Tarallo infused his text with a rhetoric of rupture with the scientific image of a linguist that, in his interpretation, would be too restricted to a research program, that is, a way of understanding language and establishing its methods of selection and analysis. It is assumed in the passage quoted below that there is a commitment of the researcher with a single research program that often prevents him/her from reaching satisfactory solutions to his/her research problems.

On the other hand, Tarallo proposed a linguistics open to dialogues between theoretical and methodological proposals to increase the analytical power of complex phenomena: "we have to [...] come to a certain disengagement with the model in which we operate and search, in sub-related areas, other possible solutions [...]" (TARALLO, 1986, p. 142). As an argumentative strategy in his text, the selection of a place of quality[11]: that of the linguist used to confluences, taken by the author in his discourse

---

[9]   Batista (2015, 2016) indicates a series of linguistic elements that can be taken into account in this analysis: propositional themes and contents; lexical selections, syntactic-semantic constructions, speech acts; sequentialization and referentialization processes that introduce objects of discourse; modalizations; assumptions and implications; writing styles.

[10] "A década de 20 deste século nos Estados Unidos presenciou um desafio à medicina e à psiquiatria na figura de Zelig: um camaleão humano, um mutante que adaptava sua forma física e sua personalidade às de outras pessoas com as quais travava contato." (TARALLO, 1986, p. 127).

[11] "This rhetorical place is very common in advertisements, since it consists in the statement that something imposes itself on the others of its kind for having more quality, because it is unique or rare, original. The value of the unique,

marked by the subjectivity of the first pronominal person and by the selection of adjectives and adverbs.

In Tarallo's view, the linguist restricted to a single research strand could even inhibit scientific progress because of his orthodox stance, little accustomed to the personality of the chameleon, which is then regarded as the linguist open to the dialogue among research programs, not only the complimentary ones (as he seems to indicate in his text when he uses the term "related sub-areas"), but also those who are radically different[12].

In the fragment below it should also be noted that the presence of a *pathos* to motivate the reader, incites an engagement to the proposal of a pluralist linguist, understood, therefore, as the one most suitable to deal with the complexity of the phenomena of human language. Tarallo's proposal, while trying to persuade the reader by the symbolic elaboration of a positive image of this plural linguist, also reinforced Tarallo's own *ethos* as that scientist. The argument was thus placed with an undeniable rhetorical force with appeals to a rhetorical place of quality that established an *ethos* that directly affected the persuasion of a reader who was willing to engage in the new language sciences, as proposed in the article, in relation to the exotic figure of Zelig.

> The central argument of the present work is, in short, a proposal: the same irony that marked Zelig's life should in theory underlie linguistic investigation. That is, the linguist existing in us should be, in reality, more "zeligian" than we intend to be and we are. In other words, a certain dose of "lack" of a strongly theoretical personality may lead the linguist to results more in tune with the facts that he proposes to analyze. (TARALLO, 1986, p. 129).[13]

> The central purpose of the film's argument [the article in question] will therefore be not to invalidate the work already done on the subject in Portuguese, but rather to demonstrate that some of the chameleon disease could save and safeguard the issue.[14] (TARALLO, 1986, p. 131).

In his rhetoric of rupture, one of the scientific practices to confront, seen as negative, was the one put into action by generativist linguists. For Tarallo, these generativist

---

of the rare, is exposed by its opposition to the common, the vulgar, the ordinary." (FERREIRA, 2010, p. 71).

[12] This proposal is also in Tarallo (1985). In this text, the linguist indicates the possibility of parametric readings of works that had already been realized in the theoretical-methodological scope of a theory of the variation. (We thank to the anonymous reviewer for this text.)

[13] "O argumento central do presente trabalho é, em síntese, uma proposta: a mesma ironia que marcou a vida de Zelig deveria, em princípio, subjazer à investigação linguística. Isto é, o linguista existente em nós deveria ser, na realidade, mais "zeligiano" que o pretendemos e o fazemos. Em outras palavras, uma certa dosagem de "falta" de personalidade acirradamente teórica poderá levar o linguista a resultados mais condizentes com os fatos que se propõe a analisar." (TARALLO, 1986, p. 129)

[14] "O propósito central do argumento do filme [o artigo em questão] será, portanto, não o de invalidar o trabalho já feito sobre o tópico em português, mas sim demonstrar que um pouco da doença do camaleão poderia salvar e salvaguardar a questão." (TARALLO, 1986, p. 131).

linguists would symbolically represent, in terms of rhetoric, the place of non-quality, which is equivalent to that of theoretical restriction and therefore inappropriate. On the other hand, the chameleon linguist should contemplate this orthodox generativist linguist, who would then dialogue with sociolinguists in search of more satisfactory explanations for the analysis of syntactic phenomena in languages. In a parallel textual structure, opposing generativist linguists and sociolinguists, Tarallo's argumentative force was constructed with the purpose of fixating the image of the plural linguist who would abandon an orthodox view to walk towards a more social linguistics. In the elaboration of the argument, the balance has moved to the side of sociolinguistics, which, undoubtedly, was elevated in rhetoric to a positive dimension, precisely because the possibility of confluence lies in its domains.

> As a starting point for his own reflection, the historian who has the theoretical commitment of any researcher with a certain line of research will fatally condemn him/her [the orthodox linguist] to the condition of non-chameleon. Of these non-chameleons the historian believes that the generativist linguists are the best example.
> ....
> The second character that our historian will encounter is the researcher concerned with the socio-cultural-economic-linguistic reality. It is the researcher who emerged as a consequence of the disenchantment with the generative school. (TARALLO, 1986, p. 131-132).

> Everything that varies is generally either ignored by the generativist linguists or solved in terms of the nature of the optional rule. In the sociolinguistic model of analysis, however, variation and apparent linguistic "chaos" are considered as the object of study and for the solution of variation problems there is a new equation between heterogeneity and systematicity.[15] (TARALLO, 1986, p. 132-133).

Struggling in the rhetoric taken by the sociolinguist are two research programs that adopted different views of what was understood by language. The theoretical delimitation of each field was also oriented argumentatively, since the discourse

---

[15] "Como ponto de partida para sua própria reflexão, o historiador que tem o compromisso teórico de qualquer pesquisador com uma determinada linha de pesquisa fatalmente o [o linguista ortodoxo] condenará à condição de não-camaleão. Destes não-camaleões o historiador acredita serem os gerativistas o melhor exemplo.
....
A segunda personagem com que se deparará nosso historiador é o pesquisador preocupado com a realidade sócio-cultural-econômica-linguística. É o pesquisador que surgiu como consequência do desencanto com a escola gerativa." (TARALLO, 1986, p. 131-132).
"Tudo aquilo que varia é, em geral, ignorado pelos gerativistas ou resolvido em termos de caráter da regra opcional. No modelo sociolinguístico de análise, no entanto, a variação e o aparente "caos" linguístico são assumidos como objeto de estudo e para a solução dos problemas de variação tem-se uma nova equação entre heterogeneidade e sistematicidade." (TARALLO, 1986, p. 132-133).

adopted by Tarallo emphasized the place of quality of a linguistic attentive to language as a social and cultural phenomenon, without neglecting the analysis of systematicity phenomena in languages.

In a note written at the end of his text, Tarallo reported that his ideas had been presented at an international event two years earlier, highlighting the names of recognized linguists (Gillian Sankoff, Eleonora da Motta Maia and Mary Kato) who read and commented on his text. A rhetorical strategy that put his ideas into a space of legitimation by the use of the authority argument.

In general, the sociolinguist's rhetoric was elaborated through strategies such as the use of: a) disqualification of a linguistic limited to the sentential or textual level: "our previous disease was explained precisely by the sentential character of our grammatical models. The so-called cure - from the sentential grammar to the textual one - has made us 'sicker' "; b) questions, since a comprehensive and plural proposal would be more appropriate for a linguistic analysis; c) comparisons, highlighting what would be positive and what would, on the contrary, be negative; d) positive qualification of the subject who enunciates from the place of quality assumed by the sociolinguist.

Tarallo's (1986) stance must be understood from a perspective that anchors the linguist in a complex research program - that of sociolinguistics in dialogue with the generative grammar - and in a theory group - that of the sociolinguists and generativist linguists who deemed valid the theoretical-methodological articulation between the theory of variation and change and the theory of principles and parameters. A bold research program was under way in Brazilian linguistics in the 1980s: parametric sociolinguistics or parametric variation. This was a proposal considered by many, not without motivating the emergence of negative criticism[16], as one of the rare moments in which Brazilian linguistics showed signs of vitality[17] and ceased to be just a science of reception (echoing Eugenio Coseriu's (1980) well-known assessment of Latin American linguistics).

This parametric sociolinguistics followed in a way an idea from Weinreich, Labov and Herzog, which was exposed in the text "Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change", of 1968. In this text, the linguists defended the introduction of a theoretical perspective (capable of analyzing the structural and systematic elements of language) coupled with studies of change.

At the forefront of this proposal in Brazil, two intellectual leaders, Fernando Tarallo (sociolinguist) and Mary Kato (generativist linguist), who assumed opposite places in Tarallo's rhetoric of rupture, but later reconciled in theoretical-methodological confluence, fulfilling the objective of the proposal: a joint program between

---

[16] "Criticism to Parametric Sociolinguistics emerged, pointing to the simultaneous use of two opposing theoretical currents - see, for example, the essays by Borges Neto (2004)." (SILVA, 2013, p. 48).

[17] "[...] Marcelo Módolo and Henrique Braga talk about some of the linguistic theories developed by Brazilian researchers in our geography in recent years. They highlight [...] as 'proposals already structured in Brazilian ground *Gramática construtural da língua portuguesa*, by Back and Mattos (1972), *Sociolinguística paramétrica* by Kato and Tarallo (1989), *Semântica de contextos e cenários* by Ferrarezi Jr. (2010) and *Abordagem multissistêmica* by Ataliba Teixeira de Castillo'." (BARONAS, 2012).

sociolinguistics and generative grammar aligned with principles and parameters, presented programmatically in 1989 with an air of novelty and rupture in relation to a scientific behavior that rejected unsuspected dialogues: "[…] the act of polarizing a linguistic of rules [...], and a science of probabilities [...], has been present in all sub-areas of linguistic research for far too long... not only has this polarization been seen before, but it has already worn us all out"[18] (TARALLO; KATO, 1989)[19].

A proposal that, according to Murray's analytical framework (1994), had favorable winds, since Tarallo and Mary Kato belonged to institutionalized areas (sociolinguistics and generative grammar), and both had good resonance at the time. The proposal was mostly confined, as a diffuser core, to a knowledge production center that was legitimized as such, the State University of Campinas (Unicamp), one of the first centers of linguistic production in Brazil (ALTAMAN, 1998). Thus, the proposal was created in a privileged social and academic spot of the linguistic research in Brazil, and, in fact, it did reverberate, since different researches were later carried out in the scope of what this parametric sociolinguistics proposed (PARREIRA, 2015; SILVA, 2013).

The sociolinguist Maria Eugênia Duarte, from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, evaluated the role of Tarallo in this context, reinforcing in her view, 29 years after the chameleon linguist, a role of intellectual leader for the sociolinguist, considered as proposer of a new research project, far from what had hitherto been seen for explanation of changing syntactic phenomena in Brazilian Portuguese:

> The arrival of Fernando Tarallo in Brazil, after his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), in 1983, bringing with him, along with the results of his thesis, the desire to apply the variationist model to the analysis of syntactic phenomena suggesting ongoing changes in Brazilian Portuguese (PB) within the context of the Romance languages, led him inevitably to search for a theory that allowed him to diagnose, in the varying phenomena in PB, reflections of what characterized the parameters proposed in the scope of the generative theory. Tarallo knew very well that in order to understand the syntactic changes attested in his 1983 thesis and in different studies that he and his students would develop, he could not do without a linguistic theory that offered him a means of interpreting superficial changes

---

[18] "[...] polarizar uma linguística de regras [...], e uma ciência das probabilidades [...], tem marcado presença em todas as sub-áreas de investigação linguística há tempo até demais [...] essa polarização não só não é recente, como já nos estafou a todos." (TARALLO; KATO, 1989).

[19] "Tarallo and Kato, in 1989, are the first scholars to present the idea of Chomsky as a possible way of rescuing the compatibility between the parametric properties of generativism and the probabilities of the theory of variation. The attempt, in their work, is to prove its reflex or realign both the generative and the variationist model. [...] the authors propose Parametric Sociolinguistics as a possibility of empirical study of Portuguese - a source of subsidies for a trans-systemic linguistics, starting from the typology of the VS phenomenon found in each language studied, a data provider - aiming the productivity of the phenomenon in each language." (PARREIRA, 2015, p. 352-353).

and associating them to a more comprehensive underlying change.[20] (DUARTE, 2015, p. 88).

When reviewing the presence of parametric sociolinguistics in Brazilian linguistics, Duarte reinforces the "fruits" that the proposal would have produced, given the number of works resulting from the union of the theory of variation and change with the Chomskian theory of principles and parameters.

> The marriage, formalized between Tarallo and Kato (1989), would generate results from analyzes that would allow the interpretation of ongoing changing processes in PB, including changes related to the pronominal framework and the fixation of VS order, gathered in Tarallo (1989; 1993) and in Kato and Tarallo (2003); (Kato and Tarallo, 1986; Duarte, 1993, 1995), as well as numerous synchronic and diachronic studies that would be developed under Tarallo's and, later on, Kato's guidance or inspiration (see articles in Roberts and Kato (1993) and Kato and Negrao (2000).[21] (DUARTE, 2015, p. 89).

Against what Tarallo had written in 1986, Borges Neto and Müller, in the following year, wrote, in the same journal, the text "Linguists or chameleon: a response to Tarallo". In a tone of discord, the authors argued (based on Imre Lakatos and the incommensurability) that the union of sociolinguistic and generative grammar programs could jeopardize the scientific practice itself. The authors established another place of quality: that of epistemology and that of the philosopher of science. It was an appeal to a long and legitimate tradition of knowledge, with a view to deconstructing and denying the legitimacy of what Tarallo proposed in his text.

Borges Neto and Müller disqualified what Tarallo had written in 1986. In the fragments below, words such as "disagree", "recommend", "disengagement", "illness", "problems" and "suggestion" stand out for their negative connotation. Lexical items that highlight the tone adopted in the response to the proposal of a parametric sociolinguistics. Likewise, denying the validity of another person's argument constitutes the main starting

---

[20] "A chegada de Fernando Tarallo ao Brasil, após seu doutorado na universidade da Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), em 1983, trazendo em sua bagagem, junto com os resultados de sua tese, o desejo de aplicar o modelo variacionista à análise de fenômenos sintáticos sugerindo mudança em curso no português brasileiro (PB) dentro do contexto das línguas românicas, levou-o inevitavelmente à busca de uma teoria que permitisse diagnosticar, nos fenômenos em variação no PB, reflexos do que caracterizava os parâmetros propostos no âmbito da teoria gerativa. Tarallo sabia muito bem que, para entender as mudanças sintáticas atestadas na sua tese de 1983 e em diferentes estudos que ele e seus alunos viriam a desenvolver, não podia prescindir de uma teoria linguística que lhe oferecesse um meio de interpretar mudanças superficiais e associá-las a uma mudança subjacente mais abrangente." (DUARTE, 2015, p. 88).

[21] "O casamento, formalizado entre Tarallo e Kato (1989), viria a produzir frutos a partir de análises que permitiriam interpretar processos de mudança em curso no PB, entre os quais mudanças relacionadas ao quadro pronominal e à fixação da ordem SV, reunidas em Tarallo (1989; 1993) e em Kato e Tarallo (2003); efeitos da mudança na remarcação (parcial) do valor do Parâmetro do Sujeito nulo (Kato e Tarallo, 1986; Duarte, 1993, 1995), além de inúmeros estudos sincrônicos e diacrônicos que viriam a ser desenvolvidos sob a orientação ou inspiração de Tarallo e, posteriormente, de Kato (ver artigos em Roberts e Kato (1993) e Kato e Negrão (2000)." (DUARTE, 2015, p. 89).

point of controversy. This aspect outlined a rhetoric that established not a debate as a space for the exchange of ideas, but a real controversial interaction that could not be solved, since both sides would undervalue the opposing argument, exactly in the way described by Amossy (2017) as the rhetoric of *dissent*[22]. This rhetoric is constructed and established in an interaction that cannot have a peaceful resolution in terms of agreement on the positions and points of view adopted by certain speakers of a discourse.

> The purpose of Tarallo's work is to recommend a certain disengagement of the linguist with the model in which he/she acts, since a certain amount of illness is desirable in linguistic research in order for it to become sane. (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 86).

> However, in order to adopt the same analysis for Portuguese data, problems appear [...] (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 86).

> For Tarallo, these difficulties appear to the extent that, by adopting the perspective of discourse, syntactic facts are forgotten; or to the extent that the discursive facts are forgotten when a purely syntactic perspective is adopted for the analysis of the data.
> ....
> The central point of Tarallo's argument, then, is the suggestion that a purely syntactic analysis, as well as a purely discursive analysis, will not constitute satisfactory analyzes of the facts involved in TOP and DESL.
> ....
> In other words, the only way out is for us all to become chameleons.
> ....
> [...] apparently Tarallo's chameleon is eclectic, and we would like to disagree with this chameleon.[23] (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 87-88).

---

[22] "[...] public controversy is inextricably linked to disagreement. That is why it shares the discredit that weighs on our societies under the multiple forms of dissent." (AMOSSY, 2017, p. 17).

[23] "O trabalho de Tarallo tem como objetivo recomendar um certo descomprometimento do linguista com o modelo em que atua, uma vez que é desejável uma certa quantidade de *doença* na pesquisa linguística para que esta se torne sã. (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 86).
Na medida, porém, em que se pretende adotar a mesma análise para os dados do português, aparecem problemas [...]" (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 86).
"Para Tarallo, estas dificuldades aparecem na medida em que, adotando a perspectiva do discurso, esquece-se dos fatos sintáticos; ou na medida em que se esqueçam os fatos discursivos quando adotada uma perspectiva puramente sintática para a análise dos dados.
....
O ponto central da argumentação de Tarallo, então, consiste na sugestão de que uma análise puramente sintática, bem como uma análise puramente discursiva, não se constituirão em análises satisfatórias dos fatos envolvidos em TOP e DESL.
....
Em outras palavras, a única saída é nos tornarmos, todos, camaleões.
....

The fragments below show us that the elaboration of rhetoric relied on authority arguments selected by Borges Neto and Müller. The use of the lexicon and syntactic-semantic constructions such as is worthy of note: the use of a contrajunction argumentative operator in "verify, but does not understand"; the disqualification of the other's opinion in the lexical selection "it lacks foundation"; the reiteration of considering the other as misguided by using the adverb "mistaken again".

In the fragments, one can also note, in particular, the tone of the unresolved controversy when Tarallo's possible lack of ability is pointed out, which, in turn, results, as it may be inferred, from a failure in his sociolinguist's intellectual background: the *ethos* of the competent and well-formed scientist is denied, and also denied, consequently, is the validity of any argument that has been exposed in proposing a new research program in linguistics. As the analysis presented in Tarallo's first text (note that it is the linguist's competence that is questioned) is denied, the reader is rhetorically (as an effect of the discourse) targeted with passions intended to provoke, or not, his/her adherence to what Borges and Müller defend.

> Tarallo notes, but does not understand why perhaps he lacks an epistemological foundation, the non-chameleon posture of the generativist linguist.
> ....
> Mistaken again by a false image of science, Tarallo will seek in the individual attitudes of scientists the reasons for this apparent contempt of the generativist linguists for the empiricists' "facts".
> ....
> Assuming that Tarallo's analysis of the issue of TOPs and DESLs in Portuguese is correct, we would have demonstrated the inadequacy of both programs (generativism and pragmatic-discursive) for the treatment of these data in Portuguese. Hence it does not necessarily follow that programs must be abandoned [...], nor the postulation of a greater disregard for the models, as Tarallo suggests.[24] (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 91-92).

[...] aparentemente, o camaleão de Tarallo é eclético, e é deste camaleão que gostaríamos de discordar." (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 87-88).

[24] "Tarallo constata, mas não compreende porque talvez lhe falte uma fundamentação epistemológica, a postura não-camaleão do gerativista.
....
Enganado novamente por uma falsa imagem da ciência, Tarallo vai buscar nas atitudes individuais dos cientistas as razões para esse aparente desprezo dos gerativistas pelos "fatos" dos empiristas.
....
Admitindo-se que a análise de Tarallo sobre a questão dos TOPs e DESLs em português seja correta, teríamos demonstrada a inadequação de ambos os programas (o gerativismo e a pragmática-discursiva) para o tratamento destes dados em português. Daí não decorre necessariamente que os programas devem ser abandonados [...], nem decorre a postulação de um maior desprendimento em relação aos modelos, como Tarallo faz crer." (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 91-92).

The opposition rhetoric that established not a real debate but a controversy (based on the rhetoric of dissent, of a dispute without possibility of solution, since one unquestionably assumed his/her space and discursive position in clash with the other), there was also a negative characterization of a supposed Brazilian cultural aspect, fond of eclecticism, according to Borges Neto and Müller, and little inclined, by what can be implicitly understood, to the rigidity of scientific formulations.

> In addition to not being justified from an epistemological point of view, Tarallo's recommendation has the defect of stirring up the false nature of Brazilian cultural life. In this sense, the recommendation is doubly damaging.
>
> ....
>
> [...] The Brazilian feels justified in changing his ideology as changing clothes. It can simultaneously accept opposing ideologies, disrespecting them in their original coherence.
>
> ....
>
> [...] if we understand that the scientist is worth his real contribution to the understanding of a certain area of knowledge and not for his erudition, for his mastery of several theories, we must say NO to the chameleon linguist because he does not understand the more general needs of his science and culture.[25] (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 93-94).

The rhetoric of Borges Neto and Müller is essentially linked to a possible theory group not yet institutionalized in Brazilian linguistics in the 1980s, since little was said and produced in Brazil regarding philosophy of linguistics, articulated to a philosophy of science, or epistemology of linguistics.

Years later, the sociolinguists who continued as parametric sociolinguistics referred to the opposition to the chameleon linguist by Borges Neto and Müller in different texts:

> The most vehement criticism came from Borges Neto in 1988 and published in 2004 on the incommensurability of the two theoretical models - the theory of Variation and Change - whose basic assumption was the inherent variation in the system, interested in real data, and the generative theory - interested in what was invariable in the system and

---

[25] "Além de não se justificar de um ponto de vista epistemológico, a recomendação de Tarallo tem o defeito de acirrar o caráter postiço da vida cultural brasileira. Neste sentido, a recomendação é duplamente danosa.

....

[...] O brasileiro sente-se justificado a trocar de ideologia como quem troca de roupa. Ele pode aceitar simultaneamente ideologias contrárias, desrespeitando-as em sua coerência original.

....

[...] se entendemos que o cientista vale por sua real contribuição à compreensão de uma certa área do conhecimento e não por sua erudição, por seu domínio de várias teorias, é preciso que digamos NÃO ao linguista-camaleão porque ele não compreende as necessidades mais gerais de sua ciência e de sua cultura." (BORGES NETO; MÜLLER, 1987, p. 93-94).

centered on the speaker's knowledge, had its existence justified to a certain degree: it really seemed heresy! How to reconcile theories with objects of interest and theoretical assumptions so different? Empirical data on one side and the search for the architecture of universal grammar in another![26] (DUARTE, 2015, p. 89).

Faced with the opposition rhetoric of Borges Neto and Müller in 1987, Tarallo published a rejoinder in 1988 entitled "A Story Badly Told". In the confrontation, there were ways of understanding the scientific practice, among methodological and epistemological questions and the very understanding of the practice of research.

These issues, however, in the historical evaluation that can be made today about the debate, were not carried forward, since both the reply and the rejoinder were permeated by speeches which markedly legitimated only their own words, without thereby leaving open space for the debate, contrary to what the section of the journal so named could suppose as a discussion of ideas of scientific nature. Instead of a debate, there was in fact a controversy without solution.

With belligerent voice and tone that did not disguise the discontent caused by the reply to his text, Tarallo, in 1988, definitively altered the course of what could be expected from a debate, changing it into a controversy that abandoned space for discussion of ideas, as it seemed to be the proposal of the negative evaluation made by Borges Neto and Müller in 1987, although such proposal was not based on strategies that privileged the discussion of ideas, since it was, considering the concept of Amossy (2017), essentially built around the questioning of the validity of the other's positioning, establishing what we have already called the dissent rhetoric.

The sociolinguist, this time, assumed a rhetoric that essentially consisted in disqualifying the other as an argumentative strategy. Tarallo, giving discursive voice to the *ethos* of the attacked individual, made use of adjectives with negative connotation, characterizing the text as some arm wrestling match, even though he mentioned in his text that he would not like to waste paper and ink on an issue that seemed irrelevant to him: "[…] At first, I did not consider sacrificing paper and ink to discuss questions so frugal as those raised in the reply." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 266).

> [...] not a rejoinder to Borges Neto & Müller for, as I shall report, there is nothing substantial in the reply that merits a rejoinder. Therefore, I am only using a simple letter addressed to readers, in which I undo the reading misconceptions committed by the authors of the reply. (TARALLO, 1988, p.266).

---

[26] "A crítica mais veemente veio de Borges Neto, em 1988 e publicada em 2004, sobre a incomensurabilidade dos dois modelos teóricos – a teoria da Variação e Mudança – cujo pressuposto básico era a variação inerente ao sistema, interessada nos dados reais, e a teoria gerativa – interessada no que era invariável no sistema e centrada no conhecimento do falante, tinha certa razão de ser: parecia mesmo uma heresia! Como compatibilizar teorias com objetos de interesse e pressupostos teóricos tão distintos? Dados empíricos de um lado e a busca da arquitetura da gramática universal de outro!" (DUARTE, 2015, p. 89).

[...] undoing the misconceptions, with two specific goals in mind:

1. that the 1986 text on the longevity of Zelig, i.e. the chameleon-linguist, is unquestionable, and

2. that the 1987 reply, which was so innocuous at the outset, not even should have been written.[27] (TARALLO, 1988, p. 267).

Textual marks of a rhetoric that denies the validity of Borges Neto and Müller's text can be seen as an inverted mirror of the authors' own rhetoric, who also denied, in another perspective, the validity of what Tarallo wrote in 1986. The lexical selection and Tarallo's marked subjectivity showed that the issue was far from the space of the exchange of ideas. In this sense, it stands out words and expressions like "arrogant", "personally aggressive", "highly pretentious", "fight and shout for epistemological purity". The use of irony to de-characterize the validity and theoretical consistency of Borges Neto and Müller's article (1987) is also worthy of note: "there!, for 'the rationality of science'".

[...] the journal D.E.L.T.A. published, in its section DEBATE an arrogant, personally aggressive, and pretentious text, signed by José Borges Neto and Ana Lúcia de Paula Müller [...] (TARALLO, 1988, p. 266).

[...] my Zelig appears as a despicable piece of gear in the midst of which Borges Neto & Müller desperately struggle and shout for epistemological purity, and, there!, for 'the rationality of science''.[28] (TARALLO, 1988, p.268).

Tarallo's rhetoric established an opposition in an angry tone of controversies and discussions that do not intend to advance into a debate, but it denies the other a place of quality from where a possible discourse would be validated. It is worth noting the position that implicitly also denied intellectual values to Borges and Müller, since Tarallo saw both of them as incapable of reading his text. Once again, the space that was created in the linguists' rhetoric was that of the controversy built mainly in denying the value of the other.

---

[27] "[...] não uma tréplica a Borges Neto & Müller pois, conforme relatarei, nada de substancial existe na réplica que mereça uma tréplica. Assim sendo, valho-me tão e unicamente de uma simples carta endereçada aos leitores, na qual desfaço os equívocos de leitura cometidos pelos autores da réplica." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 266).

"[...] desfazendo os mal-entendidos, com duas metas específicas em mente:
1. a de que o texto de 1986 sobre a longevidade do Zelig, isto é: do camaleão-linguista, é inquestionável, e
2. a de que a réplica de 1987, de tão inócua em propositura, nem mesmo escrita deveria ter sido." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 267).

[28] "[...] a revista D.E.L.T.A. publicou, em sua seção DEBATE um texto arrogante, pessoalmente agressivo, e altamente pretensioso, assinado por José Borges Neto e Ana Lúcia de Paula Müller [...]" (TARALLO, 1988, p. 266).
"[...] meu Zelig aparece como uma peça desprezível de uma engrenagem no meio da qual Borges Neto & Müller desesperadamente lutam e gritam pela pureza epistemológica, e, ahá!, pela 'racionalidade da ciência'." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 268).

By not having understood a simple metaphor such as Zelig [...], that [...] is perfectly explained from the point of view of the evolution of the theory of variation (the two authors are not aware of the theory of variation, its evolution nor its approximation in recent years to the generative model) the authors fell into an even greater joke: the apology of blind orthodoxy, that is, dogmatism. This is reflected in all the arbitrary decisions that the two authors make throughout the text. (TARALLO, 1988, p. 269).

[...] ignore the analysis of the data, even supposing (and I would say, accepting) that it is correct (p. 92), exactly the analysis that demonstrates that being dogmatic within science (in this case the theory of variation) is scientifically incorrect. [...] In fact, if the two authors had taken care to read the variationist literature, they would have found in Braga (1986) and in the results that the author projects there for the same constructions, a statement for the reservations that I myself had raised in my 1986 text.[29] (TARALLO, 1988, p. 269).

As in the 1986 text, Tarallo resorted to arguments of authority, in search of the validation of his proposal, which he considered misunderstood and mistakenly evaluated, as can be inferred by the sociolinguist's rhetoric. Besides, the search for association with the great name of sociolinguistics, Tarallo once again advocated for himself the place of quality, shaped by the dialogue between the ideas of Labov and those of the Brazilian linguist.

The great irony of all this will now be apparent when, through a recent text by Labov (1987), the creator of the variationist model, my 1986 comments are confirmed. That is, even without knowing it, I anticipated it in Zelig (1986), in another text of 1986 [...], and also in Tarallo (1987), besides Kato and Tarallo (1987, 1988), everything that Labov himself would assume in relation to the intra-model change occurred in the theory of variation, a fact that, from the point of view of Borges Neto & Müller, deserves any and all positive appreciation (refer to

---

[29] "Ao não haverem entendido uma simples metáfora como o Zelig [...], que, [...], se explica perfeitamente do ponto-de-vista da evolução da teoria da variação (os dois autores desconhecem a teoria da variação, sua evolução, e nem tampouco sua aproximação, em anos recentes, ao modelo gerativo) caíram em uma piada ainda maior: a apologia da ortodoxia cega, isto é: o dogmatismo. Isto se reflete em todas as decisões arbitrárias que os dois autores tomam ao longo do texto." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 269).
"[...] ignoram a análise dos dados, mesmo supondo (e eu diria, aceitando) que ela esteja correta (p. 92), exatamente a análise que demonstra que ser dogmático dentro da ciência (no caso específico, da teoria da variação) é uma atitude cientificamente incorreta. [...] Aliás, se os dois autores tivessem tido o cuidado de ler a literatura variacionista, teriam encontrado em Braga (1986) e nos resultados que a autora ali projeta para as mesmas construções, confirmação para as ressalvas que eu próprio havia levantado em meu texto de 1986." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 269).

the TGC (Transformational Generative Grammar) [...].[30] (TARALLO, 1988, p. 270).

The tone of Tarallo's rejoinder privileged some argumentative strategies for the elaboration of his rhetoric of opposition and denial regarding the validity of the 1987 reply: a) disqualification of the other (through the use of negative adjectives and characterization; use of argument of authority; c) revaluation of the place of quality; c) citation of an intertextual network to elaborate a horizon of quality retrospection; d) irony and metaphor; e) proximity with the reader.

> And with this long quotation from Labov (1987) I take leave of you, dear readers. At this promising moment in linguistics in which Chomsky's rationalism and Labbovian empiricism seem to be getting closer and closer, Zelig's longevity is unquestionable. I remain at your disposal for any further clarification, and I will continue to enjoy such a healthy debate as long as we do not waste so much time on ideologies and focus more and more on real and true academic research on language. A big hug from Zelig.[31] (TARALLO, 1988, p. 271).

As the debate became a clash of forces, the submission of the rejoinder acquired excessively personal and aggressive aspects when denying the other's view, closing the series of publications without any manifestation or reply on the part of the authors who penned the text of 1987, in that context.

After Tarallo's rejoinder in 1988, Borges Neto and Müller did not manifest themselves again in the pages of DELTA. Nevertheless, one year after the rejoinder, Borges Neto, without Müller's company, resumed the discussion and submitted it to another journal, associated with the Federal University of Paraná, an institution in which Borges Neto was then active. This 1989[32] text reaffirmed the negative assessment of parametric sociolinguistics, in a rhetorical position that absolutely and again denied the combination of theories: "[…] it is clear, then, that any proposal to 'approach' different

---

[30] "A grande ironia disso tudo transparecerá agora quando, através de um texto recente de Labov (1987), do criador do modelo variacionista, se fizerem confirmar aquelas minhas colocações de 1986. Ou seja: mesmo sem o saber, eu antecipava no Zelig (1986), em um outro texto de 1986 [...], e ainda em Tarallo (1987), além de Kato e Tarallo (1987, 1988), tudo aquilo que o próprio Labov assumiria em relação à mudança intra-modelo sofrida pela teoria da variação, fato que, do ponto-de-vista de Borges Neto & Müller, merece toda e qualquer apreciação positiva (referindo-se à CGT (Gramática Gerativa Transformacional) [...]." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 270).

[31] "E com essa longa citação de Labov (1987) despeço-me de vocês, caros leitores. Nesse momento tão promissor da linguística em que o racionalismo chomskiano e o empirismo laboviano parecem se aproximar cada vez mais, a longevidade do Zelig é inquestionável. Coloco-me à disposição para quaisquer esclarecimentos e continuarei, com o maior prazer, esse debate tão saudável desde que não percamos tanto tempo com ideologias e nos concentremos cada vez mais na real e verdadeira pesquisa acadêmica sobre a linguagem. Um grande abraço do Zelig." (TARALLO, 1988, p. 271).

[32] The text of 1989 was republished in a collection of texts by Borges Neto in 2004. It is from this last edition that we make the references.

theories either takes up the neopositivist postulates or finds in the incommensurability a formidable barrier […]"[33] (BORGES NETO, 2004, p. 199).

Apparently, the debate between Tarallo and Borges & Müller characterizes itself as a controversial interaction whose objective is a clash over a clearly defined topic. There was indication of conceptual or methodological problems in a theory, for example, through evidence built on proofs that supports ruptures. A controversial exchange with no possibility of solution, revealing deep differences. Clashes over ideas are not considered as only a matter of mistakes to be corrected, since the contenders have accumulated arguments that were believed to be able to increase the value of their positions before the objections made by the opponents. This characterization of the debate is possible because both Tarallo and Borges & Müller adopted the devaluation of the other, with indications of mistakes, misconceptions, misunderstandings, without failing to identify problematic arguments and even the lack of basic knowledge in some areas that seemed pertinent to them in the defense of their rhetoric. At the same time, the stances in some moments of the debate became broadened to the approach of other subjects in some way related to the established controversy.

Being members of distinct theory groups contributed, in this sense, for the opposition to be more direct, and often more aggressive, because, along with an interest in establishing academic and intellectual spaces, there was also the need to belong to argumentative communities that sustained the legitimacy of groups.

Tarallo, Borges and Müller each spoke of the space that seemed to them legitimated at that moment, which allowed them to formulate a rhetoric that circulated not only as journal articles, but as key elements to identify the sense of belongingness and exclusion (to/of research groups and centers for teaching and scientific production) in the plural and receptive configuration of the Brazilian linguistics at the time.

"To each one what seems best to her/ him" – *Aliud alios decere* – is an expression used by the Roman Quintilian (35d.C.-100d.C.), to refer to the wiles of personal relativism and the clash of ideas that seek reason in themselves. The Latin words seem to meet the relative positions assumed in the debate here reviewed. Positions that evidence the human aspect of science. Each person seemed to find something not only convenient in the debate, for words also served as weapons in the search for validation of ideas. Perhaps another expression is even more appropriate to this episode: "Weapons are repelled with weapons" – *Arma armis propulsantur* –; an expression used among others by the Greek cardinal Besarion (in the fifteenth century) and by Marco Ofarris (in the eighteenth century), in a guidebook for soldiers in 1773 in Italy.

In the debate, in addition to ideas, opposing forces were evident in the rhetoric at work on the pages of the journal DELTA in the late 1980s. In this way, it is possible to associate the notion of rhetoric of rupture adopted here with the notion of rhetoric of *dissent* discussed by Amossy (2017). This rhetoric of *dissent* establishes controversial

---

[33] "[...] fica claro, então, que qualquer proposta de 'aproximação' de teorias distintas ou retoma os postulados neopositivistas ou encontra na questão da incomensuralibilidade uma barreira formidável [...]" (BORGES NETO, 2004, p. 199).

discourses that are characterized not by the possibility of debate and of a possible conciliatory dialogue, but by the discursive closure, in the sense that the arguments established in a debate are of a highly exclusive nature, based on the argumentative devaluation of the other, which becomes the place par excellence to fight and not with whom to temporize.

A controversy, such as the one seen in the historically reviewed debate, which has its social function in a public space (in the spirit of AMOSSY's evaluation, 2017[34]), because in the rhetoric of linguists, as we have pointed out, there were echoing voices that belonged to specific groups and to academic, consequently social, legitimations.

Accepting linguistic ideas is also accepting that positions in research and teaching are validated, as well as assuming arguments as the most appropriate in a given social and temporal context is to configure, even if we are only aware of it retrospectively, a panorama of scientific action in a society. In this sense, part of what is understood as the Brazilian linguistics today was also inherited from moments like the controversy here reviewed. It is not by chance that Altman (1998), in his historical evaluation of the first moments of linguistics in Brazil, points to movements of unification and diversification. Alongside these movements in the scientific practice, our perspective is that the rhetoric highly contributed to ensured or not academic spaces for those who best knew how to assert their word.

Conclusion

Reviewing history is an interpretation of the past, projecting in the coming and going of the times our own view regarding a series of elements that allow recognition and opposition. A dynamic process that makes historiography, the act of narrating and interpreting history, more than a simple collection of documents and descriptions, but in fact a construction of memory and symbolic images.

Memory, and the identity deriving from it, can be understood as a significant reconstruction of a past. In this sense, the question for the historiographer is not so much what he/she finds in a document, but how he/she creates plausible explanations for what the document offers as evidence.

Considering the limitation of this paper, we cannot make further interpretations, but it is important to consider that in the debate occurred in the late 1980s there was, beyond rhetoric, a more complex question: the identity that Brazilian linguistics would define for itself, amid the plurality and the reception of ideas that have always been its most striking characteristics.

In addition to dealing with the conjunction of research programs, the discussion among linguists placed in the substratum of their words the directions that a science

---

[34] "[...] *the controversy fills important social functions, precisely because of what is generally criticized in it: a verbal management of the conflict carried out under the mode of dissension.*" (AMOSSY, 2017, p. 12, author's emphasis).

of language produced in Brazil could take, with all the variables that characterize the construction of identities in a field made of legitimacy and personalisms when it comes to the validation and acceptance of scientific research practices.

Acknowledgments

BATISTA, R. "A cada um convém uma coisa": debate e polêmica em torno da sociolinguística paramétrica na história da linguística brasileira. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v.62, n.2, p.243-244, 2018.

- *RESUMO: Este artigo analisa um debate na linguística brasileira da década de 1980, quando Fernando Tarallo, José Borges Neto e Ana Lúcia de Paula Müller divergiram sobre a sociolinguística paramétrica. Na perspectiva de estudo da Historiografia da Linguística e a partir de um quadro sociorretórico de análise, que define diretrizes teórico-metodológicas desta proposta, o texto apresenta (i) considerações sobre o que se compreende nesta interpretação como retórica e (ii) uma análise historiográfica do debate. Esse olhar analítico considera para sua perspectiva interpretativa elementos discursivos dos discursos adotados no debate (ou seja, a retórica assumida pelos linguistas) e também elementos de natureza social, que podem circunscrever esses discursos em grupos específicos de pesquisadores em ciência da linguagem no Brasil. Aponta-se para o fato de que o debate em questão, diversas vezes referenciado quando se trata de uma história da linguística brasileira, manteve a sua natureza polêmica, evidenciando que a retórica dos linguistas, quando considerada pelo olhar historiográfico, deve ser compreendida a partir da sua inscrição social e histórica.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Historiografia da linguística. Quadro sociorretórico. Retórica. Linguística brasileira. Sociolinguística parametrica.*

REFERENCES

ALTMAN, C. **A pesquisa linguística no Brasil (1968-1988).** São Paulo: Humanitas, 1998.

ALTMAN, C.; BATISTA, R. de O. (Org.). Dossiê historiografia da linguística. **Todas as Letras: Revista de Língua e Literatura**, São Paulo, v. 1, n. 14, p. 11-120, 2012.

AMOSSY, R. **Apologia da polemica**. Traduzido e coordenado por Mônica M. Cavalcante do orig. em francês de 2014. São Paulo: Contexto, 2017.

BARONAS, R. L. Ciências brasileiras da linguagem. **Linguasagem**, São Carlos, n. 19, 2012. Available in: <http://www.letras.ufscar.br/linguasagem/edicao19/divcient/001.pdf>. Access on: 03 Oct. 2017.

BASTOS, N. B.; BATISTA, R. de O. Entre a história e a ciência: a constituição da Historiografia da Linguística como área de pesquisa e ensino nos estudos sobre a linguagem. In: SÁ Jr., L.; MARTINS, M. A. (Org.). **Rumos da linguística brasileira no século XXI**. São Paulo: Blucher, 2016. p. 57-71.

BATISTA, R. de O. Forma *vs.* Função na história da linguística brasileira: debates e retórica de ruptura: uma interpretação pela Historiografia da Linguística. **Confluência: Revista do Instituto de Língua Portuguesa**, Rio de Janeiro, n. 52, p. 9-32, 2017a.

BATISTA, R. de O. Ideias linguísticas e sua história: modos de interpretar o conhecimento sobre a linguagem. In: VASCONCELOS, M. L. M. C.; BATISTA, R. de O.; PEREIRA, H. B. **Estudos linguísticos**: língua, história, ensino. São Paulo: Mackenzie, 2017b. v. 1. p. 175-184.

BATISTA, R. de O. A historiografia da linguística e a *retórica* dos linguistas: a força das palavras e seu valor histórico. **Filologia e Linguística Portuguesa**, São Paulo, n.18, v. 2, p.301-317, 2016.

BATISTA, R. de O. Retórica de ruptura e descontinuidade nas ciências da linguagem: um estudo pela historiografia da linguística. **Confluência: Revista do Instituto de Língua Portuguesa**, Rio de Janeiro, n. 49, p. 119-141, 2015.

BATISTA, R. de O. **Introdução à historiografia da linguística**. São Paulo: Cortez, 2013a.

BATISTA, R. de O. Uma técnica, um grupo e uma retórica: a gramática construtural na história da linguística brasileira. **Revista Letras**, Curitiba, n. 87, p. 39-66, 2013b. Available in: <https://revistas.ufpr.br/letras/article/view/32039/22008>. Access on: 03 Oct. 2017.

BORGES NETO, J. **Ensaios de filosofia da linguística**. São Paulo: Parábola, 2004.

BORGES NETO, J. M.; PAULA, A. L. de. Linguistas ou camaleões? uma resposta a Tarallo. **DELTA**, São Paulo, v. 1, n. 3, p. 85-95, 1987.

BORGES NETO, J. ; MÜLLER, A. L. P.; PIRES DE OLIVEIRA, R. A semântica formal das línguas naturais: histórias e desafios. **Revista de Estudos da Linguagem**, Belo Horizonte, v. 1, n. 20, p. 119-148, 2012.

COSERIU, E. Panorama da linguística ibero-americana. In: COSERIU, E. **Tradição e novidade na ciência da linguagem**. Tradução de C. A. Fonseca e M. Ferreira do original espanhol de 1977. São Paulo: EDUSP; Rio de Janeiro: Presença, 1980. p.277-368.

DUARTE, M. E. Avanço no estudo da mudança sintática associando a teoria da variação e mudança e a teoria de princípios e parâmetros. **Caderno de Estudos Linguísticos**, Campinas, n. 57, v. 1, p. 85-111, 2015.

FERREIRA, L. A. **Leitura e persuasão**: princípios de análise retórica. São Paulo: Contexto, 2010.

GROSS, A. G. **The rhetoric of science**. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1990.

KOERNER, E. F. K. **Quatro décadas de historiografia lingüística**: estudos selecionados. Pref. Carlos Assunção. Sel. e ed. de textos Rolf Kemmler e Cristina Altman. Vila Real: Centro de Estudos em Letras da Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, 2014. (Coleção Linguística, v. 11).

MALUFE, J. R. **A retórica da ciência**: uma leitura de Goffman. São Paulo: Educ, 1992.

MURRAY, S. **Theory groups and the study of language in North America**: a social history. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1994.

PARREIRA, M. S. Ensaio sobre a compatibilização de teorias distintas: a sintaxe gerativa e a sociolinguística. **Web-Revista Sociodialeto**, Campo Grande, n. 15, p.351-359, 2015. Available in: <http://www.sociodialeto.com.br/edicoes/20/12062015125217.pdf>. Access on: 03 Oct. 2017.

PERELMAN, C.; OLBRECHTS-TYTECA, L. **Tratado da argumentação**: a nova retórica. Tradução de Maria Ermantina Galvão do original em francês de 1992. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1996.

PLANTIN, C. **A argumentação**. Tradução de Marcos Marcionilo do original em francês de 2005. São Paulo: Parábola, 2008.

POSTAL, P. M. Advances in linguistic rhetoric. **Natural Language and Linguistic Theory**, [S.l.], v. 6, n. 1, p. 129-137, 1988.

RAJAGOPALAN, K. Science, rhetoric, and the sociology of knowledge: a critique of Dascal's views of scientific controversies. In: WRIGLEY, M. (Ed.). **Dialogue, language, rationality**: a festschrift for Marcelo Dascal. São Paulo: CLE/Unicamp, 2009. p. 433-464.

RAJAGOPALAN, K. O discurso científico, seus desdobramentos e seus embustes. In: GONÇALVES, A. G.; GÓIS, M. L. (Org.). **Ciências da linguagem**: o fazer científico. Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 2004. v.2. p. 7-23.

REBOUL, O. **Introdução à retórica**. Tradução de Ivone C. Benedetti do original francês de 1991. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2000.

SILVA, H. S. Sobre o alcance da sociolinguística no estudo da mudança paramétrica: uma perspectiva interlinguística. **Working Papers em Linguística**, Santa Catarina, n.13, v. 2, p. 47-65, 2013.

SWIGGERS, P. Linguistic Historiography: a metatheoretical synopsis. **Todas as Letras: Revista de Língua e Literatura**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 19, p. 73-96, 2017.

SWIGGERS, P. A historiografia da linguística: objeto, objetivos, organização. **Confluência: Revista do Instituto de Língua Portuguesa**, Rio de Janeiro, n. 44-45, p.39-60, 2013.

SWIGGERS, P. Linguistic Historiography: object, methodology, modelization. **Todas as Letras: Revista de Língua e Literatura**, São Paulo, v. 1, n. 14, p. 38-53, 2012.

SWIGGERS, P. Another brick in the wall: the dynamics of the History of Linguistics. In: NOOTDEGRAAF, J. et al. (Ed.). **Amicitia in academia**: composities voor els elffers. Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek; Münster: Nodus, 2006. p. 21-28.

SWIGGERS, P. Modelos, metodos y problemas en la Historiografía de la Lingüística. In: ZUMBADO, G. C. et al. (Ed.). **Nuevas aportaciones a la Historiografía Lingüística, actas del IC Congreso Internacional de la SEHL**. Madrid: Arco Libros, 2004. p. 113-146.

TARALLO, F. Uma estória muito mal contada. **DELTA**, São Paulo, v. 2, n. 4, p. 265-272, 1988.

TARALLO, F. Zelig: um camaleão-linguista. **DELTA**, São Paulo, v. 1, n. 2, p. 127-144, 1986.

TARALLO, F. Por uma sociolinguística românica "paramétrica": fonologia e sintaxe. **Cadernos de Linguística e Teoria da Literatura**, Belo Horizonte, n. 13, p. 51-83, 1985.

TARALLO, F.; KATO, M. Harmonia trans-sistêmica: variação inter- e intra-linguística. **Revista Diadorim**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 2, p.13-42, 2007. Disponível em: <https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/diadorim/article/view/3849/2827>. Acesso em: 03 out. 2017.

THE (PERSISTING) PROBLEMATIZATION OF THE STRUCTURAL VERSUS CONTEXTUAL ARGUMENTATION FOR THE TREATMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 'SEMANTIC PARADOX' BY THE THEORY OF SEMANTIC BLOCKS

Julio Cesar MACHADO[*]

- ABSTRACT: This article focuses on the principal question of how to manage the confrontation or alliance between language structure and its functioning to reflect its significance in/of this relationship. To tackle this question, we will mobilize two *objectives,* which disturb semanticists of any affiliation, i.e., how to stabilize, in Linguistics, the theoretical aspects in view of (a) semantically ambiguous obsolete structures; (b) structures that include various uses and therefore, express/produce various meanings. To accomplish this, we utilize the definition of "paradox" as a *corpus*, which will enable us to operate the *object of this study,* viz., the *semantic paradox*, the present-day concept that perceives interdependent contraries, and which we have employed as a technical notion within the Theory of Semantic Blocks proposed by Carel and Ducrot, the principal theoretical support of this research. Our hypothesis is confirmed by the *results obtained*: regardless of the strategic procedure one works with or names oneself, structural signification is both the starting and returning point in semantic analysis, which assists us to draw the *conclusion* that, if it is not possible to understand movement without the concept of inertia, it is not possible to work the enunciative meaning without the structural signification. Such a condition appears to be imperative in Semantics.

- KEYWORDS: Semantic paradox. Structural argumentation. Contextual argumentation.

Introduction

Argumentative Semantics holds a significant global position in investigations in Semantics, Argumentation and Enunciation, besides others. A remarkable mark of reformulation of the theoretical picture of this knowledge appeared in 1992: the fundamental concept of investigating the argumentation through semantic blocks, suggested by Marion Carel initiated the Theory of Semantic Blocks (TSB) in enunciative structural studies. The TSB, however, is not a new theory that breaks away from the

* State University of Minas Gerais (UEMG), Education College, Minas Gerais, Brazil. julio.semantica@gmail.com.
  ORCID: 0000-0003-0364-3370

earlier one. In several research studies on Argumentative Semantics, the variety of nomenclatures is not an indication of a variety of autonomous theories. Argumentation within Language, absolute scales, Theory of Topoï, Polyphonic Theory of Enunciation, Argumentative Theory of Polyphony and Theory of Semantic Blocks are *distinct ways of working the same proposal of argumentation in language through specific procedures used by each one of them.* Those "ways" were initially collectively termed, Argumentative Semantics (CAREL; DUCROT, 2005), and today they are known simply as TSB. Therefore, these diverse names are merely different ways to construct a single Semantics through argumentative means, via theoretical devices that complement each other: the watchful reader of TSB will notice that in order to work on the argumentation on the language, the various engenderments over the years promote a complementary, and not a contrasting relationship (CAREL, 2012). They are the frameworks within which the investigation of the language must be done in enunciation through structural care, with unequal preoccupations. What we have is rather a *single theory*, in constant evolution since its creation, and which has now deepened radically in its present phase, the TSB.

Besides, the same initial interest in the language objects, enunciation, signification and meaning always continues to be investigated through the prism of argumentation within language.

This variety that we understand as a "whole," that is, the echo of decades of discussion on the theory of Anscombre and Ducrot (1983), is now richly researched, reformulated, deepened and refined in the present TSB, as we will observe. The TSB was consolidated as a successful semantic hypothesis intending to investigate the language and the discourse by argumentative ways without abandoning the Ducrotian proposal of a "structural conception of enunciation" (DUCROT, 1987, p.83).

The objective of this article is to consider precisely the way that meaning/signification behaves in language, in two dimensions, viz., structure and enunciation, polemized, contrasted, allied or isolated in various linguistic affiliations, and understood here in a specific argumentative manner, as we will see, based on certain TSB updates, especially over the last decade.

The results of this rigorous updating have been the interesting course it gives to researches about Argumentation and Semantic, by relating structural and enunciative postures to modern concerns peculiar to the strands of Linguistics or to others kinds of strands, like the paradox studies, for instance. Such a gap, at least, resignifies what is currently understood as Enunciative Structuralism, from among the other meanings produced.

The value of the sentence or the statement: the aspect/chaining relation

A methodological singularity particularizes the whole TSB: the argumentation notion by which TSB investigates signification and meaning will be always technically

treated as the *value* (of the sentence or statement). This *value* preserves the purpose of TSB of observing in sentences some traces relating to their construction, and in statements, some traces concerning their enunciation (DUCROT, 1987). These goals will be achieved by the dynamics of two notions: "The two *values* that TSB will associate with a statement are the *aspect* that it expresses and the *chaining* that paraphrases it." (CAREL, 2011, p.160, translation and emphasis ours)[1].

When investigating the *value* (aspect and chaining) of a word, for instance "prudent", Carel explains that such a word *expresses* the aspect [DANGER, THEREFORE PRECAUTION], and that this aspect *evokes* a chaining which *concretizes* it, which could be: "Peter was prudent". As the linguist[2] well explains it:

> *Peter was prudent* has a dual meaning. On one hand, the statement *expresses* the argumentative *aspect* DANGER, THEREFORE PRECAUTION, and on the other hand it *evokes the chaining 'it was dangerous, therefore, Peter took precautions.'* […] The chaining evoked makes the statement a concrete formulation of the aspect expressed. […] The expressed aspect will now constitute the 'purpose' of the statement only on what it has divided, and the chaining evoked will replace the recourse to the objects it is going to represent on what the statement studied has of its own. (CAREL, 2011, p.220-221, translation ours).

In agreement with Ducrot, when he affirms that the statement has the function of illustrating a portrait of an enunciation (DUCROT, 1987), Carel states that a sentence/statement has the semantic function of illustrating aspects, making them concrete (CAREL, 2011). It is in this way that TSB marks the semantic movement from the statement to the sentence, or technically, the notion of aspect marks the movement from meaning (particular, of the statement) to signification (universal, of the sentence). To Carel, the aspect has a universal characteristic that defines it. When Carel, as shown above, declares that the aspect "divides something", she refers to a universal property, as explained below:

> These two *values* are going to reflect the usual and singular character of *Peter was prudent*, as well as the fact that this statement shares with *John is going to be prudent* a Universal, and thus is distinct or distinguishable from it by a few singularities. The aspect (DANGER,

---

[1]   Original: "*Les deux valeurs que la TBS associera à un énoncé seront l'aspect qu'il exprime et* l'enchaînement *qui le paraphrase.*" (CAREL, 2011, p.160).

[2]   Original: "*Je rends compte de cela en disant que le sens de* Pierre a été *prudent est double. D'une part, l'énoncé* exprime l'aspect *argumentatif DANGER DC PRECAUTION et d'autre part il* évoque l'enchaînement <c'était dangereux donc Pierre a pris des précautions> [...] L'enchaînement évoqué fait de l'énoncé une formulation concrète de l'aspect exprimé [...] L'aspect exprimé constituera dorenavant le <propos> de l'énoncé en cela seulement qu'il est partagé et l'enchaînement évoqué remplacera le recours à des objets en cela qu'il représentera ce que l'énoncé étudié a de proper.*" (CAREL, 2011, p.220-221).

THEREFORE PRECAUTION) will constitute what they share with each other. (CAREL, 2011, p.160, translation ours)[3].

In the two summary excerpts given above, some technical terms developed by Carel to operate the value of the statement are present, which we have visually organized as shown below:

Table 1 – The *value* of a sentence or statement

Value of a sentence or statement	
Aspect	Chaining
Expressed by the sentence or statement The purpose of the sentence or statement It is universal (shares a universal with others)	Evoked by the aspect (illustrates an aspect) Concretizes aspects (paraphrases aspects) It is singular (distinguishes itself from others)
Example – in the statement:	
Peter was prudent.	
We have the aspect: And we have the chaining: *DANGER THEREFORE PRECAUTION: It was dangerous; therefore, Peter took precautions.*	

Source: Author's elaboration.

To operate the language or the discourses by the notion of *value* (of the sentence or statement) means that speaking of argumentation (signification/meaning) corresponds to thinking about the pair of *aspect* and its *chaining*. This is the *value*: the signification/meaning will then have something universal (the aspect) and something particular (the chaining). The chaining particularizes the aspect (universal). Although the aspect is constituted by a universal, it is a "synonym" singularized by the chaining, whereas the evoked chaining varies from one statement to another (CAREL, 2011).

The argumentative square: the relation aspect/aspect

For theoretical notation purposes, the two foundational connectors (CONN) of TSB are contracted to:

DC (from the French *donc*) – meaning *THEREFORE*; and
PT (from the French *pourtant*) – meaning *HOWEVER.*

---

[3] Original: "*Ce sont ces deux valeurs qui refléteront le caractère à la fois commun et singulier de* Pierre a été prudent, *qui reflèteront le fait que cet énoncé à la fois partage avec* Jean sera prudent *un Universel et aussi se disntingue de lui par quelques singularités. L'aspect (DANGER PT PRECAUTION) constituera ce qu'ils partagent.*" (CAREL, 2011, p.160).

Therefore, to operate the analysis we shall maintain the abbreviations DC for normative movements in *therefore*, and PT for transgressive movements in *however*. Other notations required are the known negation (NEG) and the semantic block (BS).

It is still relevant to emphasize that both DC and PT are metalinguistic connectors, theoretical notions, i.e., they are not equivalent to grammatical procedures, but are rather theoretical connectors whose role is to semantically operate the standard and the transgression in language and enunciation, in the meanings they are assigned by the TSB. As a technical notion, both DC and PT may be easily substituted by any connector that carries the equivalent concept, for instance, "so, because, ergo, thus, despite, although etc.," which at the time of analysis will paraphrase DC or PT.

With these points made clear, we shall proceed to their application to the argumentative square, a visual device, the four sides of which compose a semantic block:

Figure 1 – The argumentative square of:
A   **C**
[too fast CONN risk of suffering an accident].
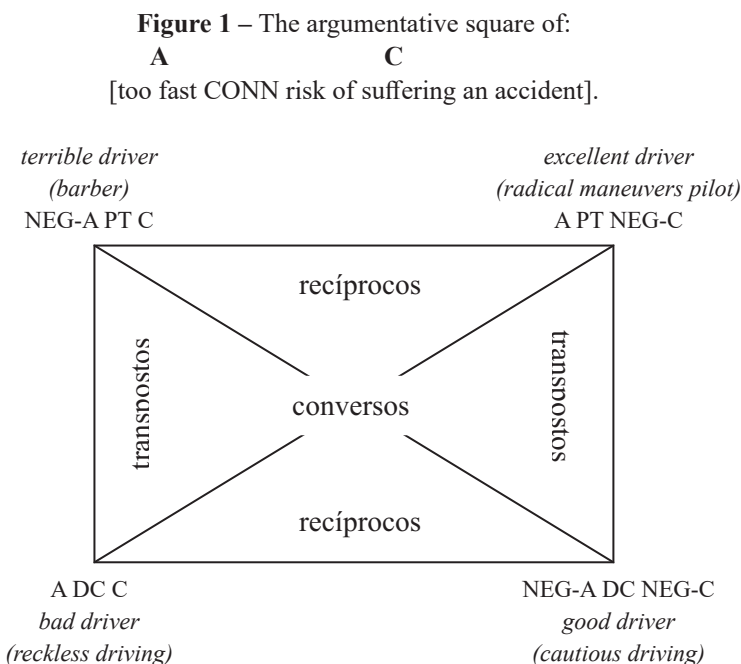
Source: Based on Ducrot (2009, p.22) and Carel (2011, p.67).

Paradox of opposition and semantic paradox

We begin presenting the paradox of opposition according to Carel and Ducrot. This is a technical notion, which does not subsume or correspond to the semantic paradox, the subject of our study.

First, we address the paradox of opposition. In the initial study, linguists observe a block/block (doxal/paradoxical) relationship in signification, revealing that Carel and Ducrot have identified that for each doxal block (B1) there is a paradoxical block (B2). We may arrange the two of them as shown below:

B1: Peter is facing danger, *therefore* he will give up (DANGER DC GIVE UP).
Peter is facing danger, *however*, he will not give up (DANGER PT NEG-GIVE UP).

B2: Peter is facing danger, *therefore* he will not give up (DANGER DC NEG-GIVE UP).
Peter is facing danger, *however,* he will give up (DANGER PT GIVE UP).

The oddness in these two blocks is discussed: from a more philosophical or social perspective – which prefaces the linguistics approach – it is clear that it is more "obvious", or more socially acceptable, for someone to avoid (B1) when facing danger: for example, one avoids robberies, hazardous streets, trips with high index of police occurrences, purchases from suspect websites, etc. Yet, we refrain from forcing a universal unilateral lucidity and recognize that likewise, even if less obvious or less socially acceptable, there are those who like, appreciate, seek, encounter, disseminate or dwell in all kinds of danger (B2), like masochists, drifters, lunatics, rebels, or depressed people etc. Besides, there is also a range of thinkers who will claim the counter-doxal, by stating that living itself is already dangerous, because safety is imaginary and fortuity is unpredictable.

Focusing these ideas on a more linguistic level, but not completely dispensing with the philosophical and social thinking which integrates the meanings, Carel and Ducrot (2008, p.11) have propounded the treatment of this "more obvious/less obvious" relationship as the doxal block and the paradoxical block, respectively. Thus, they termed the first block B1: (meaning DANGER DC GIVE UP) as doxal, and the second block B2: (meaning DANGER DC NEG-GIVE UP) as paradoxical. The peculiarity of this first elaboration relies on the fact that each aspect of B2 is opposed to each aspect of B1. *The paradox would be a secondary counter-block, only visible to the primary block.*

The semantic paradox will be now observed to include another phenomenon, which is the contrary of opposition: the *never division* one. It is an important method which will constitute the analyses of this study: *the interdependent relation of paradox*. The significations/meanings of a paradox are not dissociable in parts (not if we want to maintain the paradox), and must be understood in its global oddness. For instance, the statements: "War is peace" and "freedom is slavery" (ORWELL, 2014, p.14), in some way, should be analyzed excluding the stanchness* [war] and [peace], on one hand, and [freedom] and [slavery] on the other. Our methodology intends an analysis like [war+peace] and [freedom+slavery]. This is the semantic paradox.

This type of methodology is derived from two sources: the interdependence studies by Carel and the unifying sense by Wolowska when he concludes, regarding the paradox:

"its function is to unify, not divide" (WOŁOWSKA, 2008, p.13, translation ours)[4]. This is the method of the "paradox's paradox": the paradox may not be solved; otherwise it would not be a paradox. Therefore, if it is not solvable, it is only observable (observe, for us, is an analytic gesture of globality that is in operation, without splitting). Thus, this longitudinally summarizes this specific methodology throughout the entire study: *we shall observe the paradox, not solve it*.

Ultimately, here we must emphasize this homonymy: one thing is the *paradox of opposition* – the initial theoretical notion proposed by Carel and Ducrot (which opposes common sense, doxal sense, or its gradients), and another is the *semantic paradox* – our hypothesis (which merges opposite significations), and which is explored here. The paradox of opposition connects the doxal/paradoxical. The semantic paradox that we postulate imposes inseparability, using the concept of the interdependence of TSB. To Carel, the reason for it being a paradoxical block, at least in its commencement, theoretically speaking, was the contradicting (and complementing) doxal aspects. For us, the reason for it being a semantic paradox, theoretically speaking, is establishing the inseparability between the oppositions. To Carel, paradox is a relation (of opposition, first, and gradation, secondly). For us, semantic paradox is insolvency and union. Therefore, we do not intend to equate homonymous notions. We wish to display two distinct notions: the theoretical technical term by Carel and Ducrot (paradoxical/doxical), and ours, which merges the opposites (semantic paradox).

Internal argumentation and external argumentation: the relation presence/absence of analyzable structure

According to TSB, there are two ways of argumentatively investigating any word: by the internal and external means to the words. For instance, Carel (2011, p.106) selected five aspects relating to the word *prudent*, among others. They are: [DANGER DC PRECAUTION]; [PRUDENT DC SAFETY]; [PRUDENT PT NEG-SAFETY]; [RESPONSIBLE DC PRUDENT], and [NEG-RESPONSIBLE PT PRUDENT]. Carel (2011) noted that, regarding *prudent*, all of these aspects do not follow the same rule in their signification. She proposed a distinction between *internal argumentation* and *external argumentation* for the word *prudent*. In practice, this means that both argumentations (internal and external) refer to the material presence of this word, *prudent*, in the aspect in focus.

This implies that the relation between the entity *prudent* and the aspect [PRUDENT DC SAFETY] illustrates that this same word includes the statute of material sequel "external" to this word (*prudent* dc…), therefore, this aspect will be said to belong to the *external argumentation* of *prudent*.

---

4   Original: "*sa fonction est d'unifier et non de diviser.*" (WOŁOWSKA, 2008, p.13).

On the contrary, the relation between the entity *prudent* and the aspect [DANGER DC PRECAUTION] illustrates the absence of this word; it does not have the material presence of the word *prudent*, although the relation implies it. This aspect, according to Carel, is locked in the "interior" of *prudent*, as she metaphorically explains; thus, it will be said to belong to the *internal argumentation* of *prudent*. "The argumentative predicate 'take-precautions-due-to-the-danger' is one of the significations of *prudent*." (CAREL, 2011, p.107). It lies "within", in the interior of *prudent*.

Briefly, when considering the relation between a word and an aspect, two types of argumentations arise, identified by the theoretical criterion of material presence:

- *External argumentation (EA)*: When the expression in focus appears in the observed aspect. It is a relation of presence within the analyzable structure. For instance, while investigating the full word *heinous*, beginning such an investigation by the aspect [HEINOUS DC LEGAL REPROVATION], there is, in this aspect, an EA of the work *heinous*. If such an expression appears, it intervenes materially and semantically in the chainings or aspects that expose the expression (CAREL, 2011), there is an EA;

- *Internal argumentation (IA)*: When the expression in focus does not appear in the observed aspect (yet it is part of it), it indicates a relation of absence within an analyzable structure. For instance, when investigating the term *heinous*, this time observing it in one of its aspects in which the structure "*heinous*" does not appear, it is still possible to propose the aspect [SHOCKING DC REPULSIVE]. In this aspect, an IA is illustrated. It indicates the argumentation within the structure of *heinous*. If such an expression does not intervene materially in any of the chainings or aspects that describe this expression (CAREL, 2011), and it still intervenes there semantically, an IA is said to be present.

It must be emphasized that we refer to the relation as "an entity/an aspect", meaning that the aspect itself is neither an external argumentation nor an internal one: "an argumentative aspect is not in itself 'external' (or 'internal'): it is external or internal *to such an entity*. Thus, the aspect [DANGER DC PRECAUTION] belongs to the internal argumentation (IA) of *prudent*, yet it belongs to the external argumentation (EA) of *dangerous*". (CAREL, 2011, p.110, translation ours)[5] For an example of the

---

[5] We notice that Carel technically understands that the nouns and their adjectives (*danger, dangerous; prudence, prudent; life, alive* etc.) can be observed with the equivalence of aspects, together with their characterizations, operations, and singularizations of course, which will specify them. For instance:

- *Peter is in that **dangerous** place.* Expresses: {Peter + place + [DANGER DC AVOID]}; and
- *Peter is in **danger** in that place.* Expresses: {Peter + [DANGER DC AVOID] + place]}.

[DANGER DC AVOID] is EA of *danger* and *dangerous*, and is IA of *prudent* or *prudence*.
The basic chaining evoked – which could be better particularized, when enunciated – is as follows:

- *Peter is in that **dangerous** place*; therefore, he should avoid it.
- *Peter is in **danger** in that place;* therefore, he should avoid it.

paradoxical, the aspect [NEG-DEAD DC ALIVE] belongs, at the same time, to the IA of the term *healthy*, as well as to the EA of the term *alive*.

Corpus

In the light of the theoretical framework considered, we now take a less theoretical-expositional path and a more analytical-situational one. Therefore, we shall present our *corpus*, initially regarding a definition of *paradox* from the *K Dictionaries Password:*

> **Paradox** ['parədoks] *noun.* A statement *etc.* that seems to contradict itself but which is nevertheless true: *If your birthday is on February 29 you could state the paradox that you are thirteen years old, although you have had only three birthdays.* (PARKER; STAHEL, 2005, p.374).

According to the speakers of this excerpt, we will have, in the initial statement, the following chaining (which does not mean that this is the paradox, but by an enunciative affiliation, means what this dictionary "says" to be the paradox):

Evokes: A sentence seems to contradict itself; *however,* it is true, nevertheless.
Expresses: [CONTRADICTION PT NEG-FALSE]

In the statement referred to above, the aspect [CONTRADICTION PT NEG-FALSE] belongs to the IA of *paradox*, the paradox of Logic (which ascertains truth and falsity). On the contrary, if we consider the anaphoric element of the statement, we can reorganize the aspect of the statement:

Evokes: Paradox: a sentence that seems to contradict itself; however, it is true, nevertheless.
Expresses: [PARADOX PT TRUTHFUL CONTRADICTION]

By the bias of the chaining shown above, the aspect [*PARADOX* PT TRUTHFUL CONTRADICTION] belongs to the EA of *paradox*.

External argumentation on the right/external argumentation on the left: the relation between an analyzable structure and its presence in the support or contribution

Carel still distinguishes, in the layout of the external argumentation (EA) of an entity, two other subtypes of argumentations: the external argumentation *on the right*, and the external argumentation *on the left*. This principle is equal to the external argumentation: the presence of the entity, but now, the presence-location of the entity.

We now consider the aspect [PRUDENT DC SAFETY] and its converse [PRUDENT PT NEG-SAFETY], both the EA of *prudent*. Carel (2011) explains that both aspects belong to the EA *on the right* of *prudent*, because the aspect and its chainings develop materially on the right of *prudent*, in this contribution: [PRUDENT *CONN*...].

Likewise, we consider the aspect [RESPONSIBLE DC PRUDENT] and its transposed form [NEG-RESPONSIBLE PT PRUDENT], as both EA of *prudent*. Carel (2011) explains that both aspects belong to the EA *on the left* of *prudent*, because the aspect and its chainings develop materially on the left of *prudent*, in its support: [… *CONN* PRUDENT].

We now shift the analytical axis towards the aim of this study, viz., the paradox. Still according with the dictionary definition above, we observe that [PARADOX DC TRUTHFUL CONTRADICTION] is an EA on the right of *paradox*. When we analyze the second statement of the definition: "If your birthday is on February 29, you could state the paradox that you are thirteen years old, although you have had only three birthdays", we can consider the aspect illustrated: [BE 13 YEARS OLD ALTHOUGH HAVING HAD ONLY THREE BIRTHDAYS DC PARADOX], which is an EA on the left of *paradox*.

Against the above considerations, it is still interesting to emphasize that Carel drew attention to the fact that Anscombre and Ducrot focused only on the normative (CAREL, 2011) external argumentations on the right, which Ducrot assumes as follows: "In 1995, the type of argumentation which I associated with an expression was related to what we now call its EA in DC." (DUCROT, 2002, p.12). This verifies that the TSB has come to take the studies of the previous phase forward, the so called Argumentation in Language (or the new linguistics) of Anscombre and Ducrot, in a broader, deeper and richer way, which until then was undeveloped, as Ducrot (2006, p.154) claims: "The conception of linguistic semantics in which I am currently working on seems to me as an extension of the new linguistics. […] More precisely, it is about the TSB […] in which I see a deepening and a radicalization of the new linguistics." It is not about two theories, therefore; it is about only one, deepened and radicalized.

Structural argumentation and contextual argumentation

Our approaches, thus far, are leading us to our core issue: the confrontation between structure and its functioning, and the reflection of signification in this/of this relation.

To capture the big picture, we put forward an issue that is disturbing to the semanticist: how can we stabilize the aspects in DC and PT in light of ambiguous structures? What about facing structures that permit various uses, and would therefore present various aspects? How would you stabilize a method when you encounter such a problem?

To tackle this predicament, faithfully adhering to the assumptions of the '*new linguistics* which facilitates the semantic work determined by the double instance

sentence/statement, Carel affiliates the notions of IA and EA to two other notions: the *structural argumentation* and the *contextual argumentation* (CAREL, 2011). The analytical condition remains unchanged: the structural argumentation expresses aspects enrolled in the language, out of use, or the pure construction of the linguist (DUCROT, 1987). The contextual argumentation expresses aspects which depend on factors such as enunciation, functioning of the language, situation, speakers and listeners, discourse, as Carel and Ducrot explains: "[…] giving the meaning of an expression is associating different argumentations to it, which are evoked by its use." (CAREL; DUCROT, 2008, p.10). Thus, Carel delimits that a linguistic phenomenon (a phenomenon of the language) will be of a phrastic dimension (and, therefore, will express structural argumentations), and the phenomenon of discourse will be of an enunciative dimension (and, therefore, will express contextual argumentations):

> I would state that an aspect A is structurally expressed by a linguistic entity E, if E expresses A by its own linguistic signification; I would state that A is contextually expressed by E, if the association of E and A is not linguistic. (I would be interested essentially by the case in which the discourse declares that this association is made). (CAREL, 2011, p.114-115, translation ours)[6].

This disposition is shown in the general frame of TSB as:

Table 2 – Formulation of the dimension "language/speech"

Language	Speech
Sentence	Enunciated
Signification	Meaning
Structural argumentation	**Contextual argumentation**

Source: Author's elaboration.

We now face a strong methodological conception since the beginning of the new linguistics of Anscombre, Ducrot and Carel. They selected the functioning of the language as the focus of analytical attention to describe it. It is this double dimension, which is essential in Semantics, which is operated and operable through the statement: "I will get interested essentially by the case in which discourse is the one to declare that this association is made." (CAREL, 2011, p.115, translation ours)[7]. However, what stands out are the significant developments observable in/through the complex

---

[6]   Original: "[...] *je dirai qu'un aspect A est structurellement exprimé par une entité linguistique E si E exprime A de par sa signification linguistique même ; je dirai que A est contextuellement exprimé par E si l'association de E et de A n'est pas linguistique (je m'intéresserai essentiellement aux cas où c'est le discours qui déclare que cette association est faite).*" (CAREL, 2011, p.114-115).

[7]   Original: "*Je m'intéresserai essentiellement aux cas òu c'est le discours qui declare que cette association est faite.*" (CAREL, 2011, p.115).

unit of the statement, which are only possible by means of signification present in the language, that is, in the lexicon and in the structure.

Two applications of the new pair are presented below, viz., structural argumentation and contextual argumentation, the first in EA and the other in IA (CAREL, 2011, p.114, translation ours).[8]

- Structural EA of *rich*: [RICH DC MAKE THINGS POSSIBLE]

evoked, for instance, in the sentence: *Peter is rich, therefore, he can do whatever he wants.*

- Contextual EA of *rich*: [RICH DC HAVE FRIENDS]

evoked, for instance, in the statement: *Peter is rich, therefore, he has many friends.*

According to Carel, we have a *structural* EA on the right in the word *rich*, because [RICH DC MAKE THINGS POSSIBLE] is proper to the linguistic signification of the word *rich*. "Have-possibilities" is one of the structural significations of the word *rich*. But the meaning "wealth-produces-friends" is not in the language, in the structure of *rich*, it is a *contextual* argumentation. It is the enunciation that provides this aspect. Not in the structure, but from the structure. The contextual argumentation is a singular association, circumstantial of the event of the statement, produced from the structural argumentation. There is no way to be contextual without going through the structural, and this is the great merit of structural semantics.

Next, we consider the application of the new structural/contextual pair. To accomplish this, we recapitulate and split the definition of paradox given above, in two parts, the analysis of which is given below:

(A) A statement etc., that seems to contradict itself but which is nevertheless true:
The statement above illustrates three aspects, at least: two IA (a contextual and a structural) and one structural EA. All the three are explained as follows:

- Structural IA of semantic paradox: [OPPOSITES DC INSEPARABLE]

evoked for instance, in sentences like:
There are two opposites here, and somehow, therefore, they do not separate.
Evocation concretized, for instance, in statements such as:
Love is a fire that burns unseen; a wound that aches yet isn't felt; an always discontent contentment; a pain that rages without hurting (CAMÕES, 1975, p.181);

As considered, the structural argumentation does not need to take part *ipsis litteris* in the aspects of the enunciation itself. It somehow corresponds to the project of the

---

8   Original: "*Pierre est riche, donc il peut faire ce qu'il veut.*
    Pierre est riche, donc il a beaucoup d'amis."
       (CAREL, 2011, p.114).

enunciation. This structural IA of paradox above is concretized in statement (A) as follows:

- Contextual IA of the paradox: [CONTRADICTION PT NEG-FALSE]

This aspect can be evoked, for instance, in statements as given below:

- Contextual IA of *paradox*: [CONTRADICTION PT NEG-FALSE]

This aspect can be evoked, for instance, in statements as the one mentioned below:
A statement or etc., that seems to contradict itself, but which is nevertheless true.
It is also one which has been concretized, in the dictionary in focus, by the statement (A). Concretization which arises from the structural EA of *contradiction*, of Logic:[9]

- Structural EA of logical contradiction: [CONTRADICTION DC FALSE]

It is relevant to highlight that the first statement of this dictionary (as it happens with all dictionaries) intends to imitate, describe and explain a structurally proper signification of a word – in this dictionary, the signification (out of use) of the word paradox is something which is done only through Logic, by the structural aspect of contradiction as falsity, leaving out of the definition many structural aspects of other knowledge (failing, for instance, to enunciate the structural aspect "opposites-inseparable" above).

It is proper for dictionaries to present the structural definitions based on the utopia that constitutes them, the utopia of knowing, of being able to convert many meanings of a certain word into a single structural inscription. Perhaps, this is the main problem with dictionaries, from a semantic point of view: in an attempt to state the structural, they end up enunciating the contextual. Every search there for signification (general) ends up in meaning (local). Therefore, the dictionary operates using the generalization which universalizes; however, it always makes it through the enunciation which singularizes. That is where the following maxim originates from: a dictionary can be efficient, but never enough.

We shall perceive the second statement from the dictionary under consideration, the example-definition:

---

[9] When Argumentative Semantics approaches Logic in its work, it seems to depart from slopes of Logic that go along with contradiction. The approach of the Logic that is of interest here, therefore, may be explained by the studies of paradox performed by Wolowska (2008, 2005). The Polish language evidenced two principles regarding paradox:

- The principle of Logic, in which there is no place for contradiction, understanding contradiction as two opposites which do not co-ordinate. According to Wolowska (2008, p.31, our translation), "The main principle of logic […] is the principle of non-contradiction."; and
- The principle of Semantics, in which contradiction is accepted without a problem, continuing to understand the contradiction as two opposites, which now co-ordinate.

It is interesting to emphasize that in one of our recent researches in France financed by the Federal Government (CAPES PDSE 5637-13-9), we observed that in more than 40 dictionaries all over Europe, America and Japan, in 12 distinct languages, many definitions of "paradox" are described by mentioning this Logic (without specification), which does not support contradiction. This corroborates that this Logic, from Aristotelian origin, refutes contradiction, calling it false, is far from being disused.

(B) *If your birthday is on February 29 you can state the paradox that you are 13 years old, although you have had only three birthdays.*

This statement shows:

- Contextual IA of paradox: [29/02 DC 13 YEARS OLD DESPITE HAVING HAD ONLY 3 BIRTHDAYS]

This can be evoked, for instance, in the statement:
Having been born on February 29th means therefore, being 13 years old despite having had only 3 birthdays.

It is important to understand the argumentative game involved in the statement, which reveals that this contextual IA of *paradox* is formed from two other IAs:
Structural IA of *February 29th*: [LAST DAY OF A MONTH DC CALENDAR DATE]
Contextual IA of *February 29th*: [LEAP YEAR DC QUADRIENAL OCCURRENCE]

It is correct for dictionaries to present contextual examples in an attempt at structural definition (which sometimes deconstructs the structural definition itself). In short, these two statements that define *paradox* reveal one of the structural EAs on the right proper of the full word *dictionary* itself:

[DICTIONARY DC DEFINE FIRST AND EXEMPLIFY AFTER]
Another angle may enable a better understanding. Contextualists of all kinds and affiliations could replicate our findings, emphasizing that the structuralist argumentation hypothesis subsumes in the contextual, just as we have affirmed that the simple fact of a certain word entering a dictionary, being enunciated by authors who selected these words for definition, install a historic enunciation, which according to Ducrot did not exist before nor will be there later (DUCROT, 1987). We concur with this, when we declare that every attempt to state the structural culminates in the contextual.

The issue, however, is first of all being able to think of the possibility and difficulty of doing semantics without a basic scientific criterion: would it be possible to think of the unstable (meaning) without the stable (signification)? It is irrelevant if the second is a necessary condition for the first, or if the second is kind of return to the first, or if one is the future of the other, or whatever other definition one may wish to assign to this recalcitrant relationship. The TSB understands that the issue is one of necessary relation, not of isolation. Particularly in linguistic scientificity, this regularity appears to impose itself (even if authors deny the structural signification; interestingly they operate by renewing it in other ways, believing they are eradicating it), because while thinking out the process the scientist creates abstractions of this process, or as Ducrot states, the linguist builds the sentence to be able to account for the statements (DUCROT, 1987). We would respond in rejoinder: if in the enunciation of structural signification there is any unreliable contextuality, there is

also, in the same manner, in every enunciation, insistent structural significations, stubborn, present and omnipresent in the peculiarity of every statement, not stated but implied, structural significations that constitute, disturb, and therefore build the statement. In a more refined way, we declare that it is not possible to understand the idea of movement without the idea of inertia, and this applies to Semantics. It is not possible to understand meaning without signification, and if there is, therefore, functioning, it is because there is (and persists) that which does not function before. Every war (meaning) starts from peace (signification), and peace reverberates in the war project, even if the former is neither effective nor sought after.

As a concrete example, we shall consider the following: would it be too hard (or even, would it be possible?) to explain that the meaning of statements (A) and (B) mentioned above build the definition of paradox without bumping, touching, referring, updating, alluding, and extrapolating the following structural significations, which disturb the functioning of the words in these two statements:

Structural IA of *paradox:* [OPPOSITES DC INSEPARABLE];
Structural EA of *contradict oneself*: [CONTRADICTION DC FALSE];
Structural IA of *February 29th*: [LAST DAY OF A MONTH DC CALENDAR DATE];
Structural EA on the right of *being 13 years old*: [BE 13 YEARS OLD DC HAD 13 BIRTHDAYS];
Structural EA on the left of *birthday*: [INCREASE AGE DC PASS ON BIRTHDAY];
Structural EA on the right of *dictionary*: [DICTIONARY DC DEFINE FIRST AND EXEMPLIFYLATER].

Obviously besides these listed aspects, it would be possible to illustrate many others, own of the significations of every term used in the enunciation of the definitions (A) and (B).

It may still be stated that, in a certain way, one of the meanings of the statement (B) can be described as an attempt to "get away" from the structural obvious, from a structural condition of language (age means to pass on birthdays), present in the structural EA on the left of *birthday*: [INCREASE AGE DC PASS ON BIRTHDAY]. Yet, it gets away in vain, as there is no way to eradicate this structural aspect that "bothers" the meaning of the whole statement (age without birthdays). The problem is not in [INCREASE IN AGE DC LIVE FOR 365 DAYS], or in [BIRTHDAY DC LIVE FOR MORE 365 DAYS], but in the structural aspect [INCREASE IN AGE DC PASS ON BIRTHDAY], which "bothers" the statement above and puts it in a semantic crisis.

It is precisely the significant confrontation (the structural: aging by birthdays *versus* the contextual: aging without birthdays) that will produce the meaning crisis, which will end up emphasizing, reinforcing, going back, or at least considering the structural IA of paradox: [OPPOSITES DC INSEPARABLE]. This structural aspect enables the production of the "odd" contextual meaning of [someone-aging-with-only-

three-birthdays]. This is what composes one of our formal definitions regarding the semantic paradox: the oddness that merges a universal structural aspect into its opposite contextualization, inseparable from each other.

The argumentative complex

About this insufficient stance of stanching the structural or contextual argumentation, at least two aspects must be considered:

I) According to Ducrot (1987), it is the objective of the semanticist to select the argumentation that should be explored; and

II) The analytical standard of the TSB has never been tight: language/speech is separated by bad readings of the TSB, from our perspective, according to the reading we have done from the mobilization of this cache of knowledge. A theory that puts itself in a state of Enunciative Structuralism should investigate these two words equally (the Structuralism and the Enunciative). On the one hand it is imperative and essential to observe the lexical structure, assuming that "[…] certain argumentative predicates are lexicalized, as if they were summed up by language, condensed in its words." (CAREL, 2011, p.122, translations ours)[10]. On the other hand, every structure claims its purpose, its own enunciative statute. It is by this and in this enunciative statute that we observe how the significant thickness behaves itself: "[…] it is the discourse which declares that this association has been made." (CAREL, 2011, p.115, translation ours)[11].

About this item (II), Carel describes the difficulty the semanticist faces before the language, that ends up proceeding to a kind of "intuitive feeling of the language", a general term to mean that there are strong significations present in language, which appear to mean something by themselves, and will interfere with the enunciation/statement: "To say the truth, I do not see how to avoid a recurrence of the intuitive feeling of the language […] the practical problem is to know what this intuitive feeling means and how to analyze it." (CAREL, 2011, p.121, translation ours)[12]. It is regarding this practical problem that one part of the theoretical purpose of our work inclines towards: (to try) to formalize the significant opacities.

A final question that still continues to persist for the semanticist who makes use of the IA and EA notions, contextual and structural, is: Is (are) there criterion(a) to quantitatively establish the aspects of a word? That is to mean, how many aspects does a word carry? Or will this question not fit into this theoretical model, as the illustration of these word's aspects present themselves freely, for the richness of many aspects?

---

[10] Original: "[...] *certains prédicats argumentatifs sont lexicalisés, comme s'ils étaient résumés par la langue, condensés dans ses mots.*" (CAREL, 2011, p.122).

[11] Original: "*C'est le discours qui declare que cette association est faite.* " (CAREL, 2011, p.115).

[12] Original: "*À vrai dire, je ne vois pas comment éviter un recours au sentiment intuitif de la langue [...] Le problème pratique est de savoir ce que signifie ce sentiment intuitif et comment l'analyser.* " (CAREL, 2011, p.121).

Regarding semantics, this last option seems to be the most reasonable, because every semanticist agrees that the meaningfulness, regardless of the theory, is a difficult phenomenon to explain or to exhaust in few words. On the contrary, the significant wealth of a word does not prevent the observation of a central signification line as more general. It is this central orbit, general or universal, that the Argumentative Semantics desires to illustrate *a priori*, by the aspects of a word.

Thus, each word (expression, sentence, text, image etc.) will have at least three ways in which to initially address the phenomenon of significance: (1) a structural EA on the right; (2) a structural EA on the left; and (3) a structural IA. If the case concerns a certain analysis of a word in use, three of the same aspects will be added to the previous three, now contextually: (4) a contextual EA on the right; (5) a contextual EA on the left; and (6) a contextual IA.

For instance, a plain word *dictionary* may present, at least, the following aspects:

(1) Structural EA on the right: [DICTIONARY DC EXPLANATION BY LIST OF TERMS];
(2) Structural EA on the left: [ORDER THE CAST OF THE SIGNIFICATIONS OF A LANGUAGE DC DICTIONARY];
(3) Structural IA: [EXPLORE WORDS SIGNIFICATIONS OF A LANGUAGE DC PRESENT THE SIGNIFICATIONS ALPHABETICALLY]

In case these three aspects fail to fully illustrate the wealth of dictionary meaning, the semanticist will expand the range of aspects, for example: [DICTIONARY DC LIST OF TERMS]; [DICTIONARY DC WORDS IN ANOTHER LANGUAGE]; [DICTIONARY DC LINGUISTIC INSTRUMENT THAT CONSTITUTES KNOWLEDGE OF A LANGUAGE] etc. The signification of the dictionary is all of this and more. It is the ability of the semanticist to catch the extent to which the signification guides the analytical procedures and its limits, in Semantics. However, the semanticist will choose one key aspect for unfolding his/her analysis (according to his/her goals), which may be, for instance, the number (3) mentioned above.

This context of analysis of signification by "family of aspects" inspired Carel and Ducrot (2016), recently, to formulate the *argumentative complex* neo notion. Thus, every word presents a complex of aspects that illustrates it, which "[…] we will call 'argumentative complex' the set of argumentative schemes." (CAREL; DUCROT, 2016, p.27, translation ours)[13] Hence, in this article, we reasoned the argumentative complex of *paradox* and *dictionary,* which in our case specifically, contact each other contextually and therefore intersect semantically, due to our *corpus*.

---

[13] Original: "*On appellera < complexe argumentatif > un assemblage de schémas argumentatifs.*" (CAREL; DUCROT, 2016, p.27).

Conclusion

As a result of this, we in some way refer to Benveniste (2006), not because we are assuming his assumptions of semiotics and semantics, but because the TSB ends up concurring with his basic idea: if enunciations are discussed, two plans are always to be considered, viz., a generic one, immanent and closed in the signs, and a particular one, transcendent and open to reality. Such plans complement and require each other, based on Saussure, strengthened by Benveniste's work, and carefully accepted in TSB, from the epistemic way of considering semantic means, operable according to the structural and contextual argumentation of this theory.

We declare that we do not believe in a complete analysis, if it leaves the language level, or engages only in it. Use and non-use are two faces unattainable of and for the signification/meaning and its investigations.

For us, the flag of Linguistics without language is poor and rootless, mainly if one discusses Semantics; also, an investigation of the language without its use would be worthless, since the existential reason for a language is enunciation. The sophistication and the condition of meaning lie in the relation of language/speech, regardless of the technical terms they are given. This article, through the reflection of the structural and contextual argumentation, simultaneously reveals the immeasurable richness of the significant phenomenon of language and its complexity, which we have presented through Argumentative Semantics (or as Ducrot states, which conveniently fits here: we are dealing with a structural conception theory of enunciation).

Thus, it appeals to us to complete this subject, perhaps controversial within Linguistics by the infinity of affiliations that it allows, with an inquiry that is interesting to us because it comes from a discourse analyst, who stands out by his emphasis in his works on Enunciation, yet ends up recognizing the strong primacy of structural signification in enunciative studies (approached by him in a literal sense):

> If at each enunciation, some meaning effect may be new and unrepeatable, on the other hand, the "great mass" of meaning effects is effectively a recapture of previous meanings and it coincides with them. This is the fact which installs the possibility of the literal meaning within the theory of enunciation. (POSSENTI, 2001, p.30, translation ours).[14]

Acknowledgment

---

[14] Original: "*Se a cada enunciação, algum efeito de sentido pode ser novo e irrepetível, por outro lado, a 'grande massa' dos efeitos de sentido é efetivamente uma retomada de sentidos prévios e com eles coincide. É este o fato que instaura a possibilidade do sentido literal no interior de uma teoria da enunciação.*" (POSSENTI, 2001, p.30).

MACHADO, J. The (insistently) problematization of structural *versus* contextual for the treatment of significance: an analysis of the 'semantic paradox' by the Theory of Blocks Semantics. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v.62, n.2, p.273-292, 2018.

- *RESUMO: O presente artigo elege a seguinte questão fulcral: como operar o confronto ou aliança entre estrutura da linguagem e seu funcionamento para refletir a significância nesta/desta relação? Para apreendermos esta problemática, mobilizaremos dois objetivos, que são questões que inquietam o semanticista de qualquer filiação: como estabilizar, em Linguística, aspectos teóricos diante de (a) estruturas fora do uso, ambiguamente semânticas, e também diante de (b) estruturas que permitem vários usos, e por isso apresentam/produzem vários sentidos? Para analisar tais objetivos, valer-nos-emos de uma definição de "paradoxo" enquanto corpus, que nos permitirá operar, de fato, nosso objeto de estudo: o paradoxo semântico, neonoção que observa contrários interdependentes, e que tomaremos enquanto noção técnica no interior da Teoria dos Blocos Semânticos, de Carel e Ducrot, filiação teórica basilar desta pesquisa. Nossa hipótese é confirmada pelos resultados obtidos: qualquer que seja o procedimento estratégico que se opere ou que se nomeie, a significação estrutural é ponto de passagem e de retorno em análise semântica, o que nos leva a concluir que, se não se pode entender o movimento sem a ideia de inércia, não se pode trabalhar o sentido enunciativo sem a significação estrutural. Tal condição parece ser imperativa em Semântica.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Paradoxo semântico. Argumentação estrutural. Argumentação contextual.*

REFERENCES

ANSCOMBRE, J.-C.; DUCROT, O. **L'argumentation dans la langue**. Bruxelles: Mardaga, 1983.

BENVENISTE, E. **Problemas de Lingüística Geral II**. Campinas: Pontes, 2006.

CAMÕES, L. V. de. **Sonetos**. Sintra: Europa-América, 1975.

CAREL, M. Introduction. In: CAREL, M. **Argumentation et polyphonie**: de Saint-Augustin à Robet-Grillet. Paris: Harmattan, 2012. p.7-56.

CAREL, M. **L'entrelacement argumentatif**: lexique, discours et blocs sémantiques. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011.

CAREL, M.; DUCROT, O. **Langage poétique et discours engagé:** cours à École des Hautes Études. France, 2016. Mimeo.

CAREL, M.; DUCROT, O. Descrição argumentativa e descrição polifônica: o caso da negação. Tradução de Leci Borges Barbisan. **Letras de Hoje,** Porto Alegre, v.43, n.1, p.7-18, 2008.

CAREL, M.; DUCROT, O. **La semántica argumentativa**: una introducción a la teoría de los bloques semánticos. Buenos Aires: Colihue, 2005.

DUCROT, O. Argumentação retórica e argumentação linguística. **Letras de Hoje,** Porto Alegre, v.44, p.20-25, 2009.

DUCROT, O. La Sémantique Argumentative peut-elle se réclamer de Saussure? In: SAUSSURE, L. **Nouveaux regards sur Saussure**: mélanges offerts à René Amacker. Genève: Librairie Droz, 2006. p.153–170.

DUCROT, O. Os intenalizadores. **Letras de hoje**, Porto Alegre, v.37, p.7–26, 2002.

DUCROT, O. **O dizer e o dito**. Revisão técnica da tradução: Eduardo Guimarães. Campinas: Pontes, 1987.

ORWEL, G. **1984**. Tradução de Alexandre Hubner e Heloisa Jahn. São Paulo: Schwarcz S. A., 2014.

PARKER, J.; STAHEL, M. **K Dictionaries**: Password. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2005. p.374.

POSSENTI, S. Sobre a leitura: o que diz a Análise do Discurso? In: MARINHO, M. **Ler e navegar**. Belo Horizonte: Mercado de Letras, 2001. p.19–30.

WOŁOWSKA, K. **Le Paradoxe en langue et en discourse**. Paris: l'Harmattan, 2008.

WOŁOWSKA, K. Definir le paradoxe: de la logique a la linguistique. **Studia Romanica Posnaniensia,** Poznań, v.32, p.97-112, 2005. Disponível em: <https://repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/bitstream/10593/3126/1/10_Katarzyna_Wolowska_Definir_le_paradoxe_97-112.PDF>. Acesso em: 24 fev. 2015.

DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATIONS IN THE JOURNALISTIC MEDIA OF THE DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL IN THE FEDERAL DISTRICT (DF)

Thaís Lôbo JUNQUEIRA*
Francisca Cordelia Oliveira da SILVA**

▪ ABSTRACT: This work concerns the horizontal and vertical societal accountabilities, as well as representation and intertextuality, in order to analyze discursive representations of the democratic school, including quality of the democracy (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005; O'DONNEL, 1998) and the violence (MINAYO, 2006, 2009) that reproduces relations of dominance and exploration (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). This study demonstrates how meaning-making potentials broadcasted by the journalistic media can legitimate social hegemonic relations. The linguistic analysis of verbal, non-verbal and multimodal texts found in an article from the portal "Metrópoles" on public schools of the Federal District focused on the lexical selection of verbal texts, multimodal approach and metaphors used based on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006) and on the Theory of Multimodal Social Semiotics (TMSS) (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001, 2006 [1996]; KRESS, 2010). This research evidenced that the journalist legitimated social hegemonic relations, despite showing a high level of commitment to the social identity created for the Government of the Federal District by means of metaphors and lexical selection used to depict such authorities.

▪ KEY WORDS: Critical discourse analysis. Discursive representations. Social semiotics and multimodality theory. School violence.

Our motto...

The hegemonic discourse of the media is a relevant topic for the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) due to the manner on how media texts institutionalize a viewpoint and an assessment of social reality (ideology) and how they preserve the powers (hegemony) of individuals, groups and social sectors by subordinating their knowledge to them in the scope of communication and reproducing relations of dominance and exploration.

* University of Brasília (UnB), Language Institute, University Campus Darcy Ribeiro, Brasília, Distrito Federal, Brazil. thaisjunqueira.prof@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0001-9224-0674.

** University of Brasília (UnB), Language Institute, University Campus Darcy Ribeiro, Linguistic, Portuguese and Classic Languages Department, Brasília, Distrito Federal, Brazil. cordelia.prof@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0001-7957-520X.

This work intends to investigate how meaning-making potentials from verbal, non-verbal and multimodal texts found in news discursively represent the democratic school, the quality of the democracy (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005; O'DONNEL, 1998) and the violence (MINAYO, 2006, 2009); and how they interact to reproduce relations of dominance and exploration (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) based on the following categories: horizontal accountability, vertical societal accountability, representation and intertextuality.

Such relations between meanings build ideological positions, experience patterns and social interactions by means of choices based on the reality that is being represented, on which elements from other texts are introduced, on how they are intertextuality incorporated, on which are the voices of the text, on how they are either articulated or silenced, on the approximation of distancing between such voices and of the journalists, on how the democratic school is built, on how participants of the image approach their readers, on which image colors and on how images are visually combined in the organization of the text.

This investigation is qualitative, requiring a broader vision of the social process, and for this very reason, it is most appropriate to analyze the descriptive-interpretative type adopted for the relational approach of the critical linguistic-discursive analysis, within the scope of the Social Theory of Discourse (STD) (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006) and to analyze images, within the scope of the Theory of Multimodal Social Semiotics (TMSS) (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001, 2006 [1996]; KRESS, 2010). It is supported by a bibliographic research that grounds the analysis of construction and discursive representation of the social reality, as well as relations of power, constitution of identities and analysis of images from the selected multimodal text. In the following topic, we present the language, journalistic media and quality of the democracy as themes of the production conjuncture for the selected journalistic text.

The journalistic discourse as social practice

CDA and TMSS are critical social sciences. The sociosemiotic approach of the Linguistics was created based on the work Hodge and Kress (1988), grounded by the conception of Halliday (1978) on language as social semiotics, whose scope was the social functions of the language. TMSS is a multimodal approach of the Social Semiotics, the main exponents of which, Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, 2006 [1996]) and Kress (2010), stated that the multimodal reading contributed to the understanding of the textual meanings as semiotic resources mobilize meanings and represent social relations and discursive events that permeate the society. Therefore, TMSS is based on meaning-making potentials produced in the communicative practices by an individual through those semiotic resources of communication and a unified technology.

STD is a critical linguistic-discursive approach of CDA, formalized and improved by Norman Fairclough (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006), based on the conception of

Halliday (1978, 1994) of language as social semiotics, centered on the social functions of the language. The scope of CDA is the relations of texts with the social practices, as it studies the social practice of the language historically materialized in the text relations such as control, discrimination, domination and power.

Analysis of texts as a discursive and social practice is called Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). In its tridimensional conception of the discourse, Fairclough (1991, 2001) contemplates three dimensions for the critical discursive analysis: text, discursive practice and social practice. The **textual analysis** is based on the articulation between the experiential, relational, expressive, metaphoric, connective and textual values (FAIRCLOUGH, 1991) and is organized into: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and textual structure (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001).

Vocabulary analyzes alternative lexicalizations (signification processes of the world that occurs differently for groups of different individuals in different times and ages); re-lexicalizations (change of lexicalization of the experience domain); meaning (potential) of words (address the relation between meaning and use); and metaphors. **Grammar** analyzes the types of clause; modes how clause elements are positioned with informational value (known information); transitivity system (use of active or passive voice); erasure of the subject and modality. **Cohesion** addresses the value of connectives to check the link between clauses and sentences, its structure and (possible) interferences and presuppositions such uses determine. Finally, **textual structure** analyzes the global coherence of the text.

The **discursive practice** involves processes such **production, distribution and textual consumption** (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001) based on the strength of the statements, on the coherence of texts, on the intertextuality and on the interdiscursivity (discourse orders).

Social practice involves the ideology and hegemony (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001) based on the effects from relations between political and ideological power over the discourse as described in the table below.

Table 1 – Analysis of the Social Practice

SOCIAL PRACTICE	
Categories	**Analysis Stage – Explanation of power relations**
SOCIAL MATRIX OF THE DISCOURSE (Ideology) **- Hegemony – guidelines of the social practice.**	Societal – existing social hegemonic relations and structures (cultural, economic, ideological, policies, etc.).
	Institutional – relations of power established with the discursive sample.
	Situational – effects from reproduction, restructuration and transformation of existing hegemonies.
DISCOURSE ORDERS (Social) **- Hegemonic struggles**	Relations of the discursive and social practices with the discourse orders.
	Effects from the reproduction, challenge and transformation of discourse orders.
IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE DISCOURSE (Effects)	Extension with which the proposed analysis explains the discursive sample.
	Knowledge and belief systems – extension with which the analysis enlightens other data for the analysis and provides a basis for other analyses.
	Social relations – if the analysis is based on what participants do in an interaction.
	Social identities – reactions of participations to the analysis.

Source: Fairclough (2001, p. 116-130).

Text analysis in a broad sense, by means of the dialectic relation between social structures and practice, is called Social Theory of Discourse (STD). In his relational approach of text analysis, Fairclough (2003, 2006) seeks to understand, in a dialectic manner, the **external relations** (intertextuality, social practice, social structure and the three elements of discourse orders – actions, representations and identifications) and **internal relations** (phonological, lexical, grammatical and semantic) of the texts. On the one hand, the three **discourse order elements** (semiotic moments of the social practices) – called genres, or ways of (inter)act, discourses, or ways to represent, and styles, or ways to identify – are **social practice elements** (discursive practices articulated inside a social field or discourse order) that interrelate to three **discourse meanings**: actional, representational and identificational, respectively, and that are interdependent from the social practices and themselves.

On the other hand, the relation between **social structure**, potential language meanings such as **semiosis** (linguistic system as an institution whose standards and codes guide social agents) and **social events**, which are materialized in texts (oral,

written, multimodal, sound-based etc.), is intermediated by **social practices** (rituals associated with certain institutions and organizations).

In order to carry out this research, relational approaches were adopted to analyze verbal texts, following the execution of textual analysis and of discursive practice of the selected news report articulated with the social practice analysis, as well as the multimodal approach to analyze the news, as the assumptions of the multimodal language contemplate the language as a semiotic system interacting with other systems in order to generate meanings.

TMSS establishes four social practice domains where meanings are perceived with no hierarchy between them (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001). The four domains are: a) **discourse** – socially built knowledge of reality (genre); b) **design** – the means to carry out discourses in the context determined by the communication situation (media); c) **production** – articulation in the material form of semiotic events and products (mode); and d) **distribution** – preservation and reproduction of semiotic events and products.

For the analysis to be undertaken in this research, we analyzed the journalistic discourse as a social practice under the prism of discourse and production according to STD and TMSS as the producer of the text creates new meanings by means of interdiscursivity and variation of the discursive genre, discourse and style with a purpose. Thus, our interest is focuses on social origins, in the production and reception of the semiotic modes.

Concerning the analyzed textual genre, according to Lage (2009, p. 112), news report "[...] is the exposure that combines interest of the subject with the highest possible number of data, forming a comprehensible and comprehensive".[1] It concerns an informative journalism genre, added by interpretation and opinion on a social or political event of general interest. News report is signed by a reporter who, by means of an expositive and informative text, reports such event in order to inform the reader and, by means of descriptive and narrative texts, describes actions and includes time, space and characters.

Journalistic media is an institution that has hegemonically exerted the role of enlightened public opinion maker without facing competition, mostly because, as we see it, scientific, educational, political, religious and social institutions have not effectively performed their role of social relevance at the public level. The unbalance between media and social interests, therefore, does not concern the information and formative natures of the journalistic discourse, but rather its dialogical nature, which is far more explored by the journalist. According to Fairclough (2006, p. 84),

> [...] All of these processes depend upon the social dissemination of discourses, narratives, ideas, practices, values and so forth, upon their legitimization, upon the positioning and mobilization of publics

---

[1] Orginal: [...] é a exposição que combina interesse do assunto com o maior número possível de dados, formando um todo compreensível e abrangente. (LAGE, 2009, p. 112).

in relation to them, and upon the generation of consent to or at least acquiescence with change.

In the **production** processes, the dialogical nature of the journalistic discourse emphasizes the intersubjectivity of its democratic nature, of mutual opening, i.e., to the subject to whom the journalists address, which can be more than one in the case of competing newspapers, sources and readers. This polyphony is present in the **intertextuality** of his/her mental work as he/she resorts to the social tissue in search of other texts, from the selection of facts and happenings, passing through the organization of his/her tasks, until reaching the standardization of texts based on an evaluative grammar (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001). Therefore, the journalistic discourse becomes intertextual by means of comparison of an event with another, of reconstitution of past events and of new readings made on such events, therefore legitimating them, negating them, following them or watching them.

In the process of reception, or **distribution/consumption**, the credibility of the journalistic discourse depends on the journalist and on the reader. The representation of reality by means of individual stories in a systematized and formal manner is rationally planned by the journalist. Based on present events, memory and anticipation of an oral knowledge, his/her text is consumed as scientific knowledge by the reader because it follows the rules of scientific writing, more specifically, the thesis presented in the introduction, arguments and antithesis presented in the development and synthesis presented in the conclusion. The reader, in turn, silently expects to interpret facts and happening by him/herself by means of the report of the journalist, based on the reading and hearing the voices articulated in his/her text.

The asymmetry found in the production reception processes of the selected news report allowed us to describe how this "reading contract" is usually breached by the hegemonic media. The legitimacy of the journalistic discourse may be questioned by the reader whenever it is not possible to assign new meanings and symbolic investments to the knowledge of the news report's informative discourse based on his/her own experience as an individual capable of building meanings. In this sense, the neutralization of such knowledge in time and space by means of the oral discourse, making the journalistic discourse part of the common sense, or by means of the scientific discourse, turning it into a specialized knowledge, produced meaning-making potentials in the reader in different levels of interaction that involved him/her in such a manner that he/she is forced to respond according to implicit rules in the news report multimodal text.

According to Fairclough (2003), social structures and practices are mutually constituted. For him, social practices of the members from social structures and particular social institutions build historically situated discourses that are institutionally realized in the form of verbal and multimodal texts. When those discourses share cultural, social and symbolic values or when they seek understanding, the status of common sense of rational consensus is therefore granted upon them, respectively.

In this sense, the dissatisfaction of the civil society from Brasilia with the public services and with the performance of the public educational system caused it to demand accountability from the government by means of an article from the news portal "Metrópoles", which has the potential to compromise the assessment of its democratic legitimacy. This critical assessment by citizens concerns the non-transparent operation of the democracy with respect to "[...] the capacity of the political system to represent and include the vast diversity and plurality of interests that constitute complex societies such as the Brazilian one."[2] (MOISÉS, 2011, p. 27).

Both dimensions of the democracy quality assessment (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005) represented in the selected article are:

- **vertical societal accountability** – institutional (legal actions) and non-institutional (social mobilization and accusations) actions the civil society (associations, movements or media) uses to exert non-electoral control. Therefore, it blames the government for errors and failures committed in using public resources and struggles to include them in the public agenda or to influence political decision making that meets its needs (O'DONNEL, 2001), and

- **horizontal accountability** – monitoring (supervision exerted by the Federal Court of Accounts - TCU and Comptroller General of the Union - CGU), investigation (control exerted by the Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry - CPI, Public Prosecutor's Office - MP and Federal Police - PF) and accountability (correction of illegal actions by the MP and PF) mechanism of the public administration representatives (public and governing agents) made available in an integrated manner to the three autonomous powers of the State and specific constitutional bodies in order to oblige them to answer before citizens for their political decisions. In practice, monitoring of the government is exerted by opposing political parties by means of the parliament, despite the fact there is the application of standards and issuance of assessment by the judicial system, constitutional courts and auditing bodies, such as the Central Bank, courts of accounts and comptrollers general (MOISÉS, 2011).

Thus, the production context of the news report is situated in the crisis of the Brazilian democratic school. As a part of the global social practice, emancipatory pedagogic practices result from struggles inside the democratic school to change unfair social structures, since in Brazil, the educational system reproduces unfair social relations of dominance and exploration. In this conjecture, the democratic school is contradictorily represented as a space of struggle and social exclusion by means of the potential meanings of democracy quality and school violence discourses highlighted by the article.

---

2   Original: "[...] à capacidade do sistema político de representar e incluir a enorme diversidade e pluralidade de interesses que constituem sociedades complexas como a brasileira." (MOISÉS, 2011, p. 27).

Below we present the production conjecture themes of the selected journalistic text, as well as the construction of the journalistic discourse in the news report genre and its articulation with some violence-related typologies in order to represent the democratic school.

Discourses of democratic school and violence in the news report

The Web portal "Metrópoles*"* was launched on August 8th, 2016. Based in Brasilia, it is owned by former senator and district parliamentarian, the businessman Luiz Estevão de Oliveira Neto, who funds the portal without editorial participation. Most journalists are from the defunct *Veja Brasília* and the newspaper entitled *Correio Braziliense*. It is a free access news portal, which represents right-wing hegemonic interests, focused on covering politics and society in the capital and administrative regions of the Federal District (DF), in several aspects and strong emphasis on the provision of services. The main themes addressed by the portal, updated on a daily basis are education, economics, entertainment, sports, gastronomy, science and technology, politics and certain international topics.

The documental news "Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF", signed by journalist João Gabriel Amador for *Caderno Distrito Federal/Educação*, was published on March 24th, 2016. One of the representation modes mobilized in this article in a more prominent manner is the **intertextuality** (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). Polyphony of the journalistic discourse discursively represents the public education of DF in an ironic manner. In this research, we identified such voices with the purpose of analyzing their role in the construction of that representation.

Intertextuality in the article emphasized the explicit voice of the district parliamentarian, Reginaldo Veras, in articulation with other voices, namely, the portal journalist, João Gabriel Amador, the head of *Escola Classe 415 of Samambaia*, Vera Leude da Silva, and the head of *Escola Classe Vila Areal*, Jorge Luiz de Oliveira. The voice of DF's Government (GDF) was silenced throughout the article, which was mentioned only once in a note from the State Secretariat of Education of the DF (SEDF).

Digital technologies of portal "Metrópoles" produce new textual compositions, adding imagery, visual, oral and gesture elements to the new text format, turning it into a multimodal or multisemiotic text. Positioning of such elements in the text may chain the reflection process upon its irony by means of the **production conjecture**. Social and economic inequalities are emphasized by such elements, which are part of the narrative structure of the visual text, evidencing the fact that the parity democratic participation of the civil society in public spaces and its interlocution with the State does not happen in the DF. In this sense, the monitoring on the government is exerted by the parliament (**horizontal accountability**), even though the DF's Federal Court of Accounts - TCDF (**horizontal accountability**), the DF's Prosecution Service - MPDFT (**horizontal accountability**), the Fire Department (**horizontal accountability**) and the

school community (**vertical societal accountability**) had already manifested themselves according to other articles which are referred in the portal by means of links.

Crisis in the democratic school involves a dialectical process: the school sustains the discourse concerning equality but reproduces and naturalizes effects from social inequalities in the distribution of income and public services. Broader social processes articulate themselves to the educational inequalities, such as labor market, social structure, real estate market dynamics, production of habitations and state-related policies (TORRES, 2003), turning the school into a space that produces and reproduces exclusion relations. This is the case, for instance, of the poor infrastructure of public schools at elementary level (water, energy, sewer, restroom and kitchen), which, more often than not, interrupts its own operation.

The two types of manifestation that trigger serious consequences to personal and social lives (MINAYO, 2006, 2009) represented in the selected news are:

- **structural violence** – different forms of maintaining social, cultural, gender, age and ethnic inequalities by means of submissions and exploration of some individuals against others. In the case of education, there is the social and spatial segregation, and
- **institutional violence** – rules, standards of operation and bureaucratic relations and policies of institutions that reproduce unfair social structures. In the case of education, an example is the poor teaching quality.

Actually, this concerns a partially discursive issue, which dissimulates serious social issues, such as structural and institutional violence, when naturalizing discourses on the social and spatial segregation in DF and Brazil, the IDH-D (coefficient of human inequality) of which is of 25.6%, below the average of Latin America, 23.2% (PNUD, [2015]). In this sense, the critical assessment of the citizens concerning the non-transparent operation of democracy, evidenced by means of such manifestations in the school environment, compromises the consistence, efficacy and quality of the democracy and of the Brazilian civil society.

The following presents the discursive practice articulated with the design of the documental news genre based on semiotic resources more prominent of the means used to carry out discourses in the context determined by the chosen communication situation.

Linguistic-discursive analysis of the journalistic text

Sodré and Ferrari (1986) define the documental news genre as an expositive narrative on a polemic or current theme, presented in an objective manner and followed up by mentions in order to complement and clarify the subject. According to the sequential structure (SODRÉ; FERRARI, 1986; FAIRCLOUGH, 2001), climax occurs in the **opening**, which informs the main idea of the report by means of the **title** and

subtitle; followed by the **lead** elements (answers to questions such as: Who? What? How? When? Where? Why?), whose summary can take more than just one paragraph, the **sublead**; by the **preparation**, in two paragraphs, by the **development** of the story through depositions**,** interviews and complementary information, as well as by the **conclusion, closure** or **result,** which indicates, in the last paragraphs, the action to be followed.

For a reading of the documental news "Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF" in the multimodal sociosemiotic perspective, it was adopted the Grammar of Visual Design (GVD) of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]). The table below describes GVD categories as per the meaning to which they are related.

Table 2 – Basic structure of the GVD

Representational meaning	- Narrative structure - Conceptual structure
Interactive meaning	- Contact - Social distance - Attitude - Modality
Compositional meaning	- Information value - Salience - Framing

Source: Kress and van Leeuwwen (2006 [1996], p. 59, 74, 149, 210).

In the selected article, we have identified such categories in order to analyze **representational** components when dealing with the content and discourse and we also have identified the **intertextuality** (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) in order to analyze **compositional** components when dealing with its production, which relates the content to the textual composition. Representational and compositional meanings are detailed in the tables below.

Table 3 – Representational Meaning

REPRESENTATIONAL MEANING	
Representational meaning presents the development of actions and events, change processes and transitory spatial arrangements. It is made of:	
NARRATIVE STRUCTURE	Represented by **vectors** (direction indicator trace) indicating the execution of an action or event during the interaction process between two participants.
In the narrative process, the vector allows us to identify:	
Action process	The **actor** is a participant of the action from which the vector emanates (vector comes from the actor).
Reactional process	The **participant** drives the gaze from which the vector emanates (the gaze of a participant reflects in another).
Reaction can be:	
Speech process	Participant is connected to the statement by means of the vector (the **speech** of the participant, or speaker, is represented by means of a speech balloon).
Mental process	The experiencer is connected to the phenomenon, that is, to the thought, by means of the vector (the **thought** of the experiencer, or participant, is represented by means of a thought balloon).
CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE	Sorts the involved **participants,** representing them according to their particularities.
The **conceptual structure** represents the timeless and stable essence of the participants by means of the class, structure or meaning. It comprises the following **processes**:	
Classificatory	**Taxonomies** relate participants among themselves. Thus, the role of a group of participants will be subordinated to another participant, the superordinate.
Analytical	Two types of participants in terms of the "part-whole" conceptual structure exist: the ones related to the "**whole**" are the **carrier** and the concerning the "**parts**" of the carrier, i.e., his/her **possessive attributes**.
Analytical processes are subdivided into:	
Structured	Presents the carrier (the whole).
Unstructured	Presents one or more possessive attributes to the carrier (the parts).
Symbolic	The "meaning" of participant of the image or what he/she "is".
Symbolic processes are subdivided into:	
The Carrier	The meaning or identity that he/she establishes in relation to another participant.
Symbolic attribute	The meaning or identity is represented by another participant.

Source: Kress and van Leeuwwen (2006 [1996], p. 45-113).

Concerning the compositional meaning, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]) highlight:

Table 4 – Compositional Meaning

COMPOSITIONAL MEANING	
In the **compositional meaning of the text**, visual elements of the image are organized and/or combined in order to give meaning to it, integrating representational and interactive elements in a textual composition. It is formed by the following elements:	
INFORMATION VALUE	The information is considered an ideological structure based on the particular point of view of the represented participant and of the image reader according to the manner they are positioned in the image: "left and right", "top and bottom" or "center and margin".
SALIENCE	More or less emphasis that certain elements receive concerning others in the image attracts or fails to attract the attention of the reader at different levels: background or foreground, size, shades or color contrasts, image quality differences etc.
FRAMING	Text elements strongly positioned within the visual framing reveal a **connection** between composition elements if they are visually united by means of vectors, continuities or similarities of color and visual format, as well as the lack of image framing. Text elements poorly positioned within the visual framing reveal **disconnection** between composition elements if they are visually separated from each other by means of lines, image framing aspects, empty spaces between elements and discontinuities of color and visual format.
Thus, discourse comprises the representational content of a text under analysis.	

Source: Kress and van Leeuwwen (2006 [1996], p.175-214).

GVD guides the multimodal analysis of the meanings identified in the *corpus* by means of the following categories: **informational value** (top and bottom, center and margin, known and new), **salience** and **framing** (connection), in dialogue with the worldview, with social relations, with internal and external coherence (context) of the text, i.e., the analyzed article.

Visual space of the news article can be sized as shown below.

Figure 1 – The dimensions of visual space
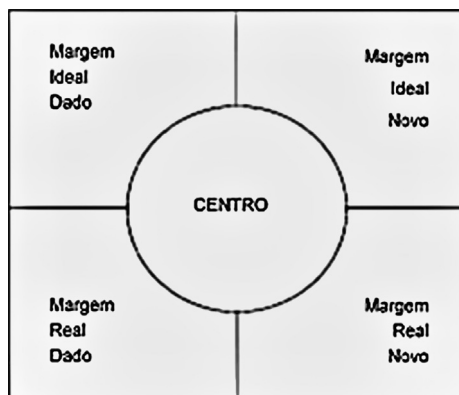
The known is the element located to the left and the new, to the right. They do not mix and are differentiated by the polarized composition of the visual space. The ideal is the element located at the top, and the real, at the bottom. They do not mix as well and are differentiated by the centralized composition of the visual space. In the next topic, we present some of the results from the analysis of the selected article.

Analysis of the news report

Before the analysis, we present the verbal part of the text:

Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF
Rooms without ventilation, lack of multi-sports courts, defective electric system and water shortage are some of the identified issues. The President of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture says that, in some cases, the best thing to do would be to demolish teaching units

GDF has not been doing their homework, even though there is plenty to do. Successive reports on the press concerning the poor conditions of the local public schools, complaints from parents and students, warnings from teachers and even surveys from official agencies – such as a report issued by the Federal Courts of Account of the DF (TCDF) – apparently are not enough to improve the overall conditions of the institutions. Now, a new document strengthens the serious issues that are part of the daily routine of those spending their day among blackboards, books, notebooks and desks. According the president of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture of the Legislative Chamber, the congressman Reginaldo Veras (PDT), in some cases the situation is so unbearable that the buildings should rather be demolished.

The parliamentarian visited more than 50 schools in the 14 teaching regions and prepared a report with observations made in such locations. During the session held on Tuesday (March, 22nd), Veras went so far as to state that some of the units should be imploded before they can cause more serious damage to the students. Among the mentioned units are *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia* (**main photo**) and *Escola Classe Vila Areal*. The news team of "**Metrópoles**" visited both locations and managed to get a closer look on the disregard of the State with the infrastructure of such institutions.

At Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia, around 580 elementary students have to overcome daily challenges in order to learn. Beginning with the heat inside classrooms. "The school was built 24 years ago under a provisional regime. Buildings were made with low ceilings and concrete plates, which raises the temperatures of the environment", explains the director of the unit, Vera Leude da Silva. She also tells that due to an old electric system, there is no way to install air conditioners, and even installed fans are defective.

During rainy seasons, the situation is even worse. Cracks in the ceiling turn rooms into waterfalls and teachers are forced to take students to another place. "The water pours down the wall and into power sockets, causing short-circuit risks", says Vera.

Fire hoses

More obstacles are found outside. Fire hoses are useless, and the school was notified by the fire department. In the presumed leisure area, vegetation and termite mounds seized the space. Even glass shards are found hidden amidst the vegetation. There is no covered court, and the playground needs maintenance.

Critical conditions caused the director to seek help from the Public Ministry. "We are waiting for a warrant to force the Secretariat of Education to do something", she says.

Broken water tank

In Areal, there are similar difficulties. The building was also built to serve a temporary role, in 1971, with zinc roof tiles and low walls, which also increases inside temperatures. The hot environment is even more aggravated due to the constant water shortage. "Our water tank is broken since 2012. Only this year, I have sent three requests to the secretariat to send someone to solve this situation", says the director Jorge Luiz de Oliveira. Without the equipment, the school is highly vulnerable to the common water shortages in the region. "There are times in which we have to send students back home", finishes Oliveira.

Rains are also a problem. Without a proper draining system, the mud infiltrates the covered court, taking away from the students one of the few improvements achieved.

In a note, the Secretariat of Education informed that both mentioned schools are in the Works Plan for 2015-2018. "It must be highlighted the need to arrange for the management of resources. Once the budget is secured, then it will be possible to talk about terms".

Beyond schools

For the congressman Reginaldo Veras, structural difficulties are the result of administrative issues in the education. The report points out the need to build new schools to meet demands for more enrollments. "One such example is the region of Paranoá, where the shortage is of approximately 7,500 enrollments", he said.

Another issue is the transfer of funds to schools. According to Veras, the educational system suffers with the lack of investments. "It is imperative that the government sets out priorities. And education must be one of them". For him, even when there is money, there is no personnel. "I have already tried to submit part of the parliamentary amendment to the sector, but the secretariat faces a shortage of professionals, such as engineers and architects, which impairs the process of renovating schools", he states.

Lastly, the congressman suggested the expansion of the Program of Administrative and Financial Decentralization (PDAF), which forecasts the direct transfer of funds to school directors, thus giving autonomy to handle minor repairs and renovations. (AMADOR, J. G., 24 mar. 2016).

The article, by means of an ambiguous **conceptual structure**, was built based on a personal angle, in which the journalist manifests his own opinion (see 1) at the very beginning of the text.

(1) [...] The news team of "**Metrópoles**" [...] managed to get a closer look on the <u>disregard of the State</u> with the infrastructure of such institutions.

The lexical selection of "disregard of the State" (see 1) reveals the commitment of the journalist with the social identity created for the GDF based on the mentioned reports. On the one hand, the journalist reported the disregard of the State with the infrastructure of *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia* and *Escola Classe Vila Areal* by means of different representation modes mobilized in the text. On the other hand, he naturalized discourses on the social and spatial segregation of the poor population (**institutional violence**) and the effects from social inequalities in the distribution of income and public services (**structural violence**).

Due to a well-marked **narrative structure,** direct and indirect discourses are merged to build meanings and to present other voices in the text, usually from experts, thus exempting the journalist from the trouble of analyzing facts and giving credibility to what is said. In order to obtain the attention from the audience, facts and information were summarized in the first (**lead**) and second (**sublead**) paragraphs and reported in a descending order of importance throughout the article. The opening structure of the article from "*Metrópoles*" is provided in the figure below.
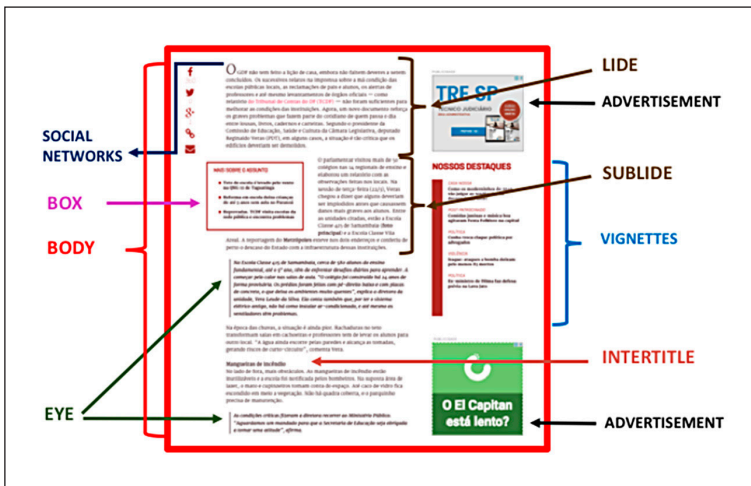
Source: Amador (24 mar. 2016).

In the **opening,** the photo of a classroom from *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia*, referred in the **sublead as** "(**main photo**)", with no students or teachers, served as the climax. The **title**, "Report of the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF", called the attention to a polemic subject that is about to be addressed, the report on public schools, located in the space, which is the Federal District (DF). By placing the photo before the title and selecting the verb "disapproves", the journalist produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader of the image to assume that the school depicted in the photo is no longer operational because it failed to pass the assessment of the Legislative Chamber and such disapproval was recorded in a report.

(2) [...] Rooms without ventilation, lack of multi-sports courts, defective electric system and water shortage are some of the <u>identified issues</u>.
(3) <u>The President of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture</u> says that, in some cases, the best thing to do would be to demolish teaching units.

The **subtitle** informed the reason behind the disapproval (as seen in excerpt 2) and provided examples (excerpt 3) before closing with the quotation from a political authority and informing his opinion on the matter. By quoting the President of the CESC (see 3) the journalist introduces an authority of the Legislative Branch, and thus, seeks to grant credibility for his own statement.

The structure of the first part for the article's body text is shown below.

Figure 3 – Excerpt from the body text of the section "Federal District/
Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24, 2016

In the first paragraph of the article's body, the journalist introduced the **lead** by using a metaphor (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 2002, p.45) (see 4) which is explained right after (see 5).

---

(4) GDF <u>seems to be not fond of homework</u>, even though there is plenty of stuff to do.

(5) <u>Successive reports on the press</u> concerning the poor conditions of the local public schools, <u>complaints from parents and students</u>, <u>warnings from teachers</u> and even surveys from official bodies – such as <u>a report of the Federal Courts of Account of the DF</u> (TCDF) […].

This metaphor (see 4) reveals, ironically, the commitment of the journalist with the social identity created fort the GDF. The juxtaposition of such metaphor with the sentence (see 5) produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to compare the behavior of the GDF with the behavior of students from the public teaching system concerning the fulfillment of school tasks and the fact that GDF must be held accountable before the civil society (**vertical societal accountability**) in relation to the neglected public services (**institutional violence**).

The journalist also explained how the action by the Legislative was carried out (see 6).

> (6) [...] Now, a new document strengthens the serious issues that are part of the daily routine of those spending their day among blackboards, books, notebooks and desks
>
> (7) According to the present of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture of the Legislative Chamber, the congressman Reginaldo Veras (PDT), [...], the situation is so unbearable that building should be rather demolished [...].

The lexical selection of the adverb "now" (see 6) emphasizes the continuous occurrence of the GDF in failing to meet the interests of the population and produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the operation of the democracy in the DF is not transparent and that the Legislative Chamber can solve this issue.

To conclude (see 7), the journalist informed the name and political party of the political authority previously mentioned in the subtitle by mentioning him again. By mentioning the name and party of the President of CESC, the journalist once again represents an authority of the Legislative Branch, thus emphasizing his affiliation to a political party that opposes the GDF, which produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the opposition is also monitoring the GDF (**horizontal accountability**) concerning the situation in question.

In the second paragraph (see 8), the **sublead**, the journalist provided further details on the report of the Legislative Chamber. The journalist also located the fact in time, March 22nd, 2016, and explained the reason behind the motivations stated by the parliamentarian (see 9), also informing that *Metrópoles*' news team visited both schools to investigate the fact (see 1).

> (8) [...] The parliamentarian visited more than 50 schools in the 14 teaching regions and prepared a report with observations made in such locations.
>
> (9) During the session held on Tuesday (March 22nd), Veras went so far as to state that some of the units should be imploded before they can cause more serious damage to the students.

After the **lead**, there are two **subheads²**, in the third and sixth paragraphs, with quotations from the director of the *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia*, Vera Leude da Silva (see 10-12), about the situation of classrooms and the warrant of the MPDFT. Lexical selection of the adverbial adjuncts "under a provisional regime" and "24 years ago" (see 10), produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume a situation of abandonment of this public school by the government that is lasting for quite some time.

---

3 The "subhead" of a news report is a relevant and interesting phrase of the article presented in bold. The font in size larger than the report itself allows the reader of the eye to have an overall idea of the subject before even finishing the reading.

> (10) [...] "The school was built <u>24 years ago</u> under <u>a provisional regime</u>" [...],explains <u>the director of the unit, Vera Leude da Silva</u>.
>
> (11) [...] <u>During rainy seasons</u> [...]. Cracks in the ceiling turn <u>rooms into waterfalls</u> and teachers are forced to take students to another place.
>
> (12) "The water pours down the wall and into power sockets, <u>causing short-circuit risks</u>", says Vera.

In the fourth paragraph, the metaphor "rooms into waterfalls" (see 11) is emphasized by the journalist who dedicates the whole paragraph to describe the precarity of classrooms during rainy seasons and to inform the risk of short-circuit (see 12).

The arrangement of semiotic resources of page at the left and right represents previous (**known**) and new (**new**) information, respectively. At the left of the page (known), we have identified buttons to navigate through **social networks** in which the portal "*Metrópoles*" was registered and a box with three links to other articles concerning the precarity of the physical installations of public schools in the DF and the report of the TCDF. At the right of the page (new), there is information on **vignettes** of new articles, as well as two **advertisements**.
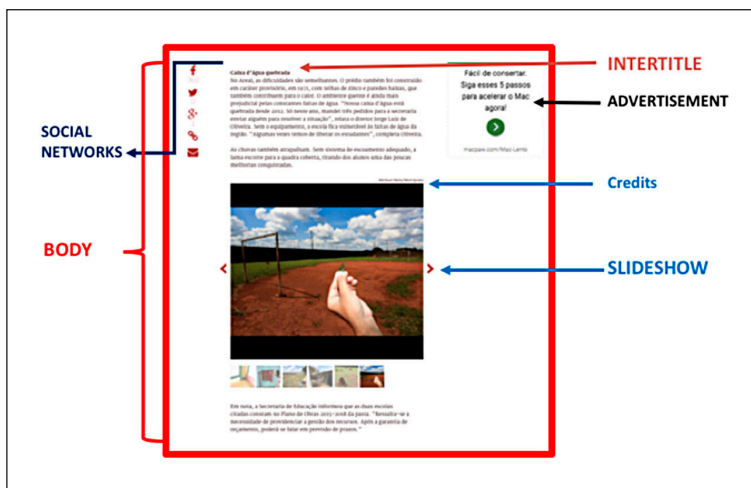
In the fifth paragraph, the **intertitle** "fire hose" represents a breach of continuity of what was previously said in order to facilitate reading. In this paragraph, voices of the director Vera and of the journalist are intertwined, as if they were a single voice, as he referred to her only in the second eye. In this stretch of the article, the director reported the situation of the external part of the school (see 13-16).

> (13) [...] <u>Fire hoses</u> are useless and the school was notified by the <u>fire department</u>.
>
> (14) In the <u>presumed</u> leisure area, vegetation and termite mounds seized the space.
>
> (15) <u>Even</u> glass shards are found hidden amidst the vegetation.
>
> (16) [...] <u>Critical conditions</u> caused the director to seek help from the <u>Public Prosecution Service</u>. "We are waiting on a warrant to <u>force the Secretariat of Education to do something</u>", she says.

The lexical selection of the adjective "alleged" (see 14) and the preposition "even" (see 15) produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that this situation of abandonment is lasting for quite a whole in a space intended to serve as a leisure area. Next, the director reported that she contacted the MPDFT (see 16). The lexical selection of "critical conditions", "Public Prosecution Service", "warrant", "Secretariat of Education" and "forced to do something" produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that there is long-lived tension between the school community and the government and because of that, the MPDFT monitors the GDF (**horizontal accountability**) on this situation.

The distance of the journalist in relation to the director, at this moment, can be observed in the **photos** of the news **opening** and of the **slideshow** that follows the intertitle. Photos were ordered according to the narrative of the director Vera, serving as a visual testimony of what she narrates, thus giving a documental character to the article. The structure of the second part of the news body is shown below.

Figure 4 – Excerpt from the body text of the section "Federal District/Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24, 2016

Source: Amador (24 mar. 2016).

In the seventh paragraph, the **intertitle** "Broken water tank" represents a change of subject in order to inform the situation of another school, *Escola Classe Vila Areal* (see 17-21), according to the accounts of the director. The journalist once more makes use of a quotation from an individual connected to the context to represent an authority of the Executive Branch (see 20) with the purpose of obtaining credibility to his statement.

> (17) In Areal, <u>similar difficulties are shared</u> [...].
> (18) The building was also built <u>to serve a temporary role, in 1971</u>, with zinc roof tiles and low walls, which also increases inside <u>temperatures</u>.
> (19) [...] Our water tank is broken <u>since 2012</u>.
> (20) Only this year, I have sent <u>three requests</u> to the secretariat to send someone to solve this situation", says the <u>director</u> Jorge Luiz de Oliveira [...].
> (21) Without the equipment, the school is highly vulnerable <u>to the common water shortages in the region</u>.

On the one hand, the lexical selection of "similar difficulties are shared" (see 17), "to serve a temporary role", "in 1971" (see 18), "since 2012" (see 19) and "three requests"

(see 20) produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to compare the situation of the school with the one of *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia*, as both work in temporary buildings, and to assume that the situation of abandonment of both public schools by the governments lasts for quite a while. On the other hand, the posterior lexical selection of "water shortages in the region" (see 21) and "temperatures" (see 18) produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the water supply system of Areal is not efficient.

In the eighth paragraph, the voices of the director and of the journalist are intertwined (see 22) as if they were a single voice, as there is no more mention to the director. The lexical selection of "without a proper draining system", "the mud", "covered court" and "one of the few improvements achieved" produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the struggle of the school community is required to improve facilities and the lives of the community in which the school is inserted (**vertical societal accountability**).
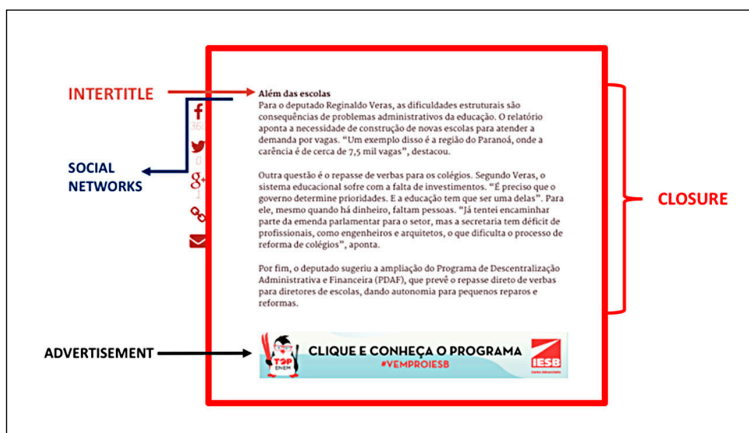
> (22) [...] Without a proper draining system, the mud infiltrates the covered court, taking away from the students one of the few improvements achieved.

In the ninth paragraph, the journalist quoted a note from SEDF (see 23). The lexical selection of "Works Plan for 2015-2018", "need to arrange", "budget is secured", "will be possible" and "about terms" produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the government does not have the required resources to solve the issues faced by both schools and that there was no transfer of public funds.

> (23) [...] both mentioned schools are in the Works Plan for 2015-2018. "It must be highlighted the need to arrange for the management of resources. Once the budget is secured, then it will be possible to talk about terms".

The closing structure of the article is shown in the figure below.

Figure 5 – Excerpt from the closure of the section "Federal District/
Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24th, 2016

In the tenth paragraph, the **intertitle** "Beyond schools" represents a change of
subject in order to address the conclusion of the report from the Legislative Chamber.
After quoting the conclusion of the congressman Reginaldo Veras (see 24), the journalist
informed another conclusion of the CESC report from the Legislative Chamber (see 25).

(24) [...] For the congressman Reginaldo Veras, <u>structural difficulties</u> are the
result of <u>administrative issues</u> in the education.

(25) [...] The report points out the <u>need</u> to build new schools to meet <u>demands</u>
for more enrollments.

The lexical selection of "beyond schools" in the intertitle, "structural difficulties",
"administrative problems" (see 24), "need" and "demand" (see 25) produces the
meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the government is
not liable for the precarity of the infrastructure found in public schools – water, power,
sewer, sanitation – which often interrupts their operations, or that there are other more
urgent social needs for the government to tackle.

The silence of the GDF, who was never contacted by the team of the portal
"Metrópoles", produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to
assume that the portal does not want to held it accountable for the infrastructure issues
described by the direction of both schools and by the district parliamentarian or to go
deeper on the subject of social and spatial segregation of the *Areal* and *Samambaia*
communities. For this reason, the journalist changed the subject to discuss the demand
for enrollments in the public teaching system of the DF and the transfer of funds to
schools (see 26-29).

> (26) […] <u>Another issue</u> is the transfer of funds to schools.
> (27) According to Veras, the educational system suffers with the <u>lack of investments</u>.
> (28) "It is imperative that the government sets out <u>priorities</u> […]".
> (29) […] "For him, even when there is money, there are no personnel. [...] but the secretariat faces a <u>shortage of professionals</u>, such as engineers and architects, which impairs the process of renovating schools", he states.

The lexical selection of "another issue" (see 26), "lack of investments" (see 27), "priorities" (see 28) and "shortage of professionals" (see 29), produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that there are no professionals in the engineering and architecture segments working for the GDF (see 29). However, "*Metrópoles*" failed to further analyze the topic in order to discuss the inequality in the distribution of income in Brazil, which can be seen in the low wages of GDF's public servants, highlighting only the issue of transfer of public funds to public schools (in 26 and 27) without investigating why schools do not receive them.

At the **closure**, the journalist mentioned the suggestion of the congressman Reginaldo Veras (see 30) in order to satisfy the needs for more urgent repairs and renovations of the schools.

> (30) [...] the congressman suggested the expansion of the Program of Administrative and Financial Decentralization (PDAF) [...].

However, such resources are destined neither to the construction of new schools (see 26 and 29) nor the demolition of existing ones that were disapproved by the CESC report of the Legislative Chamber (see 3, 7 and 9).

On the one hand, use conditions of the argumentative operators lead the reader to a specific conclusion by means of the meaning provided by them. For example, the **lexical selection** of "critical conditions" (see 16), "similar difficulties are shared" (see 17), "common water shortages in the region" (see 21), "without a proper draining system" (see 22) and "even when there is money, there are no personnel" (see 29) and **metaphors** "GDF seems to be not fond of homework" (see 4) and "rooms into waterfalls" (see 11) indicate the purpose of the speakers in the preparation of their speech, producing the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to understand that the poor preservation of public schools in the DF results from the omission of the GDF and of the social vulnerability of the territory where schools are based.

On the other hand, even though the **multimodal aspects** of the article emphasize the severity of the episodes verbally described by the interviewees of both public schools, the journalist, upon closing the article, suggests no solution to what he called "disregard of the State with the infrastructure of such institutions" (see excerpt 1). For

example, the size of the title font "Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF" (Figure 2), opening photos of the article (Figure 2) and the slideshow in the body of the article (Figure 4), links from other similar articles in the box and both eyes in the article body (Figure 3) contrast with the lexical selection of the intertitle "beyond schools" when closing the article (Figure 5), producing the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to understand that the journalist, upon changing the subject when closing the article, compromised the social identity created against the Federal District Government without demanding a solution from it concerning the precarious infrastructure of the schools the portal investigated.

In light of the foregoing, the journalist ends the article without further investigating other causes, rather than the economic ones, of the social inequalities materialized in the precarity of the physical installations of the public schools and of the urban structure in the DF, which the interviewed authorities promptly denounced.

Final considerations

The lack of transparence by the democratic system of the DF prevents the democratic equal participation of the civil society in public spaces and its interlocution with the State, as emphasized by the article. In this sense, in the assessment made by the school community, the Brazilian democracy grant them freedom to exert social control and to denounce its social reality to public bodies (**horizontal accountability**), but fails to grant them the necessary resources to promote social equality.

However, the journalistic media is a privileged channel of manifestation not only for political fights but also for power. Due to it engagement in the formation of consensus, civil society sees media as a powerful tool of accusation of the poor utilization of public recourses (**vertical societal accountability**) capable of causing social changes. For this reason, the situation currently experienced by the public schools of the DF was also accused by the journalistic media.

We could see that by means of the **conceptual and narrative structures** of the news article, the information of the journalist recreated facts and happenings narrated by means of his own discursive choices and his own particular style, illustrated with photos and referenced by the links of previous articles in the news portal "Metrópoles". Thus, the text released in the electronic media is opinionated, descriptive and analytical, intended to the public in general. Such choices produced meaning-making potentials, which may cause the reader to make assumptions related to social practice networks, as those we described in this analysis.

Strategies concerning the choices made, such as **lexical choices** of dysphoric character (negative), use of **metaphors** and the focus on **multimodality aspects**, compete, as argumentative operators, to create and/or suggest certain meaning-making potentials that unveil the interference of subjectiveness to permeate the alleged objectiveness of the article. Thus, rather than resuming facts investigated in both schools

in the opening and the body of the article and to position himself in relation to them in the closure of the article, the journalists decides to discuss the demand for school enrollments in Paranoá (see excerpt 25) and the destination of public budget directly to public schools (see excerpt 30) at the closing of the text and fails to contradict the note from SEDF (see excerpt 23) that there is no fund to renovate them based on the statement of the congressman Veras (see excerpt 29), producing the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to understand that the precarity of infrastructure found in public schools is a structural problem caused by administrative school issues as stated by the Congressman Veras (see excerpt 24), and not by the disregard of the State, as stated by the director of both schools (see excerpts 16 and 20).

By means of the **intertextuality**, educational, political and journalistic discourses of the article are mixed in such a manner that their discourses are naturalized. The voice of the journalist was present by means of the indirect discourse, when he makes an expositive report on the precarity of the infrastructure of both schools of the DF, presented in an objective manner and added by photos. However, he privileged the voice of the authority by means of the direct discourse, when directly quoted three authorities of two different branches, the Legislative and the Executive, giving them voice by means of functionalization (VAN LEEUWEN, 2008). The journalist also introduced other voices – in an implicit manner, such as the TDCF, MPDFT and the Fire Department, as well as the silence of some voices, such as the GDF – that were indirectly mentioned by the authorities and the journalist.

On the one hand, the struggle to make school a space free of social exclusion and capable of operating in temporary buildings was emphasized by the intertextuality of the journalistic voice added by the voices of the directors of both schools. With the aid of such voices, he built a social identify for himself and for the portal "Metrópoles" pursuant to the discourse of an education favoring inclusion and support to the fight in defense of the public school, as the article of the portal visited both schools to investigate the facts, as well as indignation with the disregard demonstrated by the GDF, thus revealing a high commitment to the social identity create for the local government. However, the journalist did not investigate the interests involved in the dispute between school and the GDF. On the other hand, the journalist adheres to the right-winged hegemonic journalistic discourse. His choice for not delving into state policies, labor market, real estate market dynamics and housing legitimated hegemonic social relations.

Because of this silence, he naturalized discourses on the social and spatial segregation of the poorer classes (**institutional violence**) and on the effects of the social inequalities in the distribution of income and services (**structural violence**), representing the public school of the DF only as a social exclusion space, whose social fights are expected to continue to be ignored by the government.

To sum up, **intertextuality**, combined with linguistic marks and immediate context, also build patterns such as experience, social interaction and social identities, that is, ideological positions. The journalist distanced himself from the voices of the

aforementioned authorities to create an ambiguous social identity for him and for the portal "Metrópoles". Despite showing a high level of commitment to the social identity created for the GDF by means of metaphors used and lexical selections adopted for the reports of such authorities, he also legitimated hegemonic social relations.

■ *RESUMO: Neste artigo, tratamos da accountability horizontal, da accountability societal vertical, da representação e da intertextualidade a fim de analisar as representações discursivas da escola democrática, da qualidade da democracia (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005; O'DONNEL, 1998) e da violência (MINAYO, 2006, 2009) que reproduzem relações de dominação e de exploração (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). Esse estudo demonstra como os efeitos potenciais de sentido que a mídia jornalística transmite, no gênero reportagem, legitimam relações sociais hegemônicas. A análise linguística dos textos verbais, não verbais e multimodais da reportagem do portal de notícias Metrópoles sobre escolas públicas do Distrito Federal focou a seleção lexical de textos verbais, o enfoque multimodal e as metáforas utilizadas com base na Análise de Discurso Crítica (ADC) (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006) e na Teoria da Semiótica Social da Multimodalidade (TSSM) (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001, 2006 [1996]; KRESS, 2010). Nesta pesquisa, evidenciou-se que o jornalista legitimou relações sociais hegemônicas, apesar de demonstrar alto comprometimento com a identidade social criada para o Governo do Distrito Federal por meio das metáforas que utilizou e da seleção lexical que fez dos relatos dessas autoridades.*

■ *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Análise de discurso crítica. Representações discursivas. Teoria da semiótica social da multimodalidade. Violência escolar.*

REFERENCES

AMADOR, J. G. Relatório da Câmara Legislativa reprova escolas públicas do DF. **Metrópoles**, Brasília, 24 mar. 2016. Disponível em: <http://www.metropoles.com/distrito-federal/educacao-df/relatorio-da-camara-legislativa-reprova-escolas-publicas-do-df>. Acesso em: 19 set. 2017.

DIAMOND, L.; MORLINO, L. (Ed.). **Assessing the quality of democracy.** Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Language and globalization**. Nova Iorque: Routledge, 2006.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Analysing discourse**: textual analysis for social research. Londres: Routledge, 2003.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Discurso e mudança social**. Brasília: Ed. da UnB, 2001.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Language and power**. Londres: Longman, 1991.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. **An introduction to functional grammar**. 2.ed. Londres: Edward Arnold, 1994.

HALLIDAY, M. A. K. **Language as social semiotic**. Londres: Edward Arnold, 1978.

HODGE, R.; KRESS, G. **Social semiotics.** Cambridge: Polity, 1988.

KRESS, G. **Multimodality**: a social semiotic approach to contemporary communication. Nova Iorque: Routledge, 2010.

KRESS, G.; VAN LEEUWEN, T. **Reading images:** the grammar of visual design. 2. ed. Londres: Routledge, 2006 [1996].

KRESS, G.; VAN LEEUWEN, T. **Multimodal discourse**: the modes and media of contemporary communication. Londres: Edward Arnold; Nova Iorque: Oxford University Press, 2001.

LAGE, N. **A reportagem**: teoria e técnica de entrevista e pesquisa jornalística. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2009.

LAKOFF, G.; JOHNSON, M. **Metáforas da vida cotidiana**. Campinas: Mercado de Letras; São Paulo: Educ, 2002.

MINAYO, M. C. de S. Conceitos, teorias e tipologias de violência: a violência faz mal à saúde. In: NJAINE, K.; ASSIS, S. G.; CONSTANTINO, P. (Org.). **Impactos da violência na saúde**. Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz, 2009. p. 21-42.

MINAYO, M. C. de S. **Violência e saúde.** Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz, 2006.

MOISÉS, J. A. (Org.). **O papel do Congresso Nacional no presidencialismo de coalizão**. São Paulo: Núcleo de Pesquisa de Políticas Públicas/USP; Fundação Konrad Adenauer, 2011.

O'DONNELL, G. Accountability horizontal: la institucionalización legal de la desconfianza política. **POSTData:** Revista de Reflexión y Análisis Político, Buenos Aires, v. 7, p. 11-34, mai. 2001.

O'DONNELL, G. Accountability Horizontal e Novas Poliarquias. **Lua Nova:** Revista de Cultura e Política, São Paulo, n. 44, p. 27-54, mai./ago. 1998.

PNUD. **Relatório do desenvolvimento humano 2015**. [ONU, 2015]. Disponível em: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr15_overview_pt.pdf>. Acesso em: 28 abr. 2016.

SODRÉ, M.; FERRARI, M. H. **Técnica de reportagem**: notas sobre a narrativa jornalística. 6. ed. São Paulo: Summus, 1986. (Novas buscas em comunicação, v. 14).

TORRES, H. da G. et al. Pobreza e espaço: padrões de segregação em São Paulo. **Estudos Avançados**, São Paulo, v.17, n. 47, p. 97-128, jan./abr. 2003.

VAN LEEUWEN, T. **Discourse and practice**: new tools for critical discourse analysis. Nova Iorque: Oxford University Press, 2008.

TEXT PRODUCTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: REDISCUSSING TEACHING-LEARNING PERSPECTIVES AND PROCEDURES

Petrilson PINHEIRO[*]

■ ABSTRACT: This study aims to present and discuss the results of an interpretive qualitative study of the teaching-learning procedures used in a discipline exclusively focused on reading and production of academic texts under the *Programa de Formação Interdisciplinar Superior* (Profis) of State University of Campinas (Unicamp), from 2013 to 2016. As its theoretical basis, this study uses Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective (2000, 2003) and, particularly, his concept of Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), together with the concepts of Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), recursive feedback (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) and Scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976). The results show that if text production is submitted to a formative evaluation process of prospective and constructive character, with continuous feedback to students, there may be new ways to build knowledge which, developed with the help of more experienced people or through their own peers, can transform their potential development level, the one related to the abilities and achievements to be obtained by the students, into an actual development level, which concerns the achievements they have already accomplished.

■ KEYWORDS: Text production. Higher education. ZDP. Scaffolding. Mastery learning. Recursive feedback.

Introduction

In the 19th century, a graphocentric culture was consolidated and promoted global access to writing, transforming it into an element of social hierarchization (CERTEAU, 1984). Writing became an essential requirement not only to different professions, but also to individuals' social and political insertion in many societies, a precondition to be ultimately defined as citizens.

While writing has been increasingly important and widespread in broader social life, it has become an indispensable condition in higher education institutions, both for those who want to be part of this context or remain there[1]. However, the power

---
[*] State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), Department of Applied Linguistics, Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil. petrilson@iel.unicamp.br. ORCID: 0000-0002-4066-9636
The *Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio* (High School National Exam) and many other higher education admission exams value the writing test in public university selection processes in Brazil.

of writing, which should be used to drive social inclusion, plays the opposite role to hierarchize and favor, from the perspective of meritocracy, the individualistic learning of writing, which, in turn, becomes an increasingly valuable product that determines success and failure, prestige and social discrimination of students. For instance, higher education institutions, especially public universities, are still places of social and cultural exclusion.

Therefore, in an attempt to use writing, more particularly text production, as a possibility of student inclusion in higher education, this study aims to analyze and discuss teaching-learning procedures used in a discipline exclusively focused on reading and production of academic texts under the *Programa de Formação Interdisciplinar Superior*[1] (Profis) of State University of Campinas (Unicamp), from 2013 to 2016. To do so, this article is based on Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective (2000, 2003) and particularly on his concept of Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), combined with the concepts of Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), recursive feedback (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) and Scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976).

Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective of learning

Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective takes into consideration that human learning does not happen through direct processes with the environment, but through mediation between the subjects and the environment where they live, as the psychological functioning is based on social relations between individuals and the world (VYGOTSKY, 2003). For Vygotsky, intrapersonal development – the ability to think about oneself and the reality, and act on it – occurs from interpersonal relationships as well as from relationships with the social world (VYGOTSKY, 2003). In this respect, Wells (1999) says that subjects acquire knowledge available in the world from relationships with others. Consequently, these subjects are considered active in their development. In this sense, internalized characteristics that become individual (values, knowledge, worldviews, actions, etc.) are therefore result of one's interaction with the social environment in which one is inserted.

It should be noted, however, that the Vygotsky's assumption that social environment drives learning and consequently development in historical and cultural processes does not imply a social determinism. On the contrary, from Vygotsky's perspective, the relationship between subjects and the social world is a dialectical process in which individuals are shaped by social relations from interactions in different historical and cultural contexts, as well as they shape and transform these relations, thus contributing to an ever-changing process.

For Vygotsky, knowledge is not understood as a direct product of the subject over reality, but a result of different relationships between subjects, objects and the

---

[1]   In English, the Interdisciplinary Higher Education Program.

environment where they live. Hence, mediation, which is someone's intervention so that another one can incorporate the socially and historically constituted culture, is required in the entire process of knowledge construction and apprehension, enabled mainly through learning.

From this perspective, Vygotsky also understands the mediation process changes throughout the development of the subject, because the experience with the objective world and the contact with socially and historically constructed forms allow subjects to build their own system of signs, through which they understand the world around them (BLANK, 1996). In this sense, language is essential for Vygotsky, as it is a fundamental symbolic system that organizes signs into increasingly complex structures, by allowing subjects to develop their human ability of social interaction, reflection, practice, socialization, social transformation. Therefore, if the learning process is constituted through the interaction between people and sociocultural instruments, then subjects can develop their potentialities from the process of interaction with more experienced people and their historical and cultural context. This in turn refers to a core Vygotskian concept in the learning process: the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD).

For Vygotsky, ideal learning should promote development: teaching does not inject new psychological functions in the subject, but creates conditions for the student to construct them (VYGOTSKY, 2003). Consequently, one's potentialities should be considered during the teaching-learning process. From the contact with more experienced people and with the historical-cultural context, these potentialities can be transformed into new actual development, in a continuous dialectical process of creation and re-creation of knowledge, concepts, beliefs and values of the world where one lives. According to the author, this dialectical process consists of two levels of development: the actual development, which refers to the achievements already obtained by the individual (corresponds to what the subjects can achieve by themselves); and the potential development, related to the abilities and achievements to be built (development related to the ability to do something, dependent on the help of a more experienced subject).

In this sense, the concept of learning process constituted through the ability of subjects to solve problems and perform actions that are beyond their level of development with the help of more capable peers leads to the creation of ZPD. According to Vygotsky (1978, p. 86), ZPD can be defined as "[…] the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peer." Thus, the concept of ZPD assumes that interpersonal relationships become core elements in the development and learning processes, because a more capable peer identifies and acts on the student's ZPD, then s/he can reach a higher level of reflection on the activity in question.

Vygotsky also highlights that the "[…] development, as often happens, proceeds here not in a circle but in a spiral, passing through the same point at each new revolution while advancing to a higher level […]" (VYGOTSKY, 1978, p. 56). It means that the

ZPD should not be considered simply as a transfer of skills and knowledge from those who know more to those who know less. It should be seen as a spiral movement in which relations between learning and development emerging from interactions in the most diverse spheres of the social environment are extremely complex and, therefore, cannot be reduced to a single and unchanged form.

Although the concept of ZPD brings a basic conceptual contribution to understand knowledge construction in the teaching-learning process, it is noted, however, that the theory does not present elements that can indeed make ZPD feasible, namely, there is no specific theoretical-analytical devices to make it applicable to teaching-learning practices. In an attempt to make Vygotsky's perspective and ZPD concept practicable, this study aims to combine them with the concepts of Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), recursive feedback (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) and Scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976).

Mastery learning, recursive feedback and Scaffolding: concepts combined with Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective

It may seem strange to try to combine in this study two perspectives that are, in principle, divergent: Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective and the Benjamin Bloom's Mastery Learning behaviorist perspective. Indeed, when one observes them exclusively in their conceptual essence, such perspectives may, at first, show no association because while Mastery Learning seeks to develop means and techniques to control and predict behaviors and results that are measurable and observable, Vygotsky's perspective, on the other hand, constitutes something more dialogic, fluid and therefore less controllable and predictable in terms of behaviors and results related to the teaching-learning process.

Nonetheless, although treated with different focuses, a common core to both perspectives is the centrality of contextual factors, in which the learning subject is seen in their individuality. Then, based on this key characteristic, this study seeks to show that it is possible to think of presumably clear and objective teaching goals – which is a characteristic of Mastery Learning – to act on the students' ZPD and then use some concepts related to these perspectives as theoretical-analytical devices in a teaching and learning context of text production.

The concept of Mastery Learning, developed in the 1960s by Benjamin Bloom, is based on the general idea that most students would be able to learn in the presence of proper teaching and learning conditions. For Bloom (1971, p. 49), "[…] the basic task in education is to find strategies which will take individual differences into consideration but which will do so in such a way as to promote the fullest development of the individual."

According to the author, the fact that teachers teach all students the same way, what he referred to as 'classic uniform instruction,' and allow the same time for all students to learn originated disparate performance. Then, Bloom's main objective was

to find an instructional model[2] to eliminate or at least reduce these disparities among students. Bloom (1971) points out that, in order to have successful final performance of learners greater than what they initially demonstrate in their school activities, first it should be recognized that students are different from one another, which likewise implies different attention and methods used by the teacher, and different times to perform tasks. In other words, for the author, the time to learn and the conditions of teaching vary, which determines the academic success of students.

Bloom and his team of researchers had already observed in the 1950s that, in identical teaching conditions, not considering variables outside the educational environment, everyone would learn, but with different levels of knowledge depth (BLOOM; HASTIN; MADAUS, 1971). For the authors, the difference in learning could be characterized by the strategies used and the way of organizing the learning processes to encourage cognitive development.[3]

Based on the concept that, in appropriate teaching-learning conditions, learners would be able to learn, but with different levels of learning depth, Bloom (1971), then, developed his Mastery Learning proposal, which is constituted by three fundamental elements: feedback, remediation and enrichment activities[4], and formative assessment. In general, feedback is the activity following the task a student should perform, moving on to the next task, which will provide the student with another feedback, and so on. As the student advances, the tasks become more and more complex; however, with the continuous and individualized feedback that respects students' times and abilities, they would feel motivated to continue developing. According to Bloom (1971), through feedback, the teacher can point out weaknesses and answer questions from the students in a continuous way, constantly supervising them and obtaining improved results.

Feedback, however, becomes even more effective if it is articulated with remediation and enrichment activities, which are practical activities (tutorials or group work, more complex exercises, and/or internet searches, for example) whose purpose is to provide students with learning experiences that allow them to expand their potential and explore learned content adaptable to their singularities.

Feedback, remediation and enrichment activities would in turn be more successful if they were linked with formative assessment. In this sense, when highlighting the importance of formative assessment to reduce the discrepancies among students' results,

---

[2]   The idea of an 'instructional model,' at first, is not associated with Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective. However, as mentioned above, this study is not interested in the conceptual framework of the Mastery Learning model, which is used here only to refer to Bloom's original text. This study explores the elements of the model, which can be rethought in the light of a sociocultural perspective of learning.

[3]   When thinking of the learning processes to encourage cognitive development, Bloom, along with scholars from several universities in the United States, developed in the 1950s a taxonomy of educational objectives, something like a categorization of cognitive domains, into a hierarchical structure, which is divided into the following cognitive categories: evaluation, synthesis, analysis, application, comprehension and knowledge.

[4]   Although 'remediation' has a negative semantic idea that refers to 'correcting an error,' which in many cases in the teaching-learning context would not be applied or justified, the term 'remediation and enrichment activities' will be used as an analytical element in this study with a positive value, that is, as activities that, combined with feedback and formative assessment, promote a beneficial effect on the student learning process.

Bloom (1971, p. 7) states that formative tests may also "[…] provide feedback for the teacher since they can be used to identify particular points in the instruction that are in need of modification. The formative evaluation tests also can serve as a means of quality control in future cycles of the discipline."

Thus, a formative assessment does not 'measure' what students already know and then attribute them a grade. In principle, it allows teachers to detect students' learning difficulties and review teaching strategies. Then, through various remediation activities, and with the teacher's help or through alternative learning methods, such as the internet, it is possible to help teachers act on students' learning, thus assuming a fundamentally formative and regulatory dimension.

Therefore, formative assessment is a kind of process evaluation that has three steps in the Mastery Learning model: pre-instructional assessment, post-instructional assessment, and diagnostic assessment. Pre-instructional assessment determines the initial levels of students and helps design the most appropriate instructional mechanism. Post-assessment determines whether or not a student has reached his/her assigned goals. It may also evaluate one's own instruction and refine goals. The third method of evaluation, diagnostic assessment, is a formative assessment technique that measures the effectiveness of the instructions in progress to improve the instructional process.

A concept that expands and improves the idea of formative assessment from the Mastery Learning model is that of recursive feedback (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016). For the authors, unlike the evaluative dimension of Didactic Pedagogy[5], which adopts summative evaluation – an assessment model that has a retrospective and punctual judgment character and is performed at the end of an educational process –, recursive feedback is involved in a prospective and constructive assessment, which provides feedback to students and their teachers during the learning process itself. In this sense, Cope and Kalantzis (2016, pp. 34-35) propose five aspects to be considered in the future of evaluation:

> 1. Assessment can increasingly be embedded in instruction, allowing us to realize long-held ambitions to offer richer formative assessment.
>
> 2. We may now have so much interim learning or progress data, why do we even need these strange artifacts, summative assessments? With the help of data mashups and visualizations, the data points need only be those located within the learning process. The test is dead; long live assessment!
>
> 3. Now that we can assess everything, and there is no learning without reflexive, recursive, machine feedback, peer and teacher feedback, and structured self-reflection, do we even need a distinction between

---

5   The authors point to a comparative table between what they call Didactic Pedagogy, the traditional teaching model adopted in the last 200 years, which uses summative evaluation as the main method of evaluation, and Reflexive Pedagogy, whose perspective is based on what they call recursive feedback and formative assessment.

instruction and assessment? There should be no instruction without embedded recursive feedback, and no feedback that does not directly and incrementally contribute to learning. Reflexive pedagogy ends the assessment/instruction distinction.

4. The focus of what is assessable now shifts from individual cognition, to the artifacts of knowledge representation and their social provenance. It's not what you can remember, but the knowledge artifact you can create, recognizing its sources in collective memory via links and citations, and tracing the collaborative construction process via the feedback offered by peers and teachers, and the revisions made in response.

5. The focus of what is assessable moves from the repetition of facts and the correct application of theorems to what we call complex epistemic performance, or the kinds of analytical thinking that characterize disciplinary practices—being scientist, or a writer, or to apply mathematics to a problem.

The proposal of recursive feedback, which is based on a continuous and prospective process of (formative) assessment and is not focused on individual cognition, but on the artifacts of knowledge representation and its social origin (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016), is associated with another concept: Scaffolding. It is a metaphor that refers to assistance or support – verbal or nonverbal – that a more experienced member of one culture (a more capable peer) can provide to another person. The term was first coined by Bruner, Ross and Wood (1976), whose purpose was to explain the means by which an adult could help a child in a teaching-learning relationship.

The concept, according to the authors, refers to the development of skills that become more and more 'complex,' with proper ability to handle new and more difficult demands of a certain task, namely, it is the ability to handle novelty and increasing difficulty of the task. In this sense, the intervention of a teacher, for example, can cause the learner to solve a problem, perform a task or achieve an objective that is beyond his capacity, acting as a 'scaffold' for the learner in building his ZPD.

In an attempt to establish this 'scaffolding' relationship between a student and a 'tutor,'[6] Bruner, Ross and Wood (1976, p.98) present six specific functions in scaffold construction:

1. Recruitment. The tutor's first and obvious task is to enlist the problem solver's interest in and adherence to the requirements of the task. In the present case, this often involved getting the children not only interested, but weaned from initial imaginative play with the blocks.

---

[6] 'Tutor' is specifically used by Bruner, Ross and Wood (1976) to refer to the person who supports a student with the scaffold; it is intentionally used here in this part of the study that discusses the work developed by the authors.

2. Reduction in degrees of freedom. This involves simplifying the task by reducing the number of constituent acts required to reach solution. […] In the present instances it involved reducing the size of the task to the level where the learner could recognize whether or not he had achieved a "fit" with task requirements. In effect, the "scaffolding" tutor fills in the rest and lets the learner perfect the component sub-routines that he can manage.

3. Direction maintenance. Learners lag and regress to other aims, given limits in their interests and capacities. The tutor has the role of keeping them in pursuit of a particular objective. Partly it involves keeping the child "in the field" and partly a deployment of zest and sympathy to keep him motivated. The children often made their constructions in order to show them to the tutor. In time, the activity itself became the goal—but even then, the older children often checked back.

4. Marking critical features. A tutor by a variety of means marks or accentuates certain features of the task that are relevant. His marking provides information about the discrepancy between what the child has produced and what he would recognize as a correct production. His task is to interpret discrepancies.

5. Frustration control. There should be some such maxim as "Problem solving should be less dangerous or stressful with a tutor than without". Whether this is accomplished by "face saving" for errors or by exploiting the learner's "wish to please" or by other means, is of only minor importance. The major risk is in creating too much dependency on the tutor.

6. Demonstration. Demonstrating or "modeling" solutions to a task, when closely observed, involves considerably more than simply performing in the presence of the tutee. It often involves an "idealization" of the act to be performed and it may involve completion or even explication of a solution already partially executed by the tutee himself.

Although the authors do not make any explicit reference to the concept of ZPD, an interrelationship between both concepts is observed. In this respect, Wells (1999) argues that the concept of scaffolding would help operationalize Vygotsky's concept of ZPD, because the later underlies the concept of scaffolding. In this sense, the author (WELLS, 1999, p. 127) identifies three fundamental characteristics of scaffolding in relation to the ZPD:

> 1) The *essentially dialogic nature of discourse* in which knowledge is co-constructed; 2) The significance of the authentic and cognitively challenging tasks in which knowing is embedded; 3) The role of social mediation and the establishment of inter-subjectivity as shared understandings between learners and teachers.

Therefore, this study uses the concepts of ZPD (VYGOTSKY, 1978), Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), recursive feedback/formative evaluation (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) and scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976) to discuss

the students' development process, in interactions with tutor(s) and among themselves. These concepts will be used as theoretical-analytical devices in a specific teaching-learning context: a discipline in the Profis Program exclusively dedicated to academic text reading and production.

Contextualization and analysis of the teaching-learning procedures of the discipline of academic text reading and production from Profis

Profis and the discipline of academic text reading and production

Profis is a Unicamp interdisciplinary pilot program for students who attended public high schools in Campinas, SP. Unlike the traditional selection process of the Unicamp admission exam, Profis selects students (120 seats in total), according to the student's score in the National High School Examination (Enem). This procedure ensures a seat for each public high school student in the municipality of Campinas.

The program has a curriculum that includes disciplines from different areas of knowledge (human, biological, exact and technological sciences) that are taught during the program that lasts two years. The disciplines offered by Profis include **LA084 (academic text reading and production II)**. This discipline, a prerequisite of LA083 (academic text reading and production I), includes "reading and production of prestigious academic genres, in its different areas." (UNICAMP, 2014).

The teacher in charge of the discipline developed in 2013 a program to promote reading, writing and rewriting criteria of scholarly works, involving cohesion mechanisms for the construction of textuality and syntactic-semantic articulation (use of argumentative operators), paragraph structuring (phrasal topics) and elements of nominal and verbal agreement for the development of two academic genres: abstract and critical review.[7]

Due to its average number of 100 students,[8] LA084 has four groups (A, B, C and D) that offers theoretical and practical classes.[9] In order to serve all four groups, the teacher in charge had every year the help of two PhD students and three undergraduate students[10]. During the period analyzed and evaluated in this study (2013 to 2016), eight PhD and twelve undergraduate students participated in this study.

Analysis and discussion of teaching procedures and evaluation of discipline classes

Unlike what one might expect from academic studies on text production in higher education,[11] whose focus is usually on texts analyzed by university students, this study addresses the analysis and discussion of teaching-learning procedures used in a Profis discipline exclusively focused on academic text reading and production (discipline LA084), from 2013 to 2016. In this analysis, these procedures are based on the key concepts for the teaching-learning process, such as the ZPD (VYGOTSKY, 1978), Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), recursive feedback/formative evaluation (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) and scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976), acting on the students' development process, in the interaction with tutors and between one another.

First, the procedures adopted are consistent with the characteristics of LA084 discipline, which offers four hours a week (two for theoretical classes and two for practical classes) to four groups (an average of 35 students on each group). To serve all four groups, the teacher in charge had to develop a joint work with the PhD and undergraduate students involved in the discipline. As the PhD students were also teachers[12], they could take over the classes, and then be responsible for conducting the practical classes. The students with undergraduate scholarships supported the teacher in theoretical classes, as well as the PhD students in the practical classes. They also helped discipline students with the activities to be posted on an online learning platform.[13]

Besides the classes, the teacher in charge and the five students met once a week. At these meetings, the PhD and undergraduate students were involved in class planning and provided insights, questions and challenges that they and the discipline students had during the process, and where all decisions regarding the progress of the classes were made together. At the first meeting of the group, the content and methods of the discipline were discussed and outlined. Based on the discipline syllabus, they decided to focus on two academic genres in particular: abstract and critical review. Then, the objective of the discipline was to develop a number of procedures, contents and activities that mainly addressed reading and production of abstracts, extending until the end of the first half of the six-month period. In the second half, the same would be done for critical review of academic texts.

Cesar de Almeida, Fernanda Felix Litron, Íria Marjori Schubalski Reisdorfer, Mirielly Ferraça, Rosivaldo Gomes, Roziane Keila Grando and Thalita Cristina Souza Cruz; undergraduate students: Alan Victor Pereira de Arruda, Amanda Bastos Souza, Ana Luiza Barretto Bittar, Bruno Cuter Albanese, Gabriel Dainesi, Julia Dias, Lucas Lins Oliveira, Lucas Manca Dal Ava, Marilia Veronese Matheus Felipe Xavier Bueno, Luisa Ianhes Moyses and Rafaela Marques Guimarães Lima.

[11] About this issue, see Motta-Roth and Hendges (2010).

[12] According to the rules of Unicamp Internship Program, students with doctoral scholarships can teach classes in any undergraduate discipline at Unicamp.

[13] The online teaching platform was TelEduc, available for undergraduate disciplines of Unicamp until 2017. Available in: <https://www.ggte.unicamp.br/ea/>. Access on: 27 Jan. 2017.

The abstract genre was chosen because it is the most frequent academic genre in the context of university students (MOTA-ROTH; HENDGES, 2010), and particularly of students from the discipline in question. Some students had already experienced abstract production in other Profis disciplines. Critical review was chosen because it is an academic genre of argumentative character, which, besides exposing essential and referential elements of a text with detailed and concise description, presents the reviewer's judgment or appreciation, an opinion in the comments. It involves elements of communicative persuasion, often decisive, that influence the selection of a particular text for reading, showing its communicative intention and the point of view of the reviewer regarding the study analyzed.

In the four years during which the discipline was offered (2013 to 2016), it started with a theoretical presentation about academic abstracts (concepts, uses, purposes, audiences, examples). The purpose of the first class was to show students the abstract production context and make them realize the importance of learning that academic genre. By exposing students to a genre they had already experienced or would experience in real teaching-learning contexts where they act, it can be considered as a 'recruitment' function (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976), since it is the first teaching task to obtain the students' interest and adhesion, seeking to involve students in the activities related to learning of the genre in question.

In the subsequent practical class, students should read an academic empirical study, followed by the production of an abstract of the study.[14] All texts produced by the students were read and evaluated (graded) by the group (responsible teacher and PhD and undergraduate students). However, for the students, the production of the first abstract did not have an evaluation character, since they did not receive the grades attributed to their texts, because the text production activity was not considered as a test. Grading followed by comments on the students' texts was a diagnostic assessment (BLOOM, 1971) of the students' prior knowledge of abstract, which acted as a starting point for the group to follow and guide the students through a number of activities to master that genre.

From the perspective of didactic practice, the initial text production activity 'reduced the degrees of freedom' (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976), to simplify the task of students based on a single scaffold (theory presentation from the previous class). The idea, in this case, was that, by simplifying the size of the task, it could be recognized and performed by the students.

From a pedagogical-evaluative point of view, the proposal of an initial text production is associated with the idea of formative evaluation from Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), as it is, in the process evaluation, a pre-instructional assessment that determines the initial levels of students and helps design the most appropriate instructional mechanism. This pre-instructional assessment enabled the group, through

---

14 All text production activities were performed by students in computer labs, where students had access to online dictionaries and could conduct internet searches. At each edition of the discipline, the basic texts for the production of academic genres (articles, abstracts and reviews) were re-evaluated and changed.

mediation, namely, through the various means available to define ways to act on the ZPD of students, as it allowed, through such initial production, to identify the levels of actual development of the students, or what they already knew and were able to express about abstract production, and their potential development, or what they still needed to learn about that genre, with the help of teacher, the PhD and undergraduate students and their peers.

Based on the initial production, a number of procedures and activities for the students' ZPD was then developed with regards to the content of a more general program formulated for the discipline (see previous section). For each program content, three procedures were developed: theoretical class, practical class and individual attention to students. The practical classes presented a detailed aspect for discussion, based on more general examples that acted as a parameter for the students to clarify their questions regarding the macrostructure of the genres in question and issues related to their internal composition structure.

In practical classes, it was possible to observe the students' development. In fact, the practical classes were organized as workshops connected with the theoretical classes and the group' weekly meetings, through a systematically planned work to make students produce the two academic genres. In this sense, different activities were performed, ranging from the broader project of planning the text to be produced (text macrostructure), to activities of text observation and analysis (reading), writing and rewriting of excerpts to organize their internal structure, involving, for example, different mechanisms of cohesion and coherence to develop the abstract and critical review textuality.

The activities involved a collective discussion between the students and the group about several linguistic-discursive characteristics and their relationship with the production of genres. As the classes were held in the computer labs, the students participated in discussions and conducted internet searches about the class content. Besides the discussions, the students engaged in rewriting activities, in duos, which were shared on the online learning platform.

Finally, each member of the group dedicated one hour a week to students' attention. Although they were not required to make appointments with the members of the group, students were encouraged to do so, especially if they still had specific doubts after the end of practical classes. In these moments dedicated to one to five students at the same time, the students brought their rewritten texts for analysis and comments of the group members.

In general, the three procedures adopted are an interconnected learning process in Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective, as students apprehend the knowledge available in the world (their own knowledge, of the classroom) from the relationship with the other (WELLS, 1999) to develop their intrapersonal knowledge (VYGOTSKY, 1978). Through the interaction between students and the group (more capable peers) and among themselves, in a specific socio-cultural context, the students can progressively develop their knowledge about the genres in question.

The practical classes and the individual attention allowed the construction of scaffolds for the students through four functions pointed out by Bruner, Ross and Wood (1976), which, in turn, are associated with the concepts of feedback and enrichment (BLOOM, 1971): 1) maintaining the focus: it was possible to keep the students focused and motivated in relation to the proposed objective; 2) emphasis on critical traits: with various enrichment activities (BLOOM, 1971) ranging from linguistic to structural questions of the texts (macrostructure), it was possible to emphasize certain characteristics that are relevant to text production of the abstract and the critical review. These characteristics helped provide information about the discrepancy between what the students produced and what they should recognize for the production of their texts; 3) control of frustration: it allowed reduced stress and frustration of students when they had general or specific doubts, or when they were anxious. In these cases, both in practical classes and in individual attention, the group interfered in the students' tasks to calm them down and work with them. In other words, continuous and individualized feedback was employed (BLOOM, 1971), respecting the times and abilities of the students, making them feel motivated to continue developing themselves; and 4) demonstration: the group sought to create templates of the most adequate procedures to help students perform the tasks more efficiently, involving explanations of tasks performed or not yet performed by the students, such as rewriting excerpts from texts written by themselves (already developed segments and paragraphs).

The students' production process involved a number of procedures that included activities of text observation and analysis, excerpt writing and rewriting activities to practice text macrostructure and its internal structure, and rewriting of the entire initial text (summary and critical review) to detect learning difficulties, and allow adjustments to discipline objectives. To complement this teaching-learning process, the students conducted a **self-evaluation**, which involved reflective questions about the production of the two genres studied. The table below shows the students' self-evaluation questions regarding the critical review:

Table 1 – Self-evaluation questions – critical review

SELF-EVALUATION QUESTIONS – CRITICAL REVIEW
1. Does your review have the macrostructure of an academic review?
2. Is your review adequate to the audience(s)?
3. Do you think you properly understood the original text and had a critical view of the text?
4. Have you addressed in your critical review the information pointed out by the author of the original text as the most relevant?

SELF-EVALUATION QUESTIONS – CRITICAL REVIEW
5. In addition to the content itself, have you addressed:
• data related to the text author?
• the author's knowledge about the subject?
• the language adequacy used in the text to the targeted audience?
• the overall text organization?
6. Have you chosen the most appropriate text organizers to emphasize the relationship between the main ideas?
7. Have you chosen the right language mechanisms to build your arguments? Would you make any changes? Which one(s)?
8. Have you tried to be polite in your criticism? Did you use any adjectives?
9. Have you found any problems with punctuation, spelling, consistency, cohesion, incomplete sentences, grammatical mistakes, etc.? (Circle them.)
10. Is there another aspect you rated and would you like to mention? Which one?

Source: Author's elaboration.

These procedures promoted considerable improvement in the students' learning process. Unlike content-based education, which ends up with a summative, retrospective and punctual assessment at the end of a given cycle (two, three or six months), this study attempted to develop in discipline LA084, from 2013 to 2016, something like a process evaluation (while the classes were held, not at the end), through constant recursive feedbacks, based on the perspective of Cope and Kalantzis (2016), in the form of a formative assessment (prospective and constructive assessment), providing continuous feedback to students and the group itself during the program classes.

Finally, a longitudinal evaluation was conducted, comparing the students' initial texts to their final productions. This evaluation showed improvements in the learning process, as the students presented progress. The table below compares the general average score of the four groups (A, B, C and D) in the initial abstract (IA) and the initial critical review (ICR) to their scores in the final abstract (FA) and in the final critical review (FCR), from 2013 to 2016:

Table 2 – Comparison of mean scores of groups A, B, C and D in
initial abstract (IA) and initial critical review (ICR) to final abstract
(FA) and final critical review (FCR), from 2013 to 2016

2013				2014				2015				2016			
IA	ICR	FA	FCR	IA	ICR	FA	FCR	IA	ICR	FA	FCR	IA	ICR	FA	FCR
6.1	7.6	6.5	7.9	6.0	7.7	6.7	7.8	6.2	8.0	6.3	8.1	5.9	7.8	6.4	8.0

Source: Author's elaboration.

Final considerations

This study aimed to show a move from practice to theory; a move that clearly shows how theory-practice relations constitute an investigation process, not inflexible categories. It can be explained by the fact that empirical analysis and discussion of teaching procedures used in a discipline exclusively focused on academic text reading and production allowed the construction of a new study object, since it inevitably led to the review and innovation of theoretical pathways, by promoting a dialogue between the concept of ZPD from Vygotsky's sociocultural perspective and the concepts of Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), recursive feedback (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) and Scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976).

This qualitative and empirical study had its central point based on a number of teaching-learning procedures that take into account, above all, the collective construction of knowledge through constant interaction between teachers, scholarship tutors, scholarship supporters, and students. From this perspective, the work developed has evaluation assuming a different character from its traditional role; instead of a retrospective and punctual evaluation at the end of a given teaching-learning cycle, this study attempted to develop a formative assessment (a prospective and constructive evaluation), by providing continuous feedback to students and to the group itself during the classes. This evaluation started in the beginning of each program edition, in an attempt to understand and define the procedures the group could use and the paths the students had to take, allowing them to plan and develop activities to enable students to master two genres analyzed: abstract and critical review.

Nonetheless, this study recognizes that one of the challenges in applying a formative evaluation is its operationalization with large groups of students, which obviously requires more time of the teacher and more class time. In other words, as Bloom (1971) pointed out, learning time and teaching conditions need to vary to determine the students' success. Indeed, when considering the general context of Brazilian education, it is an obstacle. On the other hand, this obstacle cannot be seen as an obstruction, but as a challenge to be addressed if one intends to think of an evaluation process that goes beyond the famous traditional tripartite IRE (initiation – response – evaluation) model.

The present study, on the contrary, shows that the teaching-learning procedures adopted can show students new ways of thinking, categorizing, analyzing, and building knowledge. Through mediation and required scaffolds constructed with the help of more capable people and peers, the students are therefore able to transform their ZPD, that is, potential development that refers to the abilities and achievements to be obtained, into actual development, concerning the achievements they have accomplished.

From this perspective, educational institutions play a fundamental role, since they are responsible for this pedagogical intervention to trigger the teaching-learning process starting from the teacher, whose function would be to interfere in the students' ZPD, seeking to promote their development. However, this perspective only becomes valid, according to Vygotsky (1978), if learning is at the forefront of the development, in a social process of knowledge construction. Hence, everyone should ask if schools, and even universities, are in fact providing a teaching process that encourages new achievements in the students' potential development, whose focus approaches what Cope and Kalantzis (2016) call "complex epistemic performance", or, on the contrary, if they keep favoring, from the perspective of meritocracy, a teaching process focused on individual cognition, individual learning of writing, thus contributing to the reproduction of the *status quo* of the graphocentric culture which, as mentioned in the introduction, has predominated since the 19th century.

Acknowledgment

▪ *RESUMO: O artigo tem como objetivo apresentar e discutir resultados de uma investigação de base qualitativo-interpretativista dos procedimentos de ensino-aprendizagem utilizados em uma disciplina voltada exclusivamente para leitura e produção de textos acadêmicos do Programa de Formação Interdisciplinar Superior (Profis) da Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp), no período de 2013 a 2016. Como aporte teórico, este estudo toma como base a perspectiva sociocultural de Vygotsky (2000, 2003) e, particularmente, seu conceito de Zona de Desenvolvimento Proximal (ZDP), aliado aos conceitos de Mastery Learning (BLOOM, 1971), feedback recursivo (COPE; KALANTZIS, 2016) e Scaffolding (BRUNER; ROSS; WOOD, 1976). Os resultados mostram que se a produção textual for trabalhada por meio de um processo de avaliação formativa, de caráter prospectivo e construtivo, fornecendo um contínuo feedback para os aprendizes, é possível levá-los a novas formas de conhecimento, em que os andaimes necessários, construídos tanto com a ajuda de pessoas mais experientes,*

quanto por meio de seus próprios pares, podem, então, transformar seu desenvolvimento potencial, que se relaciona às capacidades e conquistas a serem obtidas pelos discentes, em desenvolvimento real, concernente às àquelas que já foram por eles atingidas.

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Produção textual. Ensino superior. ZDP. Scaffolding. Mastery learning. Feedback recursivo.*

REFERENCES

BLANK, J. G. Vygostsky: o homem e sua causa. In: MOLL, L. C. **Vygotsky e a educação**: implicações pedagógicas da psicologia sócio-histórica. Porto Alegre: Artes Médicas, 1996. p. 31-56.

BLOOM, B. S. Mastery learning. In: BLOCK, J. H. (Ed.). **Mastery learning**: theory and practice. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wiston, 1971. p. 47-63.

BLOOM, B. S.; HASTING, J. T.; MADAUS, G. F. **Handbook on formative and summative evaluation of student learning**. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.

BRUNER, J. S.; ROSS, G.; WOOD, D. The role of tutoring in problem solving. **Journal of Child Psychology and Child Psychiatry**, [S.l.], v.17, p.89-100, 1976.

CERTEAU, M. **A invenção do cotidiano 1**: artes de fazer. 5. ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1984.

COPE, B.; KALANTZIS, M. (Ed.). **E-learning ecologies**. New York: Routledge, 2016.

DOLZ, J.; NOVERRAZ, M.; SCHNEUWLY, B. Sequências didáticas para o oral e a escrita: apresentação de um procedimento. 2004. In: SCHNEUWLY, B.; DOLZ, J. **Gêneros orais e escritos na escola**. Tradução de Roxane Rojo e Glaís Sales Cordeiro. Campinas, SP: Mercado das Letras, 2004. p. 95-128.

MOTTA-ROTH, D.; HENDGES, G. H. **Produção textual na universidade**. São Paulo: Parábola, 2010.

VYGOTSKY, L. S. **A formação social da mente**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2003.

VYGOTSKY, L. S. **Pensamento e linguagem**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2000.

VYGOTSKY, L.S. **Mind in society**: the development of higher psychological processes. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.

WELLS, G. **Dialogic inquiry**: towards a sociocultural practice and theory of education. New York: Cambridge University, 1999.

RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE TEACHING IN A CROSS-BORDER CONTEXT: ANALYSIS OF THE PROFESSIONAL LANGUAGE TEACHER PROFILE

Maristela Alves de Souza DINIZ[*]

Paloma Castro PRIETO[**]

■ ABSTRACT: In the process of building teachers´ professional identity, social and professional practices play an important role. Those practices are, however, affected by the context in which they are immersed. For the aim of this paper, we locate our research on the cross-border region Brazil-Peru-Bolivia to analyse teachers´ professional profile. The purpose of our analysis is to identify elements of plurilingual competence in their professional profile. It will allow us to reflect on the potentialities offered by a cross-border context in the process of building a professional identity of teachers from the perspective of plurilingual education. We locate our research in the field of Didactic of Language and Literature to address key concepts related to plurilingual education. We have identified that teachers are aware of the potentiality of the context and they develop pedagogical practices that contribute to the development of plurilingual competence.

■ KEYWORDS: Professional identity. Cross-border contexts. Language teacher. Plurilingual education.

Introduction

The contexts bestowed to us every day are more plural and in literature the new emerging terms seek to express or signify all this plural reality. In the case of the words "multilingual" and "multicultural", the studies that address these concepts define them as the coexistence of different languages and cultures in the same territory and as the knowledge that individuals have of these languages and cultures (EUROPEAN COUNCIL, 2002; BEACCO; BYRAM, 2007; PIÑEIRO; GUILLÉN; VEZ, 2010; NUSSBAUM; UNAMUNO, 2014). Although under these terms underlies the idea of its preservation, especially of those minority languages, because it´s considered that

---

[*] Federal University of Acre (UFAC), Rio Branco, Acre, Brazil and University of Valladolid (UVA), Valladolid, España. malvesdiniz1@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0001-9841-3847

[**] University of Valladolid (UVA), Department of Language and Literature Didactics, Valladolid, España. pcastro@dlyl. uva.es. ORCID: 0000-0002-6644-8364

each of them has its proper value and importance; from our point of view, they are very static concepts, as the interaction between languages and cultures is not taken into consideration.

Likewise, other terms arise in the European context, such as: "plurilingualism", "pluricultural" and "plurilingual competence". Plurilingualism is conceived, on the one hand, as an ability of the individual to make use of several languages and, on the other, as a value to live in society. Under this concept lies the idea of mobilization, dynamism, which requires the individual to develop specific skills (multilingual competence) that will allow the use of the different languages and cultures that make up the linguistic repertoire in an intercultural action. In this way, the learning of other languages is conceived as more efficient. In addition, this process is also reflective as the individual is aware of the value that languages have, affecting the way of interacting with other people. The promotion of plurilingualism is one of the measures adopted by the Council of Europe to address the diversity of languages and cultures.

The cultural-linguistic plurality is even more evident in the border contexts where the interaction between individuals is constant. In these spaces, complex relations processes are shaped, marked by their own dynamism (ARRIAGA-RODRÍGUEZ, 2012).

These places, essentially multilingual and multicultural, are advantageous for learning languages as people are in contact with different languages and cultures. In this way, the context itself affects language teachers´ classroom practices. Therefore, we start from the premise that language teachers from border contexts are developing translinguistic and transcultural practices that make up their professional identity.

Given this situation, we focus on the language teacher who is in a cross-border context. We relate the term cross-border with the concepts of border and frontier, considering them as socially constructed spaces. These are unique areas built by the very individuals that constitute and characterize them to the same extent. Discontinuous but equally complementary social practices characterize these spaces.

In the process of building its professional identity, the teacher incorporates elements aimed to enhance language learning in students. The purpose of this study is to identify those elements of plurilingual education that underlie the profile of the language teacher that performs in a cross-border context. To do this, we investigate the perceptions of language teachers from schools in the cross-border region, merged in the following locations: State of Acre (Assis Brazil, Brazil), the Department of Pando (Cobija, Bolivia) and the Province of Madre de Dios (Iñapari, Peru).

To have knowledge of this profile will allow us to reflect on the potentialities offered by the cross-border context for the construction of a professional identity of the teacher, in the perspective of plurilingual education.

Theoretical Framework

Teaching languages and cultures has always been a challenge because it is not only about transmitting mere linguistic structures to students, but also about disclosing other ways of asserting and observing the world. And in the present day, this challenge is even more demanding because it means going beyond showing something to someone, giving examples or having someone learn something.

The contexts, increasingly pluralistic every day, require from the professionals, who are dedicated to the teaching of languages, multiple competences to attend students and solve problems that arise in the classroom, such as intolerant attitudes based on superficial views and stereotypes of students when they come into contact with new languages and cultures, either in formal learning contexts or in a given social context. Language teachers are building a professional identity that characterizes them. The reception of academic training highlights this professional identity as well as the context in which they act. In plural contexts, such as cross-border contexts, identity is even more complex.

Hall, Silva and Louro (2006, p.24) states that posing a definition of identity is a somewhat difficult task because it is a very complex concept. However, it leads us to a definition of identity understood as a "mobile celebration", interim, variable, and problematic. For this author, the identity of the modern people has been fragmented; if earlier they were "fully unified and coherent, now they have already become fully decentered".

As mentioned by Hall, Silva and Louro (2006) and Bauman (2005), identities have been fragmented according to social changes. For the previous authors, these changes are the responsible for the decentering of the subject and the identity crisis of modern people.

Regarding professional identity, Balduzzi and Egle (2010, p.67) observe that its construction is a dynamic and complex process that begins in the academic formation and extends throughout the trajectory and professional performance. For these authors, in this process the individual "[…] defines itself in relation to its work space and a collective professional group of reference, that is, in terms of occupation, trade or profession and with respect to those who exercise it."

This professional identity is built both individually and collectively, or as explained by Bauman (2005), is given from the formation of one plus the other, that is, in relation; they are dynamic historical constructions located within a social context and are non-existent outside it.

Morales Ortega (2016, p.20) points out that identities are "created in a specific time and space". For this reason, this author states that it is important "[…] to understand the spaces and the social context in which individuals relate to each other and understand the effects that these historical changes produce in the construction of individual and collective identities."

The context in which we insert this research, which we call cross-bordered, marked by its dynamism, it´s conceived as a space that is beyond one or another place on the border. It is the context in which everyone is mutually involved, recognized, valued, where they meet, and cooperate, share, and generate trans-linguistic and cross-cultural practices.

In the specific case of the cross-border region of the State of Acre, located on the three-frontier border Brazil-Peru-Bolivia, lands previously belonging to the Bolivian territory, it is the last State incorporated into the Brazilian territory after a series of diplomatic agreements and confrontations between Brazil and Bolivia that ends after the victory of Brazil in 1903 with the Acre War.

The cities located in the border areas present very peculiar socio-cultural characteristics due to the encounter of native Brazilian, Bolivian, and Peruvian languages and cultures. In addition, other foreign cultures make up this mosaic in virtue of being this area a path to the Pacific and a free trade zone.

Currently, Portuguese and Spanish are the languages spoken by most inhabitants. However, we must consider the other languages that circulate in these spaces: the *Portuñol*[1] which is a variety shared by Brazilians, Bolivians, and Peruvians; English which is taught as mandatory in Secondary Education in the border schools; indigenous languages such as *Quechua* and *Aymara*; the native language of the *Cavineña*[2] that is offered to the students of Bolivian schools; and also other indigenous languages spoken by smaller number of native people *Manchineri*[3] located in the Brazilian region of the threefold frontier.

We believe that the teaching of languages in this cross-border context, where there is a great mobilization of languages and cultures, should integrate plurilingual education approaches through classroom practices oriented towards the development of the plurilingual competence of students.

That is, educational approaches oriented to favor the encounter with the other, to consider the different languages and cultures, to recognize the value of each one and to understand from the differences. An approach to teaching languages in this perspective is, from our point of view, more equitable and more effective because it considers the different languages that make up the linguistic repertoire of individuals who move in this cross-border context.

---

[1] Portuñol is a contact language used by speakers of Portuguese and Spanish who are in the border regions of Brazil with Spanish-speaking countries.

[2] The Cavineña language belongs to the Tacana linguistic family and it is one of the original languages of Bolivia. Its teaching becomes mandatory in the school curriculum of the Bolivian departments of Beni and Pando: when the educational reform in Bolivia, was carried out in the year 2010, it recognized this country as intracultural, intercultural and plurilingual.

[3] The Manchineri are native people who live in the Brazilian territory located in the border with Peru and Bolivia. They belong to the Aruak linguistic family.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the construction of a professional identity of the language teacher that is able to attend to a plurilingual education approach. To do this, we investigate their professional profile through their teaching conceptions and, by identifying elements of plurilingual competence that underlie this profile. With the preceding in mind, we establish the following objectives:

- To identify the elements of plurilingual competence that underlies the management of one's practice and commitment as a teacher.
- To identify the elements of plurilingual competence that underlies the management of the integration of the classroom space and the school community.

To identify the elements of the plurilingual competence of the language teacher professional profile that underlie the management of the aforementioned elements, we have chosen to explore the perceptions of the teaching staff adopting a methodological approach that situates it within the interpretive qualitative paradigm.

We situate ourselves in a qualitative paradigm with the purpose of understanding a reality from the perceptions of the subjects involved in the teaching-learning process of languages. This option is supported by the idea of Flick (2015), when pointing out that qualitative research allows us to approach the external world through the analysis of the perceptions and experiences of individuals as these occur.

For the data collection, we have designed a semi-structured interview. As a technique, the interview allows us to systematically collect information. In addition, as Kvale (2011) tells us, this type of instrument allows us to approach the reality of the informants through their own words, knowing their own perspectives.

We have considered relevant to elaborate some guiding questions, but, at the same time, give the informants greater freedom to express their perceptions and from them, formulate other questions, procedure that, according to Bisquerra (2014, p.337), "It allows to interweave themes and build a holistic and comprehensive knowledge of reality". The flexible nature of the interview has allowed us to make adjustments during its implementation, favoring the interactive process between interviewer and interviewees.

Such procedure has allowed us to collect information from teachers regarding their way of acting and perception of conflicting situations that occur in their classroom; their perceptions regarding motivation, awareness, and receptivity of students towards language learning; the use of resources to motivate learning and the promotion of autonomy in students, as well as the collaborative work among their peers.

The interviews were conducted to teachers of languages that act in the cross-border context of the threefold border between Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia. We established as criteria for inclusion of participants, the teachers who work in border schools teaching

native or foreign languages; and as exclusion criteria for teachers' informants, those who live in areas not located in border contexts and work with other disciplines outside the languages field.

Applying these criteria, we have 03 (three) language teachers as informants whom, for this case, we identify as P1, P2 and P3.

The informant, identified as P1, is bilingual (Portuguese-Spanish) whose academic career started in Peru (Fundamental and Secondary Education) and has finished in Brazil, concluding university education in Portuguese Literature at the Federal University of Acre. This informant comes from and lives in the context of action, that is, the city of Assis Brazil, Acre-Brazil.

The informant, identified as P2, is bilingual (Quechua-Spanish) proficient in the Cavineña language, all academic training carried out in Bolivian territory, with training in Communication and Language. He acts as a teacher of Spanish and Cavineña language. He comes from an area external to the community of action; nevertheless, he lives for more than a decade in Cobija, Department of Pando-Bolivia.

The informant, identified as P3, also bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, received training in Peruvian territory, graduated in Communication and Language and, currently, exerts as a Spanish language teacher. This informant comes from an area external to the community of action and, recently lives in the school community of Iñapari, Madre de Dios-Peru.

For the analysis of data, we have relied on the contributions of Bisquerra (2014), Batthyány and Cabrera (2011), and Bardin (1986). We have chosen to perform content analysis, defined by these authors as a research technique where the data are described objectively and systematically.

Drawn from these two axes, we define four categories: reflection of the practice itself, commitment as a teacher, interaction established with students and involvement in the school community.

For the definition of the first category, reflection of the practice itself, we have considered the reflective practice that Perronoud (2007, p. 41) places in the profession of teaching. This author argues that reflexive practice is a commitment that is based on the one hand in a "pragmatic pole", through the development of attitude, and on the other hand in a "pole of identity" through the formation of a specific identity.

Therefore, under the category "reflection of the practice itself", we collect those statements that give render of the reflections on its own practice, that is, what teachers do and believe should be done to achieve their teaching objectives in terms of appropriation of linguistic and cultural elements, awakening the interest and motivation of students to learn languages and intervene in situations of conflict in the classroom.

For the definition of the second category, commitment as a teacher, we have considered the notion of commitment and involvement, which Traver Marti (2011) places in the zone of the characterization of the committed teacher with quality education and social justice service.

Traver Marti (2011, p.95), citing Gale and Densmore (2007), argues that teachers must play a political role, towards the promotion of "radical democracy, critical disposition towards society and political activism."

Therefore, under the category, commitment as a teacher, we gather the statements that render those practices of teachers aimed at promoting student learning from a conscious behavior where good social practices prime.

For the definition of the third category, interaction established with students, we have considered the interaction between teachers and students in a pedagogical context that Artavia (2005) places as the relational-communicative-affective aspect. These aspects are considered by this author as milestones for the integral development of the individual.

According to Richards (2005), it is the teacher-student relationship that is one of the most important interactions in the school context, given its bidirectional nature that includes a process of mutual involvement.

In this way, under the category, interaction established with students, we collect statements that give render of the aspects related to the capacity of the language teacher to interact with the students and their capacity to create bonds that allow to establish a relationship of trust, appreciation, consideration for the other, tolerance and respect.

For the definition of the fourth category, involvement in the school community, we have considered the notion of collaborative work that Fernández Tilve and Malvar Méndez (1999) acknowledge as an enhancing element for professional development. These are deliberate practices oriented towards the achievement of common goals, practices shaped by professional dialogue and commitment.

Therefore, under the category of involvement in the school community, we gather those statements that renders for the commitment of the teacher and their availability for interaction with the members from the school community, as well as the availability to collaborate with peers and organize activities in school.

For these categories we established subcategories of analysis guided by the systematic process of axial coding (STRAUSS; CORBIN, 1990). The criterion used to establish these subcategories has been the separation of the units of analysis deriving from the documentary corpus by organizing thematic proximity allowing us to see different dimensions within the same category. Thus, we have established the following sub categories of analysis:

Reflection of the practice itself

- Appropriation of diverse cultural-linguistic knowledge;
- Sharing of language and culture;
- Motivate students to learn languages and cultures;
- Awaken students' interest in language learning;
- Intervene in situations of conflict.

Commitment as a teacher

- Guide teaching of languages for the education of more human individuals
- Promote autonomous learning of languages.

Establish interaction with students

- Interaction with students;
- Build emotional bonds with students.

Involvement with the school community

- Participate in the activities carried out by their educational center and are involved in the problems that affect them;
- Interact and collaborate with other professionals in the educational center.

Data discussion

Regarding the category, reflection of the practice itself, the data reveal that language teachers are aware that they need to garner other languages, including those that are part of their border reality. Likewise, all the informants declare that they use their native tongue to enhance the cultural-linguistic learning of their students by making exemplifications and comparisons with the language they teach, as seen in the following declarations:[4]

> *Por exemplo: …Tive alunos peruanos aqui e em determinado conteúdo… _Professor, isto está errado! Manifestam-se no mesmo momento… Daí tem que parar para explicar: _Não. É que o espanhol que se ensina aqui é o da Espanha. E muitas coisas diferenciam, não é a mesma coisa. Então muitas coisas na aula são assim… _ ah que legal, não sabia disso. Mesmo falando espanhol há esta diversidade. [P1]*[5]

> *Yo soy de la cultura quechua y pues… hay algunas clases que también comparto en mi lengua originaria, aunque no me puedan entender…*

Pero, tras que menciono… hablo en mi lengua, les hago la interpretación de lo que significa, entonces… [P2][6]

Por ejemplo; acá… nosotros que vivimos en la frontera, necesitamos saber el portugués obligatoriamente. Yo, mi persona por ejemplo, necesito saber para poder comunicarme con otras personas de acá de la frontera y ellos también tienen esta necesidad. Por ejemplo: el inglés es algo básico que le enseñamos para que ellos puedan comunicarse con otras personas. [P3][7]

Claro, así es siempre. Tratamos de que ellos convivan […] Bien. Lo toma de buena manera. A veces se ríen… bromean y todo. Pero… ahí están… se familiariza con esto. Están familiarizando. [P3][8]

Likewise, the data show that teachers seek to develop in students an interest in learning languages. For them, the learning of different languages will allow students better communication with other people as well as their entry into the working world and additionally, allowing them to know about other cultures.

Por parte dos professores, de nós, colocamos sempre a importância do domínio do inglês, do espanhol… é fantástico… até para o mercado de trabalho e todo isso… Trazemos esta situação da importância de aprender esta nova língua que vai contribuir para sua vida, a diversidade cultural que ele pode conhecer através disso… [P1][9]

O primeiro contato para colocar esta situação é o sexto ano, que é quando já vem o espanhol, e daí já trazemos esta situação da importância de aprender esta nova língua que vai contribuir para sua vida, a diversidade cultural que ele pode conhecer através disso… então… percebemos que muitos aceitam, pero ainda assim encontramos resistência. [P1][10]

---

[6] I am from the Quechua culture and therefore ... there are some classes that I also share in my native language, although they cannot understand me ... But, after I mention ... I speak in my language, I give them the interpretation of what it means, then ... [P2]

[7] For example; here ... we who live in the border, we need to mandatorily know Portuguese. I, myself, for example, need to know in order to communicate with other people from the border and they also have this need. For example: English is something basic that we teach so that they can communicate with other people. [P3]

[8] Of course, that is the way it always is. We try to make them live together [...] Well. They take it in a good way. Sometimes they laugh ... they joke and everything. But ... there they are ... familiarized with this. They are familiarizing. [P3]

[9] On the side of the teachers, of us, we always say the importance of the proficiency of English, of Spanish ... it is fantastic.... even for the employment market and all that ... We bring to the classroom this situation, of the importance of learning this new language, that will contribute to their lives, the cultural diversity that he can know through this.... [P1]

[10] The first contact to place this situation is in the Sixth grade of Primary, which is when we introduce Spanish, and from there we bring this situation of the importance of learning this new language, that will contribute to their lives, the cultural diversity that he can know through that ... then ... we perceive that many accept, but even so we find resistance. [P1]

> *Los que vienen aquí… están aprendiendo otra cultura que es la lengua originaria cavineña… pues se aprende por su propio interés, es una necesidad para comunicarse con otras personas. [P2]*[11]

Regarding the use of resources to motivate students in their language learning, the Brazilian school teacher declares to have them and performs activities that are usually motivating:

> *Eu uso a música, o livro didático mesmo, há muitas coisas bacanas, levo o notebook, o data show e coloco situações ... dependendo do conteúdo para mostrar mesmo digamos...a questão das touradas, a festa Tomatina... imagens, textos assim para mostrar e eles conhecerem, porque o visual também chama a atenção, desperta curiosidade e ajuda. [P1]*[12]

> *Enfim ... isso é através de buscar realizar aulas dinâmicas ... como eu disse ... Eu gosto de trabalhar com gincana (brincadeiras) músicas... isso é fantástico. Quando você leva uma música, explora, canta com eles, trabalha a questão gramatical ... é fundamental e eles aprendem. [P1]*[13]

However, the informants located in the schools of Peru and Bolivia declare that they do not have so many resources. They also state that they have difficulties in using technological resources:

> […] *los recursos materiales son los más comunes* […] *no estoy preparado todavía… para utilizar internet, en el aula, hay que tener una capacitación para utilizar un medio tecnológico como red sociales… [P2]*[14]

Finally, they recognize that the role of the language teacher is beyond being a mere transmitter of contents. They believe that they should act as mediators in conflict situations in the classroom, trying to establish a dialogue between the students to guarantee peaceful coexistence among them:

---

[11]   Those who come here ... are learning another culture that is the original language of the Cavineña ... because they learn it by their own interest, it is a necessity to communicate with other people. [P2]

[12]   I use music, the didactic book, there are very good things, I carry the notebook, the Data Show and I create situations ... depending on the contents ... I show the issue of the bullfights, the Tomatina party ... images, texts ... so that they know .... because the visual catches a lot of attention, arouses curiosity and helps. [P1]

[13]   Anyway ... that is through dynamic classes ... as I said ... I like to work with games, music ... this is fantastic. When you work on a music, sing with them, works on the grammar issue ... it is fundamental and they learn. [P1]

[14]   [...] the material resources are the most common [...] I am not prepared yet ... to use the internet, in the classroom, you must have training to use a technological medium such as social networks ... [P2].

O professor, na verdade, ele tem que ser mediador, analisar e procurar cohibir estes tipos de situações. Em momento algún o professor tem que ser ... às vezes, passivo com esses tipos de atitudes. Porque eu, particularmente, já vivi isso. Já estudei no Peru, e de alguma forma, eu era uma vítima de preconceito também. [P1][15]

Soy paralelo, lineal, entre ambos estudiantes… No… favoreciendo ni a uno ni a otro sino, pues creando una comunicación en el marco del respeto. Los estudiantes… pues… la mejor manera para poder… bueno, estar… con los estudiantes es saber escucharles también. Escuchar y saber qué es lo que piensan cada uno de ellos… y esto me llena de satisfacción, pues… que sean conscientes, que sean sinceros en el momento de conversar, de hablar o decir una verdad. [P2][16]

Regarding the category, *commitment as a teacher*, the informants declare that they seek to develop in their students' skills that go beyond the learning of the language. According to them, their actions are oriented towards an approach of teaching languages where values are taking into consideration, such as the acceptance of others and the development of attitudes of respect towards diversity:

Em alguns momentos se dão estas situações de preconceitos como temos aqui, por exemplo: muitos alunos peruanos e bolivianos e se cria esta situação de não aceitar o outro como ele é. E aí o que eu coloco é que... ele sempre deve se colocar no lugar do outro... ele deve viver esta situação para ver como eles se setiriam, não é ?Mas é tratar mesmo de conscientizar a este cidadão a não reagir contra esta diversidade. Aceitar o próximo como a si mesmo. [P1][17]

De certo modo, quando colocamos… hoje o ensino de línguas não é exatamente o falar, saber se expressar em espanhol ou inglês ou qualquer outro idioma... Mas que é ele, a partir do conhecimento que ele tem e o domínio desta língua, ele se comunicar com estas diversas culturas, respeitar... Hoje uma das questões que temos que mais valorizar é esta questão da cultura mesmo de cada povo, de cada.... Porque a partir do

---

[15] The teacher, in truth, he must be a mediator, analyze and seek to inhibit these types of situations. At some point the teacher must be ... passive with those types of attitudes. Because I, particularly, have already lived that. I studied in Peru, and in some way, I was a victim of prejudice as well. [P1]

[16] I am parallel, linear, between both students ... Not ... favoring neither one nor the other but creating communication within the framework of respect. The students ... well ... the best way to be able ... well, to be ... with the students is to know how to listen to them too. Listen and know what each one of them think ... and this fills me with satisfaction, well ... to be conscious, to be sincere in the moment of talking, of speaking or telling a truth. [P2]

[17] At times these situations of prejudice occur, for example: we have here, many Peruvian and Bolivian students and this situation happens, not to accept the other as he is. So, what I declare is that ... he should always put himself in the place of the other ... he should live this situation to see how they would feel, isn't it? It is about creating awareness in this citizen not to react against this diversity. Accept others as yourself. [P1]

momento que você conhece isto você passa a valorizar, não é? Y você passa a entender ao outro desta forma também. [P1][18]

In addition to fostering attitudes towards the other, teachers express that they seek to develop in their students' favorable attitudes to autonomous learning of languages and cultures:

Sim. Sempre coloco que devemos ter disciplina, um projeto de vida. Porque quando você planeja e você almeja um alvo, você precisa traçar planos e se esforçar para isso ... Então, eu sempre coloco esta situação, não é? Qual cidadão ele quer ser amanhã? E para isso ele terá que desenhar metas para conquistar tudo isso ... é com grande esforço e uma das situações é ele abraçar a causa e despertar o interesse, ser autodidata, ter tempo, buscar ter tempo para estudar, porque só a escola também não é suficiente ... existem outras fontes, há a internet, que ele use aplicativos de telefone, que consiga aprender. [P1][19]

Enseñándoles, otorgándoles los medios por los cuales tiene que estudiar una carrera y que la carrera les va a enseñar, les va a obligar aprender otras lenguas… dándoles, mostrándoles el camino, la profesión que ellos van a tener que lograr. [P2][20]

Qué lo practiquen. Siempre… Que lo lleven como ejemplo, para ir practicando en su vida cotidiana. Que traten de familiarizar más que todo con eso. De que vivencia a diario… A veces digo también, ¿no? A veces les digo en quechua… a diario les voy hablando. Así ellos van aprendiendo… constantemente. [P3][21]

Regarding the category, *interactions established with students*, the data reveal that teachers seek to establish an interactive relationship between teacher and students.

---

[18] In a way, when we place ... today, the teaching of languages is not exactly speaking, knowing how to express oneself in Spanish or English or any other language ... But it is about the knowledge and proficiency that he has of this language, to communicate with these diverse cultures, respect ... Today one of the issues we must value the most is this issue of the culture of each people, of each ... Because from the moment you know this, you happen to value, isn´t it? And you happen to understand the other in this way too. [P1]

[19] Yes. I always state that we must have discipline, a life project. Because when you plan and have a goal, you need to reach your plans and strive for that. So, I always put this situation, isn´t it? What citizen does he want to be tomorrow? And for that he will have to set goals to achieve it ... It is with great effort. And one of the situations is to embrace the cause and awaken interest, be self-taught, have time, find time to study because only school is not enough ... there are other sources, there is the internet ... use of mobile applications. [P1]

[20] Teaching them, giving them the tolls by which they must study a career and that the career is going to enlighten them, will force them to learn other languages ... giving them, showing them the way, the profession they are going to have to achieve. [P2]

[21] That they practice it ... Take it as an example, to go practicing in their daily lives. Try to familiarize yourself, more than anything, with that. As a daily experience ... Sometimes I also say that, right? Sometimes I tell them in Quechua ... I talk to them every day. So, they are learning ... constantly. [P3]

They point out that they establish communication based on dialogue and within the framework of respect, always seeking to encourage interaction with students and build affective bonds between teacher and students:

> […] *Eu sou um professor que sempre busco atuar com discernimento e através do diálogo com meus alunos. [P1]*[22]
>
> *Pues a mi parecer… el diálogo. El diálogo entre estudiantes y profesor es lo primero. Lo que hago es, primeramente, antes del inicio de la gestión, es realizar una conversación amena con los estudiantes… y los estudiantes entre estudiantes, para que se puedan conocer a sí mismo, pueda interactuar sobre su diario vivir… [P2]*[23]
>
> *Bueno… Yo… tratarme de adecuar a la realidad de ellos. Tratar de ver… yo también ponerme en su posición… de ellos. Ver de qué manera… ¿no? Comprenderlos. Porque ellos son adolescentes y también no se les puede… como se dice: reprenderlos. Tratar de ponerme en su lugar y tratar de entenderlos… pero no dejar que sobrepasen en algunos términos… Buscando la amistad. Ser amigo de ellos… bueno… [P3]*[24]

Regarding the category, *involvement in the school community*, the informants declare that they do participate in the activities carried out by their school. As they express, they participate in educational school projects aimed on tackling prejudice. They also act in the coordination of their schools, as seen in the following statements:

> *E isso aí, por exemplo, em sala de aula, trato de amenizar muito, mesmo porque aqui muitos estudantes, por exemplo, vêm do Peru desde a pré-escola e quando não é trabalhado... a escola até desenvolveu um projeto sobre preconceitos nesta situação, porque tem o indígena também, que é vítimas desta situação ... [P1]*[25]
>
> *Y no sé si usted ha dado cuenta de que en algunas aulas no tenemos carpetas (se refiere a mesas y sillas)… nosotros hemos tenido que venir*

---

[22]   ... I am a teacher who always seeks to act with discernment and through dialogue with my students. [P1]

[23]   Well, in my opinion ... dialogue. The dialogue between students and teacher comes first. What I do is, first, before begin managing, it is to make a pleasant conversation with the students ... and the students among students, so that they can know themselves, they can interact about their daily life ... [P2]

[24]   Well ... I ... try to adapt to their reality. Try to see ... I also put myself in their position ... of them. See which way ... right? Understand them Because they are teenagers and they also cannot be ... as they say: reprehend them. Try to put myself in their place and try to understand them ... but do not let them exceed in some terms ... Looking for friendship. Be friends with them ... well ... [P3]

[25]   In the classroom I try to entertain a lot ... even because many students here, come from Peru, since elementary education and when we do not work ... the school has even developed a project about prejudices in this situation, because there is also the indigenous, who are the victims of this situation ... [P1]

a clavar las carpetas… recoger pedazos por pedazos para que puedan los alumnos estudiar. [P3] [26]

Furthermore, the data reveal that teachers interact and collaborate with their peers in the planning of didactic sequences, either with teachers in the languages area or of other subjects:

Geralmente os de línguas têm estas trocas de ideias, trocamos diferentes pontos de vista onde colocamos a melhor forma de trabalhar determinados conteúdos. [P1] [27]

A inicio de gestión tenemos una reunión… ya de planificación. Y esta planificación consiste en que cada uno de los profesores aporta ideas para la planificación que se va a llevar a cabo durante todo el año [...] entonces… sí hay una comunicación entre los profesores, una coordinación para plantear las actividades y presentar en una fecha determinada. [P2] [28]

Sí. Nosotros trabajamos… primero tenemos que hacer nuestra diversificación curricular, ¿no? Y con eso nosotros tratamos… Yo, por ejemplo, en mi área puedo tratar sobre lenguas… a veces el profesor de Artes que trabaja en otras áreas más que contextualizamos con nuestra área. Tenemos que trabajar… acogernos a eso. Todos nos juntamos, nos reunimos… que es lo que vamos a tratar, ¿no? El tema y de qué manera… y así trabajamos. [P3] [29]

According to these professionals, collective work is conceived as important because everyone shares knowledge, which allows them to learn with their co-workers. This statement is evidenced in the following statement:

E com esse trabalho mais coletivo é bom porque temos aqui um professor que é peruano e trabalha com a língua espanhola … Isso é … e para quem é daqui tem a oportunidade de aprender mais.. assim

---

[26] And I do not know if you have noticed that in some classrooms we do not have folders (it refers to tables and chairs) ... we have had to come to nail the folders ... collect pieces by pieces so that students can study. [P3]

[27] Generally, those of languages have these changes of ideas, we change different points of view, we state the best way to work certain contents. [P1]

[28] At the beginning of the school year we have a meeting ... for planning. And this planning consists in, each teacher contributes with ideas for the planning that will be carried out during the whole school year [...] so ... yes, there is communication between teachers, a coordination to pose activities and submit in a determined date. [P2]

[29] Yes. We work ... first we must do our curricular diversification, right? And with that we try ... I, for example, in my area can talk about languages ... sometimes the Arts teacher, who works in other areas, which we contextualize with our area. We must work ... embrace that. We all meet, we get together ... what we are going to address, isn´t it? The topic and in what way ... and so we work. [P3]

como ele tem algumas dúvidas ... mas é bem legal ... aprendemos bastante. [P1][30]

Results and conclusions

The results of the analysis reveal that language teachers in the cross-border context are aware of the potential of their own context in the construction of their professional identity. The fact that they take advantage of the cultural-linguistic plurality of their classrooms to enhance the learning of their students, mobilizing their linguistic repertoires and making them aware of the importance of learning languages, shows pedagogical practices oriented towards plurilingual education approaches.

Although teachers share with the students the native tongues present in the classroom, it is not common the use of practices, which undertake the analysis and comparison of different languages, especially those that are not part of this cultural-linguistic reality.

Also, it is noticeable that teachers develop classroom practices oriented to the construction of values, for example when they intervene as mediators to solve the conflicts that arise in the classroom. Under this practice, there is an interest for an education that contributes to respectful and tolerant students, aware of the value that other has, accepting this diversity in a positive way.

These initiatives are essential to promote the development of the plurilingual competence of students, since this competence requires not only a capacity to make use of the linguistic repertoire, but also a capacity to "good living" with others, as indicated in the documents of the Council of Europe which addresses the concept of plurilingualism.

Regarding the management for the integration of language classroom and the school community, we can conclude that the profile of the language teacher in the cross-border context is characterized by the relational nature of this professional, when aware that his work is conditioned by the relationships established in the classroom, between teachers and students, as well as among their peers in the school community.

Research contribution

This study has allowed us to verify that there are elements of plurilingual education in the professional profile of a group of language teachers who place their practices in a cross-border context. Identifying these features in their profile has helped us to understand the actions they carry out in the classroom from the perspective of a

---

[30] And with that more collective work, it is good, because we have a teacher here who is Peruvian and he works the Spanish language ... And for those of us here, we have an opportunity to learn more ... just as he has some doubts ... but it is very good ... we learn a lot. [P1]

plurilingual education. In this way, this research will set basis for the reflection of the potentialities offered by the cross-border context, peculiar in its nature of super diversity, for the construction of a professional identity of teachers who attend plurilingual education.

- *RESUMEN: En el proceso de construcción de la identidad del profesional del docente, intervienen unas prácticas sociales y profesionales en las que participa. Éstas, a su vez, se ven afectadas por el contexto en el que se encuentran inmersas. En este artículo, nos situamos en un contexto transfronterizo de la región Brasil-Perú-Bolivia para abordar el perfil profesional del docente desde el análisis de sus percepciones. La finalidad de nuestro análisis es identificar aquellos elementos de la competencia plurilingüe que subyacen a su perfil profesional docente, lo que nos permitirá reflexionar sobre las potencialidades que ofrece el contexto transfronterizo para la construcción de una identidad profesional en la perspectiva de la educación plurilingüe. Nos situamos en el ámbito de la Didáctica de las Lenguas y la Literatura para abordar unos conceptos claves relacionados con la educación plurilingüe. Hemos identificado que los docentes son conscientes de las potencialidades del contexto y desarrollan unas prácticas pedagógicas que favorecen el desarrollo de la competencia plurilingüe.*

- *PALABRAS-CLAVE: Identidad profesional. Contextos de frontera. Docente de lenguas. Educación plurilingüe.*

REFERENCES

ARTAVIA, J. M. Interacciones personales entre docentes y estudiantes en el proceso de enseñanza y aprendizaje. **Revista Electrónica Actualidades Investigativas en Educación**, Costa Rica, v. 5, n. 2, p. 1-19, 2005.

BALDUZZI, M.; EGLE, R. Representaciones sociales e ideología en la construcción de la identidad profesional de estudiantes universitarios avanzados. **Revista Intercontinental de Psicología y Educación**, México, v. 12, n. 2, p. 65-68, 2010.

ARRIAGA-RODRÍGUEZ, J. C. El concepto frontera en la geografía humana. **Perspectiva Geográfica**, Boyacá, v. 17, p. 71- 97, 2012.

BARDIN, L. **Análisis de contenido**. Madrid: Akal, 1986.

BATTHYÁNY, K.; CABRERA, M. (Coord.). **Metodología de la investigación en Ciencias Sociales**: apuntes para un curso inicial. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, 2011.

BAUMAN, Z. **Identidade**: entrevista a Benedetto Vecchi. Rio de Janeiro: J. Zahar, 2005.

BEACCO, J. C.; BYRAM, M. **Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe**. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2007. Available in: <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguist>. Access on: 18 may 2014.

BISQUERRA, R. A. (Coord.). **Metodología de la investigación educativa**. Madrid: Editorial La Muralla, 2014.

CONSEJO DE EUROPA. **Marco común europeo de referencia para las lenguas**: aprendizaje, enseñanza, evaluación: MCERL. (versión castellana). Madrid: Instituto Cervantes, 2002.

FERNÁNDEZ TILVE, M. D.; MALVAR MÉNDEZ, M. L. La colaboración em lós centros educativos: una oportunidad de aprendizaje profesional. **Revista Curriculum y Formación de Profesorado**, Granada, v. 3, n. 1, p. 1-6, 1999.

FLICK, U. **El diseño de investigación cualitativa**. Madrid: Morata, 2015.

HALL, S.; SILVA, T. T.; LOURO, G. L. **A identidade cultural no pós-modernidade**. 11.ed. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2006.

KVALE, S. **Las entrevistas en investigación cualitativa**. Madrid: Ediciones Morata, 2011.

MORALES ORTEGA, A. **Identidad e inmigración**: análisis de las identidades colectivas de los inmigrantes a través de entidades y organizaciones sociales. 2016. 93f. Treballs Finals (Del Grau de Sociologia) - Facultat d'Economia i Empresa, Universitat de Barcelona, 2016. Available in: <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/101622/1/TFG-SOC-Morales-Andres-juliol16.pdf>. Access on: 11 Feb. 2017.

NUSSBAUM, L.; UNAMUNO, V. Luces y sombras de la educación plurilingüe en España y América Latina. In: LOMAS, C. et al. (Ed.). **La educación lingüística, entre el deseo y la realidad**: competencias comunicativas y enseñanza del lenguaje. Barcelona: Ediciones Octaedro, 2014. p. 203-215.

PERRENOUD, P. **Desarrollar la práctica reflexiva en el oficio de enseñar**: profesionalización y razón pedagógica. Barcelona: Grao de Irif, 2007.

PIÑEIRO, M. G.; GUILLÉN, C. D.; VEZ, J. M. **Didáctica de las lenguas modernas**: competencia plurilingüe e intercultural. Madrid: Síntesis, 2010.

RICHARDS, L. E. La interacción profesor-alumno: una visión desde los procesos atribucionales. **Psicoperspectivas**, Chile, v. IV, p. 57-73, 2005. Available in: <http://psicoperspectivas.cl/index.php/psicoperspectivas/article/viewFile/26/26>. Access on: 20 Aug. 2017.

STRAUSS, A. L.; CORBIN, J. **Basis of qualitative research**. Londres: Sage, 1990.

TRAVER MARTÍ, J. A. Implicación y compromiso docente en la enseñanza secundaria. **Edetania**, [S.l.], v.39, p. 89-98, 2011.

PROPERTIES OF *OUGHT-TO-BE* DEONTIC MODAL

Núbia Ferreira RECH[*]
Giuseppe VARASCHIN[**]

■ ABSTRACT: In this article, we discuss different concepts of obligation based on the distinction originally established by Feldman (1986): (i) ought-to-be interpretation, which involves a property that a certain state of affairs must occur; and (ii) ought-to-do interpretation, which relates an agent to a state of affairs. We assume this conceptual distinction results from structural differences. In this line of argumentation, we follow authors like Brennan (1993) and Hacquard (2006, 2010). Since there is not yet a proposal of structural representation in the literature that contemplates the ought-to-be interpretation, we searched for evidence in Brazilian Portuguese to ascertain more precisely the position at which this deontic is structurally merged in order to generate its interpretation. We scrutinized factors such as the deontic's orientation, its relation to other modal heads and also to tense and aspect categories. Our tests confirmed the existence of a high deontic (ought-to-be). This modal displays the properties of a directive speech act, being oriented towards an agent in the speech situation (usually the addressee), and it does not bear aspect or tense markers. Even though ought-to-be deontics do not share all these properties with the epistemics, there is evidence that they occupy the same position in the structure. Lastly, we also suggested that ought-to-be, ought-to-do deontics and epistemics can be distinguished based on two features: agentivity [Ag] and assertion [Assert].

■ KEYWORDS: Deontic Modality. Ought-to-be Deontics. Cinque's hierarchy. Feature checking.

Introduction

A striking characteristic of modality indicators cross-linguistically is that they are systematically polysemous. This point, which has been acknowledged by various linguistic approaches (JACKENDOFF, 1972; SWEETSTER, 1990; PALMER, 2001; CINQUE, 2006; KRATZER, 2012), is a challenge to any proposal that has explanatory pretentions, as it unveils the implausibility of easy solutions that claim a simple lexical ambiguity. When a descriptive regularity is verified in many typologically diverse languages it is generally a sign that some deeper principle of grammar is at stake. In the generative and, more specifically, cartographic perspective we adopt, the bet is that this

---

[*] Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Department of Vernacular Language and Literature, Florianópolis, Santa Catarina, Brazil. nubia.rech@ufsc.br. ORCID: 0000-0002-9278-2702.

[**] Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), Department of Vernacular Language and Literature, Florianópolis, Santa Catarina, Brazil. giuseppe.varaschin@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0003-1446-2700

regularity arises from syntactic properties of languages (CINQUE; RIZZI, 2008). The overall idea is that syntax can play a relevant role – alongside semantics – in defining the type of modality.

In this paper we focus on a small yet relevant aspect of this general problem. Our goal here is to discuss, from the point of view of Brazilian Portuguese, the different types of deontic modals from a conceptual distinction discussed by Feldman (1986): the distinction between the (i) *ought-to-be* interpretation, which involves a property of a state of affairs that must take place; and (ii) the *ought-to-do* interpretation, which relates an agent to a state of affairs. We will try to show that this conceptual distinction results from structural differences. Along the same line, we follow authors like Brennan (1993) and Hacquard (2006, 2010), who associate the *ought-to-be* interpretation with a high position in the structure of the sentence; and the *ought-to-do* one, to a low position.

As far as we know, there is not in the literature a proposal for structural representation that suffices for the *ought-to-be* interpretation. We seek to take the first steps in this direction, looking for evidence in Brazilian Portuguese to better and more precisely understand the position in which the *ought-to-be* deontic is attached to the structure. In order to do so, we analyze factors like deontic orientation, their relationship with other modal heads as well as their relationship with tense and aspect ($AspP_{Progressive}$) categories. Our analysis is based on the ordering of the functional heads proposed in Cinque's hierarchy (CINQUE, 1999, 2006; RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016).

In the first section, we present the different concepts associated to the two types of obligation: *ought-to-be* and *ought-to-do*. In the second, we offer an initial mapping of the position in which the *ought-to-do* deontic modals seem to occupy in the syntactic structure of the sentences. Then, on the third section, we aim to motivate the distinction between the two types of deontic modals – as well as their differences regarding epistemic ones – in terms of syntactic features like agentivity [Ag] and assertion [Assert], considering that modals correspond to one only lexical item (KRATZER, 1981, 2001, 2012) and that these different readings derive from the position in which the checking of these features takes place.

Different concepts of obligation: *ought-to-be* and *ought-to-do*

Feldman (1986) distinguishes two types of obligation: one that refers to a set of rules regarding how a certain state of affairs must be, which is related to his concept of moral obligation (*ought-to-be*); and another that lies on a specific individual (*ought-to-do*). This concerns a distinction between an abstract moral rule and an obligation that is particularized to a potential agent. To illustrate the latter, Feldman presents a situation in which someone, bothered by the noise made by motorcycles, utters:

(1) *There ought to be a law against such things.*

Another example given by the author for cases of *ought-to-be* interpretation is:

(2) *There ought to be a more equal distribution of wealth in the world.*

This case differs from those that involve a relationship between an agent and a state of affairs. The author observes that, in a situation like the one where the motorcycle noise is bothering someone, it is also possible to use the notion of obligation associated to the *ought-to-do* type, as in:

(3) *The legislature ought to prohibit loud motorcycles.*

This statement establishes a connection between an agent (the group that represents the legislators) and a possible action (in this case, the prohibition of noisy motorcycles). While the *ought-to-be* interpretation involves a property of a state of affairs that must take place, the *ought-to-do* interpretation involves the relationship between a particular agent and a state of affairs. In this last case, the obligation linked to a sentential overt subject is asserted.

Brennan (1993), based on the conceptual distinction presented in Feldman (1986), associates only the *ought-to-do* deontic modals to the event described by the VP. This is due to the fact that such deontic modals are oriented to one of the participants of this event – normally the subject of the sentence, on whom the obligation/permission of doing something lies (*ought/allowed-to-do*), resulting in a state of affairs. The *ought-to-be* interpretation, according to Feldman, refers to the way a state of affairs should be: *ought/allowed-to-be*, relating a property not to a specific agent but to a state of affairs.

The sentences in the following example, taken from Brennan (1993, p. 77), illustrate the two readings that can be associated to deontic modals:

(4) a. You must register or else you'll get kicked out. (*ought-to-do*)
    b. Thesis paper must be acid-free. (*ought-to-be*)

The author affirms that the sentence initiated by 'or else' in (4a) works as a pragmatic trigger to the *ought-to-do* interpretation for the modal. In (4b), the inanimacy of the subject forces the assumption that there is a covert constituent in the sentence over which the obligation to guarantee that the thesis paper is acid-free falls on, licensing, thus, the *ought-to-be* interpretation. This "hidden agent" in (4b) does not need to be, however, a specific individual, but can be any individual (or even a set of individuals, like "the PhD candidates"), as long as it is salient in the speech situation. The two readings available to the deontic modal – *ought-to-do* and *ought-to-be* – can be associated to a single sentence, depending on the individuals on whom the obligation falls, as example (5) shows:

(5) John must have dinner at 7pm.

The sentence in (5) may be interpreted as an obligation that falls on John himself – the subject of the sentence (*ought-to-do* reading); or as an order directed at any other person – in general, the interlocutor, who can be John's babysitter, for example, the person who should guarantee that John performs the event of having dinner at 7pm (*ought-to-be* reading). In this case, as so in other instances of *ought-to-be* deontic modals, the abstract moral rule is mentioned in the course of performing a directive speech act, in which the speaker imposes on a listener (or, in less prototypical cases, on another contextually-salient individual) an obligation, based on his/her desire that such rule be followed in a particular situation – cf. the discussion on this class of speech acts in Searle (1979).

Hacquard (2006, 2010) also assumes the existence of two types of deontic modals. As Brennan (1993), the author associates each of the readings (*ought-to-do* and *ought-to-be*) to different syntactic positions: one that is low, right above the VP, in which the modal is oriented to the grammatical subject; and one that is high (higher than the Tense heads), in which the modal is oriented to a participant who is salient in the speech event, the addressee (the interlocutor). The low position is associated to root modals; and the high position is associated to the *ought-to-be* deontic modals, along with the *epistemic* ones. Hacquard establishes, thus, a relevant structural distinction between the different types of modality. According to the author's proposal, different *events* are provided in each one of these positions, to which the modal operators are relative: in a low position, modals are relative to the event described by the VP; in high position, modals are relative to the speech event.

The author's proposal, however, does not offer a structural differentiation between epistemic modals and deontic *ought-to-be* modals, considering that both are high modals that access the speech event. Below, we demonstrate that the only contrast the author establishes in the structure is the one regarding the *ought-to-do* deontic reading and the epistemic one (HACQUARD, 2010, p. 7):

(6) a. $[_{CP}$ Speech e_0 λe_0 $[_{TP}$ T Asp_1 λe_1 Mod f (e_1) $[_{VP}$ V $e_1]]]$ (Deontic)
     b. $[_{CP}$ Speech e_0 λe_0 Mod f (e_0) $[_{TP}$ T Asp_1 $\lambda e_1[_{VP}$ V $e_1]]]$ (Epistemic)

The representation that Hacquard proposes for the deontic modals in (6a) is only compatible with the interpretation in which the obligation/permission falls on the subject of the sentence, that is, the *ought-to-do* reading, in which the event variable in the modal's accessibility relation (f) is bound by the event described by the VP (e_1). This variable always needs to be locally bound by the closest operator – in the case of (6a), Asp_1; and in (6b), an illocutionary Speech marker (ROSS, 1970; SPEAS, 2004). The author acknowledges the existence of a high deontic modal that accesses the speech event and is oriented towards the addressee, but does not precisely specify the position in which it is interpreted, nor does she delimits its differences in relation to the – also high – epistemic modal.

To Hacquard, modals correspond to a single lexical item – resembling what is proposed by Kratzer (1981, 2001, 2012) – whose reading is specified according to the

event variable to which the modal is bound. Assuming that the specification of the modal reading is also related to a certain position in the structure, Hacquard moves closer to Cinque's proposal, which foresees a fixed position for each modal interpretation, according to the hierarchy of functional heads transcribed in (7):

(7)   [Mood$_{speech}$
          [Mood$_{evaluative}$
           [Mood$_{evidential}$
            [Mod$_{epistemic}$
             [Tense$_{past/future}$
              [Mod$_{necessity}$
               [Mod$_{possibility}$
                [Aspect$_{habitual}$
                 [Aspect$_{predispositional}$
                  [Aspect$_{repetitive}$
                   [Aspect$_{frequentative}$
                    [Mod$_{volition}$
                     [Aspect$_{celerative}$
                      [Tense$_{anterior}$
                       [Aspect$_{terminative}$
                        [Aspect$_{continuative}$
                         [Aspect$_{continuos}$
                          [Aspect$_{retrospective}$
                           [Aspect$_{proximative}$
                            [Aspect$_{durative}$
                             [Aspect$_{prospective}$
                              [Mod$_{obligation}$
                               [Aspect$_{frustrative}$
                                [Aspect$_{completive}$
                                 [Voice$_{passive}$
                                  [Verb

(RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016, p. 149, our emphasis).

Epistemic modality occupies one of the first positions in the hierarchy also figuring above the functional heads of tense and aspect. On the other hand, deontic modality occupies a low position in the hierarchy, very close to the head of VoiceP.

Cartographic studies, as the ones by Rizzi and Cinque (2016), aim to establish detailed maps of the syntactic structure in order to offer clear instructions to the interface system. It is important to notice here that the hierarchy in (7) does not capture the different deontic interpretations: *ought-to-do* and *ought-to-be*. At first, this would count as a semantic distinction without parallels in the syntax, which is anomalous in this perspective, especially for functional predicates. As far as we know, there is not in the literature a proposal for a syntactic representation that acknowledges the *ought-to-be* type of deontic interpretation. According to the hierarchy of functional

heads transcribed in (7), not even a high position is foreseen for a deontic modal. This way, we consider it a pressing issue to understand the structural differences between the *ought-to-do* and the *ought-to-be* deontic readings that are determined, at least partially, by syntactic factors, as discussed in Oliveira and Rech (2016) and Rech and Varaschin (2017, 2018). We suppose that the conceptual distinction of both types of deontic modals (FELDMAN, 1986) results from structural differences. Our research has sought to map the position in which the modal operator checks features that derive the properties of an *ought-to-be* deontic modal. To do so, we have analyzed factors like the orientation of deontic modals (the participant on whom the order/ obligation or permission falls), its relationship with other modal heads as well as its relationship with tense and aspect categories ($AspP_{Progressive}$), with which we deal in the next section.

Looking at the syntactic structure with emphasis on *ought-to-be* deontic

In this study we have analyzed deontic modals from Hacquard's (2006, 2010) theoretical approach, according to which modal operators are evaluated relatively to events and not to worlds. That is, the accessibility relation of a modal – that delimitates the set of worlds over which it quantifies – is determined by the event to which it is attached in the syntactic structure of the sentence. To Hacquard the position of the modal in the structure is directly associated to the type of event variable it accesses: modals that operate over the speech event (e_0) take a high position, whereas modals that operate over the main event, described by the VP (VP event - e_1) take a low position. Each one of these events becomes available in positions that are defined in the structure. According to this proposal, it is expected that the position to which a modal attaches itself to an event variable has repercussions not only on the individual on whom the modal orientation lies, but also in their interaction with tense ($TP_{Past/Future}$) and aspectual heads, like the progressive ($AspP_{Progressive}$). Modals that locally access the speech act take a position that is above TP and $AspP_{Progressive}$ in Cinque's hierarchy – with which Hacquard's proposal interacts; they would not take, thus, inflection markings of tense or of progressive aspect. In (8), the relevant part of Cinque's hierarchy to the investigation of the relationships between the modal heads – epistemic ($ModP_{Epistemic}$) and deontic ($ModP_{Obligation}$ e $ModP_{Permission}$) — and tense ($TP_{Past/Future}$) and aspect ($AspP_{Progressive}$) categories are transcribed:

(8) Functional Projections Hierarchy:
MoodPspeech act > MoodPevaluative > MoodPevidential > **ModPepistemic** > TP(Past) > TP(Future) > ... > AspPhabitual > AspPrepetitive(I) > ... > AspPproximative > AspPdurative > **AspPprogressive** > AspPprospective > AspPinceptive > **ModPobligation** > ModPability > AspPfrustrative/success > **ModPpermission** > AspPconative > AspPcompletive (I) > VoiceP . . .

(CINQUE, 2006, p. 12, 93, our emphasis).

In Cinque's hierarchy, two positions are predicted for the interpretation of a deontic modal head ($\text{ModP}_{\text{Obligation}}$ e $\text{ModP}_{\text{Permission}}$) – it is important to notice, however, that both are located in a low position in the structure, after the $\text{AspP}_{\text{Progressive}}$ head and close to the VoiceP head. These deontic modals correspond, therefore, to root modals and, due to that, are expected to be oriented only towards the participants of the event described by the VP – preferably the subject of the sentence, since that, due to their position in the structure they could not access participants of the speech act, like the addressee. The ordering of the functional heads that compose Cinque's hierarchy was inferred from transitivity tests that reveal the impossibility of alternating the order when more than one functional head co-occurs in the sentence. Example (9) illustrates this ordering in modal constructions:

(9) a. João pode ter que morar em Paris.

      (*$\text{Mod}_{\text{Permission}}$ > $\text{Mod}_{\text{Obligation}}$)
      'John may have to live in Paris.'

    b. João tem que poder morar em Paris.

      ($\sqrt{}\text{Mod}_{\text{Obligation}}$ > $\text{Mod}_{\text{Permission}}$)
      'John has to be allowed to live in Paris'.

In (9a-b) there is alternation in the order of the modals *poder* and *ter que*. Both sentences are well-formed, however, the deontic interpretation is available for both modals only when the modal corresponding to the head $\text{Mod}_{\text{Obligation}}$ antecedes the one corresponding to the head $\text{Mod}_{\text{Permission}}$, in (9b). Thus, this example ratifies the ordering proposed by Cinque in the hierarchy: $\text{ModP}_{\text{Obligation}}$ > … > $\text{ModP}_{\text{Permission}}$. Nevertheless, besides that, it shows that when two deontic modals occur in the same construction, the first is necessarily oriented towards the subject of the sentence. In this case, the sentence in (9b) is used in contexts in which the speaker places on someone not mentioned (usually the interlocutor, but may also be John's boss, the company diretors, etc.) the obligation to ensure that John receives permission to *live in Paris.* This reveals one of the striking characteristics of high deontic modals, as we will see in the next section: the fact they figure in the realization of a directive speech act directed to a potential agent (typically the listener)[1] in the speech situation. Note that it is not possible to interpret (9b) in a way that the idea of obligation and permission fall both on the same participant: the subject of the sentence (*Peter*). This would mean something like *Peter* being obligated to receive permission to *live in Paris*. Therefore, it seems that there

---

[1] "I believe that there is a fundamental distinction between these two types of deontics. *Ought-to-do* deontics are the kind captured in Kratzer's system via a circumstantial modal base (which picks out facts of the base world) and a *deontic* ordering source. *Ought-to-be* deontics, on the other hand, seem to double a modal statement with a performative act, namely, that of putting an obligation on the addressee." (HACQUARD, 2006, p. 41). The individual on whom the ought-to-be obligation lies is typically the listener because the listener is, along with the speaker, the individual who is invariably present in *all* speech situations.

is indeed a rigid ordering between ModP$_{Obligation}$ > … > ModP$_{Permission}$, as predicted by Cinque's hierarchy. But the different modal orientations in these cases – the individual in the speech situation, for the obligation modal, and the subject for the permission modal – suggest that the deontic of obligation (*ter que*) is not only higher than the one of permission (*poder*), but is also much higher than the position predicted by Cinque for the ModP$_{Obligation}$ head, since it accesses potential agents who are available in the speech event, directing to one of them a directive illocutionary act. (9b) constitutes, therefore, evidence in favor of postulating a high deontic modal[2].

Examples (10) and (11) show deontic sequences that characterize the phenomenon of modal agreement, according to Lunguinho (2010, p. 130-131):

(10)   *P:* Professores da rede pública ganham benefícios como vale alimentação etc?
   'Public school teachers have benefits like food vouchers, etc.?'

   R: (...) Um dos benefícios que nós temos é plano de saúde médica onde todos os meses eles descontam 5% do nosso salário bruto. Ou seja, se quiser ser professor de algo você *deve ter que* adorar o seu conteúdo e ter muita, mas muita vontade de dar aulas...

   '(...) One of the benefits we have is medical assistance in which every month they discount 5% of our gross salary. That is, if you want to be a teacher of something you must have to love your subject and have a lot, but a lot of desire to teach…'

(11)   *P:* Queria ser piloto de helicóptero, que devo fazer? Gostaria de saber que grau de escolaridade precisa pra fazer um curso de piloto, preço do curso, carga horária e se é fácil conseguir um serviço de piloto, uma vez que tenha terminado o curso. Muito obrigado.

   'I would like to be a helicopter pilot. What should I do? I would like to know what degree of schooling one needs to have to attend a pilot course, the price of the course, workload and if it is easy to get a job as a pilot, once one finishes the course. Thank you very much.'

---

2   It is important to notice, however, that a high deontic modal may also be associated to the notion of permission, like in *O Pedro pode atuar no setor de vendas* (*Peter may act in the sales area*). This sentence, besides being able to be used in contexts in which one reports a permission given to Peter (ought-to-do deontic), can also be interpreted as a directive speech act in which the speaker addresses someone like the addressee, giving them permission to relocate Peter in the company (ought-to-be deontic). The possibility of associating the ought-to-be interpretation to the notion of permission, as in this example, should generate the order ModP$_{Permission}$ > ModP$_{Obligation}$, as long as the first modal would be an ought-to-be deontic. This ordering seems, however, not to occur in the Portuguese language, as in the following example:

(i)   O pai pode ter que visitar os filhos quinzenalmente.
   'The father may have to visit his children every two weeks.'

The sentence in (i) contrasts to the one in (9b) in the way that it blocks the deontic interpretation for the first modal in the sequence. One can observe, thus, a restriction to the ought-to-be deontic interpretation in contexts in which the permission modal antecedes the one of obligation. The reason for this restriction evades us now, since a modal oriented to the addressee occupies a higher position than the one oriented to the subject of the sentence, be it of obligation or permission. Moreover, there does not seem to be a pragmatic restriction to this ordering, as it is possible to imagine a context in which the speaker concedes a permission to the addressee so that he guarantees the fulfillment of an order.

R: *Deve ter que* ter um grau de escolaridade avançado. No Campo de Marte na cidade de São Paulo, eles dão esse curso. Você pode se informar lá, se morar em SP.

'You must have to have an advanced degree of schooling. In *Campo de Marte* in the city of Sao Paulo, they teach this course. You can get information there, if you live in SP.'

This phenomenon is characterized by making two modal items that are realized in the syntax to be interpreted as only one. So that modal agreement occurs, two conditions need to be met: (i) at least one of the modal elements has to be an auxiliary verb, the other element can equally be an auxiliary verb or an adverb; and (ii) the modal elements must share the same modal force and the same type of modality. In the examples (10) and (11), the elements involved share the same modal force (universal) and the same type of modality (deontic); they are, thus, cases of modal agreement. Notice that these examples contrast with (9b) that does not manifest modal agreement effects even when exhibiting a sequence of deontics. According to the analysis by Lunguinho, data like (9b) do not generate modal agreement because, even though the modal items agree as to the type of modality – both are deontic -, they do not share the same modal force: *ter que* is a universal quantifier, and *poder* is existential. The example in (12) illustrates another case of modal head sequence:

(12) O contribuinte *deve ter que* pagar por mais este serviço.
    'The tax payer may have to pay for this service.'

Modal agreement effects are also not manifested in (12). That is because *deve* and *ter que* modals, even when sharing the same quantificational force (universal), express a different type of modality: *deve* is interpreted as epistemic; and *ter que* as deontic[3].

From examples like the ones from (9) to (12), it is possible to infer a generalization: besides cases of modal agreement, the occurrence of two deontics in the same structure is possible only with the following ordering: *Ought-to-be > Ought-to-do*. The first deontic connects to the speech event, in a high position; thus, the order/obligation lies on a salient individual in the utterance context, normally the addressee. The second deontic connects to the event described by the VP, in a low position; in this case, the modal orientation lies on one of the event participants, normally the subject of the sentence.

With that in mind, we move on to investigate the behavior of ought-to-be deontics in relation to time and progressive inflection. The sentence in (13), alike the example in (5), shows that a modal auxiliary with deontic interpretation may be oriented both to the subject of the sentence (ought-to-do deontic) and to a probable addressee (ought-to-be deontic):

---

[3] Concerning the dual character of the auxiliary *deve* in Brazilian Portuguese, see Santos (2015). According to this author, while *pode* and *ter que* form the dual pairing of possibility-necessity, *deve* is a degree modal of variable force, oscillating in an interval that covers both, possibility and necessity.

(13) Os clientes do banco têm que passar pela porta giratória.
      'The bank clients must go through the revolving door.'

In a usual context, the sentence in (13) could be interpreted as: (i) according to the norms of the bank, the obligation to go through the revolving door lies on the clients – ought-to-do deontic; or (ii) this obligation lies on the security officer responsible for controlling client entry in the bank, who must guarantee that they go through the revolving door – ought-to-be deontic. In the first case the obligation lies on a participant of the event described by the VP (*Os clientes do banco* / 'The bank clients'), that is the subject of the sentence; yet in the second case, the order/obligation lies on a participant of the speech event (in this particular case, the addressee)[4]. The participant to whom the modal is oriented is, therefore, important in distinguishing between ought-to-do and ought-to-be deontics.

Both types of deontics also differ in terms of their evaluation times. The sentence in (13) is in the present tense. This allows it to be interpreted as a report of an order (ought-to-do deontic) or as the realization of a direct speech act (ought-to-be deontic). This duality of interpretation is licensed because to the modal inflection coincides, in this case, with the time of speech. If the modal were marked with past inflection, for example, the ought-to-be reading is blocked. This is a foreseen result, as one does not give an order for someone to perform an event in the past. The sentence in (14) illustrates this restriction:

(14) Os clientes do banco tiveram que passar pela porta giratória.
      'The bank clients had to go through the revolving door.'

We assume that the restriction to the ought-to-be interpretation takes place in cases like the one illustrated by (14) because the high deontic is not under the scope of tense ($TP_{Past/Future}$) categories, and this prevents its movement (downwards movement is not assumed in the theory) to join inflection T, whereas the ought-to-do deontic occupies a position below tense categories (CINQUE, 1999, 2006; STOWELL, 2004; HACQUARD, 2006, 2010; RIZZI; CINQUE, 2016), thus being able to undergo movement to these positions.

Another indicative that ought-to-be deontics occupy a position above tense categories is illustrated in the ill-formed sentence (15b):

_____

[4] The ought-to-be interpretation refers to the way a state of affairs must be, not directly relating a property to a defined agent (FELDMAN, 1986). With this meaning, (13) determines that, according to the bank regulations, it is obligatory for clients to go through the revolving door. This obligation lies generically on any given person that is accessible in the speech situation. As it is generally the job of the security officer of the bank to control client entry, in the most usual context for (13) the obligation would lie with them.

(15) a. As crianças têm que poder fazer as refeições na escola.
        'Children have to be allowed to have their meals at school.'

    b. *As crianças tiveram que poder fazer as refeições na escola.
        'Children had to be allowed to have their meals at school.'

As aforementioned, in the cases of deontic sequences in which the phenomenon of modal agreement does not operate, the only possible ordering is *Ought-to-be > Ought-to-do*. If, as we have been arguing, the first deontic is necessarily associated to the ought-to-be reading, the ill-formation of (15b), in which the modal auxiliary displays past tense marking, is expected, confirming the hypothesis that the ought-to-be deontic occupies a position that is above the tense categories.

Progressive aspect inflection is also an evidence of the position a modal auxiliary occupies in the structure. Verbs that can receive progressive aspect marking are only those c-commanded by $AspP_{Progressive}$ (see the ordering of functional heads in (8)). All projections below this head will admit that their functional V appears in the progressive form. Functional verbs that are above $AspP_{Progressive}$, in turn, have no way to receive this marking. Thus, it is expected for the modal not to incorporate progressive markers when it corresponds to an ought-to-be deontic. Examples (16b) and (17b) below illustrate this restriction:

(16) a. O candidato ao intercâmbio está tendo que morar em Berlim.
        'The exchange program candidate is having to live in Berlin.'
    b. *O candidato ao intercâmbio está tendo que ter origem germânica.
        'The exchange program candidate is having to have Germanic origin.'

(17) a. A protagonista da série está podendo ser inconveniente com os outros atores.
        'The series protagonist is being allowed to be inconvenient with the other actors.'
    b. *A protagonista da série está podendo ter menos de vinte e cinco anos.
        'The series protagonist is being allowed to be less than twenty-five years old.'

Sentences (16a) and (17a) are well-formed with obligation deontics (*ter que*) and permission (*poder*) inflected in the progressive aspect. This result is expected, considering that these verbs correspond to deontics of ought-to-do type, which occupy a low position in the structure and, consequently, are oriented to the subject of the sentence. This reading is possible, according to Rech and Varaschin (2018), because the states under the scope of the modal (*to live in Berlin* and *to be inconvenient with the other actors*) are controllable[5]. According to our hypothesis, the progressive

_____

[5] A stage-level predicate does not license, necessarily, the low deontic interpretation (ought-to-do), as one could assume simply by looking at the good formation of examples (16a) and (17a). Some stage-level predicates are not controllable – as *stay* or *be sick/feverish* – and, as such, they offer restrictions to the ought-to-do reading, as evidentiated by the

aspect restriction must act only over ought-to-be deontics, because they occupy a position above AspP$_{Progressive}$. The sentences in (16b) and (17b) show this restriction, once they illustrate a context in which only the ought-to-be deontic interpretation is possible, that is: deontics forming sequence with non-controllable states with attributive DPs (RECH; VARASCHIN, 2018). As in this case deontics can only be legitimately interpreted as ought-to-be, the result of attaching progressive inflection to the modal would demand an impossible descending movement: hence the anomaly of the sentence.

Another syntactic context in which the only licensed interpretation to the deontic corresponds to the ought-to-be type is, as seen above, the one of co-occurrence of two deontic modals in the structure, as seen in (15) repeated below as (19a):

(18) a. As crianças têm que fazer as refeições na escola.
> (Mod$_{Obligation}$)
> 'Children have to have their meals at school.'

    b. As crianças estão tendo que fazer as refeições na escola.
> 'Children are having to have their meals at school.'

(19) a. As crianças têm que poder fazer as refeições na escola.
> (Mod$_{Obligation}$ > Mod$_{Pemission}$)
> 'Children have to be allowed to have their meals at school.'

    b. *As crianças estão tendo que poder fazer as refeições na escola.
> 'Children are being allowed to have their meals at school.'

In the occurrence of two deontic modals in the structure, as in (19a), the first one (*ter que*) will be oriented to a participant of the speech event (normally the addressee) whereas the second one (*poder*), to a participant who is externally-merged in the VP event (normally the subject of the sentence). Therefore, the *ter que* modal necessarily corresponds, in this context, to an ought-to-be deontic. This is the cause of the ill-formation of (19b), which shows a high deontic with progressive aspect marking. Observe that, in (18), the modal *ter que* corresponds to a low deontic, whose orientation lies on the subject of the sentence (*As crianças* / 'Children'); in this case, because it occupies a lower position than the head of AspP$_{Progressive}$, it can receive such marking as one can infer from the good formation of (18b).

Finally, we present examples that illustrate how - the also high - epistemic modals react to tense and to progressive aspect:

---

impossibility of inflecting the modal in the progressive: **O candidato ao intercâmbio está tendo que ficar doente/ febril* ('The exchange program candidate is having to be sick/feverish.').This shows that the relevant distinction to the possibility of a low deontic reading is not the stage-level/individual-level contrast, but the one concerning the existence of controllable and non-controllable predicates.

(20) a. João pode estar triste.
'John might be sad.'
b. *João pôde estar triste.
'It seemed possible that John was sad.'
c. *João está podendo estar triste.
'John is being allowed to be sad.'

In (20a) we face a syntactic context that offers restrictions to the deontic interpretation (RECH; VARASCHIN, 2018), both ought-to-do and ought-to-be types, since under the scope of the modal there is a stative predicate that is not liable to control with referential DP. Thus, the only available interpretation to *pode* in this sentence is epistemic. The ill-formation of (20b) and (20c) results precisely from the fact that tense and aspect markers are associated to an epistemic modal auxiliary. This corresponds to a high modal in the sentence structure, being located above TP and AspP$_{Progressive}$, according to the hierarchy of functional heads transcribed in (8). Hence its impossibility of inflection, be it in the past or in the progressive, for both of these inflections can only attach themselves to heads that follow them in the hierarchy. This restriction was seen to have equal weight over ought-to-be deontics, showing similarities between these and epistemic modals in terms of the position (height) of the modal. Another relevant similarity between these two functional predicates concerns their circumstance of evaluation: both are evaluated relatively to the speech event (HACQUARD, 2006) and oriented to one of their participants: the ought-to-be deontic is oriented, preferably, to the addressee; and the epistemic one to the speaker.

In the next section we propose to distinguish, considering two features – agentivity [±Ag] and assertion [±Assert], ought-to-be deontics from epistemics, both mapped as high modals in the structure; and ought-to-be deontics from ought-to-do ones, both associated to the concept of obligation/permission.

Features associated to modal auxiliary interpretation: an initial proposal to distinguish deontic ought-to-be reading from the epistemic and deontic ought-to-do readings

As seen in section 1, Hacquard (2006, 2010) does not distinguish structurally the ought-to-be deontic modal from epistemic modals. The representations proposed by the author (see (6a-b) in section 1) set apart only the ought-to-do deontic from the epistemic. This distinction is established by the position (height) occupied by the modal in the structure: ought-to-do deontics occupy low position, accessing the event variable e_1, corresponding to the event described by the VP, whereas the epistemic ones occupy a high position in the structure, accessing the event variable e_0, which corresponds to the speech event. It is important to observe, however, that the properties this author associates to the ought-to-be deontic suggest that it occupies a position in the structure that is as high as the one of the epistemic modal.

In section 2, the behavior of these heads in relation to modal orientation and tense and aspect inflection was shown. Epistemics are oriented to the speaker; ought-to-be deontics, typically to the addressee, both are participants in the speech event. This indicates that both epistemics and ought-to-be deontics take high position in the structure. Concerning tense and progressive aspect inflection, we have shown that epistemics and ought-to-be deontics suffer the same restrictions, confirming the hypothesis that they correspond, both, to high modals in the structure, occupying positions above tense (TP$_{Past/Future}$) and aspect (AspP$_{Progressive}$) categories.

It is not news in linguistic literature that epistemics exhibit these properties. These modals are treated as high functional heads by authors like Cinque (1999, 2006), Stowell (2004), Hacquard (2006, 2010), Zagona (2007), Rizzi and Cinque (2016), among others. The issue at hand here in particular is the position occupied by ought-to-be deontics, which are still recognized by few authors as a type of deontic distinct from low or root deontics. Considering the similarities in the behavior of epistemic and ought-to-be deontic heads as to the modal orientation and scope relations over tense and aspect categories, it is necessary to investigate if these heads occupy the same position in the structure of the sentence, differing from one another only be feature checking. If that is the case, it is expected for epistemics not to co-occur with ought-to-be deontics – which is what we will investigate below.

To do so, we will initially address contexts of deontic sequences in which modal agreement does not operate, as in (21a):

(21) a. Carlos tem que poder cantar.
         (*Ought-to-be > Ought-to-do*)
         'Charles has to be allowed to sing.'

      b. *Carlos pode ter que poder cantar.
          'Charles might have to be allowed to sing.'

      c. *Possivelmente, Carlos tem que poder cantar.
          'Possibly, Charles has to be allowed to sing.'

The ungrammaticality of sentences (21b) and (21c) validates the hypothesis that epistemics and deontics occupy the same position in the structure, as they indicate the impossibility of co-occurrence of these items in the same sentence. In (21a) one of the licensed readings for *ter que* is the one corresponding to the ought-to-be deontic; in this case, *poder* is associated to a low deontic (ought-to-do), perhaps also being able to license an ability reading – which is not within the scope of this article. The ill-formation of sentences (21b) and (21c) allows us to infer that the epistemic head is not above the high deontic, since it is not possible to insert an epistemic modal auxiliary (*poder*), in (22b), nor an epistemic adverb, in (21c), above the first deontic auxiliary verb (*ter que*), which is oriented to an agent in the speech event (generally the addressee). From (21), we propose that the order of epistemic modal followed by ought-to-be deontic is not possible:

(22) $*\text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{Deo } Ought\text{-}to\text{-}be}.$

Note that, if we associate the *ter que* modal to an ought-to-be deontic in (21a), the epistemic reading is not licensed to the verb *poder*, only a root reading is: permission or ability. This result suggests that an inverse ordering to the one in (22), as in (23), is also not generated in the language:

(23) $*\text{Mod}_{\text{Deo } Ought\text{-}to\text{-}be} > \text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic}}.$

Due to that, we have to consider the hypothesis that epistemics and ought-to-be deontics occupy the same position in the structure. Hacquard's proposal signals towards this, as, excluding the cases of embedded sentences, it predicts only two event variables to which modals may be relativized: one in high position (e_0); and another in low position (e_1). Besides that, the properties related to the ought-to-be deontic (see section 2) suggest that this nucleus accesses the speech event, similarly to epistemics. Thus, it seems to be the case that ought-to-be deontics and epistemics compete for the same variable and occupy the same position. This would explain the impossibility of them figuring together in a clause. This scenario posits another question: if epistemics and ought-to-be deontics occupy the same position in the structure and access the same event variable (HACQUARD, 2006), which are the properties that distinguish these modal heads and how are they derived?

Our proposal looks towards considering the modal as a single lexical item whose specificities are tied to the position in which it checks the features that determine its interpretation. An important aspect to consider in this discussion is that the positions predicted for each one of the functional modal heads in Cinque's hierarchy do not necessarily represent the position of modal interpretation, but in fact the position of external merge in which, in a perspective like Hacquard's, an event variable whose properties specify the modal reading is accessible.

According to Oliveira and Rech (2016) and Rech and Varaschin (2017, 2018), deontics – both ought-to-be and ought-to-do – need to check the agentivity feature [+Ag] with one of the participants of the event to which the modal is relativized. If the modal is merged in a low position in the structure, the event accessible to it will be the one described by the VP (e_1). To check the feature [+Ag], it is necessary for an agent participant to be available in this event; thus, it is expected for ought-to-do deontics to form a sequence with unergative and transitive predicates (that select an agent) and to offer restrictions to unaccusative and stative ones (that select arguments without that feature)[6]. This requirement by the modal explains why the ought-to-do reading is not made available in (24b):

---

[6]   Oliveira and Rech (2016), in an experimental study, have determined that Brazilian Portuguese speakers accept ought-to-do deontic reading in contexts in which the modal forms a sequence with unaccusatives that describe physical displacement (*chegar/arrive, entrar/enter, sair/leave, surgir/arise, aparecer/appear,...*), but reject this reading with the remaining unaccusatives (*nascer/to be born, morrer/die, murchar/wilter, florescer/bloom,...*). Rech and Varaschin (2017, 2018) explain how the ought-to-do deontic interpretation is licensed with some unaccusative predicates and also with statives that are liable to control.

(24) a. O Pedro deve viajar ainda este mês.
'Peter must travel still within this month.'

    b. O Pedro deve morrer ainda este mês.
'Peter must die still within this month.'

In (24a), the modal *deve* can receive both epistemic or deontic (ought-to-be or ought-to-do) readings. According to our hypothesis, the ought-to-do interpretation is licensed to the modal because there is an agent participant (*O Pedro*) in the event described by the VP. It is with this participant that the modal will check its feature [+Ag], necessary to derive the deontic reading. In (24b), the ought-to-do interpretation is not made available. Let us suppose that this restriction is due to the properties of the predicate under the scope of the modal, that is an unaccusative that does not describe displacement in physical space; thus, there is not, in the event described by the VP, any participant [+Ag] with which the deontic may check its feature. The ought-to-be interpretation is, nonetheless, available to the modal in (24b). This sentence may be interpreted, e.g., like an order to the addressee so that he guarantee that the event of *Pedro morrer ainda este mês* ('Peter die within this month') comes to pass. In this case, the deontic would check the feature [+Ag] with an agent participant in the speech event (the addressee), relativizing itself to the event e_0 (HACQUARD, 2010).

The epistemic modal head does not require an agent participant, as one can infer from the sentences in the following example:

(25) a. Pode chover.
'It might rain.'

    b. Essas flores podem murchar logo.
'These flowers might wilt soon.'

    c. O Pedro deve ser de origem germânica.
'Peter must be of Germanic origin.'

In the sentences of example (25), only the epistemic reading is available to the modals *poder* and *dever*. The predicate under the scope of the modal in each one of these sentences does not select an agent argument: in (25a), it concerns a verb that does not select arguments at all; in (25b), the predicate corresponds to an unaccusative that does not describe physical displacement; and, at last, in (25c), the embedded predicate is a stative one not liable to control, which offers restrictions to ought-to-do deontics (RECH; VARASCHIN, 2018). In these cases, there is not an agent participant in the event described by the VP that can check the feature [+Ag] of a deontic; thus, the restriction to the ought-to-do interpretation was already expected. It is interesting to observe here that, for these cases, the ought-to-be deontic interpretation is also

unavailable to the modal. In (25a), the restriction seems to result from the absence of an agent participant to whom the permission to guarantee the event of *chover* could be given. In (25b) and (25c), the predicates under the scope of the modal are not liable to control; in this case, the absence of an agent follows form the impossibility to give an order or permission to someone to control an event that cannot be controlled[7]. The feature [+Ag] seems, therefore, capable of distinguishing deontics (ought-to-be and ought-to-do) from epistemics, as only the former require an agent participant.

The feature [+Ag] does not allow us, however, to distinguish between the two deontic types. As aforementioned in sections 1 and 2, the ought-to-be deontic is typically employed in the case of a directive illocutionary act, once it is licensed in contexts in which the speaker gives an order/permission to a participant of the speech event, typically the addressee. On the other hand, the ought-to-do deontic figures in contexts in which one reports an order/permission that lies on one of the participants of the event described by the VP – normally the subject of the sentence. The sentences in (26) illustrate this difference:

(26) a. Deve ter bem-casado na recepção.
          'There must be *bem-casado* in the reception.'

    b. Os responsáveis pelo buffet tiveram que colocar bem-casado na recepção.
        'The ones responsible for the buffet had to put *bem-casado* in the reception.'

In (26a), the ought-to-be deontic interpretation is licensed to the modal *deve*. In this case, the sentence corresponds to a directive speech act addressed to someone in the utterance occasion and the modal is anchored to the time of the speech event (*Speech time*). In (26b), however, the ought-to-be reading is not available. The modal carries past inflection marking and corresponds to the report of an order, and not to a directive speech act, properties associated to the ought-to-do deontic. Consequently, a relevant property to distinguish between the two deontic types seems to be that only the ought-to-do deontic figures in merely assertive sentences. This way, the syntactic feature assertion [Assert], associated by Zagona (2007) to epistemics, may be extended to deontics of the type ought-to-do. So, with only two features – agentivity [Ag] and assertion [Assert] – it is possible to differentiate epistemics from ought-to-be deontics and these from ought-to-do deontics, as shown in Table 1:

---

[7] It is important to highlight that we are not considering "scripted" contexts, in which even a proper name like *Pedro* in (25c) might assume an attributive reading, conveying a metalinguistic sense possibly paraphrasable by "the individual/character/man named 'Pedro'". This reading would be favored if (25c) would appear in the text of a screenplay. In these cases, if the subject DP were interpreted attributively, the ought-to-be reading would be possible. What interests us here, however, is the peculiar combination of a non-controllable state with a referential DP, since in these contexts (RECH; VARASCHIN, 2018), the listener would not have how to act (and, hence, be an agent): neither directly over the property (given that it concerns a non-controllable property) nor over the selection of a referent that satisfies the property (what might occur when the DP is attributive).

Table 1 – Features associated to epistemic and deontic modal nuclei.

Modals / Features	Epistemic	Deontic *Ought-to-be*	Deontic *Ought-to-do*
Agentivity [Ag]	[-Ag]	[+Ag]	[+Ag]
Assertion [Assert]	[+Assert]	[-Assert]	[+Assert]

As outlined in Table 1, the epistemic modal distinguishes itself from the two types of deontic modals by the agentivity feature. When it comes to differentiating between ought-to-be and ought-to-do deontics, we are proposing the [Assert] feature. This simplified feature matrix may be a way to explain how modals that occupy the same position in the structure license different readings, without having to posit that this difference is specified in the lexicon. Here it is considered to be given along the derivation.

Final Remarks

We found that a refined conceptual distinction as the one proposed by Feldman (1986) between an ought-to-be and an ought-to-do obligation presents quite systematic and robust syntactic reflections. By means of tests – that explored independently motivated results regarding the position of other functional heads (CINQUE, 2006) and properties of lexical predicates (RECH; VARASCHIN, 2017, 2018) – we have sought to provide evidence for the existence of a high deontic (ought-to-be) in Brazilian Portuguese. We suppose that the main contribution of our article is to present syntactic properties that are associated only to the deontic interpretation of the ought-to-be type, giving support to analyses that locate this type of modality in a high position in the structure (BRENNAN, 1993; HACQUARD, 2006, 2010). Furthermore, we consider to have contributed to the advance of modal studies under a syntactic perspective, since we were able to show evidence that ought-to-be deontics and epistemics share properties that led us to suppose they are attached to the same position in the structure. We suggest that what specifies their interpretation is a difference in terms of feature checking: the ought-to-be deontic would be [+Ag] and [-Assert]; and epistemics would be [-Ag] e [+Assert]. By means of the assertion feature, we have shown that it is possible also to distinguish between the two deontic interpretations.

We are aware that the description here presented is a small contribution to modal studies in Brazilian Portuguese. Our attention was focused on how one of the modality types – deontic ought-to-be – is derived in the structure. Our research does not specify exactly this position, but aids its mapping by showing how this type of deontic relates with categories like tense and (progressive) aspect. We believe it is necessary to go

further in the description of these relations in order to evaluate if Hacquard's proposal – that modals are interpretable relatively to events accessible in certain positions in the structure – is indeed compatible with the mapping of functional categories described by Cinque. As we have seen, this cartographic model seems to apply to Brazilian Portuguese modals, except that it still does not recognize a high position for ought-to-be deontics, the object of this research.

Acknowledgements

- *RESUMO: Neste artigo, discutimos diferentes conceitos de obrigação a partir da distinção estabelecida por Feldman (1986): (i) interpretação ought-to-be, que envolve uma propriedade de um estado de coisas que deve ocorrer; e (ii) interpretação ought-to-do, que relaciona um agente a um estado de coisas. Supomos que tal distinção conceitual resulta de diferenças estruturais. Nessa linha, seguimos Brennan (1993) e Hacquard (2006, 2010). Como ainda não há na literatura uma proposta de representação estrutural que dê conta da interpretação ought-to-be, buscamos evidências no português brasileiro para depreender mais precisamente a posição em que o deôntico é concatenado na estrutura para gerar essa interpetação. Analisamos fatores como orientação dos deônticos, relação com outros núcleos modais e com categorias de tempo e aspecto. Nossos testes apontaram para a existência de um deôntico alto (ought-to-be). Este exibe propriedades de um ato de fala diretivo, é orientado para um agente na situação de fala (geralmente o addressee) e não carrega marcas de tempo ou aspecto. Embora o deôntico ought-to-be não compartilhe todas essas propriedades com o modal epistêmico, há evidências de que esses modais ocupam a mesma posição na estrutura. Por fim, propomos distinguir deônticos ought-to-be de epistêmicos e de deônticos ought-to-do a partir de dois traços: agentividade [Ag] e asserção [Assert].*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Modalidade Deôntica. Deônticos Ought-to-be. Hierarquia de Cinque. Checagem de traços.*

REFERENCES

BRENNAN, V. M. **Root and epistemic modal auxiliary verbs**. 1993. 455f. Thesis (Ph.D. in Linguistics) - University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1993.

CINQUE, G. **Restructuring and functional heads**: the cartography of syntactic structures. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. v.4.

CINQUE, G. **Adverbs and functional heads**: a cross-linguistic perspective. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

CINQUE, G.; RIZZI, L. The cartography of syntactic structures. **STiL: Studies in Linguistics (CISCL Working Papers)**, [S.l.], v. 2, p. 42-58, 2008.

FELDMAN, F. **Doing the best We can**. Dortrecht: Reidel, 1986.

HACQUARD, V. On the event relativity of modal auxiliaries. **Natural Language Semantics**, [S.l.], v.18, n.1, p. 79-114, 2010. Disponível em: <http://ling.umd.edu//~hacquard/papers/hacquard_NALS_eventrelativity.pdf>. Acesso em: 12 de janeiro de 2017.

HACQUARD, V. **Aspects of modality**. 2006. 214f. Tese (Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics) - Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 2006.

JACKENDOFF, R. **Semantic interpretation in generative grammar**. Cambridge: MIT, 1972.

KRATZER, A. **Modals and conditionals**. NewYork: Oxford University Press, 2012.

KRATZER, A. Modality. In: VON STECHOW, A.; WUNDERLICH, D. (Ed.). **Semantik**: ein internationales handbuch zeitgenössischer forshhung. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001. p.639-650.

KRATZER, A. The notional category of modality. In: EIKMEYER, H-J.; RIESER, H. (Org.). **Word, worlds, and contexts**: new approaches to word semantics. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1981. p. 38-74.

LUNGUINHO, M. V. Sobre a concordância modal em português. **Cadernos de Linguagem e Sociedade**, Brasília, v. 11, p. 117-140, 2010.

PALMER, F. R. **Mood and modality**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

OLIVEIRA, R. P. de.; RECH, N. F. Flavors of obligation: the syntax/semantics of deontic deve in Brazilian Portuguese. **Letras de Hoje**, Porto Alegre, v.51, n.3, p. 349-357, 2016.

RECH, N. F.; VARASCHIN, G. Predicados estativos e os tipos de deôntico: *ought-to-do* e *ought-to-be*. **Cadernos de Estudos Linguísticos**, Campinas, v. 60, n. 1, p. 159-177, 2018.

RECH, N. F.; VARASCHIN, G. Predicados inacusativos e a modalidade deôntica. **Revista Letras**, Curitiba, n. 96, p. 219-238, 2017.

RIZZI, L.; CINGUE, G. Functional categories and syntactic theory. **Annual Review of Linguistics**, [S.l.], v. 2, p. 139-163, 2016.

ROSS, J. R. On declarative sentences. In: JACOBS, R. A.; ROSENBAUM, P. S. (Org.). **Readings in english transformational grammar**. Waltham: Ginn & Co, 1970. p. 222-277.

SANTOS, A. L. P. **Força e evidência**: uma análise teórico experimental da semântica de 'pode', 'deve' e 'ter que'. 2015. 277f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) - Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2015.

SEARLE, J. R. A taxonomy of illocutionary acts. In: SEARLE, J. R. **Expression and meaning**: studies in the theory of speech acts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

STOWELL, T. Tense and modals. In: GUÉRON, J.; LECARME, J. (Org.). **The syntax of time**. Cambridge: MIT, 2004. p. 621-635.

SWEETSTER, Eve. **From etymology to pragmatics**: metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

SPEAS, M. Evidentiality, logophoricity and the syntactic representation of pragmatic features. **Lingua**, [S.l.], v. 114, n. 3, p. 255-276, 2004.

ZAGONA, K. On the syntactic features of epistemic and root modals. In: EGUREN, L.; FERNÁNDEZ-SORIANO, O. (Org.). **Coreference, modality and focus**. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2007. p. 221-236.

STRESS PLACEMENT IN –*MENTE* ADVERBS IN PORTUGUESE: DISCUSSION OF PROSODIC AND RHYTHMIC ASPECTS

Thais Holanda de ABREU-ZORZI*
Gladis MASSINI-CAGLIARI**

▪ ABSTRACT: This article aims to discuss the prosodic behaviour of adverbs ending in –*mente* in Archaic Portuguese (AP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) from the perspective of Prosodic and Metrical Phonology. In order to describe the prosodic status of such adverbs, especially in AP, 420 cantigas [a genre of poetry], known as Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM) in praise of Virgin Mary, were chosen, as well as 1251 secular cantigas (510 cantigas de amigo, 431 cantigas de escárnio e maldizer and 310 cantigas de amor). On the other side, a selection of the "Cospus Online do Português" [Online Corpus of the Portuguese Language] database, jointly elaborated by Georgetown University's researcher Michael Ferreira and Brigham Young University's Mark Davies, was chosen as the corpus of study of BP. The collection and analysis of –*mente* adverbs in the corpora made it possible to conclude that these adverbs are, from a prosodic point of view, compounds (having a primary and a secondary stress) both in AP as well as BP, since they can be considered structures formed by independent parts of each other, in which the Stress Placement Rule operates in different domains: in the already inflected bases and in the –*mente* "suffix".

▪ KEYWORDS: -*mente* adverbs. Stress placement. Prosody. Archaic Portuguese. Brazilian Portuguese.

Introduction

This article[1] presents a comparative study[2] of the adverbial forms ending in –*mente* in two synchronies of the Portuguese language – Archaic Portuguese (henceforth AP)

---

* São Paulo State University (UNESP), School of Humanities and Sciences, Araraquara, São Paulo, Brazil. Doctor in Linguistics and Portuguese Language. thaishabreu@bol.com.br. ORCID: 0000-0001-6716-7057

** São Paulo State University (UNESP), School of Humanities and Sciences, Department of Linguistics, Araraquara, São Paulo, Brazil. gladis@fclar.unesp.br. ORCID: 0000-0002-4050-7645

[1] This article is a resumption from a part of Abreu-Zorzi's doctorate thesis (2016) entitled *O estatuto prosódico dos advérbios em –mente: um estudo comparativo entre Português Arcaico e Português Brasileiro*, supervised by professor Gladis Massini-Cagliari.

[2] It is important to highlight that this work does not consist of a study of sociovariationist approach, since no quantitative study of the forms was made, but only a qualitative comparison between the forms of the same words in different

and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) - in order to observe and describe the possible changes regarding the prosodic status of those forms. Based on the description and analysis of data through Prosodic and Metric Phonology, the conclusion is that such adverbs bear two stresses (one primary and one secondary), as verified in the following sections. The primary lexical stress is positioned when the word is formed and is thus also called word stress. The secondary stress is a prosodic prominence that may occur either by effect of the eurhythmy rules of the language – an excessively long sequence of unstressed syllables is not acceptable in Portuguese and, thus, some of these syllables get strengthened (MASSINI-CAGLIARI; CAGLIARI, 2001, p.114), in words such as "Àraraquára" ou "Pìndamònhangába" [names of cities] – or by lexical (morphological) factors in words derived from the suffixes –íssim(o,a), -mente and –zinh(o,a).

Therefore, the focus of this work fell upon the attempt of delimitating the phonological and prosodic status of linguistic forms (in this case, the –*mente* adverbs) of a period of the Portuguese language from which one can no longer find living native speakers (AP) and, from then on, describe whether there were changes related to the prosodic status of these forms in the current synchrony.

Due to the difficulty in working with phonological phenomena (in this case, the stress placement in the –*mente* adverbs) from the archaic period of the Portuguese language, we took poetic metrified texts as the AP corpus, namely the secular cantigas (510 cantigas de amigo [friend songs], 431 cantigas de escárnio e maldizer [satirical songs] and 310 cantigas de amor [love songs]) and the 420 religious cantigas in praise of the Virgin Mary, named Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM). According to some researchers of archaic Portuguese (MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 1995; MATTOS E SILVA, 2006), these types of texts are richer for the study of prosody of a language and its data, once they reveal "clues" regarding stress and rhythm from a period in the Portuguese language of which we have no oral registers from speakers, thus enabling the description of prosodic phenomena.

Thus, this work's methodology started with the scansion of the poem in poetic syllables, in which we can see the boundaries of the phonetic syllables. For example: through poetic scansion and the definition of the boundaries of phonetic syllables, it is possible to locate the poetic stresses and, consequently, the stress in the words, facilitating the investigation of their prosodic structure and allowing – in the case of the adverbial forms in –*mente* – the formulation of hypotheses regarding whether these words were, in the archaic period of Portuguese, derived (one lexical stress) or compound (two lexical stresses).

In order to map the adverbial forms in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the Mettmann's (1986- 1988-1989) edition was used. The religious *cantigas* were compiled under the order of the Wise King of Castile, Alfonso X, in the thirteenth century, and were passed down to us through four old manuscripts (called "codices"). For the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, we use Lapa's (1998) edition. Such cantigas were passed down to

---

periods of Portuguese. Thus, data, not corpora, was compared qualitatively, given the specificity of each.

us through two old manuscripts. One of them is the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*, also known by the abbreviations B or CBN and formerly denominated *Cancioneiro Colocci Brancuti*. The other manuscript is the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, known by the abbreviations V or CV. Finally, the *cantigas de amor* were extracted from three Cancioneiros: *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (A or CA), facsimile edition of 1994, *Cancioneiro Colocci Brancuti* (B) and *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* (V); the *cantigas de amigo* were extracted from B, in the facsimile 1982 edition.

On the other side, the BP corpus choice was made owing to the *Corpus do Português[3]* database presenting several texts written in Brazil and in Portugal, from different sources and genres, from literary to journalistic.

The *Corpus do Português* [Portuguese corpus] was elaborated jointly by the researchers Michael Ferreira, from Georgetown University, and Mark Davies, from Brigham Young University. It consists of over 45 million words in almost 57 thousand Portuguese texts from various sources, from literary to journalistic, encompassing a time period from 1300 to the end of the 20th century. Thus, it spans a vast variety of themes, genres and approaches, allowing a more comprehensive investigation about the phonological phenomena in present-day Portuguese. However, while mapping the adverbial forms in this corpus, it was impossible to find occurrences of –*mente* adverbial forms in poetic context. For that reason, in a subsequent moment, we chose to use some examples of occurrences of such adverbs in BP extracted from a collection of *cordel* literature poems.

The collection chosen was a critical edition of Lopes (1982), published by the Banco do Nordeste, which presents an analysis of twenty-two classics of cordel literature, by sixteen different cordel authors. According to Lopes (1982), cordel literature can be defined as visual poetry, with popular themes and pressed in pamphlets. Vestiges of this type of literature were found initially in 15th and 16th century Germany, in loose pamphlets that presented, in verses to be sung, information about events of that time. Observing the information brought by Lopes (1982), one can notice that our option for the cordel literature corpus was correct since, from its origin, this type of literature presented a dynamic between poetry and music, and it is known that this fact favours prosodic studies, as it is the case of the work presented in this article.

Brief notes on Prosodic Phonology and the phonological word

Prosodic Phonology is a non-linear phonological theory that deals with a hierarchical organisation of prosodic constituents. Differently from what occurred in the Chomsky and Halle's generative phonology (1968), in which phonological descriptions were

---

[3] We mention a "selection" of the database, once this database was used only for the checking of the adverbs in -*mente* mapped in AP, so as to know whether some change occurred in the two synchronies of the Portuguese language: the origin (AP) and the current. That being so, not all occurrences of –*mente* adverbs found in this BP corpus were mapped; only the current adverbial form was checked in comparison with the old mapped form to describe possible changes.

characterised by a linear organisation of the segments, in the prosodic theory the organisation of the constituents in hierarchical levels is able to explain the gradient character of stress, that is, its capacity of presenting different degrees of prominence. As an example of different prominence degrees that a word might present, let us think of the BP vocable *pós-graduação*, in which there is one prominence in the prefix *pós* and two prominences in the word *graduação*, one represented by the primary stress in the syllable *ção* and another (eurhythmic in nature) placed in the syllable *du*, in the case of the sequence *du-a* being syllabified as an hiatus, or *gra*, in the case of this sequence being syllabified as a diphthong, as shown by the following schema:

(1) pós + graduação = pós-gra.dù.a.ção   'Graduate studies'
      pós + graduação = pós-grà.dua.ção

Starting from this new dimension in linguistic studies (organisation of prosodic constituents in hierarchical levels), Selkirk (1980) initiated the Prosodic Phonology studies. Another renowned work of the author was published in 1984, bringing a more refined version of her 1980 study.

Selkirk (1980) begins her texts affirming that her study's aim is to present a theory that takes into consideration a suprasegmental hierarchical organisation for the utterance, not a simple linear arrangement of segments. From then on, the author exposes the prosodic categories that may exist in languages, organising them in hierarchies (Table 1):

Table 1 – Prosodic constituents according to Selkirk's proposition (1980)

Selkirk's proposition (1980)		
PROSODIC CONSTITUENTS		
Constituents	**Portuguese translation**	**Symbols**
phonological utterance	enunciado fonológico	U
intonational phrase	grupo entoacional	I
phonological phrase	grupo fonológico	Φ
phonological word	palavra fonológica	ω
foot	pé	Σ
syllable	sílaba	σ

Source: Massini-Cagliari (1995, p.102).

The element we shall highlight in the prosodic hierarchy is the Prosodic Word or Phonological Word (ω), an element of foremost importance for our study, since it is from the delimitation of ω that we shall be able to describe the status of adverbial forms

in –*mente*, as shall be shown in the data analysis section. Selkirk (1980) affirms that in the prosodic word level what is taken into consideration is the stress prominence.

The author devotes a chapter of her 1984 work to word stress in English, studying this suprasegment taking as a basis the concept from Siegel (1974) of this language's neutral affixes and nonneutral affixes.[4]

Other studies approaching the prosodic word are Vigário's (2007, 2003, 2001). According to Vigário (2003), when discussing the Prosodic Word (ω), one must also pay attention to the fact that it can be further divided into two types: the *Minimal Prosodic Word* – which bears only one primary stress and is composed by incorporated structures (words with suffixes or hosts plus enclitics) or adjoined structures (words with prefixes or hosts plus proclitics) – and the *Maximum or Compound Prosodic Word* – which is formed by two Prosodic Words (the case of compound words that do not form a phonological syntagma), but has only one prominent element which bears the main prominence of this domain. In the case of the adverbs studied, this main prominence would be placed in the –*mente* element.

The Maximum Prosodic words are subdivided into six types:

i) Morphosyntactic compounds and some syntactic compound (word + word), such as *salto alto* 'high heels' [[salto]W[alto]W]PWMAX, *verde-água* 'water green' [[verde]W[água]W]PWMAX[5];

ii) Derived words with suffixes which constitute stress domains independent of their base, such as *francamente* 'quite frankly' [[franca]W[mente]W]PWMAX;

iii) Derived words with stressed prefixes, such as in *pré-estreia* 'pre release' [[pré]W[estreia]W]PWMAX;

iv) Morphological compounds (root+root), such as *socioeconômico* 'socioeconomic' [[sócio]W[econômico]W]PWMAX;

v) Mesoclitic structures, as in *falar-te-ei* 'I will speak to you' [[falar-te]W[ei]W]PWMAX;

vi) Abbreviations, as in *CD* [[se]W[de]W]PWMAX;

vii) Sequence of Prosodic Words consisting of (a) pairs of letter names, as in *RN* [[erre]W[ene]W]PWMAX; (b) letter names followed by numeral, as in *P-dois* 'P-two' [[pe]W[dois]W]PWMAX; and (c) some numerals followed by frequent words *horas* 'hours' and *anos* 'years', as in *onze horas* 'eleven hours' [[onze]W[horas]W]PWMAX.

Considering the subtypes previously presented, the adverbs approached in our study (-*mente* adverbs) fit into the second subtype: derived words with suffixes that constitute stress domains independent from their base, as we shall see in the results analysis section.

It is therefore possible to understand that the phonological word (ω) is an extremely important constituent for the theme developed in this article, once the determinant

---

[4] These concepts will be better discussed in the data description and analysis section, based on the examples of adverbs mapped in AP and BP.

[5] In her 2001 work, Vigário affirms only that the constructions *salto-alto* 'high heels' e *verde-água* 'water green' do not behave clearly as compounds and does not tackle the concept of maximum prosodic word.

factor to know whether we have a ω is the presence of an independent stress domain, that is, the presence of a primary word stress. By defining the number of phonological words in the occurrences mapped in the medieval *cantigas*, it is possible to classify them in simple or compound forms, thus determining the prosodic status of –*mente* adverbs in Portuguese.

Metric Phonology and stress placement rules

Besides emphasizing the elements that constitute a syllable, the metric model also deals with rhythmic phenomena, such as the stress. According to Hayes (1995, p.8), the central claim of metrical theory is that stress is the linguistic manifestation of the rhythmic structure:

> The central claim of metrical stress theory, argued in Liberman 1975 and Liberman and Prince 1977, is that stress is the linguistic manifestation of rhythmic structure. That is, in stress languages, every utterance has a rhythmic structure which serves as an organizing framework for that utterance's phonological and phonetic realization. One reason for supposing that stress is linguistic rhythm is that stress patterns exhibit substantial formal parallels[6] with extra-linguistic rhythmic structures, such as those found in music and verse.

Considering that stress can be defined as a linguistic manifestation of rhythmic structure, Hayes (1995), based on Liberman (1975) and Liberman and Prince (1977), affirms that the metrical theory postulates that stress is not a feature, but rather a constituent that may be represented in a rhythmic structure hierarchically organised, once languages may present properties in stress that indicate a hierarchy. Such is the case, for example, of the Rhythmic Distribution property, which posits that stresses in a sequence tend to occur in even distances, creating alternating patterns and, moreover, the hierarchical property of stress, in which it is noted that most languages present several degrees of stress: primary, secondary, tertiary, among others.

Hayes (1995) also presents some types of stress rules. The first of them refers to the notion of fixed stress and free stress. Also, this first features predictable placing and derives from some rule, such as the stress in Spanish, which is limited to the last three syllables of words, whereas the second one presents no predictable placing and is assigned lexically.

---

6   The fact that the stress pattern presents formal parallels with extra-linguistic rhythmic structures (music, verse) is something one can also observe in Massini-Cagliari's (1995, 2005) and Daniel Soares da Costa's (2006, 2010) works on AP, and something that assists the determination of the prosodic status of the adverbials in –*mente* in the moment of origin of the Portuguese language.

The second type of stress rule is the one that distinguishes rhythmic stress and morphological stress. Rhythmic stress is based on purely phonological factors, such as syllable weight, and morphological stress is the one that reveals the morphological structure of a word.

According to Hayes (1995), there are two types of morphological stress systems: (1) the morphological stress system similar to the English language, in which main stress is assigned in the stem level and most affixes are subordinated to this main stress, and (2) the system in which morphological stress results from a complex interaction between the kind of radical (stressed x unstressed) and the affixes properties (affixes that can be inherently stressed or unstressed, affixes that can remove stress from the domains in which they can be assigned, affixes that can assign stress to the preceding syllable).

Finally, the third type of stress rule presented by Hayes (1995) is the one that does or does not take word boundary into consideration, thus also being called Bounded and Unbounded Stress. In the bounded stress system, stress is assigned within certain distance from word boundary or from another stress; such is the case of stem stress in English. On the other side, in the Unbounded Stress system, stress can be assigned in an unlimited distance from the boundary or from another stress, provided they have appropriated conditions for it. An example of such system, according to Hayes (1995), is the following: stress can be assigned to the heaviest syllable to the right of the word. If syllable weight is not considered,[7] stress lands on the first syllable.

By observing the types of stress rules presented by Hayes (1995), it is possible to notice that both notions of rhythmic stress as well as morphological stress are important for the theme dealt within this article. In the formation of –*mente* adverbs, it is possible to observe the interaction mentioned by Hayes (1995), in which –*mente*, which is an "affix" (using traditional morphological terms) is assigned stress in the penultimate syllable for rhythmic reasons and when joining a base (in all of the cases mapped, a ready word, as in *fremosamente* 'beautifully' – example (3) in which the "ready" character, that is, already inflected, of the first base can be vouched for by the presence of a mark of singular feminine gender), can preserve stress in the base or shift it, as we will see in more detail in the next section.

The –*mente* adverbs: rhythmic aspects

The purpose of this section is to analyse the results found during the mapping of adverbial forms in –*mente* in medieval *cantigas*, namely the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, the *cantigas de amor* and also the *cantigas de amigo*, adding up to 175 occurrences. In addition, with the data from medieval *cantigas*, comparative examples extracted from the *Corpus do Português* are also presented, which show occurrences of the present-day synchrony.

---

7   Syllable weight is attributed based on the notion of heavy syllables (-) vs light syllables (˘).

The description and analysis of AP's data began with the division of occurrences of –*mente* adverbs in two groups: the occurrences which preserve the stress on the base when –*mente* adjoins (group 1) and the ones that shift stress (group 2), as can be examined as follows:[8]

(2)
Group 1

abertamente	'openly'
afficadamente	'insistently'
alongadamente	'distantly'
apostamente	'properly'
apressurosamente	'hastily'
avondadamente	'in a satisfied way'
brevemente	'briefly'
certamente	'certainly'
compridamente	'extensively'
cruamente	'roughly'
dereitamente	'rightly'
devotamente	'devotedly'
enganosamente	'deceptively'
esforçadamente	'conscientiously'
espessamente	'thickly'
falsamente	'falsely'
feramente	'fiercely'
firmemente	'firmly'
fortemente	'strongly'
francamente	'frankly'
fremosamente	'beautifully'
inteiramente	'entirely'
ligeiramente	'slightly'
malamente	'badly'
maravillosamente	'marvelously'
mederosamente	'fearfully'
omildosamente	'humbly'
onrradamente	'honourably'
ousadamente	'boldly'
primeyramente	'firstly'
quitamente	'entirely'
ricamente	'richly'
saborosamente	'tastefully'
seguramente	'safely'

(3)
Group 2

comũalmente	'currently'
lealmente	'loyally'
mortalmente	'deadly'
naturalmente	'naturally'
sotilmente	'subtly'

---

[8] Massini-Cagliari (2015, 2005, 1999, 1995) considers proparoxytone stress extremely rare in AP, and it also was not found in the *cantigas de amigo* corpus. Reinforcing the author's previous results, no proparoxytone bases in the formation of –*mente* adverbs were found in the corpus on which this research is based.

simpremente	'simply'
soberviosamente	'superbly'
verdadeyramente	'verily'
vergonnosamente	'shamefully'
vilanamente	'villainously'

The examples show that most occurrences mapped in the medieval *cantigas* belong to the first group, adverbs that preserve the stress on the base. Following are the scansions of some of said occurrences to confirm the preservation of such stress on the base.

(4)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 205, verses 7-11

"Ca/a/*ques*/tas/ *du*/as/*cou*/sas | *fa*/zen/ *mui*/con/*pri*/da/*men*/te   3-5-7| 1-3-5-7
ga/a/*nnar*/ a/*mor*/ e/ *gra*/ça | *de*/la/, se/ de/*vo*/ta/*men*/te   1-3-5-7| 1-5-7
se/ *fa*/zen/ e/ *co*/mo/ *de*/ven;| e/ a/*ssi*/ a/*ber*/ta/*men*/te   2-5-7| 1-3-5-7
pa/*re*/ce/ a/ *ssa*/ ver/*tu*/de | *so*/bre/ *to*/d'*o*/me/ coi/*ta*/do.   2-5-7| 1-3-4-7
O/ra/*çon*/ con/ *pi*/a/*da*/de | *o*/e/ a/ *Vir*/gen/ de/ *gra*/do..."⁹   1-3-5-7| 1-4-7

(METTMANN, 1988, p.251)

(5)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 341, verses 55-58

"*Des*/que/a/*ques*/t' *ou*/ve/ *di*/to, | *lo*/g' *an*/te/*to*/da/ a/ *gen*/te   1-4-5-7| 1-2-4-7
so/*biu*/ en/*ci*/ma/ da/ *pe*/na, | cor/*ren*/do/ es/for/*ça*/da/*men*/te,   2-4-7| 2-6-8
e/*di*/ss'a/*mui*/*gran*/des/*vo*/zes:|"*Ma*/dre/da/*quel*/que/non/*men*/te,   2-5-7|1-4-7
val/ – me/, ca/ tu/ *sen*/pre/ *va*/les | *a*/os/ que/ *tor*/to/ non/ *fa*/zen."¹⁰   5-7| 1-4-7

(METTMANN, 1989, p.191)

(6)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 309, verses 35-36

"E/ po/*ren*/ te/ *ro*/gu' e/ *man*/do | que/ *di*/gas/ a/ *es*/ta/ *gen*/te   3-5-7| 2-5-7
de/ *Ro*/ma/ que/ *mia*/ ei/*gre*/ja | *fa*/çan/ *lo*/go/ *man*/te/*nen*/te   2-5-7| 1-3-5-7
u/ *vi*/ren/ me/*an*/t' a/*gos*/to | ca/*er*/ *ne*/v' es/*pe*/ssa/*men*/te,   2-5-7| 2-3-5-7
ca/a/*ly*/ quer/o/*meu*/*Fi*/llo | Jhe/*su*/-*Cris*/t, e/ *Deus*/ seu/ *Pa*/dre.¹¹   3-4-6-7|2-3-5-7

(METTMANN, 1989, p.115)

---

⁹ 'For these two things more surely win Her love and blessing, if they are done devoutly, as they should be, and thus Her power is freely shown to everyone in need. The Virgin gladly hears […]' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.246). [For the translation of the *cantigas*, we will adopt the "official" translation to English published by Kulp-Hill, 2000.]

¹⁰ 'When she had said this, she climbed at a run to the top of the cliff before all the people and said loudly: "Mother of Him Who does not lie, help me, for you always help those who do no wrong." (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.415).

¹¹ "Therefore, I bessech and command you that you tell these people of Rome that they build my church at once where they see snow fall thickly in the middle of August, for it is there that my Son, Jesus Christ, and God, His Father, wish it." (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.374).

In the example (4), three occurrences of –*mente* adverbs are verified: *compridamente* 'extensively' *devotamente* 'devoutly' and *abertamente* 'openly', all of them in rhyme position. According to Massini-Cagliari and Cagliari (1998), words in rhyme position bear the strongest stress of the verse. Thus, by observing the meter of the verse in which these occurrences appear, the strongest stress is found on the last poetic syllable *men*, as shown by the previous example.

Through this verse, one can also verify that all verses present seven poetic syllables and, in most verses, their stresses fall on 1-3-5-7. For stress placement, the period's versification precepts were followed, as established based on the reading of *Poética fragmentária* [Fragmented Poetry] and the manuals consulted, to aid verse scansion. A very interesting fact was verified, pointing towards the existence of two prosodic prominences in these occurrences, once through metrification it is possible to notice that stresses always land on the fifth and seventh poetic syllables. This means that in the verses in which –*mente* adverbs are found, such tonic syllables are in the same position of the word (*com*pri*da*men*te*, *de*vo*ta*men*te* e *a*ber*ta*men*te*), that is, the two prominences are placed in –*mente* and in the word that served as the base for the adverb.

Comparing the information from Daniel Soares da Costa's work (2010) with the scansion of verses in which the adverbs in question appear, it is possible to notice that, in the focused occurrences, the derivational bases stresses (*comprida*, *devote* and *aberta*) were preserved, even after the junction of the –*mente* element. The same occurred in the examples (5) and (6), with the words *esforçadamente* 'strenuously' (in the context of the poem, it was translated by Kulp-Hill, 2000, as 'loudly') and *espessamente* 'thickly', which preserved their bases stress, respectively on the syllables *ça* and *pe*.

Therefore, based on Hayes (1995), these occurrences of the group 1 would be part of the rhythmic stress, once the forming bases of group 1 occurrences are all paroxytones ending in light syllables (standard stress pattern of AP's non-names, according to MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 1999) and, hence, tend to attract the stress to the word's penultimate syllable.

It must also be emphasised that, once these occurrences' basis stress does not undergo stress clash with the stress of the –*mente* element, there is no need to shift the stress from the base. Consequently, one can infer that the group 1 occurrences (which preserve the base stress) are bearers of two lexical stresses: the base and the form –*mente*'s. This indicates that each of the constitutive parts of the adverbs in –*mente* would be a distinct phonological word, a fact that shall be further discussed in the following section.

BP presents an analogous situation, with some occurrences found in the cordel literature poems. Some examples:

(7)
"As/ *da*/mas/ da/ *al*/ta/ *côr*/te   2-5-7
  tra/*ja*/vam/ de/*cen*/te/*men*/te   2-5-7
  tô/da/ *cor*/te im/pe/*ri*/al   1-3-6
  es/pe/*ra*/va im/*pa*/ci/*en*/te [12]   1-3-5-7
    [...]"

<div align="right">(LIMA apud LOPES, 1982, p.28)</div>

(8)
"No/ *di*/a/ se/*guin*/te a/ *voz*   2-5-7
  da/ la/*go*/a/ *no*/va/*men*/te   3-5-7
  di/sse a/ Jo/*ão*/: te/ pre/*pa*/ra   1-4-7
    [...]
  pe/ço/ por/ fa/*vor*/ não/ *dur*/mas   1-5-7
  fa/ças/ por/ *ser*/ di/li/*gen*/te". [13]   1-4-7

<div align="right">(SILVA apud LOPES, 1982, p.7).</div>

In examples (7) and (8), two occurrences with *–mente* adverbs are seen: *decentemente* 'decently' and *novamente* 'again', both in rhyme position. From these examples, we can verify that most verses present seven poetic syllables and the stresses, in most of them, land on 1-3-5-7, that is, an alternating rhythmic pattern is favoured. It is also noticed that the scansion in poetic syllables points towards the existence of two prosodic prominences in these occurrences, once, since the stressed syllables land in 5 or 7 most of the time, the two prominences are on *–mente* and on the word that served as basis for the adverb (*de*cen*te*men*te* e no*va*men*te*).

The complete scansion allows us to notice that, in the occurrences, the derivational basis stresses (*decente* and *nova*) were preserved, even after the junction of the *–mente* element.

Let us now go forward to the analysis of adverbial forms of the group 2 (which shift stress from the basis), starting from the metrification of such occurrences:

(9)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 247, verses 36-39

"A/*ques*/to/*viu*/*ben*/a/*gen*/te | *mui*/ *gran*/de/que/ *y*/es/*ta*/va,   2-4-5-7| 1-2-5-7
  que/ *to*/da/ *co*/mu/nal/*men*/te | *San*/ta/ Ma/*ri*/a/ lo/*a*/va   2-4-7| 1-4-7
  que/ *tal*/ mi/*ra*/gre/ fe/*ze*/ra; | *e*/ a/ *mo*/ça/ *y*/ fi/*ca*/va   2-4-7| 1-3-5-7
  va/*rren*/do/ *sem*/pr'a/ei/*gre*/ja |*co*/mo/ lle/ *fo*/ra/ man/*da*/do." [14]   2-4-7| 1-4-7

<div align="right">(METTMANN, 1988, p.346).</div>

---

[12] 'The ladies in the high court dressed decently; all the imperial court waited impatiently.' [Translated by Authors]

[13] 'In the following day the voice from the lagoon said again to João: prepare yourself, I beg you, please do not sleep, make yourself diligent.' (Translated by Authors)

[14] 'The great crowd of people who were there in the place clearly saw this, and all in one voice praised Holy Mary who had performed such a miracle. The girl remained there, faithfully sweeping the church as she had been commanded.' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.300).

(10)

Cantiga de amor 307, verses 31-35

“ Por/*que*/ *sol*/ di/*zer*/ a/ *gen*/te   2-3-5-7
   do/ *que*/ *a*/ma/ *le*/al /*men*/te: 2-3-5-7
   «**se**/s'én/ *non*/ *quer*/ en/fa/*dar*,   1-3-4-7
   na/*ci*/ma/*gua*/lar/*don*/*pren*/de,»   2-4-6-7
   a/*m' eu*/ e/ *sir*/vo/ por/ *en*/de.”   2-4-7

(MICHAËLIS DE VASCONCELOS, 1904, p.614-615).

In the examples (9) and (10), two occurrences of adverbs formed by the *–mente* are verified: *comuãlmente* ('currently') and *lealmente* 'loyally'. By checking Daniel Soares da Costa's work (2010) along with the previous scansions carried out, we can notice that in such occurrences the derivational basis stress (*comu*ãl e *le*ál) was not preserved after the junction of *–mente*, even though these adverb's forming bases are oxytones, ending in a closed syllable (a syllable with a consonant) and, therefore, attract the lexical stress to themselves.

What happened in the previous scansions was a stress shift to the previous syllable due to stress clash of the base accent with that of the *–mente* element. Given it some thought, it is possible to infer that, if a stress clash occurred, in fact it means that, at first, the base lexical stress was preserved, and, by reasons of language eurhythmy, they were later shifted. Hence, we can affirm that the occurrences of the group 2 shift their basis stress precisely because, at first, they preserve such stress and, by eurhythmic factors (stress clash) end up shifting it. A similar fact occurs in BP, as Lee's (1995) and Basílio's (2006) works have previously shown; it is possible to notice this behaviour change in *–mente* adverbs occurrences extracted from some poems of the cordel literature collection.

(11)

“Cho/*ran*/do/ di/*zi*/a/ e/la   2-5-7
   oh!/ meu/ *Deus*/, oh!/ *pai*/ cle/*men*/te   1-3-5-7
   tra/*zei*/ con/*fôr*/to e/ con/*sô*/lo   1-4-7
   a/ *u*/ma/ *po*/bre i/no/*cen*/te   2-4-7
   que/ *sem*/ fa/zer/ *mal* / a/ nin/*guém*   2-5-8
   vi/ve a/ so/*frer*/ *cru*/el/*men*/te”.[15]   1-4-5-7

(MELO apud LOPES, 1982, p.376).

---

[15] 'She said crying, Oh my God, Oh clement father, bring me comfort and solace to a poor innocent, who does nobody harm and lives to suffer cruelly.' [Translated by Authors]

(12)

"Com/ *e*/ssa/ ra/*pa*/zi/*a*/da	2-5-7
é/ que/ *an*/do a/*tu*/al/*men*/te	1-3-5-7
o/ mais/ *fra*/co/ do/ meu/ *gru*/po	1-3-7
bri/ga/ com/ *dez*/ e/ não/ *sen*/te".[16]	1-4-7

(SILVA apud LOPES, 1982, p.411).

The examples (11) and (12) show two occurrences of adverbs formed by the *–mente* element: *cruelmente* 'cruelly' and *atualmente* 'currently'. With the scansions conducted above, we notice that in such occurrences the stress of derivational bases (*cru*él e *atu*ál) was not preserved after the junction of *–mente*, even though the forming bases of these adverbs are oxytones, ending in a closed syllable (syllable ending with a consonant) and, therefore, attract the lexical stress to themselves. Thus, we can say that the adverbial forms of the group 2, both in AP as in BP, can be realised phonetically with two stresses: one lexical, in the syllable *men*, and another, secondary, in some of the base syllables.

Secondary stress, according to Massini-Cagliari and Cagliari (2001), is a prosodic prominence that may occur either by effect of the language's eurhythmy rules or by lexical factors. In the case of the two adverbs on which this study is focused, secondary stress occurs by lexical factors (as we could see from the example of the group 2 words), because the occurrence of secondary stress is given by the word's morphological structure, in the moment these adverbs are formed. Secondary stress by eurhythmy (rhythmic secondary stress), on the other hand, occurs because:

> Once, in Portuguese, an excessively long sequence of unstressed syllables is not acceptable, some of these syllables get an extra reinforcement, forming a more regular rhythmic wave. Thus, the occurrence of secondary stresses can be considered an effect of the language's eurhythmy rules. (MASSINI-CAGLIARI; CAGLIARI, 2001, p.114, translation ours).[17]

Regarding secondary stress, Daniel Soares da Costa (2010) also states that, when two stresses clash in AP, the linguistic system of this period of the language prefers a binary pattern, that is, "secondary stresses occur in a rather regular interval, every second syllable" (COSTA, 2010, p.179). And this is precisely what we observe in the group 2 examples, as in the word *lealmente* 'loyally'. We notice that secondary stress lands on the second syllable before the tonic, that is, the syllable *le*. In this formation, secondary stress is not realised phonetically over the stress of the base itself, seeing

---

[16] 'With this band of boys I currently walk, the weakest of my group brawls with ten and feels nothing.' [Translated by Authors]

[17] "Como, em português, uma seqüência muito longa de sílabas átonas não é aceitável, algumas dessas sílabas passam a ter um reforço extra, formando uma onda rítmica mais regular. Dessa forma, a ocorrência de acentos secundários pode ser considerada um efeito de regras de eurritmia da língua." (MASSINI-CAGLIARI; CAGLIARI, 2001, p.114).

that the base's stress is originally on the syllable *al*. Due to the stress clash between the *–mente* element and the base word's stress on the *al* syllable, the stress position is shifted from this syllable to the syllable *le*.

To illustrate better some of the questions related to whether there is stress shift in the adverbial forms mapped in the corpora, let us now represent some of them, both from the group 1 (adverbs that preserve the base stress) as well as from the group 2 (adverbs that shift stress from the base), through bracketed metrical grids. Let us begin with the group 1 occurrences, in which prominences of the line 0 represent, at the same time, the foot supporting main stress, generated by the main stress rule, non-iterative and, in relation to the first word, also feet that support secondary prominences, built through an iterative rule (COLLISCHONN, 1994).

(13)

```
(                    x        )      linha 2
(      x      )    (x         )      linha 1
(x)   (x     .)    (x       .)       linha 0
 a    ber    ta    men      te
```

'openly'

(14)

```
(                    x        )      linha 2
(      x      )    (x         )      linha 1
(x)   (x    . )    (x       .)       linha 0
de     vo    ta    men     te
```

'devoutly'

(15)

```
(                    x        )      linha 2
(      x      )    (x         )      linha 1
(x)   (x    .)     (x       .)       linha 0
es     pe    ssa   men     te
```
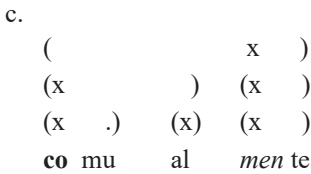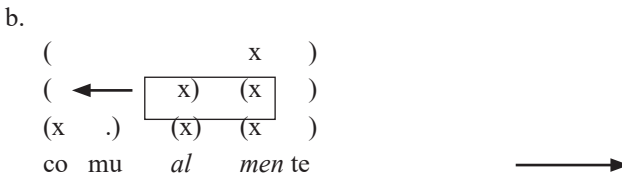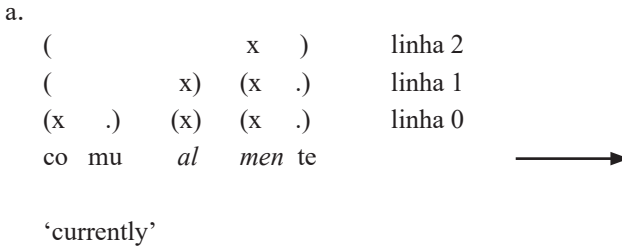
'thickly'

The previous examples show that on line 0 we have the foot level, on line 1 the word level and on line 2 the level establishing the prominence between the bases. Line 1 is particularly important to this study, since it is where we observe the presence of two
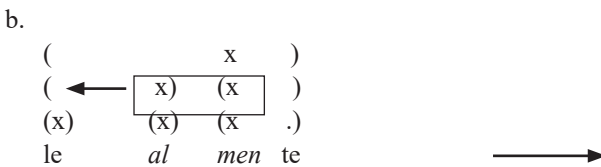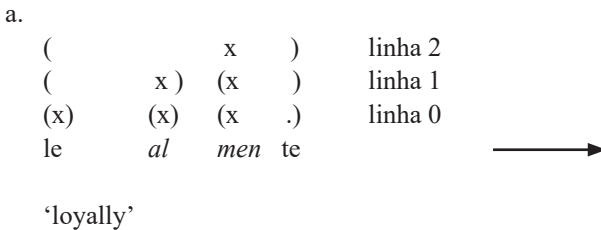
distinct words, with independent stresses. Because they are occurrences from group 1, we also verify on line 1 that base stresses were preserved in each of the occurrences displayed, once there is no need for shift, because there is *no* stress clash.

Let us now observe from now on the bracketed grids of some of the occurrences from group 2:

(16)

    a.

```
(                 x    )        linha 2
(           x)  (x   .)         linha 1
(x    .)   (x)  (x   .)         linha 0
co   mu     al   men te
```

        'currently'

    b.

```
(                 x    )
( ←——    [ x)   (x ]   )
(x    .)   (x)  (x     )
co   mu     al   men te
```

    c.

```
(                 x    )
(x           )   (x    )
(x    .)   (x)   (x    )
co  mu      al   men te
```

(17)

    a.

```
(                 x    )        linha 2
(         x )   (x     )        linha 1
(x)       (x)   (x   .)         linha 0
le        al    men  te
```

        'loyally'

    b.

```
(                 x    )
( ←——    [ x)   (x ]   )
(x)       (x)   (x   .)
le        al    men  te
```

c.

```
(                    x      )
(x           )    (x      )
(x)        (x)    (x     .)
le          al     men  te
```

The previous grids show the stages of application of Hayes' *Move X* rule (1995), used when there is stress clash in the moment of formation of a determined language structure. In the b stage, line 1, we verify the stress clash between the last syllable base and –*mente*'s *men* syllable. To solve the stress clash, we observe in stage c, line 1, the stress shift from the base to a syllable to the left of the word.

We saw that both the adverbial occurrences preserving the base stress as well as the ones shifting it present in their formation two distinct phonological words, with independent stresses. In the next section, we shall adduce several arguments that prove the existence of two distinct phonological words in the –*mente* adverbs' structure.

Another factor that allows us to state that said adverbs present different ω is the type of metrical foot observed in the adverbial occurrences, especially regarding the –*mente* element, whose suffix status can be put into question. In the case of this study, we observe that the adverbs' forming bases and the –*mente* element present one foot each and, consequently, one stress, as the following example shows:

(18) fremosa   mente 'beautifully'
        (x   .) (x   .)
         ᴗ ᴗ   ᴗ ᴗ

The type of foot observed, both the basis' as –*mente*'s, is the *moraic trochee*, Portuguese's canonical foot, also in AP (MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 1995). The *moraic trochee* is a type of foot that presents the head to the left and takes syllable weight into consideration, as is the case of –*mente*, in which the head is on the left (on the syllable *men*) and, the last syllable (*te*) being light, the penultimate one is regularly stressed. In the case of the bases, those that do not shift stress (group 1) present the canonical type of the non-verbs in AP: paroxytones ending in light syllables. On the other side, the adverb's forming bases from group 2 are oxytones ending in closed syllables and, therefore, bear the stress on that syllable. Thus, the occurrences of the adverbs studied show that AP was sensitive to the syllable quantity in foot construction, that is, syllable weight determined stress placement. Therefore, as verified up to this moment, if each of the –*mente* adverbs' constituent parts form separate feet, with individual stresses, each of these parts is thus a distinct phonological word.

We can also affirm that stress shift due to stress clash is similar to the shift occurring in phrases. Let us see the example of the J̀ornal Hóje 'Today News' phrase, uttered every day by host Sandra Annenberg, from television newscast *Jornal Hoje*. In this phrase, two stresses of two independent words are attributed: one on the syllable *nal*,

from *jornal*, and another on the syllable *ho* from *hoje*. When the phrase is formed, a stress clash occurs between these syllables and, as a result, a stress shift from the syllable *nal* to the syllable *jor*, as shown by the following schema:

(19)

Jornál Hóje → Jòrnal Hóje

Other examples of phrases similar to the one aforementioned are:

(20)

computadór rápido → compùtador rápido or còmputadór rápido 'fast computer'
anél gránde → ànel grande 'big ring'

Therefore, we notice that the phrases shown in the examples (19) and (20) present a similar behaviour to group 2 *–mente* adverbs, since, just like said adverbs, the phrases undergo stress clash that is solved by the stress shift from one of the syllables on the right to one of the syllables to the left. Thus, if the adverbial forms in *–mente* present the same type of stress shift of the phrases (two-stress structures), it can be inferred that such fact is only one more argument to consider said adverbs as structures with two independent stresses. However, it must be noted that, unlike phrases, adverbs in *–mente* present no number inflection between their parts and, due to that, cannot be inserted in the Portuguese phrase group, but into the group of structures with two distinct phonological words, that is, words with independent stresses and that may be classified as compounds, from a prosodic point of view.

Adverbs in *–mente*: prosodic status

This section presents the description and analysis about the prosodic status of adverbial forms in *–mente*, both in AP as well as present-day Portuguese.

In the first place, aspects of the prosodic theory capable of describing some of the characteristics of the *–mente* element will be described.

As seen in the section devoted to Prosodic Phonology, Selkirk (1984) studies English word stress based on the concept of neutral affixes and nonneutral affixes. The latter always being in words, and hence also called root affixes. On the other hand, neutral affixes are always out of nonneutral affixes, that is, they do not attach to a base, but rather to a word, being thus called word affixes, but words are not always within roots, only within other words.

Based on Selkirk's idea (1984) for English affixes, one can think of something similar for *–mente* in Portuguese, since such affix could have a neutral affix, that is, is a *fellow* of the category 'word', as can be noticed in the following examples, both for AP as well as present-day Portuguese:

(21)

	AP		Present-day Portuguese	
abertamente	→ *abertmentea	abertamente	→ *abertmentea	'openly'
certamente	→ *certmentea	certamente	→ *certmentea	'certainly'
fremosamente	→ *fremosmentea	formosamente	→ *formosmentea	'beautifully'
saborosamente	→ *saborosmentea	saborosamente	→ *saborosmentea	'tastefully'

Regarding neutral and nonneutral affixes, Selkirk (1984) also affirms that nonneutral (root affixes) fit the canonical English stress pattern, once they can be attached before the stress placement rule, that is, within word boundary. On the other hand, neutral affixes (word affixes) do not follow this pattern and may be attached after the application of the stress placement rule. This means that stress placement in words formed by these affixes does not occur within the word formed, but rather between words.

Therefore, it is possible to think that the –*mente* affix, which forms adverbs studied in this work, by being a neutral affix, *fellow* of the category "word", may have an independent stress domain and, consequently, when attaching to already inflected bases (also with their own stresses), forms compound elements, from the prosodic point of view, because the *Stress Placement Rule* occurs between distinct prosodic words, as we will further observe.

It was also seen that the phonological word (ω) is the prosodic constituent that presents the relation between the morphological and phonological components. According to Nespor and Vogel (1986), the morphological notions used to discuss the formation of the prosodic word are not the same in all languages. Thus, depending on the language being studied, the domain to the definition of prosodic word takes diverse aspects into consideration.

A phonological word may have Q as domain, that is, a terminal syntactic knot. But according to Nespor and Vogel (1986), it can also present as domain: (a) a root; (b) some element identified by morphological and/or phonological criteria; (c) some element marked with the [+W] diacritic; (d) any loose element in Q that is part of the adjacent ω closest to the root.

Based on the concept of domain explained in the previous paragraph, it is possible to think that, in the case of this study, the pertinent domain could be: (b) some element identified by morphological and/or phonological criteria, since the bases that form adverbs in –*mente* would have as morphological criteria the fact of being a structure that forms a foot[18] - moraic trochee, as seen in the previous section. Thus, taking such theory of the ω domain into consideration, we can suppose that the –*mente* adverbs investigated in this study can be considered elements formed by parts which are independent from each other, in which the Stress Placement Rule acts in distinct domains: in the already inflected bases and in the –*mente* "suffix". Each of these parts, therefore, can be considered a distinct phonological word.

---

18   For more information about the metrical foot in the context of the –*mente* adverbs, check the previous section, regarding the analysis of these adverbial forms from a Metrical Phonology perspective.

Still regarding the prosodic word domain, Nespor and Vogel (1986) state that syllables and feet can be readjusted in ω. Despite the claim that there is no isomorphism between prosodic structure and morphosyntactic structure, some languages present isomorphism between prosodic word and morphological word (W). It was found with the data collection that, in the case of most of –*mente* adverbs bases' case, this also happens, both in AP as well as BP:

(22)

[[aberta]$_W$]$_{PW}$ 'open'
[[fremosa]$_W$]$_{PW}$ 'beautiful'
[[leal]$_W$]$_{PW}$ 'loyal'
[[natural]$_W$]$_{PW}$ 'natural'

The bases shown in the previous examples may show the phonological independence within them, since, if such bases are phonological words, the presence of a primary stress in them becomes clear and, as seen in the section about the prosodic word, *one of the criteria for the delimitation of the prosodic word is the presence of a word stress*. So, it can be inferred that adjective bases that form –*mente* adverbs, be them feminine or without apparent gender inflection, were in AP and are in BP bearers of their own stress and, consequently, independent from a prosodic point of view, once they are, by themselves, phonological words.
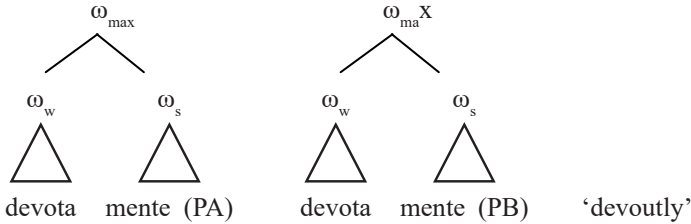
As we have already shown, the Prosodic Word (ω) can be subdivided, according to Vigário (2003) in two types: the *Minimal Prosodic Word* – which bears only one primary stress and is composed of incorporated structures (words with suffixes or hosts plus enclitics) or attached structures (words with prefixes or hosts plus proclitics) – and the *Maximum* or *Compound Prosodic Word* – which is formed by two Prosodic Words (the case of compound words that do not form a phonological phrase), however, has only one prominent element that bears the main prominence of this domain.

In the case of the adverbs studied, it was observed that such adverbial forms present the maximum or compound prosodic word, more precisely the subtype II: derived words with suffixes that constitute stress domains independent from their base, such as "francamente" 'frankly' [[franca]W[mente]W]PWMAX, as the following representation, extracted from Vigário (2003, p.227) shows:
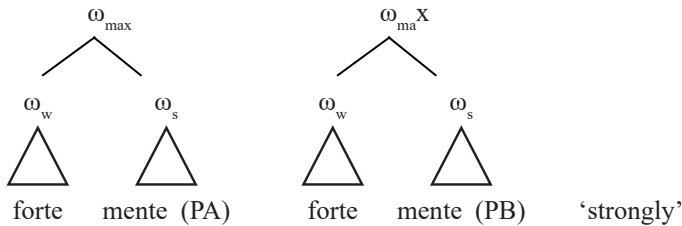
(23)
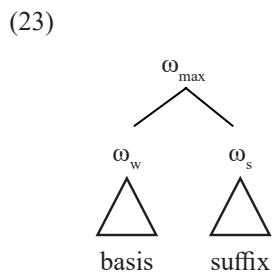
For AP and BP, the same structure previously proposed by Vigário (2003, p.227) is verified:

(24)

ω_{max} — ω_w (devota) ω_s (mente (PA)) ω_{max} — ω_w (devota) ω_s (mente (PB))   'devoutly'

(25)

ω_{max} — ω_w (forte) ω_s (mente (PA)) ω_{max} — ω_w (forte) ω_s (mente (PB))   'strongly'

The previous examples show that, in the formation of –*mente* adverbs in Portuguese, within the Maximum Prosodic Word there is a more prominent element to the right of these forms, in the case, -*mente*. This makes it possible to suppose that this element bears the word stress or the main stress. We can also verify that the maximum prosodic word bears a weaker prominence, represented by ω_w, which is found in the bases that form these adverbs.

Still regarding the phonological word, Vigário (2007) states that, when there is such dominance relation between two prosodic words, there is what the author calls *Prosodic Word Group*. Among the constituents that form this group, we can mention: derived words with suffixes that form lexical stress domains independent from their basis, derived words with stress prefixes, morphological compounds, morphosyntactic compounds, some syntactic compounds, mesoclitic structures, acronyms, pronunciation of sequences of letters, sequences of letters and numbers and certain sequences of numerals and names.[19]

Based on Vigário's proposal (2007) regarding the *Prosodic Word Group*, Ferreira (2012) proposes a division of Portuguese affixes in primary affixes and secondary affixes. According to the author (FERREIRA, 2012), secondary affixes such as –*mente* can only be attached after inflection suffixes. For example, in a case like *fremosamente* 'beautifully', we verify that the inflection gender suffix appears before the –*mente* suffix:

---

[19]   Massini-Cagliari (1992, p.130) shows that these sequences' pronunciations forms compounds in BP.

fremos-a-*mente*. This same reasoning is valid for adverbs formed by non-feminine bases, such as *lealmente* 'loyally', in which the inflection morpheme zero (ø) for gender does not occur at the end of the word, but rather before the attachment of the –*mente* suffix: *leal*- ø –*mente*. This fact shows that we do not face a suffix derivation process, but rather independent words that tend to be classified as compound, from a phonological point of view.

So far, we have observed two important concepts related to the prosodic word which serve as diagnosis for the delimitation of this prosodic constituent: the domain and word stress placement. Besides these, there are other diagnoses for the delimitation of prosodic words such as: fonotactic generalisations, erasure under identity, clipping, minimal word requirement and syllabification. It should be noted that, in the case of this research, among the criteria for ω delimitation previously mentioned, we only tested erasure under identity, once other purely phonological phenomena were not found in –*mente* adverbs formation in AP.

Erasure under identity is a process in which one element within complex words in coordinate structures can be erased without jeopardising comprehension of said structure. About this issue, a great part of specialised literature (BECHARA, 2005; BASÍLIO, 2006; COSTA, J., 2008) states that –*mente*, in BP, is an element susceptible to erasure in structures such as: *Ele chegou vagarosa e tranquilamente* 'He arrived slowly and calmly'. For AP, it was impossible to apply this criterion to the adverbial forms mapped because, even though the data mapped in medieval *cantigas* provided one coordinative structure, the first adverb in the coordination (*bem* 'well' and *mal* 'badly') – as the next examples show – do *NOT* have –*mente* ending (*malmente* e *benmente*), and such fact leads us not to use this criterion to define autonomous elements in the formation of adverbs in –*mente* in the archaic period of the Portuguese language.

(26)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 192, verses 46-48

"Ena Groriosa,
 e a razoar
 mal e soberviosamente..."[20]

(METTMANN, 1988, p.220)

(27)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 305, verses 72-73

 "[...] per que sempre viviria
 ben e avondadamente..."[21]

(METTMANN, 1989, p.108).

---

[20] 'the Glorious One and to reason erroneously and stubbornly' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.229).

[21] 'so that she could Always live well and comfortably' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.370).

(28)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 335, verses 51-52

"[...] mas ele per sy fez as papas
  mui *ben e apostamente*..."[22]

(METTMANN, 1989, p.176).

(29)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 369, verses 47-48

"[...] e pagaron seus dynneyros
  ben e muy compridamente..."[23]

(METTMANN, 1989, p.251).

Up to now, this section described and discussed evidence leading to the claim that adverbs in –*mente*, both in AP as in BP, are formed by independent words, from a prosodic point of view. However, it must be highlighted that, among the occurrences mapped, one caught our attention due to its structure. It is the form *bõa mente* 'good mind'. Every time this occurrence was mapped, it was next to the preposition *de*, as shown by the next example, and such fact did not occur with the other adverbial forms mapped.

(30)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 67, verses 26-30

"E vẽo pera el logo | manss' e en bon contenente,
  e disse: «Sennor, querede | que seja vosso sergente,
  e o serviço dos pobres | vos farei de *bõa mente*,
  pois vejo que vos queredes | e fazedes y bondade;
  A Reynna gloriosa | tant' é de gran santidade..."[24]

(METTMANN, 1986, p.226).

Observing the example (30), we can see that the expression *de bõa mente* means *goodwill* (used as a modifier), a fact showing already in the semantic level that this form does not correspond to an adverb of manner.

Based on Toneli (2009), it is possible to infer that the presence of the preposition *de* (a functional word that, therefore, behaves prosodically as a clitic, once it does

---

[22] 'and he himself made the porridge well and properly' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.407).

[23] 'and they paid [...] her money to the full amount' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.451).

[24] 'and came to thim with gentle manners and benign countenance and said: "My lord, take me for your servant, and I shall gladly do service for the poor, for I see that you are doing worthy things." (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.88).

not form a foot and does not receive primary stress) may indicate that we face a phonological phrase. Observing attentively the structure above, we can classify the *de* from *de boa mente* as a free clitic, because such word is linked directly to the phonological phrase, not attached to the prosodic word or even incorporated to it, as the following schema shows:

(31)
    (func (lex)PW)PPh
    (de (bõa)PW (mente)PW)PPh

Back to Toneli (2009), we verify the existence of some Prosodic Word Alignment Restrictions and, from these restrictions, we can affirm that, to delimitate a Prosodic Word, its left boundary (L) must coincide with the left boundary of some lexical word (Lex). Considering the author's study, the difference between a lexical word and a functional word is that functional words do not have the status of the Prosodic Word in phonological representation. Thus, we can think that the case of the *de bõa mente* structure the preposition *de* would not have the status of prosodic word, because being a functional word, its boundary is not aligned with the boundary of the prosodic word *boa* and, consequently, such structure could be considered a phonological phrase.

By the end of this section, it was possible to infer that the occurrences of adverbs in –*mente* both in AP as in BP present some evidence to be classified as independent, autonomous forms. One of them regards the fact that these forms present, in most of the cases mapped, the following morphological structure: feminine adjective base + *mente*. From there, taking Selkirk's (1984) idea for English affixes as basis, we can think of something similar to -*mente* in Portuguese, once such affix could be a neutral affix, that is, *fellow* of the 'word' category, because it does not appear within roots; it is a subcategory for categories of the word kind. Thus, it can have independent stress domain and, consequently, by attaching to inflected bases (also with their own stresses), form compound elements, from the prosodic point of view since the *Stress Placement Rule* occurs between distinct prosodic words.

We can, therefore, suppose that the adverbs in -*mente* investigated in this study are considered elements formed by independent parts from each other, in which the *Stress Placement Rule* acts in distinct domains: in the bases already inflected and in the "suffix" -*mente*. Thus, each of these parts can be considered a distinct phonological word, each with its own stress.

Conclusion

This article sought to present evidence regarding stress placement in the adverbial forms in –*mente* in AP and BP, in order to define them as compound forms, from a prosodic point of view. One of them regards the fact that these forms present, in most

cases mapped, the following morphological structure: *feminine adjective base + -mente*. From then on, taking Selkirk's idea (1984) for English affixes as basis, it was possible to think of something similar for *–mente* in Portuguese, once such affix would be a neutral affix, that is, it does not appear within roots. Thus, it can have an independent stress domain and, as a consequence, when attaching to the bases already inflected (also with their own stresses), form compound elements, from a prosodic point of view since the *Stress Placement Rule* occurs between distinct prosodic words.

Finally, we can say that this study has contributed, in a more general context, to show whether the processes occurring in word formation in the Portuguese language have been modified or preserved, which can help to enlighten facts of the current linguistic structure.

Acknowledgements

- *RESUMO: Este artigo objetiva apresentar uma discussão a respeito do comportamento prosódico dos advérbios em –mente no Português Arcaico (PA) e no Português Brasileiro (PB) sob o viés das Fonologias Prosódica e Métrica. Para a descrição do estatuto prosódico desses advérbios, sobretudo no PA, elegeram-se como corpus as 420 cantigas em louvor à Virgem Maria, conhecidas como Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM), e as 1251 cantigas profanas (510 de amigo, 431 de escárnio e maldizer e 310 de amor). Por outro lado, elegeu-se como corpus de estudo do PB um recorte do banco de dados do "Corpus Online do Português", elaborado em conjunto pelos pesquisadores Michael Ferreira, da Universidade de Georgetown, e Mark Davies, da Brigham Young University. A partir da coleta e da análise dos advérbios em -mente nos corpora, concluiu-se que tais advérbios são, do ponto de vista prosódico, compostos (um acento lexical e um secundário), tanto em PA como em PB, visto que podem ser consideradas estruturas que são formadas por partes independentes entre si, em que a Regra de Atribuição do Acento atua em domínios distintos: nas bases já flexionadas e no "sufixo" –mente.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Advérbios em -mente. Atribuição do acento. Prosódia. Português Arcaico. Português Brasileiro.*

REFERENCES

ABREU-ZORZI, T. H. **O estatuto prosódico dos advérbios em *-mente***: um estudo comparativo entre Português Arcaico e Português Brasileiro. 2016. 228f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2016.

BASÍLIO, M. **Formação e classes de palavras no português do Brasil**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006.

BECHARA, E. **Moderna Gramática Portuguesa**. 37.ed. Rio de Janeiro, Lucerna, 2005.

CHOMSKY, N.; HALLE, M. **The sound pattern of English**. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

COLLISCHONN, G. Acento secundário em português. **Letras de Hoje**, Porto Alegre, v.29, n.4, p.43-53, dez. 1994.

COSTA, D. S. da. **A interface música e linguística como instrumental metodológico para o estudo da prosódia do Português Arcaico**. 2010. 200f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2010.

COSTA, D. S. da. **Estudo do acento lexical no Português Arcaico por meio das Cantigas de Santa Maria**. 2006. 163f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2006.

COSTA, J. **O advérbio em Português Europeu**. Lisboa: Colibri, 2008.

DAVIES, M.; FERREIRA, M. **Corpus do Português**: 45 million words, 1300s-1900s. Georgetown: Universidade de Georgetown, 2006. Disponível em: <http://www.corpusdoportugues.org/x.asp>. Acesso em: 05 jan. 2017.

FERREIRA, M. L. S. **Contributos para uma definição de palavra fonológica**. 2012. 211f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Porto, 2012.

HAYES, B. **Metrical stress theory**: principles and case studies. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

KULP-HILL, K. **Songs of holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise:** a translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000.

LAPA, M. R. **Cantigas d'Escarnho e Mal Dizer dos Cancioneiros Medievais Portugueses:** edição crítica e vocabulário. 4.ed ilustrada. Lisboa: João Sá da Costa, 1998. Originalmente publicado em 1965.

LEE, S.-H. **Morfologia e fonologia lexical do Português**. 1995. Tese (Doutorado em Lingüística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade de Campinas, Campinas, 1995.

LIBERMAN, M. **The intonational system of English**. 1975. 324 f. Dissertation (Doctoral of Linguistics) - Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA, 1975. Disponível em: <http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/dm/theses/liberman75.pdf>. Acesso em: 06 dez. 2015.

LIBERMAN, M.; PRINCE, A. S. On stress and linguistc rhythm. **Linguistic inquiry**, Cambridge, n.8, p.249-336, 1977.

LOPES, J. R. **Literatura de Cordel**: antologia. Fortaleza: BNB, 1982.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G. **A música da fala dos trovadores:** desvendando a prosódia medieval. São Paulo: Ed. da Unesp, 2015.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G. **A música da fala dos trovadores:** estudos de Prosódia do Português Arcaico, a partir das cantigas profanas e religiosas. 2005. 348f. Tese (Livre-Docência) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2005.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G. **Do poético ao lingüístico no ritmo dos trovadores:** três momentos da história do acento. Araraquara: FCL, Laboratório Editorial, UNESP; São Paulo: Cultura Acadêmica, 1999.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G. **Cantigas de amigo:** do ritmo poético ao linguístico: um estudo do percurso histórico da acentuação em Português. 1995. 300f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade de Campinas, Campinas, 1995.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G. **Acento e ritmo**. São Paulo: Contexto, 1992.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G.; CAGLIARI, L. C. Fonética. In: MUSSALIM, F.; BENTES, A. C. (Org.). **Introdução à Linguística:** domínios e fronteiras. São Paulo: Cortez, 2001. v.1, p.105-146.

MASSINI-CAGLIARI, G.; CAGLIARI, L. C. De sons de poetas ou estudando fonologia através da poesia. **Revista da Anpoll**, São Paulo, n.5, p.77-105, 1998.

MATTOS E SILVA, R. V. **O Português Arcaico:** fonologia, morfologia e sintaxe. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006

METTMANN, W. (Ed.). **Cantigas de Santa María (cantigas 261 a 427):** Alfonso X, el Sabio. Madrid: Castalia, 1989. v.3.

METTMANN, W. (Ed.). **Cantigas de Santa María (cantigas 101 a 260):** Alfonso X, el Sabio. Madrid: Castalia, 1988. v.2.

METTMANN, W. (Ed.). **Cantigas de Santa María (cantigas 1 a 100):** Alfonso X, el Sabio. Madrid: Castalia, 1986. v.1.

MICHAËLIS DE VASCONCELOS, C. **Cancioneiro da Ajuda:** edição crítica e comentada. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional: Casa da Moeda, 1904.

NESPOR, M.; VOGEL, I. **Prosodic Phonology**. Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1986.

SELKIRK, E. O. **Phonology and Syntax:** the relation between sound and structure.

Cambridge: The Mit Press, 1984.

SELKIRK, E. O. **On prosodic structure and its relation to syntactic structure**. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club, 1980.

SIEGEL, D. **Topics in English Morphology**. 1974. 194f. Dissertation (PhD of Linguistics) - Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 1974. Disponível em: <http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/dm/theses/siegel74.pdf>. Acesso em: 06 dez. 2015.

TONELI, P. M. **A palavra prosódica no Português Brasileiro:** o estatuto prosódico das palavras funcionais. 2009. 177f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Linguística) – Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, 2009.

VIGÁRIO, M. O lugar do grupo clítico e da palavra prosódica composta na hierarquia prosódica: uma nova proposta. In: LOBO, M.; COUTINHO, M. A. (Org.). ENCONTRO NACIONAL DA ASSOCIAÇÃO PORTUGUESA DE LINGÜÍSTIC**,** 22., 2007, Liboa**. Textos seleccionados**. Lisboa: Colibri Artes Gráficas, 2007. p.673-688.

VIGÁRIO, M. Quando meia palavra basta: Apagamento de palavras fonológicas em estruturas coordenadas. In: CASTRO, I.; DUARTE, I. (Colab.). **Razões e emoção**: miscelânia de estudos em homenagem a Maria Helena Mira Mateus. Lisboa: Colibri, 2003. v.2, p.415-435.

VIGÁRIO, M. **The prosodic word in European Portuguese**. 2001. 440f. Dissertation (PhD of Linguistics) - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2001.

REVIEW

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND ETHNOGRAPHY[1]

Maria Aparecida Resende OTTONI[*]

For nearly 20 years, Izabel Magalhães has argued in favor of an ethnographic-discursive research proposal whereby Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Ethnography complement each other in investigations of social practices. However, a book revolving around this type of research had not been published in Brazil, and the Portuguese-language book *Análise de Discurso Crítica: um método de pesquisa qualitativa* [*Critical Discourse Analysis: a method of qualitative research*[2]] has come very timely to fill this gap and take its place as a unique and relevant publication.

The book takes an approach that distinguishes it from any other CDA work published in Brazil: CDA as a qualitative research method and its transdisciplinary relation with Ethnography. Its contribution is unique, especially for students and researchers from various knowledge domains who are interested in analyzing the social practices in which texts are embedded, and which as such requires field research.

Since every social practice comprises such elements as productive activity, means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness, and semiosis (FAIRCLOUGH, 2012), an approach that goes beyond the discourse analysis of texts and the discursive aspects of social practices is required if we are to truly understand how such practices work and how discourse/semiosis relates to other components of the social practices. It is necessary, as Magalhães, Martins and Resende contend, to carry out ethnographic research to look into discourse as one of the elements of the social practices, that is, it is necessary to take an approach that is both ethnographic and discursive. This allows researchers to keep in sight at all times both the role of discourse in the moments of practices and the dialectical relations between them.

Besides its introduction and conclusion sections, the book is composed of nine chapters equally distributed into three parts. Part 1 calls for a qualitative research method

[*] Federal University of Uberlândia (UFU), Institute of Letters and Linguistics, Uberlândia, Minas Gerais, Brazil. cidottoni@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0003-3674-3407

[2] All translations from Portuguese into English were produced for the purposes of this review. The original quotes are provided in footnotes, and translations for titles and some words or expressions are provided in brackets.

for social criticism; Part 2 presents Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnography; and Part 3 describes a method of text analysis[3].

In the introduction, the authors explain their major objective with the book and describe how it is organized. In Chapter 1, *Pesquisa qualitativa, crítica social e Análise de Discurso Crítica* [*Qualitative research, social criticism, and Critical Discourse Analysis*], they provide an overview of CDA while locating it in the qualitative research tradition and relating it to the social criticism. They show the different approaches within CDA, the notions of discourse and text, and the importance of the notion of text for the study of contemporary social processes, as texts are artifacts for such a study and "have causal effects – i.e., they bring about changes" (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003, p.8).

In Chapter 2, *ADC - teoria e método na luta social* [*CDA - theory and method in the social struggle*], the authors first provide the major assumptions of CDA as both a theory and a method by particularly focusing on the notions of discourse, interdiscursivity, power and ideology, and on the role that discourse plays in late modernity and in social change. Then, they list some methodological procedures deemed to be essential for establishing the research focus and the analysis process within CDA, placing a strong emphasis on how CDA relates to ethnographic research. The description of the steps to be followed in carrying out ethnographic-discursive research is a major contribution of the chapter, which provides clear, useful guidelines to both students and researchers regardless of their level of expertise in the domain.

In the last chapter in Part 1, Chapter 3, *Textos e seus efeitos sociais como foco para a crítica social* [*Texts and their social effects as a focus for social criticism*], the authors focus on an aspect that had been mentioned in a previous chapter: the social effects of texts. They unveil how such effects can be used in social critical research by drawing on an analysis of newspaper accounts of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in Brasilia, federal capital of Brazil, and an interview with one of the mentors in project GirAÇÃO, developed by the National Movement for Street Children in the Federal District, which was directly affected by the news. Their analysis of intertextuality and polyphony in one of the pieces of news is certainly a reference for other researchers to learn how to organize and carry out a study based on these two categories. Their approach to the interview reveals the effect of the news on project GirAÇÃO and how text analysis alone cannot account for the "role of texts in meaning construction and their causal effects"[4] (p.91). This is undoubtedly a sample of how productive ethnographic-discursive research is.

Part 2, which comprises Chapters 4 to 6, is devoted to Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnography. Two of them – Chapter 4, *Análise de Discurso Crítica e Etnografia - uma relação complementar* [*Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnography - a complementary relation*], and chapter 6, *Etnografia e Análise de Discurso Crítica* [*Ethnography and*

---

[3]   The title of the parts in Portuguese are: "*Um método de pesquisa qualitativa para a crítica social*" (Part 1), "*Análise de Discurso Crítica e etnografia*" (Part 2), and "*Um método de análise textual*" (Part 3).

[4]   Original: "*envolvimento de textos na construção de significado e o efeito causal de textos.*"

Critical Discourse Analysis] – are very close to each other in both their titles and objectives. In both, the authors advocate the complementarity between Ethnography and CDA. Judging from their common purposes and similar titles, it could have been a more productive choice and wider, deeper approach to such a complementarity if the authors had united their contents in one single chapter.

In Chapter 4, Magalhães, Martins and Resende address the types of field notes, provide examples of conceptual notes, recommend a joint use of CDA and Ethnography as a form of research validation, and devote a section to describe an ethnographic-discursive methodology. Because it is a book coauthored by three scholars, traces of individual authorship should have been deleted from the chapters (for instance, the expression "*a meu ver*" ["inform my point of view"] on page 120 in Chapter 4).

In Chapter 6, the authors stress the importance of ontological and epistemological coherence. They claim that "[…] there is an inconsistency between the CDA's ontological perspective and its documentary analysis tradition."[5] (p.155), because such a tradition does not support the construction of knowledge encompassing all inter-related components in the social world, as assumed in the Faircloughian approach to CDA. This is why resorting to the ethnographic paradigm articulated with CDA's text analysis method is indicated as an adequate solution. However, in a word of warning the authors say that only those ethnographic approaches "which require engagement with the research context and the participants"[6] (p.156) are coherent with CDA. Such a warning is fundamental, especially for beginners in this type of research.

Still in Chapter 6, Magalhães, Martins and Resende explain how to proceed to a research plan that articulates CDA and Ethnography, which involves reflections and decisions from the ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives. According to them, such decisions should "[…] follow a sequence, with the ontological decisions preceding the epistemological decisions […] and the latter preceding the methodological decisions."[7] (p.161). As such, there may be a number of potential epistemological paradigms for a given ontological variant, and therefore there may be multiple possible paths to be followed. Later in the chapter, the authors address ethnographic data collection and provide the methods used to this end. They also provide several reading references for all aspects mentioned in the chapter, which can be helpful in gaining a deeper understanding of ethnographic-discursive research. This is an invaluable chapter in the book precisely because of its content, organization and relevance.

Chapter 5, *Mudança social - prática e discurso* [*Social change - practice and discourse*], seems to stray away from the focus of Part 2, which is noticeable from the titles of its sections: unlike Chapters 4 and 6, the titles in Chapter 5 do not make any

---

[5] Original: "há inconsistência entre a perspectiva ontológica da ADC e sua tradição de análise documental."

[6] Original: "que preveem um engajamento com o contexto de pesquisa e com os participantes."

[7] Original: "[...] dão-se num eixo de sucessividade, isto é, as decisões ontológicas são prévias às epistemológicas [...], que são prévias às metodológicas."

reference to Ethnography. In fact, this chapter is closely related to Chapter 2, because the authors resume their discussion about late modernity (although using different terms – "modernidade posterior" in Chapter 2, and "modernidade tardia" in Chapter 5), and social change. In addition, as in Chapter 2, the authors discuss in Chapter 5 the notions of social practice and discursive practice before establishing the difference between them. The discussion about both concepts is highly relevant to all discourse analysts, making clear how they relate to one another and how prolific it is to work with both within CDA. However, Chapters 2 and 5 do not seem to be properly assigned to Parts 1 and 2 in the book because of their focus; a swap in their order could have contributed to the text's organization andfluidity.

In turn, Part 3 is not focused on an interface between CDA and Ethnography, but rather on CDA as a method of text analysis. Its three chapters (7, 8, and 9) report analyses of news articles, a brief meeting report, and a piece of news, respectively. Chapter 7, *ADC e minorias - representação e peso político na esfera pública* [*CDA and minorities - representation and political strength in the public sphere*], sheds light on a path to new dialogues and avenues by providing five struggle fronts: "[…] knowledge and monitoring of social condition, discovery and preservation of social identity, struggle for rights and more democracy, struggle for a territory in the public sphere, and engagement towards positive representation in the media."[8] (p.178). Besides explaining each one of those fronts, the authors show how useful CDA can be in setting the grounds for such fronts and analyze four newspaper articles that address the situation of communities living in "quilombos" (hinterland settlements founded by runaway slaves in Brazil) in the Municipality of Alcântara, in the State of Maranhão. Their analysis encompasses three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and social practice.

In Chapter 8, *Análise de Discurso Crítica: conceitos-chave para uma crítica explanatória com base no discurso* [*Critical Discourse Analysis: key concepts for an explanatory discourse-based critique*], the authors argue for interdisciplinarity as a common characteristic to all approaches within CDA. As a theory concerned with the social functioning of language, CDA should not neglect theories of the functioning of the society, and therefore an interface is of essence between CDA and such theories. Magalhães, Martins and Resende also emphasize that one of the key aspects of CDA is its approach to the intrinsic mutual relation between language and society, and they eventually draw our attention to the notions of discourse, genre, and text. The authors believe that distinguishing such concepts one from the other has been one of the major challenges for students to understand CDA's theoretical and methodological model, and mistaken uses of such concepts have theoretical implications that compromise empirical works. To illustrate the distinction between the terms, the authors analyze a brief meeting report, which serves for other researchers to use as a reference while developing their studies and analyses of discourse, genre, and text.

---

[8] Original: "[...] o conhecimento e acompanhamento da situação social; a descoberta e preservação da identidade social; a luta por direitos e por mais democracia; a luta por espaço na esfera pública; e o empenho pela representação positiva na mídia."

In Chapter 9, *Identidades e discursos de gênero* [*Identities and gender discourses*], the authors set out "to investigate some contributions of the Critical Discourse Studies (CDS)"[9] (p.213). This is the first time that they refer to CDS, but they do not explain how such studies are related to CDA or whether they are synonymous with CDA. The problem persists as the authors address CDA further in the text without any reference back to CDS. Assuming that the practices include discourses, literacies and feminine identities, and that a newspaper article is the product of socio-cultural practices, the authors analyze a sample of this genre which reports a crime against a woman aiming at investigating its text construction of gender identities. To this end, they analyze the lexical choices, the intertextual relations, the discourses articulated in the news, the gender identities, and the literacies. Their analysis point to some results, but, as they argue, it should be complemented with ethnographic research, which is consistent with the focus adopted in the book. As a point of improvement, a repeated instance of the term "interdiscursividade" ["interdiscursivity"] should be corrected in Figure 9.1 on page 230; it should be replaced with "*intertextualidade*" ["intertextuality"] to be consistent with the analysis developed in the chapter.

The contribution of Part 3 is undeniable. However, because several other publications have provided samples of Critical Discourse Analysis as a method of text analysis in Brazil, it would have been more interesting and consistent with the book approach if Part 3 had consisted of chapters providing detailed research samples, and their respective results, showing how CDA and Ethnography complement one another.

In their conclusion, the authors take up again some of the CDA's foundations to show in which chapters they had been addressed. They also draw the readers' attention to the fact that CDA, as both a theory and a method, has its limitations since it is under construction and subject to reformulations. Besides, they emphasize that the complementarity between CDA and Ethnography is advantageous to both domains, with CDA gaining validity and analytical consistency, and Ethnography gaining an interface with the discourse analysts' methods for analyses of texts and interactions.

In sum, this book is an essential reading for students, researchers and professionals interested in a comprehensive analysis of social practices, which requires ethnographic discourse analysis, rather than the sole analysis of their representation in discourse. The book is, therefore, an open invitation and a stimulus to the development of this type of research.

REFERENCES

FAIRCLOUGH, N. Análise Crítica do Discurso como método em pesquisa social científica. Translated by Iran Ferreira de Melo. **Linha d'Água**, São Paulo, v.25, n.2, p.307-329, 2012.

---

[9] Original: "examinar algumas contribuições dos estudos críticos do discurso."

FAIRCLOUGH, N. **Analysing discourse***: textual analysis for social research*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 270 p.

SUBJECT INDEX

AUTHOR INDEX

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:

Step1. 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.

LUCHESI, D. **Sistema, mudança e linguagem**: um percurso na história da linguística moderna. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2004.

Book chapters

PÊCHEUX, M. Ler o arquivo hoje. In: ORLANDI, E. P. (Org.). **Gestos de leitura: da história no discurso**. Tradução de Maria das Graças Lopes Morin do Amaral. Campinas: Ed. da UNICAMP, 1994. p.15-50.

Thesis and dissertations

BITENCOURT, C. M. F. **Pátria, civilização e trabalho**: o ensino nas escolas paulista (1917-1939). 1998. 256 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1998.

Papers in journals

SCLIAR-CABRAL, L.; RODRIGUES, B. B. Discrepâncias entre a pontuação e as pausas. **Cadernos de Estudos Linguísticos**, Campinas, n.26, p. 63-77, 1994.

Online papers

SOUZA, F. C. Formação de bibliotecários para uma sociedade livre. **Revista de Biblioteconomia e Ciência da Informação**, Florianópolis, n.11, p. 1-13, jun. 2001. Disponível em: <...> Acesso em: 30 jun. 2001.

Newspaper articles

BURKE, P. Misturando os idiomas. **Folha de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, 13 abr. 2003. Mais!, p.3.

EDITORA plagiou traduções de clássicos. **Folha de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, 4 nov. 2007. Ilustrada, p. 6.

Online publications

UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL PAULISTA. Coordenadoria Geral de Bibliotecas. Grupo de Trabalho Normalização Documentária da UNESP. Normalização Documentária para a produção científica da UNESP: normas para apresentação de referências. São Paulo, 2003. Disponível em: <...>. Acesso em: 15 jul. 2004.

Paper in edited volumes, conference proceedings, and working papers

MARIN, A. J. Educação continuada. In: CONGRESSO ESTADUAL PAULISTA SOBRE FORMAÇÃO DE EDUCADORES, 1., 1990. **Anais**... São Paulo: UNESP, 1990. p. 114-118.

Films:

Macunaíma. Direção (roteiro e adaptação) de Joaquim Pedro de Andrade. Filmes do Serro/Grupo Filmes/Condor Filmes. Brasil: 1969. Rio de Janeiro: Videofilmes, 1969. Versão restaurada digitalmente, 2004. 1 DVD (105 minutos), color.

Paintings, photographs, illustrations, drawings:

ALMEIDA JÚNIOR. **Caipira picando fumo**. 1893. Óleo sobre tela. 17 cm X 23,5 cm. Pintura pertencente ao acervo da Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

PICASSO, Pablo. **[Sem título]**. [1948]. 1 gravura. Disponível em: <http://belgaleria.com.br>. Acesso em 19 ago. 2015.

Music CDs (as a unit or tracks)

CALAZANS, T. **Teca Calazans canta Villa Lobos**. Rio de Janeiro: Kuarup Discos, 1999. 1 CD.
CALAZANS, T. Modinha. In: CALAZANS, T. **Teca Calazans canta Villa Lobos**. Rio de Janeiro: Kuarup Discos, 1999. 1 CD.

3.3.2. In-text references and quotations

For references in the text, the surname of the author should be in CAPITALS, enclosed in parentheses; a comma should be placed between the author's last name and year, e.g. (BARBOSA, 1980). If the name of the author is part of the text, only the year is enclosed in parentheses: "Morais (1955) argues..."
Page numbers follow the year and are preceded by "p."; note a comma and a space between year and "p.", and between "p." and the number, e.g. (MUNFORD, 1949, p. 513).
References of the same author with the same year should be distinguished by using lower case letters in alphabetical order, e.g. (PESIDE, 1927a), and (PESIDE, 1927b). For references with one author and up to two co-authors, semi-colons are used to separate the surnames, e.g. (OLIVEIRA; MATEUS; SILVA, 1943); for references with more than two co-authors, the expression "et al." substitutes for the surnames of the co-authors, e.g. (GILLE et al., 1960).

Quotations longer than three text lines should be set in 11-point font size, and set out as a separate paragraph (or paragraphs) on a new line. The paragraph (or paragraphs) should be 4.0 cm from the left margin throughout, without any quotation marks. Quotations shorter than three text lines should be included in double quotation marks in the running text. Quotations from texts in foreign languages must be translated into Portuguese. Published translations should be used whenever possible. The original text should appear in a footnote.

3.3.3. Italics, bold, underlining and quotation marks

Italics: Use italics for foreign words, book titles int 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 com 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 midia, 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.

FCL - UNESP
Laboratório Editorial