# ALFA
# Revista de Linguística

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# ALFA
# Revista de Linguística

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# PRESENTATION

The inaugural issue of Alfa's Volume 63 features eight articles and a review. The topics covered in the studies include the formation of creole languages, the process of lexical renewal by loan as the result of linguistic contacts, an evaluation of computational dictionary, the representation of children's speech in comic strips, the process of acquisition of writing in an interaction context, the evaluation of ideological constructions and the contents proposed in Brazilian and Portuguese official political-pedagogical documents.

In their study on the formation of the Papiamentu, Freitas, Araújo and Bandeira analyze an aspect usually disregarded in the history of the language — the role played by Sephardic Jews, through their use of Portuguese and their active participation in the trade of enslaved Africans brought to Curaçao. Poza's article deals with the process of incorporating indigenous vocabulary into the lexicon of Spanish, through the analysis of the vocabulary present in the *Crónica de Indias* (16th century). The author assumes the complex interrelationship of identitary, cultural and cognitive aspects that underlies the process, identifying in the analysis of the data six phases by which the words were adapting until the full incorporation.

From processes that marked the first centuries of European presence in America, we go to the future / present, in the study of Finatto, Vale and Laporte. The authors propose to test the adequacy of a computational dictionary in terms of how much it incorporates popular terms attested in journalistic use. It is a study on elaborating and refining resources to grasp the language lexicon, its most visibly malleable component, and to provide an instrument tuned to the needs of its users.

Gomes and Alencar analyze texts published in *Veja* magazine regarding cases of political corruption in the governments of Lula and Dilma. As they identify linguistic-discursive resources mobilized to build an ideological position, they reveal the relationship between media and politics. Their study is based on the System of Appraisal (Martin and White) and Mouffe's social theory.

Gatti's research investigates children's talk in comic strips, discussing its likelihood from the perspective of interationist Language Acquisition studies. Unique aspects of his work are the role of humor in the elaboration of this representation of infantile speech, and the evaluation on the potential of this type of data source for research in Acquisition studies.

We go from Acquisition of Speech to Acquisition of Writing, also on an Interactionist perspective. Felipeto presents an investigation held with children at the initial years

of literacy process, where she compares texts written in two different situations — in individual writing activities and in collaborative writing activity. The author aimed to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the production in an interaction context, taking into account quantitative (extension) and qualitative aspects (spelling errors, erasures) in the texts analyzed.

The focus on teaching brings the last two articles of this issue closer to Felipeto's. But in the case of the studies by Vieira and Gonzalez and Rodrigues and Sá, it is a question of investigating official political-pedagogical documents, each one under different theoretical aspects and approaches. From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, Vieira and Gonzalez discuss how the construction of the concepts of "social gender" and "sexuality" in the PCNs is based on the analysis of the semantic relations established in the texts through lexical selection linked to these terms. The study of Rodrigues and Sá, in turn, reveals how Portuguese official documents for Basic Education have dealt with topics on Portuguese Phonetic/Phonology. The authors note that, while the importance of these grounds for reflection on language is not questioned, the documents reserve a limited space for them and also present theoretical and terminological inaccuracies.

Our issue closes with the review of the book *Fonologia, fonologias: uma introdução*, a work that proposes to "take the reader to the world of sounds", and fulfills the promise, as Cangemi says, providing theoretical subsidies of a fundamental field in linguistic studies.

From the diversity of themes and approaches present in the studies that make up this issue, a common link emerges which is part of the essence of Linguistics, a science of the human. Through language we become individuals who are members of communities. Thus, the social and historical elements are constitutive of language, as much as its biological and cognitive components. When a study prioritizes an aspect of the internal mechanism that allows the functioning of language, it is not erasing the historical process that has built this semiotic system and that ceaselessly shapes it, nor its social function. Interestingly, since the middle of the twentieth century, we have been experiencing a constant expansion of interest and recovery of such aspects in linguistic studies. This movement, which has blossomed theoretical models, methodological proposals, and interdisciplinary approaches, seems to be, rather than a trend, a path. A path always present in the pages of *Alfa* and certainly also present in the works that we now share with our readers.

Rosane de Andrade Berlinck

# CONTENTS

*ORIGINAL ARTICLES*

# THE SEPHARDIC JEWS IN CURAÇAO AND THEIR ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF PAPIAMENTU

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▪ ABSTRACT: This study aims to analyse the participation of Jews in Papiamentu's linguistic configuration, based on original research and on published literature (HENRIQUEZ, 1988, 1991; MARTINUS, 1996; JACOBS, 2012). The analysis of 18th century documents reveals that Sephardic Papiamentu, which is more similar to Portuguese, influenced the general variety. Prayers and epitaphs in Portuguese confirm that this was the language used by several Sephardic Jews as well. Additionally, Martinus (1996) and Jacobs (2012) present records that may point to a relationship among Senegambia/Upper Guinea, Amsterdam and Curacao through the slave trade conducted by the Jews. Thus, this study intends to show that the Jews had an important role in Curaçaoan society, influencing the configuration of Papiamentu. In addition, we follow an approach similar to the one supported by Faraclas et al. (2014): a convergence of elements has to be considered in studying the Atlantic Creole formation, namely the agency of different languages speakers.

▪ KEYWORDS: Sephardic Jews. Papiamentu. Social and linguistic role.

## Introduction

Papiamentu[1] is a language spoken, among other places, on the island of Curaçao by about 150,000 people (CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS, 2012). Papiamentu is the first language of most habitants in Curaçao and is the official language along with Dutch. It is used in different communicative situations, for all social classes, in mass media (newspapers, television and radio) and for education purposes (most schools are bilingual – Dutch and Papiamentu).

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[1] In this paper, we use the Curaçaoan form Papiamentu, instead of Aruban Papiamento.

Regarding the genesis of Papiamentu, there is no consensus among scholars, who present at least four different hypotheses. One hypothesis (GOODMAN, 1996; SMITH, 1999; among others) argues that Papiamentu was a Portuguese-based Creole that originated from a Jewish-Portuguese 'dialect' of the Sephardic community and their slaves, especially those from the Dutch colony in Recife, Brazil. Records show the first Sephardic family arrived in Curaçao in 1651, and the number increased in the following years.

Considering this issue, the present study aims to analyse the participation of Jews in Curaçaoan society, especially in Papiamentu's linguistic configuration (its emergence and spread). Up to now, the role of Sephardic Jews has been somewhat neglected in the studies of Papiamentu (MARTINUS, 1996; JACOBS, 2012). With regard to Sephardim, the same authors admit that the Jewish community had an important role in the configuration of Curaçaoan society, but little is discussed about the community's language *de facto* and even about the specificities of the so-called Sephardic Papiamentu. Thus, despite adopting data from previous studies as a starting point, this study presents a new interpretation of data since no other previous study took into account the participation of Jews in Curaçao from a linguistic perspective.

## The Jews in Curaçaoan Society

The migration of Jews to Curaçao began in 1651, driven by two main reasons. The Inquisition, which began in the middle of the 16th century, meant extensive persecution to Jews, especially in Portugal and Spain. In addition, in 1654, the Portuguese crown recovered Recife (Brazil) after twenty-four years of Dutch domination and expelled the Dutch and the Jews.. The Dutch had been more tolerant than the Portuguese and Spaniards, so after these events, many Jews who lived in the Iberian Peninsula and later in the Netherlands and in Pernambuco decided to migrate to Curaçao along with their slaves.

Concerning the provenance of the Jews who came to Curaçao, many authors (like GOODMAN, 1996) advocate that many of them are from Brazil, more accurately from Recife, Pernambuco. Other scholars show that it is more plausible to consider a multiple provenance (HENRIQUEZ, 1988; JACOBS, 2012). Therefore, the Jews could have come from Portugal, Spain, Amsterdam, Italia, the Mediterranean area, Upper Guinea, or the Cape Verdean archipelago.

In spite of this variety of origins, Ladhams (1999), Smith (1999) and Jacobs (2012) show that many Jews lived in Brazil and Amsterdam before going to Curaçao. Some prominent Jewish leaders and settlers illustrate this connection. Through name registers, Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) show that many Jews who went to Curaçao had previously lived in Brazil-and acted as community leaders (*parnassim*).

According to Ladhams (1999), João de Yllan (or Ilhão), chief of the first group of Jewish settlers that landed in Curaçao in 1651, surely had been in Brazil between the end

of the 1630s and the beginning of the 1640s. De Yllan had promised to take 50 colonists to the island, but in practice managed to recruit only 12; among them was Abraham Diogo, who also had spent some time in Brazil (EMMANUEL; EMMANUEL, 1970). Casseres (1990) also mentions the name of Joao d'Yllan and his passage through Brazil before going to Curaçao. According to this same author, many ex-colonists of Dutch Brazil formed the second group of Jews that arrived in Curaçao in 1659, under the command of Isaac da Costa. Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) claim that Isaac, Uriel da Costa's nephew, also had been one of the first Jewish colonists in Brazil. He was a great merchant in Recife and his father and uncles were prominent people within the Amsterdam Jewish community. With Isaac da Costa, the Curaçaoan Jewish community was in fact settling down in solid bases. Smith (1999), in turn, mentions David Nassy, who not only had been in Recife and Curaçao (where he arrived in 1652 along with other Brazilian Jews), but also in Suriname.

Besides their families, many Jews (mainly those who left Pernambuco) also brought their slaves to Curaçao. This is a point of controversy, inasmuch as some scholars advocate that this scenario is unlikely, whereas others defend the possibility. Arends (1999), Ladhams (1999) and Jacobs (2012), for example, reasoned that Jews didn't bring slaves with them because of (i) the shortage of transportation (there were available only sixteen vessels, which were occupied not only by passengers but also by 'movable property' such as wood), (ii) the small number of slaves owned by Jews, and (iii) the strict prohibitions for leaving Recife with slaves. Another reason is the long and indirect journey routes. Maurer (1998) also points out that, according to some registers, since 1659 the Jewish newcomers to Curaçao could purchase slaves. Thereby, it is possible to assume that the Jews did not bring their slaves; otherwise, they would not need to appeal for this privilege.

On the other hand, Smith (1999) asserts that many Jews could have taken slaves with them. They were conscious about the value of an 'experienced' slave and might use non-official means of transportation. Besides, it is possible that there were more Jewish plantation owners than the recorded number, which would imply a need for slaves to work in the field and, consequently, the possession of a larger number of slaves by the Jews. Smith (1999) says that, being aware of the value of slaves to the Recife plantation economy, many Dutch and Jews already had been withdrawing their slaves even before the Portuguese recapture. This author adds that the existence of a law, which prohibited the departure of slaves, does not mean it was strictly accomplished. Therefore, even the slaves from Recife were not taken in large scale numbers along with their Jewish owners and some of them (presumably those in the owners' house or the ones more adapted to work in the field) could have been shipped to the Caribbean island. Because they were in constant movement within the island, these slaves, speakers of some variety of Portuguese, certainly contributed to the diffusion and incorporation of Portuguese elements into Papiamentu. The contribution attributed to the slave segment is not restricted only to the ones who had left Brazil but includes all slaves who, in some way, lived together with the Sephardim.

When Jews arrived in Curaçao, they engaged in activities such as international trade, finances, shipping and transportation (CASSERES, 1990). According to this author, it is likely Jews did not own many lands and were involved in activities that did not require many slaves. Because of this, they did not have a great number of slaves nor were they involved directly with the slavery trade because the Dutch West India Company (WIC) exercised the monopoly in this activity and seldom allowed other segments to take part in it. Other authors question the involvement of Jews in the slavery industry. Martinus (1996) and Jacobs (2012) draw attention to the role of Jews in the slave trade in Curaçao, an aspect often overlooked since it does not appear in official records because all slave trade conducted by Jews was illegal.

Both authors present records that may point to a relationship among Senegambia/Upper Guinea, Amsterdam and Curacao through the slave trade conducted by the Jews. On this, Martinus (1996) calls attention to the fact that the Jews in Curaçao not only were colonists but also slave traders (combining the two activities many times). Many Jews had more than one name – and sometimes had Dutch-looking names (as is the case of Jan de Lion in place of João de Yllan – or even put their non-Jewish partners in charge of the businesses. These attitudes could be the reason why scholars in general have not considered Jewish participation in the slave trade (MARTINUS, 1996).

Another proof that Jews negotiated slaves is Van Dantzig's account (1968, p. 81 apud MARTINUS 1996, p. 145) of the relations between Portuguese Jews in Curaçao and the ones from Amsterdam through Cacheu Company: "The Portuguese licensed Company of Cacheu, founded in 1692 mainly for slave trade, had intimate links with the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam and had its own office in Curaçao." Therefore, in addition to their activities in transportation, shipping and banking, Sephardic Jews may have been landowners and have been involved in slave trade, playing an important role in Curaçaoan society.

To get a more detailed account of the participation of Sephardim in Papiamentu it is necessary to discuss briefly the genesis of Creole languages in general. The gradual creolization approach seems to be suitable to explain the formation of Papiamentu, including the role of Sephardic Jews. Considering that it took some time for the Caribbean language to develop, the Sephardic community, which began to arrive in Curaçao in 1651, could have had a relevant role in the development of this new language, not only providing words, expressions and structures, but also, and especially, bringing to Papiamentu a new input from the Portuguese language.

Besides the gradualist approach, the position of Perini-Santos (2015) also applies to the participation of the Jewish community in the linguistic configuration of Papiamentu. To this author, the multiple influences active in a particular moment can be perceived in a span of many synchronies and maintained for various generations. An example of this continuous influence mentioned by Perini-Santos (2015) concerns Latin and Romance languages. Latin not only gave rise to other languages, but it lived together with them for a long time. This coexistence is responsible for influences that go beyond

the genetic relation, being necessary, according to this author, to analyse the Latin contribution to these daughter languages in a broader perspective, attending to the linguistic contact. Considering the ideas discussed by Perini-Santos (2015) in relation to Papiamentu, the variety of languages present in Curaçao (Spanish, Dutch, African languages spoken by slaves, Portuguese and Papiamentu spoken by Sephardim) had a substantial participation in configuration of the Caribbean language. This multiple agency was kept even though the language has not remained in use in Curaçaon society over the years. Concerning the Sephardic community, it can be observed that the Jews were present in Curaçao for a long time, occupying a position of social prestige and being numerically representative within the society as a whole.

## Linguistic Contributions of Sephardic Jews to Papiamentu

As far as the language spoken by the Jews is concerned, Jacobs (2012) claims there are no descriptions of the Sephardic's ethnolect, which makes it impossible to say conclusively that the aspects of Papiamentu attributed to the Jews' influence really occurred in their language variety. Munteanu (1996) also asserts that the vernacular languages of Sephardic Jews are not known with accuracy, only that they generally spoke Spanish, Portuguese or both. Nevertheless, many authors provide some insights into the language used by the Sephardic Jews, not only in Curaçao, but also in parts of Europe and Brazil (regions related to the Caribbean island). Andersen (1974) argues that Curaçaoan Jews spoken Judeo-Spanish,[2] Spanish and Portuguese. Besides, they knew other languages (e.g., English, French, Dutch, Hebrew) required for translation activities.

Emmanuel (1957), Martinus (1996) and Joubert and Perl (2008) also defend the multilingualism of the Jewish community. Martinus (1996) considers that Jews used Portuguese, Hebrew, Ladino, Spanish and Dutch. Granda (1974) points to the use of Spanish, Portuguese and Ladino among Sephardim in Curaçao. Jacobs (2012), in turn, does not believe Ladino to has been used in Curaçao; although this language was the most characteristic one in the Sephardic Jews communities in Europe, there is no record that proves its existence in Curaçao.

In short, multilingualism may have predominated in the Curaçaoan Sephardic Jews. Among the various languages used, according to some authors, Portuguese could have had a prominent role. According to Grant (2008b), the majority of Sephardic Jews who lived in the Netherlands and Curaçao in the 16th century had Portuguese as their mother tongue, using it in various situations (family communication, written media, wills, deeds, acts, among others) instead of Spanish (although many of them also had some knowledge of the Hispanic language and even Dutch). Munteanu (1996) indicates

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[2]   This study is not going to discuss the difference between *Ladino* (form of writing used in translations) and *Judeo-Spanish* (the set of spoken Spanish varieties arisen in the late 16th and 17th centuries), using the two terms as synonyms.

that most of the Curaçaoan Jews spoke Portuguese, which was the official language of the Jewish congregation until 1865. Emmanuel (1957) also considers that, in Curaçao until 1865, Portuguese prevailed within the Sephardic community; this was the mother tongue of almost all Jews there, used in both the synagogue and government institutions, there being an interest in transmitting this language to the children.

Smith (1999) points out the importance of Portuguese in the Curaçao synagogue (*Mikve Israel*, the most ancient synagogue in Western Hemisphere in continuous use), where this language was used until 1856. Lessa (1975) also mentions the use of Portuguese in Dutch synagogues. Up to the present, there are Portuguese prayers and expressions in *Mikve Israel*.

Emmanuel (1959, p. xxvii–xxix) and Joubert and Perl (2008, p. 143) present some prayers in Portuguese, stating the titles of the prayers (in Spanish), which point out their purpose and context of use and which were translated and are shown here in bold. The prayers were kept as recorded by the authors, without changes in their form. In addition, the prayers were numbered and comments were included in the notes, which comprise general explanations of some terms referring to the Hebrew culture and religion:

**1 Oração pela saúde da Rainha Holandesa, de sua família real, do governador de Curaçao e seus magistrados:**[3] A Sua Majestade Juliana, Rainha dos Paises Baixos e a seu Real Consorte. A serenissima Princesa Wilhelmina Madame sua Mâe. Aos descendentes da Casa Real de Orange Nassao; aos ilustres membros que concorrem no Governo destas terras e ao nobre venerável Excelentissimo Senhor Governador desta ilha e a todos Magistrados en ella.
*1 Prayer for the health of the Queen of Holland, Her Royal Family and the governor of Curaçao and his magistrates: Her Majesty Juliana, Queen of the Netherlands and her royal spouse. The Serene Highness Princess Wilhelmina Madam Her Mother. To the descendants of the Royal House Orange Nassao; to the distinguished members that take part in the Government of such lands and to the venerable Eminent Sir Governor of this island and to all Magistrates in it.*

**2 Oferta pelo repouso da alma de um defunto**:
Tantos soldos Shemen Lamaor por el descanzo de fulano de tal.
*2 Offering for the rest of a dead man's soul:*
*A pay by Shemen Lamaor for the rest of such and such.*

**3 Pela saúde dos que estão de luto**:
Para que Deus lhes conceda vidas largas.
*3 For the health of those who mourn:*
*So that God give them long lives.*

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[3]   On a visit to the Jewish Historical-Cultural Museum, next to the synagogue, it was possible to note that this prayer in Portuguese (possibly with small changes) exists in a mural outside the entrance. This prayer is also mentioned, with few changes, by Joubert and Perl (2008). Moreover, according to Silva (2001), a similar prayer is still visible today in the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam.

**4 Pela saúde de um enfermo**:

Para que Deus lhe conceda Refua Shelema[4] e para que continue em saude perfeita.

*4 For the health of a sick person:*

*So that God give him Refua Schelema and that he remains in good health.*

**5 Por aquele que se salvou de um mal = *Hagomél*:**[5]

Que sua saida seja para bem.

*5 For the one who was saved from an evil = Hagomél:*

*So that his deliverance is for the good.*

**6 Pelo aniversário de alguém**:

Que Deus lhe deixe contar muitos anos de bon.

*6 For someone's birthday:*

*May God give him many good years.*

**7 Pelos recém-casados**:

Pela saude dos Senhores noivos, para que Deus lhes haga felizes.

*7 For newly-married:*

*For the health of the couple, so that God make them happy.*

**8 Ao nascimento de um filho**:

Pela saude de Bangal, a Berith,[6] sua esposa e recem-nascido, pais e mâes, parentes que vejam grandes gustos.

*8 To the birth of a son:*

*For the health of Bengal, a Berith, his wife and newborn, so that fathers and mothers, relatives wish them well.*

**9 Pelo Bar Mitzvá (*Bar Misva*):**[7]

Pela graça de haver chegado a este estado, pais e mâes, parentes que vejam grandes gustos.

*9 For the Bar Mitzvá (Bar Misva):*

*For the grace of having coming to this stage, fathers and mothers, relatives wish them well.*

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[4]    According to Joubert and Perl (2008), *Refuah Shlema* is the Hebrew term that refers to the wish for a full recovery.

[5]    According to Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970), the Hebrew word *Hagomel* ('the grantor') refers to a prayer of deliverance said before the Holy Ark or the Torah (also called the Pentateuch, referring to the first five books of the Bible).

[6]    According to Henriquez (1988), **bangalá Berit** (Ba'al Berit) is the name given to the father of a child performing the **Berit** (circumcision).

[7]    According to Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970), the Aramaic/Hebrew word *Bar Mitzvah / Bar Mitsvah / Bar Mitzvah* ('the son of the commandment') refers to the ceremony in which Jewish boys begin to participate in the services of the synagogue, usually on the first *Sabbath* (the period from sundown on Friday to the sundown on Saturday) after their thirteenth birthday.

**10 Boa viagem**:
Para que Deus lo leve ao porto de seu desejo e lo livre de todos maus encontros.
*10 Good journey*:
*So that God guide him to the harbour of his wishes and deliver him from all bad encounters.*

**11 Por quem queira receber boas notícias**:
Que Deus lo mantenha com bem e mande boas noticias de el.
*11 For whom wishes to receive good news*:
*So that God keep him good and send good news of him.*

**12 Feliz chegada**:
Que sua jegada seja para bem.
*12 Happy homecoming*:
*That his homecoming brings happiness.*

**13 Pela saúde dos *Parnassim*[8] e dos membros da Comunidade**:
Pela saude dos Senhores Parnassim, Yehidim deste Kahal Kadosh,[9] para que Deus lhes aumente e prospere.
*13 For the health of Parnassim and the Community members'*:
*For the health of Sirs Parnassim, Yehidim of this Kahal Kadosh, so that God provide them with prosperity.*

**14 Pela saúde do presidente da Comunidade**:
Pela saude do Rosh Hakahal.[10]
*14 For the health of the Community's president*:
*For the health of Rosh Hakahal.*

**15 Pela saúde do grande rabino**:
Pela saude do Morénu Harab.[11]
*15 For the health of the great rabbi*:
*For the health of Morénu Harab.*

**16 Na instalação dos novos *Parnassim***:
Pela saude dos Senhores Parnassim salientes e entrantes.
*16 Upon new Parnassim*:
*For the health of the prominent arriving Sirs Parnassim.*

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[8]  Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) define the Hebrew word *Parnas / Parnaz* (plural: *Parnassim*) ('provider') as the community supervisor, administrator or president of a society, brotherhood or Jewish school/college.

[9]  This Hebrew term refers to the sacred congregation (EMMANUEL; EMMANUEL, 1970).

[10]  The Hebrew word *Ros / Rosh* ('head') refers to the head or the president of a brotherhood or to the rector of a Jewish college (EMMANUEL; EMMANUEL, 1970).

[11]  Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) consider that this Hebrew term refers to the chief rabbi.

**17 Pela saúde dos noivos da Lei (*Hatanim*[12]):**
Pela saude dos Senhores Hatanim que sempre se entreguen ao cargo de Misvoth.[13]
*17 For the health of Law's bridegrooms (Hatanim):*
*For the health of Sirs Hatanim, who may always perform the Misvoth.*

**18 Em Rosh Hashaná[14] e Yom Kipur:[15]**
Para que Deus nos escreva em livros de vida.
*18 During Rosh Hashaná and Yom Kipur:*
*So that God writes us into the books of lives.*

**19 Nas três grandes festas (*Shalosh Regalim*):[16]**
Para que Deus lhe conceda (o nos conceda) festas alegres.
*19 On the three great feasts (Shalosh Regalim):*
*So that God give you (or us) happy feasts.*

**20 O rabino *hazan*[17] ou *samas*[18] que oferece por sua saúde:**
Pela mi propia saude e que Deus me conceda muitos anos no serviço desta Santa Casa.
*20 The rabbi hazan ou samas, who prays for your health:*
*For my own health, and so that God provide me with many years in the service of this Holy House.*

**21 A favor da chuva:**
Para que Deus nos conceda chuva de benção.
*21 In favor of rain:*
*So that God showers us with blessings.*

**22 Quando não se quer especificar o objeto de sua oferta:**
Por sua intençâo.
*22 When one does not want to specify the object of one's prayer:*
*For thy blessing.*

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[12]   A Hebrew word meaning 'bride and groom' (EMMANUEL; EMMANUEL, 1970).

[13]   According to Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970), the Hebrew word *Misva / Misvah / Mitsvah / Mitzvah* (plural: *Mizvoth*) ('commandment, good deed') refers to the participation in an honorable act in the services of the synagogue, such as the burial of a Jew.

[14]   Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) consider that the Hebrew term *Rosasana / Ros-Ashaná / Rosassana / Rosassanah / Roshashana / Rosh Hashanah* ('head of the year') refers to the Jewish New Year.

[15]   The Hebrew word *Kippur / Kipur / Yom Kippur* is the Day of Atonement or Forgiveness, which occurs on the tenth day of the seventh Jewish month (EMMANUEL; EMMANUEL, 1970).

[16]   Hebrew term that includes three important Jewish festivals: *Pesah* (Easter), *Shavuot* (Pentecost) and *Succot / Sucoth / Sukkot* (Tabernacles).

[17]   The Hebrew word *Hazan / Hazzan* (plural: *Hazzanim*) refers to the official who sings liturgical songs or reads the prayers in synagogues (EMMANUEL; EMMANUEL, 1970).

[18]   Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) define the Hebrew word *Samas / Shamas/ Shamash / Shammash* ('servant') as referring to the sexton of the synagogue.

**23 Oração especial proferida na noite de Kippur pela saúde das vítimas judias da Inquisição**:
A todos nossos irmâos presos pela Inquisiçâo.
*23 Special prayer given in the night of Kippur for the health of Jewish victims of the Inquisition*:
*To all our Brothers arrested by the Inquisition.*

**24 Na chegada de um novo mês (*Rosh Hodesh[19]*)**:
Mahar Rosh Hodesh, manan es Rosh Hodesh, Mahar umaharato, manan e pois manan, segunda feira, terça feira, cuarta feira, quinta feira, sexta feira, Shabbath Kodesh es Rosh Hodesh.
*24 Upon the coming of a new month (Rosh Hodesh)*:
*Mahar Rosh Hodesh, manan es Rosh Hodesh, Mahar umaharato, manan and therefore manan, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Shabbath Kodesh es Rosh Hodesh.*

In the prayers presented by Emmanuel (1959) and Joubert and Perl (2008), it is possible to notice the use of Spanish forms merged with sentences in Portuguese, for example, *en ella* (in her), *por el* (by), *haga* (to make), *gustos* (likes), *lo* (you, the object pronoun), *de el* (his), *o* (or), and *mi propia* (my own). This demonstrates that the Portuguese spoken by the Curaçaoan Sephardic Jews was permeated by words from Spanish and Hebrew (EMMANUEL, 1959). This blend of Portuguese and other languages, especially Spanish, could lead to the question of why the prayers of the Sephardic community are attributed to Portuguese rather than Spanish. Despite the similarities between the two languages and besides the choices of lexical and functional items (which are different in the two languages), other indications suggest a Portuguese origin to the detriment of Spanish: (i) verb forms: *concorrem* (not *concurren*), *seja* (not *sea*), *deixe* (not *deje*), *vejam* (not *vean*), *leve* (not *lleve*), *livre* (not *libre*), *escreva* (not *escriba*), *mantenha* (not *mantenga*), *engrandeça* (not *engrandezca*); (ii) syntactic constructions: *aos* (not *a los*), *dos* (not *de los*), *no* (not *en el*), *destas* (not *de estas*), *pela* (not *por la*); (iii) nominal endings (affixes): *majestade* (not *majestad*), *descendentes* (not *descendientes*), *venerável* (not *venerable*), *benção* (not *bendición*), *intenção* (not *intención*), *inquisição* (not *inquisición*), *serviço* (not *servicio*).

From the names of the princess and the queen cited in the first prayer, it is possible to know, approximately, the date of the inscription. This prayer refers to Wilhelmina Helena Pauline Maria, who ruled from 1890 to 1948, when she abdicated the throne, being called queen mother and receiving the title of princess. Her daughter, Juliana, was queen from 1948 to 1980, when she also gave up power (BOS, [20--]). Therefore, this prayer dates from the 20th century. The fact that it is written in Portuguese shows that this language still was important to Sephardim community until a short time ago (if

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[19]  Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970) consider that the Hebrew expression *Ros Hodes / Rosh Hodesh* refers to the first day of the Jewish month.

it was not, another language would have been chosen). It refutes Jacobs claim (2012) that in the early 18th century, Sephardic Jews in Curaçao did not use Portuguese.

There is further evidence that Portuguese was a strong language in the Jewish community: the epitaph of gravestones of the ancient Jewish cemetery *Beth Haim* (Casa de Vida), situated in the centre of Curaçao, in the region of the current oil refinery Isla. Considering 2,568 gravestones (data from HARTOG, [197-?]), Lessa (1975) points out that Portuguese is used in 1,667 epitaphs (65%), Hebrew appears in 40 (1.5%), Dutch occurs in 28 (1.1%) and 260 are illegible (10.1%) (This author does not mention the language used in the other 573 gravestones). Casseres (1990) presents the following numbers regarding the languages used in 2,338 epitaphs: Portuguese (1,668, 71.3%), Spanish (433, 18.5%), Hebrew (112, 4.8%), English (89, 3.8%), Dutch (32, 1.4%), French (3, 0.13%), Yiddish (or Jewish German) (1, 0.04%). These same figures appear in Emmanuel (1957) – the only difference is that, according to this author, the Spanish epitaphs amount to 361 – and Joubert and Perl (2008), with the additional information that, of the 112 headstones in Hebrew, 40 were in Hebrew only and 72 were bilingual (Hebrew along with Spanish, Portuguese, English or Dutch). An analysis of the languages used on the gravestones of tombs shows that most families of deceased Jews chose Portuguese to appear in the epitaphs. This is a strong indication that this language had great importance within the Jewish community, being the mother tongue of most of the Sephardim, transmitted to the young with dedication and determination.[20]

Martinus (1996) and Grant (2008a) provide other evidence that Portuguese was the language of the Sephardic community in Curaçao in the first years. Martinus (1996) points out that Portuguese is the most used language in the slave trade and its domain was a necessary condition for success in this activity. Therefore, once Jews were actively involved in the slave trade, they would have to learn Portuguese to have higher profits. Grant (2008a), in turn, claims that a possible source of Portuguese elements of Papiamentu would be Jewish-Portuguese or the Portuguese spoken by Sephardic community and its slaves, both differing from Portuguese. The use of Portuguese would be so widespread within the Jewish community that it would have reached the point of influencing the configuration of Papiamentu.

Although Jacobs disregards the use and the importance of Portuguese among the Curaçaoan Sephardim community, historical registers show that this language was relevant for many years (JACOBS, 2012). Besides the fact that there are no accounts of complete abandonment of Portuguese by the Jews, Emmanuel's data (1959) regarding prayers in Portuguese dismiss Jacobs affirmation (2012) about the disuse of Portuguese in synagogues. The relation established between the high number of epitaphs written in Portuguese and the predominance of this language within the Jewish community still could be questioned. There may be other explanations for the

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[20] On a visit to the Curaçaoan synagogue, it is possible to find replicas of some gravestones of the ancient Jewish cemetery, which show the predominant use of Portuguese, many times permeated by words of Spanish etymon.

use of Portuguese on gravestones, among them the role of Portuguese in Catholicism and artisan jobs based on replicated models, where the gravestones were reproduced in single formats, without representing the urban and usual in daily records language. By analysing the situation of the Curaçaoan Jewish community, it is possible to refute these two explanations. First, the use of Portuguese by Jews was not restricted to the religious context, extending to daily communication and official documents. Besides, the memorials did not follow a pre-established model, which should be copied on all gravestones: the texts were different, specific to each of the dead (many times mentioning even private data).

There is a contradiction in the position of Jacobs (2012) regarding the importance of Portuguese within the Jewish community: The author states both that Portuguese had a predominant role for the Jews and that in the 18th century this language was not used by them, questioning whether one day it was really used. In addition to the fact that there are no reports of the obsolescence of Portuguese in the Jewish community during the 18th century, Emmanuel's (1959) data regarding prayers in Portuguese disqualifies Jacobs's (2012) statement about the disuse of Portuguese within the synagogues. Furthermore, Portuguese was used until 20th century, as proven by the existence of gravestones in Portuguese in the 18th and 19th centuries, being the last inscription in this language dated from November 1865 (EMMANUEL, 1957), and by the prayer headed for Queen Juliana, who ruled from 1948 to 1980.

Regardless of which was the majority language spoken by Sephardic Jews, scholars (HENRIQUEZ, 1988, 1991; CASSERES, 1990; JACOBS, 2012) have indicated that shortly after their arrival, Jews adopted Papiamentu as a first language. This adoption of Papiamentu as mother tongue by the Jews, who were also Portuguese speakers, may be evidence for the influence of this group on Papiamentu. According to Martinus (1996), at the end of 17th century, there already were native speakers of Papiamentu among both Dutch and Jews (see JACOBS; VAN DER WAL 2015, p. 53 for evidence of a Dutch-Papiamentu bilingualism in the Protestant community in Curaçao at the end of the 18th century). In her research with Sephardic families, Henriquez (1988) found that the Jews began early to speak Papiamentu as their mother tongue (combined with knowledge of other languages, such as Portuguese). Casseres (1990), Fouse (2002) and Jacobs (2012) also defend this change. Jacobs (2012) claims that at the end of the 18th century, Papiamentu was already the mother tongue of large part of the Curaçaoan population, including the Sephardic Jews. Illustrative of this statement is the fact that the first known document written in Papiamentu, a fragment of a letter dated from 1775, was written by a Sephardic Jew, Abraham de David da Costa Andrade Júnior (HENRIQUEZ, 1988; MARTINUS, 1996).

The following is a reading of a letter of 1775 – performed in order to observe the characteristics of Sephardic Papiamentu and its likelygreater proximity to Portuguese – adopting the following pattern: (i) the first line contains the diplomatic reading, that is, the transcription of the text as it appears in the original, not adding or omitting any information (such as punctuation marks) or changing the spelling of words. This

line appears in regular font. In addition, the same organization of lines of the original document is also kept; (ii) in the second line, a semi-diplomatic reading is provided; this is a transcription that incorporates a few changes (such as junction or separation of words because they are a contribution from a reading, the changes are in italics and in brackets), seeking to preserve the characteristics of the original to the maximum. This line appears in bold and uppercase; (iii) in the third line, the correspondent in modern Papiamentu is provided, adding required punctuation and capital letters. This line is in bold; (iv) the fourth line corresponds to the Portuguese translation; and (v) finally, the fifth line contains the English translation and appears in italics and between single quotation mark.

1 [...][21] piter may the ora ky boso abiny, my atopa tiola...
**PITER MAY THE ORA KY BOSO [*A BINY*], MY [*A TOPA*] [*TIO LA*]**...
**Pietermaai[22] te ora ku boso a bini. Mi a topa tio La**...
'[Fiquei em] Pietermaai até a hora que vocês chegaram. Eu me encontrei com tio La...'
*'[I was in] Pietermaai until the time you came. I met uncle La...'*

2 Ku sara meme nan taba biny punta
**KU SARA MEME NAN TABA BINY PUNTA**
ku Sara Meme. Nan tabata bini Punda[23]
'[E] com Sara Meme. Eles estavam indo para Punda.'
*'[and] with Sara Meme. They were going to Punda.'*

3 my dusie bo pay amanda bo ruman Aronchy ku
**MY DUSIE BO PAY [*A MANDA*] BO RUMAN ARONCHY KU**
**Mi dushi, bo tata a manda bo ruman Aronchy ku**
'Meu amor, seu pai mandou seu irmão Aronchy e'
*'My dear, your father ask your brother Aronchy and'*

4 tony & meaca koge na kamina dy piter may
**TONY & MEACA KOGE NA KAMINA DI PITER MAY**
**Tony i Meaca kohe na kaminda di Pietermaai**
'Tony e Meaca pegarem no caminho de Pietermaai'
*'Tony and Meaca to take the road to Pietermaai'*

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[21] Maurer (1998) presents the beginning of the letter, from a translation of the Dutch text into Spanish, as "Mi alma, desde las siete estuve caminando en" – "My soul, since seven [hours], I have been walking in". The author mentions that the Dutch translation of the entire letter was found by Hermann Prins Salomon (an author who, in 1982, also discussed the excerpt from the letter in Papiamentu) in the archives of the city of The Hague, Netherlands.

[22] *Pietermaai* is the name of a street in Willemstad, Curaçao.

[23] *Punda* is the center of Willemstad.

5 es nigrita antunyca & nan aybel tras dij forty
ES NIGRITA ANTUNYCA & NAN [*A YBEL*] TRAS DIJ FORTY
**e negrita Antunika i nan a hib'é tras di e fòrti**
'a negrinha Antunica e eles levaram-na para trás do forte'
*'Antunica, the negress, and they took her behind the fort'*

6 & nan amanda sutel guatapana mas my
& NAN [*A MANDA*] [*SUT'EL*] GUATAPANA MAS MY
**i nan a manda sut'é ku watapana, pero mi**
'e eles mandaram açoitá-la com guatapuna, mas eu'
*'and they had her whipped with divi-divi, but I'*

7 no saby paky razon. Sy bo saby manda gabla
NO SABY [*PA KY*] RAZON. SY BO SABY MANDA GABLA
**no sa pa ki rason. Si bo sa, manda bisa-**
'não sei por que razão. Se você sabe, manda falar'
*'do not know for what reason. If you know it, tell'*

8 ku my dios pagabo.
KU MY DIOS PAGABO.
**mi. Dios pagabo.**
'comigo. Deus te pague.'
*'me. God will reward you.'*

9 bida manda gabla ku mi kico bechy abiny
BIDA MANDA GABLA KU MI KICO BECHY [*A BINY*]
**Bida, manda bisami kiko Bechy a bini**
'Vida, manda me falar o que Bechy veio'
*'My Life, send word to me of what Bechy came'*

10 busca na punta & borbe bay asina presto.
BUSCA NA PUNTA & BORBE BAY ASINA PRESTO.
**buska na Punda i bolbe bai asina lihé.**
'buscar em Punda e por que voltou tão rápido.'
*'to look for in Punda and why she came back so quickly.'*

11 my diamanty no laga dy scribimy tudu
MY DIAMANTY NO LAGA DY SCRIBIMY TUDU
**Mi djamanta, no laga di skirbimi tur**
'Meu diamante, não deixe de me escrever tudo'
*'My diamond, do not stop writing me everything'*

12 kico my ta puntrabo awe nochy my ta warda
**KICO MY TA PUNTRABO AWE NOCHY MY TA WARDA**
**loke mi ta puntrabo awe nochi. Mi ta warda**
'o que estou perguntando esta noite. Estou esperando'
*'that I am asking you tonight. I am waiting'*

13 rospondy, my serafim precura pa quanto
**ROSPONDY, MY SERAFIM PRECURA PA QUANTO**
**respondé. Mi serafin, pèrkurá pa kuantu**
'uma resposta. Meu serafim, procure para quanto'
*'an answer. My angel, seek as soon as'*

14 antes dios sacabo dy es aflicao & no para dy
**ANTES DIOS SACABO DY ES AFLICAO & NO PARA DY**
**ántes Dios sakabo di e aflikshon i no para di**
'antes Deus te tire dessa aflição e não pare de'
*'possible for God to take you out of this affliction and do not stop'*

15 tuma remedio
**TUMA REMEDIO**
**tuma remedi.**
'tomar seu remédio.'
*'taking your medicine.'*

16 my mamá bida sy bo mester algun coza manda
**MI MAMÁ BIDA SY BO MESTER ALGUN COZA MANDA**
**Mi mama, bida, si bo mester algun kos, manda**
'Minha mamãezinha, minha vida, se você precisar de alguma coisa, me diga'
*'My mother, my life, if you need anything, ask'*

17 pidy bo marido ky tanto ta stimabo. my aurora
**PIDY BO MARIDO KY TANTO TA STIMABO. MY AURORA**
**pidi bo marí, ku tantu ta stimabo. Mi ourora,**
'pedir ao seu marido, que tanto te ama. Minha aurora,'
*'you husband, who loves you so much. My dawn,'*

18 nobira falso pa my dios guardabo
**[*NO BIRA*] FALSO PA MY DIOS GUARDABO**
**no rabia ku mi. Dios wardabo.**
'não fique com raiva de mim. Deus te guarde.'
*'do not get angry with me. God keeps you.'*

19 dy bo marido ky tanto ta stimabo
**DY BO MARIDO KY TANTO TA STIMABO**
**Di bo marí, ku tantu ta stimabo**
'De seu marido, que tanto te ama'
*'From you husband, who loves you so much'*

20 & ta dora nabo
**& TA DORABO**
**i ta dorabo.**
'e te adora.'
*'and adores you.'*

21 Assinatura
**ASSINATURA**
**ASSINATURA**[24]
ASSINATURA
SIGNATURE

22 pay may rake
**PAY MAY RAKE**
**Tata, mama i Rake**
'Pai, mãe e Raquel'
*'Father, mother and Raquel'*

23 ta mandabo
**TA MANDABO**
**ta mandabo**
'te mandam'
*'send you'*

24 muchu kumindamento
**MUCHU KUMINDAMENTO**
**muchu kumindamentu.**
'muitos cumprimentos.'
*'many greetings.'*

Analysing the letter of 1775, it is possible to observe that the variety used is similar to modern Papiamentu as already pointed out by Wood (1972) and Fouse (2002). Despite the correspondence between the language used in the letter of 1775 and modern Papiamentu, there are some divergences, such as those found on a phonetic-phonological level, which indicate dialectical differences between the Sephardi Papiamentu and

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[24] According to Wood (1972), it is a stylized X, which symbolizes a kiss. On the other hand, Maduro (1971 apud HENRIQUEZ, 1988), argues that the signature appears as a monogram, possibly CA. Ferrol (1982), in turn, also advocates for a monogram, but in reverse order: AC.

modern Papiamentu, such as: (i) lambdacism – ʙᴏʀʙᴇ *[ˈboɾ.be] > **bolbe** [ˈboɫ.be] 'to come back'; (ii) metathesis – sᴄʀɪʙɪ *[ˈskɾi.bi] > **skirbi** [ˈskiɾ.bi] 'to write'.

As for etymologies, there are more words from the Portuguese in the letter of 1775, as is the case with ᴀꜰʟɪᴄᴀᴏ (< PT *aflição*; ≠ ESP *afliccíon*), ᴘᴀɪ (< PT *pai*; ≠ ESP *padre*), ᴍᴀs (< PT *mas*; ≠ ESP *pero*), ᴛᴜᴅᴏ (as in ᴛᴜᴅᴜ ᴋɪᴋᴏ) (< PT *tudo*; ≠ ESP *todo*). Such forms fell into disuse in modern Papiamentu. They were replaced by **aflikshon**, **tata**, **pero** and **tur**, respectively. The word **pai** exists in Papiamentu, but it is not much used by speakers, who prefer the word **tata**. However, the word **mas** has a different meaning in modern usage, referring to the intensifying adverb 'more'. The case of the first three words (ᴀꜰʟɪᴄᴀᴏ, ᴘᴀɪ and **ᴍᴀs**) shows that there was a replacement of Old Portuguese words for Spanish words. This Papiamentu Hispanicization also may be exemplified by the expression **tur loke** (similar to ESP *todo lo que*, ≠ PT *tudo o que*), currently used in place of ᴛᴜᴅᴜ ᴋɪᴄᴏ.

Therefore, although Portuguese words in the letter of 1775 do not occur in a very expressive number, there are some words of undoubted Portuguese etymology – which have fallen into disuse (or are little used) in the modern variety – in a greater amount than previously pointed out by scholars such as Wood (1972) and Ferrol (1982). This shows that Papiamentu used by Sephardic Jews actually was more influenced by Portuguese, being permeated by words and structures from this language.

We observe that the influence of Portuguese on Sephardic Papiamentu is visible on a lexical level. Notwithstanding this, it is not possible to deny that there was a contribution of one to the other. Viaro (2011) states that some grammatical classes are more likely to be borrowed than others: nominal categories are the most borrowed, then the numerals, derivational morphemes, adverbs, conjunctions and indefinite pronouns; finally, prepositions would resist the most to borrowing, along with articles, personal pronouns and flexional morphemes. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the greatest influence happens on the lexical level. Further studies will be able to evidence influences on other levels.

In addition to the excerpt from the letter of 1775, Maurer (1998) presents a document dated January 16th, 1776 that reproduces a supposed dialogue between two slaves recorded by the Sephardic Jew Semuel Costa Andrade. The report of this dialogue follows, adopting the following pattern: (i) in the first line, the text appears in the Papiamentu of that time in regular font; (ii) in the second line, there is a semi-diplomatic reading which incorporates a few changes to the original text presented in italics and in brackets. This line is in bold and uppercase; (iii) the third line contains the correspondent form in modern Papiamentu, which is in bold – the content of the first and third lines was taken from Maurer (1998) and there may be some additions in the form of the modern Papiamentu; the semi-diplomatic reading was elaborated by the authors; (iv) in the fourth line, the Portuguese translation appears in regular font and between single quotes, followed by the English translation in regular font and between single quotes as well. Throughout the document, there are excerpts in Portuguese (making explicit who will speak in the dialogue). In such cases, there are

three lines: one with the text as provided by Maurer (1998) in italics, the second with the Portuguese translation in regular font and between single quotes, and the third with the English version.

1 *... iva duas negras caminhando diante de my discutindo e dizendo huma com outra:*
'Duas negras iam caminhando diante de mim discutindo e dizendo uma com a outra:'
*'Two black women were walking in front of me arguing and telling one another:'*

2 "boste atende kiko tin?"
**"BOSTE [A TENDE] KIKO TIN?"**
**"Bo a tende kiko tin?"**
'Você ouviu o que houve?'
*'Did you hear what happened?'*

3 *Respondeo a outra*:
'A outra respondeu:'
*'The other answered:'*

4 "my no tende nada, pues kiko tin?"
**"MY NO [*A TENDE*] NADA, PUES KIKO TIN?"**
**"Mi no a tende nada, anto kiko tin?"**
'Eu não ouvi nada, então o que houve?'
*'I didn't hear anything, so what happened?'*

5 *Respondeo dizendo:*
'Respondeu dizendo:'
*'[She] answered:'*

6 "my atende di catibo de Sr. Pardo ki su senhor
**"MY [*A TENDE*] DI CATIBO DE SR. PARDO KI SU SENHOR**
**"Mi a tende di katibu di Sr. Pardo ku su shon**
'Eu ouvi do cativo do senhor Pardo que seu senhor'
*'I heard from the slave of Mr. Pardo that his master'*

7 agaia dos carta, hum di Sra. Sara Pardo i otro di Sr.
**[*A GAIA*] DOS CARTA, HUM DI SRA. SARA PARDO I OTRO DI SR.**
**a haña dos karta, un di señora Sara Pardo i otro di señor**
'recebeu duas cartas, uma da senhora Sara Pardo e outra do senhor'
*'received two letters, one from Mrs. Sara Pardo and another from Mr.*

8 Abraham Costa, y el atende su senhor Gay[25] ta leer pra
ABRAHAM COSTA, Y EL [A TENDE] SU SENHOR GAY TA LEER PRA
**Abraham Costa, i el a tende su shon Hay ta lesa pa**
'Abraham Costa, e ele ouviu seu senhor lendo a carta para'
*'Abraham Costa, and he heard his master reading the letter to*

9 su pay, i es carta ta gabla com el apasa
SU PAY, I ES CARTA TA GABLA COM EL [A PASA]
**su tata, i e karta ta bisa kon el a pasa**
'seu pai, e a carta fala como ele [= Abraham][26] tem passado'
*'his father, and the letter says how he [= Abraham] has been passing'*

10 de Jegum y ariba hum dosie."
DE JEGUM Y ARIBA HUM DOSIE."
**dia di zjuzjum i ta papia riba un dushi."**
'os dias de jejum e fala de uma amante.'
*'the fasting days and speaks of a lover.'*

11 *y le preguntou a outra negra:*
'e a outra negra lhe perguntou:'
*'and the other black woman asked:'*

12 "kiko mas?"
**"KIKO MAS?"**
**"Kiko mas?"**
'O que mais?'
*'What else?'*

13 *Respondeo:*
'Ela respondeu:'
*'She answered:'*

14 "my no sabe"
**"MY NO SABE"**
**"Mi no sa."**
'Eu não sei.'
*'I don't know.'*

15 *y le preguntou a outra:*
'e a outra lhe perguntou:'
*'and the other asked:'*

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16 "y es dy Sra. Sara kiko ta gabla?"
**"Y ES DY SRA. SARA KIKO TA GABLA?"**
**"I esun di Sra. Sara, kiko e ta bisa?"**
'E a carta da senhora Sara diz o quê?'
*'And the letter from Mrs. Sara, what does it say?'*

17 *Respondeo:*
'Respondeu:'
*'[She] answered:'*

18 "my no sabe",
**"MY NO SABE",**
**"Mi no sa."**
'Eu não sei.'
'I don't know.'

Concerning the linguistic structure and the lexical choices, as observed in the letter of 1775, the Papiamentu used is close to the modern variety. The presence of words from Sephardic dialects (such as BOSTE, LEER and JEGUM) suggests that the slaves of the Jews (in case the dialogue really existed) spoke the Papiamentu of the Jewish community; otherwise, forms infrom the general variety would be used. In addition to the presence of elements characteristic of Sephardic Papiamentu, the 1776 document still contains excerpts in Portuguese, which is further evidence that this is one of the languages of the Jewish community. If Portuguese had no importance and widespread use within the community, there would be no reason for the excerpts (the introduction of the slaves' speeches) being in this language.

In her studies, Henriquez (1988, 1991) presents the characteristic vocabulary of Papiamentu Sephardic Jews, which could be more similar to the Portuguese. For her, although Papiamentu in Curaçao already existed when Jews arrived, the variety of Papiamentu and their own languages greatly influenced the overall variety of the Creole language. Henriquez (1998) shows that, in the first years, Jews used a word (a little) differently from other Papiamentu speakers, as shown in Chart 1 (adapted from the author).

**Chart 1** – Words in Sephardic Papiamentu and in General Papiamentu.

| Sephardic Papiamentu | General Papiamentu | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *afora* | **afó** | 'out, outward' |
| *di repente* | **di ripiente** | 'suddenly' |
| *fora di* | **fuera di** | 'otherwise' |
| *bisñetu* | **bisañetu** | 'great-grandson' |
| *fopá* | **vupa** | 'violation, offense' |

| Sephardic Papiamentu | General Papiamentu | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *sekia* | **sekura** | 'drought' |
| *speshul* | **spesial** | 'special' |
| *bizjitá* | **bishitá** | 'to visit' |
| *desparesé* | **disparsé** | 'to vanish' |
| *goza* | **gosa** | 'to enjoy, to have a good time' |
| *festeho* | **selebrashon** | 'celebration' |
| *lanso* | **laken, laker** | 'bed sheet' |

**Source:** Adapted from Henriquez (1998).

These differences should not be seen as indicative that Sephardic Papiamentu is circumscribed to the Jewish community and does not influence the general variety – of which the modern Papiamentu is its continuation. Henriquez (1998) asserts that, regardless of the vocabulary that composes her book and is characteristic of Jews, it is not exclusive to this community. Moreover, some Jews might not employ some words and expressions commonly used by certain social segments of Sephardim community. It was not necessarily because they ignored the terms, but because the words are not considered as belonging to the Sephardic register (HENRIQUEZ, 1991). This non-exclusivity of the Sephardic Papiamentu terms to the Jewish community can be seen among the data presented by Henriquez (1988), in which two different words appear (the first associated with Sephardic Jews) – either with slight variations or with different etymons – both currently accepted in general Papiamentu. Along with these cases where there is lexical difference, there are also examples in which the two words (the first associated with the Sephardic variety and the second related to the general register) differ in the phonetic level, being possible to consider both forms as variants.

Some of the words and expressions used by Jews began to be used over time by non-Jewish speakers, being incorporated into the current use of Papiamentu; these include such words as **tinzji** 'to dye' (< Portuguese *tingir*), **chalalá** (< Portuguese *charlar)* 'to gossip' and **gaba** (< Portuguese *gabar*) 'to flaunt'. Others were forgotten even within the Sephardic community, remaining only in the speech of elderly people (e.g. ***fika*** 'to stay' (< Portuguese *ficar*), replaced by **keda**; *koitadu* (< Portuguese *coitado*) 'poor, miserable', replaced by **miserabel, infelis**; *almusá* (< Portuguese *almoçar*) 'to have lunch', replaced by **kome** – more general). In some cases, in modern Papiamentu, the same signified (meaning) has two signifiers (one of them related to Sephardim). This is the case, for example, of (1):

(1) **zjuzjuá / yuna** 'to fast'
   **zjeitu / modo, manera** 'way, manner, mode'
   **gora, gwera / bora** 'to drill, to puncture'
   **kamina / kaminda** '1. way, path 2. where'
   **para (di) / stòp (di)** 'to stop'
   **sedu / set** 'thirst'
   **sementerio, santana / kerkhòf** 'cemetery'
   **shandilié, shandelir / shanguilié, shangilé** 'chandelier'
   **tibio / lou** 'tepid'

Concerning the etymology of the words characteristic of the Sephardic Jews, in general the terms are from Iberian Romance languages. Words and expressions of Portuguese etymology were found that could not have a Spanish origin (isolated or together with Portuguese), as shown in the examples (2) and (3). The presence of words of undoubted Portuguese etymology – many replaced by other forms in the general variety – confirms the assumption that the Sephardic Papiamentu was closer to Portuguese, being more influenced by this language than the common Papiamentu (although the number of words derived from Portuguese is not very large) (JOUBERT; PERL, 2008).

(2) *enshoval, inshoval* (< PT *enxoval*, ≠ ESP *ajuar*) '1. trousseau, 2. layette';
   *gabazón* (< PT *gabação*, ≠ ESP *alabanza*, *elogio*) 'praise, compliment';
   *gòsta* (< PT *gostar*, ≠ ESP *gustar*) '1. to like, 2. to taste';
   *intereseiro* (< PT *interesseiro*, ≠ ESP *interesado*) 'selfish';
   *koïtadu* (< PT *coitado*, ≠ ESP *infeliz*, *desgraciado*) 'miserable;
   *ninguein* (< PT *ninguém*, ≠ ESP *nadie*) '(something) of little or no value, inferior';
   *skeze* (< PT *esquecer*, ≠ PT/ESP *olvidar*) 'to forget';

(3) *baya kombein* 'wish for a good trip' – PT *vai com bem*;
   *kada kual ku su igual* 'birds of a feather flock together' – PT *cada qual com seu igual*;
   *keda pa simia* 'to last forever' – PT *ficar para semente*;
   *kibra zjuzjum* 'to finish the fasting' – PT *quebrar o jejum*;
   *kometé un gaf* 'to put one's foot in one's mouth' – PT *cometer uma gafe*.

There are still examples from Portuguese that present the voiced postalveolar sibilant fricative (/ʒ/), as we can see in example (4). The presence of this consonant in the Sephardic variety more frequently than in the general variety suggests that Jacobs (2012) may be correct in saying that /ʒ/ entered into Papiamentu from the Jews, even because, for some examples, the general variety has a different form in which such phoneme is not present. In the records of classic Papiamentu, no words similar to those appearing in example (4) also were found.

(4) *dezja* (< PT *desleixar*, ≠ ESP *descuidar*) 'to neglect';
    *frizji* (< PT *frigir*, ≠ ESP *freír*) 'to fry';
    *manzja* (< PT *man*[ʒ]*ar*, ≠ ESP *man*[x]*ar*) 'to eat';
    *rabuzjentu* (< PT *rabugento*, ≠ ESP *malhumorado*) 'grumpy';
    *sobezji, sobrezji* (< PT *sobejo*, ≠ ESP *resto*, *sobra*) 'leftover';
    *zjanta* (< PT *janta/jantar*, ≠ ESP *cena/cenar*) '1. dinner, 2. have a dinner';
    *zjeitoso* (< PT *jeitoso*, ≠ ESP *hábil*, *habilidoso*) 'skillful';
    *zjema* (< PT [ʒ]*ema*, ≠ ESP [x]*ema*) 'yolk';
    *zjitona* (< PT *azeitona*, ≠ ESP *aceituna*) 'olive';
    *zjuzjum* (< PT *jejum*, ≠ ESP *ayuno*) 'fasting'.

In sum, the contribution of Henriquez (1988, 1991) consists in showing that some words rejected by speakers as belonging to Papiamentu are characteristic of the vocabulary of the Sephardim, which also is the general vocabulary of Papiamentu.

Although it is not possible to attribute all Portuguese elements of Papiamentu to the Sephardim and their slaves, the Jewish community played a considerable role in the formation of the Curaçaoan society and, consequently, may have influenced the linguistic configuration of Papiamentu. This influence first was exerted through the Portuguese spoken by the community because this was an important language for the Jewish community, being widely used not only in the religious context but also in daily communication. Over the years, Jews also have influenced Papiamentu through their own dialect, the Sephardic Papiamentu.

An irrefutable evidence for the use of both Portuguese and Papiamentu by the Jewish community is provided by the 1776 document, in which the two languages are employed: the alleged dialogue between the slaves is in Papiamentu, and there are parts in Portuguese, which is used as a language guiding the conversation, suggesting its use as a vehicular language within this community.

## Final remarks

This study shows that the fact that Jews had an important role in the slave trade and enjoyed a certain prestige suggests that they had a role in Curaçaoan society contributing to the configuration of Papiamentu. The discussion of documents from the late 18th century showed a greater number of items of Portuguese etymon, which supports the assumption that Sephardic Papiamentu would be more similar to Portuguese than the general variety of language.

The analysis of the letter of 1775, the first known written record of Papiamentu, showed a greater number of Portuguese *etyma*, supporting the statement that the Sephardi Papiamentu would be closer to Portuguese than the general variety of that language. The 1776 document, as observed by its lexical choices, revealed that the slaves of the Jews probably also used Sephardic Papiamentu words and provided evidence for the use of Portuguese within that community.

In addition, the analysis of words, structures and expressions characteristic of the Sephardic community (HENRIQUEZ, 1988, 1991) showed that Papiamentu spoken by this community influenced the general variety (both classic and modern). Thus, there are cases in which a term considered specific to the Jewish community became generalized, and began to be used by non-Jewish speakers. These linguistic results reveal that Sephardic Jews influenced the genesis and development of Papiamentu, not only through Portuguese, but also through the Sephardic Papiamentu. Therefore, the role of Sephardim was twofold: First, the Portuguese spoken by the Sephardic community influenced classic Papiamentu; later, the Papiamentu dialect specific to this community and its slaves also acted in the configuration of the general variety.

Additionally, we also recognize a connection between Papiamentu and Santiago's variety of Cape Verdean Creole (MARTINUS, 1996; JACOBS, 2012) (which may suggest a common origin). On the other hand, although the hypothesis that links the dialect of Papiamentu to Sephardic language cannot explain its emergence by itself, it is not possible to deny the role of the Jews in providing linguistic features to Papiamentu. In sum, we follow an approach like the one supported by Faraclas et al. (2014): A convergence of elements (and not only a linear and mono-dimensional scenario) must be considered in studying the Atlantic Creole formation, namely the agency of different language speakers (FREITAS, 2017).

- *RESUMO: Este estudo objetiva analisar a participação dos judeus na sociedade curaçauense, especialmente na configuração linguística do papiamentu, considerando que o papel dos judeus sefarditas tem sido negligenciado nos estudos sobre essa língua. No contexto linguístico, preces e epitáfios em português confirmam que esta era a língua usada por vários judeus sefarditas. Por outro lado, a análise de documentos do século XVIII revela que o papiamentu sefardita, que é mais similar ao português, influenciou a variedade geral. Henriquez (1988, 1991) também mostra o vocabulário característico do papiamentu falado pelos judeus sefarditas. Adicionalmente, Martinus (1996) e Jacobs (2012) apresentam registros que podem apontar uma relação entre a Senegâmbia/Alta Guiné, Amsterdam e Curaçao através do comércio de escravos conduzido pelos judeus. Desse modo, este estudo pretende mostrar que os judeus tiveram um papel importante na sociedade curaçauense, inclusive contribuindo para a configuração do papiamentu. Aqui seguimos uma abordagem similar àquela defendida por Faraclas et al. (2014): uma convergência de elementos deve ser considerada ao estudar a formação dos crioulos atlânticos, sobretudo a atuação de falantes de diferentes línguas.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Judeus sefarditas. Papiamentu. Papel social e linguístico.*

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# COGNITION, STEREOTYPE, IMAGINATION AND FANTASY IN THE PROCESS OF APPREHENDING THE NEW REALITY THROUGH THE CASTELLAN LEXICON: THE TESTIMONIES OF *CRONISTAS DE INDIAS*[1]

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- ABSTRACT: The *Crónicas de Indias* is a miscellaneous world with information about America colonization: letters, autobiographies, natural histories, which invite us to revisit the philology, where language, literature, history, anthropology fit equally. The works developed so far reached divergent conclusions. We have proposed to unite language, literature and, also, history and anthropology. All these texts are useful to refer their content to the penetration of the indigenous lexicon into the Castilian language -and vice versa-, with identity, cultural exchanges and understanding-representation-cognition of the world. We will systematize -from its heterogeneity- the data coming from the Chronicles marking six phases in the adaptation process, according to the lexicographical theory, which will culminate with the incorporation of the indigenous word into the Spanish lexicon (semasiological, onomasiological and cognitive fields). These testimonies show the very essence of linguistic cognition. It is noted that, first, each language is adapted to represent its environment reality. When a new reality appears, previously unknown, the problems begin: language is insufficient to apprehend it. Until reaching the specific autochthonous word, there will be multiple search attempts to adapt cognition and language, which will culminate with the incorporation of the borrowed word with the cognitive load that it possesses.

- KEYWORDS: *Crónicas de Indias*. History of Spanish lexicon. Cognition. Stereotype and semantic prototype. Imagination/fiction/fantasy. Languages in contact.

## Introduction

The *Chronicles of the Indies* is a miscellaneous world in which many things merge, because in them we find abundant information of all kinds about the colonization of America, in the broadest sense of the term (letters, autobiographies, natural histories,

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apologies, catechisms, dictionaries), which invites us to revisit the philology, within which they join and have a place for the same language, literature, history and anthropology, because "everything goes together because nothing was born with witnesses and milestones."[2] (ALVAR, 1982, p. 249, our translation).

The varied works that have been raised about the Chronicles, not always from the same perspective and objectives, have led to divergent conclusions. By way of example, what is most interesting is the very conception of the American and the autochthonous, determining the origins of "Latin American" literature, only after the arrival of Columbus; What would be, then, the place that pre-Columbian culture would occupy? Even in literary theory, how does one navigate through topics such as fiction / reality; commitment / identity or aesthetic will? (CORDIVIOLA, 2009, 2005, 2003). The testimony of Linguistics is essential to understand all this. Because language is a faithful projection of culture, and those chroniclers who narrated a new reality had to apprehend it with the word: "the information of the *Chronicles* (*Crónicas*) will be conditioning and conditioned by the mirror of language."[3] (ALVAR, 1982, p. 249, our translation).

But, until now, almost no one has ever tried to combine the plural aspects to which these testimonies lead. The intention here is to propose something else: to do philology, "to unite language, literature and, at the same time, history and anthropology."[4] (MIRANDA POZA, 2010, p 116, our translation). Letters and autobiographies, natural or moral histories, apologies and relationships, catechisms and dictionaries, "[…] all these texts, whose theme is the discovery and conquest of America, and which are inscribed under the heading of *Chronicles of the Indies (Crónicas de Indias)*."[5] (SERNA, 2013, p. 54-55, our translation), turn out to be useful for our purpose: to refer the contents of this multiplicity of studies to the penetration of the indigenous lexicon in the Castilian language -and vice versa-, with the consequent changes that took place in the identity, culture and the understanding / representation / cognition of the world of those who spoke the language. Some time ago, Lope Blanch (1968, p.58, our translation) affirmed that "the most researched field of Spanish-American linguistics is the lexicographical one"[6]. This affirmation, several decades later, was reinforced by Moreno de Alba (1995, p.196), who gave news of the work of Solé (1990), who analyzed more than 3500 titles of which "[…] most has to do with lexicography, semantics or related areas: archaisms, neologisms, etymologies, indigenisms, etc."[7]

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2    Original: "todo anda junto porque nada nació con testigos y mojones ahitados." (ALVAR, 1982, p. 249).

3    Original: "la información de las Crónicas estará condicionando y condicionada por el espejo de la lengua." (ALVAR, 1982, p. 249).

4    Original: "unir lengua, literatura y, al mismo tiempo, historia y antropología." (MIRANDA POZA, 2010, p. 116)

5    Original: "[…] todos estos textos, cuyo tema es el descubrimiento y conquista de América, y que se inscriben bajo el epígrafe de Crónicas de Indias." (SERNA, 2003, p. 54-55)

6    Original: "el campo más investigado de la lingüística hispanoamericana es el lexicográfico." (LOPE BLANCH, 1968, p.58)

7    Original: "[…] la mayor parte tiene que ver con lexicografía, semántica o áreas afines: arcaísmos, neologismos, etimologías, indigenismos, etc." (MORENO DE ALBA, 1995, p.196).

### The texts: their nature and dimension

According to Castillo Durán (2004, p.9), the *Chronicles* are a reflection of what can be called "democratization of the narrative fact" [8]. In the middle of the Renaissance, we are no longer faced with courtly discourse, but with that of men without merit of nobility: a modest narrator, a soldier, a friar, an indian. In fact, when Díaz del Castillo (1992, p. 39) writes his *True Story* (*Historia Verdadera*), in these terms he refers to another similar one that is about the same subject: "I saw a story of good style [...]" [9], a statement that, far from the apparent praise, contains a criticism of the written works by López de Gómara, educated man, attentive to the mandatory Latin, rhetorical and, therefore, a "liar" and not "truthful". Bernal takes the side of the topic that developed in his time that could be summarized as: I write badly because I think well and I am not affected by any style that hides the truth. The same perspective that Teresa de Ávila will adopt: to keep the style and not to abide by formality as a guarantee of essentiality, of truthfulness, of authenticity —although, in the latter case, given her condition as a woman (LÁZARO CARRETER, 1981).

But, beyond observations concerning style and the true/false opposition to the representation of reality, it is worth remembering what was said by Oesterreicher (2013, p. 736, our translation) about the discursive traditions of the time and, more specifically, the concept of textual processing in the immediacy and distance axes. The first would represent a type of discourse close to orality, while the second would be characterized by a greater degree of elaboration, following the most classic textual traditions: "[…] we can trace in certain types of text [among which those that include fragments of the *Chronicles*] the appearance, on the one hand [...], of universal features of what is spoken, 'prescribed' by the forms of the scripturality, and on the other of the diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variants [...] unusual in the field of scripturality" [10]. Suffice it to point out, as a proof of pure orality, the fragment of the *True History* by Diaz del Castillo (apud CAMPOS FERNANDEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 77, our translation): "I remember that they said:" oh, oh, oh *cuilones*!" [11], which means: "Oh, fuck! you are still alive, the tiacahuanes have not died yet?" [12]

Truthfulness, authenticity, reality, fiction. Faced with the historiographical description of our time, when studying the ancients and the Renaissance contemporaries we find ourselves in the prehistory of historiography. For Frankl (1963) the historical

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[8] Original: "democratización del hecho narrativo" (CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p.9).

[9] Original: "vi una historia de buen estilo…" (DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, 1992, p.39).

[10] Original: "[…] podemos rastrear en ciertos tipos de texto [entre los que incluye fragmentos de las Crónicas] la aparición, por un lado, […] de rasgos universales de lo hablado, ´proscritos` por las formas de la escrituralidad, y por otro de las variantes diatópicas, diastráticas y diafásicas […] poco usuales en el ámbito de la escrituralidad." (OESTERREICHER, 2013, p. 736).

[11] Original: Acuérdome que nos decían: "¡oh, oh, oh cuilones! (DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO *apud* CAMPOS FERNANDEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 77).

[12] Original: ¡Oh, putos!, ¿aún aquí quedáis vivos, que aún no os han muerto los tiacahuanes? (DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO *apud* CAMPOS FERNANDEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 77).

thought was linked to the legendary conceptions of the past, "[…] the historical truth had much to do with the memory, with the evocation, with a spiritual reality hidden from the eyes of vulgar men, but accessible to the endowed with a poetic visión." [13] (SERNA, 2013, p. 15, our translation). In Columbus *Diario* there begins the description of a world that little resembled the reality contemplated by him, through which we get in touch with, according to Pastor (1983, p. 47, our translation), the "distortioning fictionalization of the reality of the New World" [14], or with what Alvar (1976) called Columbus' unfolded image, in short, "the transposition of the mental schemes with which European things were thought, to those of the New World." [15] (MARAVALL, 1986, p. 439, our translation).

In this sense, Columbus did not dedicate himself to seeing and knowing the reality that was presented to his eyes, but to select what was appropriate and identified with the model that had been formed and that he was destined to find: "imagination and perception are thus, different and complementary forms of a visión." [16] (CORDIVIOLA, 2003, p. 174, our translation). Columbus, like others, uses elements of the troubadour landscape, a *locus amoenus*, the trees of which are permanently green, the air is soft and sweet, and the water, which also springs from troubadour sources, is fresh, clear and crystalline:

> The continent seems to be a cornucopia: the trees are always green, endless waters, mild climate, the chance of finding gold and species is always good, the naked native people, healthy and needy of religion or sect, they are easy going and shall be converted to the Christian faith in no time. (CORDIVIOLA, 2009, p. 74, our translation)[17].

The chroniclers must transmit the found world so that it is known by the people that were in the other border. The European man was once again in the Garden of Paradise: the propitious nature, the naked human beings "they walk all naked as their mother bore them, and also the women" [18] (COLÓN, 1991 *apud* CAMPOS FERNANDEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 3-4, our translation); "What we knew about their lives and customs was that all go naked, men and women, without covering any shame, just as they came

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[13] Original: "[…] la verdad histórica tenía mucho que ver con el recuerdo, con la evocación, con una realidad espiritual oculta a los ojos de los hombres vulgares, pero accesible a los dotados de una visión poética." (SERNA, 2013, p. 15).

[14] Original: "ficcionalización distorsionadora de la realidad del Nuevo Mundo." (PASTOR, 1983, p. 47).

[15] Original: "la transposición de los esquemas mentales con que se pensaban las cosas europeas, a las del Nuevo Mundo." (MARAVALL, 1986, p. 439).

[16] Original: "imaginación y percepción son así formas distintas y complementarias de una visión." (CORDIVIOLA, 2003, p. 174)

[17] Original: "O continente aparece como uma cornucópia: as árvores são sempre verdes, as águas são infinitas, o clima é ameno, a possibilidade de achar ouro e espécies é sempre grande, os indígenas nus, saudáveis e carentes de toda religião ou "seita" são mansos e haverão de se converter ao Cristianismo em pouco tempo." (CORDIVIOLA, 2009, p. 74).

[18] Original: "ellos andan todos desnudos como su madre los parió, y también las mujeres." (COLÓN, 1991 *apud* CAMPOS FERNANDEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 34).

from the womb of their mothers."[19] (VESPUCCI, 1986 *apud* CAMPOS FERNADEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 37, our translation). It is the allegorical vision of Paradise, of a wide literary tradition, that rests in the imaginary of these people.[20]

Idyllic view, typical of Paradise, although, now, made reality in the eyes of the colonizers, who will find its counterpoint in their own reality, as told in the *Letter to Luis de Santángel* (*Carta a Luis de Santángel)*, where mention is made of cannibalism or *cola* attributed to the inhabitants of the island of Avam, which allows us to obtain the two sides of the same coin as virtualities, that the conquests of Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru will extend almost to infinity: the indigenous people practice devilish rituals, like the human sacrifices mentioned by Cortés in *Tenochtitlán*, nature, far from the idyllic vision, can be the path of perdition and death trap - a question that will be taken up literarily in the early twentieth century in the novels of those lands. However, classic myths are revalidated: "Less irrelevant than being an arbiter of slips (and of other accusations) is to try to understand the peculiar symbiosis between the ways of seeing the real and the ways of interpreting the real that are dictated by the descriptions of Columbus."[21] (CORDIVIOLA, 2003, p. 174, our translation).

Indeed, Pigafetta travels because he has the expectation of telling about the wonderful things that there are in America: "[...] I knew that while sailing through the ocean they saw wonderful things and I was determined to assure myself by my own eyes of the truthfulness of everything that was told, so as to tell others about my trip."[22] (PIGAFETTA, 1963 *apud* CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p. 145, our translation). Your mind does not travel alone, it is populated by the books you have read and from them you plan to give a true account, checking and certifying what you have read. It is an intellectual journey within the framework of knowledge obtained through the readings: *Imago mundi*, by Pierre D'Ailly, Marco Polo and, above all, *The Book of Wonders (El libro de las maravillas)*, by Jean de Mandeville. Because, when we speak of interpretation, we must admit that the texts of the narrators of the Indies are an inexhaustible source of very rich material, material seen, in addition, from virgin eyes that are the first to be amazed "to extreme"[23] (CAMPOS FERNADEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 24, our translation) for everything that his hand is capturing: the novelty is absolute.

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[19] Original: "Lo que de su vida y costumbres conocimos fue que todos van desnudos, así los hombres como las mujeres, sin cubrir vergüenza ninguna, tal como salieron del vientre de sus madres." (VESPUCCI, 1986 *apud* CAMPOS FERNANDEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 37).

[20] With regard to such imaginary, it is worth remembering what we refer elsewhere about the role of medieval allegory in Berceo (MIRANDA POZA, 2014b) and to what extent that vision was a divine use of all the traditional elements of the erotic garden (BLANCO AGUINAGA; RODRIGUEZ PUÉRTOLAS; ZAVALA, 2000).

[21] Original: "Menos irrelevante que ser árbitro de deslices (y de otras acusaciones) es intentar comprender las peculiares simbiosis entre los modos de ver lo real y los modos de interpretar lo real que pautan las descripciones de Colón." (CORDIVIOLA, 2003, p. 174).

[22] Original: "[…] supe que navegando por el Océano veían cosas maravillosas y me determiné a asegurarme por mis propios ojos de la veracidad de todo lo que se contaba, para a mi vez contar a otros mi viaje." (PIGAFETTA, 1963 *apud* CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p. 145).

[23] Original: "hasta el extremo" (CAMPOS FERNADEZ FÍGARES, 2004, p. 24).

## Language: cognition, representation, meaning, identity.

With the brief antecedents shown, let us place ourselves in the place of those first adventurers who before them find a new world, a new reality. The conquerors did not discover "the other" as postcolonial studies say (TODOROV, 1987), but "the new". "The other", for the peninsular daily life, were in any case the Moriscos, the Jews and the rest of "forbidden people" to go to the Indies. Thus, it is pertinent to mention the use of the term mosque (*mezquita*) to refer to the cult building of the natives, a reference closest to another religiosity known as Muslim religious building, along with combinations such as *house of idols or house of their gods* (*casa de ídolos o casa de sus dioses)* (ROSSI, 1992). The conquerors, however, found something similarly different, something similar to their peninsular everyday life: the tributary or semi-slavery mode of production of the Moctezuma Empire offered many similarities with Spanish feudalism. "This Aztec tributary semislavery was what made Cortés Machiavellianism achieve immense indigenous support."[24] (RODRÍGUEZ, 2004, p. 16, our translation). Campos Fernandez Figares (2004, p. 24, our translation) concludes: "Here there is no 'other', because it lacked previous existence even in the European imagination."[25]

The first task and, along with it, the first uneasiness, from the Admiral to the rest of the chroniclers is to identify what they see, what their senses apprehend. And here lies the problem. The language of Castile is not prepared to give an exact account of things that did not previously exist as references in the environment of origin. The novel creation is there. Whoever discovers it brings it closer to us so that it enters the readers' minds. The senses apprehend what can not yet be named, because it is only possible to identify a thing when it is given (or known) the name that makes it be it. Before the *nova realia*, "Columbus (and the rest of the chroniclers) lives something that does not fit in the imagination, that flees from his cognition, and looks for the expressive resources in what is already known."[26] (ALVAR, 1982, p. 257, our translation). We will have to wait a while for linguistic normalization, which implies the development of a process -not necessarily linear and much less immediate-: "[…] only at the end of the process, initiated by fascination, will the indigenous word be captured, when eyes and ears are trained to see and hear, when they have been able to acquire a new cognition."[27] (MIRANDA POZA, 2007, p. 70, our translation). From the first trip of Columbus, " language had to adapt to the new reality"[28] (ALVAR, 1996, p. 95, our translation).

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[24] Original: "Tal semiesclavismo tributario azteca fue lo que hizo posible el maquiavelismo de Cortés y su logro del inmenso apoyo indígena." (RODRÍGUEZ, 2004, p. 16).

[25] Original: "Aquí no hay "otro", porque carecía de existencia previa incluso en la imaginación europea." (Campos Fernandez Figares, 2004, p. 24).

[26] Original: "Colón (y el resto de cronistas) vive algo que no cabe en la imaginación, que huye de su cognición, y busca los recursos expresivos en lo ya consabido." (ALVAR, 1982, p. 257).

[27] Original: "[…] solo al final del proceso –iniciado por la fascinación–, se captará la palabra del indígena, cuando ojos y oídos estén capacitados para ver y oír, cuando se ha sido capaz de adquirir una nueva cognición." (MIRANDA POZA, 2007, p. 70)

[28] Original: "la lengua tuvo que adaptarse a la nueva realidad" (ALVAR, 1996, p. 95).

We are describing a problem that the then incipient dialectology had already addressed at the end of the 19th century. Regional variations and compromise solutions, as well as lexical borrowings, have a lot to do with the concept of language as a *representation of reality*. It was then proved that, in the borrowings from one language to another, not only was the *form* of the word exported, but also the *thing* represented by it. We recall here the principle known as *Wörter und Sachen* (Words and Things), released by Meringer and Schuchardt (LEWANDOWSKI, 1986), which postulates the need to simultaneously study the words and realities represented by them in order to obtain a clear picture of the evolution of a language and its situation at a given moment.

But, it's not just about facing words and things in a lax way. The chroniclers hear the indians speak, and within those voices they hear and transcribe there is a cultural world that must be explained, and that is how it is done most of the time. Díaz del Castillo hears the Nahuatl word *jiquipil*, which he says means 'eight thousand', which is true, no matter how precisely its real meaning is 'bag' (*bolsa*) or *'talega'*, because in the numeral system of the Nahuas, eight thousand was represented by a bag that was supposed to withhold within it eight thousand cocoa beans, which was used as currency: "To know the language of the indigenous people is to seize their culture and own a culture is to make it a matter of speculation and study."[29] ( ALVAR, 1982, p. 273, our translation).

However, it is necessary to recognize that there were authors (Sahagún, Las Casas, Landa) who sought the indigenous term because it gave precision to the "thing", not because it was a herd of emotions or had any local flavor. They did what today we would call *anthropology*: they tried to find the ontological identification of words and things, not thinking about the possibilities of understanding others, but about the very identity of what they named and their way of naming it. There are even those who affirm that there is not always the need to explain a new reality which obliges the chronicler to include the indigenous term (MORENO DE ALBA, 1995). In this sense, Zamora (1982, p. 166-167) states that a percentage of Taíno loans in the sixteenth century really showed the "experience" and the veteran status of the conqueror in Mexico and Peru: "One reason, only recently discussed, is the special type of 'prestige` which it enjoyed for several decades: the prestige of experience loanwords were not only signs, but also symbols." No matter how much other chroniclers such as Fernández de Oviedo in his *General and natural histories of the Indies* (*General y natural historias de las Indias*) (1535) apologize, appealing to the style of language used, for including an expressive number of indigenous words.[30]

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[29] Original: "Conocer la lengua de los indios es apoderarse de su cultura y poseer una cultura es convertirla en materia de especulación y de estudio." (ALVAR, 1982, p. 273).

[30] "If some strange and barbarous words are found here, the cause is their novelty, and do not put to account my romance [Spanish language] [...] and what comes in this volume that does not match with it, they will be names or words used in order to make things understood as the Indians want them to mean." (*apud* MORENO DE ALBA, 1995, p. 59).

As every road has two ways, those who approached the languages of the indigenous people, such as Fray Bernardo de Lugo in his *Fly Grammar* (*Gramática mosca)*, they were equipped with the cultural background of which Spain participated. "Nothing comes out of nowhere, and we can not demand from a 16th or 17th century scholar what we still do not know how to do." [31] (ALVAR, 1982, p. 278, our translation). They established themselves in the best tradition: that of Latin grammars. Because of the fact that today we know this is not what should be done does not mean that it should not be done. There were no foundations to describe what had never been described and they resorted to Latin, which served both as a model and as a reference: "[…] it is understood that the comparison [Latin / Chibcha] is purely didactic, it does not intend to establish nexus, kinship or filiation between the two languages of any kind." [32] (RIVAS SACCONI, 1949, p.77, our translation).

The process of adapting the language to the new American reality was long. The Spanish "in America" — as sees fit, among others, Moreno de Alba (1995) — follows its own history and the language keeps moving according to the knowledge of reality: "[…] the system formed in Europe did not work and the words *ranch* (*rancho*), *hacienda*, *platicar*, *tortilla* kept being filled with new content or the thousand new things had to be adapted to continue being the language of communication: *corn (maíz)*, *cocoa (cacao)*, *potato (papa)*, *poncho.*" [33] (ALVAR, 2000b, p. 14, our translation). Language is mixed because in the linguistic interaction the valid old and the accepted new are joined together equally. Because language is a living body that accepts what it needs and eliminates the superfluous. America provided a new geographic and mental space for a language still in formation, "an inseparable fact of its historical evolution in its unity and in its productive diversity." [34] (RIVAROLA, 2001, p. 59, our translation). The culmination of this whole process is identified with the statement of Alvar (2000a, p. 20, our translation): "the Spaniards finally allowed their language to mingle." [35] Spanish mingled because language and men agreed to one another, as Díaz del Castillo recounts when Gonzalo Guerrero refuses to return with his companions: "Brother Aguilar, I am married, I have three children, and they have me as chief and captain when there are wars; You are with God [...]" [36] (SERNA, 2013, p. 348, our translation).

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[31] Original: "Nada sale de la nada, y no podemos exigir a un tratadista del siglo XVI o del XVII lo que aún hoy no sabemos hacer." (ALVAR, 1982, p. 278).

[32] Original: "[…] se comprende que la comparación [latín / chibcha] es puramente didáctica, no pretende establecer entre las dos lenguas nexo, parentesco o filiación de ninguna clase." (RIVAS SACCONI, 1949, p. 77).

[33] Original: "[…] el sistema formado en Europa no valía y los cascarones rancho, hacienda, platicar, tortilla se llenaban de contenidos nuevos o las mil cosas nuevas tenían que adaptarse para continuar siendo la lengua instrumento de comunicación: maíz, cacao, papa, poncho." (ALVAR, 2000b, p. 14).

[34] Original: "hecho inseparable de su evolución histórica en su unidad y en su productiva diversidad." (RIVAROLA, 2001, p. 59).

[35] Original: "los españoles aindiaron definitivamente su lengua" (ALVAR, 2000a, p. 20).

[36] Original: "Hermano Aguilar, yo soy casado, tengo tres hijos, y tiénenme por cacique y capitán cuando hay guerras; íos vos con Dios […]" (SERNA, 2013, p. 348).

**The process of adaptation of language: lexicon, dictionary and cognition.**

It should be remembered, first of all, that the field of lexicography, the technique or practice of developing dictionaries, had its origins in the Western world in the works of the first apprentices of philologists, who were the commentators and fixers of Homeric texts, *oi glossográphoi*, when they were faced with the need to prepare lists of words that contained an explanation about words that, due to their belonging to other varieties of language (diachronic or diatopic), seemed confusing or difficult to understand (MIRANDA POZA, 2017) . For three centuries (from 600 BC to 300 BC), the Homeric poems were studied and presented, for the Greeks, problems of understanding in certain plots of the lexicon. For school reasons, lexicons or glossaries began to emerge to understand those types of expression (SERRANO AYBAR, 1977). In large part, the legacy left to us by the chroniclers represents the fruit of a task very similar to that of the Greek lexicographer apprentices, but enlarged: the latter took the written texts as their basis and referred to their own language; the former, worked in the field of orality with unknown languages and had to apprehend a reality completely alien to the one that until then conformed their cognition (and, by extension, that of their readers).

The novel creation is there, but whoever discovers it has to resort to the procedures that have always been used by those who see things for the first time: approaching them with what we know so that they enter our conceptual parameters. First, the comparison, so as to penetrate the description of the new reality and only in the end capture the indigenous word. It is pertinent here to evoke the Theory of Significant Learning (TAS), elaborated by Ausubel (1978) and developed by himself in other works (AUSUBEL, 2002).[37] In it there emerges a fundamental idea that we can perceive clearly in the process of interaction between what the chronicler already knows and the new information to which he is being presented; it is about the concept of subsuming or subsumptioning. This idea can be understood as something specific, relevant (concept, idea, proposition), already existing in the cognitive structure of the learner, which serves as anchor for new information: "[…] meaningful learning occurs when new information" is anchored "in concepts relevant (subsuming) preexisting in the cognitive structure."[38] (MOREIRA, 2006, p. 15, our translation). The process of mingling that we are going to describe further below is theoretically justified from cognitive presuppositions.

For Alvar (1982), despite the evident heterogeneity of the testimonies, three processes take place constantly: adaptation of the Spanish language; adoption of Americanisms or Hispanisms, depending on the point of view; new creations. This

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[37] Knowledge is meaningful by definition. It is the significant product of a cognitive psychological process ("knowing") that involves the interaction between "logically" (culturally) meaningful ideas, background ("anchor") ideas relevant to the cognitive structure (or the structure of the knowledge) of the specific person who learns and the mental "attitude" of this person in relation to meaningful learning or the acquisition and retention of knowledge. (AUSUBEL, 2002, p. 9).

[38] Original: "[…] el aprendizaje significativo se produce cuando la nueva información 'se ancla' en conceptos relevantes (subsumidores) preexistentes en la estructura cognitiva." (MOREIRA, 2006, p. 15).

same tripartite process is shared by Rossi (1992, p. 4, our translation), when he speaks of three progressive solutions "before the intoxication of 'things' and 'names' of such an unexpected world"[39]: 1) clinging to the stock of images and denominations of his own world — old name for the new thing, exposed above: mosque (*mezquita*); 2) Necessity borrowing, that is, autochthonous denomination (of the chronicler), to which a comparative similarity is added: sheep (*oveja*) by *llama*, although the novel reference does not belong to the ovines, the similarity is established in the measure that it is an animal from which we get milk, meat, wool, leather; the differential with the peninsular: it is also a pack animal; 3) borrowing as foreignerism, before the familiarity of everyday life, which produces the inclusion of the term as a lexical repertoire of the newcomers: *cacique*, from the term *kaisic'reyezuelo'*, phonetically adapted and transliterated into Spanish.

The complexity of this process of penetration of the indigenous terms, in short, was due to what was the result of the clash of two very different worlds (from the cultural point of view and from the nature of the physical world) as well as its virulent condition for Europeans and Americans, since "[…] both lived without the slightest suspicion of the existence of the other, without the slightest glimpse of what the other's world could be."[40] (MORÍÑIGO, 1964, p. 217, our translation).

Our proposal consists in the systematization - within the evident heterogeneity - of the data coming from the texts that make up the *Chronicles* and in the establishment of six phases in the process of adaptation, along the lexicographical theory, which will culminate with the incorporation of the indigenous word to the lexicon of Spanish, comprising the semasiological, onomasiological and cognitive aspects (cultural and identity as well).

**The difficulty in finding the precise expression: language as a problem**

Reality is named after its own name and is inalienable for an accurate understanding of things. This is what Columbus understands when he recognizes that he does not know the language of the native people, and that he understands them by understanding one thing for another: "Every day we understand these indians more, since they have often understood one by another."[41] (SERNA, 2013, p. 147, our translation). At times, an imperfect, defective, imprecise style, full of periphrastic reiterations at the time of describing what is seen, becomes patent. Beyond remembering in passing the warnings of Menéndez Pidal (1942, p. 11, our translation) about the Genoese and non-Spanish origin of Columbus, echoing the comments of other chroniclers, such as Las Casas,

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[39]  Original: "ante la embriaguez de ´cosas` y ´nombres` de un mundo tan inesperado" (ROSSI, 1992, p. 4).

[40]  Original: "[…] ambos vivían sin la menor sospecha de la existencia del otro, sin el menor vislumbre de lo que el mundo del otro podría ser" (MORÍÑIGO, 1964, p. 217).

[41]  Original: "Cada día entendemos más a estos indios, puesto que muchas veces hayan entendido uno por otro." (SERNA, 2013, p. 147)

which reveal the incompetence of his Castellan : "[Columbus is] natural of another language, because he does not fully penetrate the meaning of the words of the Castilian language or the way of speaking it."[42], it is worth emphasizing, once again, that we must differentiate between what Columbus contemplates and what he says he contemplates; what you see and what you want or need to see: empirical reality versus ideology.

Be that as it may, other chroniclers participated of this first phase, characterized by the difficulty in finding the precise expression, or the testimony of the lack of communication with the indigenous people. Thus, Hernán Cortés, in the *Second Letter of Relationship* (*Segunda Carta de Relación*) (1519-1526), writes: "When the prisoners arrived, I spoke to them with the languages that I have, and having put all diligence to know the truth, it seemed that the captain had not understood them well."[43] (SERNA, 2013, p. 311, our translation). Or also: "[...] and how could it be best understood with that language of ours."[44] (SERNA, 2013, p. 349, our translation).

Some time later, the Inca Garcilaso in his *Royal Commentaries* (*Comentarios Reales*) (1609), insists on the subject of language as a problem: the lack of understanding in both directions: "[...] that my intention is not to contradict [the Spanish historians], but to serve them [...] as an interpreter of many indigenous words, who as foreigners in that language, interpret improperly"[45] (SERNA, 2013, p. 448, our translation). Or else, "[...] for the indian did not understand [the Spanish] delivered to him or for not understanding each other, due to the difficulty of the language."[46] (SERNA, 2013, p. 478, our translation).

There are also reports of the recognition of the real impossibility of expressing and completely describing the reality that is contemplated, precisely because words are lacking. Columbus asserts: "And after all, there are trees in a thousand ways and they all give fruit in their own way, and everyone acknowledges that it is wonderful, that I am the most unfortunate in the world for not knowing them [...]"[47]. (SERNA, 2013, p. 131-132, our translation). He does not "know" them, because the apprehension is partial: the name is missing, which would close the ontological circle (meaning, word and thing), language fails as an instrument of communication. In addition to what has been said, no longer the difficulty of mutual understanding, but the lack of the word in the description is testified by Cortés: "in those markets one can buy anything found

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[42] Original: "[Colón es] natural de otra lengua, porque no penetra del todo la significación de los vocablos de la lengua castellana ni del modo de hablar de ella." (MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, 1942, p. 11).

[43] Original: "Llegados los presos, les hablé con las lenguas que yo tengo, y habiendo puesto toda diligencia para saber la verdad, pareció que no los había el capitán bien entendido." (SERNA, 2013, p. 311).

[44] Original: "[…] y como mejor se pudo dárselo a entender con aquella nuestra lengua." (SERNA, 2013, p. 349).

[45] Original: "[…] que mi intención no es contradecirles [a los historiadores españoles], sino servirles (…) de intérprete en muchos vocablos indios, que como extranjeros en aquella lengua, interpretan fuera de la propiedad." (SERNA, 2013, p. 448).

[46] Original: "[…] por no entender [el español] al indio que se la daba o por no entenderse el uno al otro, por la dificultad del lenguaje." (SERNA, 2013, p. 478).

[47] Original: "Y después, hay árboles de mil maneras y todos dan de su manera fruto, y todos huelen que es maravilla, que yo estoy el más apenado del mundo de no conocerlos […]" (SERNA, 2013, p. 131-132).

in those lands, which [...] are so many and of so many qualities, that for the prolixity [...] and even for not knowing how to name them, I do not express them."[48] (SERNA, 2013, p. 266, our translation).

This expressive impossibility has a stylistic consequence: the reiteration of periphrasis, by way of imprecise explanation, in which the terms are usual, either in isolation, or in free combination: "way (s)", "diverse (s)", "Different (s) "and, above all, the projection of the imagination: "wonder", "wonderful", and consequently" admiration", "admirable". Mounin (1971, p. 94, our translation) warned long ago that "[…] every language contains an analysis of the external world of its own, and that differs from other languages or from other stages of the same language."[49] When we talk about the world in two different languages, we are not talking about the same world, "[…] from which a certain theoretical impossibility of moving from one language to another is derived when this linguistic step involves another step that goes from one world of experience to another."[50] (MIRANDA POZA, 2014a, p. 36, our translation). For this reason, Columbus [Colón] (1976, p. 87, our translation) writes in his diary: "On the ground they saw very green trees and a lot of water and fruits in different ways."[51], or in the *Letter to Luis de Santángel*: "There are plants of six or eight ways, which causes admiration to see them for the beautiful deformity."[52] (SERNA, 2013, p.119, our translation). Neither escapes Cortes, in the *Second Letter of Relationship*: "They had inside the city their houses of lodging, such and so wonderful, that it seemed almost impossible to express the goodness and greatness of them, more than in Spain there is no such thing."[53] (SERNA, 2013, p. 272, our translation).

## From the imprecision to the comparison: the conception of the own and the foreign

In the last of the quotes we find another key. Spontaneously partial solutions are found to try to escape descriptive imperfections by comparison: "how much diversity is there from one way to the other"[54] (Diarios *apud* ALVAR, 1982, p. 257, our translation). The toponym, or rather, the concept of Castilla (or Spain) became an

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[48] Original: "[…] en los dichos mercados se venden todas cuantas cosas se hallan en toda la tierra, que […] son tantas y de tantas cualidades, que por la prolijidad […] y aun por no saber poner los nombres, no las expreso." (SERNA, 2013, p. 266).

[49] Original: "[…] toda lengua encierra una análisis del mundo exterior que le es propio, y que se diferencia de otras lenguas u otras etapas de la misma lengua." (MOUNIN, 1971, p. 94).

[50] Original: "[…] de donde se deriva una cierta imposibilidad teórica de pasar de una lengua a otra cuando este paso lingüístico conlleva otro paso que va de un mundo de la experiencia a otro distinto." (MIRANDA POZA, 2014a, p. 36).

[51] Original: "Puestos en tierra vieron árboles muy verdes y aguas muchas y frutas de diversas maneras." (COLÓN, 1976, p. 87)

[52] Original: "Hay plantas de seis u ocho maneras, que es admiración verlas por la deformidad hermosa de ellas." (SERNA, 2013, p. 119).

[53] Original: "Tenían dentro de la ciudad sus casas de aposentamiento, tales y tan maravillosas, que me parecía casi imposible decir la bondad y grandeza de ellas, más que en España no hay semejante." (SERNA, 2013, p. 272).

[54] Original: "cuánta es la diversidad de la una manera a la otra" (*Diarios* apud ALVAR, 1982, p. 257).

index of valuation, of first reference or known term, a point in which to support the explanation in comparison with the unknown until then. In the same way that land was taken over in the name of Castile, the family stayed in Castile, men came from Castile and their language was Castellan (ALVAR, 2000a). Thus, before the Spaniards learned the languages of the indigenous people and the denomination of things, it was that which came from the land or the Indies that surprised their eyes; on the other hand, the things which were brought over there or those that simply nested in their minds, in their memory, were from Spain or from Castile: "[…] the other trees in other ways were so many that there is no one who could describe them or make them resemble other trees in Castile."[55] (*Diarios apud* ALVAR, 1982, p. 261, our translation). It is a further step in the way of capturing the word, seeking to make the European aware of the discrepancies: systematic opposition in perfect cognitive dialogism of plants, animals, objects from the land or the Indies to those who come from overseas: from Spain, from Castile, from Alcarria ... Such references show a diverse and comprehensive geographic richness: Castile, Spain, Seville, Cordoba, Granada, Burgos, Barcelona, Salamanca, Valencia, Tenerife and, by extension, ours (*lo nuestro*), ours (*las nuestras*), christians (*los cristianos*), canaries (see Chart 1).

**Chart 1** – The understanding of the new reality from Castile

| Reference term | Text | Author / Chronicle | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Castilla** | *...huertas de árboles, las más hermosas que yo vi, e tan verdes y con sus hojas* **como las de Castilla…** *(14 de octubre)* | Columbus / *Diaries* | |
| | *...pescaron muchos pescados* **como los de Castilla…** *(p. 147)* | | |
| | *Vuestra Majestad podría estar tan bien* **como** *en una de las más cumplidas* **casas de Castilla.** *(p. 195)* | Fernández de Oviedo / *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* | |
| **Spain** | *...que los vi tan verdes [los árboles] y tan hermosos* **como son por mayo en España** *… (p. 119)* | Columbus | *Carta a Luis de Santángel* |
| | *Halló caracoles grandes, sin sabor,* **no como los de España.** *(p. 136)* | | *Diarios* |
| | *...que piden a los ricos por las calles y por las casas y mercados,* **como hacen los pobres en España** *… (p. 237)* | Cortés / *Segunda Carta de Relación* | |
| | *Hay mucha loza de maneras y muy buena y* **tal como la mejor de España.** *(p. 229)* | | |

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[55] Original: "[…] los otros árboles de otras maneras eran tantos que no hay persona que lo pueda decir ni asemejar a otros de Castilla." (*Diarios* apud ALVAR, 1982, p. 261).

| Reference term | Text | Author / Chronicle |
|---|---|---|
| Sevilla | *Los aires muy dulces **como en abril en Sevilla**, qué placer estar a ellos, tan olorosos son. (Lunes, 8 de octubre)* | Columbus / *Diarios* |
| | *Hay bien cuarenta torres muy altas; la más principal es **tan alta que la torre de la iglesia de Sevilla**. (p. 268)* | |
| Sevilla / Córdoba | *Es tan grande la ciudad [Tenochtitlán] **como Sevilla y Córdoba**. (p. 265)* | |
| Granada | *La cual ciudad [Tizatlán] es tan grande y de tanta admiración que diré creo que es casi increíble **porque es muy mayor que Granada y de muy mucha más gente que Granada**. (p. 229)* | Cortés / *Segunda Carta de Relación* |
| Burgos | *Me dijeron que habían visto una casa de aposentamiento y fortaleza **que es mayor y más fuerte y mejor edificada que el castillo de Burgos**. (p. 254)* | |
| Barcelona | *Porque todas las casas de Santo Domingo son de piedra **como las de Barcelona**, por la mayor parte, o de tan hermosas tapias y tan fuertes que es muy singular argamasa, **y el asiento muy mejor que el de Barcelona**. (p. 194)* | Fernández de Oviedo / *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* |
| | *... y **no más lejos de** la boca por donde el río entra en la mar, **de lo que hay de Monjuich al monasterio de San Francisco o a la lonja de Barcelona**... (p. 195)* | |
| Salamanca | *[Tenochtitlán] Tiene otra plaza tan grande **como dos veces la ciudad de Salamanca**, toda cercada de portales alrededor. (p. 265)* | Cortés / *Segunda Carta de Relación* |
| Valencia | *Árboles muy verdes y tan hermosos **como en abril en las huertas de Valencia**. (p. 167)* | Columbus/ *Diarios* |
| Tenerife | *... y en ella hay muchas sierras y montañas altísimas, **sin comparación con la isla de Tenerife**... (p. 119)* | Columbus / *Carta a Luis de Santángel* |
| Lo nuestro | *... y aves y pajaritos de tantas maneras y **tan diversas de las nuestras** que es maravilla... (p. 132)* | Columbus / *Diaries* |
| | *... y tienen faxones y habas **muy diversas de las nuestras**... (p. 138)* | |
| Los cristianos | *En ella [La Española] hay muchos puertos en la costa de la mar, **sin comparación de otros que yo sepa de cristianos**. (p. 119)* | Columbus / *Carta a Luis de Santángel* |
| Los canarios | *De ellos [hombres] se pintan de prieto, **y ellos son de la color de los canarios**, ni negros ni blancos. (p. 130)* | Columbus / *Diarios* |

**Source:** Author's elaboration. The references of the texts have been taken from the edition of the *Crónicas* de Serna (2013).

The comparison also occurs in the other direction, not lacking testimonies concerning what is *theirs*. Thus, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, in his aforementioned *True History* ... describes the landscape he contemplates in these terms: "[...] platforms full of roses and flowers and many fruit trees and roses of the land." [56] (SERNA, 2013, p. 367, our translation). The same goes for Cortés in the *Second Letter of Relationship*: "This city [Huaquechula] has a very large site, because within it there are many orchards and fruits and to their custom smells." [57] (SERNA, 2013, p. 315, our translation).

This situation of comparison even extends to the generality of European cognition, since it reaches, finally, other extrapeninsular European territories: it is the verification of the Old World cosmovision (now represented by the whole of Europe in the Castelian minds) and the New World (the West Indies), Europe versus America, or if you prefer, America conceived from Europe: "The order that has been reached so far by its people to govern itself, is almost like the lordships of Venice, Genoa or Pisa, because there is not a general ruler of all." [58] (SERNA, 2013, p. 268, our translation).

## Substitution of imprecise periphrasis by the nearest Castilian term

The next phase of the process of adapting the language to the new reality is the gradual abandonment of comparative periphrastic resources: the very different, in different ways, very diverse, like those from Castile, different from those from here, etc. it moves on to the inclusion of a Castilian term, logically inaccurate, and from there, from its semantic stereotype, and depending on its characterizing traces, to establish the differences of nuance to conceive the new reality. It is the postulate by the lexematic Model when it spoke of the existence of features of meaning that semantically characterize the lexemes (COSERIU, 1991; SALVADOR, 1985; JUSTO GIL, 1990) that, later, cognitive psychology came to confirm through semantics of prototypes, which works in the field of cognitive perception of the speaker in relation to the features of meaning that necessarily make up the concept represented by the word. We offer two fragments that allude to this fact, belonging to the *Diaries of Columbus*: "[...] women and men with a brand in hand, and herbs to take the incense that they use." [59] (SERNA, 2013, p. 139, our translation). That *brand* that men and women carry in their hands is nothing but tobacco. In case we still have some doubt, Díaz del Castillo, in his *True Story* ... clarifies it definitively, contributing the indigenous term that was missing in the description of Columbus: "They also put three *cañutos* on the table [...] and

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[56]   Original: "[…] andenes llenos de rosas y flores y muchos frutales y rosales de la tierra." (SERNA, 2013, p. 367).

[57]   Original: "Esta ciudad [Huaquechula] tiene muy gran sitio, porque dentro de ella hay muchas huertas y frutas y olores a su costumbre." (SERNA, 2013, p. 315).

[58]   Original: "La orden que hasta ahora se ha alcanzado de la gente de ella en gobernarse, es casi como las señorías de Venecia, Génova o Pisa, porque no hay señor general de todos." (SENA, 2013, p. 268).

[59]   Original: "[…] mujeres y hombres con un tizón en la mano, e hierbas para tomar sus sahumerios que acostumbran." (SERNA, 2013, p. 139).

inside they brought liquidambar stirred with some herbs called tobacco."[60] (SERNA, 2013, p. 381, our translation).

But this solution will come later, and will consist in the incorporation of the indigenous term. Let's continue with the Columbus' *Diarios*: "Walking thus near one of those lagoons, I saw a serpent, which we killed and I bring the leather to Your Highnesses."[61] (SERNA, 2013, p. 122, our translation). Las Casas was the transmitter of this newsletter, a few years had passed and the knowledge of the indigenous languages and of the reality itself obliged the transcriber to write down marginally, on the subject of serpent, the exact term of the new reality: *iguana*. It was not a simple snake, but another peculiar and different creature unknown in Castile, for which there was no specific lexem to symbolize it. What Las Casas does in this reformulation of Castilian is similar to the episode of Silelos and Emilianenses Glosses (*Glosas silenses y emilianenses*). They responded to a European linguistic tradition to which they were opposed, in this case, a primitive romance to Latin (ALVAR, 2001). In Las Casas the indigenous term begins to be used, replacing the Castilian lexical reference only cognitively approximated to the new reality represented.

However, Las Casas does not always show that it knows the indigenous lexicon that designates the new reality and, like Columbus, mentions dry leaves (*hojas secas o tizón*) or *tabaco* blight, cotton nets (*redes de algodón*) by hammocks (*hamacas*), or, with combined resources, mice from India (ratones de la India) by *hútias*, as Díaz del Castillo talks about shirts of the land (*camisas de la tierra*) by *huipiles*. The Jesuit does the same when he talks about flutes (*flautas*) for *quenas*, *atabales* for *marimbas* or lions (*leones*) for cougars (*pumas*). We are, in short, in constant transitions, even within the same author and the same chronicle, although the process will not stop. Thus, Fr. Diego de Landa in his *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan* (1566), alongside a remarkable number of indigenisms such as *chu'pécari`*, *cox'pavo salvaje`*, *pay'ofeta`*, *colomché* 'type of dance` -Recorded in detail by Alvar (1972) -, does not hesitate to resort to the opposing imaginary as a sign of differentiation: theirs and ours, because through the possessive "su" any expressive commitment is resolved: their chickens and roosters are, in fact, the *'pavos`*, alongside other similar explanations: *hens of the land that are different and greater than ours from Castile*; the same goes for *pepper* from the Indies for *'chile'* or the *'henequén'* which happens to be local land hemp. It is more, the *'pecari'*, which in certain passages is called through the term *chu*, in others it is alluded to through the comparative periphrasis *pigs of those of that land*.

We can conclude this section by pointing out that this cognitive resource consisting of using a significantly close Castilian term did not always turn out to be a felicitous choice. In this regard, Enguita Utrilla (1980-1981) and Rivarola (2013) have highlighted significant conceptual confusions in Fernández de Oviedo, when, for example, she

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[60] Original: "También le ponían en la mesa tres cañutos […] y dentro traían liquidámbar revuelto con unas yerbas que llaman tabaco." (SERNA, 2013, p. 381).

[61] Original: "Andando así en cerco de una de esas lagunas, vi una sierpe, la cual matamos y traigo el cuero a Vuestras Altezas." (SERNA, 2013, p. 132).

uses pears to designate *'aguacate`* or makes equivalent the indigenous voices *cacao*, *cacaguat*, *coconut*. Also, the inadequacy of the selected word responds to what Castillo Durán (2004, p. 142, our translation) calls "comparison of urgency"[62], so that the European reader can understand the similarity between the known and the unknown. In the *History of Juan Sebastián del Cano*, edited by Fernández de Navarrete in 1872, by Francisco de Albo, there is allusion to "*the body of the camel*" - Pigafetta, in another place, for the same purpose, speaks of "*camels without humps*" -, when the *guanaco*, a species of llama or vicuna from the south of the continent, only bears a remote resemblance to the African camel, whose characteristic feature is the hump: "His mantle, was made of very well sewn skins, of an animal that abounds in this country [...] This animal has a mule's head and ears, a camel's body [...]"[63] (ALBO, 1986 *apud* CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p. 142, our translation). Finally, one should not forget the imaginary and fictional projection of the marvelous known, which explains, in Columbus and in Albo himself, as well as in Pigafetta, that "sighting mermaids in those seas was perfectly possible"[64] (CORDIVIOLA, 2003, p. 175, our translation). When Las Casas transcribes in its *History of the Indies* the episode of the mermaids, beyond its proximity with the manatee, of the species of the Sirenids, it is the projection which in that land of wonders the Admiral made of the known and the fantastic. That resource is not alien to the Castilian medieval chronicle in the descriptions of England. In the Victorial, a Castilian chronicle of the fifteenth century, it is said about the distant and, largely unknown, England: "And for these reasons that said, and many other wonders which in that land were and are, it is called the land of wonders Angliaterra. [...] I already told you about the reason why they called the island of Angliaterra Bretania [...] this name here, Angliaterra, means in another language 'land of wonders'. And that was due to many wonderful things that it used to have"[65] (*apud* MIRANDA POZA, 1993, p. 60, our translation). The plot and the corresponding discourse tradition respond to the same cognition: the distant, the unknown, is wonderful and gives rise to release the imagination. As if this were not enough, we can trace at a time not far from the writing of the *Chronicles*, the *Viatge of Viscount Ramón de Perellós i de Roda al Purgatori nomenat de San Patricio* (1398), to which a later Castilian edition of Pérez de Montalbán in 1627, is coupled in which, based on the *motivo de la isla*, located in Ireland, the same topics that we find in the Chronicles are reproduced step by step. Compare what has been said with the fragments taken from the Diaries of Columbus: "He says that this island is the most beautiful one that eyes have seen"[66] (SERNA, 2013, p. 133, our

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[62]  Original: "comparación de urgencia" (CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p. 142).

[63]  Original: "Su manto, estaba hecho de pieles muy bien cosidas, de un animal que abunda en este país (…) Este animal tiene cabeza y orejas de mula, cuerpo de camello […]" (ALBO, 1986 *apud* CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p. 142).

[64]  Original: "avistar sirenas en aquellos mares era perfectamente posible" (CORDIVIOLA, 2003, p. 175).

[65]  Original: "E por estas razones que dichas he, e otras muchas maravillas que en aquella tierra fueron e son, es llamada tierra de maravillas Angliaterra. […] Ya vos conté e dixe de suso por quál razón llamaron Bretania a la isla de Angliaterra […] ca este nombre, Angliaterra, quiere dezir en otra lengua 'tierra de las maravillas'. Esto por muchas cosas maravillosas que en ella solía aber." (*apud* MIRANDA POZA, 1993, p. 60).

[66]  Original: "Dice que es aquella isla la más hermosa que ojos han visto" (SERNA, 2013, p. 133).

translation); "[...] the tasty and sweet air of the whole night, neither cold nor hot [...]" [67] (SERNA, 2013, p. 135, our translation).

### Inclusion of the indigenous term next to the usual term that refers a similar reality

In the *Summary of the Natural History of the Indies* (1526), by Fernández de Oviedo (1950), the introduction of the indigenous word is documented next to another Castilian word that evokes an approximate American reality, as a cognitive explanation for the reader. It is not another question of not knowing the precise indigenous word and having to resort by conceptual proximity to a Castilian with different nuances, now the learned word is included, but the need to define it is revealed, even by proximity: "On this island [La Española] ] no four-foot animal existed, but two types of very small animals, which are called *hutia* and *cori*, which are almost like rabbits." [68] (SERNA, 2013, p. 193, our translation). Díaz del Castillo in his *True Story* ... (1545) offers examples that belong to this phase of the process with the same lexical scheme: "covered their shame with some narrow blankets which among them they call *mastates*" [69]; "Those [Indians] from Cuba walked with their shame naked, except the women, who wore cotton clothes up to their thighs that they call *naguas*." [70] (SERNA, 2013, p. 325, our translation).

In *True History* ..., Diaz del Castillo uses the comparison between the two words through a clear procedure: the American object (I) is similar to Castilian (1), although enriched by new features that mark the differential: (a ), (b), (c) ...: "They are canoes (*canoas*) (I) made as troughs (*artesas*) (1) and they are large (a), thick and dug inside and hollow (b), and all are from a solid wood (c) and forty or fifty Indians (d) can stand on their feet" [71] (SERNA, 2013, p. 325, our translation). It is, in short, "[…] the first Americanism that was incorporated into Spanish: in 1493, Nebrija included it in his dictionary of Castilian." [72] (ALVAR, 1975, p. 75, our translation). What is important here is to emphasize that this way of defining new words does nothing but confirm something to which we alluded above: the existence of significant features (semas) that constitute the semantics of the lexeme (COSERIU, 1991; SALVADOR, 1985; JUSTO GIL, 1990). This, in turn, has theoretical-empirical confirmation from cognitive psychology, which

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[67] Original: "[…] los aires sabrosos y dulces de toda la noche, ni frío ni caliente […]" (SERNA, 2013, p. 135).

[68] Original: "En esta isla [La Española] ningún animal de cuatro pies había, sino dos maneras de animales muy pequeñitos, que se llaman *hutía* y *cori*, que son cuasi a manera de *conejos.* (SERNA, 2013, p. 193).

[69] Original: "cubiertas sus vergüenzas con unas mantas angostas que entre ellos llaman mastates" (SERNA, 2013, p. 325).

[70] Original: "Los [indios] de Cuba andaban con sus vergüenzas de fuera, excepto las mujeres, que traían hasta que les llegaban a los muslos, unas ropas de algodón que llaman naguas." (SERNA, 2013, p. 325).

[71] Original: "Son canoas (I) hechas a manera de artesas (1) y son grandes (a), de maderos gruesos y cavadas por dentro y está hueco (b), y todas son de un madero macizo (c) y caben en pie cuarenta o cincuenta indios (d)" (SERNA, 2013, p. 325).

[72] Original: "[…] del primer americanismo que se incorporó al español: en 1493, Nebrija lo incluyó en su diccionario del castellano." (ALVAR, 1975, p. 75).

worked in the field of cognitive perception of the human being already in its infancy with Koffka (1926) and its law of constancy of the figure, problematized years later when put into practice in the experiments with figures of Labov (1973), which led Rosch (1975) to propose that in every categorization / conceptualization there is a fixed nucleus or prototype - here, the cognition meaning represented by the Spanish word and its semantema-, and some properties or gradual features -here, the significant features that represent, characterizing it, the new reality until that unknown moment -, which can lead to a fuzzy or only approximate categorization (ALONSO-CORTÉS, 2015).

This same scheme is repeated everywhere in the *True History*, with a more or less detailed explanation but without even removing the Castilian word as a fixed cognitive-significant prototype,...: "And since we found ourselves with three ships and a food supply (*casta)* which is made of *cazabe* bread with roots that they call *yuccas* [...]" [73] (SERNA, 2013, p. 323, our translation). Finally, the growing trend to reduce explanations - due to the proximity and familiarity with the new term -, since the Castilian voice is always placed as the first reference, makes it possible to document, at the last moment of this phase as transition to the next, a term side by side, without greater precision or explanation. This is the case of the Inca Garcilaso in his Royal Commentaries: "The poetry of the Incas amautas, who are philosophers, and harauicus, who are poets" [74] (SERNA, 2013, p. 474, our translation). And so we come to testimonies of what we might call a bilingual dictionary, where only the equivalences between the American and European voices are offered. Alvar (2000b, p. 87) affirms that the process of adopting the new terms is, in this phase, "the same that was adopted at the time of Alfonso X: the lexical equivalence" [75]. Two examples that illustrate this statement, the first, in the *Summary of the Natural History of the Indies*, by Fernandez de Oviedo, shows the word canoe (*canoa*) again, without further explanation: "When you want to fish in it, take it to the sea in his canoe or boat." [76] (SERNA, 2013, p. 198); the second, of *True History* ..., by Díaz del Castillo: "[...] and they were of good will, and spoke with the *principal* and *caciques* [...]" [77] (SERNA, 2013, p. 354).


## Towards the monolingual Spanish dictionary: Indigenous features

The circle is closing. If we consider these facts from the perspective of lexicographical theory, we are very close not only to the process of adopting new terms between languages that come into contact (lexical borrowing), but also to the creation of a new unified monolingual dictionary. The indigenous term already feels like the proper one

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[73] Original: "Y desque nos vimos con tres navíos y matalotaje de *pan cazabe*, que se hace de unas *raíces* que llaman *yucas* […]" (SERNA, 2013, p. 323).

[74] Original: "La poesía de los incas amautas, que son filósofos, y harauicus, que son poetas." (SERNA, 2013, p. 474).

[75] Original: "[…] el mismo que se adoptó en la época de Alfonso X: la equivalencia léxica."

[76] Original: "Cuando quieren pescar en él, llévanle a la mar en su canoa o barca." (SERNA, 2013, p. 198)

[77] Original: "[…] y fueron de buena voluntad, y hablaron con los principales y caciques […]" (SERNA, 2013, p. 354).

and it is only necessary to explain its (lexicographical) definition, far from inaccurate approximations or comparisons from other words considered as proper, patrimonial or well-known: "The philologist — the chronicler — does lexicographical work from the moment in which before the text (written or oral) tries to understand what the words say." [78] (ALVAR, 2001, p. 27, our translation).

In this sense, we find essays of true direct definitions of the new words spontaneously incorporated by means of their adoption into the Spanish lexicon. What Ahumada Lara (1989, p. 55, our translation) understands by lexicographical definition is the "[…] expression of the lexical meaning of an entry, where the lexical functioning of semantically charged units is given: names, adjectives, verbs, adverbs." [79]. This applies as much to Columbus, in his *Diario*: "They have sown *ajes*, which are some branches that they plant, and next to them roots grow which will serve [...] as bread and they will grate and knead them." [80] (SERNA, 2013, p. 149, our translation), as for Cortés, in the *Second Letter of Relationship*: "And the great Moctezuma brought some shoes as *cotaras*, which is what they call them, the soles of gold and very precious stones in them." [81] (SERNA, 2013, p. 370, our translation). Note that in these examples how there is no reference to any similar Spanish term by comparison. If there is, it appears in a secondary role, in between parentheses or commas, that is, the indigenous term becomes more important because, as a matter of fact, it is already considered a patrimonial voice, as in Cortés: "[...] and that if they were good, as they say, then we will do it, and if not, that will let go of those tepustles (*iron* is called in their language *tepustle*)." [82] (SERNA, 2013, p. 315, our translation).

## On variation and diversity: comments on dialectology and linguistic geography

The word and the thing belonging to the new reality have become part of the lexicon of Spanish, at least in the imaginary and in the cognition of the chroniclers. The process, as we have seen, has not been easy and has been filled with many difficulties and inconsistencies. Now, once such terms have become part of the imaginary and cognition of the Spanish speaker, transmitted through a process of reflection (often intuitive) carried out by the chroniclers, that is when there begins to appear a new series of observations which we can qualify as dialectal. The new reality did not always

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[78] Original: "El filólogo –el cronista–, hace labor lexicográfica desde el momento en que ante el texto (escrito u oral) intenta entender lo que las palabras dicen" (ALVAR, 2001, p. 27).

[79] Original:"expresión del significado léxico de una entrada, donde se da cuenta del funcionamiento léxico de las unidades semánticamente cargadas: nombres, adjetivos, verbos, adverbios"

[80] Original: "Tienen sembrado en ella ajes, que son unos ramillos que plantan, y al pie de ellos crecen unas raíces […] que sirven por pan y rallan y amasan." (SERNA, 2013, p. 149).

[81] Original: "Y el gran Moctezuma traía calzados unos como cotaras, que así se dice lo que se calzan, las suelas de oro y muy preciosa pedrería en ellas." (SERNA, 2013, p. 370).

[82] Original: "[…] y que si ellos fueron buenos, como dicen, que así lo haremos, y si no, que soltará de aquellos tepustles (al hierro le llaman en su lengua tepustle)." (SERNA, 2013, p. 315).

receive / does not always receive the same name in the different pre-existing languages (and cultures) in the Indies. And so, once the new terms are accepted, some of the chroniclers explain no longer the meaning -which is taken for granted, by patrimonial-, but the geographical distribution of certain denominations of the same object: linguistic geography. Thus, Las Casas, in his *Very Brief Relationship*, testifies: "And among other parties that were held, it was in the afternoons that they would have them in all the neighborhoods and parks of the city the dances and dances that they got used to which they call *mitotes*, as in the Islands they call them *areítos*."[83] (SERNA, 2013, p. 401). The same as the Inca Garcilaso: "That name *galpón* is not of the general language of Peru; it must be from the islands of Barlo vento; the Spaniards have introduced it in their language [...] It means *big room*."[84] (SERNA, 2013, p. 451, our translation).

## Final considerations

We have attempted to describe with a certain precision the processes of adaptation of new words coming from the indigenous languages into the lexicon of the Spanish language -which did not necessarily follow a progressive, precise and continuous chronology- through the testimony of the chroniclers of the Indies who, faced with the new reality of which they were witnesses, had to act not only as mere intermediaries who passively described what they contemplated, but as philologists and lexicographers who, probably without suspecting it, used their linguistic intuition, fine tuned to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the case. In the development of such processes, a good many linguistic principles came into play, which makes the testimonies especially precious, since they come to justify and become a clear proof of the concepts handled by linguistics with regard to the acquisition of language and, in turn, it also qualifies precisely other statements made by literary criticism about mimesis, representation of reality, fiction and fantasy: linguistics, history, literature backed up by the mantle of philology, in the broadest sense of the term.

We should note, however, that when we speak of lexical Americanism, it refers to "one of the most controversial concepts of Hispanic linguistics"[85] (VAQUERO DE RAMÍREZ, 1992, p. 40, our translation), at the same time that many of the lexical adaptations - taken, sometimes, as inaccuracies - disappeared later, although some are still alive in Latin America, for example, *estancia*, 'farm dedicated to the cultivation of livestock. Beyond any specific quantitative intention -for our work is based on qualitative aspects-, it should be remembered that there is no shortage of scholars who call attention

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[83] Original: "Y entre otras fiestas que le hacían eran en las tardes hacer por todos los barrios y plazas de la ciudad los bailes y danzas que se acostumbran y que llaman ellos *mitotes*, como en las Islas llaman *areítos.*" (SERNA, 2013, p. 401).

[84] Original: "Ese nombre galpón no es de la lengua general del Perú; debe ser de las islas de Barlo vento; los españoles lo han introducido en su lenguaje [...] Quiere decir sala grande." (SERNA, 2013, p. 451).

[85] Original: "uno de los conceptos más polémicos de la lingüística hispánica" (VAQUERO DE RAMÍREZ, 1992, p. 40).

to the fact that the number of voices that enriched the Spanish language was not as expressive as it might seem (MORENO DE ALBA, 1995), because "[…] they were limited in general to the flora, fauna, the configuration of the terrain, the clothing, the furnishings."[86] (SANCHÍS GUARNER, 1960, p. 157, our translation). In this sense, some of the terms that appear in the Chronicles ended up not being part of the Spanish lexical heritage, an issue that does not have so much to do with the origin (indigenous) of the voices, as with the avatars of the lexicon of any origin throughout the history of the language. Suffice it to recall, here, the opposite: how the term *almadía*, of Arab origin, disappeared with the passage of time being completely replaced, among other lexemes, by the indigenous canoe (*canoa*), despite the conceptual differences between the Mozarabic term and the indigenous one described accurately by the chroniclers.

Be that as it may, what is reflected in the testimonies of the Chronicles is the very essence of linguistic cognition. First, it is clear that each language is adapted to express, representing itself, the reality that surrounds the community that speaks it. When a new reality appears, previously unknown, the problems begin, because the language, and the cognitive processes associated with it, are insufficient to apprehend it. Until the specific autochthonous word is known, it will be necessary to go through multiple consistent attempts in the search to adapt cognition and language -documented today, from the tests in cognitive psychology (experiment of the figures of Labov, 1973), in the semantics of prototypes (KLEIBER, 1990), which will only culminate with the incorporation of the borrowed word together with the cognitive load that every term has: This is the case of chickens of the land (*gallinas de la tierra*) for *'pavos'* or other less felicitous names such as *camels without humps*, when the characteristic of this animal is the hump, going through the denomination of the different with the Castilian word that designated something only slightly similar: flute (*flauta*) for *quenas*, *atabales* for *marimbas* or lions (*leones*) for *pumas*, without forgetting the essays of lexicographical definition as a description of the significant semes that explain a new indigenous lexeme incorporated into the lexical field of Castilian: canoe (*canoa*) in relation to the Castilian words *almadía* or trough (*artesa*) . Once the word has been adapted by the language - and by the users' cognition - the diatopic precisions will arrive, which will reflect the spatial variations in America, yesterday and today.

But, also, especially in the first moments, when one is not able to grasp the word and the thing, one resorts to fantasy, also specific to each culture. The Castilian expeditionaries have, to a greater or lesser extent, a cultural background that is their own and that is transmitted at the time of writing their version (chronicle) of the events. There are cultural expectations that come into play in the description and, on the one hand, it is believed that the space where mermaids (*sirenas*) live is discovered when, in fact, there is a species that is found which is unknown in the European imagination, but which had already been described in the books of travels; and thus we come, in the

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[86]  Original: "[…] se limitaron en general a la flora, la fauna, la configuración del terreno, la indumentaria, los enseres." (SANCHÍS GUARNER, 1960, p. 157).

second place, to another question related to the first: the fantasy implied by distance -for the author and the recipendiary reader of the chronicle- leads to the cultural imaginary of both, recalling paradises -with a capital or a small p- to which they were already related in other allegorical texts since the Middle Ages and much earlier. The circle is closing: language, representation of immediate reality, cognition and historical-cultural imaginary.

But there is still more. If any doubt could fit what we are saying, that is, if the lexical-descriptive essays to which the chroniclers were led when describing the new reality represent an intuitive universal cognitive process, we can appeal to the other side of the coin. Let's do it through the studies that have been developed in Nahualt, a language whose typology "remarkably polysynthetic"[87] (CASTILLO FERRERAS; DAKIN; MORENO DE LOS ARCOS, 1966, p. 187, our translation), or rather, "[…] agglutinating and polysynthetic language [in which] the words and meanings are united in a single word to form other more complex."[88] (PALMON ARCOS, 2012, p. 260, our translation), allows to explore how this reacted to the incorporation of words from Castilian, because the path derived from the contact of languages is always two-way. Obviously, the adaptation to the language of the Nahuas only occurred in what was a novelty, because "[…] in no way did all the Spanish modalities and objects qualify as something substantially different from their own."[89] (LOCKHART, 1999, p. 382, our translation). Thus, only by way of example, to the Castilian word vault (*bóveda*) corresponds a periphrastic description in náhualt *tetlapachiuhqui calli*, literally 'structure with a stone roof'; at other times, a term is used metaphorically to describe / designate the 'firearms` from the term tlequiquiztli, literally'trompeta`, although here'arma de fuego`: cannon will be huey *tlequiquiztli*, literally' great trumpet of fire` or *tomahuac tlequiquiztli* 'trumpet of fat and thick fire'. The same approximations to proper terms are found in the description of animals: *maçatl livenado* and its derivatives are used to denominate the Castilian 'horses' (*caballos*) and everything that has to do with them: macacalli 'house of the deer', for stable ; maçamachtia "to teach the deer" (*venado*), to tame foals (*domar potros*), etc. Through, finally, morphological agglutination procedures are called the new objects that the Castilian designates with new words: sierra is equivalent in nahualt to tepozchichiquillatleconi, literally 'metal instrument to cut something scraping', with which we return, from the other side, to the lexicographical definitions of the chroniclers before and after the adoption of the indigenous term. The regulatory mechanisms of cognitive processes in human beings are manifested universally, beyond the linguistic typology that characterizes a language and independently of the reality to which it refers.

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[87] Original: "notablemente polisintética" (CASTILLO FERRERAS; DAKIN; MORENO DE LOS ARCOS, 1966, p. 187).

[88] Original: "[…] lengua aglutinante y polisintética [en la cual] las palabras y los significados se unen en una sola palabra para formar otras más complejas." (PALEMÓN ARCOS, 2012, p. 260).

[89] Original: "[…] de ninguna manera todas las modalidades y objetos españoles calificaban como algo sustancialmente diferente de los propios." (LOCKHART, 1999, p. 382).

It is now suitable, using the words of Castillo Durán (2004, p.9, our translation), to conclude: "We make the reader aware of the lion's share, which is, to weigh the arguments and understand, without falling in the traps of the speech, if you do not want to." [90]

■ *RESUMEN: Las Crónicas de Indias son un mundo misceláneo con información sobre la colonización de América: cartas, autobiografías, historias naturales, que nos invitan a revisitar la filología, donde caben por igual lengua, literatura, historia, antropología. Los trabajos desarrollados hasta ahora llegaron a conclusiones divergentes. Aquí se propone unir lengua, literatura y, también, historia y antropología. Todos estos textos resultan útiles para referir su contenido a la penetración del léxico indígena en la lengua castellana –y viceversa–, con intercambios identitarios, culturales y comprensión-representación-cognición del mundo. Sistematizaremos –desde su heterogeneidad– los datos provenientes de las Crónicas marcando seis fases en el proceso de adaptación, según la teoría lexicográfica, que culminarán con la incorporación del vocablo indígena al léxico español (campos semasiológico, onomasiológico y cognitivo). Lo que muestran estos testimonios es la esencia misma de la cognición lingüística. Se constata que, primeramente, cada lengua está adaptada para representar la realidad de su entorno. Cuando aparece una nueva realidad, antes ignota, comienzan los problemas: la lengua se muestra insuficiente para aprehenderla. Hasta llegar a la palabra específica autóctona, habrá múltiples intentos de búsqueda para adaptar cognición y lengua, que culminarán con la incorporación de la palabra prestada con la carga cognoscitiva que posee.*

■ *PALABRAS CLAVE: Crónicas de Indias. Historia del léxico español. Cognición. Estereotipo y prototipo semántico. Imaginación/ficción/fantasía. Lenguas en contacto.*

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[90] Original: "[…] dejamos al lector avisado la parte del león, esto es, sopesar los argumentos y, sin caer, si no se quiere, en las trampas del discurso, entender." (CASTILLO DURÁN, 2004, p.9).

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# RECOGNIZING THE VOCABULARY OF BRAZILIAN POPULAR NEWSPAPERS WITH A FREE-ACCESS COMPUTATIONAL DICTIONARY

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▪ ABSTRACT: We report an experiment to check the identification of a set of words in popular written Portuguese with two versions of a computational dictionary of Brazilian Portuguese, DELAF PB 2004 and DELAF PB 2015. This dictionary is freely available for use in linguistic analyses of Brazilian Portuguese and other researches, which justifies critical study. The vocabulary comes from the PorPopular corpus, made of popular newspapers *Diário Gaúcho* (DG) and *Massa*! (MA). From DG, we retained a set of texts with 984.465 words (tokens), published in 2008, with the spelling used before the Portuguese Language Orthographic Agreement adopted in 2009. From MA, we examined papers of 2012, 2014 e 2015, with 215.776 words (tokens), all with the new spelling. The checking involved: a) generating lists of words (types) occurring in DG and MA; b) comparing them with the entry lists of both versions of DELAF PB; c) assessing the coverage of this vocabulary; d) proposing ways of incorporating the items not covered. The results of the work show that an average of 19% of the types in DG were not found in DELAF PB 2004 or 2015. In MA, this average is 13%. Switching versions of the dictionary affected slightly the performance in recognizing the words.

▪ KEYWORDS: Popular newspapers. Lexis. Vocabulary. NLP dictionary. Lexical coverage. Word recognition. Brazilian Portuguese.

## Introduction

Written text of popular newspapers in Brazil has still been little investigated in language studies and is somewhat overlooked as a source of data to elaborate language resources for natural language processing (NLP), and even to feed the large corpora that represent current Portuguese. However, this type of source is considered to be a new

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and important type of vehicle for communication (AMARAL, 2006) and has already been used to generate data for some promising computational applications associated to the description of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) usage, as we see, for example, in Zilio (2015). The various Brazilian popular newspapers have also facilitated studies on new formats of journalistic genres in communication studies (TRISTÃO; MUSSE, 2013; SELIGMAN, 2008); among linguists, they have served as a source of teaching material for Portuguese as a native or foreign language (FINATTO; PEREIRA, 2014) or as objects of study in critical discourse analysis (SOARES, 2017).

The vocabulary of this new type of newspaper, however, challenges the coverage of NLP dictionaries. Also known as NLP lexicons, these dictionaries are designed with the particular purpose to be looked up by computer systems, functioning as parts of specific programs (see ZAVAGLIA, 2006). NLP dictionaries, called *léxicos computacionais* in Portuguese (CHISHMAN, 2016), are those dictionaries built specifically for use in NLP, and for their proper operation they require the careful incorporation of a whole range of linguistic descriptive data (cf. LAPORTE, 2013). Such incorporation involves a process of improvement throughout different versions of these dictionaries. Among different NLP dictionaries, we picked out DELAF PB, freely available for use in different research projects, in linguistics and in computer science, which justifies a critical study of its different versions.

Thus, having in mind the hypothesis that we might uncover gaps in existing dictionaries by using them to process the vocabulary of Brazilian popular newspapers, we carried out the experiment reported in this paper, which consisted in identifying the words[1] in this type of newspaper, and in observing if they are covered or recognised by the two versions of the free-access computational dictionary. The Brazilian popular newspapers that provided the vocabulary were *Diário Gaúcho* ("Daily of Rio Grande do Sul", henceforth DG) and Bahian newspaper *Massa!* ("Amazing!", MA). The texts we used can be consulted through search words on the website of the PorPopular Project.[2] More information on these media, their texts and more frequent vocabulary can be found in Amaral (2006) and Finatto (2012). Oliveira (2009) gives references on popular newspapers from other regions of Brazil.

As already mentioned, the language resource selected to test the recognition of the vocabulary of popular newspapers was DELAF PB, an NLP dictionary of BP distributed along with the UNITEX system (PAUMIER, 2016). We used two versions of this dictionary: DELAF PB 2004 (MUNIZ, 2004) and DELAF PB 2015 (VALE; BAPTISTA, 2015; CALCIA *et al.*, 2014). Although this dictionary is still little used by Brazilian linguists, there have been publications about it in Brazil for a long time (MUNIZ, 2004), as well as about its suitability for different research projects (e.g.,

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[1]    The notion of word is quite controversial in the context of language studies, as taught by Biderman (1999, 1998). What a word is can be understood in several ways, hence the terms 'lexeme', 'lemma' or 'lexical unit/item/entry', 'vocable', among others, to denote different facets of this concept.

[2]    The texts that we used in this experiment can be consulted via the 'context generator' tool in: http://www.ufrgs.br/textecc/porlexbras/porpopular/experimente.php

ALMEIDA; FERREIRA, 2007; VICENTINI, 2010), both in NLP and in applied linguistics, which also justifies its examination in this work. Again, its access is free, and the software provides assistance for adaptation and insertion of entries according to the users' needs.

The DELAF PB dictionaries, thus, are built and updated collaboratively. They have been quite useful in different applications, especially NLP products. An example of a very recent and successful application in Brazil of the DELAF PB dictionaries is the work of Paiva, Barbosa, Faria and Martino (2017). The award-winning research of these authors brought together linguists and computer scientists and produced an automatic translator of written Brazilian Portuguese into the Brazilian Sign Language (LIBRAS).[3]

With the DELAF PB dictionary in its 2004 and 2015 versions, we also wanted to assess its update. Only the more recent version complies with the Portuguese Language Orthographic Agreement. The texts of the popular newspapers that we used were produced before (DG) and after (MA) the adoption of the new spelling. Thus, we could also observe the impact of the presence of two spelling standards on the performance of the resource.

In addition to the above, the general purposes of this work are:

a) to disseminate Brazilian popular newspapers as a source of research on the lexis in written form;
b) to contribute useful data for future extensions and improvements of DELAF PB.

The rest of this paper contains: a) data on the corpus of popular newspapers used in the experiment; b) a presentation of the dictionaries and a description of the operation of recognising or identifying the words in a corpus; c) the stages of the work, with comments and an overview of the results; d) a characterization of the majority profile of the items not covered by the dictionaries, and a discussion of how the performance of the dictionaries might be improved.


**Text corpus and samples under analysis**

From DG, we used as a starting point only part of the collection available in the PorPopular corpus. In the DG corpus, we selected texts published in 2008 that total 984,465 tokens. We obtained, therefore, a corpus with almost one million words, a significant size in this type of study. In this sample under examination to verify the vocabulary of DG, the texts are of varied types and correspond to what is published in the complete daily newspaper in its printed format. There are general news, horoscope columns, sports columns, police news and miscellaneous topics. Other parts of the DG

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corpus have already been used in previous studies (ZILIO, 2015; FINATTO *et al.*, 2011) for diverse purposes.

For the corpus of the MA newspaper, we started from a smaller sample, much more specific in terms of text typology: a set of 724 texts, comprised only of news published in the online version of the newspaper and dealing with various themes.[4] These texts add up to 215,776 tokens and were published in 2012, 2014 and 2015.

The DG texts, as already mentioned, date from 2008, **before** the most recent orthographic change of BP. Information on the quantitative effect of this change on the spelling variation observed in newspapers can be read in Flores and Finatto (2009). For a general view of the impact of this orthographic alteration, see the collection organized by Moreira, Smith and Bocchese (2009).

This reform came in force before the MA texts were produced, but after the DG texts, so we had to deal with two spelling standards in our experiment. Thus, the words in the DG sample of 2008 still have hyphens, accents and tremas (ex: *agüentar*) which lack in the MA sample (ex: *aguentar*). These differences led us to use two versions of the DELAF PB dictionary, one for each spelling standard. Moreover, the use of both versions, from 2004 and 2015, also served to verify the comprehensiveness of the update, in terms of the coverage of the items used in these popular newspapers, with and without the new spelling.

Thus, we carried out the verification with both versions of the dictionary: DELAF PB 2004 (MUNIZ, 2004) and DELAF PB 2015 (VALE; BAPTISTA, 2015; CALCIA *et al.*, 2014).

## The DELAF dictionaries

'DELAF' is, in fact, a format of NLP dictionaries that originated from research carried out for the French language by the team led by linguist Maurice Gross in the Laboratory of Documentary and Linguistic Automation (LADL).[5] This work was subsequently extended to other languages through the RELEX network of laboratories.[6]

DELAF dictionaries describe the simple words and multiword units of a given language by associating each form with both a lemma and a series of grammatical, semantic and inflectional codes.

The DELAF dictionaries have been developed by teams of linguists for various languages (French, English, Greek, Italian, Spanish, German, Thai, Korean, Polish, Norwegian, Portuguese, Arabic, among others) and are used today in academic and industrial projects. Several, among them the French and the Brazilian Portuguese DELAFs, are freely accessible and updated collaboratively.

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[4]  [1] This is 'Sample 2' of newspaper *Massa* in the PorPopular corpus. It is available for download in - http://www.ufrgs.br/textecc/porlexbras/porpopular/caixaferramentas.php#dadosCorpus

[5]  For more information on LADL, see: http://infolingu.univ-mlv.fr/LADL/Historique.html

[6]  Cf. http://unitexgramlab.org/pt/relex-network

## Principle of operation of the dictionaries in the UNITEX system

UNITEX is a free-access corpus analyser that processes texts in natural languages with the aid of language resources. These resources are NLP dictionaries in the DELAF format, grammars, and Lexicon-Grammar tables integrated into the system. Some language resources are distributed along with UNITEX and others can be elaborated by users. The UNITEX system is freely accessible and currently used to support studies on different languages (PAJIĆ et al., 2018), including ancient languages (KINDT, 2018).

As shown by Almeida and Ferreira (2007), the UNITEX system allows for processing any set of texts, so that the linguistic expressions in it are located and categorized. Locating or identifying expressions in a given text or corpus will be effective "provided that such expressions are represented in the dictionary coupled with it" or that the user describes them in a query. UNITEX allows for identifying words by classes.

Once some text has been selected, such as that of our popular newspapers, UNITEX offers to preprocess it. Such preprocessing consists in applying to the text the following operations: normalizing delimiters, segmenting into tokens, normalizing unambiguous forms, segmenting into sentences and, finally, applying NLP dictionaries present in the computer. The presence of these dictionaries in the UNITEX system is a differential with other usual search tools for finding word patterns in corpora, since one can find large classes of words with simple patterns.

When a given corpus or text in a given language is processed, the internal operation of UNITEX consists of constructing a subset of the dictionaries, with only the forms present in the corpus being processed. Thus, for example, the application of the DELAF dictionary on a text such as *O time de Neymar corria atrás do prejuízo* 'Neymar's team was trying hard to make up lost ground' [lit. 'Neymar's team was running after the loss'] will produce the following subset of the dictionary of simple words:

atrás,.ADV
corria,correr.V:I1s
corria,correr.V:I3s
de,.PREP
do,.PREPXDET+Art+Def:ms
do,.PREPXPRO+Dem:ms
o,.DET+Art+Def:ms
o,.N:ms
o,.PRO+Dem:ms
o,ele.PRO+Pes:A3ms
prejuízo,.N:ms
time,.N:ms

The name *Neymar*, being described in a dictionary of proper names distinct from the Portuguese DELAF, will be considered an 'unknown word'.

The application of the dictionaries to the text is performed by the UNITEX system with its program called DICO and generates subsets — 'sub dictionaries' — called *simple words; compound words; unknown words*. In this work, we only deal with the last group.

UNITEX has a second use: it offers support for easily inserting new words and grammatical information into the user's NLP dictionaries, thus adapting them to different purposes. The UNITEX dictionaries deploys the formalism of the DELA (Electronic Dictionaries of the LADL). This formalism allows for describing the simple and multiword lexical entries of a language, optionally assigning them grammatical, semantic and inflectional information. Within this formalism, two kinds of dictionaries are distinguished. The most frequently used kind is the dictionary of inflected forms, in the DELAF format (DELA of inFlected forms). The second kind is the dictionary of lemmas, in the DELAS (DELA of simple words) or DELAC (DELA of compound words) formats, which generates the other dictionaries. In this work, we deal only with DELAF resources. An entry of DELAF PB is organized as follows:

sambou,sambar.V:J3s

Here, *sambou* 'danced samba' is the form found in the text, 'sambar' the lemma, 'V' the part of speech — in this case a verb — and 'J3s' the inflectional code — in this case a third person singular preterite. The complete list of grammatical and inflectional codes for BP can be found in Muniz (2004).

For BP, the UNITEX system comes with an NLP dictionary in the following two versions:

– the 2005 version: from a DELAS with 61,335 words, a DELAF with 878,095 simple inflected words and 4,100 multiword inflected units was generated. These resources were created from the dictionary of ReGra — the base of the BP spell checker of Word for Windows — for nouns, adjectives and adverbs (MARTINS *et al.*, 1998), and from Vale (1990) 102 verbal inflection templates.

– the 2015 version: the forms with the new spelling resulting from the 1990 Orthographic Agreement were incorporated. 7,900 new entries of simple lemmas (nouns, adjectives and adverbs) were introduced, in addition to verb forms with enclitics and mesoclitics, which were not in the first version. With these changes, the DELAF 2015 of Brazilian Portuguese now totals 10,954,724 entries, describing 7,632,498 unique forms.

**Stages of work and results**

In general terms, the verification experiment involved:

a) generating the list of words (types) used in the DG newspaper—without changing the spelling;

b) generating the word list of the MA newspaper;

c) comparing each list with the entry lists of the 2004 and 2015 versions of the NLP dictionary DELAF PB;

d) assessing the lexical coverage of each sample — in terms of tokens and types — by DELAF PB, in both versions;

e) proposing ways of including items not identified by the dictionaries.

In these stages, the verification generated two lists of words unknown by the DELAF-PB from each newspaper, for each of the two spelling standards (lists $DG_{04}$, $DG_{15}$, $MA_{04}$ and $MA_{15}$). Then case sensitivity was removed.

At the beginning of the comparison process, we realized DELAF PB 2015 did not contain the list of abbreviations and acronyms—respectively labelled ABREV and SIGL — which were in the 2004 version of the dictionary. As a matter of fact, during the revision by Calcia *et al*. (2014), the forms of abbreviations and acronyms (such as *ABS* or *ABNT* in the DG newspaper, or *UFBA* or *UFC* in MA) were not the object of study in the update of the dictionary and were moved into a separate dictionary. To standardize the experimental conditions, lists $DG_{15}$ and $MA_{15}$ were generated again using DELAF PB 2015 along with the dictionary of abbreviations and acronyms. In what follows, the statistics for DELAF PB 2015 are the result of this second generation.

**Tables 1 and 2** below reproduce parts of each of these lists. We display the first 30 items unknown by the UNITEX dictionaries starting with the letter U, and then the first 30 with initial A:

**Table 1** – Sample of list of items from DG and MA
unknown in DELAF PB, starting with U.

| Items starting with U | DG$_{04}$ DELAF 2004 | DG$_{15}$ DELAF 2015 | MA$_{04}$ DELAF 2004 | MA$_{15}$ DELAF 2015 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | uai | uai | ualex | ualex |
| 2. | uau | uau | uanderson | uanderson |
| 3. | ubial | ubial | ubandista | ubandista |
| 4. | ubs | ubs | ubang | ubang |
| 5. | udesca | udesca | ubatã | ubatã |
| 6. | udi | udi | ubiracê | ubiracê |
| 7. | údiche | údiche | ucla | ucla |
| 8. | udine | udine | uefs | uefs |
| 9. | udinese | udinese | uellinton | uellinton |
| 10. | uebel | uebel | uelliton | uelliton |
| 11. | uefa | uefa | uenf | uenf |
| 12. | ufa | ufa | ueslei | ueslei |
| 13. | ufcspa | ufcspa | uezo | uezo |
| 14. | uflacker | uflacker | ufc | ufc |
| 15. | ufsm | ufsm | uff | uff |
| 16. | ugapoci | ugapoci | ufrrj | ufrrj |
| 17. | ughini | ughini | uhu | uhu |
| 18. | ugowski | ugowski | uibaí | uibaí |
| 19. | uilson | uilson | ulício | ulício |
| 20. | ulalá | ulalá | umidificador | unasul |
| 21. | ulbra | ulbra | unasul | under |
| 22. | uli | uli | under | undime |
| 23. | ulmen | ulmen | undime | uneb |
| 24. | ulsan | ulsan | uneb | unifacs |
| 25. | ultramen | ultramen | unifacs | unifcas |
| 26. | ultrasom | ultrasom | unifcas | unirio |
| 27. | ultrassonografias | umbom | unirio | unit |
| 28. | umbom | umchorão | unit | united |
| 29. | umchorão | umespa | united | universitario |
| 30. | umespa | unasul | universitario | uol |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

**Table 2** – Sample of list of items from DG and MA
unknown in DELAF PB, starting with A.

| Items starting with A | DG$_{04}$ DELAF 2004 | DG$_{15}$ DELAF 2015 | MA$_{04}$ DELAF 2004 | MA$_{15}$ DELAF 2015 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | aabb | aabb | abadá | abadá |
| 2. | Aaliyah | aaliyah | abadábraço | abadábraço |
| 3. | aas | aas | abadás | abadás |
| 4. | abachilov | abachilov | abaralhau | abaralhau |
| 5. | abadía | abadía | abdelmassih | abdelmassih |
| 6. | abandon | abandon | abdulá | abdulá |
| 7. | Abatê | abbey | abefin | abefin |
| 8. | abbey | abbott | aberbach | aberbach |
| 9. | abbott | abdel | abisson | abisson |
| 10. | abdel | abdômem | abla | abla |
| 11. | abdômem | abdul | abordá | aboubacar |
| 12. | abdominoplastia | abdulla | aboubacar | abravanel |
| 13. | Abdul | abebe | abravanel | academiagf |
| 14. | abdulla | abech | academiagf | accosta |
| 15. | Abebe | abelão | accosta | acessando |
| 16. | Abech | abelhocídio | acessando | acessar |
| 17. | Abelão | abenício | acessar | acesse |
| 18. | abelhocídio | ablo | acesse | acm |
| 19. | abenício | about | acm | adab |
| 20. | Ablo | abp | adab | adailson |
| 21. | abordá | abração | adailson | adailton |
| 22. | aborígenes | abraciclo | adailton | adan |
| 23. | About | abramet | adan | adanascimento |
| 24. | Abp | abramovich | adanascimento | adecir |
| 25. | Abraçá | abrh | adecir | adelmário |
| 26. | abração | abrhrs | adelmário | adelmo |
| 27. | abraciclo | abrigagem | adelmo | ademi |
| 28. | abramet | abrilina | ademi | ademilson |
| 29. | abramovich | abrito | ademilson | adenilton |
| 30. | Abrh | abs | adenilton | aderam |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

After the generation of lists of unknown words by the DELAF 2004 and 2015 dictionaries, these lists were compared to one another, ignoring case. The items were studied as to their use in texts and considering the information recorded in two conventional dictionaries of BP: Aurélio (FERREIRA, 1999) and Houaiss (HOUAISS, VILLAR, 2009). They were tentatively grouped into categories such as:

(1) **Typing errors** (*umchorão, ubandista*);

(2) **Old spellings** (*idéia* 'idea');

(3) **Proper names** (*uilson, uanderson*);

(4) **Abbreviations/acronyms** (*abs, ufrrj*);

(5) **Diverse expressions/slang/foreignisms** (*ulalá* 'my god!'*, university, united*);

(6) **Other nouns** (*umidificador* 'humidifier');

(7) **Other** (*abadábraço, aboubacar*).

These categories, of course, were a tentative first approach to the out-of-coverage items in the lists, and they can be refined in future work. Some words can be classified as neologisms or regionalisms, for example. Some are at the same time a noun and a neologism (cf. *abelhocídio* 'bee killing'). We found virtually no adjectives or verbs among out-of-coverage items, so we did not establish categories 'verb' or 'adjective' in this initial approximation. A multifactorial categorization of out-of-coverage items would mean another work.


**Results: overview and summary**

We summarize in Table 3 below the main results obtained from the two samples of popular newspapers. These results will be discussed in the next section.

**Table 3** – Results obtained from DG and MA.

| Newspaper | *Diário Gaúcho* (DG) – sample of diverse texts | *MASSA!* (MA) – sample of news |
|---|---|---|
| Spelling | old | Present |
| Types | 53.966 | 22.414 |
| Tokens | 984.465 | 215.776 |
| **With DELAF 2004:** | | |
| out-of-coverage types | 10.512 | 3.048 |
| % of types | 19,48% | 13,60% |
| out-of-coverage tokens | 36.190 | 11.624 |
| % of tokens | 3,68% | 5,39% |
| **With DELAF 2015:** | | |
| out-of-coverage types | 9.967 | 2.769 |
| % of types | 18,47% | 12,35% |
| out-of-coverage tokens | 34.611 | 10.870 |
| % of tokens | 3,52% | 5,04% |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

## Considerations on the results - Identification of the vocabulary

DELAF PB has a large lexical coverage of twentieth-century newspapers and nineteenth-century literary texts (1.9% of types are out of coverage in the novel *Senhora* by José de Alencar). By comparison, the percentages of out-of-coverage types in Table 3 (from 12% to 19%) are appreciably higher. Therefore, the vocabulary of the kind of newspaper under study can be seen as an important impediment to the identification of words by the DELAF-PB dictionaries. This is relevant for BP researchers interested in its future use.

In order to contextualize the results summarized in the previous section, it is important to remember the factors involved in the identification of items in the vocabulary of popular newspapers by the DELAF PB dictionaries:

a) DG texts have words in the old spelling standard—before the agreement;

b) MA texts have words in the present spelling;

c) only DELAF PB 2015 complies with the new spelling;

d) DELAF PB 2004 does not include the new spelling.

The list of words (types) employed in DG, a set of 53,966 items, includes 19.48% of items unknown by DELAF 2004 and 18.47% of items not covered by DELAF 2015. Thus, there is a small reduction in this percentage of **out-of-coverage words** between the two versions of the dictionary.

The DG corpus does use an old spelling standard, but the fact that old spellings, such as *agüentar*, are not present in DELAF 2015 seems to have affected the performance less than the insertion of new words, such as *umidificador* ('humidifier'), and of verb forms with clitics, such as *abordá-lo* ('approach him/it'). So, the percentage of out-of-coverage words has decreased.

In the MA newspaper, we had 22,414 types, of which 13.60% are unknown in DELAF 2004 versus 12.35% in DELAF 2015. In this case, the spelling is entirely in the present standard. Again, text coverage by DELAF improved from 2004 to 2015. This time, the effect of the adaptation of the dictionary to the spelling agreement added to the effect of inserting new words and verbs with clitics.

Thus, both in the MA corpus and in the DG corpus, from DELAF 2004 to DELAF 2015, the performance improved slightly with respect to the recognition of items from the popular newspaper. The recognition of items, from 2004 to 2015, increased, on average, by 1.13 percentage point in terms of recognised types.

In terms of number of tokens, the DG vocabulary is noticeably more covered (96.4% on average) than the MA vocabulary (on average 94.8%), with little effect of the update of the dictionary on this performance. Several kinds of reasons, of course, may explain this. However, it is worth considering that the MA newspaper is from the Northeast region of Brazil, and DG from the South region, which can affect the observed lexical profile. In terms of types, the difference in coverage appears to be the other way around, but this comparison is not significant because of the difference in sample size: in a larger sample, such as that of MA, statistics on the number of types lead to over-representation of infrequent words, which are less likely to appear in the dictionary.

In any case, popular newspapers prove to be an interesting and challenging object of research. However, different current corpora of Brazilian Portuguese are still composed only, as a rule, of data collected from large traditional newspapers, e.g. *Folha de S. Paulo* (ALUISIO; ALMEIDA, 2006).

As we have seen, for the DELAF PB dictionaries, the vocabulary of popular newspapers seems somewhat "odd". Thus, future work could contrast the percentage of out-of-coverage words between popular and traditional newspapers from the same period.

Another interesting question about out-of-coverage vocabulary is its potential connection with regionalist or local topics (such as the noun *cacetinho* in DG, the equivalent of *pão francês*, 'smaller French bread', in Southern Brazil) or with newly created proper names (such as *Abadábraço* in MA).

In the next section, we outline the most frequent categories of words unknown by the two versions of the dictionaries, based on our samples. Then we briefly discuss how some out-of-coverage items could be incorporated into the DELAF PB 2015 dictionary.

**Profile of out-of-coverage words and options for extension of DELAF PB 2015**

As we have already noted, the examination of the lists of words in our tables shows that the 2015 version of DELAF PB achieved only a modest gain in coverage for this particular type of newspaper. Thus, the listing of the first 30 words that start with A is practically identical in both columns that refer to the MA corpus. We note the presence of regional vocabulary (*abadá* 'sleeveless shirt', *abaralhau* 'a Bahian dish with peeled beans and salt cod' - MA) and a set of proper names. Although DELAF PB contains a good number of proper names (*Aldemário*, *Abramovich*) that would not normally appear in a conventional dictionary, there is still good work to be done in listing and characterizing proper names, in particular because of their rich variation in Brazil (see *Uanderson, Uellinton, Ueslei*).

A closer examination of the lists also shows that most of the unrecognized items are nouns (in DG: *abrigagem* 'sheltering', *abdômem* 'abdomen', *abelhocídio* 'bee killing'), including proper names (*Abelão*). The only two verbs identified in the lists presented here were the verb *acessar* 'access', with several forms, and the form *abordá* of the verb *abordar* 'approach', one of the forms with clitics, which were not covered in the 2004 version of DELAF PB (*abordá-lo* 'approach him/it').

Abbreviations and acronyms are another issue. Mastering the construction of NLP dictionaries requires a special effort, integrating linguists and computer scientists. The construction of more comprehensive computational resources, taking into consideration recurrent processes and phenomena of the current Portuguese lexicon, is a very complex challenge. In particular, abbreviations, acronyms and proper names are recurrent phenomena in written language and require specific work to preserve and improve the operation of NLP systems. Papers such as Vale *et al*. (2008) have already pointed out this need in the case of Portuguese historical corpora, also encompassing contemporaneous text collections. As a matter of fact, building specific NLP dictionaries for abbreviations, acronyms and named entities could be an appropriate way to address the challenge we posed to the UNITEX system with our popular newspapers. Of course, as we can see in the following excerpts from two news stories in our corpus, there is much more to be explored:

EXCERPT 1:

*A primeira delas é o lançamento do Abadábraço, um bloco que desfilará sem cordas, mas com os foliões. Desfilará sem cordas, mas com os foliões devidamente trajados com abadás. A proposta aqui é incluir. É ter mais pessoas brincando nas ruas e com direito a usar o seu abadá.* ('The first of them is the launch of Abadábraço, a Carnival group that will march without a rope line, but with its members.[7] It will parade without a rope line, but the revellers will wear the proper shirts. The proposal here is to be inclusive. It's to have more people having fun in the streets and being allowed to use their shirt.')

EXCERPT 2:

*Chaleira, César Oliveira & Rogério Melo, Bochincho, Os Quatro Gaudérios, Portal Gaúcho e Eco do Minuano & Bonitinho. Foi grande a integração entre as invernadas adulta e xiru na Sociedade Gaúcha de Lomba Grande, em Novo Hamburgo, que comemorou 70 anos na noite de terça-feira.* ('Chaleira, César Oliveira & Rogério Melo, Bochincho, The Four Wanderers, Portal Gaúcho and Eco do Minuano & Bonitinho. There was a strong sense of togetherness between the adult and senior dance groups at the Club of Rio Grande do Sul at Lomba Grande, in Novo Hamburgo, which celebrated its 70th birthday on Tuesday night.')

## Conclusion

The research problem addressed in this work was to describe and discuss the performance of a large-coverage NLP dictionary, freely available to be used for research on Brazilian Portuguese and in NLP industry.

The DELAF dictionary under examination, although a quite valuable help for different linguistic tasks, might be extended with data from corpora of Brazilian popular newspapers. After all, as already mentioned, this journalistic genre has still been little contemplated as a source of data for the study of cultured written Portuguese. Such lexical incompleteness, in terms of number of out-of-coverage tokens, is noticeably lower in the vocabulary of the newspaper from Rio Grande do Sul (on average, 96.4%) than from Bahia (an average of 94.8%), a fact that motivates further research. Therefore, by examining the performance of different versions of the dictionary in processing the vocabulary of Brazilian popular newspapers, we have demonstrated the validity of taking both types of resources as objects of study and as sources of data for language research conducted in cooperation by linguists and computer scientists.

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[7] In the Bahian Carnival, each marching group of revellers is traditionally surrounded by a rope line, and recognisable by the distinctive sleeveless shirt worn by its members. The name *Abadábraço* incorporates the words for 'hug' and for this type of shirt (TN).

**Acknowledgments**

FINATTO, M.; VALE, O.; LAPORTE, E. Reconhecimento do vocabulário de jornais populares brasileiros por um dicionário computacional de acesso livre. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v.63, n.1, p.67-85, 2019.

- *RESUMO: Relata-se um experimento de verificação da identificação de um universo de palavras do português popular escrito por duas versões de um dicionário computacional do português brasileiro (PB), DELAF PB 2004 e DELAF PB 2015. Esse dicionário computacional é gratuitamente acessível para ser utilizado em análises linguísticas do Português do Brasil e em outras pesquisas, o que justifica um estudo crítico. O universo vocabular provém do corpus PorPopular, composto por jornais populares, o Diário Gaúcho (DG) e o jornal baiano Massa! (MA). Do DG, partiu-se de um conjunto de textos com 984.465 palavras (tokens), publicados em 2008, com ortografia desatualizada frente ao Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa adotado em 2009. Do MA, examinou-se um universo com 215.776 palavras (tokens), em publicações de 2012, 2014 e 2015, com todo o material na nova ortografia. A verificação envolveu: a) gerar listas de palavras diferentes empregadas em DG e MA; b) comparar essas listas com as listas de entradas das duas versões do DELAF PB; c) avaliar a cobertura desse vocabulário; d) propor modos de inclusão de itens não cobertos. Os resultados do trabalho mostraram, no DG, uma média de 19% de palavras diferentes (types) desconhecidas pelos DELAF PB 2004 e 2015. No MA, essa média ficou em 13%. A versão do dicionário repercutiu ligeiramente sobre o desempenho do reconhecimento de itens.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Jornais populares. Léxico. Vocabulário. Dicionário computacional. Cobertura lexical. Reconhecimento de palavras. Português brasileiro.*

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# MEDIA AS POLITICAL ACTOR OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE: A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF VEJA MAGAZINE ON CORRUPTION CASES

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■ ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the relations between media and politics in texts from Veja magazine, a representative of the Brazilian mainstream media, referring to cases of political corruption in the Lula and Dilma's governments. The objective of this article is to identify linguistic-discursive resources mobilized in the production of Veja texts reinforcing the belief that its use of language is informative and impartial or it represents the voice of the Brazilian population. In discussing the relationship between the media and the political fields from an antagonistic political perspective, we have seen that the informative nature of Veja only takes place insofar as its journalists stance it and construct it as such. Moreover, the fact the discursive representations that Veja makes in its texts converge to the identity of the political actors reveals traces of antagonism that directly affect the construction of new identities. The article also leads to the idea that the media has a stake in the political struggle, whether as an adversary or not, but always as a political actor. For this analysis, we have adopted as theoretical-methodological frameworks Jim Martin and Peter White's System of Appraisal, and Chantal Mouffe's social theory of the political and agonistic democracy.

■ KEYWORDS: Media. Political. Corruption. Appraisal. Agonism. Antagonism.

## Introduction

When we consider contexts of language use related to the field of politics and the professional field of journalism and the print media, it is possible to highlight the prominence of contemporary socio-political aspects which, although disconnected at first sight, can be analyzed in convergence, mainly due to the language practices that are presumed and influenced by them, such as proposing a new way of acting and representing social reality. These aspects have been verified by several theorists in

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current works and concern to (I) the formulation, which has been engendered in several decades, but in constant ratification, of a press identity as informative, contrary to an old image that characterized it, from its beginnings until approximately early 20th century, as an opinionated one (THOMPSON, 2002, 2005; MELO, 2005); (II) the character of contemporary political culture, which some sociologists, *mutatis mutandis* and with the most varied nomenclatures ('politics of trust', Thompson (2002), 'subpolitics', Beck (1997), 'life politics' and 'third way', Giddens (1999, 2001)), identify as a 'new politics' – a modern tendency that believes in the disappearance or incompatibility of political interests to be expressed in terms of traditional or clearly defined ideological positions, such as right-wing/left-wing, which could directly influence the growing role of trust and credibility as criteria of judgment to the political field; and (III) the 'current post-political Zeitgeist' (MOUFFE, 2005), an order of discourse that would make possible the emergence of this 'new politics' in believing in a world where political discrimination in *we*/*they* can be overcome and where partisan conflicts have become things from the past, which would finally allow a rational, universal consensus obtained by dialogue or deliberation in the political field, without exclusion among its participants.

In these three aspects, there is a common point that draws special attention to us and is directly related to the use of language in social practices: (the construal of) *social identities*[1]. In the first case, we see the claim by the media for an identity that would support a more reporting and informative character (ANTÃO, 2009), that is the fruit of a journalistic *ethos* concerning *to presenting* the current events in the world rather than to opining and compromising politically to what it reports, otherwise it would be hurting the guiding principles of this actual journalism: neutrality and objectivity. In the second case, there is a substitution both of the evaluation's criteria to the political field and of the representativeness of politicians; with the character of actual political culture, the choices for representatives would no longer be based on their political parties, with their clearly determined ideological programs that represent general interests of classes or groups or social movements, but on the *credibility* and *reliability* of political representatives; in other words, what is at stake now is the identity that political actors would assume to the public, with the moral qualities their images would support with them, as well as the importance they give to deliberations in the public sphere. In the third, the current political spirit would bring the weakening of collective social identities (MOUFFE, 1994, 2005), inasmuch as there would be no alternative

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[1] The concept of social identities in this paper is based on the work of Laclau and Mouffe (2001), for whom identity is an attempt of objectivity, always prevented by the antagonistic relations that pass through the discourses in society. The antagonism, for the authors, would be the limit of all social identity, since social relations would be permeated by conflicting discourses that are always in search of redefining the roles of subjects within each discourse. The construal of the social identity of the other is thus a discursive activity, not only social but also political and historical one. It is in social conflicts, antagonistic ones in nature, that the construal of social identities finds either its limit or its force, since this construction is one of the political stages of the struggle of groups and social movements for hegemony in society. In this way, the construal of identities is a political act and denounces the political projects of the social groups in dispute.

to capitalism after the collapse of socialism. Therefore, it makes no sense to think of political desires in terms of political-party conflicts, but to think our interests and values based on rational deliberation in aiming at common good and overcoming traditional identities as expressions of the desires and concerns of social groups.

Underpinning these projects of current social identities is the fact that changes in the forms of conceiving both the role of journalism and the media, and the expression of political representativeness, do not only occur due to internal vicissitudes of journalistic practice and journalistic field, but can also take place in the way they are manifested in the everyday discourses and wider social practices of which (the use of) language forms part. With the objective of identifying how journalistic and political social identities are constructed and proposed in daily practices of language use, once considering both this professional panorama in which impartiality and objectivity are claimed as essential journalistic criteria for the credibility of newspapers and journals in discursive practices, and this 'current post-political Zeitgeist', which defends the substitution (as if it were inevitable) of traditional politics based on parties or ideologies by a 'politics of trust' and no more ideological one, we will analyze texts of the magazine *Veja*, from the publishing company Abril, that address political issues, such as corruption, considering that there is a demand for an identity not only for itself, but also for those about whom it speaks or for whom it is addressed.

The choice of the magazine is justified by the fact that it is the first of the national ranking of publications in magazine with greater circulation in the Brazil[2], which gives visibility to the dissemination of its texts and the propagation of its discourses in everyday social practices. The fact that we analyze texts related to corruption is in turn the result of corruption being evidenced and dealt with in contexts of legitimacy crises of a political system, both of its institutions and of its members, political actors (GOMES, 2013, p. 155), which would leave us with the possibility of analyzing how political actors are represented in daily discursive practices, as in the case of journalistic texts. Moreover, as Filgueiras (2008) warns us, we can understand corruption as the manifestation of institutional problems that are caused by the participants of democratic institutions themselves (politicians, parties, political scientists, specialists, when they are asked to analyze the political situation), and by members of civil society, such as the media, as in the *Veja* here under analysis. Thus, the purpose of this article is to first identify linguistic-discursive resources mobilized in the production of their texts that reinforce or not the defense that their use of language is informative and impartial or they represent the voice of the population, so that we can understand the relation between the use of language and the construction of social identities of journalism (as manifested by *Veja*) when they are dealing with social identities in the field of politics or politicians.

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2   For more information on publications with a greater national reach, see *Instituto Verificador de Circulação* (IVC), a Brazilian and official non-profit entity, which is linked to the *International Federation of Audit Bureaux of Circulations* (IFABC) and conducts audits in the Brazilian publishing market regarding the circulation of Brazilian print media. Available at: https://www.ivcbrasil.org.br/#/auditorias. Access: May 24, 2017.

In addition, we emphasize that the construction of media and jornalism identities can also be linked to a broader socio-political panorama, which includes a new political spirit and a new way of doing politics and choosing politicians. So, we will investigate linguistic-discursive forms present in *Veja*'s texts on socio-political events occurring in two moments of great repercussion in the recent national political history: the so-called "Mensalão" scandal, during Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva's government (2003-2010); and the sequence of political events that culminated in the removal, resignation and replacement of ministers in the first year of Dilma Rousseff's government (2011) and that received the name of "Esplanade Crisis"[3] in *Veja*.

In order to analyze the linguistic-discursive forms that can either denounce the construction of *Veja* journalistic identity or denote a posture in relation to the postulates of journalistic neutrality and objectivity, we will use the framework of Martin and White (2005) to describe the APPRAISAL System in the use of language. Through the work of Martin and White, we can conceive the evaluations of the producers of the texts/reports as a way of constructing socio-political identities, in two directions : a) to the constitution of an *ethos* of such producers – either by the way they position readers in relation to what they report in their texts/reports, or by the fact that questioning identities in society is also to bring into focus the ideological or evaluative systems that support who evaluates; b) and to the social identity constitution of the socio-political actors mentioned in the texts/reports. This theoretical and methodological framework will therefore help us to analyze the linguistic-discursive forms mobilized by the media for the construction not only of their journalistic identity, but also of the field about which they speak. The analysis mediated by this picture will therefore indicate whether the neutral, impartial and objective posture claimed by the journalistic *ethos* takes place in the texts that the journal produces.

In the following section, in order to better understand the theoretical and political background sustaining this current political *Zeitgeist*, we will talk about the deliberative approaches disseminated in theoretical and social conceptions about politics and politicians. We will discuss how the conflictive and antagonistic dimension of personal, particular, partisan and ideological interests is viewed and mitigated in such approaches, in favor of a public sphere based on communicative rationality and the realization of a rational consensus, so that we can understand how this *Zeitgeist* manifests itself in ways of using language and how it erases or hides the political and antagonistic dimension of the participants of society as political and social actors.

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[3] See the Digital Archive of the Veja, editions from number 2220, July 2011. Available at: http://veja.abril.com.br/complemento/acervodigital/index-novo-acervo.html. Access: May 24, 2017.

**The agonistic model of democracy and the critiques to the deliberative approach**

Many theorists who use the public sphere concept, in the relevant interface that it establishes among public communication of civil society, the media and politics, see enthusiastically and optimistically the model of deliberative democracy[4]; moreover they stress the importance of a critical reconceptualization to the notion of public sphere in aiming at the realization/effectiveness of an inclusive space of deliberation/public discussion[5]. However, what escapes both the defense of these theorists of the liberal-democratic model and the work of conceptual remodeling of contemporary public sphere's theorists is the comprehension we found in Chantal Mouffe of the ever conflicting and antagonistic dimension of public and political debate. This is fundamental to constructing one of our arguments against the implicit claim of the media here analyzed: that its discourses represent a common interest, from the people, from the nation[6].

In this way, we will first discuss the deliberative perspective and the criticism to the defense of a sphere of rational deliberation destined to the universal consensus, in emphasizing the loss of the antagonistic and adversarial dimension of the political. Therefore we will follow the indications and arguments present in Chantal Mouffe's works. With Chantal Mouffe's views on dominant democracy models in the Western world and their implications for understanding political-discursive clashes in public spheres of debate, we will understand the need not to camouflage a political stance in political discussions such as those proposed by journalistic texts.

Mouffe[7] develops her work on contemporary political theory and tries to propose a normative model, not only instrumental or procedural, of democracy, that recognizes the plural and radical dimension of society. The collapse of the Soviet model and hence the growing abandonment (by the democrats around the world) of the paradigm of class struggles have strenghtened the idea that there is no alternative to capitalism in the economic sphere nor to democratic liberalism in the political sphere (MOUFFE, 1994, 2005, 2009). This would be the reason for many liberal democrats to argue that the emergence of new political identities that do not represent collectivities would ensure the inevitable exchange of old politics and its

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[4]    There are few critical positions on the deliberative model of democracy. In addition to what we will take as a point of support for this paper, we indicate the books by Streck (2002), Cabral Pinto (1994) and Dussel (2007) for a better understanding of the limitations perceived today to the deliberative model of democracy.

[5]    For a general understanding of this discussion, see Avritzer and Costa (2006); Benhabib (1996); Cohen (1996); Gomes (2006); Habermas (1996a, 1996b, 2012); and Maia (2006).

[6]    See VEJA, Letter to the reader, August 3, 2005, edition 1916: "VEJA is not the enemy of certain parties, nor friend of others. The magazine is simply in favor of Brazil. Against those who harm it, those who rob it. The view of the nation." (A FAVOR..., 2005).

[7]    Chantal Mouffe's theoretical assumptions are presented in the work *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (2001), written with Ernesto Laclau, with whom she reformulated and shares common concepts, through which they sought to rethink Marxism in the light of the intellectual developments of the 20th century, so that a theoretical-epistemological framework could be formed, adequate to socio-political-discursive analyzes of the contemporary social struggles (LACLAU; MOUFFE, 2001).

traditional ideologies and boundaries for universal principles stemming from Law and rational morality.

There would be the attempt by the theoreticians of this new paradigm, such as John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas, to elaborate respectively the necessary procedures for the creation of a deliberative domain where political decisions should be guided by principles such as 'justice as fairness' (RAWLS, 1996) and 'communicative rationality' (HABERMAS, 2012) to reacha rational and non-exclusionary consensus among deliberative individuals (MOUFFE, 1994, p. 8). Based on this, Mouffe will elaborate a principle that converge towards the formation of a model of democracy that would recognize the political and the plural dimension of the political, at the same time responding to limitations that the deliberative approaches present, such as the ones by Rawls and Habermas.

To incorporate the idea of practical rationality into democratic institutions, Rawls and Habermas give different answers. Rawls (1996) departs from the idea of an *original position* in which individuals, putting aside their differences and idiosyncrasies in social life, are considered free and equal. Then, once leaving aside their particularities and interests, a framework to the exercise of public reason would emerge, in which the performance of the individuals would be based on the understanding that it would be adequate and justifiable. In this way, the legitimacy of individuals' actions always results from collective decisions among equal and free persons, and these decisions represent the collective only when they arise from the dispositions of choices of all, guided by the assumption that such choices are reasonable for them.

Of course, such conception of exercise of public reason in the decision-making processes admits the existence of the pluralism of values and interests from the individuals. However, as Mouffe (2009, p. 89) emphasizes, Rawls argues that rational consensus will not only be possible in relation to issues which he calls *comprehensive*, from a religious, moral and philosophical nature, but rather a consensus on decisions of political order is possible, since if democratic procedures of deliberation should ensure impartiality, equality, openness and lack of coercion, guided by a conception of justice as fairness shared by all, then these same procedures will guide the deliberation towards general interests legitimized by all. Mouffe (2009) will approach this artifice of Rawls's deliberative model as an attempt to escape the pluralism of values irremediable in processes of public discussion and deliberation, establishing the centrality of a domain/field in which rational and universal solutions could be formulated.

The way found by Habermas, on the other hand, to establish a public reason in the political decisions will not differ much from that of Rawls and falls even in the same problem pointed out by Mouffe in the strategy of the latter. Habermas (2012), based on his conception of deliberative democracy in his theory of communicative action, will defend a procedural approach in which the recognition by individuals of constraints of the ideal speech situation should eliminate the positions that may or may not be assumed by them, as long as they act according to what he calls *communicative rationality* – a free and rational communication.

Like Rawls and his followers, the Habermasians do not neglect the fact the realization and effectiveness of this ideal speech situation are not simple, since it would be very unlikely that particular demands and desires will be completely suspended, in such a way that actions of individuals perform a universal rationality that will benefit all. Nevertheless, the pluralism of particular demands, desires, and interests is softened in Habermas by means of a strategy implicit in his arguments. He accepts, for example, that there are questions that should be oblivious to political deliberation practices, especially those concerning to existential questions, to decent life; and, on the other hand, there would be conflicts of interest among groups of people that could be resolved only through a compromised action (HABERMAS, 1996b, p. 448). In this way, according to Mouffe, Habermas makes the same separation by Rawls by separating two domains, private one and public one, in order to escape the implications of value pluralism. Mouffe (2009, p. 89) argues that Habermas is intransigent as to the possibility the exchange of arguments is the appropriate procedure for reaching a general interest and reinforces the idea the domain of political decisions can be isolated from the pluralism and is sufficiently neutral for rational solutions to be proposed.

Contrary to these perspectives, Mouffe (2009) proposes not to underestimate the contradictory, paradoxical character of liberal democracy, because it is founded on the tension between two distinct and irreconcilable logics – the one of democracy, with its claims by equality and popular participation, and the one of liberalism, with its defense of individual rights and freedom. Therefore, any attempt to give a final rational solution to the tension is off the table, especially when much of democratic politics is dedicated to the negotiation of this paradox, as well as to the proposition of precarious and contingent solutions. The task is not to escape the pluralism of values, but to confront and dispose of it in a way that is compatible with democratic forms of political practice. Mouffe thus argues that loyalty to democratic regimes and institutions will not come from the replacing a 'means/ends rationality', typical one of the aggregative model[8], for a *deliberative* or *communicative* one, but from the constitution of a set of practices that makes possible the formation of democratic citizens. It is not enough to relegate to an abstract realm the passions and affections (understanding by this the affective forces or bonds that would be at the origin of collective forms of identification), since they play a crucial role in ensuring fidelity to democratic institutions and values.

Thus, it is not with arguments that defend the incorporation of a communicative rationality in the democratic institutions that a loyalty to the democratic values will be guaranteed; but rather with the creation and diffusion of institutions, discourses, and forms of life that feed the identification of social actors with such values. Based on

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[8] Even recognizing the pluralism of values and interests as coextensive with the notion of the people, in the aggregative approach to democracy it was the self-interest of the individuals that guided their actions in the political field, that is, their preferences and interests would be the parameters for the organization of the parties, which would thus offer the arguments from which they would obtain the votes. For a discussion of this aggregative model of democracy, see the classic essay by Schumpeter (2008).

Wittgenstein's criticism to the rationalism, Mouffe argues that there must be agreement on forms of life in order to achieve agreements on opinions to be reached.

## The political, the politics and the agonistic pluralism

One of the issues raised in Mouffe's critique of the deliberative model of democracy concerns the belief in the establishment of a field in which political decisions would be based on principles or procedures of rational order. In this field, the antagonism that might arise from the differences of interests or the particularities of each subject could be eradicated by the adoption of appropriate deliberative procedures that would lead to a rational debate in the public sphere, where consensus could finally be reached. However, what such a belief leaves out is that antagonism itself is part of the constitution of any socio-political relation. The deliberative democracy model brings the idea that subjects can share a principle of rationality that would serve to the political decision-making processes, in isolating in a private world their histories, their social, cultural and religious differences, and in believing, therefore, that such idiosyncrasies would have no implications for political agency in the spheres of debate.

In turn, Mouffe (1994, 2005, 2009) proposes an alternative to such a framework, which she calls *pluralist and radical democracy* or *agonistic pluralism*, in defending that power cannot be removed from public-political deliberation, since it is constitutive of any social relation. One of the mistakes of deliberative democracy theorists is to postulate the availability of a public sphere in which power would have been eliminated and rational consensus would have been produced. According to Mouffe (2009, p. 100):

> According to the deliberative approach, the more democratic a society is, the less power would be constitutive of social relations. But if we accept that relations of power are constitutive of the social, then the main question for democratic politics is not how to eliminate power but how to constitute forms of power more compatible with democratic values.

The task here is to assume a sphere of public debate constituted by relations of power, by tensions in order to decide a political order, without ignoring that, with this, there will be exclusion, since to think politics having antagonism as an inescapable condition of its existence always involves to build a *we* as opposed to *they*[9]. Mouffe (1994, 2009) does not deny that consensus can be reached; she just does not agree that this happens without some exclusion. In order to think of consensus or any rational legitimacy, we should not neglect the role of hegemony in the provision of agglutinating

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[9]  In fact, this has always been present in the deliberative proposals; the problem was to believe that rational decision was not itself a kind of exclusion, that the more differences were put in suspension, the more rational and reasonable procedures for all would be assumed, the less power would emanate from social relations, the less exclusions would occur.

discourses in public debate. Any political order decided or accepted in the public sphere is the expression of a hegemony, of a disposition of social relations of power among individuals, and, as such, is subject to rearrangements, to new dispositions, since it is always a discursive construction and therefore contingent and precarious one.

If power and legitimacy converge and act perfectly together, this will entail a hegemonic political order. According to Mouffe, a distinction is necessary to understand some of the complexity of the political field, as well as the relation between power, antagonism and discourse. On the one hand, there is the 'political', which concerns an ontological dimension, where, for example, political theory works, preoccupied not with the political facts themselves but with the essence of the political (MOUFFE, 2005, p. 8); in this dimension, Mouffe sees the presence of antagonism as something inherent in human relations established in the political field as well as in any social relations. On the other hand, there is 'politics', which deals with the empirical field of politics, that is, with works of political science concerned with the political agenda, elections, discourses, parties' programs. Politics, therefore, emerges as an always precarious, contingent, historical attempt to tame the antagonistic dimension of politics. The error in the work of several political theorists and scientists, according to Mouffe, was to deny and eliminate this antagonistic dimension of politics and to seek a way individuals could participate in a public sphere of debate without treating each other as enemies, wherewith there would inevitably be exclusions, failing to attend to the common good.

Here, the importance of thinking about the role of available discourses in a public sphere of political debate, such as those from media, for example, has been considered. Politics, manifested by means of discourses in processes of collective deliberation, would always be the attempt to create a unity, an order, in a conflictive context, teeming with the differences and interests of the participants. It would thus be linked to the construction of a *we* by the determination of a *they* (MOUFFE, 2005, p. 101). Contrary to what theorists of deliberative democracy think, it is difficult to reconcile, through dialogue, divergent interests, since they are rather discourses that would sustain the political and social order, each in its own way. The question for democratic politics lies to construct a *they* that does not have to be destroyed by the discourse of the *we* or that is reasonably included in a rational discourse of unity, but that, once having its ideas combated by discourse of *we*, does not have the right to defend them questioned, by treating them always as legitimate opponents. For Mouffe, this is the true spirit of tolerance based on liberal-democratic principles: do not require agreement with the ideas we oppose, nor indifference to the points of view we disagree, but rather to treat those who defend them as legitimate opponents. Thus, democratic politics must face the creation of a vibrant agonistic public sphere of contention in which different hegemonic political discourses can be confronted (MOUFFE, 2005).

Furthermore, with Mouffe's observation of a worldwide tendency in the political field that discredits the articulatory function played by ideologies congregating antagonistically particular political and social interests in favor of the defense of a

non-excluding rational consensus, we see that there is a political environment conducive to a media to be governed by an informative discursive *posture* or by the ideas of impartiality, objectivity – *nodal points*[10] responsible for the constitution of its identity as an informative journalistic media – and to represent itself as advocate of a common interest, of all, or as 'view from nation' and from its citizens. Especially when the task of reaching the common good is one of the procedural pillars of the formation of a public sphere of rational deliberation, it is presupposed to leave aside the particular and ethical interests so that the public and moral objectives that benefit all can be reached – conduct that seems to be in the base of impartiality and objectivity.

In short, we could say that an identity of the media as a journalistic press can benefit from such a political context, hegemonized by the apolitical politics of a *third way* for the politics and reinforced by the growing theoretical interest of rational deliberation. With the theoretical and political support of the possibility of a public sphere of debate based on rational principles to guide deliberation, it would be easier to assume that the use of language by the media (here, in the case of this work, by *Veja*) could be more easily considered as informative, and, therefore, that its stance in relation to the reporting, to the representation of events and social actors, in short, in relation to what it says is more committed to the *truth*.

## Appraisal System

The APPRAISAL system, by Jim R. Martin and Peter R. White (2005), is a methodological reference for this work, because the systematic framework for the APPRAISAL that it offers allows us both to analyze the texts and organize the data based on categories related to the system of APPRAISAL. Martin and White's systematization of APPRAISAL allows us to identify several important points for the analysis that we intend to do, such as how journalists adopt stances towards the material they present and those with whom they communicate; how journalists approve or disapprove, applaud or criticise that or those to who they refer; how communities of shared feelings and values are construed and what language mechanisms mobilized by journalists to share emotions, tastes and normative assessments; how journalists construe for themselves particular identities; and how they construe for their texts a specific audience (MARTIN; WHITE, 2005). All of these points are of crucial importance for this work, especially since all contribute to achieving the objectives of this work.

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[10]  Nodal point is a category elaborated by Laclau and Mouffe (2001, p. 112) and, according to the authors, it is thanks to these nodal points that establish positions or articulations that make possible a hegemonic discursive projection. A good example of the function of the nodal points is offered by Prado and Cazeloto (2006, p. 7).

### The systems' network of Appraisal

Initially, the APPRAISAL has three domains or three subsystems by which the evaluations can be elaborated, namely (see Figure 1): ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. In general terms, the ATTITUDE subsystem is related to the field of emotions, especially to our feelings and emotional reactions, our judgments of the behavior of others, and our evaluations of natural or semiotic things or events. The ENGAGEMENT subsystem deals with the creation of attitudes, of positionings, whether for the speaker/writer, the listener/addressee, or the voice game (if there is a differentiation or equivalence between them, if there is a sharing – or openness to the discussion – of values, tastes) around opinions, in discourse. And finally, the GRADUATION subsystem is intended to amplify or reduce the strength of evaluations and to construct scope or periphery for things evaluated.

**Figure 1** – Overview of APPRAISAL system
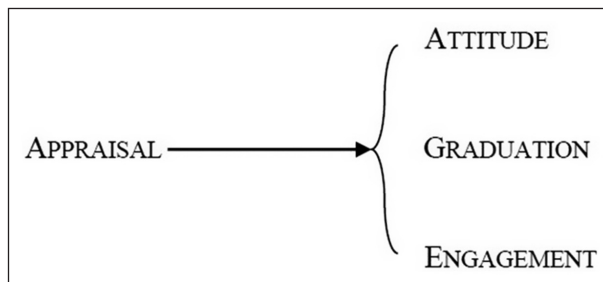


**Source:** Martin and White (2005, p. 38).

Those of the three subsystems that are most important at first sight are ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT, since they are more related to the identification of the feelings journalists have about what they experience and represent in their texts, as well as the resources they use to position themselves and position others with respect to what they write, defend, repudiate and project in their discourses. These aspects are perfectly in line with the objectives of this work and, therefore, have been sufficient to achieve them effectively. Therefore, as a starting point, we will now specify the subsystems of ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT.

The ATTITUDE subsystem concerns the field of feelings. For its systematic complexity, ATTITUDE comprises three semantic areas related to emotion, ethics and aesthetics, categorized in the framework of Martin and White (2005) as AFFECT, JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION, respectively, according to the following figure:

**Figure 2** – ATTITUDE subsystem
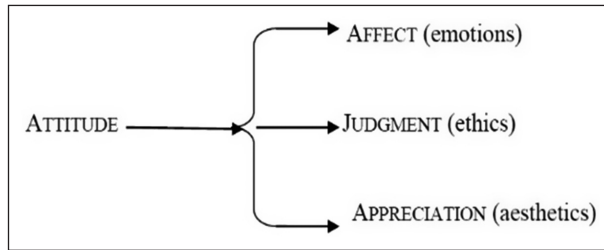
**Source:** Martin and White (2005, p. 38).

The area of JUDGMENT, in turn, has to do with the attitudes that we have toward the behavior of others, when we express it as admirable or objectionable or we represent as worthy or reprehensible. Evaluations of the behavior of others can be considered as inscribed or grounded by evaluative principles or systems (MARTIN; WHITE, 2005), which would normatively guide how people's attitudes and character can or should be judged, as well as how they behave.As with the area of meanings for AFFECT, JUDGMENT can be analyzed from the point of view of the positive/negative variable, that is, when we represent characteristics of the other that we admire or criticize. Since such evaluations take place in the relationship that we (as evaluators) have with others (as those evaluated), it can be saidthat the area of JUDGMENT is circumscribed to ethics and morality – to ethics, because, in order to make judgments of this type, we always start from a system of norms or set of principles that allow us to evaluate the way we evaluate; to moral, because, as such judgments are expressed, communicated to someone, we can only do so, publicly, by means of resources that compromise the evaluated person towards the people of their private social life or public law.

According to Martin and White (2005, p. 52), JUDGMENT EVALUATIONS can be divided into two further subsystems: that of *SOCIAL ESTEEM* and that of *SOCIAL SANCTION*. Each subsystem of the JUDGMENT one, in turn, has its specifics as to the choices or resources. The judgments of SOCIAL ESTEEM have to do with evaluations of NORMALITY (in terms of how normal or unusual someone is), CAPACITY (in terms of how capable or incapable someone is) and TENACITY (in terms of how firm, resolute or indecisive, insecure someone is). According to the authors, evaluations of this type are essential and critical for the formation and consolidation of social networks of coexistence, such as family, friends, colleagues, etc. But SOCIAL SANCTION judgments are entry-level conditions for evaluations that have to do with VERACITY (in terms of how truthful, honest or lying, dishonest someone is) and PROPRIETY in terms of how fair, ethical, unjust, corrupt, unethical someone is). For Martin and White (2005), evaluations of this type are more directly related to normative judgments, that is to say, they have to do with the observance of religious or legal precepts as examples.

Martin and White's Figure 3 (2005, p. 45) also shows that AFFECT could be at the heart of JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION, which would be AFFECTS more institutionalized,

in terms of norms, rules and regulations supported, for example, by the Church or the State (JUDGMENT), or in terms of criteria and valuations supported by *systems of awards* (APPRECIATION):

**Figure 3** – JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION as AFFECT institucionalized
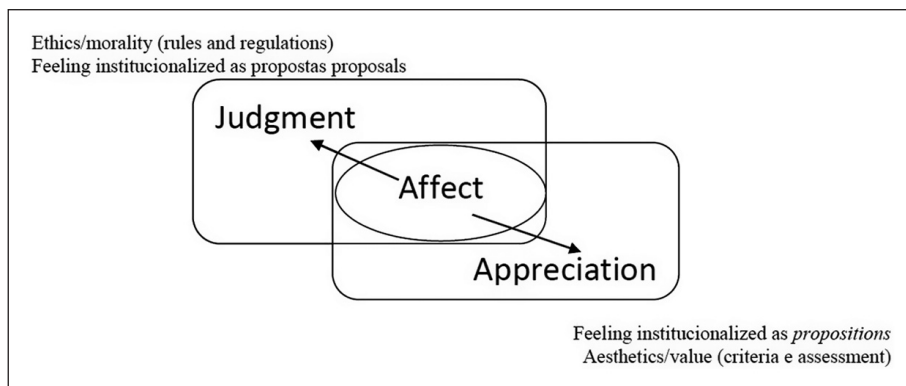
In the Figure 3, even as the JUDGMENT would be related to the evaluation through rules and regulations, that is, to the domain of ethics/morality, the APPRECIATION could be referred to aesthetics, because it is allied to the valuation of things or people.

All these forms of achievement of the ATTITUDE subsystem will be taken for analysis as contributing to a negative, disadvantageous, reprehensible evaluation of the texts' writers, of the social actors cited as involved in the political events or cases of corruption denounced by *Veja* magazine. These attitudinal evaluations can be seen as forms of construction of identities of such social actors, at the same time as they enable the emergence of journalists' identity and the magazine's identity consequently. At the same time, the attitudinal evaluations allow us to regard them as revealing of political and ideological systems or, as Martin and White (2005) say, of socially constituted communities of shared beliefs and attitudes associated with their positions that give support to the axiological posture assumed by the journalists of the magazine in their texts, which would make it possible to identify a discourse or, more precisely, an articulatory practice on the one hand to impugn ideological and politically adversarial identities to the magazine and on the other to advocate both the (inescapably political) position of the latter in relation to adversarial ones, and the projective discourse in their texts.

**Engagement subsystem**

To think of the subsystem of ENGAGEMENT is to recognize beforehand a context or background of opinions, points of view, and judgments of value with which a voice

always interacts, is responding, agreeing, affirming, disagreeing, denying, refuting[11]. Thus, Martin and White will regard ENGAGEMENT as concerning the senses that provide the writer with the means by which he can position himself and engage with other voices or alternative positions that are at stake in the immediate or wider communicative context in which he finds himself.

Their framework for the analysis of ENGAGEMENT allows us to characterize, therefore, the different linguistic resources used by the writers to adopt a position or posture in relation to the positions of value that are referenced by their texts and the discursive context, as well as to investigate the rhetorical effects associated with taking positions and to explore what is at stake when one posture is adopted instead of another. The framework also offers the opportunity to check the anticipatory aspects of the text – the signals that the writers/speakers provide as to how they expect those they address to respond to the proposition and the value position it advances (MARTIN; WHITE, 2005, p. 93). In addition, the analysis of the meanings constructed in the Engagement subsystem also allows us to see what positions of value are presented and taken for granted for the audience of the text or what ones are problematic, controversial, or even intended to be questioned, resisted or rejected.

In spite of the dialogical orientation one has upon discursive interactions, it cannot ignore the presence of *categorical* or *bare assertions*. As Martin and White explain (2005, p. 99), such assertions tend to be considered, in traditional semantic literature, as factual, objective, neutral. But when one takes the view that verbal communication takes place in a context constituted by various voices and alternative viewpoints, this type of assertion tends to assume another nuance, different from the way it has been seen by the lens of the conditions of truth, such as is generally seen in this type of literature. Thus, the status of this type of assertion can be analyzed as constructing, in its own way, a given arrangement of voices or alternative viewpoints, by not recognizing them openly. In these cases, we have a communicative context tending to be unilaterally construed by the writer.

Therefore, two possible choices are revealed in the interactions: an EXPANSION of the dialogical potential of voices in statements, allowing alternative positions; or its CONTRACTION, discouraging the negotiation of the meanings produced in the interactions. In the first case, there is an opening for the negotiation of the meanings conveyed in the text of the writer, opening the margin for discord and questioning. In the second, however, there is the adoption of a monological stand which seeks to produce a character of categorical and absolute truth to what is said, in attempting to erase the impression of relativity or even non-validity of the meanings produced

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[11] This understanding comes from the notion of dialogism by Valentin Volóchinov (2017), for whom there is no word that is not an answer, that does not bring in itself echoes of other words, of other discourses that preceded it in a given sphere of human activity. This dialogic assumption is important for the understanding of this subsystem, in order to better understand the functional role of the choices via the subsystem of Engagement, especially as regards the way a writer, a journalist for example, positions or search to position the supposed reader in relation to the opinions that he manifests in his texts or that manifest themselves in convergence or divergence to the text(s) he produces.

by the writer. These are the two terms to be chosen in the heteroglossia subsystem in the ENGAGEMENT subsystem. The term heteroglossia, in turn, parallels the term monoglossia: HETEROGLOSSIA, for utterances open to negotiation; and MONOGLOSSIA, for utterances categorically intransigent to any possibility of negotiation[12]. Martin and White (2005, p. 101) say that the 'taken-for-grantedness' of categorical or 'bare' assertions has the strongly ideological effect of constructing for the text a putative addressee who shares the position of communicated value by the writer, leaving out the question of their non-validity.

The **DIALOGIC CONTRACTION**, as explained above, makes the proposition contained in the voice of the writer one of the different possibilities of positioning, but, unlike when choosing the resources of the dialogic expansion, with the contraction the writer takes a position in total disagreement or in rejection of opposing positions, that is, his formulation defies, avoids or even restricts the focus of alternative positions or voices. As Vian Jr. points out (2010, p. 38), it is worth noting that 'the resources for contraction give the proposition a highly valid and grounded aspect', mainly because of the value or rejection or epistemic strength of the voice of others, in order to base the propositions defended.

CONTRACTION, as well as expansion, is a condition of entry into another subsystem, which opens also to two choices: *DISCLAIM* and *PROCLAIM*. **DISCLAIM** is a term for resources through which some alternative is taken to be rejected or supplanted by another, or to be represented as not pertinent to what is spoken in the text. In this category, one will find those lexicogrammatical realisations by means of which some position of value or alternative proposition is evoked in order to be replaced by another or, therefore, to be considered unsustainable. Within this category, there are still two more subtypes, which concern the ways DISCLAIM is possible: *deny* and *counter*. With *deny*, one has the move to introduce an alternative position, to recognize it, but after to be rejected, that is, the writer uses other voices to be denied them and then to propose an alternative of his own.

As to the discussion of mechanisms of dialogic contraction, such as **deny**, Martin and White (2005, p. 119) also point out the possible relations between writer and audience that deny promotes. In one case, with the use of this feature, the writer may be starting from the assumption that the audience somehow shares or is susceptible to the voices, propositions or values that the denied voice would represent, in construing an audience that need to be convinced or informed of something else about it. In another case, **deny** can be directed at the audience itself, thus assuming the writer the stand of someone who has sufficient knowledge about the subject under discussion, which

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[12] The monoglossal posture is different from the heteroglossal choice that was called the CONTRACTION above. This latter recognizes and demonstrates (and even cites) that there are other voices, other positions, other values, besides those that are being defended in the text or context, although the stance taken in this case is that of restricting alternative positions, which reduces the dialogical potential of the text. MONOGLOSSIA, however, shows no recognition of a dialogical background, constituted by other voices, nor does it refer to other possibly existing voices, as if, in fact, to use a term of Mikhail Bakhtin (2015) for similar cases, an Adamic voice, primeval one, without anchoring itself in another voice.

would allow him to deny the voices or propositions brought to the text. The second type of DISCLAIM is **counter**, which refers to resources that present a proposition or voice to be supplanted by another, that of the writer. Thus, the writer uses another voice, but does not defend what is deduced from it, breaking, with the alternative it offers, a probable expectation created by the audience during the reading of the first position/voice.

In relation to the second type of dialogic contraction, the **PROCLAIM**, there are those resources that limit the reach of other voices, rather than directly reject the opposite position. This type of contraction is still entered for three other subtypes, which allow the proclamation: *CONCUR*, *PRONOUNCE* and *ENDORSE*. **CONCURRENCE** concerns features that show the writer as one who agrees or has the same knowledge of another, usually the addressee, but he either draws the strength of his proposition or grounds it on the basis of common sense, that is, using of arguments commonly validated or accepted by all or by his audience. In this case, the way the writer produces his text puts (or presupposes) both the addressee in a tacit alignment relation and the proposition he advocates in question is taken as given. Thus, the effectiveness of a sharing of the value or belief promoted by the writer is high, because he bases his proposition on a universally accepted way, thus excluding or strongly compromising any disclaim that may arise. The CONCURRENCE can be further detailed in two other subtypes: *AFFIRMING CONCURRENCE* and *CONCEDING CONCURRENCE*. **ENDORSEMENT**, in turn, refers to the resources through which the writer, using voices and propositions external to his text, will construe his as valid or undeniable, that is, the writer uses sources, facts, events to validate his opinion. Finally, in the **PRONOUNCEMENT**, the resources are always related to the emphasis on something that the writer wants to give, trying to eliminate any resistance that the addressee can offer to the one who is exposed and thus desiring to seek a solidarity with what he says. As Martin and White (2005) point out, the emphasis implies the presence of some resistance to the voice that is expressed or to the propositions and values asserted in the text. An endurance can be manifested, for example, by the audience, through which solidarity in relation to the writer will be threatened, but often he/she will use other resources so that the alignment between the two is reestablished; or by a third voice, with which, contrary to the previous example, solidarity will be construed and reinforced, since the writer presents himself as agreeing with the addressee in relation to the third position. This strategy, according to Martin and White (2005, p. 130), is commonly explored in journalistic commentary or political rhetoric (below, the systems network of dialogic contraction).

**Figure 4** – Systems network of paradigmatic options of DIALOGIC CONTRACTION
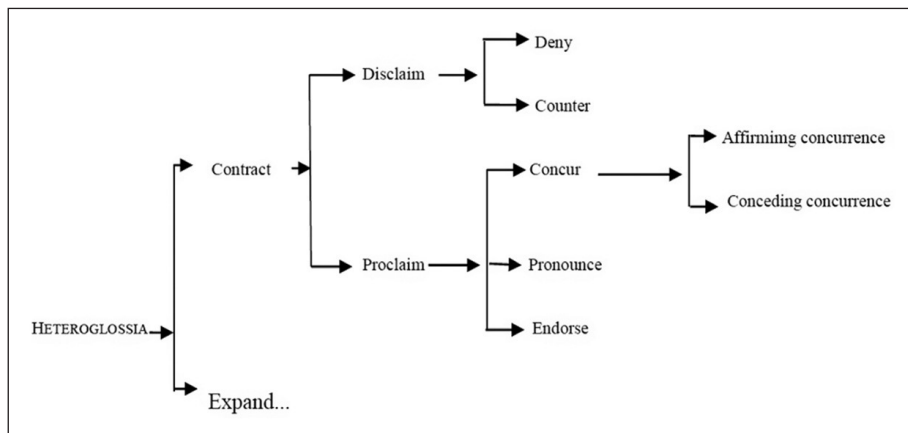


**Source:** Martin and White (2005, p. 134).

Monoglossal choices, for example, can be associated with the construction of an informative and investigative (demystifying) identity of the magazine *Veja*; the use of attitudinal lexicon, in turn, with the construction of the identities of the other; and the use of heteroglossic arguments, finally, with the construction both of those identities (with the weakening of those that were previously supposed), and of shared communities of (political-ideological) belief and values, which could favor the formation of articulatory practices around nodal points such as the 'struggle against corruption'. Hence the importance we attach to the linguistic categories from the discussion of the APPRAISAL System by Jim Martin and Peter White (2005), especially those that demonstrate ATTITUDE and ENGAGEMENT in language, as we have discussed, by allowing us to see how the media, in the case of the *Veja* magazine, constitutes itself and the others or exhibits the identity of self and others by the way it says when it says what it says.

**Engagement and Attitude with the audience as a proposal of a discourse**

In this section, we will present two texts[13] that paradigmatically give us an understanding of how this 'universal', at the same time 'rational', posture occurs. Lower, we have a Letter to the Reader, published on August 3, 2005, approximately

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[13] The choice of these texts was due to the fact they were related to two moments in the political history of the two PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores) governments, by Lula and Dilma Rousseff, and constituted what was conventionally called, on the one hand, 'Mensalão scandal' (in the Lula administration) and, on the other, what *Veja* called the 'crisis of the Esplanade' (during Dilma's mandate), in the latter case in a reference to several political events that occurred in the first year of Dilma government, involving her ministers. From a *corpus* of 30 texts, belonging to a research developed by us (GOMES, 2013), we decided to use here, given the space, only two texts, the most significant in terms of data of what we described as engagers with the audience and proponents of an underlying political discourse in the voices of the Veja, despite its supposedly impartial and apolitical stance.

two months after the release of a video by *Veja* showing a director of the Post Office receiving and explaining the bribe that came to his board[14].

The Letter to the Reader is somewhat exemplary as to the depoliticized, objective and impartial posture of *Veja* magazine. This is because it is clearly stated alongside who is represented by it, whom it addresses and for what reason. The antagonistic and at the same time constative attitude of the magazine finds its *raison d'être* in claiming for itself an identity of an impartial journalistic vehicle, in the service of all, as if its interests were not ideological, social and political, as well as aiming at a common interest that represented the desires of all, of the nation (see the last sentence of the Letter to the Reader).

In the Letter to the Reader, we find this universal attitude of the magazine. This is a strategic form of engaging with the audience. Taking itself as the representative of the nation, *Veja* is transformed in an agent representative of all; it hides in a homogenization of a *we all*. Its discourse, therefore, is presented as an articulation and condensation of the interests of Brazilians. And, engaging everyone in the magazine's struggle against corruption, all those who ratify its significance, who endorse its representation of reality, agree with the way *Veja* signifies social events and actors. Corruption, in this case, appears as a guiding element, as a nodal point that congregates the nation around the discourse of *Veja*, at least to all those who are against those who do evil to the country. In the analyzed texts, corruption plays a preponderant moral role, since it bears the indignation that would manifest itself in society, but with the aid of discourses that not only testifyit, but that rather direct the look, the understanding, the way to envisage social and political reality – in short, with a discourse which supposedly belongs to all.

Let's look at the text:

### IN FAVOR OF BRAZIL

> 'The press is the view of the nation. Through it, the nation accompanies what goes on near to it and far from it, it sees what makes it bad, it investigates what hid from it and what conspires against it, it harvests what evades or steals from it, it perceives where it is targeted, or it stain it, it measures what is restrict from it, or destroy it, it watches over what interests it, and it takes care of what threatens it'. Rui Barbosa's phrase, which is always worth mentioning, unfolds with beauty what is the journalistic mission *par excellence* – to inspect the power for the good of the country, regardless of who won it. It is this mission that *Veja* carries out week after week, since it was released in September

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14   It was through this video that several events and revelations followed resulting in the outbreak of what in the media was known as the *Mensalão scandal*. From this point on, a discursive game of fixation and removal of evidence that impugned and redefined the identities of the political actors involved in the cases announced as belonging to the *Mensalão scandal*.

1968. During the military dictatorship, when the magazine was born, the control of the power of the press was hampered by censorship, this when it not completely prevented. Once democracy reinstated, the gag was replaced – so much the better – by the scream of inspected ones. 'The press is partial'; 'It is necessary to control the press': these are the phrases that usually punctuate the plainsong of those who are caught red-handed in power.

In the case of *Veja*, the most heard plainsong is that it is 'partial'. There are those who sing it now, because the magazine makes an extensive and in-depth coverage of scandals that put in question the Lula government. As if overly proven facts were an inconsequential gossip. As if *Veja* were antipetista. Nothing further from the truth. The magazine is not nor has ever been, an enemy of political forces. It was not antiCollor when it denounced the scheme of PC Farias treasurer; it was not antitucano at a time when the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government was tarnished by corruption schemes. *Veja* is not the enemy of certain political parties nor friend of others. The magazine is simply in favor of Brazil. It is against those who mistreat it, those who steal it. The view of the nation. (A FAVOR..., 2005, p.09).[15]

The text begins with an engagement with the voice of another. It is the voice of someone who has social and political prestige in Brazil. At least, that is the image that many people have often imputed to Rui Barbosa and to his political discourse, which contains excellent rhetoric and exemplifies the manliness of his character. The voice of Rui Barbosa serves here as an **ENDORSE** of what will be defended by the magazine: the fact that *Veja* is at the service of all, and not against certain political parties. The recontextualization of Rui Barbosa's voice could not be more perfect. It emerges as

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[15]  **A FAVOR DO BRASIL**
"A imprensa é a vista da nação. Por ela é que a nação acompanha o que lhe passa ao perto e ao longe, enxerga o que lhe malfazem, devassa o que lhe ocultam e tramam, colhe o que lhe sonegam, ou roubam, percebe onde lhe alvejam, ou nodoam, mede o que lhe cerceiam, ou destroem, vela pelo que lhe interessa, e se acautela do que a ameaça." A frase de Rui Barbosa, que vale sempre citar, desdobra com beleza aquela que é a missão jornalística por excelência – a de fiscalizar o poder, independentemente de quem o tenha conquistado, pelo bem do país. É essa missão que VEJA leva a cabo semana após semana, desde que foi lançada, em setembro de 1968. Durante a ditadura militar, na vigência da qual a revista nasceu, a fiscalização do poder da imprensa era dificultada, quando não completamente impedida, pela censura. Democracia reinstaurada, à mordaça substituiu-se – tanto melhor – a grita dos fiscalizados. "A imprensa é parcial"; "É preciso controlar a imprensa": tais são as frases que costumam pontuar o cantochão dos que, no poder, são apanhados com a boca na botija.
No caso de VEJA, o cantochão mais ouvido é que ela é "parcial". Há quem o entoe agora, por causa da cobertura extensa e aprofundada que a revista faz dos escândalos que colocam em xeque o governo Lula. Como se fatos sobejamente provados fossem um diz-que-diz inconsequente. Como se VEJA fosse antipetista. Nada mais longe da verdade. A revista não é, nem nunca foi, inimiga de forças políticas. Não era anti-Collor quando denunciou o esquema do tesoureiro PC Farias; não era antitucana nos momentos em que o governo Fernando Henrique Cardoso foi maculado por esquemas de corrupção. VEJA não é inimiga de certos partidos políticos nem amiga de outros. A revista é, simplesmente, a favor do Brasil. Contra os que lhe malfazem, os que lhe roubam. A vista da nação. (A FAVOR..., 2005, p.09).

a force that defends the magazine against accusations that it was being submitted by uncovering cases of mistreatment and misuse of the public institutions, as well as by reinforcing how the role of the magazine should be: to monitor the power for the good of the country. This proposition of the magazine is against a voice without specific attribution, which would question its function ('*for the sake of the country, regardless of who won it*'). Next, we have an evaluation (**ATTITUDE - JUDGMENT - SOCIAL ESTEEM - TENACITY - POSITIVE**) of the magazine itself as to its activity, in affirming that it pursues, 'week after week', the objective of the press so well defended by Rui Barbosa, since its foundation as a magazine in 1968, a despite of so many obstacles that tried to prevent its task, just as in a dictatorship with censorship and in a democracy with 'the scream of inspected ones'.

In the excerpt "'The press is partial'; 'It is necessary to control the press': these are the phrases that usually punctuate the plainsong of those who are caught red-handed in power", we have an interesting use of resources from HETEROGLOSSIA. We find the mention of other voices that contribute to the construction of the magazine's own identity and that would underestimate the epistemic validity of everything it proposes with its speeches/texts ('The press is partial'; 'It is necessary to control the press'). Although it inaugurates the possibility of questioning or disagreement about what these voices propose, which is typical of a DIALOGUE EXPANSION, what we perceive is that the guidance given next by the voice of the magazine does not tend to negotiate the meanings of these others, but rather denies them in such a way that they are refuted in function of the moral values guiding *Veja*'s intentions when exposing those who are 'caught red-handed', that is, those who are caught stealing public money by the denunciations of *Veja*. In addition, when we consider what is said immediately before ('During the military dictatorship, when the magazine was born, the control of the power of the press was difficult, if not completely impeded, by the censorship. Once democracy reinstated, the gag was replaced – so much the better – by the scream of inspected ones'.) we see that the posture of *Veja* is to reduce the ideological potential of these other voices competitors, in eliminating any resistance or in alignment that the reader can offer to what is exposed.

In the discussion on the choice of CONTRACTION by PRONOUNCEMENT, the presence of some resistance to the voice expressed (in the case, to *Veja*) or the assertions and values asserted, especially of voices of third parties, collaborates with an alignment with the audience that puts it as if it were on the side of the Magazine's voices, as if it has been positioning itself against those who squander the money of the population. In this case, we have as the resource of ENGAGEMENT - HETEROGLOSSIA - CONTRACTION - PROCLAIM - PRONOUNCEMENT whereby the magazine presents those phrases that would often be heard when its journalistic activity is criticized for seeking the good of all. In this case, the attribution is not done against someone specific, but rather against those who have been accused of committing irregularities in power. This attribution has its esteem reduced,even if not specific to someone, but to those who are in error with the State.It does not invalidate at any moment the activity of *Veja* for supervising the

power, but rather builds solidarity with the reader, represented as the population whose money is stolen by politicians.

The fact that *Veja* is judged *partial*, for example, is attributed to people who were bothered by journalistic activity of magazine ('There are those who sing it now, because the magazine makes an extensive and in-depth coverage of the scandals that put in question the Lula government'). If a little further up the magazine states that 'the scream' concerning to 'partiality' comes from those who were caught in reprehensible acts ('caught red-handed'), then there is an orientation as to who may be declaiming its partiality in this moment: people involved in the "Mensalão" scandal. The TENACITY of certain phrases attributed to the journalistic posture of the magazine only further credits the positive value it has before the activities that it carries out in the national journalistic and political scenario. In this way, the magazine construes the image of itself as that of a reliable someone, who practices its craft for the good of all, as it is evident at the end of the text.

The following sentence is a counter-affirmation against those who criticize the magazine's performance: 'As if overly proven facts were an inconsequential gossip'. Here, the magazine puts the facts at its side, 'overly proven facts', that is, it places itself as a vehicle that is on the side of truth, which, therefore, there would not be those who shouted against. Here the CONCEDING CONCURRENCE of the proposition 'In the case of *Veja*, the most heard plainsong is that it is "partial"' finds its denouement, its counter-affirmation, in the form of another proposition based on 'overly proven facts', that is, we have an ENGAGEMENT - HETEROGLOSSIA - CONTRACTION - PROCLAIM - ENDORSEMENT. So, one can see the consequence that the image claimed for the magazine is supported not by what it wants and says, but by what is 'proven' by 'facts'. This is what makes the ethos of *impartial* commonly attributed to informational journalism to be so well justified and validated, especially when the facts lose their factual and contingent dimension, in order to assume the character of own reality. Instead of being seen as a way of envisaging the reality, the facts become incontestable aspects of it. Thus, the magazine draws the strength both of *impartial* identity and of its propositions from the certainty of *the* objectivity, and not from the relativity of its subjectivity. It eliminates here at first sight the resistance of voices that would contradict what the magazine presents. Hence the recalcitrant power that even the next sentence would entail ('As if VEJA were antipetista') loses its own validity.

The CONTRACTION of voices of others (ENGAGEMENT - HETEROGLOSSIA - CONTRACTION - DISCLAIM - DENY) is the *par excellence* resource of the journalists of *Veja*. And this is evident in the following sentences: 'Nothing further from the truth. The magazine is not, nor has ever been, an enemy of political forces. It was not antiCollor when it denounced the scheme of PC Farias treasurer; it was not antiTucano at a time when the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government was tainted by corruption schemes'. Here there is the use of propositions as a resource for ATTITUDE - JUDGMENT - SOCIAL SANCTION - PROPERTY, mainly because it puts the magazine as someone next to the truth, and not to the lie; as someone at the service of the nation, and not of private interests.

In addition, it reinforces its tenacious character in the persecution and denunciation of those who fill Brazil with opprobrium, not because of political and partisan differences with respect to the denounced, but rather because of a civic, integrity, virtuous and republican duty that puts it at the side of the nation, of good government, and not of evildoers.

What we perceive from the analysis of this Letter to the Reader is that the magazine builds at various times a conciliation between itself and its audience, in establishing an alignment that, on the one hand, puts the reader as a solidary to the magazine's proposals and, on the other, Magazine and reader together against the government and the corrupt practices that emerge from it. This leads us to formulate two conclusions on political and partial role present in the linguistic-discursive choices of the *Veja*'s text. First, the claim to a neutral, objective, and universal posture is constant and sustained as it manages to contract the force of ideas and propositions conflicting with the *Veja*'s interests of impartiality. Secondly, the constant presence of lexical-grammatical features of ENGAGEMENT shows that the implicit struggle to differentiate itself from all those against whom the *Veja* and the aligned audience are erected is symptomatic of a political and ideological struggle that does not go away even with the attempt to construct an identity representative of the collective good. To show itself as advocate of a common interest, of all, or as 'the view of the Nation' and its citizens, is the procedural *modus operandi* of the idea of a public sphere of rational deliberation, in which political and ideological interests are private on behalf of the collective good of the nation so that the public and moral objectives that benefit all can be achieved.

However, the recurrent presence of linguistic-discourse resources of ATTITUDE reveals a second conclusion that undermines the idea of separating particular and ideological interests in the linguistic forms mobilized by the magazine. The very presence of attitudinal evaluations of JUDGMENT denounces the value system, the interests that underlie or guide the way in which it represents the political actors in question, inasmuch as it compromises those against which *Veja* places itself in moral and juridical terms ('*It is against those who mistreat it, those who steal it*', in evaluations that touch on the dimension of SOCIAL SANCTION, of PROPRIETY). This demonstrates that there is a political discourse and proposal to support it and guide it to itself your audience. Far from the principles of a rational, deliberative democracy, concerned with consensus and communicative rationality, this means that the magazine is guided by political and particular issues in its representations. For example, the fact the FHC government has been 'tarnished' by corruption schemes, but the Lula administration has been plagued by 'overly proven facts' that 'put in check' the government, also demonstrates an evaluative aspect of *Veja* when undertaking its criticisms on certain politicians at a given historical moment. Therefore, it marks the argumentative and evaluative orientation present in its attitudinal evaluations, albeit surreptitiously denied, for being against all those who steal and mistreat the nation . This shows that political guidelines and decisions can not be isolated from value and ideological pluralism as the advocates of deliberative democracy propose, or that they are politically neutral

enough for rational solutions to be proposed to the detriment of values, policies and ideologies. Thus, it is evident that the idea of a journalistic identity that would support a more newsworthy, more informative, less oriented to opinion and politically commit to what it reports, is construed as an attempt to deny political and ideological values, and as the political actor of the public sphere.

Let's see another report on the period of the scandals involving Rousseff's ministers. It was published on October 26, 2011, in edition 2240, and was signed by Otávio Cabral and Laura Diniz. The report is written almost in its entirety by verifications, with little recourse to other voices. When these are mobilized, they are only to reinforce the main theses of journalists that are still able to construe and align the audience as someone who is in perfect agreement with everything they say. In addition, they draw the reality of events in their own way by the endorsement of the data, facts and voices of experts. The central theme of the report is about corruption.

## REVENGE AGAINST CORRUPTS

**Brazilians are becoming indignant at corruption, evil that consumes for a year the money that would be sufficient to end the misery in the country.**

Guy Fawkes' white mask, with mustache and black goatee, used by the lonely punisher of *V for Vendetta*, has become the symbol of protesters occupying the squares of major cities around the world in protest against the economic crisis. In Brazil, where the situation of the economy still has no resemblance to the turbulence of the rich countries, the same mask has come to decorate anti-corruption demonstrations. In his indignation against the totalitarian regime that dominates England in 2020, the masked V blew Parliament sky-high. Here, in a democratic regime, no one in sound mind would defend the explosion of institutions. But there are plenty of reasons to get angry and take to the streets demanding a reformation of politics and politicians.. Brazilians are exposed almost daily by the press - and especially by this magazine - to reports that reveal shameful practices of corruption at all levels of government. As it is said in the interior of Brazil, when it comes to finding wrongdoings in the official universe, there 'for every hoeing a worm'. Each of these scandalous cases provokes an outbreak of indignation in good men, but, as soon as new denunciations appear, honest people are led to redirect indignation to another target and, after all, they feel lost and helpless. *Veja* proposes to examine in this report the phenomenon of corruption in its completeness, especially analyzing the losses that the constant robbery of our money causes in each one of us.

[...].

The indignation against corruption has gained strength in recent months, when President Dilma Rousseff dismissed four ministers involved in irregularities. The last one was Orlando Silva, Minister of Sports. The president's steadfastness helped the population to become aware of the scandal of the mass misappropriation of public money. Now we must urgently take the next step, which is to staunch the bleeding of the national wealth - because the current mechanisms of prevention and punishment of corruption are not working.

[...]. (CABRAL; DINIZ, 2011, p.76).[16]

This text is predominantly MONOGLOSSIC. There is of course the presence of other voices in the text, but, as we can see, they are only to reinforce and endorse what journalists advocate. Let's look at the beginning. The assumptions of the sentences are that the audience knows and even shares the facts to which the journalists report. All the more curious is that all the indignation that motivates, for example, the masked protesters in Brazil to take to the streets to demand '*reformation of politics and politicians*' finds its support and encouragement in the magazine itself ('*Brazilians are exposed almost daily by the press – and especially by this magazine – to reports that reveal shameful practices of corruption at all levels of governmen*t'), which gives the impression that the magazine is continually denouncing '*shameful practices of corruption at all levels of government*' and only it is that it has, at least in the first moment, placed itself against these 'shameful' practices.

We need to take into account that the context in which the report emerges is that of the series of scandals and dismissals involving the upper echelon of the Dilma's government. It is very suggestive because the shameful practices mentioned come

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16   **A VINGANÇA CONTRA OS CORRUPTOS**
**Brasileiros começam a se indignar com a corrupção, mal que consome por ano o dinheiro que seria suficiente para acabar com a miséria no país.**
A máscara branca com bigode e cavanhaque negros de Guy Fawkes, usada pelo justiceiro solitário do filme V de Vingança, tornou-se o símbolo dos manifestantes que ocupam as praças das principais cidades do mundo em protestos contra a crise econômica. No Brasil, onde a situação da economia ainda não guarda semelhança com a turbulência dos países ricos, a mesma máscara passou a decorar as manifestações contra a corrupção. Em sua indignação contra o regime totalitário que domina a Inglaterra em 2020, o mascarado V manda pelos ares o Parlamento. Por aqui, em um regime democrático, ninguém com juízo pode defender a explosão das instituições. Mas motivos para se indignar e sair às ruas a exigir a reforma da política e dos políticos não faltam. Os brasileiros são expostos quase todos os dias pela imprensa - e, em especial, por esta revista - a reportagens que revelam vergonhosas práticas de corrupção em todos os níveis de governo. Como se diz no interior do Brasil, em matéria de encontrar malfeitos no universo oficial, é "cada enxadada, uma minhoca". Cada um desses casos escandalosos provoca um surto de indignação nos homens de bem - mas, como logo aparecem novas denúncias, as pessoas honestas são levadas a redirecionar a indignação para outro alvo e, ao fim e ao cabo, todos se sentem perdidos e desamparados. VEJA se propõe, nesta reportagem, a examinar o fenômeno da corrupção em sua completude, analisando especialmente os malefícios que o roubo constante do nosso dinheiro provoca em cada um de nós.
[...]
A indignação com a corrupção ganhou força nos últimos meses, com a demissão pela presidente Dilma Rousseff de quatro ministros envolvidos em irregularidades. O último pilhado foi Orlando Silva, do Esporte. A atitude firme da presidente ajudou a despenar a população para o descalabro do desvio em massa do dinheiro do povo. Agora é preciso dar urgentemente o passo seguinte, que é estancar a sangria da riqueza nacional - pois os atuais mecanismos de prevenção e punição da corrupção não estão funcionando. [...]. (CABRAL; DINIZ, 2011, p.76).

from this government and its frequent exposure and revelation by the press, but '*especially by this magazine*' become the cornerstone of the general indignation that has led the Brazilians to manifest themselves in the streets. In this sense, it is evident that *Veja* elects the government in question as the maximum expression of the corruption and indignation of the Brazilian population, to whom the writers address themselves and with whom they share the general feeling of indignation. It is as if the then cases of corruption in the Ministries Esplanade were the fuse, the the last straw that overflowed the limit of the pusillanimity of the Brazilians. However, as it is said in the excerpt '*Each of these scandalous cases provokes an outbreak of indignation in good men, but, as soon as new denunciations appear, honest people are led to redirect indignation to another target and, after all, they feel lost and helpless*', the indignation that exists does not seem represent the reaction of all Brazilians, but rather that of those who can not support so much exposure to '*shameful practices*', that is to say, the '*good men*', '*honest people*'. The relevance of emphasizing this comes from the high degree of alignment that is done by the journalists with the audience, in order to be included among the '*good men*' who are indignant against daily corruption at '*at all levels of government*'. All these excerpts reveal lexical-grammatical choices of ENGAGEMENT - HETEROGLOSSIA - CONTRACTION - PROCLAIM - ENDORSE, since they compromise the audience with what has been said in the text through ENDORSE.

A lot of the sentences of the journalists in this first paragraph is made no reference to other voices. There are no competing voices nor other voices that endorse that of journalists. The only case of an external voice is the proverb, the popular saying, used here as an endorsement of journalists' own thesis that there is the plague of corruption at all levels of government ([there is] '*for every hoeing a worm*'). All the rest is taken as a given, but no presence of a presupposition, as if tacitly all who read knew the text was about, because the predominance is a narrativization of events. Precisely this absence of voice provides this character of first narrative, of inaugural word of the universe construed around the subject of the corruption. In this case, as journalists generalize indignation as a reaction of all good Brazilians, the audience is thus led to share both the statement made by journalists and the very feeling they attribute to it in the representation of the reaction as indignation, as well as behavior to take to the streets in defense of the political reform and in the struggle against corruption. In addition, there is no real differentiation to clarify who is actually included in category 'good men' (which further reinforces the tacit alignment provision of Brazilians with narration of journalists).

In the case of the last sentence of the first paragraph ('*VEJA proposes to examine in this report the phenomenon of corruption in its completeness, in analyzing especially the losses that the constant robbery of our money causes in each one of us*'), we find one more time this theorizing attitude of the magazine, which offers a description of reality, in manifesting its essence. Here, there is the use of a scientific strategy, in showing, if not the first cause, at least the unfoldings and the links between one event and another. A minimal but reliable understanding is offered as an apprehension of

the reality of the events that constitute the current political conjuncture, as well as the reaction of its spectators, the Brazilians, among whom we, the audience. In addition, the choice of lexical items ('our money', 'in each one of us') which includes both journalists and the audience is important for establishing alignment and agreement with the reader-audience.

In the case of the third paragraph, the most relevant fact in the journalists' voices is the deontological, ordering and imperative character present in the last sentence ('*Now we must urgently take the next step, which is to staunch the bleeding of the national wealth - because the current mechanisms of prevention and punishment of corruption are not working.*'), which proposes as an order '*to staunch the bleeding of the national wealth - because the current mechanisms of prevention and punishment of corruption are not working*', instead of suggesting while theorizing the Brazilian political situation. We have in this excerpt the reduction of the positivity of the attitude taken by Dilma, and even quoted by the journalists, in saying that '*The president's steadfastness helped the population to make aware of the debacle of the mass misappropriation of the public money*'. Instead of the positive endorsement, what immediately appears is an ENGAGEMENT - HETEROGLOSSIA - CONTRACTION - PROCLAIM - CONCEDING CONCURRENCE, which only agrees with Dilma's attitude, if the next step of modifying the current anti-corruption mechanisms is given.

The most notorious feature of this second text is that the magazine is clearly blunt with the ruling government, something that is perceived by the monoglassic majority position of sentences. This demonstrates that the conflicting antagonistic content of political discussions does not hide nor erase in function of claiming an exempt position or of aligning itself with a position possibly compromised with the audience. It should also be added to this the fact that such an antagonistic posture, based predominantly on monoglassic grammatical choices, denies or contracts competing voices when they appear. This allows us to draw the following conclusions: (i) the neutral and objective journalism identity of the magazine is part of a communicative rationality project (to represent the good of all and to speak of reality as it is) that benefits from an idea of non-ideological, non-adversarial political participation, focused on the pursuit of a pretended universal consensus; (ii) there is a divergent discourse that engages its audience against the government in question, but in the name of a fight against corruption, and that builds a common political and ideological space with the *Veja* for this audience. It is in this sense that the magazine becomes a political actor, even if it denies this action.It ties in itself the indignation that erupts in society, with the aid of a speech both morally and politically antagonistic to that of the government in question. Therefore, it has an inescapably political, intervening attitude that acts by antagonizing all that this government represents.

**Final considerations**

In seeking to understand the use of the language of the media in reference to politics, we have seen that the informative character of *Veja* is realized only to the extent that its journalists position themselves and construct their identities through the linguistic-discursive resources mobilized in the production of their texts and discourses, by reinforcing the belief that the use of language in its discursive representations is impartial and universal. But lastly what is perceived is that the linguistic-discursive choices of an attitudinal and engaging order reinforce thus that the magazine presents antagonistic political and ideological positions and values to base its evaluations and representations not only on politics itself, but mainly on the political group then in power: the PT government.

The way *Veja* journalists represent social identities in their discourse is based exclusively on a mode of elaboration and proposal that is anchored by discursive strategies that give it the character of truth. In addition, this gives evidence of a truthfulness in its propositions, in placing the legal-moral sanction of truthfulness and honesty on their side and those who are with it the truth. In the analysis, we find the fact that these discursive representations that *Veja*, in the voice of their journalists, makes in its texts converge onto the identity of the political actors, which reveals marks of antagonism that directly affect the impugnation and the construction of political identities and that denounce its inescapably plural and political dimension, particular and ideological. Theses marks are carried out in the form of attitudinal evaluations and contractions of alternative propositional voices that both construct identities of Lula and Dilma's government members in a demeaning way, and still commit them morally and legally to the audience by proposing that their governments are beset by scandals and by dishonest and criminal schemes.

This antagonism in the voice of the *Veja*'s journalists was an important point to argue that, first, their use of language is not informative and, secondly, their propositions challenge counterexpectatively the very legitimacy both of the identities of social actors at stake and the political and ideological alternative they represent to the social world. Thus, we perceive that corruption is evaluated in juridical-moral terms, in such a way that the impugnation and disapproval of the political actors become only the natural and legitimate consequence of it, all this thanks to the way corruption is represented in the mediatic texts.

Since *Veja* thus refuses to discuss issues of the political sphere in clearly political terms and treats such issues by political bias, even denied that it is, it escapes from manifesting itself as a political actor as well. Through its discourses, it interferes in the domain about which it speaks, in generating consequences that go far beyond simply informing. We also conclude that the treatment of corruption and the approach by magazine of the Lula and Dilma's governments assume ideological, political, and institutional dimensions that are delegitimizing, especially when they are thematized outside the systemic world of state administration and law. This becomes a central and

recursive point for representations socio-political struggles to order and narrate reality in a particular way. Thus, the political *Zeitgeist* who has been defending a policy of trust in the place of a clearly ideological policy does not materialize with the isolation of ideological and conflicting issues in the practices of using language in connection with the political field.Rather it manifests itself even more ideologically and politically in *Veja*'s texts, since the writers often take on an opposing and antagonistic position by building a *we* with audience in contrast to *they* - the Lula and Dilma's governments – insofar as they ideologically and politically delegitimize the politicians and governments in question. Therefore, it cannot be admitted that *Veja*, as a representative of a hegemonic media and journalism, is far from or exempt from participating as a political actor in the public sphere when it approaches and deals with the political field, even claiming an impartial and neutral posture.This posture is always constructed in antagonism and in the detriment of the identity that it elaborates with linguistic-discursive forms for the other, especially for the Lula and Dilma's governments.

▪ *RESUMO: Este trabalho analisa as relações entre mídia e política em textos de uma representante da grande mídia impressa brasileira, a revista Veja, referentes a casos de corrupção política nos governos Lula e Dilma. O objetivo é identificar recursos linguístico-discursivos mobilizados na produção de seus textos que reforcem a defesa de que seu uso da linguagem é informativo e imparcial ou de que representam a voz da população. Ao discutir a relação entre o campo midiático e campo político sob uma perspectiva antagônica do político, vimos que o caráter informativo de Veja só se realiza na medida em que seus jornalistas se posicionam e a constroem enquanto tal. Além disso, o fato de as representações discursivas que Veja faz em seus textos convergirem para a identidade dos atores políticos revela marcas de antagonismo que incidem diretamente na construção de novas identidades. O artigo também leva à ideia de que a mídia tem participação no embate político, seja como um adversário, ou não, mas sempre como um ator político. Para essa análise, adotaram-se como referenciais teórico-metodológicos o Sistema da* AVALIATIVIDADE*, de Jim Martin e Peter White, e a teoria social de Chantal Mouffe sobre o político e democracia agonística.*

▪ *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Mídia. Político. Corrupção. Avaliatividade. Agonismo. Antagonismo.*

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# CHARACTERS ON COMIC STRIPS: LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN HUMOR AND FICTION

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▪ ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes, according to interactionist researches of Language Acquisition, the speech of children characters on comic strips. Among other things, it analyzes the verisimilitude of these speeches and argues about the need of relating the data from the fiction to the data already collected by researchers, if someone wishes to work with those fictitious data. By contrast, this paper observes the data (the strips) as an important material in order to analyze, in fiction, the representation of the children's own speech and the effects that children speech produces in their receptors, considering the fact that the comic strips are texts written by adult authors who must make children speech somehow plausible. Noting that the comic strips are texts aiming to produce some effect of humor, this paper further argues that this effect is not related to (or it is very subtly related to) the comic effect produced by some children speeches.

▪ KEYWORDS: Language acquisition. Fiction. Comic strips. Humor.

## Introduction

Collecting data in the area of Language Acquisition is fundamental, and the area is strongly marked by it. In *interactionist* studies[1], especially in the construction of longitudinal corpora from recordings and diary data, it is extremely important[2]. Considering such specificity, this paper intends to discuss if data collected in fictional works can be object of study for researchers in the area of Language Acquisition.

In order to achieve it, we will analyze some data collected from comic strips with children characters (some classic examples of this type of character are: Mafalda, by the cartoonist Quino, and Calvin, by Bill Watterson). Data related to three characters will be analyzed in this study: a secondary character on *Mafalda* comic strips – her

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[1] For an overview on researches in Language Acquisition and on theoretical positions in the area, see Del Ré (2006).

[2] As Pereira de Castro and Figueira (2006, p. 80) argue: "It [the longitudinal study] follows the path of a subject throughout its growth. Thereby, it allows the researcher to approach what, from the phenomenological point of view, is central to the theory in language acquisition, i.e., the change."

younger brother, Guille; Matias, from the series *Yo, Matias,* and Enriqueta, from the series *Macanudo*.

Choosing Guille as one of our "subjects" was mainly due to two factors: 1- he is the youngest character we found in comic strips, whose infant universe is represented; 2 - it is a character presented from his birth until he began to speak using complex sentences, which would suggest, from the outset, verisimilitude with a longitudinal type corpus.

For the characters Matias and Enriqueta, the reasons were different. Although they are also children characters, Matias and Enriqueta do not share the same characteristics as Guille, like the fact of being presented from their birth, or even the fact that their physical growth is visible chronologically, related to the release of *Mafalda* comic strips. Regarding Enriqueta and Matias, the interest comes from sporadic occurrences of "speech"[3] which, at first, we consider possible or plausible if compared to productions by children in general.

Our path in this paper will be basically organized in three stages: 1- present the "errors" as data for analysis to Language Acquisition area; 2- present the laughter motivated by those "errors"; 3- analyze both errors and humor on the selected strips from the three series (*Mafalda*; *Yo, Matias,* and *Macanudo*).

## The issue of "error"

The error can be understood as a result of a situation where there is inability or even lack of effort of someone in a given circumstance. So, it is possible to talk about etiquette mistakes, behavior mistakes, etc. When it comes to language, the general idea of error is very similar to the latter one mentioned: it is a question of considering error something that is different from a certain pattern of speech. Thus, what distorts in a so-called correct way of speaking is judged as an error. Therefore, the error is defined either in language or in another domain, by a strategy of comparing between a model and an occurrence that, to a certain extent, deviates from it.

In the case of a child who is in the process of language acquisition, the error is also defined by divergence with a pattern. Thus, the child is said to make mistakes because they do not produce a speech like an adult does. Something similar occurs in the comic strips analyzed, since the use of divergent speeches for children and adults is important as a representative child speech for children characters. So we will deal with this central aspect to understand the relation between the child and the language in its acquisition process.

Linguistics has long given a different perspective to the question of "error". It is the same that happened to Sociolinguistics, which approaches as a mark of linguistic variation what is wrongly treated in common sense as an error. Such variation is defined

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[3]    At first, the quotes indicate it is not exactly oral production, since they are captured in the written universe of fiction; and secondly, in the case of Matias, we will see it is what would be characterized as babbling.

according to its connection with social stratification, age, gender, ethnicity, etc. Mistakes, thus, become not an error anymore, but a material of interest, and it is extinguished as terminology for occurrences that deviate from the standard norm.

In Language Acquisition, the error is also taken as an excellent material for analysis:

> A few years ago, another field of research (the Language Acquisition) [...] promoted [error] to a prominent place among its methodological procedures. Initially banished and then rescued by scholars, the error thus came to a trajectory that went from the discriminatory exclusion of some to the unbiased and attentive gaze of others, who intend to extract from such rich material more than what can be revealed by its normal or correct counterpart. (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 56, our translation).[4]

In the interactionist perspective of Language Acquisition area, the study of the "error"[5] has been widely disseminated. Opposing a view that considers Language Acquisition as an accumulation of the learning of linguistic properties, this perspective sees "error" as a fundamental data for analysis. The so-called reorganizational error, above all, is what brings the greatest return to the researcher.

The reorganization "error" is the one that presents the work of the subject regarding the linguistic system. As an example of regularization, which is common for many children (perhaps all of them), we present the irregular verbs: "fazi" instead of "fiz" (I did). Here the irregular verb "fazer" (to do) is taken "into analysis" along with the other regular verbs in second conjugation. Its irregular form in simple past (in indicative form) is regularized according to the other verbs of the paradigm (bater (to beat): bati; sofrer (to suffer): sofri; therefore, fazer: fazi).

This type of "error" is considered by the area as an indication that the child began to build linguistic subsystems. It also shows that in a previous "stage" of acquisition, in which the child seems to do it correctly, there is a use preceding the language knowledge[6]. The child therefore uses the language before actually "knowing"[7] it. Reorganizational "error" is the best way to perceive that what the child produced

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[4]    Original: "Há alguns anos, um outro domínio de investigação – o da aquisição da linguagem – [...] promoveu [o erro] a um lugar de destaque dentre seus procedimentos metodológicos. Inicialmente banido, e depois resgatado pelos estudiosos, o erro conheceu assim uma trajetória que foi – pode-se dizer – da exclusão discriminadora de alguns para o olhar imparcial e atento de outros, que pretendem extrair deste rico material mais do que aquilo que pode ser revelado por sua contraparte normal ou correta." (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 56).

[5]    From now on we will write the word "error", when it refers to the swerving child speech, always between quotation marks. Since we are exposing subjects whose relationship with language is different from that of an adult, we assume that the designation "error" is in some sense false, as the "error" made by children can always indicate a path or even a relation/position with the language.

[6]    This kind of precision revealed by the use of the language without knowing it can be explained, among other things, by the process of specularity, in which the child incorporates part of the adult speech (see DE LEMOS, 1982, p. 113).

[7]    The quotation marks in the word "knowing it" indicate that we do not agree that the child is aware of their path, that they are aware that at a given moment they know, or have already learned, a certain rule, etc.

before "making a mistake" (which seemed to be right) is, in fact, an example of such unknowing use:

> It is important to point out that the latter ones [divergent occurrences] will lead the researcher to question the status of the so-called "correct" forms, which were previously produced by the child, and, consequently, to review any premature conclusion that such so-called "correct" forms could already evidence a systematic knowledge of the linguistic procedures involved in them. (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 57, our translation).[8]

The occurrence of reorganization "error" is, therefore, an indication that the child begins to unconsciously perceive the regularities of the language to which they are exposed. And when faced with a system that is actually heterogeneous, it produces "errors."

Let us see, for example, the case of gender exposed by Figueira (1996). The author observes that, during the acquisition of the opposition system – between masculine/feminine gender – one of the children analyze starts regularizing many occurrences. Let us see an occurrence of: "Bom dio *is for men.* Bom dia *is for women*" (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 69, our translation)[9]. This speech is part of a dialogue between two sisters: A. and J., in which J. corrects the sister who says "Bom dio" to a TV presenter.

The author's hypothesis is that occurrences like this "are signs of subsystems under construction" (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 69, our translation)[10] and that the child begins to operate regularly with a formal rule acquired. In this case, they generalize the rule that words or names ending in "a" are for women and the words ending in "o" are for men.

The "error", therefore, in the child speech, is a rich occurrence, so we can perceive the way in which the process of language construction occurs in the subject. It is also an indication that the child operates on linguistic regularities, and, by doing so, they hyper-regularize this heterogeneous system, the language.

However, there is, in De Lemos (2003), another approach to the phenomena of language acquisition process (including the "error"), in which they are put into operation in a relationship scheme between the child and another person. Thus, observing the "error" (among many other phenomena) may point mainly to the fact that it is determined by three positions of the subject (in this case, the speaking child) related to another pole. By proposing such new approach, the author intends to question the developmental studies of Language Acquisition.

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8 Original: "É um ponto importante assinalar que são estas últimas [ocorrências divergentes] que levarão o investigador a se interrogar sobre o estatuto das formas ditas "corretas", anteriormente produzidas pela criança, e, consequentemente, a rever qualquer conclusão prematura de que tais formas ditas "corretas" já pudessem evidenciar um conhecimento sistemático dos procedimentos linguísticos nelas envolvidos". (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 57).

9 Original: "Bom dio *é para homem.* Bom dia *é para mulher*" (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 69).

10 Original: "são indícios de subsistemas em construção" (FIGUEIRA, 1996, p. 69).

In a first position, the dominant pole would be the other person's speech, the adult who talks to the child, often reassigning it. In the second position, there is dominance of the language. In the third position, "[…] it is possible to say that the other person gains space as alterity. Not only the child recognizes the difference between their speech and the speech of the other, but the difference in what emerges in their own speech." (DE LEMOS, 2003, p. 530, our translation)[11]. There is, in the last position, a "dominance of the subjective pole" (DE LEMOS, 2003, p. 531, our translation)[12], but the subject is divided on it; in short, in discordant instances of speech and listening.

Addressing the "error" from those contributions given by De Lemos (2003) allows the observer to go beyond the so-called reorganizational error and face data that can cause some oddness to the researcher.

It seems to be clear that when we deal with the acquisition of verbal paradigm, the reorganizational error can play an important role to understand it. To explain the fact that children produce forms such as "sabo" and "fazi" through the phenomenon of reorganization[13] seems to be reasonable.

However, when it comes to some "errors" outside the verbal paradigm, the reorganization alone does not seem to be sufficient for analysis. Figueira (2001b), addressing the question of unusual gender marks in the speech of two children, shows that although there may be a regularization driven by a gender/sex correlation, gender "errors" may show much more than a reorganization process.

According to the line adopted by the author, we observe that the analysis of gender "errors" can also show us the phenomenon of linguistic reflexivity. Using the concept of autonymy, the author points out that in some cases of replica the child begins to refer to the language, which would mark the reflexivity. Or if we use the terminology of De Lemos (2003), it would mark a third position.

It is possible to observe, therefore, that the "error" in the child speech, for Language Acquisition area, is an excellent material, not only for the interactionist perspective, but also for other perspectives. When we deal with the laughter provoked by the child speech, the "error" will also play a relevant role.


**The comicality of the child speech**


One of the causes of the comic effect in the child speech is the "error". As it diverges from the adult speech, either a strangeness or a comic effect on the interlocutor will

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[11]    Original: "[...] é possível dizer que o outro ganha espaço como alteridade. Não só a criança reconhece a diferença entre sua fala e a fala do outro quanto a diferença no que emerge em sua própria fala." (DE LEMOS, 2003, p. 530).

[12]    Original: "dominância do polo subjetivo" (DE LEMOS, 2003, p. 531).

[13]    It should be noted, however, that although verbal "errors" (essentially when dealing with irregular verbs) can easily be explained by an associative mechanism related to the regularity of the system, they may also assume an unpredictable facet. Figueira (2003) clearly observes an "error" multidirectionality in the acquisition of regular verbs in Portuguese, which are sometimes aligned with the pattern of first conjugation, and some other times with the pattern of second and third one.

occur. The occurrence of this type of "error" has been called anecdotal data by the area of Language Acquisition.

Figueira (2001a) got interested in this type of data, mainly by questioning the child's awareness (or lack of it) regarding the production of a humorous sentence. Or, in the words of the author: "[…] when does the child realize or recognize themselves as the one who, with their speech, can even make people laugh or can play with their partner?" (FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 29, our translation)[14]. This question is interesting for the area, because "[…] it touches a problem that is a central concern for researchers committed to recognize, in the linguistic development of the speaker, the emergence of metalinguistic abilities." (FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 30, our translation)[15].

The "error", therefore, plays a relevant role also in studying the comic effect that children can produce while speaking. But there is a new aspect: it is not only a question of whether or not the child speech makes someone laugh, but also to assess how this comic "capacity" may or may not reveal a linguistic reflexivity by the child.

It seems relevant to point out that Figueira (2001a) approaches the principle of positioning, proposed by De Lemos (2003), put here into a dichotomy: a position would be around naivety, not knowing what it produces; but, in another position, the speaker would realize that it produces something funny.

What is clear, in most cases of children who speak and produce some comic effect, is that they are not in the same relation to the language as an adult who produces a funny sentence. Although their speech may seem a lot with a funny text, it is not only the text that would make us laugh. According to Figueira (2001a), we also laugh at the naivety of the child. Let us observe the case commented by her:

> A 3-and-a-half-year-old child that, after hearing an ad showing cold chicken (*frango resfriado)* on TV, suddenly asked: "Was he sick because he was playing in the rain?" (*ele ficou dodói por que foi brincar na chuva?)* The naively asked question was followed by a burst of laughter. What are we laughing at? We laughed at the "naivety" of the child who applied to the chicken the same logic that would be appropriate to themselves, what undeniably proceeds from the word "cold" and its more frequent use in the infant universe. (FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 51, our translation).[16]

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[14] Original: "[...] quando a criança se dá conta ou se reconhece na posição daquele que, com sua fala, chega a fazer rir ou a brincar com seu parceiro?" (FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 29).

[15] Original: "[...] toca um problema que está no centro das preocupações de investigadores empenhados em reconhecer, no desenvolvimento linguístico do falante, a emergência de habilidades metalinguísticas." (FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 30).

[16] Original: "Uma criança de 3 anos e meio, que, ao ouvir na tevê uma oferta de *frango resfriado,* de pronto perguntou: *ele ficou dodói por que foi brincar na chuva?* A pergunta, feita candidamente, foi seguida de uma explosão de riso. Do que rimos? Rimos da "ingenuidade" da criança que aplicou ao frango o mesmo raciocínio que seria adequado a ela, raciocínio que inegavelmente procede da palavra resfriado e de seu uso mais frequente no universo infantil." (FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 51).

This may show us that, in fact, the laughter motivated by the child speech has much more to do with a stereotype of a child accessible to all of us: that of the naive child, rather than the possibility of the child to understand that they cause laughter with their speech. From our point of view, this is a principle: we laugh at the child speech because we are conditioned by this stereotype of a child. Thus, a deviation produced by a child can then cause laughter.

We would also add that the comic effect is also "achieved" by the unexpected, the surprising thing. Skinner, while tracing a historical overview of his Classical Theory of Laughter, adds the idea of the surprising thing:

> In *De Oratore*, Cicero had alluded to the significance of the unexpected, but his Renaissance followers greatly embroider the point. Castiglione stresses that "certain newlye happened cases" are particularly apt to "provoke laughter" (SKINNER, 2004, p. 146).

Going back to the data analyzed by Figueira (2001a), there is obviously no textual strategy[17] consciously defined by the child, but fortunately, they managed in a relatively simple sentence to gather the factors that can provoke laughter. So we laughed at their naivety, but we also laughed at a different interpretation in the context for the word "resfriado", which causes surprise.

As for the change of the child's position regarding language, Figueira (2001a) makes the defense using another data, which is very peculiar, considering the child produces a pun with a proper name (Dagmar[18]) in a very lucid way. And in this case they are aware of it, since they laugh at what they have produced, not demonstrating the naivety noticeable in other data.

We now turn to the domain of linguistic reflexivity. The moment the child begins to listen to their speech and reflect about it. It is also the change of position. It occupies, undoubtedly, the third position, as postulated by De Lemos.

But how is the child speech perceived in fiction? How is it used for humor? Surely, if a comedian realized that the child speech, or the "mistakes" it produces, would be funny by themselves, he/she could use them without the need of using any other thematic resources.

Some time ago, an advertisement for a food supplement used the child speech in a very reasonable way[19]. In the case of comics, the presence of child characters is not something new. Just remember the famous "Turma da Mônica", cartoon children created

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[17]  As we see in jokes, for example.

[18]  When producing the pun, the child observed by the author talks to a person named Dagmar [*mar* means *sea*], asks her name several times and suddenly asks the question: *ah, Dagmar! Não é dagchão?*[*chão* means *land*] (see FIGUEIRA, 2001a, p. 42).

[19]  It is an advertisement for the product *Sustagen Kids*, in which the child character, after drinking the product, turns to the mother and says: *eu gosti*. The mother, now presenting the product and focused on the camera, says: *Se ele gostiu, eu também gosti*.

by the Brazilian Maurício de Souza. Remembering that, even the Mafalda comic strip, in which Guille is inserted, circulated mainly in the 1960s and 70s. The question that remains is: since the image of the children is extensively explored on the comic strips, is it possible to notice any verisimilitude with the speech of a real child?

Thus, the importance of this section lies in observing which relationships can be established between the child speeches that causes laughter and the fictional data selected and analyzed in this article. Although the comic/humorous effects of the two cutouts are different, the "error" is quite important for the humorous effects in the strips and, of course, essential for the comic effect of the childish speech.

The following sections will be dedicated to the three characters we have already mentioned in the introduction. However, it is worth emphasizing two aspects: 1- Both the search and the analysis of the selected data are based on the hypothesis that the "error" is a determining factor for the characterization of the childish speech; 2- There are differences between the selected characters. Guille, as we have already said, differs from the others by its perceptible process of growth on Mafalda strips. The Mafalda strips are all gathered in a collection ("Toda Mafalda").

The differences between the characters could not be ignored neither in the search and selection of the data nor in their analysis. Thus, the selection of data from the character Guille was exhaustive and performed using the collection; and the analysis takes into account his physical growth and the changes represented in his speech when observing such fact. The other characters, whose strips are still produced by their authors, obviously do not have all their strips gathered in collections. Moreover, their growth is not clear, as Guille's is. Therefore, the analysis takes into account specific questions of sporadic data, the babble in Matias and the prefix "des" in Enriqueta. Data collection was done using the collections we had. These are included in the list of references.


## The "phases" of Guille: from the beginning to the beginning

The title of this section is obviously a joke with the aforementioned fact that Guille appears on the strips by Quino since his birth, and continues to be a character until the last *Mafalda* strips. The first word "beginning" in the title makes, therefore, reference to the beginning of Guille's life. The second one refers to the beginning of his speech, or even his speech closer to the speech of an adult.

It is worth mentioning that Guille is a very different character on the strips, which take the name of his older sister. Besides being a boy who is shown since his birth, unlike the other characters (including Mafalda), he is the only one whose physical growth can be seen.

Thus, as we have already pointed out, the path of this character on the strips produced by Quino may seem very much like a longitudinal cut in a child's language acquisition, since it is possible to notice it from his first sonorous productions until the formulation of complex sentences. However, it remains to be seen if there is reliability

in the speech representation that is made in these strips, especially regarding the "errors" in child speech.

In order to observe this character, we will select strips that expose a certain path of Guille in language acquisition. Remembering Guille is a character inserted by the cartoonist Quino sometime after the creation of the strip Mafalda. He is, therefore, a late character. In this way, he appears since his birth (or rather, from his mother's pregnancy) to virtually the last Mafalda strips that the Argentinian cartoonist produced.

The strip below is the first one in which Guille appears. He is, of course, a baby and at that moment he is already exposed to language. He is treated, even if he does not speak, as a talking subject. Let us look at the second-person treatment given by his sister: in the fourth part, the phrases "tá bom, toma" (all right, here!) and in the last, the pronoun "você" (you) reveals how, since cradle, the child is taken as a subject of speech.

Figure 1 – Guille's first appearance[20]
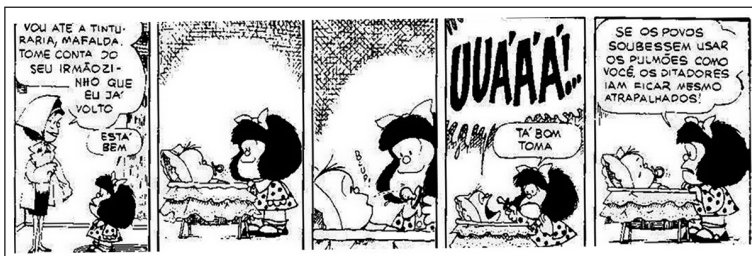


**Source:** Quino (2009, p. 202).

Then you can see Guille's babble:

Figure 2 – Guille's babble 1[21]



**Source:** Quino (2009, p. 208).

[20]  1st frame: Mom: "Mafalda, I'm going to the laundry shop. Take care of your little brother, I'll be back soon". Mafalda: "ok". 4th frame: Guille: "UUAAA". Mafalda: "All right, here!". 5th frame: Mafalda "If people knew how to use their lungs the way you do, dictators would be dizzy!".

[21]  1st frame: Mafalda: "Hi, Guille. How are you doing?". 5th frame: Mafalda: "Poor boy! He still doesn't know how to deal with his public relations".

**Figure 3** – Guille's babble 2[22]

There is another strip below, in which the interpretation of a word ("ete"), probably a holophrase[23], by Guille's interlocutor (Mafalda), is evident:

**Figure 4** – "Ete" [24]

On the strip below, two words combined and again the interpretation of Guille's interlocutor ("eta mamã" is interpreted as "essa é a mamãe" (this is mom), by Mafalda):

**Figure 5** – Brigitte Bardot e mamãe (Brigitte Bardot and mom)[25]

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[22]    4th frame: Mafalda: "So young and, watching TV, he is already thinking as an adult".

[23]    See the importance of the holophrase in the interesting article by Scarpa (2009).

[24]    1st frame: Guille: "This?". Mafalda: "Plant". 2nd frame: Guille: "This?". 3rd frame: Mafalda: "Chair". 4th frame: Guille: "This?". 5th frame: Mafalda: "This".

[25]    1st frame: Guille: "This mom. Mom. This…". 2nd frame: "No, Guille. This is not mom. It's Brigitte Bardot".

To conclude, a strip in which Guille begins to produce complex sentences:

**Figure 6** – Ovinhos desorganizados (Messy little eggs)[26]



**Source**: Quino (2009, p. 284).

The six strips above are here arranged sequentially due to their temporal appearance in the series Mafalda. What really matters to us is this sequence that reveals a certain understanding of the author of the strips regarding a path children go through in terms of Language Acquisition. Previously there would be babblings, after that isolated words or holophrases ("ete"), then combination of two words ("eta mamã") and, finally, the production of complex sentences ("mas ela num nacheu do ovinho?", "didn't it come from an egg?"). It is also clear that the author, as well as the translator, has a kind of awareness for possible pathways of phonological acquisition. As examples, the pair "ete" and "eta" (Figures 4 and 5) reveals a late acquisition of the phoneme /s/ in position of syllabic coda, and "nacheu" [27] (Figure 6), in which there is an exchange of fricatives.

In terms of production of humorous effects, we can highlight that part of the strips (Figures 1 to 5) orbit around an image of a child that differs from the common ones, the child (sometimes Mafalda – figures 1, 2, 3, and 4, sometimes Guille – Figure 5) that says or does something outside of what would be appropriate for their age. What causes humor is this mismatch of an "adult" speech or action and the stereotyped images of children as naive, for example[28]. In the other strip (Figure 6), the humorous effect is produced somewhat differently and it reveals a non-coincidence of what the child says with what an adult would say about "organização de ovinhos" (egg organization). We will return to this strip later.

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[26]  3rd frame: Gulle: "Where is the little belly button?". Mafalda: "She doesn't have belly button, Guille. She came from a little egg.". 4th frame: Gille: "And the tiny wings?". Mafalda: "It also doesn't have tiny wings". Guille: "But, didn't it come from an egg?". 5th frame: Mafalda: "Yep! But not all that come from eggs have wings. Fishes, spiders, snakes, birds, ants, frogs and many others come from eggs". 6th frame: Guille; "How messy these eggs are!".

[27]  Mafalda is a well-known series of comic strips in Brazil, so it was decided to use the translation into Portuguese and not the original text in Spanish. We noticed, however, Guille's speech is virtually identical in all strips listed here, except for Fig. 6 which has some differences in translation. The exchange of the voiceless alveolar fricative by the voiceless alveopalatal remains, although it happens in different words. In the translation it occurs in "nacheu", and, in the original text, the exchange occurs in the word "entonche", in "¿y entonche laz alitaz?" ("where are the wings?"; see QUINO, 1993, p. 380). The source excerpt mentioned was translated as "e a ajinha?". Here the translator inserts another exchange of fricatives, now the voiced alveolar is replaced by the voiced alveopalatal.

[28]  Regarding humor, stereotypes and comic strips for child characters, see Gatti (2013).

**Matias's babble**

Unlike Guille, Matias, also created by an Argentinean – Sendra, is the main character in the series of strips whose title explicitly refers to his name (*Yo, Matias*). Such strip is currently published in the Argentinean newspaper *Clarín*, and parts of the strips are gathered in collections.

Matias is a boy in school age (by the context of the strips, he must be about seven or eight years) and lives with his mother, one of the few adult interlocutors who talk to him. So, on the strips we will present below, Matias's mother remembers when he was a baby.

Figure 7 – Shakespeare[29]

**Source:** Sendra (2008, p.6).

Figure 8 – Crying[30]

**Source:** Sendra (2008, p.7).

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29  1st frame: "And I also remember, Matias, how I used to teach you how to speak. Let's see. Mati, say 'mommy'. 3rd frame: "I can't believe it". 4th frame: "It seems like he said Shakespeare".

30  1st frame: Memories…Memories… "This baby is brilliant. Look at what he said! (…) It's unbelievable! It seems he talked about "Lead fluoride". 2nd frame: "And now he talked about 'staphylococcus' (…) Then I believe he said 'Aconcagua is high'. 4th frame: "Now he cries like an ordinary baby".

**Source:** Sendra (2008, p.7).

Figure 10 – Eating out[32]



**Source:** Sendra (2008, p.8).

One of the possible topics to be addressed by the area of Language Acquisition is the effects that child speech produces in adults[33]. Effects such as replication, rectification, and strangeness can be noticed in the dialogue between adults and children.

Another possible effect is interpretation. This, therefore, plays an important role in Language Acquisition:

> If it is by the mother's interpretation that the child is put into the functioning of the language, on the other hand, their only constitutive possibility is to fit in the speech of the other [...]. In fact, the *interpretation* in these questions must be taken as an *effect*: *effect* of an adult speech over the child speech, *effect* of the child speech over the adult's speech, and the *effect* that the child speech promotes in their

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[31]   1st frame: "This baby is a genius! He said 'Philosophy' (…) Now he said 'encyclopedia'. So smart!". 2nd frame: "Now he said 'flllrsstup'. What 'flllrsstup' is?". 3rd frame: "I'm going to look up to 'flllrsstup' in the dictionary. Let's see. No, there is no 'flllrsstup'". 4th frame: "I can't believe it! Now you say lies!"

[32]   2nd frame: "Come and take your baby bottle (…) What? Today you want breastfeed? (…) Oh, you said you always enjoy breastfeed". 3rd frame: "And then why did you ask me for a baby bottle yesterday? (…) I understand". 4th frame: "Sometimes you enjoy eating out!".

[33]   Please see an example in Lima (2009).

own acquisition process. (PEREIRA DE CASTRO, 1998, p. 82, our translation, original emphasis).[34]

Thus, we can say that children, since their birth, are exposed to the functioning of the language, because they are taken by parents and relatives in general as a subject of speech:

> Since they are born, babies are immersed in a significant universe by its basic interlocutors, who attribute meaning and intention to their vocal utterances, gestures, direction of their gaze. Even the various types of crying are "interpreted", receive a "meaning" and are "classified" by the interlocutor adult. The baby is thus seen as a potential communicative partner for the adult, who undertakes a "fine tuning" of the child's potentially communicative and significant manifestations, regardless of their expressive content (gesture, voice, babbling, words or phrases). There is a mutual adjustment in conventions between adult and child, so that child vocalizations do not fall into a communicative vacuum. (SCARPA, 2003, p. 215, our translation).[35]

We will see that what occurs on Matias strips above is somewhat similar to what Scarpa observes. Matias is in the context of interacting with his mother, emitting seemingly unrelated sonorous sequences with possible words or expressions from his language. However, his mother attributes meaning to those vocal achievements. Thus, in Figure 7, the sequence "shashpash" is interpreted by the mother as "Shakespeare".

We can see, therefore, in the four strips of Matias, that the kind of relationship the mother has with the boy is precisely interpretation. There is, however, a difference between the first three strips (7, 8, and 9) and the last one (10): in the first three there seems to be a pattern for the interpretation done by the mother, and in the latter one this pattern does not seem to occur.

In 7, 8, and 9, Matias's mother follows clues left by her son's own sonorous achievement. So, she looks for words that have some phonetic similarity to Matias' babble. In 8, for example, "agugaguá-ato" is interpreted as "Aconcagua es alto". In

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[34] Original: "Se é pela interpretação da mãe que a criança é posta no funcionamento da língua, por outro lado, sua única possibilidade constitutiva é enquadrar-se na fala do outro [...]. De fato, a *interpretação* no quadro dessas questões deve ser tomada como *efeito*: *efeito* da fala do adulto na fala da criança, *efeito* da fala da criança na fala do adulto e *efeito* que a fala da criança promove no seu próprio processo de aquisição." (PEREIRA DE CASTRO, 1998, p. 82, grifo do autor).

[35] Original: "Desde o nascimento, o bebê é mergulhado num universo significativo por seus interlocutores básicos, que atribuem significado e intenção às suas emissões vocais, gestos, direção do olhar. Até mesmo os diversos tipos de choro são "interpretados", "significados" e "classificados" pelo adulto interlocutor. O bebê é, assim, visto como potencial parceiro comunicativo do adulto, que empreende uma "sintonia fina" com as manifestações potencialmente comunicativas e significativas da criança, qualquer que seja seu conteúdo expressivo (gesto, voz, balbucios, palavras ou frases). Há um ajuste mútuo nas convenções entre adulto e criança, de maneira que as vocalizações infantis não caem num vácuo comunicativo." (SCARPA, 2003, p. 215).

10, however, the correspondence does not exist, since "foshodorshosh" has nothing similar to "teta".

It should also be noted that although there is a sound correspondence between Matias's babble and the words attributed to him by his mother, it is an attempt to make humor based on at least one factor: the nonsense generated by the affectionate relationship between mother and son. It is overt that these are interpretive gestures done by the mother, who makes babbling significant by giving it meaning; yet such meanings are complete nonsense, since a baby is not expected to say "Shakespeare," "estafilococo" and "filosofia."

## Enriqueta and a prefix

Enriqueta is a character in the series called *Macanudo* by the Argentinean cartoonist, Liniers. It is about a girl who is always interacting with her cat, Fellini, with her teddy bear, Madariaga, and who is reading and thinking about life from time to time.

On the strip below, what interests us is the use of the prefix "des":

**Figure 11** – Desfazendo tempo (Undoing Time)[36]



**Source:** Liniers (2009, p. 37).

We note in this strip a mismatch related not specifically to the use of *des*, since in Spanish there is the possibility of the verb to be prefixed by "*des*" (as in Portuguese, "fazer/desfazer", or English "do/Undo"), but a mismatch with the use of *desahaciendo* in a fixed expression of the language: (*des*)*haciendo tiempo*.

Enriqueta interprets the expression *hacer tiempo*, literally, considering that *fazer tempo* would produce more time, letting her more distant from her Christmas gifts.

It is not a mismatch in understanding the sense of reversibility that the prefix mobilizes when it is incorporated into a verb ("fazer/desfazer", "colar/descolar"), but, in a certain way, it is a mismatch in the use of "des" in fixed expressions of the language and even in the way these expressions are used.

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[36] Single frame: Fellini: "What are you doing, Enriqueta?". Enriqueta: "I'm undoing time until I can open my Christmas gifts". Fellini: "How come you are "undoing" time? Wouldn't it be "making" time?". Enriqueta: "No. I need the time between now and the time I can open the gifts to disappear... I mean "undo" it. Do you understand?. Fellini: "What a strange life you are going to have when you grow up...".

It differs in this way from those data studied by Figueira (1999) that show a non-differentiation in the use of the prefix "des", since Henrietta "perceives" the function of such morphological mark. In the same way, it differs from those of Figueira (1999) that mark a predominance of the morphological item over the lexical one ("deslimpar", "desmurchar"[37]).

We may notice that although Enriqueta is aware of the function of the prefix "des" in her language, there also seems to be the same type of "prevalence of the morphological resource on marks of lexical opposition" (FIGUEIRA, 1999, p. 204, our translation)[38], since by interpreting "literally" the expression *hacer tiempo*, the character ignores its current meaning that is precisely the one that she wants to employ.

## To conclude: a gap

In all cases considering fictional characters analyzed here, in terms of humorous effect, there is a fundamental difference in comic data from the child speech analyzed and the ones collected by Figueira (2001a), since these are similar to what Freud called a naive comic:

> […] the naive [comic] is 'found' and not, like a joke, 'made' [...]. The naive occurs if someone completely disregards an inhibition because it is not present in him – if, therefore, he appears to overcome it without any effort. It is a condition for the naive's producing its effect that we should know that the person concerned does not possess the inhibition; otherwise we call him not naive but impudent. (FREUD, 1960, p. 351).

The fundamental difference is that in cases from fictional speech there is the production of verbal material with clear humorous purposes, i.e., it is a material produced for humor and it is the ultimate end of the strip as a discursive genre. Sometimes the child's divergent speech even plays an accessory role in the production of humor, such as Guille's babble and some of Matias's, for example. It is an unthinkable fact in naive comic speeches collected and analyzed by Figueira (2001a).

In the previous sections, we found there is a very interesting representation on the strips (and also a perception) considering the way the language acquisition takes place. Considering the character Guille, the cut produced by the examples is also a historical cut of the apparitions of the character. Thus, the proposed order follows the chronological order of his appearance on the strips. It is possible, therefore, to perceive in this chronological sequence a certain kind of division in phases of acquisition, as already emphasized.

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[37] See Figueira (1999, p. 200).

[38] Original: "prevalência do recurso morfológico sobre as marcas de oposição lexical" (FIGUEIRA, 1999, p. 204).

Observing Quino's character a little more, when it comes to the representation of "errors" in child speech, it does not go beyond the phonetic question. The well-known exchange between "R" and "L" does not fail to be noticed on the strips, and that is the case of the words "agola" (now) and "sujeila" (dirt) (instead of "agora" and "sujeira") pronounced by Guille on others strips. Thus, we should note that there are no "errors" as we were initially looking for. Those "errors" in which we see a systemic force, the reorganizational "errors", hence the typical errors analyzed by the area of Language Acquisition, do not appear on the strips by Quino. But a question remains: what, then, is the humor in these strips?

Unlike Matias's strips, where the humor lies in a certain exaggerated representation of the mother's affection for her child, or the Enriqueta strip, in which there is specifically a possible "error" to occur; in Guille it is less related to a likelihood with the typical "errors" children present during language acquisition than with what Possenti postulates when analyzing jokes whose main characters are children:

> The first [discourse] destroys the hypothesis of children's ignorance about secret subjects or taboos [...], the second one [...] shows the violation of the rules in discourse, basically because children say things they could not say, that is, what adults could not say. (POSSENTI, 1998, p. 143, our translation).[39]

Thus, the discourse(s) uttered by a child character in the jokes, nothing or almost nothing has to do with the "errors" that can provoke laughter in the "real" speech of a child. What makes the jokes funny is the fact that a child speaks what was not supposed to be said or knows more than should be known. Let us see an example:

*A professora para o Joãozinho:*
*— Joãozinho, qual o tempo verbal da frase: "Isso não podia ter acontecido"?*
*— Preservativo imperfeito, professora![40]*

In this joke it is possible to notice that the child (Johnny) uses a sexual script in an improper environment and at an inappropriate time. It is an example of the convergence between too much knowledge about something that they should not know (in this case, sex) and saying something at an inappropriate time (the lesson on verb tenses).

What we want to argue, however, is that in addition to what Possenti postulates, there is a certain aspect in those strips, in which Guille demonstrates a complex speech,

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[39] Original: "O primeiro [discurso] consiste na destruição da hipótese da ignorância das crianças sobre temas secretos ou tabus [...], o segundo [...] caracteriza-se pela violação de regras de discurso, basicamente pelo fato de que crianças dizem o que não poderiam dizer, ou seja, o que os adultos não poderiam dizer." (POSSENTI, 1998, p. 143).

[40] *The teacher asks Johnny:*
*— Johnny, what is the verbal tense in the phrase: "This was not supposed to happen"?*
*— Contraceptive imperfect!*

that points to a mechanism very close to what motivates laughter in the speech of real children, that is, the "error". In fact, there is a constancy of a non-coincidence between the child speech and what would be expected from an adult's speech. Although, as we have already said, it is not exactly the common "error" made by children.

We can mention as examples of such non-coincidence Fig. 6 and Fig. 12, as follows:

Figure 12 – Poder aquisitivo (Purchasing power)[41]
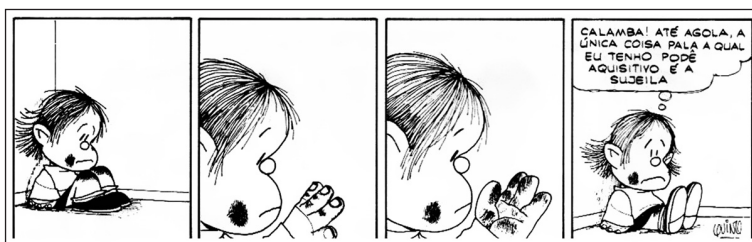


Source: Quino (2009, p. 403).

Both in 6 and 12 we can observe the aspect of knowing things that a child might not know (in 12, the question of purchasing power, in 6, organization/disorganization).

However, we can also note how divergent these speeches are. In the case of strip 12, Guille mobilizes a knowledge which is clearly from the "adult world" (and, in a sense, by a well-educated adult), but he applies this knowledge unlike what an adult would do. It is obvious that an adult would not apply the concept of purchasing power to dirt.

In #6, the same phenomenon of non-coincidence can be observed in the relationship proposed by Guille between the little eggs and organization/disorganization. Such relationship does not exist in the "adult world".

Thus, questioning the verisimilitude of data coming from the universe of fiction can be useful for researchers who want to extract material for analysis, especially if they want to analyze the imaginary about the child speech. It opens, as Chacon asserts,

> A new research front: the imaginary about the child language, an investigation that can be turned not only to how fictionists exhibit this imaginary but also considering the way adults (parents, relatives, baby-sitters, children's professionals, among others) also display it and feed it. (CHACON, 2012, p. 31, our translation).[42]

It is important to look at the performance of the researcher and the fictionist, observing and collecting representative data of a certain phenomenon – as the researcher

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[41]  4th frame: "Gosh! So far, the only thing for which I have purchasing power over is dirt".

[42]  Original: "Nova frente de investigação: a do imaginário sobre a linguagem da criança, investigação que pode se voltar não apenas para como os ficcionistas exibem esse imaginário, mas, sobretudo, como adultos (pais, familiares, cuidadores, profissionais da infância, dentre outro) também o exibem e o alimentam." (CHACON, 2012, p. 31).

does –, and inventing speeches about what is a certain imaginary regarding language acquisition – as the fictionist does.

It is, in fact, a path of investigation that enters the imaginary about the child speech through the preconceived and sometimes stereotyped images that can affect the interaction between children and adults. Definitely, the possible incidence/influence of this imaginary in the interaction between children and adults is a good domain for new research; also for child speech in Language Acquisition itself. How a certain imaginary about child speech focuses on the language? In addition, if someone wants to penetrate this path by observing fiction, a possible route is verifying data already collected by researchers, thus checking verisimilitude.

It is not, however, a simple check. It is one of the possibilities, since analyzing child speech from fiction would be impossible, and even an irresponsible attitude, to take it as something representative or as data for analysis without a check using real speech data already collected. It is, therefore, a question for other paths of research in Language Acquisition, either to observe the representation and the imagination about the child speech, or to extract from such imagination data to be analyzed, or to perceive aspects, in interaction, of such imagination that may affect Language Acquisition.

■ *RESUMO: Este artigo analisa, em consonância com os estudos interacionistas da área de Aquisição da Linguagem, a fala de personagens infantis de tiras cômicas. Entre outros aspectos analisa a verossimilhança dessas falas e argumenta sobre a necessidade de relacionar os dados oriundos da ficção com dados já colhidos por pesquisadores da área, se a esses dados fictícios quiser se recorrer como material de trabalho. Por outro lado, aborda os dados (as tiras) como um relevante material para se observar como se representam, na ficção, a própria fala da criança e os efeitos que ela produz nos seus interlocutores, dado o fato que as tiras são textos produzidos por autores adultos que de alguma forma devem tornar verossímil a fala infantil. Observando que as tiras são textos produzidos para obter algum efeito de humor, o artigo argumenta, ainda, que o efeito de humor produzido pelas tiras não se relaciona ou relaciona-se muito sutilmente com o efeito cômico produzido por algumas falas reais de crianças.*

■ *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Aquisição da Linguagem. Ficção. Tiras cômicas. Humor.*

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# COLLABORATIVE AND INDIVIDUAL WRITING IN A CLASSROOM: AN ANALYSIS OF TEXTS WRITTEN BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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■ ABSTRACT: Collaborative writing for classroom dyads is a didactic situation that places students dialoguing to build a single text through negotiation, unlike individual writing, where one usually writes alone and in silence. Affiliated to the studies proposed by Textual Genetics based on an enunciative approach, the objective of this work was to develop a comparative study with the purpose of highlighting the advantages and / or disadvantages of writing collaboratively. Three categories served as analytical parameters: A - textual extension, measured by the number of words; B - the incidence of orthographic errors; C) the number of erasures. The study sample was defined by convenience and comprises 8 manuscripts, 4 of which are individually produced and 4 which are produced in pairs. The students are in the 2nd year of elementary school in Brazil, with ages between 7 and 8 years. Data were collected respecting the ecological conditions of the school context. Analyses have shown that, collaboratively, students write, on average, texts 34% longer than individually, producing 170% more erasures and 10% more errors than in the individual format.

■ KEYWORDS: Interaction. School manuscript. Errors. Erasure.

## Introduction

Collaborative writing (DAIUTE; DALTON, 1993; VASS *et al*., 2008; WIGGLESWORTH; STORCH, 2009), conversational writing (APOTHELOZ, 2001, 2005; GAULMYN; BOUCHARD; RABATEL, 2001; CAMPS *et al*., 2001) or cooperative writing (BRASSAC, 2001) is a situation in which two or more participants assume the task of writing a single text jointly through dialog. For Gaulmyn, Bouchard and Rabatel (2001, p. 09), the collaborative writing situations, also called "conversational writing" are privileged situations when both the writing coming forth from orality, as well as orality creating writing are observed. Although these authors relate that there is a growing interest of research toward the textual genesis, Gaulmyn mentions that these

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"oral-graphic" situations are still often ignored by researchers, since "[…] studies on the oral fall on talks without writing and reading activities and studies on written texts fall on the finished products and not on the process of their production." (GAULMYN, BOUCHARD; RABATEL, 2001, p. 31)[1].

The research herein proposed brings peculiarities that make it difficult to find other jobs through similar parameters: it has to do with analyzing the *writing process* of students newly literate, aged between 7 and 8 years, writing collaboratively. Given the scarcity of studies[2] that have similar configuration, it was necessary to work not only in the field of linguistic diversity, but also in Cognitive Psychology and Didactics of written language, expecting that the results obtained by such studies allow us to move forward in our own reflections, from the linguistic diversity. As we shall see, such work exposes investigations in different contexts and with different types of subject, but they all have one thing in common: they analyze the advantages and/or disadvantages of collaborative writing.

Therefore, some concepts proposed by the Textual Genetics were mobilized, which consider the modern manuscript its object of study and memory location of works *in status nascendi.* Arising out of this concept, the *school manuscript*[3] is the result of a writing process that shows the intensity of the enunciative conflicts that will, little by little, structure a text until it is "finished". Our experience, upon observing how the successive returns are set on the writing text, returns which are materialized in the form of erasures, allow us to say that writing can only be constructed deconstructing it.

Thus, another concept on Textual Genetics and also to our studies is the erasure. It affects a segment already registered by the recognition of "problems to be solved." Upon being understood in the process, the heuristic statute of erasure is enhanced, and it allows us to investigate moments of student's reflection about writing in course. Thus, the erasure is a fundamental tool for one who writes, an "[…] intellectual operation that may have been preceded, in just a few seconds of reflection, for a considerable number of verbal-mental formations." (BIASI, 1996, p. 06).

The possibility of knowing what the student thinks about what he or she writes is only possible by the dialogic dimension inherent in the collaborative writing process, which exposes the points of tension and the oral erasures. Thus, the concept of dialog which underlies our work is the one proposed by Benveniste. For this author, intersubjectivity is constitutive of the language and the reversibility between announcer and receptor, array of dialog:

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[1]  "[...] os estudos sobre o oral recaem sobre conversações sem atividades de escrita-leitura e os estudos sobre textos escritos recaem sobre os produtos acabados e não sobre o processo de sua produção."

[2]  A fact that was also observed by Wigglesworth and Storch (2012, p. 364), when they say that "[…] while the use of work in pairs or small groups in the classroom […] have been extensively studied and their benefits well documented, there are few studies that documented the benefits of collaboration in written work." Investigations on collaborative writing (or cooperative writing) based on wikispaces, chats or other media that allow interaction on the Web are, however, fairly common.

[3]  See Calil (2008).

This dialog condition is that it is constitutive of the person, because it implies reciprocity - I become you in the allocution of which in turn is designated by me. […] The language is only possible because each speaker presents himself or herself as a subject, referring to himself or herself as I in his or her speech. Therefore, this I proposes another person, that, although outside me, becomes my eco - to which I say you and that tells me you. (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 286, author's italic)[4].

In this enunciative framework, the orality instantiates the language, linking the announcer and the receptor in a game marked by intersubjective relations, that act producing senses in discourse, where 'I' and 'You' provide and structure the dialog. Benveniste's studies provide us with interesting subsidies in order to understand the didactic-diplographic situation in which the students are(discussing and writing collaboratively a same text), the trading of positions and the attempts to influence one another through the most diverse strategies.

After this brief introduction, this article follows with: an exhibition of the most relevant studies on collaborative writing, whose results are, somehow, relevant to this work; a detailed presentation of the methodology by which the data were collected, and this designed study; a discussion of the results obtained through qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data, followed by the main conclusions.

**Collaborative writing: a dialogal situation**

In situations of collaborative writing, the presence of another person can stimulate a reflection process on the language, even more intense than when the writing is carried out individually. This is because the subject is taken to write about his or her own questions and also about the partner's questions (FELIPETO, 2015), who need to formulate a response. The collaborative format favors an explanation of knowledge, since the interaction demands a negotiation and resolution of specific problems that arise during the writing. From the didactic-methodological point of view (which will be described in the following section), the collaborative didactic textual production (writing a single text in pairs) allows us to have access to what the students think while writing, from the dialog established by the students.

The work developed by Camps *et al.* (2001) aimed at understanding the processes of development and learning the language situation with adolescent students attending school. The situation of the *school's* collaborative writing allows us to observe the

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4    "Essa condição de diálogo é que é constitutiva da pessoa, pois implica em reciprocidade – que eu me torne tu na alocução daquele que por sua vez se designa por eu. […] A linguagem só é possível porque cada locutor se apresenta como sujeito, remetendo a ele mesmo como eu no seu discurso. Por isso, o eu propõe outra pessoa, aquela que, sendo embora exterior a mim, torna-se o meu eco – ao qual digo tu e o que me diz tu." (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 286, grifo do autor).

characteristics of the writing learning process and the strategies used by the students in the problems resolution that appear in several levels and in various moments of the process. According to the authors,

> Talking to write represents a situation different from that which is established between two interlocutors in a conversation, it is a situation of 'conversational essay' […] that defines a contract and requires participants to meet a certain goal. (CAMPS, *et al*., 2001, p. 295)[5].

The reformulation, which is characterized by a return of the writer on the writing, gains a contour treatment when in a situation of collaborative writing and is often accompanied by statements which display the activities of reflection on the language. In group situations, it constitutes a kind of "oral draft" and is the expression of a cumulative process from which the text arises. Thus, the reformulation is a dialogic phenomenon that brings into the light the metalinguistic activities of the involved, aiming mechanisms of textual cohesion, adequacy and regulatory correction.

Apothéloz (2005) investigated the techniques used by two subjects writing collaboratively aiming textual progression. More precisely, his or her interest resided in knowing how the subject coordinates his or her attention and how to make the text progress conversationally. The author has analyzed an audio *corpus* from two college students, non-francophone at advanced level, who had the task to write together an argumentative text about the relevance of "homework".

The author asserts that the effective registration of what is being oralized aims to delete the assignment of formulation to only one of the co-writers, so that the act of writing has a public official character. As a result, the one who is in possession of the pen holds a controlling power and induces a system of complementary roles: "[…] the writer controlling and officializing a result and his or her companion is instructed to initiate new propositions and, possibly, to dictate them." (APOTHÉLOZ, 2005, p. 172)[6].

Apothéloz points out some of the prosodic characteristics of conversational writing, such as the deceleration of the utterance, with a tendency to highlight the phrases, which gives an analytical dimension to what is being said. The pace, slower, allows the companion to take turns and may co-elaborate. During the conversational interaction, a fragment is placed in the scene by one of the students as a suggestion, "[…] waiting for an approval or a counter-suggestion; additionally, expressing a disagreement regarding the proposition previously made, or, on the contrary, a rectification." (APOTHÉLOZ,

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[5] "Falar para escrever representa uma situação diferente daquela que se estabelece entre dois interlocutores em uma situação de conversação, é uma situação de 'redação conversacional' […] que define um contrato e obriga os participantes a cumprir um objetivo determinado." (CAMPS, et al., 2001, p. 295).

[6] "[…] o escritor controlando e oficializando um resultado e seu companheiro se encarregando de iniciar novas proposições e, eventualmente, de ditá-las." (APOTHÉLOZ, 2005, p. 172).

2001, p. 53-54)[7]. This "disagreement" that the researcher talks about is also mentioned by Daiute and Dalton in several of their studies, such as that which gives rise to a "cognitive conflict", which is essential to the collaborative writing process.

The role of collaboration among peers in the development of literacy is the object of study of Daiute and Dalton (1993). Following the sociocultural theory of Vygotsky, the authors investigated fourteen children from seven to nine years old in an urban classroom in the northeastern United States, from low income families, and analyzed the impact of collaboration in their abilities to write stories. The students used a computer word processor to write four stories individually and three stories in collaboration with a partner during a period of three months. The authors observed that even children with minimum abilities to write stories transferred the basic aspects of the story structure to each other.

In a previous study, Daiute and Dalton (1989) showed that, upon collaborating on writing tasks, students will examine their own knowledge and beliefs, by requiring that each one repeats, clarifies, expands and justifies their proposals and assessments of text strings. In addition, when writing together, they play with the language, with concepts and with each other. Through this game, novice writers writing in pairs exchange, examine and expand their ideas, helping each other spontaneously. This form of writing is effective to the extent that leads students to explicit explanations about their strategies for planning and reviewing.

Another important factor in the collaboration between pairs is the cognitive conflict - disagree, argue, contest (DAIUTE; DALTON, 1989, 1993) - in the knowledge construction. According to the authors, "[...] when children disagree, they examine their own thoughts, as well as those of others, and, therefore, are more prone to clarify, refine and expand their thinking than when they work without questioning." (DAIUTE; DALTON, 1993, p. 286)[8]. Listening to a different point of view to a problem that needs to be shared forces children to contrast it with their own point of view.

Wigglesworth & Storch (2012) analyzed the results of some studies that demonstrate the benefits of collaboration in the work of writing and as the writers deal with *feedback* in writing. Aimed at the learning of a second language and assuming a sociocultural theoretical perspective, the authors suggest that the collaborative writing allows students to learn better due to the discussion that occurs around the writing, including a variety of acts of interaction through speech, such as discrepancies, agreements, explanations, etc., in which they concentrate on specific aspects of the language.

Storch (2005) sought to investigate the nature of collaborative writing in students, starting with a socio-constructivist view of the teaching-learning process. The author points out some studies that highlight the positive aspects of this methodology of

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[7]    "[...] à espera de uma homologação ou uma contra-sugestão; adicionalmente, exprimindo um desacordo com relação a uma proposição anteriormente feita, ou, ao contrário, uma retificação." (APOTHÉLOZ, 2001, p.53-54).

[8]    "[...] quando as crianças discordam, elas examinam seus próprios pensamentos, bem como os de outros, e, portanto, são mais propensas a esclarecer, refinar e expandir o seu pensamento do que quando elas trabalham sem questionar." (DAIUTE; DALTON, 1993, p. 286).

working with the writing. Among them, Ede and Lunsford (1990), for example, found that the collaborative writing promotes in the students a sense of ownership and encourages them to contribute more effectively in decisions about all aspects that involve writing (content, structure and language). Whereas the research carried out by Higgins, Flower & Pettraglia (1992) and Keys (1994) showed that collaborative writing is a mean of promoting reflexive thinking, especially if learners are engaged in explaining and defending their ideas for their partners.

Thus, inserted in this context, the study of Storch was developed in a class of English as a foreign language, with twenty-three students at an intermediate level of proficiency (ESL 1). The participants were all adults and university students and had the option to perform the activity in pairs or individually, and students who chose to do in pairs had their conversations recorded on audio during the activity. Out of the twenty-three students, eighteen chose to do it in pairs and five did the activity alone. The activity consisted of producing a small text (one or two paragraphs) related to a chart that displays proficiency grades in two distinct groups.

The collected data were analyzed using as criteria, fluency, accuracy and complexity. The results showed that the time spent by the pairs to complete the task (22 minutes) was higher than the time spent by students who performed the activity individually (10-15 minutes). The texts produced by dyads are smaller in relation to the other students, however, regarding accuracy and complexity, the dyads had a better result, with more precise texts grammatically, linguistically more complex and more concise. For Storch, pair work provides opportunities for apprentices, as co-construct, to share their linguistic resources, and thus compose more linguistically complex and grammatically accurate texts. Pairs can also help each other with explanations and guarantees (STORCH, 2005).

In relation to the writing process, the study showed that, in opportunities for interaction, students discuss about different aspects of writing. Another particular outcome to the collaborative writing is that it encourages students to generate new ideas and expose different points of view. In addition, students are more receptive to suggestions and feedback from their peers, teachers and more experienced writers, for example.

Also based on the sociocultural theory, Vass *et al.* (2008) described the ways in which the collaboration between symmetrical pairs can stimulate activities of creative writing in the classroom. The study, developed in England, was based on longitudinal observations of activities in classrooms with children aged from seven to nine years old. Collaborative activities were observed and recorded using audio and video equipment in their literacy classroom, covering thirteen pairs, who participated in the activity twice to four times each.

The objective was to understand and describe ways in which the collaboration among colleagues can stimulate activities of creative writing in the classroom, through the significance of emotions over the episodes and their confidence in the collaborative support. According to the authors, the expression of emotions, the simultaneous and overlapping conversations, the playful games, work as a generator of creative thinking,

supporting together free association. However, the role of emotion is not only restricted to the associative process of creative content generation, but it was seen as a general characteristic of all the stages involved in the composition of the creative text.

Of the works exposed above, only two have focused on the collaborative writing with children from 7 to 9 years, as is our case. Of these, Daiute and Dalton (1989) draw attention to the fact that, when in a collaborative situation and faced with a cognitive conflict, students need to clarify their proposals for change, arguing and questioning. Vass *et al.* (2008), in turn, highlight the simultaneous and overlapping conversations, besides the playful games which act as textual creativity generators. The situations described above are absent from the individual writing and occupy a part of the writing process, which led us to investigate the issue of textual extension. The studies of Storch (2005) pointed to the fact that texts written collaboratively are smaller than the written individually, but her study was conducted with adults. The author observed, however, that, although the texts are smaller, they presented greater grammatical accuracy. Knowing that the reformulation is a process that involves both the recognition of a "mistake" and its deletion, through erasures, we also proposed to check in that situation, either individually or collaboratively, if more (or fewer) errors and erasures are produced.

In the section that follows, we described the didactic-methodological procedures by which our study was carried out.

**Methodology**

For a period of three months (April to June 2012) a didactic and research project was implemented titled "Tales of the how and the why" into two elementary school sophomore classes in a private school in Maceió - AL and students, at that time, were seven years old.

In the course of the project, several short origin stories were read and interpreted in the classroom, and, after this phase, the students were asked to produce tales of origin, individually and in pairs, defined by affinity, i.e., we let the children choose their own peers. The writings were, in general, once a week in the morning. 13 proposals were carried out, both from titles suggested by the researchers, and from free themes, as well as characters suggested by the teacher and also by the students. Two individual writings were performed, one at the beginning and one at the end of the project, one collective and ten collaborative writing.

During one of the Portuguese classes of the week, students knew that they had from 08:00 to 09:30 a.m. to write their story. Therefore, the same time was given to both the individual writing as for collaborative writing and, in general, in both situations, the students took around 50 to 60 minutes to complete their texts.

The study design involved the individual records of four students (who also formed the dyads) performed at the beginning and the end of the project and also four

carried out by these same students, but collaboratively, totaling twelve manuscripts. Thus, the study sample was defined by convenience and comprises the total twelve manuscripts, being eight produced individually and four produced in pairs. In the latter format, students combined and wrote together the same school manuscript, alternating the pen possession, so that both had the same opportunities to serve as "writer" and as DNTE "the one who dictates", or, as suggested by Apothéloz (2005), one controlling and officializing what goes to the paper and the other is instructed to start or remember the propositions previously combined. It is worth remembering that the person who dictates is also in charge of the "reader" role of what goes to the paper. As the process is quite dynamic, it is not uncommon that students of this age (7-9 years) exchange roles during the task execution.

The table below summarizes the format of the writing sessions, the title of the stories, the subjects involved and the date when they occurred.

**Table 1** – Data characteristics

| Date | Formation | Student | Title |
|------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 04.11.12 | Individual | C | How do birds fly? |
| 04.11.12 | Individual | I | Why does the sun shine? |
| 04.11.12 | Individual | M | The Ladybug and the ant |
| 04.11.12 | Individual | S | Why doesn't the elephant have friends? |
| 04.20.12 | Pair | C and I | How were the environment and animals created? |
| 04.20.12 | Pair | S and M | Why does the giraffe have a long neck? |
| 06.13.12 | Pair | I and C | Why do the fish live in the sea, river and lakes? |
| 06.13.12 | Pair | M and S | Why does the sun shine? |
| 06.18.12 | Individual | C | Why does the hedgehog have thorns? |
| 06.18.12 | Individual | I | Why doesn't the crab have a head? |
| 06.18.12 | Individual | M | Why does the monkey live on trees? |
| 06.18.12 | Individual | S | Why does the dragon breath fire? |
| C and I: boys - M and S: Girls | | | |

**Source:** Author's elaboration with data from the Laboratório do Manuscrito escolar, 2017.

Initially, the task was presented to the students and it was defined who would be responsible for writing and who would be responsible for "remembering" what had been agreed. That is why, according to the table above, the initials of the names alternated, as, for example: C and I/I and C. i.e., this indicates that, in the first situation, C was responsible for writing and, in the second situation, I.

In the second moment, students combined the story, and received the paper and pen when they informed the teacher that their story had already been combined. The third moment is the moment when the students reported the deal on the paper. In the fourth

moment, students re-read everything that was recorded and produced new alterations, if they deemed necessary.

Maintaining the ecological context of the classroom was crucial to the project setup, so the researchers went out of the room during the whole process. Ramos System was used for the record of each session[9] and the whole process was transcribed afterwards.

Three analytical categories served as a parameter, namely: a) the textual extension, measured by the number of words; b) the incidence of spelling errors; c) the number of erasures. Our goal, upon defining such categories, was to investigate the advantages and/ or disadvantages of writing in collaboration, seeking answers to the questions: In which situation are longer or shorter texts produced, individually or collaboratively? In which situation are more or fewer spelling errors produced, in the presence or absence of the gaze of another peer? In that situation is there a better or a worse student's feedback on his or her text, aiming to improve it?

The option to analyze texts that were written individually at the beginning (04.11.12) and at the end of the project (06.18.12), period interspersed by collaborative writing (of which we selected two productions, 04.20.12 and 06.13.12) was with the intention of observing whether there is any difference in relation to the categories described above after students have experienced working in dyads. Median was employed in the calculation, thus avoiding a distortion caused by a value quite unusual (*outliers*)[10] presented by one of the subjects in one of his or her textual productions.

## Results and discussion

In order to determine whether there were identifiable differences in the texts written by students individually and in pairs, the texts were analyzed in relation to the extension, the number of spelling errors and the number of erasures. As for the extension, the count dismissed the erased words, those excluded from the text by the students. In the case of hypo- and hyper segmentations, the criterion used to count was the norm, i.e., written words as "so" (why), "suddenly" (suddenly) and 'killem' (kill them) were counted as two words. On the other hand, words written as "tothe" (to the) and direct ly" (directly) were counted as being a word.

For the counting of spelling errors words in disagreement with the orthographic system of Brazilian Portuguese were considered, including the lack of accentuation, mute/sound exchanges, errors by multiple representation (such as "pray" instead of "play"), etc. For this reason, we based the classification proposed by Zorzi (1998,

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[9] Ramos System is a tool for data collection developed by professor Dr. Eduardo Calil (CNPq) involving various media (cameras, microphone, recorder) which, after synchronized, facilitate and optimize with precision the process of analysis of the written productions in the classroom. It has the merit of capturing the writing process in ecological context and in real time.

[10] In statistics, outlier value is a very atypical one, away from the other values. Median is an excellent statistical function that can disregard these points outside of the curve that bias the sample.

2006). As for the count of erasures, some additional care was taken. Considering the excerpt below:

**Figure 1** – Excerpt from the story "The Ladybug
and the ant", written by M on 04.11.12.
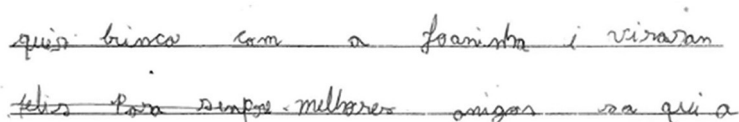


**Source:** M (on 04.11.12).

**Chart 1** – Diplomatic transcription of history[11]

| *wanted to play with the Ladybug and came* |
| *~~happi forever~~. best freinds only the* |

**Source:** Author's elaboration.

The dash in "happi forever" was counted as only one erasure, since it was done only once with the aim of suppressing an "idea". With plenty of security, we can consider that "came", by its homophony and homography with "became" triggered the sequence "happi forever", the whole being all "lived happily ever after" quite common on the outcome of stories. However, as the tale was not in the end yet, the whole idea was erased. All the other erasures evidencing from concerns with the graphical form of a letter to "words" started and not completed, excluded, were considered.

## Comparative analysis of individual and collaborative productions

The following table contains the data obtained through the analysis of the productions written by the students. As we said, the analyzed data will be represented through the median, due to the presence of some *outliers*.

**Table 2** – Comparison of individual texts in pairs

| Text | Productions | Avg_words | Avg_errors | Avg_erasures |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Individual | 8 | 80.5 | 9.5 | 4.25 |
| Collaborative | 4 | 108.5 | 10.5 | 11.5 |

**Source**: Author's elaboration with data from the Laboratório do Manuscrito escolar, 2017.

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[11] The diplomatic translation tries to adapt spelling mistakes Brazilian Portuguese to English.

**Textual extension as a result of the generation of ideas**

The first analyzed variable in the two types of formations (individual and collaborative) was the textual extension, measured by the number of written words, being possible to identify that there is a difference between productions. The students wrote texts of longer extension in collaborative productions, around 34% more than the individual productions. The number of errors was also higher in collaborative productions, 10%, which may indicate a relationship between the two variables (number of words and number of errors). To check this possibility, the correlation among these variables was calculated and found a strong and positive correlation of r = 0.800, i.e., the number of errors is directly proportional to the number of words in most of our sample. The phenomenon is repeated in the measurement of erasures, because the collaborative productions presented about 170% more erasures that the individual productions. It was noted that the correlation between number of words and number of erasures is also strong and positive, r = 0.823.

Initially, based on what the literature points, our hypothesis was that texts written by dyads would be smaller in relation to texts written individually. The work of Storch (2005) points out that discussions on language matters occupied about 30% of the total time for writing and, furthermore, that texts produced by the subjects writing collaboratively were smaller than those who wrote individually. However, it was found that the rich discussion among students, as it can be seen in the dialog below, seems to cause a great idea generation, justifying larger texts when in a collaborative situation.

Dialog between M and S, at the time of planning for one of the stories.

After listening to the teacher saying that it would be free theme, S says:

S: (Talking with M and suggesting a title) **Why does the dragon breath fire?**

M: But there is no such thing. Ok, let's go. No, but will we not choose another one? **Why does the sun shine?**

S: There is, the drag... There is, dragon.

M: Look, what do you think? Why does the sun shine?... errrrr... **Why does the monkey only like to be on trees?** Which one?

S: **Why does the dragon breath fire?**

M: Ah! S, except that one. But **we will also have a dragon in ours.**

S: **How did the words come out?!**

M: Come on S, please! **Why does the sun shine?** It is good. Oh, so we pretend that **the dragon** had sent fire up because it ... A long time ago, the dragon did not have fire. It had gone into a volcano and opened his mouth: he was really hungry, sleepy. He opened, and the fire came and he had fire in the mouth::: had fire in the mouth.

S: You're talking about **the reason why the dragon breathes fire**, right? (after ten seconds of silence between M and S, S resumes the combination of story). Then it stopped shining and began to shine.

(Dialog 1: "Why the sun shines", *Corpus* Criar & Recriar, 2012).

**Source:** Author's elaboration with data from the Laboratório do Manuscrito escolar, 2017.

The dialog shows that, before so many different ideas, "Why does the dragon breath fire?", "Why does the sun shine?", "Why does the monkey only like to be on the tree?" and "How did the words come out?" and, faced with the fact that they need to reconcile different points of view, the students can associate[12] two of them, the dragon releases fire and has helped the sun to shine.

The generation of ideas seems to intensify, at least when it comes to children aged 7, writing in a collaborative situation. In this sense, this format of writing would have a fundamental importance for the practice of textual production in the classroom, since it introduces a discursive situation conducive to reception/association of ideas and knowledge to share. But, from a strictly linguistic, enunciative point of view, how does the dialogue constitute the basis of situations of collaborative writing?

Based on Benveniste's Theory of Enunciation, subjectivity is "the ability of the speaker to propose as a subject" (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 286)[13] through forms that every language has, such as the personal pronouns, indicators of *deixis* and some verbs. So, "I" means the one who speaks and who, by addressing someone, constitutes, at the same time, a "you". This is the basic condition of dialog and has as characteristic the reciprocity: "I will become you in the allocution of that which in turn is designated by me" (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 286)[14]. This polarity and the inseparability of subjects "I" and "you" are fundamental conditions for the existence of intersubjectivity and is what makes possible all linguistic communication.

Whereas "he" is absent from this constitutive relationship between "I" and "You", since that, for Benveniste, this is a *non-person*. The third person is a verbal form that has as its purpose to express non-person and behaves, as well, as an indication of wording about something - what is talked about or the one that speaks. In the case of collaborative writing in the classroom, it has to do with the textual object in question. Thus, it is by the enunciative void left by "you" that "I" occupies space in the enunciation and makes "he" present, introducing the world by speech.

Upon describing some prosodic characteristics of conversational writing, Apothéloz (2001) emphasizes both the deceleration of the utterance, and the slower pace, which allows the "You" to occupy its enunciative space. This possibility of "I" and "You"

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[12] On the associative relations, creation and its mode of operation during the process of writing in the classroom, see Calil (2016b).

[13] "a capacidade do locutor para se propor como sujeito". (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 286).

[14] "que eu me torne tu na alocução daquele que por sua vez se designa por eu". (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 286).

exchanging places between themselves constantly in time and instantiate themselves by a speech and not by a "he" person supports the condition of dialog that establishes in situations of collaborative writing which dyads participate.

Upon defining what the *Plan of the speech* is, Benveniste (1991, p. 267) says it has to do with:

> Every enunciation that supposes a speaker and a listener and, at first, the intention of influencing, to some extent, the other. […] Finally, all genres in which someone goes to someone, as an announcer is announced and organizes what she says in the category of person[15].

As one can see, the subjectivity is inherent in the shared writing and face-to-face. These are movements in the Enunciative structure provided by collaborative writing situations that re(create) and transmit rules related to the creation and textual composition.

## Erasures and errors

In situations of collaborative writing, the erasure, oral[16] or written, is the means by which, before a dispute, an agreement is fulfilled. The erasure introduces a discontinuity, suspends the discursive flow, is the moment in which, in writing, the writers experience feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their own work and/or others, pointing out failures, alleged errors, so that they look over what was said or written before promoting a major rectification.

To Biasi (2010), erasure is what "cheers up", "gives soul or life" to writing, although, paradoxically, is the beginning of its "perpetual questioning" (BIASI, 2010, p. 70)[17], because it marks a reflection, the recognition of a difference between what has been entered in the text but should not be "there" and shows points of tension in the manuscript. A very complex component of writing to the author, is the erasure of a "genetic phenomenon specifically, sensitive to an environment subject to incessant and multiple metamorphoses" (BIASI, 2010, p. 76)[18], since there are several functions that

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[15] "Toda enunciação que suponha um locutor e um ouvinte e, no primeiro, a intenção de influenciar, de algum modo, o outro. […] enfim, todos os gêneros nos quais alguém se dirige a alguém, se enuncia como locutor e organiza aquilo que diz na categoria de pessoa." (BENVENISTE, 1991, p. 267).

[16] Oral erasure, a concept developed by Calil (2016a) to take account of the specific situation of talking to write in school context is characterized by returns that occurred orally during the dialogic flow, to focus on what was, will be or not inscribed and linearized. It indicates spontaneously and unpredictably how each student changes or modifies elements to be written in the manuscript in progress. Thus, the record of oral erasures maps the genesis of the writing process in pairs.

[17] "perpétuo questionamento". (BIASI, 2010, p. 70).

[18] "[...] fenômeno especificamente genético, sensível a um ambiente submetido a incessantes e múltiplas metamorfoses." (BIASI, 2010, p. 76).

the erasure can play in a writing process, as well as its several types. In a theoretical enunciative framework, for example, the erasure, even though it indicates an intention of erasure, establishes an enunciative act which, by its nature, is indelible.

When comparing texts written individually and in pairs, we found a number of erasures much higher in collaborative format, about 170% higher than in individual productions. The dialogs below show inexistent possibilities in situations of individual writing: the possibility of sharing knowledge, telling and be confronted with the gaze of another and, at the same time, needing to review/rethink their own (lack of) knowledge. Before that, we introduce the manuscript passage referring to dialog 2:

Figure 2 – Excerpt from the story "Why does the giraffe have a long neck?", written by S and M on 04.20.12
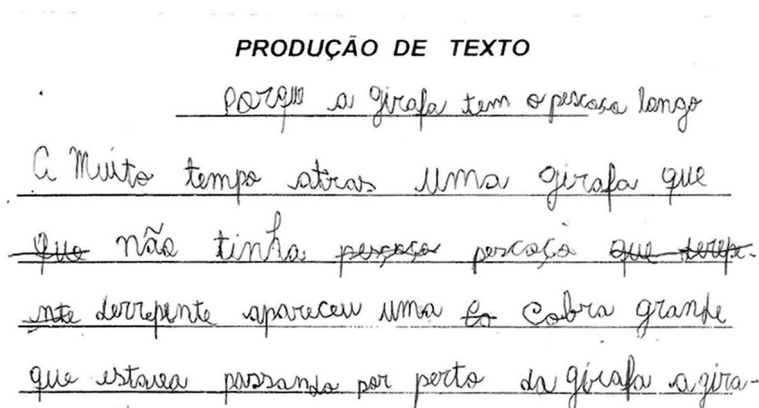


**Source:** M (on 04.20.12).

Dialog between M and S, for a re-reading moment of a passage of the story.

Students reread what is written in the manuscript. In the course of reading, S says that "there are many "that"" and suggests removing the "that" before "suddenly". M agrees with the withdrawal:

1. S[19]: Let me read... (Reading) A long time ago...
2. M: (Reading) ...nec...
3. S: (Reading) ...behind a giraffe: **That had not a ne**...
4. M: (Reading) ...neck...
5. M and S: (students reading) ...that suddenly...
6. M: (Reading) ...appeared a: huge snake that was passing by close to the giraffe: but...

_____

[19]  When the student's name appears underlined is indicative that he is writing in that moment.

7. S: (suggests M to erasure "that") **No. Take this "that":: ne::ck**.

8. M: (Keeps reading) ...that suddenly...

9. S: ...that (M interrupts the reading, holding S's hand and the students erasure [~~that~~]) neck::of: **Take this one: Gee!:: This "that" look:: There are so many, look**:: **"that" look**::... (S reading) a long time ago there was a giraffe that: had no neck::...

10. M: (Reading) ...su: dden...

11. S: **..."that" suddenly, no** (she speaks "no" shaking her head, seeming to confirm the erasure of "that ").

(Dialog 2: "Why does the giraffe have a long neck"?, *Corpus* Criar & Recriar 2012).

**Source:** Author's elaboration with data from the Laboratório do Manuscrito escolar, 2017.

The passage of the manuscript below refers to dialog 3, which will show in the sequence:

**Figure 3** – Excerpt from the story "Why do the fish live in the sea, river and lakes:", written by C and R on 06.13.12
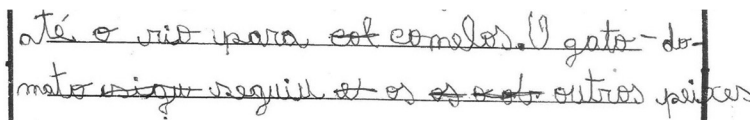


**Source**: C and R (on 06.13.12).

Dialog 3:

1. I: I have a better idea. The cat followed the other fish until:::::

2. C: River... until the lake!

3. I: (Reading) the cat fo- followed:

4. C: Followed them up the river.

5. I: They followed up the river to eat them... (Re-reading) the cat... **The cat folowd::** (writing [foloed])

6. C: (interrupting). **FOllowed... It is FOOLLOWED** (correcting)

7. I: **Followed?**

8. C: (spelling) **This is.. This is.. ..** (**I erased [~~foloed~~]**)

9. I: (writing [follow].) F... O...

10. C: **It is good that you remember that followed is not 'foloed'-"folowd" it is it is similar to "folled", but it is with "w".**

11. I: Followed (showing what wrote to C) **is with "E" or "I"**?

12. C: **Followeed** (pretending to write on the table "E" with the finger) **e-e, I think that it is "e". It is "e"** (Whispering) **e, I think that it is "e".**

In dialogs 2 and 3 we see discussions involving textual issues and spelling, respectively. In the dialog 2, when they reread what they had written so far, S, was annoyed with the presence of the second "that" in "a giraffe that had no neck that suddenly," suggests its erasure. It is noted that S feels more estrangement that, right after starting rereading pauses (part 3), although M continues reading normally. This pause lasts about 13 seconds, enough for S reevaluate and say, in part 7: "No. Take this "that":: ne::ck. However, as M continues by reading the "that" (Part 8), S stops again, to say emphatically: "Take out this one here: Gee!:: this 'that:: there are so many look:: "that" look::... She cannot explain why they need to remove the "that", that remains there, only saying at part 9, that "there are many, look... "that" look::...

The Dialog 3 brings a recognition of C for an orthographic problem and a C's doubt, remedied by C. In the first situation, C underlines "folloed" (for "followed") and C stops and corrects orally (part 6) by saying "followed... It is Foolowed". After the correction, C still makes a reflective return by saying (Part 10) that "it is good that you remember that followed is not 'foloed' - 'folloed is similar, but only with "w." Then, in part 11, C asks C if "followed" writes with "e" or "l" and C responds: Followeed (pretending to write on the table "E" with the finger) e-e, I think that it is "e". It is "e" (Whispering) e, I think that it is "e".

Especially in situations of collaborative writing, the writers are attentive to the choice of lexical units, their spelling, the semantic issues, punctuation, choice about which they ask themselves and ask their partner, invoking possible substitutions, putting in evidence the paradigmatic axis of language. In this sense, a greater number of erasures in the form of collaborative writing can be interpreted as the result of two glances, two listening, of adjustments between co-enunciators during the writing process. The enunciator, sensing the need to avoid or to specify, and formal issues that disturb his or her saying/writing, recognizes that there is a lack: lack of sense, an imperfection on the trace, spelling mistake, punctuation, etc., and that is when the erasure enters, as an essential element of any writing.

To Fabre (1990), author of the first important survey on traces left in manuscripts by students between 6 and 10 years, all erasure is a manifestation of meta discursive activity of the subject, in the sense that the erasure implies a job on the speech, producing a change that leaves the traces of this reflection.

Thus, erasure is characterized by being a strictly reflective form, which corresponds to the recognition of a (possible) error by the student. The texts produced by students newly literate, novice writers, have some fundamental characteristics: are unpredictable and very heterogeneous. The resulting errors are interpreted in the perspective adopted here, as a result of relationships produced by the proper functioning of the language at any given moment of its path as a writer. Our data showed that, just as well as the erasures, the number of errors was also higher in collaborative productions, 10%, indicating a directly proportional relationship to the textual extension in most of our sample.

The recognition of the (likely) error, by the student, passes through the estrangement (FELIPETO, 2008), the moment in which the subjects listen to a difference in his or

her writing/speaking. This is the moment in which hesitations and corrections may happen, emerging, then, in the marks of this process, the erasures. It is advisable to point that not always the "correction" brings up "success". The most important thing at the moment is the student's displacement, the moment in which he or she begins to reflect on his or her own writing and/or others.

In a situation of interaction, as is the case of collaborative writing, many changes occur in response to questions from the other partner-collaborator, pointing to the role and importance of the collaborative writing, unlike what happens in the individual writing: the fact that, in writing, the student is faced with written forms that differ from his or her, that leads to interrogating and questioning the other.

## Conclusion

The study, by analyzing quantitatively the product data, through the analysis of what occurs in the process, brought interesting findings to the extent that focused on individual and collaborative productions. It showed that newly literate students, in a collaborative situation, wrote 34% more than in individual situation, in contrast with the studies of Storch (2005). This leads us to think that the dialog, upon occupying part of the time that it would *a priori*, be intended for writing, can also print a greater productivity and creativity generating of new conflicts, characters, events. The overlays of speech and interruptions, described by Vass *et al.* (2008) as highly relevant in the context of collaborative creative writing seem to instigate the free association and the generation of ideas and lead students newly-literate, novice writers, to produce more extensive texts collaboratively than individually.

The big difference of occurrences of erasures written in two formats, about 170% more than in collaborative format, can be seen from the point of view of didactics, as a measure to evaluate the quality of interaction and the students' learning, although only a study about what erasures fall on may show more certainly that learning is in progress at any given time. We said that this result with respect to the erasure was already expected, since writing in pairs might enhance and favor the irruption of metalinguistic reflections. As Calil (2016, p. 550) points out,

> The intersubjective nature of writing in pairs gains prominence when a speaker notes differences in the way of thinking and writing of his or her interlocutor. To "convince" the other about the need to write x or y, it is necessary to submit arguments. These arguments may contain important metalinguistic reflections and, at the same time, explain how they think when proposing alterations to what will be written or for what has already been written[20].

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[20] "O caráter intersubjetivo da escrita a dois ganha relevo quando um locutor observa diferenças no modo de pensar e de escrever de seu interlocutor. Para "convencer" o outro sobre a necessidade de se escrever x ou y, é necessário apresentar argumentos. Estes argumentos podem conter importantes reflexões metalinguísticas e, ao mesmo tempo,

Thus, the tasks of collaborative writing can be favorable to learning because they encourage students to reflect about the language, as they need to agree not only on *what to* say, but also on *how to* say. In addition, as stated by Dobao and Blum (2013), upon gathering their individual resources, they are able to achieve a level of performance that is beyond the level of individual competence and that is what seems to indicate the analysis that we undertook on the orthographic errors. They show the occurrence of a smaller number of spelling errors in the 2nd individual writing, after two situations of collaborative writing. A broader investigation to determine whether the writing in pairs produces immediate benefits, in subsequent individual writing, however, would be necessary.

Further studies will have as a goal to test a larger group of subjects, observing how the generation of ideas and the role of the other as a collaborator in the direction of gazing, and questioning interfere in what the partner writes.

- *RESUMO: A escrita colaborativa por díades em sala de aula é uma situação didática que coloca alunos dialogando para construir um único texto, ao contrário da escrita individual, em que normalmente se escreve sozinho e em silêncio. Filiado à Genética Textual, a partir de uma abordagem enunciativa, este trabalho desenvolveu um estudo comparativo com o objetivo de evidenciar as vantagens e/ou desvantagens da escrita em colaboração. Três categorias serviram de parâmetro analítico: a) a extensão textual, medida através do número de palavras; b) a incidência de erros ortográficos; c) o número de rasuras. A amostra do estudo foi definida por conveniência e compreende 8 manuscritos, sendo 4 produzidos individualmente e 4 produzidos em duplas. Os alunos são do 2o ano do ensino fundamental, com idades entre 7 e 8 anos. Os dados foram coletados durante o desenvolvimento de um projeto didático intitulado "Contos do como e do porquê" no ano de 2012 em uma escola privada, respeitando as condições ecológicas do contexto escolar. As análises mostraram que, colaborativamente, os alunos escreveram, em média, textos 34% mais longos do que individualmente, produziram 170% a mais de rasuras e 10% a mais de erros que no formato individual.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Interação. Manuscrito escolar. Erros. Rasuras.*

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explicitar o modo como pensam quando propõem alterações para o que será escrito ou para o que já foi escrito." (CALIL, 2016, p. 550).

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# LEXICAL SELECTION AND SEMANTIC RELATIONS OF CO-OCCURRENCES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN "PARÂMETROS CURRICULARES NACIONAIS"

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▪ ABSTRACT: Fulfilling our scientific and political commitment with a critical explanation, in situated social practices, of ways of acting and relating (as inter-actions); systems of knowledge (as representations), as well as ways of identifying and identifying identity (as identifications) in terms of power-knowledge-subjectivities in gender relations, we discuss here an aspect of the complex ongoing social process of construction of the concepts of "social gender" and "sexuality" in national political-pedagogical policies, specifically, here, in the "Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais". We conclude that there are social actors such as family and a school who are negatively assessed and sexuality and gender are taken as a unique and indistinct concepts.

▪ KEYWORDS: Gender. Sexuality. PCN. Pedagogical discourse. Lexical selection. Relations of co-occurrences.

## Introduction

In this article, we present initial reflections of the research project *Identidade de gênero no espaço escolar: possibilidades discursivas para superação da heteronormatividade*, from Gonzalez (2017) doctoral research, developed in the scope of the project "Corpos e identidades como práticas sociodiscursivas: estudos em Análise de Discurso Crítica" (CARDOSO; VIEIRA, 2014); GONZALEZ; VIEIRA, 2015; RAMALHO, 2012, 2013; VIEIRA; DIAS, 2016).

Fulfilling our scientific and political commitment to the critical explanation, in situated social practices, of ways of acting and relating (the inter-actions); of the ways of constructing systems of knowledge (representations), and also of ways of being and of identifying (identifications) partially (with) powers-knowledge-subjectivities in gender

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relations, we discuss here an aspect of the complex social process in which the concepts of "social gender" and "sexuality" are constructed in national political-pedagogical policies, specifically, in the National Curricular Parameters (BRASIL, 1998). Our focus will be mainly on Volume 10, dedicated to presenting the cross-cutting theme of "Sexual Orientation" (BRASIL, 1997, v. 10), because it is a basic policy presenting the theme in Brazilian education.

For this, in section 1, we present central concepts of social gender studies and Critical Discourse Analysis (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003; PARDO APRIL, 2013; VIEIRA; RESENDE, 2016) for the discussion we carry out here. In section 2, we deal with aspects of the dynamics of the social process through which the themes "gender" and "sexuality" became part of the authoritative Brazilian pedagogic discourse, starting from the pedagogical understanding of Bernstein (1996). In section 3, we articulate the debate about discourse, gender and sexuality in the relational mapping of the main forms of lexical selection and of the construction of semantic relations of lexical co-occurrence in the document.

We thus seek to raise some initial reflections on the ongoing relations of force that support the most biological-hygienist and moral-traditionalist discourses in the political-pedagogical policies in force in Brazil that seek to suppress or exclude discourses with more emancipatory and critical potential (FURLANI, 2011), with openness to socio-cultural complexity, recognition of difference and education as a practice of freedom (FREIRE, 2005).

**Discourse and studies of social gender**

For Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the British and Latin American slope, language / discourse constitutes dialectically social practices, that is, in the recurrent ways, temporally and spatially situated, forms of

- *representing* and projecting the world (i.e., as particular discourses, in relation to the truths that constitute us as subjects of knowledge);
- *acting and interacting in the world* (i.e., as discursive genres, in the relations of power that constitute us as subjects acting with and on people) and
- *identifying* ourselves and others (as styles, in the ethical relationships in which we constitute ourselves as subjects of moral action).

The above topics, elaborated from Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), Fairclough (2003), Foucault (2011, 1984) and Morey (1995), point to CDA as a transdisciplinary approach to the criticism of the functions of discourse in social practices and the point of view of its ideological effects (that is, of meanings potentially at the service of asymmetric power, according to Thompson, 2002) in knowledge / powers / identifications.

Studies in the field of CDA are committed to the questioning of political and moral issues related to power and justice in social life. Beyond the notion of social justice (a notion more linked to a rational legal system, elaborated by private and restricted groups of people), it also seeks to include moral questions of social life, that is, "the ethical relations in which we constitute ourselves as subjects of moral action, "as mentioned.

Beyond rational right and utility, such values involve the interpersonal relationships and cultural awareness that moral issues require (ROSENDO, 2015). They involve an ethics of the care-sensitive being, associated with the ethics of knowledge and power, and problematizing hegemonic capitalist rationality based on hierarchically organized value dualisms that maintain the logics of colonial-imperialist patriarchal domination: male / female, white / black, culture / nature, human / nonhuman, spirit / body, human / nature, masculine / feminine, homo / hetero, reason / emotion, among others (BANDEIRA; ALMEIDA, 2008; FELIPE, 2014; MIÑOSO; CORREOZ; MUÑOZ, 2014 .

As Quijano (2000: 223) observes, such dualisms have legitimized and sustained in Latin America the coloniality of knowledge, the coloniality of power, and the coloniality of being, including lifestyles in society. The dualism between reason / body, for example (arising from the radical separation between "subject-reason" and "body", arises, according to the author, from the Eurocentric rationality that fixed the body as "object of nature", as "object of knowledge", and, consequently, as "object of domination and exploitation", thus legitimizing the 'scientific' theorizing of the problem of races condemned as 'inferior'." The construction of this radical dualism, reason / body (nature-domination), has served to legitimize not only "race relations", but also "sexual relations" of domination, presenting itself as one of the pillars of the colonial matrix of power, *the control of the economy, the control of authority, the control of nature and natural resources, the control of subjectivity and knowledge, the control of gender and sexuality* (MIGNOLO, 2010, p.12, quoted in BALLESTRIN, 2013, p. 100).

The corporeity, and the issues attached to it, have thus been legitimated in the hegemonic discourses as strictly biological and natural, which conceals its social constitution as a central marker for distribution in social stratification (DIAS, 2014). All body experiences and their markers (skin, race, sex, a-normality and physical and mental abilities, ethnicity, social class, age / generation) permeate and constitute our organizations as (re-) producers of knowledge, and moral action in social life.

Nowadays, Haraway (2000) reminds us that the performance of such devices is not restricted to clinical space, but extends in wide networks of information, production of knowledge aimed at controlling actions, subjectivities and relations of gender and sexuality - one of the pillars of the colonial / imperialist matrix of power. It is in this sense that we can reflect here on the articulation between the device of sexuality (FOUCAULT, 2011) and the pedagogical device (BERNSTEIN, 1996), with its instructional and regulatory discourse organized around distributive, recontextualising and evaluative rules, as we shall return to.

According to Pereira (2008), the device of sexuality currently works through "sexopolitics", which is the dominant configuration of biopolitical action in contemporary

capitalism. Sex (sexual organs, sexual practices and codes of masculinity and femininity) and normative technologies (flows of surgical techniques, hormones, representational flows) of sexual identities are agents of the current political regime of body administration and control and management of life aimed at producing heterosexual, patriarchal, and reproductive "normality". The discursive rules of heteronormativity produce, according to Pereira (2008, p. 505), gender performances (binary, based on sex differences) that are reiterated and quoted, obscuring "[…] multiplicity, plasticity and plurality of expressions that can not to be reduced to male and female […]" [1], or to the types of agency defined for each in this binary understanding.

On the other hand, the body is not a passive fact of a biopower, and sexopolitics also shows itself as the space of a creation where homosexuals, feminist, transsexual, intersexual, transgender movements succeed and juxtapose themselves. In this unstable equilibrium of creation and change, the assemblages of these bodies destabilize heterosexuality and the power economy itself, and "normative technologies are re-signified, giving room for resistance to heteronormative practices and strategies" (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 505)[2]. Indeed, a political and moral stance aimed at overcoming relations of domination based on gender and sexuality control includes the debate over the role of discourse in maintaining these asymmetries of power.

The contributions of Linguistics to the debate on the relations between social gender and language, as synthesized by Mills and Mullany (2011), gained strength from the "discursive turn" in the mid-1980s, as a political and social commitment, and not only academic one. Social gender became more analyzed as a process, in contexts and discourses, in order to problematize the beliefs that support forms of prejudice and oppression, and sexuality came to be seen as a central aspect for the analysis of identities. In general terms, the concept of social gender has broadened its focus to encompass issues such as power, race, ethnicity, social class, age / generation, territoriality, "corporalities" (or embodiments) and performances, at the interface between power and discourse (GONZALEZ; VIEIRA, 2015).

"Sex", therefore, is not only a physical, biological, dissociated form of social and cultural representations, but is clothed with hegemonic knowledges, powers and technologies - political, scientific, juridical-legal, educational, biomedical, acting as devices of power. An example could be pointed out in the debate on the legalization of abortion in Brazil. Machado (2010, p. 131 and p.136) shows the normative function of discourses such as scientific, religious, and juridical in the maintenance of oppressive practices that subject women to a type of "law of sexual intercourse" according to which "would be produced at the same time and in the same act of sexual intercourse that creates the biological child." From then on, it would no longer be entitled to the decision on its own body, that is, the right to "undo what man has done". Thus a justification

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[1]   "[...] multiplicidade, a plasticidade e a pluralidade de expressões que não podem se reduzir ao masculino e feminino [...]" (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 505).

[2]   "as tecnologias de normatização são ressignificadas abrindo espaço para resistências a práticas e estratégias heteronormativas" (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 505).

presented as biological has the potential to legitimize supposedly natural / essential power differences between women and men, and, moreover, men's power over women's bodies, legitimizing rape, domestic violence, "feminicide", the limitations of the right to come and go and to be / act freely in society, etc. (CARDOSO AND VIEIRA, 2014; MAGALHÃES, 2009, 2010).

Studying gender is a way of understanding social relations from concepts and representations in social practices developed among people. Whether the relationships between people, whether they are of the same sex or of different sexes, of age, social class, color and the same or different races, are one of the central concerns of the research in which the concept of gender and understanding or value judgment that people have over others from the sexual anatomy and social conformation. The attempt to annul individual differences, the imposition of a standard and representations on social agents are also study concerns.

According to Louro (1992, p.21), the concept of gender "serves, therefore, as an analytical tool that is, at the same time, political". Directing the focus to the fundamentally social character does not imply disregarding biology, but emphasizing the social and historical construction of the genre produced on biological characteristics. It should be remembered that gender relations and their expressions are located in the continuum between masculine and feminine, often erased discursively in representations and styles.

As Grossi (1998, points out) every individual has a nucleus of *gender identity*, which is a set of beliefs by which one considers socially what is male or female. Sexuality, as a field of practices and feelings linked to the sexual activity of individuals, is "[…] only one of the variables that configures gender identity in concomitance with other things, such *as gender roles and the social meaning of reproduction*." (GROSSI, 1998, p.12). According to the author, gender identity is a pertinent category to think about the place of the individual within a given culture.

Moore (2015) states that gender identity is constructed and lived by individuals, who can assume multiple positions of subject within a range of social discourses and practices, taking into account mainly the subjective experience of identity, the physical fact of being a subject in a body and the historical continuity of the subject, in which past positions tend to overdetermine present positions of subject.

Gender issues, therefore, being social and culturally situated and negotiated, mobilize networks of power, practices, agencies, norms and knowledge in hegemonic, partially discursive struggles. The coloniality of knowledge, power and being is partially sustained by the ideological discourses produced and legitimized by the devices, organized in networks of discourse orders, with their normative and regulatory function mobilizing mechanisms of organization and control of the social through the production of knowledge, strategies and practices (FOUCAULT, 2011; FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). Theorizing about the pedagogical device, as mentioned above, can help us to reflect on how this happens in relation to the pedagogical discourse.

## Gender and sexuality in pedagogical discourse

According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, p. 151), the dynamism of the discourse order, capable of generating new articulations of discourses, genres and styles, is that it maintains language as an open system, but is also "the fixity of the order of the discourse that limits the generative power of language, preventing certain connections." Thus, new articulations of genres, discourses and styles of different orders of discourse also contribute to the construction of socio-culturally situated and negotiated meanings.

Therefore, it is understood that control over things in social life (knowledge about gender relations and sexuality) operates in relationships with other people (in the regulatory powers of educational and curriculum guidelines) as well as in people's relationships with themselves (in ethical and identity relations as moral subjects acting in the world). Such a social process makes certain connections possible, such as biological-hygienist, moral-traditionalist, religious-radical, therapeutic, and pedagogical discourses, and prevents others, such as the connections between human rights discourses, sexual rights, emancipatory and queer, questioning of the processes of normalization of sexuality, and the pedagogical discourse, in terms of the sex education approaches proposed by Furlani (2011).

Theorizing about the pedagogical device, mentioned above, can help us to reflect on how this is done in relation to the pedagogical discourse, which is organized around distributive, recontextualizing and evaluative rules. Bernstein (1996, p.195) proposes that pedagogical discourse is organized according to three main rules: distributive, recontextualizing and evaluative. In a very simplified way, by the

- *distributive rules*, pedagogical discourse exercises symbolic control and social distribution "of what is thinkable", or "unthinkable", and "of who can think about", thus defining and distributing the knowledge that can/should circulate in school;
- *recontextualizing rules*, the pedagogic discourse articulates two main discourses: the instructional discourse, that is, the pedagogies of the transmission and acquisition of knowledge, in the explicit curricula; and the regulatory discourse, of the pedagogies of the construction of social relations and order, in the implicit curriculum, and
- *evaluative rules*, the transformation of pedagogical discourse into pedagogical practice, defining the forms and conditions of transmission and acquisition of knowledge based on times (ages), spaces (contexts) and texts (contents) that are concretized in the school.

What stands out in the pedagogical discourse, for Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), is its recontextualizing property, which shifts discourses from other practices and original contexts and reallocates them in its own practice, according to its principle

of distribution, focusing, transmission, control and selective rearrangements, subject to particular world views and to the specialized or political interests of recontextualizing agents (MAINARDES, STREME, 2010). There are many discourses, institutions, apparatuses, laws, regulations, decisions, administrative measures, scientific concepts, statements, philosophical and moral propositions that are articulated around the questions of sexuality and education as strategies of force relations supporting types of knowledge and being supported by them, according to Foucault (2011).

In terms of the problematics discussed here, control over knowledge about sexuality and gender relations of pedagogical discourse with its recontextualizing principle (discourses) is mediated by the actions and power relations between teachers, students, progressive government, conservative political tendencies, social movements, etc., materialized in explicit and implicit legal policies and curricula with powers to regulate practices (discursive genres), just as these actions and relations between people presuppose ethical relations with oneself in practices and experiences identity and inter-subjective, as a moral being that acts in the world with its body (styles).

In order to resume our recent history in a very succinct and simplified way, the National Curricular Parameters (PCNs) were prepared by the Ministry of Education in Brazil, with the participation of educational agents and civil society, from 1995 onwards "to draw a new profile for the curriculum, supported by basic skills for the insertion of young people in adult life "[…] and to guide teachers' agents about" the meaning of contextualized school knowledge and interdisciplinary, encouraging reasoning and the ability to learn." (BRASIL, 2011), covering all basic education.

Published since 1997 as a collection of paper policies that present parameters and orientations in relation to daily school life and the main knowledge that must be worked in the different school stages, they offer subsidies for educators and for the institutions to elaborate their own educational project, which, according to the guidelines of PCNs, must always be under construction in a continuous process of revision and improvement.

The PCNs define a set of knowledge recognized as necessary for the exercise of citizenship, with orientations for the areas of knowledge that form the national base, as well as a set of six cross-cutting themes with a proposed methodology for their inclusion in the curriculum and their didactic treatment, in view of the "commitment to the construction of citizenship", which "[…] necessarily demands an educational practice aimed at understanding the social reality and the rights and responsibilities in relation to personal and collective life and affirmation of the principle of political participation." (BRASIL, 1998, p.17). These are: Ethics, Environment, Cultural Plurality, Health, Work and Consumption, Sexual Orientation, this last one contemplating a social perspective of the diversity, integrity and dignity of the human being, body knowledge, feelings and affection, among others.

In the political regime of democracy as guaranteed by the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil (BRASIL, 1988), citizenship encompasses "[…] civil rights (freedom to come and go, of thought and expression, right to physical integrity, freedom of association) (electing and be elected), and their exercise is expressed in the

act of voting." (BRASIL, 1998, p.20). These are social themes that should be included in the curriculum in a "transversal" way, in order to be considered within the various areas of knowledge. The proposal is that interdisciplinarity and transversality outweigh the disciplinary fragmentation in school and practices that, in a reprehensible way, had removed the school from the political and social discussions.

As presented by PCNs, such topics were defined based on social urgency, national scope, possibility of teaching-learning in primary education and the need to promote understanding of reality and social participation (BRASIL, 1998). They were incorporated in view that the "[…] commitment to the construction of citizenship necessarily demands an educational practice aimed at understanding the social reality and the rights and responsibilities in relation to personal and collective life and affirmation of the principle of political participation." (BRASIL, 1998, p.17). All this considering the foundations of the Democratic State of Law and the principles that should guide school education, to rescue:

> [...] *dignity of the human person* (respect for human rights, repudiation of discrimination of any kind, access to decent living conditions, mutual respect in interpersonal, public and private relations); *equality of rights* (guarantee to all people the same dignity and possibility of exercising citizenship, considering the principle of equity, that is, that there are ethnic, cultural, regional, gender, age, religious, etc.) differences and inequalities (socio-economic) that need to be taken into account in order for equality to be effectively achieved; *participation* (the notion of active citizenship, that is, the complementarity between traditional political representation and popular participation in public space [...] and *co-responsibility* for social life (responsibility for the destinies of collective life including public authorities and different social groups, organized or otherwise). (BRASIL, 1998, p. 21).

These fundamentals are more objective to be fulfilled than something that, in fact, is part of our reality, especially the current social reality lived in Brazil from the political-legal-media coup d'etat of 2016, by which a set of institutions and actors who support global financial capitalism has taken over the power of the President of the Republic in the fourth term of the progressive political party that governed Brazil since 2003. Therefore, we make a brief explanation here on specific aspects of a moment of crisis, marked by complex social processes in progress, within the framework of a rupture of the social and educational advances in course in the Country.

As discussed by Gomes (2016), the National Education Plan (PNE 2014-2024) was, until June 2016, the articulator of the National Education System, with the purpose of serving as a basis for the elaboration of state, district and municipal education plans. PNE's goals (2014-2024) were widely debated by several entities, discussed at CONAE 2010 and improved in the National Congress, especially in 2011, when public schools

in Brazil received the Pedagogical Book of the "Project without Homophobia". Funded by the Ministry of Education and implemented by civil society organizations with the technical guidance of the Secretariat for Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (Secadi) of the Ministry of Education, it aimed to "[…] contribute to the recognition of the diversity of moral, social and cultural values present in Brazilian society, heterogeneous and committed to human rights and the formation of a citizenship that in fact includes the rights of LGBT people."

In 2014, the initiative was vetoed in National Congress because of the pressure of conservative political currents who believed the material to be "promiscuous and encouraging homosexuality," which would later serve as a justification for the veto of PNE's Goal 21, which included questions about race, sex, gender, and indigenous people. In 2014, the President determined that each municipality would legislate on the themes, from which a series of conservative discourses emerge, especially in 2015 and 2016, as part of the recrudescence of the extreme right in Brazil, led by global speculative capital.

According to Zinet (2015), in the wake of the debates on gender and sexuality, present in the elaboration of the Municipal Education Plans, in 2015, at least five law projects were passed in Congress that had as their objective to interfere directly with the content addressed in the avoiding 'political and ideological indoctrination'. Some of the projects also proposed "curbing the teaching in schools of what they call" gender ideology "and other forms of" threats to the family "in the wake of the" School without a Party "movement, vetoed by the Public Ministry, aimed at combating what they consider a "process of ideological indoctrination within primary schools."

As pointed out by Thais Moya, representative of the Non-governmental Organization LGBT Visibility, the exclusion of mention of gender and sexuality in the policies (PNE and PME - Municipal Education Plan) could have several consequences:

> Without discussing gender in schools, there is no prevention of chauvinism and its violence. Without discussing gender and sexuality, sexual harassment, rape, unwanted pregnancy, and HIV infection are not prevented, just to name a few. Every 27 hours an LGBT person is brutally murdered in our country [...]. Without discussing homophobia and transphobia in schools, we do not combat the bullying that thousands of children and adolescents suffer daily in the school environment because they do not have a gender expression within the heteronormative pattern. Without discussions about this type of gender violence, for example, we do not fight the school drop-outs of these people, who daily have their humanity ridiculed and end up giving up school, when, unfortunately, they sometimes even give up on their lives [...] (Thais Moya, apud PIOVEZAN, 2015, not page).

It is at this juncture that it was possible to maintain "Sexual Orientation" as a cross-cutting theme, whose merits point to the efforts to insert the debate on sexuality and gender in school, for the first time in Brazil's history, and whose necessary developments reinforce the urgency of resuming discussion, on a critical, social, discursive, political and moral point of view, consistent with the principles of critical pedagogy which considers the performative impact of the explicit and implicit curriculum on knowledge, power and identities (SILVA, 1999).

## Reflections on discourse, gender and sexuality in the National Curricular Parameters

As formulated within the CDA, the Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA) considers that the elements of discourse orders (discourses, genres, styles) are not purely linguistic, but categories that cross the divide between linguistic and non-linguistic, between the discursive and the non-essentially discursive (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). The study of these categories in TODA simultaneously contemplates external relations (discourses, genres, styles of a particular discourse order in relation to the networks of discourse orders) in structural discourse analyses, and internal relations (semantic, grammatical, lexical traits used in texts and its relation with social practice), in interactional analyses, at the interface between the social and the discursive.

Based on the metafunctions of the language of Systemic-Functional Linguistics (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004), it is understood that the main ways in which discourse constitutes and is constituted in social practices are, therefore, linked to the main meanings of discourse: representational meaning/knowledge), inter-ational (inter-action / power) meaning and identification (identification /ethics) meaning. Although the approach is relational, traces of semantic, grammatical, and lexical relationships are in principle associated with either genres, or discourses, or particular styles, as we seek to illustrate:

**Chart 1** – Relational approach for analysis of texts such as social events

| Relational approach to analysis of texts such as social events | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ontological axes of Foucault | Participation of discourse in social practices | Moments of orders of discourse | Main meanings of discourse | Main meanings and textual forms / linguistic-discursive categories |
| Axis of power | Ways of acting and interacting | Genres | Ational / relational meaning | Intertextuality (irony, presupposition), generic structure, gender chains, intergenericity, interaction control, semantic / grammatical relations, coherence, speech functions, types of exchange, grammatical mode, information value in images, etc. |
| Axis of knowledge | Modes of representing and projecting aspects of the world | Discourses | Representational meaning | Interdiscursivity, lexical selection, word meaning, representation of social actors and events through transitivity (selection of processes, participants, circumstances), visual structure (narrative, conceptual), etc. |
| Axis of being | Ways of being and identifying | Styles | Identity Meaning | The system of evaluation (attitude, engagement and gradation), metaphors, value presumptions, modality (epistemic, deontic / categorical, modalized), visual contact in images, body language, pronunciation and other phonological traits, vocabulary, etc. |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

Always remembering that the approach is relational, that is, that everything above is in a dialectical/transformational relation, certain meanings and textual forms can tell us more about a specific aspect in the relation between the discursive and not essentially discursive in social practice. As detailed in Vieira and Resende (2016), discursive genres are, in principle, realized in the meanings and actional forms of texts: intertextuality, generic structure, gender chains, intergenericity, interaction control, semantic/grammatical relations, coherence, speech functions, types of exchange, grammatical mode, value of information in images, etc.

Particular discourses are, in principle, realized in the representational meanings and forms of texts: interdiscursivity, lexical selection, word meaning, representation of social actors and actresses through transitivity (selection of processes, participants, and circumstances), visual structure (narrative, conceptual).

Styles/identities are, in principle, realized in the identificational meanings and forms of texts: evaluation system (attitude, engagement and gradation), metaphors, valuation presumptions, visual contact in images, body language, pronunciation and

other phonological traits, vocabulary, etc. This does not prevent the linguistic-discursive category of intertextuality, for example, from shedding light on identificational issues, since the selections and articulations of voices may show particular, subjective, proximity or distancing positions of other voices and social positions, as a form of being and acting in the world.

As our interest here is more in the representational aspects of the construction of the concepts of sexuality and gender in an official document in force in Brazil (although consequently we are also occupied with the powers and identities constituted by these knowledge), we seek to analyze in the *National Curricular Parameters*, volume 10 on "Sexual Orientation", and how these concepts are constructed.

As Resende and Ramalho (2009) synthesize, the same text may articulate different discourses, in relations of cooperation, negotiation, silencing and competition, which can be seen as a process of *interdiscursivity*. The relationships established between different discourses can be of different types, such as the relations established between people (discourses can complement each other or compete with each other in relations of domination), since discourses are part of the resource used by social actors or group in order to form relationships, cooperating, competing, negotiating, dominating.

It is important to recall, with Fairclough (2003, p. 130), that "[…] when different discourses come into conflict and particular discourses are contested, what is centrally challenged is the power of these pre-constructed semantic systems to generate particular visions of the world and their effect." In the case of the pedagogical device, what is at stake here is the symbolic control and social distribution of what is defined and legitimized as knowledge about "sexuality", articulating the instructional discourse and the regulator in pedagogical practice (RAMALHO, 2012). Universalization and discursive access to private representations are important instruments of hegemonic struggles, since one way of temporarily securing hegemony is to disseminate a particular world perspective (a knowledge) as if it were the only possible, consensual, legitimate and acceptable (VIEIRA; RESEENDE, 2016).

Having these social and discursive theoretical-methodological contributions in view, we turn to an analytical approach of PCN's, with a focus on Volume 10, dedicated to the cross-sectional orientation of sexual orientation (BRASIL, 1997) a fundamental part in the presentation of the theme in Brazil.

## Representation of social actors

According to Vianna and Unbehaun (2004), since the enactment of the Federal Constitution of 1988, various efforts have been made to suggest through legal instruments reforms and changes in basic education. Among these reforms is the promulgation of the text of the 1996 Brazilian Guidelines and Bases of Education Law and the text of the National Curricular Parameters, which will be discussed. The two previous texts, the Federal Constitution and the Law of Guidelines and Bases, do not mention issues

related to gender and sexuality. It is precisely the PCN's that mark the introduction of the theme, through the inclusion of notebooks with cross-cutting themes, among them, Sexual Orientation (BRASIL, 1997).

Still according to Vianna and Unbehaun (2004), PCN's are the first legal text in the order of normative texts that regulate education in Brazil to unveil the gender issue. However, the issue is unveiled, still in a subtle and timid way, but not in depth, restricted to a binary and sometimes essentialist vision. It is innovative to include as central axis of school education the exercise of citizenship and themes that aim to rescue the dignity of the human person, equal rights, active participation in society and co-responsibility for social life.

Throughout the "Introduction to National Curriculum Parameters" (BRASIL, 1997, v. 1), there are mentions on gender issues such as the comparison of the average time of studies of boys and girls and the misuse of the term "gender" instead of the term "sex", as exemplified by:

Example 1

**Table 1 – Average number of years of study; Brazil 1960 to 1990**

|  | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Gender** |  |  |  |  |
| Woman | 1,9 | 2,2 | 3,5 | 4,9 |
| Man | 2,4 | 2,6 | 3,9 | 5,1 |
| **Color** |  |  |  |  |
| Black | 0,9 | … | 2,1 | 3,3 |
| Brown | 1,1 | … | 2,4 | 3,6 |
| White | 2,7 | … | 4,5 | 5,9 |
| Yellow | 2,9 | … | 6,4 | 8,6 |
| **Regions** |  |  |  |  |
| Northeast | 1,1 | 1,3 | 2,2 | 3,3 |
| North/Midwest | 2,7 | 0,9 | 4 | ... |
| South | 2,4 | 2,7 | 3,9 | 5,1 |
| Southeast | 2,7 | 3,2 | 4,4 | 5,7 |

**Source:** Relatório sobre o Desenvolvimento Humano no Brasil, 1996; PNUD/IPEA, Brasília,1996 (BRASIL, 1997, v.1, p.21, our translation).

Example 2

> The media, in its multiple manifestations, and with great force, assume a relevant role, helping to shape visions and behaviors. It carries erotic images, which stimulate children and adolescents, increasing anxiety and feeding sexual fantasies. It also informs, carries out educational campaigns, which are not always directed and adequate to this public. It also often moralizes and reinforces prejudices. When it is elaborated by children and adolescents, this mix of messages can end up producing concepts and explanations both erroneous and fanciful. (BRASIL, 1997, v. 10, p. 292).

There is a conflict here with the previous representation of the term sexuality, which was presented as something that "emerges" in all ages, natural, because if it is natural, why should there be a vocabulary authorized to speak on the subject? There is an assumption that there would be two sexualities: that of the child, which should not be "eroticized and fanciful," and that of the adult, which could be. The media is represented as an antagonistic actor against whom the school would have to fight, to "correct" (as "erroneous") concepts, explanations and "deviant" behaviors in relation to sexuality. There is an assignment of guilt and responsibility to other social institutions, in this case the media, and a consequent lack of responsibility for the school.

Sexuality, when recontextualized in the school context, is represented /reified in the text as "sexual orientation". At the moment, several hygienizing and biologizing discourses are used to legitimize the need to include the theme in the school curriculum. Sexuality, it is claimed, would be linked to "life, health, pleasure and well-being" and work with "Sexual Orientation" is articulated with "health promotion":

Example 3

> If the school wishes to have an integrated view of the experiences lived by the students, seeking to develop the pleasure for the knowledge, it is necessary to recognize that it plays an important role in the education for a sexuality linked to life, health, pleasure and well-being and that encompasses the various dimensions of the human being. The systematic work of Sexual Orientation within the school is also articulated with the promotion of the health of children, adolescents and young people. The existence of this work makes it possible to carry out preventive actions against sexually transmitted diseases/AIDS more effectively. Several studies have already shown the poor results obtained by sporadic studies on this subject. Numerous research also point out that only information is not sufficient to favor the adoption of preventive behaviors. (BRASIL, 1997, v. 10, p.293).

As we go deeper, discourses on sexuality are hybridized with those of health promotion to create a new discourse, the need for education on the theme of "Sexual Orientation" on the agenda. There is a presentation of the legitimating discourse of scientific authority with the use of generalization in "several studies" and the repeated use of the term prevention and derivatives (preventive behaviors and preventive behaviors), that is, associating sexuality with disease prevention and "unwanted behavior", again, destabilizing the concept of sexuality as something natural, but suspending the debate about the implications of gender relations in social life, such as sexual and behavioral patterns that contradict heteronormativity.

In the topic of Sexual Orientation, the gender theme is highlighted. The objectives are to "combat authoritarian relations, to question the rigidity of the standards of conduct established for men and women and to point to their transformation," encouraging in school relations the "diversity of behavior of men and women," "relativity conceptions traditionally associated with the masculine and the feminine", "respect for the other sex", and the "various expressions of the feminine and the masculine" (BRASIL, 1997, v.10, p.144 and p.146). There are in these detailed references the commitment to a training oriented to the promotion of interpersonal relationships endowed with non-discriminatory meanings, privileging the articulation of the content of the block concerning the genre "with the areas of History, Physical Education and the situations of school conviviality" (BRASIL, 1997, v.10, p.145).

However, as a result of the social dynamics, its possibilities and constraints, the discursive strategy adopted by the document is to binarize the concept of gender, privileging masculine and feminine identities only, as general, homogeneous and accepted identities as standard identities in the educational process. In other words, work with gender and sexuality would be restricted to the scope of heterosexist and heteronormative relations, thus excluding the diversity of identities that emerge in social relations, which a future official text that guides the parameters of education in our country could do differently.

## Lexical selection and semantic relations of co-occurrences of words

The word "sexuality", as mentioned in the previous subsection, is quite recurrent throughout the document. We will start from the categories proposed by Pardo Abril (2013) and Fairclough (2003), from lexical selection and semantic relations of co-occurrence to explain the constructed meanings for the word in the construction of the instructional and regulating discourse of PCN's.

Briefly, according to Fairclough (2003, p. 213), semantic co-occurrences (collocations, in the original) are more or less habitual patterns of co-occurrence between words. The author points to the term "poor old", which is a frequent combination of two words that take on meaning and is more frequent than "poor young", for example. Studies of these standards, he says, are well-established in corpus research, especially

those working with a large body of text, as in our case, despite the clipping of the data needed here. They help, as Pardo Abril points out, "to explain context models, since predecessor and successor expressions convey sociocultural knowledge, beliefs, opinions and emotions about what is represented, and, to that extent, allow to recognize relations between discourse and social conditioning "that determines the theme in focus. Consider the analysis of the occurrence of the word "sexuality" and the co-texts associated with it in the PCN's:

**Table 1** – Occurrences of the word "sexuality", in Notebook
10 of PCN's - Sexual Orientation, quantified in NVivo

| Word | Extension | Counting | Percentage (%) | Similar words |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sexuality | 11 | 100 | 1,09 | Sexualidad |
| sexual | 6 | 79 | 0,86 | Sexual |
| students | 6 | 70 | 0,76 | Student |
| school | 6 | 62 | 0,67 | Schools |
| body | 5 | 59 | 0,64 | bodies |
| orientation | 10 | 58 | 0,63 | Oriented |
| kids | 8 | 57 | 0,62 | kid |
| work | 8 | 49 | 0,53 | Works |
| questions | 8 | 41 | 0,45 | Question |
| teacher | 9 | 39 | 0,49 | Teachers |
| content | 9 | 36 | 0,39 | contents |
| diferent | 10 | 36 | 0,39 | diferents |
| aids | 4 | 32 | 0,35 | AIDS |
| respect | 8 | 30 | 0,33 | Respect |
| information | 11 | 28 | 0,30 | Information |
| relation | 7 | 28 | 0,30 | Relation |
| information | 11 | 28 | 0,30 | Informations |
| relation | 7 | 28 | 0,30 | Relation |
| sex | 4 | 26 | 0,28 | Sex |
| behaviours | 14 | 23 | 0,25 | Behaviour |
| education | 8 | 23 | 0,25 | Education |
| space | 6 | 22 | 0,24 | Space |
| manifestation | 13 | 22 | 0,24 | Manifestation |

| Word | Extension | Counting | Percentage (%) | Similar words |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| deseases | 7 | 20 | 0,24 | Desease |
| human | 6 | 20 | 0,22 | Humans |
| relations | 8 | 20 | 0,22 | Relation |
| women | 8 | 19 | 0,21 | Woman |
| educator | 8 | 18 | 0,20 | Educators |
| gender | 6 | 18 | 0,20 | Genders |
| life | 4 | 18 | 0,20 | Life |
| knowledge | 12 | 17 | 0,18 | Knowledges |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

In Table 1, we see the high recurrence of the word "sexuality" in the document. A scanning was made throughout the document and, among the 30 most frequent words, the one with the highest percentage was "sexuality". In analyzing the other terms, we noticed that orientation, AIDS and diseases also had a high frequency, which reinforces our previous discussion about the association of the discourse related to sexuality with a bio-medical discourse and association of the term with aspects of biological care of the body.

**Table 2** – Frequencies in the corpus of PCN's Notebook 10 - Sexual Orientation

| High Frequency | | Low Frequency | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lexical Unit | Frequency | Lexical Unit | Frequency |
| Sexuality | 100 | Women | 19 |
| Sexual | 79 | Educator | 18 |
| Students | 70 | Gender | 18 |
| School | 62 | Life | 18 |
| Body | 59 | Knowledge | 17 |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

Once identified as the word with the highest occurrence in the document, it is relevant to observe which are the predecessor and successor co-texts that surround this high-frequency lexical unit, since these co-texts contribute to configure the meanings that the lexical units assume throughout the document. The following is a table with all the co-texts associated with the word "sexuality" in the section of the corpus we are illustrating:

**Chart 2** – Co-occurrences of the lexical unit "sexuality" in the Justification for the cross-sectional theme Sexual orientation.

| When dealing with the topic Sexual Orientation, search- | sexuality | is considered as something inherent to life and health, which expresses itself early in the human being. |
|---|---|---|
| The treatment of | sexuality | in the initial series aims to allow the student to find in the school an information and training space, with regard to issues relating to their moment of development and the issues that the environment poses. |
| The discussion on the inclusion of the | sexuality | in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools has intensified since the 1970s, because it is considered important in the overall formation of the individual. |
| From the mid-1980s onwards, the demand for jobs in the | sexuality | in schools has increased due to educators' concern about the large increase in unwanted pregnancies among adolescents and the risk of HIV infection among young people. |
| The manifestations of | sexuality | blooms in all age groups. Ignoring, hiding or repressing are the most common responses given by school professionals. |
| Parents' behavior among themselves, their relationship with their children, the type of "care" recommended, the expressions, gestures and prohibitions they establish are loaded with certain values associated with the | sexuality | that the child perceives |
| It can be said that it is in private space, therefore, that the child receives with greater intensity the notions from which it will construct its | sexuality | in childhood. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| There are journalistic/scientific programs on AIDS prevention that focus on | sexuality, | to adult audience. |
| Children also watch them, but they cannot fully understand the meaning of these messages and often construct erroneous and fanciful concepts and explanations about | sexuality. | |
| It is not only in doors of bathrooms and walls that the | sexuality | is inscribed in the school space; it "invades" the school through the attitudes of the students in the classroom and the social coexistence between them. |
| Sometimes the school makes the unanswered request that students leave their | sexuality | outside of it. |
| There is also the clear presence of | sexuality | of adults in school. For example, one can note the great uneasiness and curiosity that the pregnancy of a teacher arouses in the students. |
| It is known that the curiosities of children about | sexuality | are very significant issues for subjectivity insofar as they relate to the knowledge of the origins of each one and the desire to know. |
| If the school should have an integrated view of the experiences lived by the students, seeking to develop the pleasure for the knowledge, it is necessary that it recognize that it plays an important role in the education for | sexuality | linked to life, health, pleasure and well-being, which integrates the various dimensions of the human being involved in this aspect. |
| The correct information allied to the work of self-knowledge and reflection on one's | sexuality | raise awareness about the care needed to prevent these problems. |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

The creation of a conceptual network (PARDO APRIL, 2013) organized as a socio-historical narrative about what constitutes "sexuality" in the pedagogical governance discourse of PCN's is limited to the biological-hygienist, moral-traditionalist and therapeutic discourses, which, desirably, does not include radical-religious discourse but which does not yet take as effective and legitimate the opening to the discourse of human rights, sexual rights and the emancipatory and queer approach.

The terms predecessors reveal what are the main actions that are developed around sexuality: "treat", "include" and "discuss". All, even, appear in the text in the form of nominalizations: "treatment", "discussion" and "inclusion", revealing the low commitment to a truth value in action in the construction of this discourse. The terms "build" and "construct" are also used in addition to "demand". From this basic semantic construction (PARDO APRIL, 2013), we can see that foundational schemas are expressed as an equation in which the represented object is defined by a set of categories, concepts and relations. This implies that sexuality, according to the document, must be treated, discussed and included by an invisible actor and, because it is under construction, is not something materializable, that is, there is a strategy of fragmentation of this object that demands something without us knowing for whom this demand is oriented.

The successor elements confirm the analysis that sexuality would be related to natural and biological phenomena, since it is represented as something that "arises" and is "apprehended" in a natural way. The word "sexuality" is often replaced by "sexual orientation". The word "sexual" is the second most recurrent word in the document. In some passages of the document, the term "sexual" is not used in co-occurrence with the term "guidance", such as "contact", "abuse", "education", "relationship", "pleasure" violence ", which, in some cases, relate sexuality to negative attributes, undesirable in the social or school context. In the following, as illustrated by the concept of "sexuality", we present a table with the co-texts of the term "Sexual Orientation":

**Chart 3** – Co-occurrences of the term "Sexual orientation" in the Justification for the cross-sectional theme Sexual orientation.

| In dealing with the theme | sexual orientation | it is sought to consider sexuality as something inherent to life and health, which expresses itself early in the human being |
|---|---|---|
| The first part of this paper justifies the importance of including | sexual orientation | as a transversal theme in the curricula, that is, it discusses the role and the posture of the educator and the school, describing, for that, the necessary references to the best educational action when dealing with the subject, work that differs from the treatment of the issue in the family environment. |

| At first, it was believed that families were resistant to addressing such issues in school, but it is now known that parents claim | sexual orientation | in schools, because they recognize not only their importance for children and young people, but also the difficulty of talking openly about it at home. |
|---|---|---|
| A survey conducted by the DataFolha Institute, conducted in ten Brazilian capitals and published in June 1993, found that 86% of those interviewed were in favor of including | sexual orientation | in school curricula. |
| The Systematic Work of | sexual orientation | within the school is therefore linked to the promotion of the health of children and adolescents. |
| The work of | sexual orientation | also contributes to the prevention of serious problems such as sexual abuse and unwanted pregnancy. Correct information combined with the work of self-knowledge and reflection on one's own sexuality broadens the awareness of the care needed to prevent these problems. |

**Source**: Author's elaboration.

Here, the predecessors terms reveal what are the main processes that are developed around Sexual Orientation: again "treat", "include" and "re-claim". The word "work", however, is new, and reveals a conceptual network created around "Sexual Orientation" with a more formal character, a work to be developed in a well-defined place: the school. The word "school" is a locative predecessor used repeatedly, in addition to "curriculum", "school curriculum". Unlike "sexuality" carried out in several places and by different actors, "Sexual Orientation" belongs to the school and curricular field, being a subject claimed as a curricular theme to be "worked" in the curricula and in the classroom.

Thus, the document establishes a legitimacy of sexuality, which is then recontextualized in the pedagogical discourse as "sexual orientation", thus representing a particular discourse on how sexuality should be transformed into pedagogical practice in the context of the school, with a more restricted inclination to legitimized biological-hygienist and therapeutic knowledge and to the moral-traditionalist approach.

**Conclusion**

Spite of what still needs to be developed in Brazil as parameters for educational processes that include questions about sexuality and gender relations, in the wake of what we illustrate here, it is also necessary to highlight the advances made possible by the inclusion of this theme in 1997 in the official policies guiding the Brazilian education, as we pointed out in section 2.

Today we live in a moment of hegemonic struggles in which strategies of social and discursive relations of force have sustained the defense of the total suppression of the concept of "gender" in pedagogical-curricular policies. And this is done through the support of a network of hegemonic discourses, around the central religious-radical discourse, which operates a displacement of the meaning of "ideological" (that is, of meanings necessarily favorable to asymmetries of power and processes of domination, according to THOMPSON, 2002) to construct the alleged problem of "gender ideology and other forms of threats to the family," which attempts to curb the achievements in progress on the subject, also made possible by PCN's.

Such a radical-religious position, however, directly undermines the foundations of the Democratic Rule of Law, and the principles that should guide school education committed to citizenship, such as respect for human rights, repudiation of discrimination of any kind, access to conditions of dignified life, mutual respect in interpersonal, public and private relations; guarantee to all people of the same dignity and possibility of exercising citizenship, considering ethnic, cultural, regional, gender, age, religious differences; co-responsibility for social life (BRASIL, 1998, p. 21). On the other hand, in this hegemonic struggle to stabilize what is legitimate school knowledge in the fields of sexuality and gender relations, relevant practices and local assemblages of resistance have emerged.

A local example that we bring here is the case of the Curriculum in Basic Education Movement of the Federal District (SINDICATO DOS PROFESSORES DO DISTRITO FEDERAL, 2014), linked and subordinated to PCN's, but which brings new paradigms and new discourses to light and widens the debate regarding the concepts of gender and sexuality. It brings, in the eight *Cadernos* that compose the curriculum, with the exception of the notebook focused on Professional and Distance Education, the themes related to gender, sex and sexuality, sometimes in a more marked and evident way, others in a more discreet way, but into the development of the theme in the areas of Human Sciences as essential components of social relations. Still, based on these same assumptions, the Education Department of the Federal District has promoted other initiatives, such as the Cine-Diversity workshops, and some kindergarten schools, for example, are no longer celebrating "Mother's Day" or "Father's Day", but the "Family Day", as we had the opportunity to meet in the field. Local initiatives that, driven by the discussion of the theme, can favor critical and citizen formation in school, in which sexuality and gender issues are treated from the perspective of diversity/plurality, avoiding gender discrimination, discourse-based violence biologizing and

heteronormative, sexism, capacitism, male protagonism in the classroom (GONZALEZ, 2013), among other fundamental problems that require urgent position in social life, as advocated by PCN's.

And, of course, a political and moral stance that seeks to overcome relations of domination sustained in the control of gender and sexuality includes the debate about the function of discourse in the maintenance of these asymmetries of power. Practices and strategies (and the school is the fundamental space for this) of critical linguistic awareness can help unravel and problematize the oppressive and generative social effects of the dissemination and legitimation of the ideological discourses that produce and sustain asymmetric value dualisms.

- *RESUMO: Serão apresentadas reflexões iniciais da pesquisa de doutorado "Identidade de gênero no espaço escolar: possibilidades discursivas para a superação da heteronormatividade", de Gonzalez (2018), desenvolvida no âmbito projeto "Corpos e identidades como práticas sociodiscursivas: estudos em Análise de Discurso Crítica". Cumprindo nosso compromisso científico e político com a explanação crítica, em práticas sociais situadas, dos modos de agir e se relacionar (as inter-ações); construir sistemas de conhecimento (as representações) e, ainda, dos modos de ser e de identificar (as identificações) parcialmente (con)formadores de poderes-saberes-subjetividades em relações de gênero, discutimos aqui um aspecto do complexo processo social em curso que é a construção dos conceitos de "gênero social" e de "sexualidade" nos documentos político-pedagógicos nacionais, especificamente, aqui, nos Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais. Concluímos que há atores como a família e a escola que são avaliados negativamente assim como a sexualidade e o gênero são tomados como um conceito único e indistinto, possuindo distintas relações com campos semânticos conceituais e co-ocorrências com termos que constroem suas redes semânticas de significados.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Gênero. Sexualidade. Discurso pedagógico. Co-ocorrência. Seleção lexical. PCN.*

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# THE PLACE OF PORTUGUESE PHONETICS/ PHONOLOGY IN PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF SCHOOL EDUCATION[1]

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■ ABSTRACT: The grammatical nomenclature in effect in Portugal until 2003 dates back to 1967. However, in 2007, a new linguistic terminology was instituted with the publication of the Terminological Dictionary (TD). The dictionary was the result of the revised Linguistic Terminology for Elementary, Middle and High School (LTEMHS), analyzed in this study. In 2015, another important document entered into effect: the Portuguese Program and Curriculum Goals for Elementary, Middle and High School, (PPCGEMHS). Considering the importance of Phonetics and Phonology in reflecting on language and broadening linguistic knowledge, and taking into account the fact that, traditionally, these areas have been poorly represented in Portuguese school curricula (VELOSO, 2006), the objectives of this research are: to analyze how much Phonetics and Phonology are covered in the PPCGEMHS in the 3rd cycle of school education[2] and analyze whether the entries in the revised LTEMHS cover the content of these fields as prescribed by the PPCGEMHS. This study was based on the works of Cagliari (2009), Veloso (2006), Veloso and Rodrigues (2002), and our findings reveal that: those subject-matters are poorly represented in the PPCGEMHS; the entries in the revised LTEMHS do not cover all the content prescribed by the PPCGEMHS for those areas; and there are terminological errors and theoretical imprecision in the way the entries investigated have been written.

■ KEYWORDS: Phonetics. Phonology. Portuguese Language Teaching. Curriculum. School Education.

## Introduction

Until 2003, the linguistic terminology in effect for Portuguese language instruction in elementary, middle and high school in Portugal dated back to 1967. That year, a

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[2] In Brazil, the 3rd cycle of Portuguese school education is equivalent to grades 7, 8, and 9 of middle school.

team of linguists, responding to the Ministry of Education's request and based on their pedagogical experience, revised the terminology in a document entitled Linguistic Terminology for Elementary, Middle and High School (LTEMHS),[3] which was ratified by Decree nº 1488/2004 (LISBOA, 2004). Their initiative was justified

> […] by the broadly shared need of specialists and professors to correct terminological errors and to replace outdated Portuguese grammatical nomenclature approved by Decree nº 22 664, April 28, 1967. (LISBOA, 2007a, p. 2476, our translation).[4]

According to this Decree, the LTEMHS would undergo a trial period of three academic years, which began in 2004/2005. At the end of the trial period, it seemed that the LTEMHS would be implemented definitively in the country, even though the Decree itself had foreseen the inclusion of possible alterations presented by the results of the trial period. Nevertheless, upon implementation, the document was the target of numerous critiques by educators, linguists and intellectuals who identified various weak points throughout the document. In January 2007, a petition against the document with 8,132 signatures was submitted to public authorities (The Presidency of the Republic and the Assembly of the Republic, as well as the Ministry of Education). Reinforcing this movement, a group of 51 university professors sent a letter to the Ministry of Education requesting the suspension of the linguistic terminology.

However, what led to Decree nº 476/2007 (LISBOA, 2007a), which determined that the LTEMHS be subject to scientific review and pedagogical adaptation, were, according to the Decree, terminological inadequacies and scientific generalizations verified during the pilot experiment in the academic year 2005-2006, applied in fourteen groups and eight schools. The document, therefore, underwent the aforementioned revision coordinated by the General Director of Innovation and Curriculum Development of the Ministry of Education, with the collaboration of specialists.

The revision of the Linguistic Terminology for Elementary, Middle and High School (RTLEMHS) (LISBOA, 2008) was completed in 2007 and consisted of a list of entries that make up the Terminological Dictionary (TD) (LISBOA, [200-], which originated from it. The TD is an online tool for elementary, middle and high school teachers, which determines the terms to be used in Portuguese language instruction. Considering the fact that the TD contains theoretical principles, a hierarchy of terms and entries of the RTLEMHS, we chose to analyze the latter document[5], which facilitated data collection due to its linear nature.

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[3]  Original: *Terminologia Linguística para o Ensino Básico e Secundário* (TLEBS).

[4]  Original: "[…] pela necessidade, largamente partilhada pelos especialistas e pelos próprios professores, de corrigir os erros terminológicos e de superar a desactualização da nomenclatura gramatical portuguesa, aprovada pela Portaria n.o 22 664, de 28 de Abril de 1967." (LISBOA, 2007a, p. 2476).

[5]  The *online* TD, given its hypertextual nature, is not organized linearly. Readers, then, can define their own convenient research strategies.

The RTLEMHS presented a reduced list of terms (equivalent to 40% of terms included in the original list) as they were found to be most used in the context of Portuguese language instruction in schools.

Despite criticisms about the first version of the LTEMHS, Veloso (2006) positively evaluated the section of the document dedicated to phonetics and phonology. He emphasized his satisfaction upon noting the quantitative prominence of these areas in the LTEMHS (LISBOA, 2004), which was then in effect, compared to the Grammatical Nomenclature of 1967, in use until 2003. The nearly 70 entries in this document went up to 113, in a context where morphology and syntax were traditionally dominant. Such dominance, as claimed by the author, allows elementary and middle school students to master basic concepts in those areas, but not in phonetics and phonology.

After the approval of the RTLEMHS in 2007, elementary, middle and high schools in Portugal underwent two reforms. Those of special interest to this study, besides the terminological dictionary, are the curriculum guidelines that came into effect in the country beginning in 2015 with the publication of the Portuguese Program and Curriculum Goals For Elementary, Middle and High School (BUESCU *et al*., 2015), henceforth referred to as PPCGEMHS[6]. This document presents the curriculum goals, establishing objectives to be achieved throughout the three cycles of school education[7], and the contents to be followed. To ensure its operation, performance indicators are proposed. According to the document, this organization "[…] promotes the expansion of core curriculum, the establishment of a coherent course, the cultivation of autonomous speakers and writers in the multifunctional and cultural use of language, capable of progressing to higher levels of education." (BUESCU *et al*., 2015, p. 3, our translation)[8].

In the three cycles of school education, the program and its respective goals are structured around four domains (areas of instruction): orality; reading and writing; literary education, and grammar. In the 3rd cycle, reading and writing are separated and become independent domains.

The document is organized as described below. The introductory text is soon followed by a list of twenty-one general objectives of Portuguese language instruction, organized around the aforementioned domains. Next, each of the three cycles of school education is characterized. After this characterization, tables are presented, describing the context of each domain and establishing correlations with curriculum goals (which are represented by numbers in the tables and detailed in the final part of the document),

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[6]   This document was based on the Portuguese Curriculum Goals for School Education, *Metas Curriculares de Português do Ensino Básico,* approved on August 3rd, 2012 by the Office nº 5305/2012 during the Revision of the Curriculum Structure of the same year.

[7]   In Portugal, the 9 years of elementary and middle school, which are equivalent to Brazil's fundamental education) are distributed into three cycles as follows: 1st cycle - 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years; 2nd cycle - 5th and 6th years; 3rd cycle - 7th, 8th, and 9th years.

[8]   Original: "[…] permite expandir um núcleo curricular, configurar um percurso coerente, delinear o perfil de um falante e de um escrevente autónomo na utilização multifuncional e cultural da língua, capaz de progredir para outros graus de ensino." (BUESCU *et al*., 2015, p. 3).

followed by a short text on methodology and evaluation. Finally, the books and texts that should be used in each cycle are listed in attachments.

Considering that, traditionally, Portuguese phonetics and phonology are not sufficiently covered in school curricula in Portugal (VELOSO, 2006) and the importance of these fields for students to reflect upon the language and expand linguistic knowledge, this study sought to answer the following questions: How much are phonetics and phonology covered in the PPCGEMHS? Does the RTLEMHS offer theoretical support for the goals defined by the PPCGEMHS involving the areas in question? Our objectives were: to analyze how much phonetics and phonology are covered in the three cycles of school education in the PPCGEMHS[9] and whether the entries of the RTLEMHS correspond to the content of these areas prescribed by the PPCGEMHS. To this end, an evaluation of the content included for the three cycles to be analyzed was carried out. We observed whether the content of the first two cycles supports the work proposed in the third cycle and examined the RTLEMHS to verify whether concepts necessary to follow the content in question were adequately defined.

## Phonetics and Phonology in School Education in Portugal

Traditionally, phonetics and phonology are not sufficiently covered in school curricula both in Brazil (see CAGLIARI, 2009[10]) and in Portugal (VELOSO, 2006). For this reason, Veloso and Rodrigues (2002) defend the "extension and reorganization" of these areas in the third cycle of school education in Portugal. To justify the proposal, the authors present a list of theoretical and methodological arguments, which we now discuss.

The first argument, mounting their defense, is that phonology is a fundamental grammatical component of every natural language and, therefore, the restriction of grammatical instruction to morphosyntax is limiting. The second and third arguments present the need to improve students' "hearing sensitivity," increasing their capacity to perceive levels of sound and their written representations as two planes of language, which leads positively to a reduction of written errors. The fourth responds to the issue of the evolution of Portuguese phonetics throughout history, predicted by current programs and present in school grammar. The fifth argument is based on the existence of content prescribed by the programs that mobilize knowledge in the field of phonetics, such as, in literary studies, "[…] stylistic resources based on rhythmic or phonic standards." (VELOSO; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 237, our translation)[11]. In

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[9] The three cycles of Portuguese elementary and middle School correspond to the initial and final years of Brazilian school education.

[10] Cagliari (2009) offers important reflections on the *status quo* of phonetic and phonological instruction in Brazilian schools.

[11] Original: "[…] recursos estilísticos baseados em critérios rítmicos ou fónicos." (VELOSO; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 237).

their sixth argument, they point out the frequency of phonological work in the foreign language classroom setting, such as the articulation of segments and the observation of those that contrast with the phonetic inventory of the mother tongue of the students and those that do not. Lastly, the seventh and eighth arguments recall the importance of students' familiarity with phonetic symbols for their efficient use of dictionaries and potential interdisciplinary work inherent to phonetics and phonology. Having listed these arguments, the analysis conducted directly relates to the objectives of the present study and, thus, is of particular interest to us that is the approach given by four school grammars and portuguese curricular programs to phonetic and phonology (VELOSO; RODRIGUES, 2002).

By analyzing the four grammar books *Da Comunicação à Expressão*, by Azeredo *et al.* (1985); *Compêndio de Gramática Portuguesa: Ensino Secundário*, by Ferreira and Figueiredo (1990); *Da Palavra ao Texto: Gramática da Língua Portuguesa*, by Figueiredo and Bizarro (1997) and *Gramática de Português*, by Pinto (1998)[12], direct and indirect approaches to phonetic and phonological content were observed.

To analyze the direct approaches, the authors verified:

> - If these grammar books dedicate a separate chapter on the notions of phonetics and phonology;
>
> - Whether phonetics and phonology are explicitly considered as a complete chapter within the study of language or whether, alternatively, these two domains are explicitly secondary;
>
> - If a systematic distinction is made between the phonic plane and the graphic plane;
>
> - If the IPA symbols are used correctly;
>
> - If any description of the speech apparatus is covered;
>
> - If some version of the traditional articulatory classification of consonants and vowels of Portuguese is presented;
>
> - Which strictly phonetic or phonological notions are the subject of explicit definitions. (VELOSO; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 241, our translation)[13].

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[12] We clarify that these books were not consulted by us during the development of the present search. Thus, they don't make part of this article references.

[13] Original: "Se cada uma destas gramáticas reserva um capítulo à parte para a exposição das noções de fonética e fonologia; Se explicitamente se considera a fonética e a fonologia como um capítulo de pleno direito dentro do estudo da linguagem ou se, em alternativa, esses dois domínios são expressamente secundarizados; Se se estabelece uma distinção sistemática entre o plano fónico e o plano gráfico; Se são corretamente utilizados os símbolos do AFI; Se há lugar para qualquer tipo de descrição do aparelho fonador; Se é apresentada alguma versão da classificação articulatória tradicional das consoantes e das vogais do português; Quais as noções estritamente fonéticas ou fonológicas que são objeto de definições explícitas." (VELOSO; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 241).

The results indicated that the four grammar books dedicated a specific chapter for phonetics and phonology (although one book presented this information as a subchapter of morphology). Nonetheless, the authors concluded that the approach to these areas by half of the grammar books analyzed (namely *Da Comunicação à Expressão*, by Azeredo *et al.* and *Compêndio de Gramática Portuguesa: Ensino Secundário*, by Ferreira and Figueiredo) was, in their own words, "clearly secondary." Morphosyntax was the field that enjoyed most prestige. In the other two books ((*Da Palavra ao Texto: Gramática da Língua Portuguesa*, by Figueiredo and Bizarro and *Gramática de Português*, by Pinto ), phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax were equally covered. The distinction between phonic and graphic planes was properly made by Azeredo [the authors highlight that the other three books did not include the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols] and Pinto. It was not clearly made by the other two. In regard to speech apparatus, only Figueiredo and Bizarro did not include explanations. Veloso and Rodrigues point to the fact that all authors presented the articulatory classification of Portuguese sounds as well as explanations about diphthongs, vowels, consonants, syllables and phonemes, and basic notions of phonetics and phonology.

Concerning the presence of these subject areas in Portuguese programs[14] in effect during the period of the study, Veloso and Rodrigues (2002) verified that, in consonance with the results of the analysis of the grammar books, morphosyntax was more prominent than phonetics and phonology. The content was briefly presented in the high school program and, according to them, in a "fairly disorganized manner": difference between vowels, semi-vowels and consonants; separation between voiced and unvoiced, oral and nasal sounds; stress, pause and rhythm. The indirect presentation, in turn, was found in the following content: orthography, regional variation, literary analysis, and phonetic evolution.

Based on the results of the analyses, Veloso and Rodrigues (2002, p. 243, our translation) make a suggestion that they claim is aligned with the objectives of the programs. In their words, "[…] phonetics and phonology, in the levels of education herein considered, urgently need to become more viable and systematized both visibly and deliberately."[15] Next, they propose a list of basic notions of the subject matters which, in their opinion, should be covered not only in programs, but also in grammar books and Portuguese language classes.

In a posterior publication Veloso (2006, p. 115, our translation) highlights the little knowledge students acquire in elementary, middle and high school Portuguese instruction in comparison to the knowledge they acquire in other levels of language analysis:

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14   The documents analyzed by the authors were: for the third cycle, the Portuguese Language Programs approved by Decree nº 124/ME/91, July 31, 1991; for high school, Portuguese programs included in the document entitled Portuguese A and B Programs, 10th, 11th, and 12th years (DES, 1997).

15   Original: "[…] grande necessidade de se tornar mais viável e de se sistematizar de forma mais evidente e mais deliberada essa presença da fonética e da fonologia nos níveis de ensino aqui considerados." (VELOSO; RODRIGUES, 2002, p. 243).

> […] there is, in fact, a noticeable deficiency in knowledge related to basic notions of phonetics and phonology in general in the EBS[16]. Actually, it seems realistic to assume that, in general, any student at the end of the 12th year[17] of schooling should, minimally, be able to identify and classify morphosyntactic and syntactic categories or identify inflectional processes of language. However, it would be difficult for a student of this level of education to use terms such as "fricative consonant," "open-mid vowel," "open syllable," among others in explicit discourse on language properties.[18]

Similarly, Sônia Valente Rodrigues (2005, p. 1, our translation), who is a lecturer in the Language Department of the University of Porto, argues for

> [...] the introduction of phonetic and phonological concepts in elementary, middle and high school [...] as fundamental to the instruction-learning process of the mother tongue in specific areas (e.g., orthography, phonetic evolution of language, lexical relationships, stylistic resources, and versification).[19]

In order to present the contributions of these areas to different facets of language teaching, Rodrigues (2005) presents didactic sequences that mobilize phonetic and phonological understanding of concepts, such as homophony, alliteration, the development of oral competence. She shows how they may be applied in the context of school education.

Having understood this context, we examine, in the following sections, how much these areas are covered in official Portuguese documents currently in effect, specifically, the RTLEMHS (LISBOA, 2007b) and the PPCGEMHS (BUESCU *et al.*, 2015).

**The Revision of Linguistic Terminology for Elementary, Middle and High School (RTLEMHS)**

As previously stated, the RTLEMHS (LISBOA, 2007b) is one of the official Portuguese documents that comprise the *corpus* of this study. However, before our

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[16] Elementary, Middle and High School (*Ensino Básico and Ensino Secundário*).

[17] In Brazil, this year corresponds to the third year of high school.

[18] Original: "[...] existe, de facto, um défice de conhecimento explícito das noções de fonética e fonologia na generalidade do EBS . Com efeito, parece-me realista admitir que, de uma forma geral, qualquer aluno do final do 12° ano de escolaridade saberá minimamente identificar e classificar categorias morfossintactas e sintactas ou ainda identificar processos flexionais da língua; porém dificilmente um aluno desse nível de escolaridade usará termos como 'consoante fricativa', 'vogal semifechada', 'sílaba aberta', entre outros, no seu discurso explícito sobre as propriedades da sua língua." (VELOSO, 2006, p. 115).

[19] Original: "[...] a introdução de conceitos de fonética e de fonologia no ensino básico e no ensino secundário [...] como fundamental para o ensino-aprendizagem da língua materna, em domínios tão concretos como o da ortografia, da evolução fonética da língua, das relações lexicais, dos recursos estilísticos, da versificação." (RODRIGUES, 2005, p. 1).

analysis, we find it necessary to investigate the research carried out by Portuguese phonologists and/or phoneticians dedicated to the study of the original version of the LTEMHS (LISBOA, 2004). We aim to compare their research with ours and to analyze whether the changes to the text at the time of its revision were, in fact, positive regarding the subject areas of this study.

Similarly, before doing the analysis of the RTLEMHS, we searched for the opinions of Portuguese researchers (in the field of Portuguese linguistics as well as Portuguese language instruction) about this document through the Internet. However, we were surprised to find there were no publications on the topic despite its importance in the instruction of Portuguese in elementary, middle and high school

In regard to the original document – the LTEMHS 2004 – the only publication we found was the aforementioned article by Veloso (2006), entitled "Phonetics and Phonology in the New Linguistic Terminology for Elementary, Middle and High School" [*A fonética e a fonologia na nova Terminologia Linguística para os ensinos básico e secundário*]. We want to sidetrack a little to present the conclusions of the scholar's analysis.

In his quantitative analysis of the phonetics and phonology notions included in the document, Veloso makes an inventory of terms, totaling 113 entries (as previously stated). He groups them into 10 categories and informs the percentage values that each category occupies in the terminological dictionary under analysis: 1) Types/Articulatory Categories (28, 3%); 2) Prosody (17.7%); 3) Articulation Phonetics/Speech Apparatus (10, 6%); 4) Combination Phonetics (9.8%); 5) Acoustic Phonetics (8%); 6) Other Notions (8%); 7) Syllabic structures (7.1%); (8) Phonology (4.4%); (9) Definition of the Disciplines (4.4%); (10) Perceptive Phonetics (1.7%).

Having presented these data, he points out that it is the responsibility of those involved in school education to define the strategies for teaching them and that there are different levels of importance in this inventory of terms, which results in the need to rank them adequately for different school levels.

Next, in discussing the "[…] structuring principles underlying the set of phonological and phonological terms." (VELOSO, 2006, p. 121, our translation)[20] in the LTEMHS, he believes they are organized in a balanced manner, appropriate for the intended audience and approves of the respect for the nomenclature of "pedagogical tradition." In the case of terms that have become the subject of recent linguistic discussion (such as diphthong, triphthong and nasal vowel), the document chooses to "[...] continue to prescribe [...] terms already reaffirmed and established by decades of a pedagogical tradition that is crystallized in some way, to the detriment of more recent terms which are the objects of discussion in the linguistic community." (VELOSO, 2006, p. 122, our translation).[21]

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20  Original: "[…] princípios estruturadores subjacentes ao conjunto de termos de fonética e de fonologia." (VELOSO, 2006, p. 121).

21  Original: "[…] continuar a prescrever […] termos já firmados e estabelecidos por décadas de uma tradição pedagógica de alguma forma já cristalizada, em detrimento de termos mais recentes e que são objectos de discussão na comunidade

For Veloso (2006), the introduction of notions that reveal significant advances in the development of linguistic studies in the field of phonetics and phonology is as important as the maintenance of the terms already established by tradition. He devotes the final section of his text to address two aspects of this issue: the distinction between phonetic and phonological levels and the emphasis given to the prosodic levels of the phonological plane. The paragraph that introduces the conclusion of his article summarizes very clearly his evaluation of the first version of the LTEMHS:

> As stated in several parts of this text, I consider that the LTEMHS's list of phonetic and phonological entries represents a significant improvement to NG1967, both quantitatively and in terms of its appropriateness to the most recent developments in linguistics. However, as has been also indicated, it keeps 'significant areas of consensus' which, according to the objectives set for the LTEMHS, [...] should be maintained. (VELOSO, 2006, p. 125, our translation).[22]

Now we analyze the document that followed the 2004 LTEMHS and preceded the publication of the online TD. The Revision of Linguistic Terminology for Elementary, Middle and High School (RTLEMHS) was published in September 2007. In the first pages of the RTLEMHS, readers are informed about what the document is (and what it is not): it is a normative text which determines the terms to be used in language instruction; in other words, it is a terminological dictionary. However, it is not a grammar book, nor a program, nor a list of contents. It states that

> As it is known, the LTEMHS is a supporting tool for grammar instruction and the study of texts. It is a normative document that intends to establish the terms to be used when describing and analyzing different aspects of language functioning. As a normative document, it should not be confused with a program, a grammar book, a list of contents; it is better understood as a terminological dictionary. (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 5, our translation).[23]

In addition, it is worth noting that, from its inception, the document was not meant to be a list of terms to be taught at the different years of elementary, middle and high school,

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dos linguistas." (VELOSO, 2006, p. 122).

[22] Original: "Como já foi dito em diversas partes deste texto, considero que a lista de entradas de fonética e fonologia da TLEBS representa um avanço significativo relativamente à NG1967, quer em termos quantitativos, que em termos da sua adequação aos desenvolvimentos mais recentes da linguística enquanto ramo do saber (mantendo porém, como também foi referido, continuidades importantes relativamente às 'zonas significativas de consenso' que, segundo os objetivos fixados para a TLEBS [...] devem ser mantidos." (VELOSO, 2006, p. 125).

[23] Original: "Como é sabido, a TLEBS constitui uma ferramenta de auxílio ao ensino da gramática e ao estudo dos textos, sendo um documento normativo, que pretende fixar os termos a utilizar na descrição e análise de diferentes aspectos do funcionamento da língua. Enquanto documento normativo, não se confunde com um programa, com uma gramática escolar ou com uma lista de conteúdos, devendo ser entendido como dicionário terminológico que é." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 5).

and the instructor, upon selecting the material, would be responsible for aligning the proposal with the curriculum guidelines. In order to minimize the difficulties resulting from this orientation, the RTLEMHS presented a shorter list of terms, corresponding to only 40% of the entries in the first list. The authors included those that they believed would probably be used in Portuguese language instruction in schools.

The document is thus structured: the context of its production is followed by a section in which the methodology and criteria of the LTEMHS revision are explained. Next, they present the assumptions that led to the revision; the main changes in relation to the first document; the criteria for the revision; the hierarchy of terms, and those related to the revision of the database; the theoretical perspectives that fostered the revision (discourse analysis, rhetoric, pragmatics and textual linguistics); and finally, the methodology adopted for the development of the work.

The RTLEMHS draws readers' attention to the importance of the "hierarchy of terms" so they can understand how the proposed terms relate to one another and to the different domains of linguistics. It also informs them about the approach adopted in relation to the terms that belong to different areas of this science: "As several areas of linguistics overlap, we should understand that the inclusion of terms in a specific domain does not mean its exclusion from another." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 7, our translation).[24]

This hierarchy is organized into five categories and their respective subcategories[25]: a) Language, Linguistic Community, Variation and Change; b) Descriptive Linguistics; c) Discourse Analysis, Rhetoric, Pragmatics, and Textual Linguistics; d) Lexicography and e) Graphical Representation.

Phonetics and phonology, similar to other levels of linguistic analysis, are situated under the category of Descriptive Linguistics and include the following content: phonetics and phonology (sounds and phonemes: phoneme, vowel, semi-vowel, consonant; characterization of sounds: form and point of articulation; sound sequences: diphthong, semantic group, hiatus); prosody/prosodic level (acoustic characteristics: pitch, duration, intensity; syllable: syllable formats (open and closed), syllable stress (tonic and atonic), classification of words according to the number of syllables (tonic and atonic – monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic, polysyllabic); stress (classification of words according to the nucleus position – high-pitched, low-pitched and irregular words), stress properties of syllables (atonic and tonic syllables); intonation: pauses (silent and full); phonological processes (insertion, suppression and alteration of segments – assimilation, dissimilation, nasalization, diphthongization, reduction, crasis); metathesis.

Phonetics and phonology, in comparison to other levels of linguistic analysis, is well represented in the RTLEMHS, which takes into account issues related to sound

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[24] Original: "Havendo várias áreas de cruzamento entre disciplinas da Linguística, deve entender-se que a opção por inserir um termo num determinado domínio não significa excluir o seu tratamento por outra disciplina da Linguística." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 7).

[25] Considering the objectives of this research, we chose to include only the manner in which the document presents the subcategories related to phonetics and phonology.

articulation, the characteristics of consonants, vowels and semivowels, and phonological processes. The study of articulation is of fundamental importance for students to reflect on the characteristics of sounds that make up the phonetic and phonological inventory of their native language. The presentation of phonological processes, in turn, encourages their reflection on the phonetic changes that occur in words from natural languages, from a synchronic and diachronic perspective, motivated internally (linguistically) and externally (extra-linguistically).

Another issue to be observed – upon reading the terms contemplated in the document – is the possibility of articulation between items of different disciplines. As we observe closely the hierarchy of phonetic and phonological terms – specifically those related to phonological processes (which, as stated, are found under Descriptive Linguistics) – and the terms that pertain to language, linguistic community, variation and change, we find that the theoretical approach to these topics is coherent. We should pinpoint that, in the presentation of entries in the RTLEMHS, linguistic change is defined as:

> A phenomenon that results from the projection of a community language in the history of this community and its descendent communities. […] Linguistic change is observed in all grammatical levels and results from the combination of different factors: internal factors, related to the structure of the language itself, and external factors, primarily of a geographical and social nature. (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 32, our translation).[26]

The perspective of linguistic change transcribed above (as linguistic or extra-linguistic) theoretically concurs with the conception of subjacent language in the study of the aforementioned phonological processes. As previously mentioned, the RTLEMHS aims to be "[…] a supporting tool for grammar instruction and the study of texts. It is a normative document that intends to establish the terms to be used when describing and analyzing different aspects of language functioning." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 5, our translation).[27]

Based on this objective, we chose to analyze whether this tool, after the revision published in 2007, actually continues to offer the necessary support for teachers who work with the content, the curriculum goals and the performance indicators prescribed by the *Program and Curriculum Goals for Portuguese School Education* (BUESCU *et al.*, 2015). In the following section we present our detailed investigation of the content

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[26] Original: "Fenómeno que resulta da projecção da língua de uma comunidade na história dessa comunidade e das suas comunidades descendentes. […] A mudança linguística observa-se a todos os níveis gramaticais e resulta da combinação de diferentes factores de mudança: os factores internos, que são constituídos pela própria estrutura da língua, e os fatores externos, de natureza sobretudo geográfica e social." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 32).

[27] Original: "[…] uma ferramenta de auxílio ao ensino da gramática e ao estudo dos textos, sendo um documento normativo, que pretende fixar os termos a utilizar na descrição e análise de diferentes aspectos do funcionamento da língua." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 5).

prescribed by the aforementioned program for the 9th grade and, more superficially, for the 8th grade.

We chose 8th and 9th grades because we noticed that, in the third cycle, phonetic and phonological content is addressed specifically in those years. It is important to point out that different from what we verified in the 9th grade, in which phonetics and phonology are presented in three categories, as shown in Table 2 in the next section, in the 8th grade, the content pertaining to these areas is presented in a single category (orality), only considering phonological variation in oral texts and the distinction of geographical contexts in which variations occur (see Table 1 in the next section).

Taking into consideration this methodological strategy, our observation of the RTLEMHS focuses on the analysis of those entries that directly support the professor in meeting curriculum goals and the performance indicators defined for the 9th grade and addressing the content associated with them. Besides, as previously stated, it is in this school year that more knowledge of the areas is imparted. Furthermore, the content for the 9th grade curriculum encompasses that which is designated to the 8th grade.


## Phonetics and Phonology in the Program and Curriculum Goals for Portuguese School Education and in the RTLEMHS

The analysis of the content, goals and performance indicators defined for the last two years of the 3rd cycle required the examination of phonetic and phonological contents necessary to reach such goals during the first and second cycles. Thus, even though an analysis of the programs for the first and second cycles may divert our attention from the objectives of the present investigation, we find it necessary to present them below.

The phonetic and phonological content related to the first cycle is organized in progressive levels of complexity, which allows students to develop skills that are necessary for the acquisition and consolidation of reading and writing.

In the first year, working on students' perception, consciousness and sensitization leads them to expand knowledge of the oral modality of their native language, already consolidated before they start school. This way, students develop awareness, for example, when working with minimum pairs, that the exchange of sounds within a word can change its meaning. They understand that words are formed by different numbers of syllables and that, for this reason, some words are larger than others (monosyllables, disyllables, trisyllables and polysyllables), and they acquire intrasyllabic awareness, that is, the understanding that syllables are made up of minimal units.

In the second year, students continue to develop syllabic and intrasyllabic awareness, focusing on the way syllables, vowels, semivowels and consonants are combined, leading to the formation of digraphs and diphthongs; the graphophonemic relationship is also taught. Furthermore, students learn all the letters of the alphabet (in uppercase and lowercase), as well as the relationship between graphemes and phonemes.

In the third year, phonological awareness, specifically syllabic and intrasyllabic, is consolidated. Stress is also taught so that students learn to classify words based on the position of the stressed syllable, the nucleus.

Despite this development of phonological awareness, which so positively affects the consolidation of writing, we noticed that the PPCGEMHS (BUESCU *et al*., 2015) does not prescribe phonetic and phonological content for the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th grades (which correspond to the entire second cycle and the first year of the third cycle).

When reading the document, we also realize that other levels of linguistic analysis, such as morphology, lexicology and syntax, are continuously addressed during almost the whole school education, thus taking more place in the curriculum. Morphology is assigned to grades one through eight; lexicology, to grades one to nine, and syntax, to grades three to nine.

In the document two general objectives are outlined for the third cycle: to constantly consolidate writing and reading skills, developed in the previous cycle and to "[…] develop and substantiate their use so that more knowledge can be acquired and more complex skills, naturally adapted to students' age group, be progressively developed." (BUESCU *et al.*, 2015, p. 27, our translation).[28] We consider that the lack of phonetic and phonological content during four consecutive years hinders the accomplishment of the objectives above, because it is impossible to consolidate skills in the third cycle that were not developed in the second cycle. Similarly, "more complex skills [that can] be progressively developed" is suddenly interrupted with this break.

As stated previously, our research focuses specifically on the analysis of the sections of the document that discuss phonetics and phonology in the 8th and 9th school years. This is our focus from this point onwards.

The section of the document entitled "Characterization" presents the specific objectives to be reached in reading, writing and literary education; then it makes explicit which ones are related to grammar, a field of linguistics that, the text claims, allows interaction with other fields. Thus, the progressive (and annual) consolidation of morphological and syntactic knowledge is planned throughout the cycle.

In the field of phonology it is determined that the main phonological processes should be addressed through the study of texts in which they are explicitly described. Therefore, it is indicated that, at this level, phonology be approached. This does not rule out, as seen in the following text, a continuous retrieval of knowledge relevant to the phonetical plane.

We now turn to the phonological concepts that are included in the tables, listed as the content of grades eight and nine. Five domains of language study (orality, reading, writing, literary education and grammar) are related to specific content, distributed in blocks.

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28 Original: "[…] desenvolver e consubstanciar a sua utilização, para a aprendizagem de outros saberes e para o desenvolvimento de capacidades progressivamente mais complexas, adaptadas, naturalmente, à faixa etária em consideração." (BUESCU *et al.*, 2015, p. 27).

The table below is our adaptation of the tables that show curriculum goals, performance indicators and content to be addressed in the 8th grade, related to phonetics/phonology, included in the PPCGEMHS:

**Table 1** – Phonetic/Phonological Content for the 8th Grade

| Domain | Curriculum Goals Performance Indicators | Content |
|---|---|---|
| Orality | 6. Recognize language variation 1. Identify, in oral texts, variation in the phonological, lexical, and syntactic planes. 2. Distinguish geographical contexts in which different varieties of Portuguese occur. | Language variation phonological, lexical and syntactic planes Geographical contexts |

**Source:** Buescu *et al.* (2015, p. 80).

When reading the table, we understand that, in the 8th grade, phonological concepts are only presented in the domain of orality, in the block entitled language variation, which encompasses phonological, lexical, syntactic, and geographical contexts. The curriculum goal defined for the phonological content is accompanied by two performance indicators: "Identify, in oral texts, variation in the phonological, lexical, and syntactic planes" and "Distinguish geographical contexts in which different varieties of Portuguese occur" (BUESCU *et al.*, 2015, p. 80, our translation)[29].

Although the fields of phonetics and phonology are interdependent, the identification, at this level, of that which pertains to phonology (and, consequently, to phonetics) is very important for students, because they can consolidate the idea that, in the realm of their native language sounds, there are multiple possibilities of phonetic realization of a single sound and that not every sound affects communication. After affirming that this knowledge is important at this level, we consider that abstraction skills should be systematically developed throughout the previous cycles. Similarly, the knowledge of what refers to the geographical plane (and, consequently, to other planes, such as social and diachronic) in language is essential for students to differentiate norms.

In order to understand the scope of these observations, we should imagine that a teacher decides to explore the phonological variations of European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese, specifically with regard to the phonemic use of the grapheme "l" at the end of a syllable (for example, in the Portuguese word for salt, "sal"). To do so, the teacher could show students that, in the great majority of Brazilian Portuguese dialects, the vocalization of this segment ['saw] occurs, whereas in a very restricted group (present in some regions of the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, for example) and among the Portuguese, the phoneme observed is an velarized voiced

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[29] Original: "Identificar, em textos orais, a variação nos planos fonológico, lexical e sintático" and "Distinguir contextos geográficos em que ocorrem diferentes variedades do português." (BUESCU *et al.*, 2015, p. 80).

alveolar lateral ['saɬ]. This explanation will only succeed if the following content of articulatory phonetics has already been addressed in the classroom: the characteristics of consonant segments (point and mode of articulation, voiced and unvoiced) and the properties of vowel segments (tongue position in terms of opening, anteriority and posteriority, and roundness of lips).

It is important to clarify that we do not argue for the idea that schools should train specialists in phonetics and phonology (we know it is the teacher's responsibility to carry out the appropriate didactic transposition of these contents into the school context). We, nevertheless, defend that phonetics and phonology should take more place in the curriculum so that they can finally be recognized as rich for students' education as morphology, lexicology and syntax, linguistic domains that, as we will discuss further on, comprise most of the Portuguese-language curriculum in general.

In the table below we present our adaptation of the tables that show curriculum goals, performance indicators and content to be addressed in the 9th grade, related to phonetics/phonology, included in the PPCGEMHS:

Table 2 – Phonetic/Phonological Content to be addressed in the 9th Grade

| Domain | Curriculum Goals Performance Indicators | Content |
|---|---|---|
| Orality | 6. Recognize language variation 1. Identify, in oral texts, variation in the phonological, lexical, and syntactic planes. 2. Distinguish geographical contexts in which different varieties of Portuguese occur. | Language variation Phonological, lexical and syntactic planes Geographical contexts |
| Reading | 12 Recognize language variation 1. Identify, in written texts, variation in the phonological, lexical, and syntactic planes. 2. Distinguish geographical contexts in which different varieties of Portuguese occur. | Language variation Phonological, lexical and syntactic planes (identification) Historical and geographical contexts (distinction) |
| Grammar | 24 Make explicit phonological aspects of Portuguese 1. Identify Phonological processes of insertion (apheresis, epenthesis and paragoge), suppression (apheresis, synthesis and apocope) and alteration of segments (vowel reduction, assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis). | Phonology Phonological processes of insertion (apheresis, epenthesis and paragoge), suppression (apheresis, synthesis and apocope) and alteration of segments (vowel reduction, assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis). |

**Source:** Based on Buescu *et al.* (2015, p. 6-24).

Table 2 shows that in the 9th Grade (the last year of the 3rd cycle), there is a considerable expansion of phonological concepts, which are found in three different domains: orality, reading and grammar. For this reason and because the incorporation of these concepts requires mastery of various notions that underlie them, we carry out a closer and more detailed analysis of this part of the program. Thus, in orality, the content determined for the 8th year is repeated. The same happens in reading and language variation. However, the identification of what is in the phonological plane and the distinction of what is in the geographical plane are included.

The verbs "recognize," "identify" and "distinguish," which introduce these goals and performance indicators draw our attention due to their strictly content-related nature. We know that for schools to educate young people who can fight against linguistic prejudices that are materialized through socio-ideological and historic-cultural value judgments, school programs must have a reflective perspective. The actions triggered by these verbs must be associated with attitudinal competences, which are important in the fight against such prejudices: respect for and appreciation of linguistic variants of lesser social prestige used by rural communities or groups with low education levels, for example. In other words, the actions of recognizing, identifying, distinguishing and making explicit do not discard the respect and value placed in different language norms.

In addition, we consider that the performance indicator "Identify, in oral texts, variation in the phonological plane" is very broad and does not provide the teacher with the necessary means to achieve it. The term "phonological variation" covers a relatively large range of phonological phenomena, among which are: various modes of vowel and consonant reduction; vowel variation based on their positions in words (tonic, pre-tonic, oral and nasal post-tonic, mid-vowels, etc.); phonetic boosting and palatalization. This broad range is aggravated by the omission of the reason why these issues are addressed in Portuguese language classes, affecting the teaching dimension of the content. In other words, with which general teaching objective is the development of this competency associated? Is the nature and characteristics of the Portuguese phonological system addressed in contrast to that of the written alphabet? Perhaps the reason for this gap is that there is no dialogue between the very performance indicators: from the way the text was written, there is no relationship between the content of orality and the content of reading.

In this context, the terminological imprecision aggravates it even more: in reading, students should identify, in written texts, variation in the phonological plane. As it is widely known, orthography does not allow variations. What actually happens is that the phonological system interferes in the alphabetic-orthographic system, especially during the process of learning how to write. In other words, there is no phonological variation in writing, but rather a phonological system that can interfere in the writing system. Thus, "transgressions" in the writing system, motivated by a phonological process, is the result of students' phonetic-phonological projection. They project something that stems from speech in writing.

In Grammar, the content listed is related to the phonological processes of insertion, suppression, alteration, and segmentation. The approach to these processes demands students' understanding of basic concepts of phonetics and phonology, which should have been taught in the previous years. In order to identify a few of them, we take the following steps:

- We present examples of each phonological process, using the following strategy: whenever they are verifiable in European Portuguese, we search for examples that illustrate them at the Camões Institute website (2008) and in the RTLEMHS (LISBOA, 2007b); whenever we do not find examples in these sources, they reflect Brazilian Portuguese usage; at times, considering that the distinction between geographical contexts is a noteworthy indicator in the document, we choose to compare the phenomena in both contexts (Europeans and Brazilian Portuguese);

- We indicate the knowledge that needs to be mobilized in order to work on a specific content, and we verify whether the PMCPED (BUESCU *et al.,* 2015) defines how such content should be approached in the years prior to the 8th and 9th grades;

- We examine the RTLEMHS (LISBOA, 2007b) in order to find whether definitions of concepts necessary for the work on the phonological processes under consideration are included; this showed us that we need to address the terms not only qualitatively: we must analyze their content as well.

We now present a reflection on phonological processes. We start with the phonological process of insertion, which includes Prothesis, Epenthesis and Paragoge:

- Prothesis: it corresponds to the addition of a unit at the beginning of the word. According to the RTLEMHS (LISBOA, 2007b), this phenomenon occurs in some dialects of European Portuguese, between an article and a noun (e.g., "a água" [the water]/ "a[i]água". We also notice it in the speech of Brazilians and the Portuguese with lower levels of education (e.g., "voar" [fly] / "avoar", "lembrar" [remember] / "alembrar".[30] The approach to this process requires the reaffirmation (and the positive consolidation of its content) of the goal set for the 8th grade, mentioned in Table 2 ("Recognizing language variation"), and the respective performance indicators ("Identify, in oral texts, variation in the phonological, lexical, and syntactic planes" and "Distinguish geographical contexts in which different varieties of Portuguese occur"). In this case, a possible strategy is to explore the phonetic characteristics of European and Brazilian Portuguese.

- Epenthesis: it is the insertion of a segment in the middle of the word. This happens, for example, for etymological reasons, when words have consonant sequences that do not follow the Portuguese syllabic pattern (a single vowel as its nucleus). In this case, Brazilian speakers insert a vowel. The words "obstáculo" [obstacle], "corrupto" [corrupt] and "obvio" [obvious] (from the Latin *obstaculum / corruption / obvius* respectively) are pronounced with an epenthetic vowel: "obistáculo," "corrupito,"

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[30] Although these four forms exist in Brazilian Portuguese, the use of "*voar*" and "*lembrar*" are more socially acceptable and, therefore, used more frequently by speakers who know the norm.

and "obivio." For teachers to explain this phonological process, as well as all others found in the PPCGEMHS, they have to the teach contents related to the structure of the Portuguese syllable, which is introduced in the first three years of elementary school and is revisited/expanded afterwards. To successfully reach the goals proposed by the document, the teacher would have to introduce content not included in curriculum for the previous years, such as the components of the syllable in European Portuguese (nucleus, rhyme, onset and coda), the sonority sequencing principle and the sonority scale.

- Paragoge: it is the addition of a segment at the end of a word. In some instances, in European Portuguese, the phenomenon tends to occur at the end of the verbs in the infinitive form: a vowel that succeeds the final "r" is heard: "cantar" [sing] – "cantare" [kã'taɾe], "pular" [jump] – "pulare" [pu'laɾe]. Different instances occur in a considerable number of dialects of Brazilian Portuguese. In this case, people tend to erase this final consonant "r": "cantar" [sing] – "canta" [kã'ta], "pular" [jump] – "pula" [pu'la]. When working with this phenomenon, students need to understand that writing and speaking have their specificities and that the first is not a faithful representations of the latter. In the PPCGEMHS, curriculum goals, performance indicators and content that relate to orality are included in every year of school education. This is innovative if we consider that, historically, school education focused on writing and reading and felt no obligation to teach formal oral genres that students normally do not learn outside school. However, among the curriculum goals, performance indicators and contents, the approach to the relationship between speech and writing is not anticipated as a continuum of discursive practices: sometimes they approach one another; sometimes they distance themselves from one another. This reflection is essential for students not to evaluate speech based on writing or vice-versa and to overcome the dichotomy according to which writing is superior to speech. However, this observation is not part of the objectives of this research and needs further investigation.

Our analysis of the RTLEMHS showed us that the presentation of these processes needs depth and detail. After the brief definition of the phenomenon – "Segment insertion: a phonological process in which a new segment is articulated in the initial (prosthesis), medial (epenthesis) and final (paragoge) position." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 38, our translation)[31] – the only example they give is of epenthesis. As to the entry *phonological process*, they only offer a general definition of the expression: "A term used to refer to the chages undergone by the segments in several contextual circumstances (at the beginning and at the end of a word, next to a stressed vowel, etc.)" (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 40, our translation)[32].

It is important to note that in the introductory paragraph of the document we find the purpose with which it was originally conceived:

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[31] Original: "Inserção de segmentos: Processo fonológico em que um novo segmento passa a ser articulado em posição inicial (prótese), medial (epêntese) e final (paragoge)." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 38).

[32] Original: "Termo usado para referir as modificações sofridas pelos segmentos em diversas circunstâncias contextuais (no início e no final das palavras, junto de vogal acentuada, etc.)." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 40).

> [...] a reference document for the teaching practices of Portuguese language instructors that aims to surpass the outdated Portuguese Grammar Nomenclature of 1967 and its consequent terminological derivation largely documented in textbooks for language teaching. (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 3, our translation).[33]

The lack of precise, detailed and exemplified definitions of the phonological processes prescribed in the current program in Portugal in the RTLEMHS is an indicator that it needs to be revised according to the reforms of the school education programs; otherwise, it will not fulfil the purpose for which it was created. For a teacher who has not completed the Portuguese language undergraduation program recently (or who has completed it recently but has had no instruction in phonetics and phonology) and who does not attend any continuing education courses in the area, the teaching content determined by the current program will be challenging. As regards the scope of this investigation, the "[...] outdated Portuguese Grammatical Nomenclature of 1967 and its consequent terminological derivation largely documented in textbooks for language teaching." has not been updated yet.

We shall now turn our focus to the phonological processes of suppression, which include apheresis, syncope and apocope:

Apheresis: it is the suppression of a segment at the beginning of a word. According to Mattoso Câmara Junior (2009, p. 49, our translation), "[…] in the Portuguese language, there is a tendency to suppress the initial vowel of a word that forms a syllable because of the expiratory force given to the consonant that begins the next syllable." [34] In Brazil, we see this phenomenon in the speech of people with a low level of education (e.g., "arrancar" [pluck] / "rancar" and "aguentar" [endure] / "guentar"), or in the informal speech of individuals of all social groups (e.g., the deletion of the first syllable of the verb "estar" [be] in the first person, "eu estou" [I am] / "eu tou").

According to the explanation of this process in the classroom, the reflection on speech and writing as a *continuum* of discourse practices (about which we wrote when discussing paragoge) would be an appropriate strategy. Furthermore, it would be necessary to approach this phenomenon from the perspective of linguistic variation based on the observation that apheresis refers to the level of education of the speaker (as in the forms of "arrancar" and "aguentar" aforementioned), and to the degree of formality of the situation in which the communication occurs (as in the case of the verb "estar" aforementioned). In the PPCGEMHS prior to the 8th and 9th grades there is no content related to linguistic variation. In these years, as shown in Tables 1 and 2, they are a specific content designated, in the 8th grade, to orality and, in the 9th grade, to orality and reading.

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[33] Original: "[…] um documento de referência para as práticas pedagógicas dos professores de língua portuguesa com a finalidade de superar a desactualização da Nomenclatura Gramatical Portuguesa de 1967 e consequente deriva terminológica largamente documentada nos materiais didácticos destinados ao ensino da língua." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 3).

[34] Original: "Na língua Portuguesa, há tendência à aférese da vogal inicial que constitui sílaba simples, por causa da força expiratória que se dá à consoante que começa a sílaba seguinte." (CÂMARA JUNIOR, 2009, p. 49).

- Syncope: it consists of the suppression of a medial segment. At the Camões Institute website (2008, our translation), there is a section entitled "Características Fonéticas do Português Europeu vs. Português Brasileiro" [Phonetic Characteristics of European Portuguese vs. Brazilian Portuguese]." Among the observations regarding the differences between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese, we find that

> The most apparent difference between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese refers to the audibility of unstressed vowels, which are much more audible in Brazilian Portuguese than in European Portuguese, in which it is very short, leading sometimes to its suppression. The consequence of this feature of European Portuguese is that foreigners understand the pronunciation of Brazilians better than that of the Portuguese. They feel that, in European Portuguese, the language has only consonants.[35]

To illustrate this phenomenon, there are four phonetic transcriptions (two from Brazilian Portuguese and two from European Portuguese) of the clause "A menina faltou ao teste de psicologia" [The girl missed the psychology exam]. We will only transcribe and comment on the two transcriptions to European Portuguese. The first occurrence is a paused and syllabic pronunciation, and the second, a colloquial pronunciation:

[ɐ mɪ´ninɐ faɫ´to aw ´tɛʃtɪ dɪ psikulu´ʒiɐ]
[ɐ m´ninɐ faɫ´to aw ´tɛʃt d psiklu´ʒiɐ]

In the first transcription, the first vowel phoneme of the word "menina" [girl], which is in a pre-tonic position, is reduced and occurs only, according to the website, in the paused and syllabic register. In turn, in the second transcription (colloquial register), the same segment is suppressed. A similar phenomenon occurs with the second vowel phoneme of the word "psicologia" [psychology], which is also in a pre-tonic position: it is reduced in the paused register and suppressed in the colloquial register.

In order to approach this process, the knowledge of the structure of the Portuguese syllable is essential. As it is prescribed only to the first cycle, the teacher must include these contents in their syllabus in order to successfully reach 9th-grade goals.

- Apocope: it is the deletion of a segment at the end of a word. To illustrate this type of occurrence, in the second phonemic transcript above, we find the pronunciation of the words "faltou" [missed] / [faɫ´to], "teste" [exam] / [´tɛʃt] and "de" / [d]. In these cases, the deletion of the final vowel phoneme occurs. As we can easily notice, in most

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35 Original: "Uma característica do Português Europeu que constitui, talvez, a mais notória diferença em relação ao Português do Brasil diz respeito às vogais não-acentuadas que são muito mais audíveis no Português Brasileiro do que no Europeu, sendo, nesta variedade, muito reduzidas, o que leva, por vezes, à sua supressão. Esta característica do Português Europeu tem como consequência que os estrangeiros compreendem melhor a pronúncia de um brasileiro do que de um português, sentindo, neste último caso, que a língua parece ter só consoantes." (CAMÕES INSTITUTE, 2008).

Brazilian Portuguese dialects, when infinitive verbs are pronounced, Brazilians tend to suppress the segment corresponding to the orthographic ar(r) at the end of the word. This phenomenon is seen in informal situations, in the speech of people from different Brazilian regions and different levels of education.

For students to learn this content, they need to know Portuguese syllable structure and the relationship between writing and speaking, as we mentioned previously.

In the RTLEMHS, there is no entry for apheresis (nor for apocope or syncope). It is mentioned only in the entry "segment deletion," according to which it is a "Phonological process in which a segment stops being articulated in the initial (apocope), medial (syncope) and final (apheresis) position of the word." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 42, our translation)[36]. There is a more serious issue related to terminology error than the one noted above: interchanged definition of apocope and apheresis. The first process takes place at the end of the word and the second, in the beginning, not the other way around, as we find in the terminological dictionary.

In the RTLEMHS, the following entries related to syllables can also be found: syllable, open syllable, atonic syllable, closed syllable, and tonic syllable. The definition of syllable is highlighted below:

> A unit that groups sounds within the word. It may include one or more sounds as in the syllables of the word *a-pro-vei-tar*. Within the syllable, sounds may occur in the onset syllable (consonant(s) to the left of the vowel), **in the syllable nucleus (vowel or diphthong)** or in the syllable coda (consonant to the right of the vowel). The nucleus and the coda constitute the syllable rhyme. (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 41, emphasis added, our translation).[37]

Our attention was drawn to the fact that, although words such as "onset," "coda" and "nucleus" are included in the definition, there are no specific entries for them, providing readers with a more precise explanation of these concepts, which are fundamental to understanding syllable structure. Having identified this problem, we reiterate the need for synchrony between curriculum goals, performance indicators and the content prescribed by the PPCGEMHS, and the entries of the RTLEMHS. The misconception of the composition the syllable nucleus, emphasized in the quotation above, makes the issue even more complicated: according to the entry, the syllable nucleus can be comprised of vowels or diphthongs; however, this phenomenon is not defined in the structure of the Portuguese syllable, which only admits one (and only one) vowel as a nucleus although more than one vowel can be part of the same syllable.

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[36]   Original: "Processo fonológico em que um segmento deixa de ser articulado em posição inicial (apócope), medial (síncope) e final (aférese) da palavra." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 42).

[37]   Original: "Unidade que agrupa os sons dentro da palavra. Pode incluir um ou mais sons, como nas sílabas da palavra a-pro-vei-tar. Dentro da sílaba, os sons podem ocorrer no ataque da sílaba (consoante (s) à esquerda da vogal), no núcleo da sílaba (vogal ou ditongo) ou na coda da sílaba (consoante à direita da vogal). O núcleo e a coda constituem a rima da sílaba." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 41).

Now we turn to the modification of segments, which includes vowel reduction, assimilation and dissimilation:

- Vowel reduction: it corresponds to the natural weakening that vowels receive when occupying an atonic position in words, whether in the initial, medial or final position. In the syllabic and paused phonetic transcription [ɐ mɪˈninɐ faɫˈto aw ˈtɛʃtɪ dɪ psikuluˈʒiɐ], this phenomenon occurs, as mentioned above, with the first vowel of the word "menina" (it is in a pretonic position), and the vowel phoneme of the word "teste" (it occurs in the final postonic position). The table below is found at the Camões Institute website (2008). It offers examples of terms in which such reduction occurs: in the initial position ("merecer" [deserve] / [ˈmɾseɾ]); initial and medial ("despegar" [detach] /[ˈdʃpgaɾ]); and initial and final ("telephone" [telephone] /[ˈtlfɔn]). Before discussing this process, we need to focus on:

1) The articulatory parameters of the Portuguese vowel segments [the position of the tongue in terms of height, posteriority, anteriority and roundness (or not) of the lips] so students may understand that the two first vowel segments of [mɪˈninə] are not articulated in the same way, despite referring to the same grapheme;

2) The phonological inventory of the oral vowels in order to foster the understanding that there are, in European Portuguese, ten oral vowel phonemes [i, u, e, o, ɛ, ɔ, a, w, ɐ, ɪ], as shown in the table below. Thus, it is possible to understand that the phonemes [i] and [ɪ] of the word "menina" [girl] / [mɪˈninə] are different and are part of the phonological inventory of their mother tongue.

**Table 3** – Phonological Inventory of the Portuguese Oral Vowels

| Oral vowels | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **<a>** | [a] (pá) | [ɐ] (da) | | | |
| **<e>** | [e] (vê) | [ɛ] (pé) | [ɐ] (meia) | [i] (emigrar) | [ɪ] (de [dɪ]) |
| **<i>** | [i] (vi) | [j] (pai) | | | |
| **<o>** | [ɔ] (sol) | [o] (pôr) | [u] (sapo) | [w] (mágoa) | |
| **<u>** | [u] (tu) | [w] (pau) | | | |

**Source:** Camões Institute (2008).

3) The secondary characteristic of the unvoicing of vowels so students may understand that, although the primary characteristic of vowels is voicing, they can be unvoiced in some contexts, as in the pretonic and postonic positions, both illustrated in the pronunciation of the initial and final vocal phonemes of the word [mɪˈninə].

- Assimilation: it is the modification of phonemes through voicing or nasalization due to the influence of neighboring segments. In European Portuguese, the word "vamos" [let's go], if uttered alone, is pronounced [ˈvamʊʃ] – the final phoneme is an unvoiced alveopalatal fricative [ʃ]. However, when uttered in a sentence, such as in

the example given by the Camões Institute website (2008) "vamos jantar" [let's have dinner], it is pronounced [ˈvɐmuʒ ʒãˈtaɾ], if pronounced slowly. What happens is that the first phoneme of the word "jantar" [dinner], which is a voiced alveopalatal fricative [ʒ], assimilates the voicing characteristic of the neighboring [ʃ]. In the context of everyday language, [ʃ] is fused with [ʒ]: [ˈvɐmu ʒãˈtaɾ]. Similarly, the vowel phoneme [u], which is high, front, and rounded, due to the influence of the voiced bilabial nasal phoneme [m], becomes nasalized in the word "muito" [very] [ˈmũĩ̯tʊ].

The PPCGEMHS does not prescribe the content necessary to explain assimilation before the 9th grade. Therefore, teachers need to introduce it. We highlight the necessary parameters for the description of consonant sounds: the point of articulation (bilabial, labiodental, dental, alveolar, alveopalatal, palatal, velar and glottal sounds), the way or the mode of articulation (occlusive, nasal, fricative, affricate, tap, vibrant, retroflex and lateral sounds), and the state of the glottis during the production of sound (voiced or unvoiced). After that, it is possible for teachers to explain that, besides these primary characteristics, phonemes also have secondary articulations, such as the voicing assimilation of [ʃ] and the nasalization of the phoneme [u] illustrated in the previous paragraph.

- Dissimilation: according to the RTLEMHS (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 37, our translation), dissimilation is a "Phonological process in which a phonetic segment loses one or more phonetic traits that it had in common with a neighboring segment, diverging from it."[38] An example of this phenomenon can be observed in the word "lírio" [lily], which derives from the Latin word "*lilium*" and changed the second consonant phoneme from [l] to [ɾ]. With a synchronic perspective, the document cites, as an example of dissimilation, the pronunciation, in Lisbon dialect, of the first vowel of the word "telha" [tile]. For teachers to address this process in the classroom, they have to previously teach diachronic variation, which is not assigned to the years prior to the 9th grade.

- Metathesis: it corresponds to the modification of a segment due to its transposition to a new position in the syllable. It also occurs when a syllable moves to another position in the word.

Diachronically speaking, the changes that occurred in the words *semper/sempre* and *super/sobre* from Latin to Portuguese illustrate this concept. From a synchronic perspective, the RTLEMHS cites the following examples of metathesis in European Portuguese: "The exchange of syllables in '*estômago*' > '*estôgamo*', or the exchange of segments in '*prateleira*' > '*parteleira*' in some social varieties" (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 39, our translation).[39] In Brazilian and European Portuguese, metathesis occurs when people with low levels of education say "cardeneta" (instead of *caderneta*) [notepad] and "*largato*" [lizard] (instead of *lagarto*). It is essential to revisit and deepen the content

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[38] Original: "Processo fonológico em que um segmento fonético perde um ou mais traços fonéticos que tinha em comum com um segmento vizinho, diferenciando-se dele." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 37).

[39] Original: "A troca de sílabas em 'estômago' > 'estôgamo', ou a troca de segmentos em 'prateleira' > 'parteleira' em algumas variedades sociais." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 39).

(language variation; phonological, lexical and syntactic plane; geographic content), the curriculum goal (to recognize language variation) and the performance indicators (identify, in oral texts, the variation in the phonological, lexical and syntactical planes, and to distinguish geographical contexts in which different varieties of Portuguese occur) assigned for the 8th grade by the PPCGEMHS, as it is shown in Table 1, in order to address metathesis.

In the RTLEMHS, we find the following definitions of the modification processes:

- "Reduction: A phonological process which consists of the weakening of an atonic vowel; thus, the first vowel of "bolo" [cake] is reduced in "bolinho" [little cake]. The same happens in the pairs "medo" [fear] / "medroso" [fearful], "mata" [woods] / "matagal" [dense forest]." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 41, our translation)[40];

- Assimilation, is a "Phonological Process in which a phonetic segment identifies itself with a neighboring segment or approaches the other as it acquires one or two phonetic traits of that neighboring segment." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 36, our translation).[41] However, as a universal linguistic phenomenon, this process is found not only in Portuguese from Europe, Brazil or Guinea-Bissau, but in all natural languages. This document illustrates assimilation only from a diachronic point of view, through the evolution of the word "mão" [hand] in its transition from Latin into Portuguese - "Assimilation: *manum>mãnu>mão*". We believe that they have missed a valuable opportunity to show that phonological processes happen both from the diachronic and synchronic perspective, and particularly, to show their presence in everyone's speech.

- "Metathesis: the transposition of segments or syllables within a word" (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 39, our translation).[42]

## Final remarks

Our analysis showed that, despite the positive aspects of the RTLEMHS, some weak points were identified in the organization and composition of the entries selected in this investigation, among which we highlight the following:

- the phonological processes could have been approached from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, as an inherent phenomena to all natural languages; instead, the document does not make such an articulation and misses, on several occasions, valuable opportunities to make further statements in this regard;

- it lacks an in-depth definition of the three phonological process of insertion and lacks examples as well;

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[40] Original: "Redução: Processo Fonológico que consiste no enfraquecimento de uma vogal em posição átona; assim, a primeira vogal de "bolo" sofre uma redução em "bolinho" e o mesmo sucede nos pares "medo"/"medroso", "mata"/"matagal." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 41).

[41] Original: "Processo Fonológico em que um segmento fonético se identifica com um segmento vizinho, ou dele se aproxima, ao adquirir um ou dois traços fonéticos desse segmento vizinho." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 36).

[42] Original: "Metátase: transposição de segmentos ou sílabas no interior de uma palavra." (LISBOA, 2007b, p. 39).

- there are no specific entries related to the definition of syllable, such as onset, nucleus and coda, and the definition of nucleus is mistaken (see the entry "sílaba" [syllable]);

- there are no specific entries for each of the three phonological processes of suppression;

- there are terminology errors in the entry of segment suppression and in the definition of apocope and apheresis,

The present investigation also aimed to clarify each of these issues during the analysis of the curriculum goals, performance indicators and contents related to phonetics and phonology prescribed by the PPCGEMHS. We thus compared the contents assigned to the 9th grade and the entries that make up the RLTEMHS in order to verify if there were enough entries to address the contents, goals and indicators.

We conclude that the reduction in the number of entries done during the revision of the first LTEMHS was detrimental to the areas of phonetics and phonology from a quantitative perspective (essential definitions to understand phonological processes assigned to the 9th grade by the current program were excluded) and a qualitative perspective (definitions are so succinct that they become vague and create terminological misunderstandings).

In addition, we know that the PPCGEMHS innovates[43] when it defines curriculum goals, performance indicators and phonetic and phonological content for the final two years of the third cycle; nevertheless, it does not anticipate essential knowledge to be taught in the years before the 8th and 9th grades. For teachers to successfully implement the content prescribed in the document, they must fill a four-year gap (4th, 5th, 6th and 7th grades) of phonetics and phonology instruction in one school year, which seems somewhat unachievable.

■ *RESUMO: A Nomenclatura Gramatical em vigor em Portugal até 2003 datava de 1967. Em 2007, instituiu-se uma nova terminologia linguística, por meio da publicação do Dicionário Terminológico (DT). Tal dicionário resultou da revisão da Terminologia Linguística para os Ensinos Básico e Secundário, analisada neste estudo. Em 2015, outro importante documento entrou em vigor: o Programa e Metas Curriculares de Português para o Ensino Básico e Secundário (PMCPEB). Considerando a importância da Fonética e da Fonologia para a reflexão sobre a língua e para a ampliação dos saberes linguísticos dos alunos, e levando em conta o fato de, tradicionalmente, essas áreas fazerem-se pouco presentes no currículo escolar português (VELOSO, 2006), os objetivos desta pesquisa foram: analisar o espaço ocupado*

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43    In relation to the previous document: Curriculum goals for Basic Education (BUESCU *et al,*, 2012).

*pela Fonética e pela Fonologia no PMCPEB, no 3º ciclo do Ensino Básico[44] e analisar se os verbetes da revisão da TLEBS contemplam os conteúdos desses campos previstos pelo PMCPEB. O estudo fundamentou-se em Cagliari (2009), Veloso (2006), Veloso e Rodrigues (2002) e evidenciou que essas disciplinas têm escasso lugar no PMCPEB; que os verbetes constantes da revisão da TLEBS não abrangem todos os conteúdos previstos pelo PMCPEB para essas áreas e que há erros terminológicos e imprecisão teórica na composição dos verbetes investigados.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Fonética. Fonologia. Ensino de Língua Portuguesa. Currículo. Ensino Básico.*

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[44] The 3rd cycle of Basic Portuguese Education is equivalent, in Brazil, to the 7th, 8th and 9th grade of Elementary School Final Years.

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VELOSO, J.; RODRIGUES, A. S. A presença da fonética e da fonologia no ensino do português (ensino básico e secundário): algumas considerações preliminares. *In:* ENCONTRO COMEMORATIVO DOS 25 ANOS DO CENTRO DE LINGUÍSTICA DA UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO, 2002, Porto. DUARTE, I. M. *et al*. **Anais** [...]. Porto: C.L.U.P., 2002. v.1, p. 231-246. Available in: https://bibliotecadigital.ipb.pt/handle/10198/3314. Access on: 20 ago. 2017.

*REVIEW*

# A STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE TO LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN PHONOLOGICAL THEORIES

Ana Carolina CANGEMI*

*Fonologia, fonologias: uma introdução* (2017) [*Phonology, Phonologies: An Introduction*, edited by Dermeval da Hora and Carmen Lúcia Matzenauer, comprises studies on Phonological Theories. The work is dedicated to Gisela Collischonn (in memoriam), admirable phonologist, who so prematurely left us. In the Introduction the editors promise to take the reader to the "world of sounds", understood both as the substance of human languages as well as a unit of their respective grammar. The eleven chapters that make up the book are structured around six questions[1]:

1. What is _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Phonology[2]?
2. What does _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Phonology study?
3. How to analyze linguistic phenomena using _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Phonology?
4. Could you give me an example?
5. What are the main research lines?
6. What should I read to know more?

In the first chapter, "Fonologia Estruturalista" [Structuralist Phonology], by Juliene Pedrosa and Rubens Lucena, the Saussurean concept of *langue* is seen as a foundation for later formalizations of phonological theories. Specifically, regarding Structuralist Phonology, the authors introduce the founding theorists and the fundamental aspects of the study of a language. When analyzing phenomena of the language, the authorsrefer especially to Brazilian linguist Joaquim Mattoso Camara Jr. and, consequently, bring as examples phenomena involving consonant and vowel sounds of Portuguese.

The second chapter, "Fonologia Gerativa" [Generative Phonology], by Seung Hwa Lee, starts with a presentation of the main theoretical assumptions of Generative Phonology (a branch of Generative Grammar). In it, the author discusses topics such as 1) the major theorists in the field of Generative Phonology, 2) the definition of

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1 Also including notes and references pertaining to each chapter.

2 The underscored blank spaces preceding "Phonology" indicate the type of Phonology dealt with in the chapters, for example, Generative Phonology, Lexical Phonology, Prosodic Phonology, and so forth.

what it is and 3) the scope of its study. The author emphasizes the main objective of the theory (to make explicit the linguistic knowledge/faculty of the speaker-listener of each language) as well as its product (the construction of a phonological grammar of a language that could describe the phonological knowledge of the speaker-listener of that language in terms of the system of rules). In order to exemplify a linguistic phenomenon in the light of the theory, Lee discusses the idea and the rules involving a *conspiracy* process, by using the sound alternations of Portuguese archiphoneme / S /. Finally, there is a systematic elaboration on Generative Phonology. Therefore, the chapter is a valuable contribution towards the description and explanation of the phonological knowledge of the speaker/listener.

The third chapter, "Teoria dos Traços" [Distinctive Features Theory], was produced in partnership between Carmen Lúcia Matzenauer and Ana Ruth Moresco Miranda. The authors initially provide a historical overview of theory and subsequently (in a very objective and clear way) familiarize the reader with the minimum units forming the internal structure of segments as well as the two approaches to features: i) attributes of segments, and ii) autosegments. It should be emphasized that such perspectives are originally linked to different theoretical models, the first referring to the Classical Generative Model, the second to the Autosegmental Model. By fulfilling data produced by Brazilian children, the authors offer examples that illustrate the dynamics of the phonological grammar of Brazilian Portuguese. It is finally stressed that distinctive features have an important descriptive and explanatory power. Hence the importance of theoretical knowledge for the advancement of studies of the phonological component of linguistic systems. Carefully written and reader-friendly, this chapter harmonizes the transition from linear to nonlinear models,[3] which will be fully approached in the five chapters following it.

The fourth chapter, by Dermeval da Hora and Ana Vogeley, introduces "Fonologia Autossegmental" [Autosegmental Phonology]. This nonlinear approach provides the basics for a multidimensional understanding of phonological processes. The way the reader can benefit from the descriptions, with multi-layered arrangements of phonological representations with respect to the suprasegmental aspects, for example, is remarkable. Thus, the authors devote a part of the chapter to prosodic phenomena. Although Autosegmental Phonology is considered a theory and not just a descriptive model, it is important to understand its mode of representation (tree diagrams), the conditions under which phonological rules and processes are established, and the principles of its functioning. The authors, then, assign another part of the chapter also to these topics. Finally, the coordination of the components of the articulatory

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[3] The theoretical models of linguistic phonology are commonly divided into two groups: i) linear models (CHOMSKY, 1968) and ii) nonlinear models (SELKIRK, 1984; NESPOR;VOGEL, 2007; GOLDSMITH, 1999). Linear models regard speech as a linear combination of segments or distinctive features, that is, there is a one-to-one relationship between the segments and the matrices of feature values. Nonlinear models understand the phonology of a language as an organization in layers (*tiers*). In this model, the one-to-one relationship is reviewed. Features can extrapolate (or not) a segment and they can also be linked to more than one unit, function alone or in association with them.

apparatus during the production of sounds in speech is dealt with using data extracted from Portuguese.

The fifth chapter, "Teoria Lexical" [Lexical Theory], written by Leda Bisol, addresses phonological theory concerning words as regards to two types of components, i) the lexical component and ii) the postlexical component. This theory, which is grounded on generative models of analysis, integrates phonology and morphology in the lexical component. Therefore, prosodic entities, the syllable, enunciation, the processes of word formation and the elements of a word are examined in a singular way. The author also highlights the key aspects of lexical theory, the ordering of rules and their effect on the serial model. Finally, there is a cyclical analysis of a Portuguese word composed by a root and a thematic vowel.

The sixth chapter, "Fonologia Métrica" [Metrical Phonology], by José Magalhães and Elisa Battisti, is aimed at the organization and formalization of relations of prominence (ranging from the smallest, such as the syllable, to larger ones, such as clauses) in the phonological domain). Although Metrical Phonology studies the system of relative prominence of a language as a whole or in terms of its accentual pattern, some theoretical assumptions, objects and processes of investigation are given special attention. For example, the formation of a structure with binary components by means of relative prominence hierarchically organized is one of the issues of application of the theory. In order to exemplify the models of analysis described in the chapter, the authors work with Latin, Portuguese and other natural languages.

The seventh chapter, "Fonologia Prosódica" [Prosodic Phonology], by Luciani Tenani, highlights the interface between Phonology and other components of grammar. The author points out that Prosodic Phonology stands as a formal theory about prosodic structures, which can be defined by the identification of information on the syntactic or morphological qualities which are relevant to characterize the domains of application of phonological rules. After showing that there can be no necessary isomorphism among the constituents, the author calls attention to the plurality of proposals for prosodic hierarchies. Regardless of the various proposals, it is possible to adopt a set of procedures for analysis in the light of Prosodic Phonology. By using data drawn from Portuguese, the author exemplifies such procedures and reflects especially on accentual shock in the language.

The eighth chapter, written by Ubiratã Kickhöfel Alves, deals with "Teoria da Sílaba" [The Syllable Theory]. The chapter begins with a discussion of the challenge of characterizing the syllable. The author extends the difficulty to the representational level, to the formal mechanisms of analysis of the syllabication process in a language as well as to universal constraints on syllabication. Specifically, in relation to the representational structure in Syllable Theory, three sets of proposals are presented for its characterization: i) the autosegmental structure, ii) the tree-diagram structure and iii) the moraic structure. Linguistic phenomena can be analysed by adopting more than one approach. Some analyses may be carried out, for example, taking a rule-based approach, or a syllabic-model approach or a constraint-based approach. It should be

emphasized that, in addition to the different approaches, it is necessary to consider the distribution segments into the syllable, following universal principles of syllabification. A set of principles is presented in the chapter. Finally, the author points out that studies that look into the syllabic structure of the system are still an inexhaustible source of investigation. This chapter also marks the end of the section on non-linear theories in the book, which now turn to the model created in the 1990s: Teoria da Otim(al)idade. [Optim(al)ity Theory].

In the ninth chapter, entitled "Teoria da Otimidade" [Optimality Theory], by Luiz Carlos Schwindt and Gisela Collischonn, the theory that had a major impact especially on phonological studies is introduced. According to the authors, this theory can be considered a development of the Generative Theory, in terms of formal descriptions and the search for universals. However, a methodological differentiation can be noticed when it is compared to the generative models that preceded it. From the beginning of the chapter, the authors fulfil examples to initially elucidate the theory. The first example is within the scope of the syllabic structure of Portuguese. As the analysis of the syllabic structure is prioritized in this chapter, the essential properties of the phonological model are highlighted. It is important to emphasize that the task of the Optimality Theory is to promote the mapping of linguistic forms which have been effectively realized together with their underlying forms. Undoubtedly, the theory brings advances to phonological analysis, but there are problems, too. At the end of the chapter, the authors reflect on some of these problems.

The tenth chapter, "Teoria de Exemplares" [Exemplar Theory], written by Thaïs Cristófaro Silva and Christina Abreu Gomes, introduces a representational model formulated, *a priori*, for the study of visual perception and categorization in the realm of Psychology. According to the authors, three aspects are within the scope of Exemplar Theory: i) phonetic detail, ii) the effects of frequency on mental representations, and iii) emergence and grammatical management of abstract representations. Experimental methodologies are grounded on the expectation of presenting empirical evidence so as to corroborate tendencies of generalization in abstract grammatical representations. In the context of the phenomenological analysis there is the examination of the effects of frequency and lexical similarity by means of research into the corpora of the language under study.

The eleventh and last chapter, "Fonologia de Laboratório" [Laboratory Phonology], by Eleonora Cavalcante Albano, addresses a methodological position which can be applicable to any phonological theory. It is considered that the association between Phonetics and Phonology should be sufficiently clear to support experimental hypotheses. The method, which was developed at *LabPhon Association*[4], is intended for the scientific study of the elements of a spoken or signed language as well as of its organization, grammatical function and role in communication. According to the author, in this respect, the method shares the same objects of traditional Phonology (in terms of its

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[4] From https://www.labphon.org/. Access on: 27 Feb. 2018.

system and phonic processes), but in a more particular way. Thus, phonetic detail plays an essential part in shedding new light on the the nature of phonic contrasts, for example.

*Fonologia, Fonologias: uma Introdução* (2017) fulfills its promise to offer the theoretical tools for the reflection on the phonological components of languages (especially Portuguese), as it describes the main phonological theories. Moreover, the book stands as a broad and dense study that allows for the understanding of phonological theories and methods, fostering debates and further developments. With the contribution of renowned Brazilian scholars and researchers, the book is reader-friendly from beginning to end, objectively offering more than the answers to the six questions around which its chapters are organised. Theoretical frameworks, issues and results are gathered together in this useful work, which certainly leads the reader to the "world of sounds."

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# 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.

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