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PRESENTATION

We are pleased to present Alfa's second issue of 2019, made up of eight articles, all original in their conjunction of themes, approaches and proposals.

The first three share the focus on the discursive dimension of language. Brait explores "discourses of resistance", particularly from the literary sphere, showing how the relationship between texts and paratexts — which she suggests could be two-way — weaves and unveils voices and events. Pistori elaborates a dialogue between the ancient rhetoric (Aristotelian and Platonic) and the Dialogical Discourse Analysis, defending an alliance between the two approaches for the study of discourse and argumentation. Based on a virtual ethnographic investigation of feminist Facebook pages, Biondo proposes to discuss the relationship between gender and language ideologies, problematizing the possible convergences between hegemonies in both domains.

The fourth article in this issue takes us to a region of the planet characterized by an extremely complex linguistic situation with a very high multilingualism rate, Oceania. Silva discusses the language policies of its various countries and territories; those which have delineated borders, "of languages, of senses, of memory", between languages with different sociolinguistic status (colonizers, autochthonous, immigration).

Vasconcelos, Scarpa and Dodane analyze the acquisition of negative expressions in the speech of two children, one Brazilian and one French. The comparative characterization of the process allows us to identify similarities, which point to general principles beyond the specificity of each isolated case. The authors highlight the role of gestures and vocalizations in the construction of meaning and the gradual inclusion of other linguistic elements in the utterances, and point to an order of emergence in the functions performed by negative particles, which begins with the rejection/refusal category.

We move from mother language acquisition to the universe of foreign language acquisition in the telecollaborative context. Rampazzo and Aranha propose to discuss the applicability of the concept of community to this specific context. They based their study on long experience with teletandem practices, within the scope of the project *Teletandem Brazil: Foreign Languages for All*. The characterization of interactions and practices leads the authors to identify criteria that support the validity of the concept in this context.

Closing this issue, we have two articles in which the semantic dimension is in focus. Basso's text analyzes the expression 'de volta' (back) in Brazilian Portuguese, from the perspectives of formal semantics and formal pragmatics. Considering the

expression a “contradirectional event modifier”, the author discusses its various possible interpretations and concludes by proposing a unified semantic analysis of its readings.

Ferreira and Rammé also deal with a semantic property — causality, but for this they adopt a recent theoretical model — the Nanosyntax, applying it to the analysis of the behavior of Brazilian Portuguese verbs. The authors show that this approach allows us to identify constraints and to arrive at generalizations about the syntactic-semantic nature of this property and provides elements for including this property in a formal representation of the syntactic structure.

The variety of themes and theoretical-methodological perspectives in this issue, a constant feature on Alpha’s pages, represents our commitment to mirror recent developments in increasingly diverse and increasingly interdisciplinary language studies. Or perhaps, and also, investigations as diverse as the multifaceted nature of our object of study.

Good reading!

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

DISCOURSES OF RESISTANCE: FROM PARATEXT TO TEXT, OR VICE VERSA?¹

Beth BRAIT*

- **ABSTRACT:** This research aims to discuss the strategies used in discourses of resistance that confront the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from the 1960s to 1980s and whose effects are still present today. These discourses never cease to surface in different spheres through different genres. Among them we find the literary discourse, which mobilizes individual and collective memory through documents and/or personal accounts and is thus understood as one of the discourses that seek to unveil and make known the devastating consequences of the years of lead. Theoretically based on concepts offered by the dialogical perspective of discourse, *K.* (KUCINSKI, 2015) and *Os visitantes [The Visitors]* (KUCINSKI, 2016), written by journalist and writer Bernardo Kucinski, are analyzed as an articulated discourse sequence, insofar as the latter resumes the former, establishes a polemic interaction between them and makes it possible to find the values in tension that organize the whole sequence and design an outline of a discursive project and of the subject that utters it. For the purpose of this article, we underscore the dialogical relationship that is established between texts and paratexts, one of the strategies of the literary discourse of resistance that, through the establishment of voices, seeks answers to concealed events and to possible ways of making them present through language.
- **KEYWORDS:** Utterances of resistance. Paratext. Discourse stylistics. Heterodiscourse. Brazilian prose. Bernardo Kucinski.

Necessary Remarks

What took place is indeed in the past, yet there is something that does not pass away, something that takes place but does not wholly recede into the past, a constantly returning present.

Octavio Paz (1985, p.289)

[T]hose really were implausible years.

Julián Fuks (2018, p.47)

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If we believe that these days are confusing and difficult, and find the voices that seem to disregard the harsh years of Brazilian dictatorship profoundly unfamiliar, we should turn to the discourses that were motivated by the Brazilian military dictatorship, which started in 1964 and lasted over two decades. Discourses related to it have emerged from different spheres and mobilized memory, through documents or personal accounts that gradually unveil and expose the devastating consequences of those lead years, whose effects are still present nowadays. There are still unburied dead bodies that were concealed by official discourse and the frail policies that aim to lay bare the intricate underground of military power and its supporters. A piece of evidence of this *history that never ends* is William Egan Colby's document, written on April 11, 1974, which was made known to Brazilians only recently, on May 10, 2018. Colby was the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) at the time.

This official evidence unmask the brutal reality under the presidency of Ernesto Geisel (1974-1979). Although people were not misled about who the presidents of Brazil were during the military regime, Geisel's presidency was *deemed to be marked by political openness and the mitigation of the rigor of the regime*. Many history books and manuals continually treat this notion as a "fact." However, according to Colby's document, which comes to public light after 44 years it was written, not only was Geisel aware of the atrocities caused by the regime, which feared a democratic turn and sought to impede democracy through torture and extermination, but he also condoned what was occurring as he authorized the continuity of the adversary murdering policy.

It is in this vein that discourses about dictatorship still serve as a basis of resistance, declaring that "[w]hat took place is indeed in the past, yet there is something that does not pass away, something that takes place but does not wholly recede into the past, a constantly returning present" (PAZ, 1985, p.289). If, on the one hand, an official document, signed by an international intelligence authority, is legitimate and powerful to change the records of Brazilian history, on the other hand, other unofficial discourses, not supported by unequivocal evidence, find ways to present historical versions of this recent military dictatorship that are lost in the profound and latent nuances of official discourse.

Among these discourses, which are constituted by different genres and circulate in different spheres, literary discourse will be used here as the one that maintains "the interconnection and interdependence of various areas of culture" (BAKHTIN, 1986a, p. 2) and "is revealed primarily in the differentiated unity of the culture of the epoch in which it was created" (BAKHTIN, 1986a, p.5). This means that, through the literary discourse of resistance, some specific features of Brazilian culture are at play, in tension, at two different moments, which are brought together in the threshold, a social and affective time-space border. That is, they are dimensions under the rule of dictatorship that are affected by it and are confronted with documents and current discourses that face the painful past. In addition, because genres, whether artistic or not, "accumulate forms of seeing and interpreting particular aspects of the world" (BAKHTIN, 1986a, p.5), the utterance of resistance is the concrete utterance that supports and materializes it,

and includes the object that prompts it (in this case, the fatal, deceptive and improbable delusions of dictatorship).

We should thus discuss at least two poles in intersection and tense interaction: on the one hand, the need to retrieve and reconstruct the events that need to be talked about, written about, described and analyzed in order for them to be known, recognized, divulged and, if possible, understood in the complexity of their many facets. This process occurs through the memory of a social, historical and discursive subject and may be supported by or based on documents or personal accounts of other enunciated memories. On the other hand, as a consequence of this vital, historical and ethical necessity, language has to be mobilized so as to retrieve the painful facts, the enunciative-discursive moment that unchangeably points to the near impossibility of discussing them, giving them existence through words.

These are the reasons which define the specific features of the genre that appropriates the *prose of resistance*. It can sway between tentative documental accounts and aestheticization, the fictionalization of a past that reflects and refracts the present, the now. It also maintains and permanently places the subject at the center of a battle with language, words, and genres. Given this powerful contingency, in literary discourse of resistance, language is thematized in different ways, exposing the enunciator's (and the discourse's, for that matter) (in)ability to mention the past that "does not wholly recede into the past" (PAZ, 1985, p.289) and is marked by sequelae, vestiges. Besides, at times guilt and discursive reluctance is experienced by the survivors, who take on the responsibility for enunciating the past, trying to bring to the present the vanished dead and the horrors of the regime. From this perspective, the consolidation of the genre occurs in the threshold, the border between biography, autobiography, autofiction, autodiscourse and the collective ethics of retrieving the unbearable experiences undergone so that the resistance that language offers is also exposed. The enunciator's struggles and strategies to recapture the past – her/his arduous and almost impossible task to bring the past to the present – makes her/him assume the condition of a historical, social, cultural and collective being. In fact, with no alibi in existence, s/he is a voice among many other voices that are mobilized by the discourses that intersect in the utterance.

The *stylistics of the novel*, the *stylistics of literary prose* or *sociological stylistics* is one of the keys to ground a dialogical approach to this complex *literary discourse of resistance*. It is comprised of an ethical-aesthetic reflection that Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975) promoted and developed in nearly his whole oeuvre, and especially in *Discourse in the Novel* (BAKHTIN, 1981), probably written between 1934 and 1935. This essay offers a reflection on the discursive forms of prose so as to facilitate the recognition, in the Brazilian literary discourses of resistance, of strategies used by the one who resists and allows her/his utterances to be populated by multiple voices, whether from the past or the present, harmonious or dissonant. These voices are, thus, fundamental to construe time, space and the subjects that live(d) therein.

Discourse in the Novel is an essay that approaches the novel in an unusual way. Especially, it shows that the novel brings into discourse, which is artistically created,

not only the social dialogue of languages, heteroglossia (or heterodiscourse, according to the latest Brazilian translation),² but also the clash between centripetal forces and centrifugal forces. Centripetal forces are oriented towards verbal-ideological centralization and the single unity/identity of language. Centrifugal forces, on the other hand, are constituted by the otherness of multiple idioms/languages at a certain moment in history and produce verbal-ideological decentralization. As Bakhtin discusses the need for a sociological stylistics or a stylistics of discourse, which bears different viewpoints in constant tension and a set of values and ways to express them, the essay decisively fosters a reflection on contemporary discourses of resistance, voices and the axiological positionings that actualize them. Besides this essay's direct contribution to our study, other concepts play a fundamental role, namely, *utterance*, *concrete utterance*, *enunciation*, *authorship*, *text*, and *paratext*. They will be explicated and mobilized at the appropriate time in this article.

Faces of a Discourse of Resistance

Based on the theoretical and methodological assumptions aforementioned, this paper discusses, through the dialogical perspective of discourse,³ the results of a research that aims at the reading of contemporary Brazilian literature related to the military dictatorship in the years of 1960-1980.⁴ Among many significant authors, whose works are identified as prose of resistance, we find B. Kucinski, a pen name of journalist Bernardo Kucinski. His fictional output has been an important contemporary literary discourse that resists and confronts what still bleeds, causes pain, repulsion, and even discursive reluctance to those who survived the terror and therefore feel they *have to enunciate*. The trilogy comprised of *K.* (KUCINSKI, 2015),⁵ *Você vai voltar para mim e outros contos* [You Will Return to Me and Other Short Stories] (KUCINSKI, 2014) and *Os visitantes* [The Visitors] (KUCINSKI, 2016) is an interdependent discursive set. It is actualized by the specific theme of the years of lead and the form that allows institutional and individual voices to face and confront each other. Among these voices

² The difference between heteroglossia, a well-known term that refers to the plurality of voices that constitute discourse, and heterodiscourse is that the latter aims to underscore the social discursive tone. In *Breve glossário de alguns conceitos-chave* [A Brief Index of some Key Concepts], Paulo Bezerra includes the etymology of the terms in Russian and states that according to Bakhtin's terminology, "it is a social heterodiscourse that translates the internal stratification of language and encompasses the diversity of every cultural voice in its historical and anthropological dimension" [...] (BEZERRA, 2015, p.247, our translation). [Citation in the original: "trata-se de um heterodiscurso social que traduz a estratificação interna da língua e abrange a diversidade de todas as vozes culturais em sua dimensão histórico-anropológica"].

³ For more on it, see Brait (2006).

⁴ This article is one of the products of the research project *Fundamentos e desdobramentos da perspectiva dialógica para a análise de discursos verbais e verbo visuais* [Fundamentals and development of the dialogical perspective for the analysis of verbal and verbo-visual discourses]. It is financially supported by PQ/CNPq (Proc. 303643/2014-5). Other research products are Brait (2015, 2016a; 2016b).

⁵ TN. This is the only novel from the trilogy that has been translated into English. The full title in Portuguese is *K. Relato de uma busca* [*K – An Account of a Search*].

we find the voice of the subject-as-enunciator and the strategies used to make his presence varied and tense. In this sense, according to Bakhtin's concept of language, the three novels can be characterized as a *concrete utterance*.⁶

This trilogy, as a *concrete utterance*, in its temporary finishedness, makes it possible to observe the values in tension that organize the whole. It indicates the access to the discursive project of the subject who seeks in the past, through memory and language, answers to events that were concealed and people who "were made disappear."⁷ It is characterized by resistance to official, effective and long-lasting discourse, for in it fiction, memory and resistance stem from painful facts and actualize an aesthetic-ideological dimension, a discursive web that is fundamental to reflect on a specific moment of Brazilian history. By evoking different voices, the literary discourse of resistance wants to turn into story and History. This tense relation requires that the resistance discourse point to the outside of the text, denouncing and exposing the events retrieved by memory and, simultaneously, the constant search for a linguistic-discursive material concreteness that features the double orientation of the genre. Among the many strategies used, we find the expression "were made disappear" throughout *K*. The linguistic substitution of "disappeared" for "were made disappear" unveils the clash between voices and two discourses in tension: the official discourse, which confers on the missing/disappeared people the status of active subjects of an action (to disappear), and the discourse of resistance, which linguistically exposes the status of passive subjects, i.e., the ones subtracted from existence who were subdued, being given no choice or right to defend themselves. The linguistic substitution uncovers another subject in this dreadful event in which "the people had disappeared without trace" (KUCINSKI, 2015, p.22). In the second chapter of *K*, titled *The Vortex*, the narrator states that

[...] a man got up, saying he'd come specially from Goiânia for the meeting. His two sons, one 20 and the other only 16, had both disappeared. This man stuttered, he seemed dazed. He was the first to use the expression: "they were disappeared" (KUCINSKI, 2015, p.21-22).

This is just one example of the countless devices used to resist the official discourse linguistically, discursively, literarily, and existentially. It is an attempt to unveil and showcase the perverse strategies of language, narration and explanation of "facts" as well as the undeniable brute force. This is not an easy task, as we can observe in Kucinski's trilogy.

⁶ The concept of concrete utterance, which involves the utterance and the enunciation process, is found throughout the oeuvre of Bakhtin and the Circle. We can also refer to two books that discuss it specifically: Souza (2002) and Brait & Melo (2010).

⁷ TN. Kucinski uses the verb 'disappear' in the passive voice ("*foram desaparecidos*" – "were disappeared"), which is not commonly used in Brazilian Portuguese. Here it is used to refer to enforced disappearance. To convey this meaning, we will use "were made disappear" throughout the article although Sue Branford, who translated *K* into English, translated "*foram desaparecidos*" as "they were disappeared" (KUCINSKI, 2015, p. 22).

Genre is also fundamental to understand discourses of resistance. The close internal and thematic relationship between genre and reality is approached with authority by Pavel Medvedev,⁸ a member of the Bakhtin Circle. According to him,

Each genre is only able to control certain definite aspects of reality. Each genre possesses definite principles of selection, definite forms for seeing and conceptualizing reality, and a definite scope and depth of penetration. [...]

Every [...] genre is a complex system of means and methods for the conscious control and finalization of reality. [...] It is the forms of the utterance [...] that play the most important role in consciousness and the comprehension of reality (MEDVEDEV; BAKHTIN, 1978, p. 131 and p. 133).

Medvedev helps us understand the characteristics of the discourse of resistance and the genre it embraces. The trilogy presents itself as a genre that is in an in-between place, a border, a threshold between testimony, biography, autobiography, and autofiction. The material used is pain, terror, shadows in the past and the present, including constitutively the difficulty in making itself *verb*. To *utter* means to be uttered in and by discourse, which, in this case, although individually rooted, is a metonymy of memories, pains, losses of other *selves* in the collectivity. To make this *generic* place exist and be concrete, there occurs a very original relationship between the first book of the trilogy, *K*, and the last one, *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*], among other meaningful elements. This specific relationship, which will be made explicit further on in the paper, led to a methodological decision in the sense that these two books will comprise the *corpus* of this study, knowing that this decision will not compromise the concrete utterance of resistance formed by the trilogy.

K. tells the story of the disappearance of Ana Rosa Kucinski Silva, a Chemistry professor at the University of São Paulo (USP) and the novelist's real sister, and her husband, Wilson Silva. Both were militants of the National Liberation Action, a revolutionary organization led by Carlos Marighela. Her father, Meir Kucinski, a Polish Jew immigrant who writes in Yiddish and dies in 1976, is the narrator of the novel. *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*], written five years after *K*. 's first edition, is a *post scriptum* of *K*., a type of a writer's nightmare, insofar as different characters, whose search and disappearance motivated the writing of *K*., knock at his door to complain about flaws, missing information, and inaccuracies in the narrative. The character-narrator, who plays the role of a writer, also complains a lot about the reception of the novel. This is what he says in the first episode, titled: *A velha com o número no braço* [*The Old Lady with the Number on her Arm*]:

⁸ TN. The English translation of the book *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship* is signed by Medvedev and Bakhtin. The Brazilian Portuguese version is signed by Medvedev alone. This is the reason why the author refers only to Medvedev.

I was irritated when I answered the phone. Very irritated. I'd just finished reading the paper and, again, they made no reference to the novel, not even a little note in the corner of the page. The porter said, It's a lady called Regina. I had no recollection of any Regina. I asked him what she wanted. It's about a book, he answered. I thought: who knows, finally, a journalist wants to interview me. I told him to let her come. [...]. Are you the writer of this book about a missing Chemistry professor? She did not wait for my answer and said, A powerful and well-written book, but there's a hideous mistake that needs correcting (KUCINSKI, 2016, p.11-12, our translation).⁹

Apparently *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*] is an account of complaints about the reception of *K.* made by this lady and the protagonists of each episode. It is possible to notice that the issue that motivates each new literary discourse of resistance is the complex discourse based on *creation* and *event* (story and history). As aforementioned, this aspect plays a fundamental role in the genre, somehow imposing a discursive ethics that the enunciator makes transparent in the *verbal act*, the *discursive event*. Situated between individuality and collectivity, the past and the present, events and fictionalized memories, the enunciator is still under the aegis of this discursive ethics, which does not cease with the published utterance. On the contrary, the published work makes it possible for the emergence of discursive voices to be established from its reception, which is the collective number of readers. As the author is part of this collectivity, he can revise, as the reader of his own work, details of his enunciation, which are relativized, made frail or contested by different *receivers*. It seems that this is exactly the motor of existence of this new enunciation, this new utterance, titled *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*], for it thematizes *events* and *creation* in *K.* and returns to it, as an annoying boomerang, to argue against details of the book. The enunciator, thus, restarts the play between history and fiction and mobilizes characters from the implied flesh-and-bone readers.

The writer's return to one of his works to thematize it, explain it, and justify it is not exactly new. It has been observed in literary tradition. In *Postscript to the Name of the Rose*, for example, Italian writer medievalist Umberto Eco proposes to explain the genesis and the development of the 1984 bestseller. In the first topic, *The Title and the Meaning*, he states that

Since the publication of *The Name of the Rose* I have received a number of letters from readers who want to know the meaning of the final Latin

⁹ TN. I will provide the English translation of a quotation when the work is not originally written in English or when there is no published English version of the work. In the original: "Atendi o interfone irritado. Muito irritado. Acabara de ler o jornal e, de novo, não havia referência alguma à novela, sequer uma notinha no canto da página. O porteiro disse: É uma senhora chamada Regina. Eu não me lembrava de nenhuma Regina. Perguntei-lhe o que ela queria. Diz que é sobre um livro, respondeu. Pensei: quem sabe, finalmente, uma jornalista querendo me entrevistar. E mandei subir. [...] O senhor é o escritor deste livro sobre a professora de química que desapareceu? Sem esperar minha resposta, continuou: Um livro forte e bem escrito, mas tem um erro muito feio que o senhor escritor precisa corrigir."

hexameter and why this hexameter inspired the book's title. I answer that the verse is from *De contemptu mundi* by Bernard of Morlay, a twelfth-century Benedictine, whose poem is a variation on the *ubi sunt* theme (most familiar in Villon's later *Mais où sont les neiges d'antan*). But to the usual topos (the great of yesteryear, the once-famous cities, the lovely princesses: everything disappears into the void), Bernard adds that all these departed things leave (only, or at least) pure names behind them. I remember that Abelard used the example of the sentence *Nulla rosa est* to demonstrate how language can speak of both the nonexistent and the destroyed. And having said this, I leave the reader to arrive at his own conclusions (ECO, 2014, p.437).

Evidently, Eco did not choose this passage to begin his *Postscript* by chance.¹⁰ In order to answer a reader's objective question, he discusses some issues that are relevant in the works that we analyze in this paper. On the one hand, there is the fact that readers, through letters (or emails, book reviews, interviews, among others), address the writer about the published work so he can not only give them general or detailed information on it, but also satisfy their curiosity and respond to their inquiries. From the readers' point of view, only the writer can answer, clarify and explain. Due to the thematic and discursive power of *K.*, this may have happened to Bernardo Kucinski after its publication. Besides, the discussion in Eco's work about the hexameter that inspired the title of the book, however, points to two constitutive and aggravating aspects of *K.* and *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*]. They are thus uttered by Eco: "all these departed things leave (only, or at least) pure names behind them. [...] language can speak of both the nonexistent and the destroyed." He clearly mentions history and fictional stories, fiction and reality, being constituted by and alternating between writer and reader. In this vein, Eco does not simply explain the title; he warns the reader to the fact that, despite being a researcher and a medievalist, his work is in the border between *event* and *creation*. *Postscript's* next topics, namely, Telling the Process, Who Speaks?, Constructing the Reader, among others, follow Eco's well-educated and didactic rhythm and satisfy readers' curiosities about the "ingredients" used in *The Name of the Rose* and literary discourse in general.

Os visitantes [*The Visitors*], in its turn, is by no means a didactic text that aims to explain *K.*, its genesis, and creation process logically and rationally. It is a fictional discourse that (re)visits *K.* and enters into a polemic dialogue with it. The strategy used to create an enunciator who is also a writer and characters who are also writers and readers allows the narrative to retrieve characters, questions, information and, especially, the discursive ethics of the writer and the constitutive forgetfulness of memory, discourse, enunciation. This is actually a form of (re)writing what has been

¹⁰ The only unforeseen coincidence, which somehow makes one uncomfortable, is the word *rosa* [rose] as it is a proper name in Kucinsk and, from the viewpoint of language discussion, common and strategic in Eco.

written, enunciated, through the variegated voices of enunciatees who are ultimately a time dimension that transforms the author-as-creator into a reader of his own writing. It also throws him into a whirlwind of the social, cultural, historical heterodiscourse that he himself mobilized. As a *continuation* of the prior discourse, this new literary discourse of resistance takes the role of challenging what has already been uttered and points to the enunciator's doubts, unfinishedness and gaps regarding *facts, events*, utterances that deeply annoy the *visitors*.

As this alter-discourse titled *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*] exposes the misinformation of prior utterances, it presents itself as the *other* in relation to *K.* and showcases the language traps that especially undermine the discourse that struggles between individual and collective memory, individual and collective forgetfulness (is there any other possibility in the world of language?) At this point we must admit that both Eco and Kucinski thematize the process of creation, their literary output, and reception. Similar to what happens to the material used by the literary discourse of resistance, this material also struggles with the unfinished finishedness. Far from being a didactic genre, Kucinski's utterance entails a movement of triangulated listening between writer, work and reader, and thus establishes a dialogue, a polemic interaction between the literary works. Once again discourse displays, from a different angle, the power and significance of the language that "can speak of both the nonexistent and the destroyed" (ECO, 2014, p.437).

Due to the singular relationship between *K.* and *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*], the concrete utterance that characterizes the discourse of resistance is here comprised of these two novels and the author's paratexts. The concrete utterance, as conceived of by the members of the Bakhtin Circle, includes what in other approaches is called a paratext, viz., a text adjacent to the main text, such as the title, subtitles, a dedication, epigraphs, a preface, an afterword, among others. According to several authors, paratexts carve out the path for the reader to enter into the intricacies of the main text. Based on what we have discussed so far about the *corpus* of this study, *K.* and *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*] are constituted as otherness, one in relation to the identity of the other. The question to be posed from now on is how to distinguish – if that is at all possible in this case – between the main text and the paratexts. In a study that understands text and paratext as strategies of the discourse of resistance, the answer to the question must take into consideration some theoretical aspects so that we can analyze the paratexts and their function in the concrete utterance (*K.* and *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*]).

In theoretical terms, Gerald Genette (1997) was not the only one who approached this issue, for many other scholars have turned their attention to the importance of different paratexts chosen and/or used by writers (author's paratexts) as well as the ones that are included by the editor in the publication process (editor's paratexts). In Sabiá's (2005, p.9) study on the paratext of some Mexican literary works, his remarks help us reiterate the idea that the textual segment called *paratext* operates as the place to observe singularities and layers of interaction between author/work/reader/reading.

Readers are not directly in contact with the fictional text; their entrance into the text is mediated. This mediation is part of the global framework of communicational and pragmatic logic that underlies every literary work and is carried out through a number of instruments and strategies called “paratexts.” A paratext refers to a set of discourse and image productions that accompany, introduce, present, comment on the text, and condition its reception [...] [they function as] strategy links to engage author and reader in interaction (SABIA, 2005, p.9, author’s italics, our translation).¹¹

In a way it is as if the writer, even having finished his creative utterance and ended his discourse, wanted to exert control over the situation, drawing readers’ attention and anticipating things they will find when reading the novel. He may also want to interfere in the narrative through an afterword. If this is so, the author’s paratexts cannot be discarded as superfluous in relation to the main text. They are a means by which he intervenes on behalf of his readers, for they say a lot about what the author expects with these hints, these meaningful cues that prepare the reading of the main text. They are a type of interactive waiting room through which the reader enters the work. In this vein, through the dialogical approach, paratexts are actually part of the concrete utterance. In our study, even before the reading of the main text, they involve enunciator and reader/interlocutor in an exciting interactive situation, and work as important anticipative strategies of the different facets of discursive *resistance*. The segments that are presented as paratexts point, as we will show further on, to a thematic dimension and to clashes with language, making evident the impossibility to say what is presented as the (un)sayable. Our study will thus focus on paratexts, as strategies of the selected discourses of resistance.

Paratext, Tradition and Rupture

The novel *K*, we are analyzing does not have the subtitle *Relato de uma busca* [Account of a Search].¹² In this edition, before the 29 fragments (or unnumbered chapters, or concise short stories), which mainly tells the story of a father who tries to find out about the disappearance without a trace of his daughter and son-in-law in 1970, the author brings three paratexts. They are meaningful to the discussion of the specificities of the discourse of resistance: a dedication, three epigraphs and a message

¹¹ In the original: “lectores no entramos nunca en contacto con el texto novelesco de modo directo sino de forma mediatizada. Esta mediatización se inscribe en el marco global de la lógica comunicacional y pragmática que subyace a toda obra literaria y se efectúa por medio de una serie de instrumentos y estrategias que se engloban bajo el nombre de “paratexto”. Tal término se refiere a un conjunto de producciones, del orden del discurso y de la imagen, que acompañan al texto, lo introducen, lo presentan, lo comentan y condicionan su recepción [...] ellos en una estrategia de inscripción del autor y del lector en una situación interactiva.”

¹² TN. The author of this article uses the 2nd edition of *K*, published by Editora Expressão Popular in 2012, which does not bring the subtitle *Relato de uma busca* [Account of a Search] either.

to the reader (To the Reader). In later editions¹³ they were either discarded or partially used. This also happened to Enio Squeff's illustrations, which, although playing an important role in the meaning production and reception of the work (Squeff made the drawings as a reader), they will not be analyzed here. As they are found throughout the verbal text, analyzing them would imply a verbo-visual analysis, that is, the articulation between word and image, which merits a different analysis regarding the production of meanings and the authorship of the whole utterance.¹⁴ Neither will we analyze the texts through which Kucinski individually thanks those who supported him - including his wife - with critiques and suggestions, the use of Yiddish and the maps of the streets of Warsaw as well as the language of the forsaken.

As we take into consideration that the discourse of resistance is characterized, among other aspects, by the ability to mobilize social voices, paratexts will also be analyzed from this perspective, that is, as heterodiscourse. Either separately or altogether they enunciate and mobilize discourses of resistance, defining the target of the enunciator's confrontation, the object of resistance. They also establish an alliance with the reader. This is a *hidden dialogue* that qualifies the reader as someone who can, in anticipation, understand the different facets that have motivated and supported the discourse that is ahead of her/him. At this moment, the enunciator hints at the reader with his words or the words of other enunciators, brought into his discourse, which includes meaningful voices of the lusophone literary tradition.

The dedication in *K.* (KUCINSKI, 2015, p. 8) is the first place in which the voice of the author-as-creator is present by means of delicate verses:

To her friends who lost her
suddenly
a world of intimacy fell apart

As a symptom of the brutality of the events, the disappearance, the irreversible upheaval of a vast universe in which the missing person was the protagonist, this dedication anticipates the fact that the discourse is grounded in a personal story and in History, shared by collectivity.

As to the epigraphs, they also anticipate facets of the discourse that begins with the dedication. They show how difficult it is for the enunciator to actualize it. In this sense, he evokes discourses of three lusophone renowned writers, namely, João Guimarães Rosa, Fernando Pessoa, and Mia Couto. Our analysis of the three excerpts will not be in-depth, showing detailed information on the writers, the peculiarities of

¹³ TN. The author refers to the Brazilian editions.

¹⁴ The concept of text that grounds our reflection here stems from the oeuvre of Bakhtin and the Circle. For them text is not a verbal expression only (written or oral); it is the materialization of different planes of expression, which makes possible the understanding of *visual*, *musical* texts, for example. Besides, a text must be understood as a semiotic and ideological dimension, actualized by a situated individual or collective subject who belongs to a context, a culture and is in dialogue with present, past and future interlocutors/discourses. See Bakhtin (1986b) and Brait (2016c).

the works from which they are drawn and their meanings within the narratives and in dialogue with other works. However, based on these epigraphs it is possible to state that the reader will come across a testimony offered in great power about a historical and cultural period of Brazilian history and will face discursive questions, also uttered with vigor, that refer to the (im)possibility to narrate and retrieve the experiences that are to be narrated.

We start with the excerpt of *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands*. It points to the construction of and the difficulties in the knowledge that discourse intends to acquire.

What I tell you is what I know and you don't know, but the main things
I want to talk about are those which I do not know if I know but which
you perhaps do.
(ROSA, 1963, p. 192).

A first-person enunciator directly addresses his interlocutor, whom he calls “mister”¹⁵ in order to raise questions related to telling, to narrating what he wants to tell, to the intertwined relations between who is telling and who is listening/reading, and especially to what one knows and does not know. It is a play of identity/otherness/complementarity between subjects, objects of knowledge, author/reader, engendered dimensions of discourse, given its unescapably interactive nature. In this sense, the enunciator that accepts this epigraph evokes the tradition that raises these questions and becomes part of it. As he creates the story, he makes History, as the following epigraphs confirm.

What oppresses me is not the pain
Of not believing or knowing
But only [and mostly] the sheer horror
Of seeing mystery face to face
Of seeing and understanding it
In its whole purpose of being mystery.
(PESSOA, 2015, p.460, our translation).¹⁶

By evoking the six verses of the poem titled *The Mystery of the World* (First Faust, First Theme) by Fernando Pessoa, Kucinski connects it to the first epigraph so as to add, from a deeply allegorical stance, the issue of pain, oppression, the horror related to seeing and understanding mystery, which cannot be rationally explained. It

¹⁵ TN. The translators of Rosa's novel did not use the word “mister” (*senhor*) although it is in the original in Portuguese: (“*conto ao senhor...*”).

¹⁶ This poem is found in *Primeiro Fausto* [The First Faust], whose first theme is titled *The Mystery of the World*. It has yet not been translated into English. In the original: “*Não é a dor que já não pode crer / Que m'oprime, nem a de não saber, / Mas apenas [e mais] completamente o horror / De ter visto o mistério frente a frente, / De tê-lo visto e compreendido em toda / A sua finalidade de mistério.*”

is a philosophical vision, connected to testimony and the simultaneous impossibility to enunciate it.

I light the fire of a story
and I douse my own self
When I have finished these jottings, I shall
once again be a voiceless shadow
(COUTO, 2006, p.7).

This is the third time a first-person enunciator, leaving the same traces of telling, writing and his manuscripts, brings to light the issue of history/story that, as it is illuminated by the voice of the subject-as-enunciator, is extinguished and becomes a *voiceless shadow* in a pendulous movement between singular and universal, individual and collective. The play with the words *light*, *douse* and *shadow*, and the reiteration of the first subject pronoun 'I' allude, poetically and tragically, to the purpose of writing and to the fact that, insofar as it is event-voice, it becomes greater than the enunciator who turns it into light, visibility and hearing. By retrieving Mia Couto, *K.*'s subject-as-enunciator finds another place in literary tradition to anticipate events that are decisive in the utterance which the reader will come across after that: the constitutive relationship between telling a story and making History, being a story and, at the same time, being History. In the third epigraph he goes a little further. When we find the passage from which the epigraph was taken, we observe two things. Here is the passage.

I want to place time in its unruffled order, with all its pauses and pliancy¹⁷.
But my memories are disobedient, uncertain of their desire to be nothing
and their fondness of stealing me away from the present. I light the fire
of a story and I douse my own self. When I have finished these jottings,
I shall once again be a voiceless shadow. (COUTO, 2006, p.7).

The two sentences prior to the epigraph explicitly refer to an enunciator's desire to bring order to a time of waiting and ongoing suffering and, at the same time, to the desire of his memories that rob him of the present. These aspects are related to the internal movements of writing. By not bringing these two sentences to light, *K.*'s enunciator goes directly to the pendulous movement of bright/dark, which is fostered by the writing/writer relation and graphically interferes in the quotation, as the epigraph is written in verse and not in prose. As he uses the quotation as a poem, he establishes a co-authorial dialogue with Couto and showcases his interpretation of the passage. Besides selecting the other's discourse through a syntax that works in favor of the ongoing discursive

¹⁷ TN. The word in Portuguese is *sofrência*, a neologism in Portuguese. According to Rio-Torto (2007), Couto creates this neologism by blending the verb *sofrer* (suffer) and the suffix *-ncia* (related to action, process). Thus, *sofrência* means an ongoing suffering, which is not equivalent to the word chosen by the translator (pliancy).

project, the enunciator becomes part of the quoted discourse, changing its genre and somehow signing it.

If language is an element that makes telling possible by untangling worlds, the three epigraphs, in their thematic closeness, are heterodiscourses; that is, they are aesthetic and social voices enunciated from the diversity of the Portuguese language (Brazil, Portugal and Africa) and the axiological positioning of their enunciators. By writing in the same language that is made *other*, each subject utters relations with life, society, culture, memory, forgetfulness, and, as enunciators, with the (im)possibility to (re)present discourses in motion, which is inherent to language.

We must highlight another paratext¹⁸ because of the same power of anticipation the epigraphs have.

To the reader¹⁹

Everything in this book is invented but almost everything happened. I let recollections flow directly from my memory just as they came, after being buried for years, without confirming them through research, without completing them or shaping them with records from the time. There are references to documents in just two stories and then only as a recourse in the narrative.

Then, adopting story-telling techniques, I put these memories in imaginary situations. I brought together incidents that had happened at different times. Other incidents I made up almost entirely. I invented solutions to fill gaps that came from what I'd forgotten or from what my subconscious had blocked.

Each fragment emerged as a complete, separate story. They appeared not in chronological order, but arbitrarily, as buried memories came to the surface. Often they took on unexpected shapes. This again forced me to treat the incidents as literature, not as history.

The book's unity comes from K. This is why the fragment that introduces him comes straight after the opening. And the fragment that puts an end to his suffering is almost the last in the book. The order of the other fragments is arbitrary (KUCINSKI, 2015, p.132).

In this direct contact with the reader, who is textually and affectively called forth (Dear reader), the author-as-creator of the narrative is presented as the voice of the author-as-person. He states that "Everything in this book is invented but almost everything happened." From this point he explains, in a very didactic way, the genesis

¹⁸ In later editions, the text To the Reader is partially published in relation to the 2nd edition.

¹⁹ TN. In Portuguese, this text starts with "*Caro leitor*" (*Dear reader*).

and the characteristics of his enunciation. He makes it clear that he made little use of documents and when he did, he used them as *narrative resources*. He also mentions that when he had memories, recollections, forgetfulness, subconscious blockage, he resorted to story-telling techniques, creating settings, situations that were either idealized or that had happened at a different time. He filled the gaps and created solutions. Even the order of discourse, the organizations of the fragments is explained as a possible resource, introducing the father at precise instances in the novel.

As a means of anticipating the readers' possible interpretations and readings, the *author's* voice, a voice of the highest authority, steers the readers' path so as to confuse them and push them to an in-between place that only the utterance and the genre adopted can clarify (if they can!): "Everything in this book is invented but almost everything happened." The play between *creation* and *event* (story and history), explained in details in this paratext, actually seems another form of stating that, through language, it is impossible to separate them as they are fatally imbricated and that in narratives, in a very special way, the present seeks to retrieve the past and to open a place for language in which events have to be uttered in order to exist and be understood.

In *K.*, besides these paratexts, the textual syntax of the set of 29 fragments is peculiar. This brings about enunciative consequences that indicate and signal different forms of authorial presence and its relation with otherness. The first fragment, titled Letters to someone who doesn't exist (KUCINSKI, 2015, p. 16-17) and the last one, titled Postscript (KUCINSKI, 2015, p. 130), fracture the set syntactically and semantically as they frame the other fragments. Both are written in the first person singular, in the present, in italics, and give the same place and date of writing, viz., "Sao Paulo, 31 December 2010." This peculiar information undoubtedly refers to the author, who struggles for the possibility of saying (between existence and shadows). He also presents himself as another voice that interferes in the narrative to frame the other 27 fragments, narrated in the third person by *K.*, the father, the one who conducts and is responsible for the search. These fragments embrace this voice, this heterodiscourse, which is *uttered* from a place and a time that made the painful *enunciation* possible. If the paratexts (dedication, epigraphs, among others) aim to warn the reader about the nature of what is being uttered and who the utterer is, the first and last fragments hint at the same direction once again, underpinning and intermingling *creation* and *event*.

In *Os visitantes [The Visitors]* the author's voice is also present, on the first plane, through two epigraphs, a dedication, and a warning to the reader.

The epigraphs (KUCINSKI, 2016, p. 5) are powerful assertions and include the source texts from which they were taken. The first one, "Come, let us go down and there confuse their language," comes from the Bible (Genesis 11, 7).²⁰ This is the time when incommunicability was imposed on humans in opposition to a single language that would allow a perfect understanding between people. The second, "Facts are scarce;

²⁰ GENESIS. New King James Version. BibleGateway.com. Available at: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=genesis+11&version=NKJV>. Access on 11 Aug. 2019.

words are numerous,”²¹ comes from one of the most renowned Jewish literature writers, Shmuel Yosef Agnon (1888-1970), a Nobel prize winner in 1966. Both epigraphs refer to the relationship between life and language, language and lack of understanding, excess of words in opposition to the scarcity of facts, and *heteroglossia* in opposition to a single language. The reference to the confusion between humans due to the large number of languages is connected to the reflection of a great writer, whose oeuvre is known for the way he approaches, among other important aspects, the conflict between language and life. It is not by coincidence that the first *visitor*, the one who starts the narrative and is the protagonist of the first *short story*, the first complaint, is a Jewish woman:

It's about the holocaust. You mister writer write that the Germans kept record of everyone who was killed, but this is not true! [...] most people would go straight to the gas chamber. [...] I said I was sorry. She said: What is the point of being sorry? You mister writer need to correct it; the way it is written is a disrespect to millions who were made disappear (KUCINSKI, 2016, p.12 and p. 13, our translation).²²

The thematic closeness to the epigraphs in *K.* establishes a strong syntactic and semantic relationship between both texts. In the second one, however, the idea of the linguistic incomprehension, the divine anathema, the curse from which humans cannot be freed, is highlighted. This human condition is worsened by the fact that the more humans use language, its forms of understanding and its relation to life, the more the abundance of words blots out the facts. Thus, what is the author-as-creator, the enunciator, left with except to use words, be assisted by language and, at the same time, challenge his discourse, which is constantly put to a test, confronted by inaccessible facts, events, recollections, forgetfulness and documents? This is exactly what the reader will find in the 12 *short stories* that comprise *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*]. They refer to specific fragments of *K.* that are called in question by the merciless visitors who challenge the writer to be faithful to *reality* and/or to what they consider to be reality.

This new discourse of resistance (with the different contextualized meanings discussed herein) is *a discourse about a discourse, an utterance about an utterance*. In a way, it is a strategy of the enunciator who, using the metaphor of visitors, *enunciates* and *is enunciated* again, reveals himself, (re)visits his prior discourse with the aim of searching for *flaws*, the *flaws* pointed out by the enunciatees – he is one of them – so he can have a new opportunity to approach the *notorious facts*.

A dedication is in the following page (KUCINSKI, 2016, p. 6, our translation). At the bottom of the page, which corresponds to the last line, we read: “In memoriam of

²¹ In Portuguese: “*Os fatos são escassos, as palavras numerosas.*”

²² In the original: “*É sobre o holocausto, o senhor escritor escreveu que os alemães registravam todas as pessoas que matavam, mas isso não é verdade! [...] a maioria ia direto para a câmara de gás [...] Eu disse que lamentava. Ela disse: De que adianta o senhor escritor lamentar? O senhor escritor precisa corrigir; como está é um desrespeito aos milhões que foram desaparecidos.*”

Ana Rosa Kucinski Silva and Wilson Silva.”²³ This new discourse, therefore, explicitly refers to the discourse of resistance to the military dictatorship in Brazil and the difficult task to confront it through language. It is dedicated to two very close people to the author, who *were made disappear* and who motivated *K.* At this point of the enunciation, they are, as it were, *found*. The relationship between the dedication and the paratexts in *K.* becomes evident because of the direct and explicit enunciation, which is made possible by *uncoveredness*. If *K.* is dedicated “[t]o her friends who lost *her*,” *Os visitantes [The Visitors]* is dedicated to the missing people who are named. The expression “in memoriam” also gives them visibility, demonstrating that the search has come to an end.

In *Os visitantes [The Visitors]* readers are also warned (KUCINSKI, 2016, p. 9, our translation) about the nature of the account they are to find:

Everything here is invented
but almost everything happened.²⁴

We see that, while in *K.* the paratext To the reader is half page long, in *Os visitantes [The Visitors]* it is radically more concise. It comes in the form of two verses and essentially summarizes the first line of To the reader, which is “Everything in this book is invented but almost everything happened.” The form used in *Os visitantes [The Visitors]*, however, is more disturbing and direct as it confers on the narrative, through anticipation, a bigger and wider realm of creation, for “[e]verything here is invented.” The subject *everything*, which is the same of the first line of To the reader, is now followed by the deictic *here*, replacing the adverbial *in this book*. This is a fundamental difference in terms of enunciation, for it places the enunciator in the enunciative field. Linguistically speaking, the main clause clarifies that the narrative is anchored in creation and that the enunciator and his nature are part of this fictional stance. This statement, however, is followed by a comma, which separates the first clause from the second, and the adversative conjunction *but*, which relativizes, opposes and, in a way, destabilizes the first clause, introducing the *event* in the world of fiction, even if modified by the adverb *almost*: “but almost everything happened.” This disturbing indication, in addition to the epigraphs, mixes once again *creation* and *event* – even if it is in this order, which confers on the author-as-creator’s language the difficulties to reveal *experiences*. It is the *visitors’* responsibility to show the traps of the genre chosen by the writer-as-character, and it is his duty, as the enunciator, the author-as-creator, to mobilize them as a means to retrieve the writing of pain, horror, using this new discourse as another attempt, through literary discourse, to reveal *history* through fiction.

In this new discourse of resistance, authorship is established beyond the epigraphs and dedication. Unlike *K.*, it is narrated in first person and places the *writer* as the

²³ In the original: “*Em memória de Ana Rosa Kucinski Silva e Wilson Silva.*”

²⁴ In the original: “*Tudo aqui é invenção, mas quase tudo aconteceu.*”

enunciator, who simulates to be *K.*'s empirical author. However, the abundant enunciative and discursive traces he leaves helps the reader realize that he is just another character, another visitor who joins the others to discuss how (im)possible it is for the events to *be made verb*, that is, the concrete utterance comprised of the two works and the attempt to metonymically tell about the horrors of dictatorship.

The last fragment, titled *Post-mortem* (KUCINSKI, 2016, p.76-83) also has a different time location in relation to the prior fragment, titled *O visitante derradeiro* [The last visitor] (KUCINSKI, 2016, p.69-75), which starts with "Two years have gone by."²⁵ The same happened in *K.*. At this moment, it makes reference to facts related to the missing people: "The Chemistry Institute acknowledged their ignominy, publicly apologized, and established a memorial to honor the missing professor. The Truth Commission completed their report despite the fact that they had not discovered anything" (KUCINSKI, 2016, p.76, our translation)²⁶. It also includes the whole transcription of the interview given by an agent of repression "who knows what really happened" and who wrote a book in which everything was told. The last paragraph, however, reconstructs the imaginary about the doubts of those who, even today, do not believe in the horrors inflicted by the military regime:

A trick. A young prosecutor said that it is a trick, a lie, that nothing happened, that the bodies were not incinerated in a baking oven. My ex and I knew it was true. We've always known (KUCINSKI, 2016, p.83, our translation)²⁷.

Final remarks

The literary discourses of resistance we have selected could show a lot more than what we have discussed in terms of strategies so that, *in and through* language, we could disclose the atrocities experienced during the military dictatorship in Brazil and the difficulties encountered to present them and make them present. The vast Brazilian prose of resistance, written during and after the years of lead, plays this role with value, diversity, testimonial power and aesthetic-existential documental force. Many historians, literary critics and discourse analysts study these works due to their importance in terms of historical, literary and discursive reflections. This paper, however, based on the dialogical perspective of language, aimed at discussing an aspect of the discourse of resistance, that is, the use of *paratexts*. These textual segments are many times ignored

²⁵ In the original: "*Passaram-se dois anos.*"

²⁶ In the original: "*O instituto de Química deu-se conta de sua dupla ignomínia. Pediu desculpas públicas e ergueu um marco em homenagem à professora desaparecida. A Comissão da Verdade concluiu seu relatório sem nada descobrir.*"

²⁷ In the original: "*Um truque. O jovem procurador disse que é um truque, que é mentira, que não aconteceu, que os corpos não foram incinerados num forno de assar melão. Eu e minha ex sabíamos que era verdade. Sempre soubemos.*"

by readers, who do not see them, as they want to go straight to the main text, or by the editors, who find them abundant, too explanatory, or unnecessary. The objective of our reading was to acknowledge them as one of the strategies of the discourse of resistance.²⁸ It is not a strategy that lacks literary tradition; on the contrary, it is a discursive resource found in different works and time periods, whose function is to be a space of anticipation (or continuation) in which language points to issues that will be (or have been) approached explicitly (or not) by what is considered the main text. Paratexts, such as dedications and epigraphs, are also found in other types of discourse. This is the case of the academic discourse, where they are found in dissertations, theses, articles, chapters, and books.

The paratexts that comprise the *corpus* of this paper, as we could observe, metonymically introduce the theme to be addressed and problematize the relationship between life and language, creation and events. Both *K.* and *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*] show the degree to which different voices are made present and woven so as to build the discourse of resistance that is represented by these two novels of B. Kucinski's trilogy. As part of the concrete utterance, these paratexts simultaneously guide and mislead the readers, pushing them into each work and into the relationship that is established between them. As readers enter into both works, they will notice that, although each one is a discursive construction, the relationship between them is similar to the one between a text and its paratexts in a given concrete utterance. This is undoubtedly a fundamental rupture in relation to what is normally considered a paratext.

K. is an utterance and as such it is impossible to understand *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*] without it. In this sense, *K.* is also a paratext in relation to the second enunciation. However, the opposite is also true: *Os visitantes* [*The Visitors*] makes readers go back to *K.* and reread what was uttered in a different way. Given the questions about constitutive authorship and otherness, associated to the mobilized heterodiscourses (paratexts among them), and the difficulty to know *facts* and make them known, this utterance of resistance, comprised by the two novels, is so valuable that it makes the dialogue between the novels reflect on what goes beyond the ones who *were made disappear*. Thus, through the literary discourse of resistance it points to today and to a necessary and collective memory that seems to dangerously escape.

BRAIT, B. Discursos de resistência: do paratexto ao texto. Ou vice-versa? *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 63, n.2, p.251-272, 2019.

- *RESUMO: O objetivo desta pesquisa é discutir estratégias de discursos de resistência que tomam como objeto de enfrentamento à ditadura militar vigente no Brasil no período compreendido entre as décadas 1960 e 1980, cujas sequelas se fazem sentir até hoje. Dentre*

²⁸ In *Sobras e sombras de memórias da resistência* [Residues and Shadows of the Memory of Resistance] (BRAIT, 2015), we studied the paratexts and their function in *Zero*, a novel by Ignácio de Loyola Brandão (2004).

esses discursos, que não cessam de emergir em diversas esferas, por meio de diferentes gêneros, o discurso literário será entendido como um dos que, mobilizando memória individual e coletiva, pela via de documentos e/ou relatos, procura desacobertar e fazer conhecer os efeitos devastadores dos anos de chumbo. Com base em fundamentação teórica oferecida pela perspectiva dialógica do discurso, as narrativas *K. Relato de uma busca* (2012) e *Os visitantes* (2016), do jornalista e escritor Bernardo Kucinski, serão consideradas como sequência discursiva articulada, na medida em que a segunda retoma a primeira, instaura uma interação polêmica e possibilita a observação dos valores em tensão que organizam o todo e delineiam faces de um projeto discursivo e do sujeito que o enuncia. Para efeito deste artigo, será destacada a relação dialógica estabelecida entre textos e paratextos, uma das estratégias do discurso literário de resistência que, pela instauração de vozes, busca respostas para acontecimentos escamoteados e para formas possíveis de presentificá-los pela linguagem.

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Enunciados de resistência. Paratexto. Estilística discursiva. Heterodiscurso. Prosa brasileira. Bernardo Kucinski.*

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RHETORIC, ARGUMENTATION AND DIALOGIC ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE¹

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- **ABSTRACT:** This paper proposes a dialogue between ancient rhetoric and the dialogic analysis of discourse, based on the oeuvre of Mikhail Bakhtin and the Circle. It aims to examine how teachings of rhetoric echo in the Bakhtinian thought, seeking consonances and dissonances between them. We propose a dialogue with Aristotle's rhetoric and then with Plato's criticism to its use and functioning. Our goal is to understand the relations and dialogic possibilities between rhetoric and the Circle's oeuvre, arguing for the productivity of their alliance to the understanding and production of discourse and argumentation. Taking into account that they agree on several points, but also acknowledging the criticisms in the works of the Bakhtin Circle as regards rhetoric, we find it important to understand them so that this theoretical alliance can be grounded on reliable epistemological bases and be productive.
- **KEYWORDS:** Rhetoric. Argumentation. Bakhtin and the Circle. Aristotle. Plato.

The dialogic nature of consciousness, the dialogic nature of human life itself. The single adequate form for verbally expressing authentic human life is the open-ended dialogue. Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue: to ask questions, to heed, to respond, to agree, and so forth. In this dialogue a person participates wholly and throughout his whole life: with his eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his whole body and deeds. He invests his entire self in discourse, and this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world symposium.

Mikhail Bakhtin

Dialogism, or dialogy, has been a widely accepted concept in language theories for quite some time. As a constitutive principle of the senses² of different discourses, it

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² TN. We have opted to translate the word “sentido” as “sense,” which is a direct translation of the word from Portuguese. However, it is important to point out that Vern McGee, when translating From Notes Made from 1970-71 into English, used the expression “contextual meaning.” Here is an example: “O sentido é potencialmente infinito [...]” (BAKHTIN, 2017, p.41) / “Contextual meaning is potentially infinite [...]” (BAKHTIN, 1986a, p.145).

has been extensively studied from different theoretical perspectives and under different names – even if used with different nuances –, such as polyphony, internal and external heterogeneity, intertextuality, interdiscursivity. A watershed moment for the recognition of the importance of the concept was when Bakhtin’s works were introduced in the West especially through Bulgarian semiotician Julia Kristeva’s writings, the first one of which was published in 1969 (see FIORIN, 2008). Broadly understood, dialogue does not refer to face-to-face interactions only; it is the fundamental reality of language that occurs in the discursive interaction between concrete utterances, be them oral or written. According to Vološinov (1986, p.95, original emphasis),

Any utterance, no matter how weighty and complete in and of itself, is only a moment in the continuous process of verbal communication. But that continuous verbal communication is, in turn, itself only a moment in the continuous, all-inclusive, generative process of a given social collective. An important problem arises in this regard: the study of the connection between concrete verbal interaction and the extraverbal situation—both the immediate situation and, through it, the broader situation. The forms this connection takes are different, and different factors in a situation may, in association with this or that form, take on different meanings (for instance, these connections differ with the different factors of situation in literary or in scientific communication). Verbal communication can never be understood and explained outside of this connection with a concrete situation.

In this paper we propose a dialogue between Bakhtinian works and rhetoric. Thus, it is important to firstly emphasize this concept, for both theoretical approaches deal with *discursive communications*, which are viewed as culturally, historically and socially situated actions. In discourse exchanges between utterances and enunciators, senses are produced and constituted through *dialogical relations*, which are always evaluative, since utterances express positions (BAKHTIN, 1984a).

Much has been studied about and commented on the philosophical sources of the Bakhtin Circle’s or their interlocutors’ thought. However, far less has been discussed about possible associations and approximations between their thinking and rhetoric. Thus, it is through tradition and permanence, despite its ruptures, that we present this study under a new perspective; that is, we offer a dialogue between Bakhtinian thinking and the old discipline. Rhetoric is the oldest discipline of the Western world that was interested in discourse studies. It exerted a profound influence on literature throughout history. Both in Greece and Rome, it was the center for the education of the free man for over two thousand and five hundred years. During the Roman Empire we find that rhetoric studies were still present, as it was part of the *Trivium*, alongside with Grammar and Dialectics. It was found either in monasteries and medieval abbeys or in royal chancelleries. Later on, it was at universities. Recognized as fundamental to human

education, rhetoric, from its inception, was closely connected to Greek democracy; however, it was rarely developed in connection with the idea that the word and its use were accessible to everyone.

In fact, in the course of its existence of 2,500 years, rhetoric underwent continuous changes, as it overlapped sometimes with dialectic, sometimes with logic, and sometimes with poetry. At the rise of the modern states, after the Middle Ages, rhetoric was still active and present until the mid-19th century. However, the lack of prestige of the old discipline was accentuated thereafter – we need to recognize that since Plato it has been viewed with suspicion! –, which was undoubtedly under scored with the Enlightenment and the Cartesian reasoning, based on rational evidence. Nevertheless, this does not mean that rhetoric disappeared, for it remained in education for a long time. It either is identified with the teaching of writing or greatly influences it until the beginning of the 20th century (or is it until today?).³

Studies have discussed sufficiently how rhetoric was delegitimized throughout the centuries and how it subsequently reemerged, was recreated or revitalized. They have also pointed out that it retrieved either the lost prestige or the acknowledgment of its importance. This occurs especially in 1958 with the publication of *Tratado da argumentação* [*Treaty of Argumentation*] by Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca and *The Uses of Argument* by Stephen Toulmin. It is at this point that we begin to establish a dialogue between the old discipline and the dialogical analysis of discourse, grounded on the works of Bakhtin and the Circle.

A common aspect between Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975)⁴ and Chaïm Perelman (1912-1984),⁵ the creator of the New Rhetoric, is that they were contemporary, shared

³ In Brazil rhetoric and poetics were excluded from school curriculums in the 1990s, but as Acizelo de Souza's (1999) study points out in detail, we can clearly see their traces in the 20th century. In France, Philippe Breton (1999) takes the year of 1902 as the cut-off point, that is, as the year when these subjects were excluded from the lycées.

⁴ In 1929, the year when *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* was published, Valentin Vološinov (1895-1936), a member of the so-called Bakhtin Circle, already rejected positivism. He criticized the "[...] unsurmounted positivistic conception of empirical data – a reverence for 'fact' understood not in a dialectical sense but as something fixed and stable." (VOLÓCHINOV, 1986, p. xiv; see footnote 3 on the same page). Also see Bakhtin (1981a, p.352): "No other approach is in fact possible in the area of poetics, or the history of literature (and in the history of ideologies in general) or to a considerable extent even in the philosophy of discourse: even the driest and flattest positivism in these disciplines cannot treat the word neutrally, as if it were a thing, but is obliged to initiate talk not only about words but in words, in order to penetrate their ideological meanings-which can only be grasped dialogically, and which include evaluation and response."

⁵ In the essay *Lógica jurídica e nova retórica* [Legal Logic and New Rhetoric], Perelman states that "[...] the inevitable consequence of the positivist conception was that it restricted the role of logic, scientific methods and reason to problems related to purely theoretical knowledge, thus denying a practical use of reason. Therefore, it was opposed to the Aristotelian tradition, which accepted a practical reason that would be applied to every domain of action, from ethics to politics, and would justify philosophy as the search of wisdom." (PERELMAN, 1998, p.136); or when it opposed logic or rhetoric: "Today, as we are no longer deceived by rationalism and positivism and have come to realize the existence of confusing notions and the importance of value judgment, rhetoric must once again be a living study, a technique of argumentation in human relations, and a logic of value judgments (PERELMAN, 1997, p.89). In Portuguese: "A concepção positivista tinha como consequência inevitável restringir o papel da lógica, dos métodos científicos e da razão a problemas de conhecimento puramente teóricos, negando a possibilidade de um uso prático da razão. Opunha-se, por isso, à tradição aristotélica, que admitia uma razão prática, que se aplica a todos os domínios da ação, desde a ética até a política, e justifica a filosofia como a busca da sabedoria"; "Hoje que perdemos as ilusões do racionalismo e do positivismo, e que nos damos conta da existência das noções confusas e

basically the same philosophical and academic milieu, and rejected a rational, Cartesian, and more specifically positivist, tradition. In fact, for Brandist (2015), it was *de rigueur* to reject positivism in the Soviet Union, where it was approached as something close to a fetish, as facts were collected according to one's own interests and a vulgar natural determinism on social phenomena was imposed.

They were both philosophers who searched for a logic of value judgements. Perelman's studies stem from moral philosophy and give rise to the new rhetoric, which makes him deal with Aristotelian old rhetoric and dialectic. According to him, the scientificist model of knowledge is exhausted and motivates, therefore, rupture and the rejection of scientificism as it is inadequate to his investigation. Bakhtin's first studies are also dedicated to moral philosophy, to a project to develop a first philosophy [*prima philosophia*], which rejects as truth a conception that is comprised of general and universal moments, separated from and opposed to that which is singular, subjective, and unrepeatable (cf. PONZIO, 2010, p. 16-17): "Any universally valid value becomes *actually* valid only in an individual context." (BAKHTIN, 1993, p.36).

In fact, if Bakhtin and Perelman show some similarities when we take a quick read at their works, when we delve into them we realize that the philosophers tread different paths. However, as to the importance of value, they give it a constant and rather accentuated attention: Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's (1996) oeuvre is concerned with understanding a reasoning that is based on values related to what is preferred, probable and reasonable, and that is as valid as that which is based on rational logic. Bakhtin's thinking is also developed around values, in relation to culture, life and knowledge: "To live means to take an axiological stand in every moment of one's life or to position oneself with respect to values." (BAKHTIN, 1990b, p.187-188). We could continue drawing other parallels between them, but our dialogue, from this point forward, will focus on rhetoric, the old discipline that was the starting point of Perelman's studies and without a doubt contributed to the training of the members of the Circle. We say this, taking into account the times it is mentioned – with little enthusiasm, actually – in the Bakhtinian works.

Our academic studies focused on rhetoric, but they also included Perelman, Bakhtin and the other members of the Circle. Today Mosca (2001), among others, approach different language disciplines that seek either meaning effects produced by language, or actions it promotes, or new classifications for figures of speech, or even new understandings of the argumentative phenomenon, as ramifications of the old rhetoric. According to her, they are the rhetoric of yesterday and today. More recently, in 2015, Fiorin published a book that examines studies on argumentation and declares that his approach is through discourse, highlighting that dialogism is the real mode of operation of every discourse. He does not discard the old discipline; to the contrary, he underscores the importance of "inheriting rhetoric," which means that in discourse studies we need

da importância dos juízos de valor, a retórica deve voltar a ser um estudo vivo, uma técnica da argumentação nas relações humanas e uma lógica dos juízos de valor."

“to read it in the light of the theoretical problems currently enunciated” (FIORIN, 2015, p.26).⁶ It is in the wake of these philosophers that we carry out this study, showing that the Bakhtinian work, and especially the approach that has been called the Dialogical Analysis of Discourse (BRAIT, 2006, 2008), can also be considered a new ramification of rhetoric.

Lately we have seen an intense revitalization of rhetoric studies, which has produced countless research works in areas such as philosophy, law, and languages (linguistic, literature and classical languages) and their interconnections. However, throughout the history of rhetoric, it was viewed as (1) a technique (an *art*, in the classical sense of the word), that is, a set of rules to create persuasive discourse; (2) a teaching object; (3) a science, in terms of a systematic study of language resources (cf. GUIRAUD, 1970, p.35-36); (4) “[...] a body of ethical prescriptions whose role is to supervise (i.e., to permit and to limit) the ‘deviations’ of emotive language.” (BARTHES, 1994, p.13); (5) a social practice, which gives the ruling classes the power of speech; (6) a lucid practice, comprised of “[...] games, parodies, erotic or obscene allusions, classroom jokes, a whole schoolboy practice.” (BARTHES, 1994, p.14). It is the first two (or three) aspects that are more evident in the teaching of rhetoric in Greek and Roman Antiquity and that are related to the practice of democratic citizenship. Nevertheless, different discourse theories today have preferably studied argumentation from a more theoretical perspective (rather than a practical one), aiming at its understanding and operation and much less at questions related to the development of citizenship, which was so evident in its origins (VIDAL, 2011).

Therefore, as we notice the current and constant penetration of Bakhtinian thinking in our education, we find it important to investigate how the Bakhtinian work⁷ approaches it and the contributions it can offer to studies on argumentation. Maybe the first would be that Perelman and Bakhtin most likely saw it, to use Barthes’ (1994, p.13-14, original emphasis) words, as a social practice, “[...] which permits the ruling classes to gain *ownership of speech*.” We will elaborate on this further on.

This study, thus, focuses on the dialogical possibilities between rhetoric and the Bakhtin Circle’s discourse theory. It aims at the contribution that the latter may offer to studies on argumentation. First we need to remember that much of what is discussed specifically in relation to rhetorical communication in Aristotle’s oeuvre is viewed as characteristic to every discursive communication in Bakhtin. In the works of the Circle, *discourse* is understood in its *concrete living totality*; it is situated in space and time and has an author and an addressee (cf. BAKHTIN, 1984a, 2016; VOLOŠINOV, 1986, among others). This understanding was somewhat the same in old rhetoric, which also viewed discourse as situated and each genre as related to concrete and defined situations, interlocutors, themes, and goals. For both, language is

⁶ In the original: “lê-la à luz dos problemas teóricos enunciados na atualidade.” (FIORIN, 2015, p.26).

⁷ The expression “Bakhtinian work” refers to the texts that were produced by Bakhtin and a group of scholars from different areas. In language studies, Valentin N. Volóchinov and Pavel Medviédev stand out (Cf. BRAIT, 2008, and others).

action. And discourse (or concrete utterance), in Bakhtinian terms, is outside the scope of linguistics. Vološinov (1986, p.78) reminds us that “[T]he structure of a complex sentence (a period)-that is the furthest limit of linguistic reach. The structure of a whole utterance is something linguistics leaves to the competence of other disciplines-to rhetoric and poetics.”

However, approximations are not the only factors that promote the dialogue between the dialogic theory of discourse and rhetoric. Important concepts from the works of the Circle are especially useful to understanding and analyzing argumentation and discourse persuasion, such as *evaluative intonation*, *authoritative* and *internally persuasive discourse*, *double-voicedness*, among others. We need to point out Bakhtin’s criticism to double-voiced discourse in rhetoric genres, which, according to him, is not deep-rooted, “[...] remaining as it does within the boundaries of a single language system”, thus being “narrowed down to an individual polemic.” (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.325). In other words, the fact that rhetoric discourse emanates from controversies is only one aspect of argumentation, as the discursive phenomenon comprehends a broader perspective that is socially, spatially and historically contextualized and that acknowledges the ideologies involved. Besides, Bakhtin criticizes the fact that rhetoric does not admit the possibility of heterodiscourse (heteroglossia),⁸ which results in a static view of language as a unique language system that has no “connection with the forces of historical becoming that serve to stratify language” (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.325). He underscores the monologism of the compositional structure of rhetorical forms,⁹ which are “oriented toward the listener and his answer”; such orientation is “usually considered the basic constitutive feature of rhetorical discourse” (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.280). Even so, in other passages of the essay monologue is relativized as he indicates that an absolute monologue does not exist and highlights the differences between monologue¹⁰ and dialogue.

Needless to say, when this type of dialogue is proposed, different possible approaches are used. However, a researcher may feel uncomfortable with the fact that Bakhtin and the other members of the Circle often showed suspicion about rhetoric in their writings. We will discuss this in the first section of this article, where a dialogue

⁸ On *heterodiscourse* (in Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist’s translation, *heteroglossia*), Bakhtin states that “[i]t is necessary that heteroglossia wash over a culture’s awareness of itself and its language, penetrate to its core, relativize the primary language system underlying its ideology and literature and deprive it of its naïve absence of conflict.” (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.368).

⁹ The question of the monologism of rhetorical discourse continues to be controversial; that is, it depends on how one understands dialogism, monologism and that which is called “rhetorical discourse.” Bialostosky (2004, p.393) reminds us that there is no consensus on “rhetorical discourse” either. He states that “His [Bakhtin’s] placement of rhetoric on the monologic side of his fundamental distinction between dialogic and monologic discourse has provoked Halasek (1998) to show that rhetoric is more dialogic than Bakhtin allows, Walzer (1997) and Murphy (2001) to reaffirm its essential monologism, and Dentith (1997) to deny the distinction between dialogic and monologic discourse altogether.”

¹⁰ On the difference between monologue and dialogue, the essay Dialogue I: The Question of the Dialogical Discourse should be consulted. It was written in 1950 and recently translated into Brazilian Portuguese by Paulo Bezerra (BAKHTIN, 2016, p.113-124).

with the Aristotelian rhetorical tradition is offered.¹¹ In the second section we propose a dialogue with Plato's criticism to rhetoric and possible relationships with dialogism.

As we create these dialogues, we aim to observe how these different theoretical approaches can together be productive to understand the production, circulation and reception of verbal or verbal-visual discourses. This alliance must be carefully forged, for the way the members of the Circle understood rhetoric must be taken into account. That is why we aim to examine the rhetorical tradition of Aristotle and Plato in the Circle's oeuvre. In fact, we argue that although we might be in utter surprise when we sometimes find negative and critical comments on the old discipline (or even because of it...), this alliance may actually contribute to analyzing and understanding concrete utterances and thus to cooperating with the teaching of argumentation as it fosters the development of a critical and responsible citizenship.

Dialogue I: Bakhtinian Thinking and Aristotle's Rhetorical Tradition

Our dialogue starts with Aristotle's rhetoric, on which future developments were founded, inasmuch as the Stagiritic was responsible for systematizing it and finding it a place between dialectic and analytic. He thus reconciled the antithetical pairs: true and verisimilar, *episteme* and *doxa*.¹² We will analyze some coherent and complementary aspects between the old discipline and the discourse theory of the Bakhtin Circle, but we will not prescind from pinpointing specific details and the context of each. Only then will we show their differences. First, we need to comment on the fact that Aristotle (384 BCE - 322 BCE) only defines rhetoric in the second chapter of *Rhetoric*: "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, §2, p.4624). The first chapter brings introductory notes and aims to showcase the use of rhetoric to social conviviality. And, to that extent, matters of value justify it.

Rhetoric is useful because things that are true and things that are just have a natural tendency to prevail over their opposites, so that if the decisions of judges are not what they ought to be, the defeat must be

¹¹ Part of this discussion was published in the Argentinian journal *Rétor* (PISTORI, 2013, p.60-85). However, as the objective of this study is to focus on Aristotle's and Plato's tradition, we chose to keep the essence of that text in this section.

¹² Aiming to "repair the damages" caused by Plato's position, in his rhetoric, the Stagirite collected and organized, as a coherent whole, the findings of his predecessors: *Analytic* (necessary knowledge), *Dialectic* (probable knowledge) and *Rhetoric* (opinion). He gave the latter a statute of its own: it takes on characteristics of an art/*techne*, in the sense the term was employed in Antiquity, without prejudicing philosophy and distinguishing itself from it. It becomes clear, then, that rhetoric does not aim to find the truth, be it necessary or probable, but to persuade an audience based on verisimilitude. It now consists of a logical study of argumentation – not an empirical one, a psychology of the passions and characters, and a stylistics, which are all viewed from a philosophical perspective. *Episteme*, the object of philosophy, becomes separated from *doxa*, the object of rhetoric. Aristotle still separates the two from dialectics, discussed in *Topics*, which is also of the competence of all human beings. It is based on the probable, on opinions that are "generally held" by "all or by most men or by the wise, i.e. by all, or most, or the most notable of them" (1984b, p. 398; 100b). See *Crítica de Platão*, in Pistori (2001, p.43-47).

due to the speakers themselves, and they must be blamed accordingly. (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p.4622).

[...] it is absurd to hold that a man ought to be ashamed of being unable to defend himself with his limbs, but not of being unable to defend himself with rational speech. (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p.4623).

Bakhtin, in *Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity*, declares that matters of value are associated not only to words, but to life itself: “To live means to take an axiological stand in every moment of one’s life or to position oneself with respect to values.” (BAKHTIN, 1990a, p.187-188). Besides, they are extensively found in the Circle’s works. As a brief example, in *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, published in Russia in 1929, Vološinov (1986, p.21) explains about the content of signs and the “evaluative accentuation that accompanies all content”. He adds that “[n]o utterance can be put together without value judgment. Every utterance is above all an *evaluative orientation*. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value.” (VOLÓCHINOV, 1986, p.105, original emphasis). Declarations such as these attest to the Circle’s understanding that utterance and evaluation are inseparable. This notion is found in different passages of their work - even in the texts from the 1920s, as we confirm below, in *Towards a Philosophy of the Act* (1920/1924):

[...] the word does not merely designate an object as a present-on-hand entity, but also expresses by its intonation[an actually pronounced word cannot avoid being intonated, for intonation follows from the very fact of its being pronounced] my valuative attitude toward the object. (BAKHTIN, 1993, p.32).

In the well-known essay *The Problem of the Text in Linguistics, Philology, and the Human Sciences*, published in 1976, we read that

Every utterance makes a claim to justice, sincerity, beauty, and truthfulness (a model utterance) and so forth. And these values of utterances are defined not by their relation to the language (as a purely linguistic system), but by various forms of relation to reality, to the speaking subject and to other (alien) utterances (particularly to those that evaluate them as sincere, beautiful, and so forth). (BAKHTIN, 1986b, p.123).

This emphasis on and connection between intonation and evaluation, which we find in the totality of the Circle’s oeuvre, can also be found in *Rhetoric*. As we know the first two books deal with the discovery of evidences, with arguments – this is *inventio*. In Book III, the Greek philosopher elaborates on the other three operations of persuasive

discourse production, namely, *dispositivo*, *elocution*, and *actio* (or *pronunciatio*). He highlights the importance of intonation in the delivery of discourse and states that although such issue can be viewed as “unworthy,”¹³ it is necessary, because “the whole business of rhetoric [is] concerned with appearances [...] [and] [t]he right thing in speaking really is that we should be satisfied not to annoy our hearers, without trying to delight them” (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p.4795, 1404a):

It is, essentially, a matter of the right management of the voice to express the *various emotions*—of speaking loudly, softly, or between the two; of high, low, or intermediate pitch; of the various rhythms that *suit various subjects*. [...] The arts of language cannot help having a small but real importance, whatever it is we have to expound to others: *the way in which a thing is said does affect its intelligibility*. (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p.4795-4796, 1404a, our emphasis).

In this regard, Bialostosky (2004)¹⁴ draws an interesting parallel between Aristotle’s and Bakhtin’s thinking. He states that in his theory of discourse, Bakhtin inverts the hierarchy of the operations of Aristotelian rhetoric: he rehabilitates action, the operation that was least valued, and subjects *inventio*, the most important operation, to the others, viz., *dispositio*, *elocutio* and *actio* (*delivery*). In doing so, he prioritizes enunciation itself. This means that he develops a theory of *actio/pronunciatio*, which is more than just the theory of *inventio*, proposed by the Greek philosopher. Another important aspect to discuss is that if rhetoric was oral first, in Bakhtinian work a rigid separation of oral and written culture does not exist, as language is associated to the ethical and responsible act and to intonation (the sound quality) (see BUBNOVA, 2011).

Another question we have observed, still in the first chapter of Rhetoric, is that the *response* to a given situation is conferred on discourse. For Aristotle, this understanding has to do with “fairness”: “[...] in order that we may see clearly what the facts are, and that, if another man argues unfairly, we on our part may be able to confute him.” (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p.4622-4623, 1355a). Such recommendation is also offered by Bakhtin (1981a, p.280): “All rhetorical forms, monologic in their compositional structure, are oriented toward the listener and his answer. This orientation toward the listener is usually considered the basic constitutive feature of rhetorical discourse.” Bakhtin compares this feature of the rhetorical discourse to everyday dialogue further on in the same essay:

¹³ “Unworthy” is used in the sense that the judge is someone simple and the “art” is so ordinary that some “succeed through practice and others spontaneously” (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p.4618, 1354a).

¹⁴ See Bialostosky (2004, p.383-408). In fact, Bialostosky still shows an interesting connection between *Poetics* and Bakhtin’s analysis of Dostoevsky’s oeuvre based on the relationship Aristotle established between rhetoric and poetics. On this, see Bialostosky (2016).

The listener and his response are regularly taken into account when it comes to everyday dialogue and rhetoric, but every other sort of discourse as well is oriented toward an understanding that is “responsive” – although this orientation is not particularized in an independent act and is not compositionally marked. *Responsive understanding is a fundamental force, one that participates in the formulation of discourse*, and it is moreover an active understanding, one that discourse senses as resistance or support enriching the discourse. (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.280-281, emphasis our).

Also in the essay *Diálogo I: A questão do discurso dialógico* [Dialogue I: The Question of the Dialogic Discourse]:

The question is more complex with the dialogic discourse: as we analyze a rejoinder in dialogue, *we must consider the determining influence of the interlocutor and his/her discourse, which is expressed in the relation between the speaker, the interlocutor and his/her word*. The logic object element of the word becomes the locus where interlocutors meet and the arena where their points of view and evaluations are developed. (BAKHTIN, 2016, p.123, our emphasis, our translation).¹⁵

However, we need to remember that, similar to Aristotle, Bakhtin resorts to axiology once again to broaden the discussion related to the understanding of the other’s positioning: “Understanding is impossible without evaluation. Understanding cannot be separated from evaluation: they are simultaneous and constitute a unified integral act.” (BAKHTIN, 1986a, p.142). This understanding is dialogic; it is the response to other utterances in the continuous chain of concrete utterances, even when it is not disclosed on the verbal (compositional and stylistic) plane (BAKHTIN, 1986c).

Another concept that connects and approximates the two areas is discourse *genre*, clearly discussed in the well-known essay *The Problem of Speech Genres*, from 1951-1953 (BAKHTIN, 1986c), but recurrent in other works since the 1920s.¹⁶ In Brazil it is used in official documents related to the teaching of languages and, consequently, in teaching manuals. Researchers, such as Machado (2008) and Rojo (2008), have discussed in detail about the way in which the concepts of rhetorical and poetic genres form Antiquity dialogue with Bakhtin’s notion of discourse genre, as the latter includes aspects related to theme, purpose, situation and audience, which were also contemplated by the Greek.

¹⁵ In the original: “*A questão é bem mais complexa com o discurso dialógico: ao analisarmos uma réplica, devemos considerar a influência determinante do interlocutor e seu discurso, que se exprime na relação do próprio falante com o interlocutor e sua palavra. O elemento lógico-objetal da palavra torna-se o palco do encontro de interlocutores, a arena da formação dos seus pontos de vista e apreciações.*”

¹⁶ See Brait & Pistori (2012).

As to the way senses are produced in an utterance, the 1929 essay “Discourse in Life and Discourse in Poetry: Questions of Sociological Poetics” (VOLOSHINOV, 1983) reverberates again the old rhetoric:

The non-verbal situation is thus in no way simply the external cause of the utterance, it does not influence it from outside, like a mechanical force. No, *the situation enters into the utterance as an essential constituent part of its sense structure*. Consequently, a real-life utterance, as an intelligible whole, is composed of two parts: (1) the verbally realized (or actualized) part, and (2) what is implied. So we may compare a real-life utterance with an ‘enthymeme’. (VOLOSHINOV, 1983, p.12, original emphasis).

This is the Bakhtinian approach to *discourse* as concrete utterance, which is situated in time and space and has an author and an addressee. Besides, its sense emanates from the verbal interaction with the nonverbal. However, in this passage, Voloshinov uses rhetorical terminology to present it. He evokes the enthymeme, a rhetorical and very simple syllogism, in which one of the premises is implied. Aristotle stated that “the hearer adds it himself” (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p. 4629; 1357a). Once again we observe that the rhetorical utterance, which can be produced by chance and by ordinary people (ARISTOTLE, 1984a; 1354a), approaches the concept of concrete utterance, the living language, which is the object of reflection of the Bakhtinian work.

In the context of this dialogue, based on consonance and coherence, we can still remember that for old rhetoric and the dialogic theory, content and form (*res/verba*) are integral elements in the production of meaning. According to Aristotle in Book III, “Our next subject will be language. For it is not enough to *know what we ought to say*; we must also say it *as we ought*; much help is thus afforded towards producing the right impression of a speech” (ARISTOTLE, 1984a, p. 4794; 1404a; our emphasis).¹⁷ In *Discourse in Life and Discourse in Poetry*, Voloshinov declares that “[f]orm by itself need not be pleasing. [...] form should be a *convincing evaluation* of the content” (VOLOSHINOV, 1983, p.20, original emphasis). And Bakhtin (1990b), discussing it in *The Problem of Content, Material, and Form in Verbal Art*, adds that

Content is an indispensable constitutive moment in the aesthetic object, and artistic form is correlative to it; *outside this correlation, artistic form has no meaning at all* (BAKHTIN, 1990b, p.281, original emphasis).

[...] content and form interpenetrate, they are inseparable. However, for aesthetic analysis, they are not fused, that is, they are validities of a

¹⁷ TN. The translator of *Rhetoric* into Portuguese used the word “form” in the translation of “it as we ought”: “*de forma convincente*” [in a convincing form].

different order: if form is to have a purely aesthetic significance, the content it embraces must have a potential cognitive and ethical significance. Form needs the extra-aesthetic weightiness of content, for without it form could not realize itself as form. (BAKHTIN, 1990b, p.283).

The rhetorical resonance in the Bakhtinian thinking, as we have presented so far, is manifold and varied. There are still many direct and positive references to rhetoric, such as in *Discourse in the Novel* (BAKHTIN, 1981a), written between 1934 and 1935. The essay's emphasis on rhetorical studies is evoked as a prescription and basis of literary criticism and traditional stylistics. We thus believe that the dialogues we have hitherto established prove the earlier assertion that old rhetoric was undoubtedly one of the sources of formation and research of the members of the Circle. Several factors also contributed to this resonance: the friendly relationship they maintained with scholars of classicism, the interest in oratory in the first period of the Russian revolution, and the creation and formation of the Institute of the Living Word (Institutzhivogoslova, IZhS). The word *slovo* in the name of the Institute once again brings the Circle close to rhetoric, as the Russian word has an equivalent meaning of the Greek word *logos*.¹⁸

We should pinpoint now the dissonances between the Bakhtinian thinking and rhetoric. The way we see it, the best way to do so is through the analysis of a fragmented text from 1943. This text, which has not been translated into Portuguese yet, has been referred to by Bakhtin scholars through the beginning of its first sentence: "Rhetoric, in proportion to its falsity [...]." Tatiana Bubnova, who has translated it into Spanish, titled it *Acerca del amor y el conocimiento en la imagen artística* [On Love and Knowledge in Artistic Image] (BAJTIN, 1997).¹⁹ These fragments were written after *Discourse in the Novel* and were published in volume V of the Complete Works in Russian, edited by Bocharov e Gogotishvili: *Sobraniesochinenii, tom 5: Raboty 1940-kh – nachala 1960—khgodov - 12/X/1943*.²⁰ The text has no specific title either – only the phrase *Ritorika, merusvoeilzhivosti...* [Rhetoric, in proportion to its falsity...]. Although it is a rich text, we will discuss only a few elements here. It starts with the opposition between rhetoric and discourse in the novel.

Rhetoric, in proportion to its falsity (*ritorika, v merusvoeilzhivosti*) tends to provoke real terror and hope. That belongs to the essence of the rhetorical word (ancient rhetoric emphasized similar effects). (True) art and knowledge, on the contrary, seek to be free from these feelings. In their own way, tragedy and laughter achieve this freedom.

¹⁸ On this, see Pistori (2013) and Brandist (2012).

¹⁹ We believe this title obscures an important part of the content of the text, that is, the part related to rhetoric.

²⁰ BAKHTIN, Mikhail. [Ritorika, merusvoeilzhivosti...] In: *Sobraniesochinenii, tom 5: Raboty 1940-kh – nachala 1960—khgodov* [Complete Works in Seven Volumes, vol.5. Texts from the 1940s to the beginning of the 1960s], ed. S. G. Bocharov; L. A. Gogotishvili, Moscow, 1996]. (BAJTIN, 1997).

The fusion between praise and invective as the supreme artistic objectivity (the voice of totality) (BAJTIN, 1997, p.138, our translation).²¹

Bakhtin highlights, in a negative way, rhetoric's ability to cause fear or hope "in proportion to its falsity." The appeal to emotions – to *pathos* – is one of the possible evidences in rhetoric (alongside *ethos* and *logos*). Therefore, it has indeed belonged to "the essence of the rhetorical word" since Antiquity. Conversely, knowledge and art, according to him, "seek to be free from these feelings"; tragedy and laughter are freedom achievers, able to fuse "praise and invective" and to "neutralize lie," as he states further on in the text (BAJTIN, 1997, p.141). Discourse in art – in literature – is opposed to "falsity," to "lie, which is directly proportional to violence" (BAJTIN, 1997, p.141, our translation).²² This text establishes a close dialogue with the other texts from the 1920s, viz., Art and Answerability [1919], The Problem of Content, Material, and Form in Verbal Art[1923/1924] and Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity[1924/1927], in which Bakhtin relates knowledge, ethics and aesthetics very closely together. Throughout the text, the rhetorical "falsity," violence and lie are still kept at a distance from art (literature):

Words want to influence and determine from the outside. An element of external pressure is incorporated into the very task of convincing. [...]

A word does not know whom it serves. It comes from the obscure and is ignorant of its origins. The authentically good man, loving and disinterested, has not used the organized word, infected by violence and lie. He has not become a writer [...]. The word was stronger than man, and under its power, he could not feel responsible. He felt he was a strange spokesman of the alien truth, being kept under a supreme power [...]. The creative process is always a process of violence, realized by the truth about the soul. So far truth has never been close to human beings; it has never come to him from within, [but has always come] from the outside, as something owned. As a revelation, it has never been honest, always silencing something, always surrounded by mystery and, consequently, by violence. Triumphant over man, truth was violence and man was not its child. We do not know if truth or man is to blame for that. Man

²¹ In the Spanish translation: "*La retórica, en la medida de su falsedad [Izhivost']*, tiende a producir justamente el miedo o la esperanza. Lo cual es parte de la esencia de la palabra retórica (ya la retórica antigua subrayaba los afectos semejantes). El arte (verdadero) y el conocimiento buscan, por el contrario, una liberación de tales sentimientos. Aunque por caminos distintos, la tragedia ya la risa realizan esta liberación. La fusión de la alabanza y la injuria como suprema objetividad artística (la voz de la totalidad)." (BAJTIN, 1997, p. 138).

²² In the Spanish translation: "*El elemento de la mentira, directamente proporcional a la violencia.*" (BAJTIN, 1997, p.141).

encounters the truth about himself as if it were a weak force. (BAJTIN, 1997, p.142-143, our translation).²³

As we can see, the text continues placing against art a word that is stronger than man; it does not belong to him, comes from the outside and takes over him. Man is not responsible for the word: it is the authoritative word, the word of power, of the church, about which Bakhtin discusses in the fourth section of the essay Discourse in the Novel, entitled The Speaking Person in the Novel (BAKHTIN, 1981a). The (good) man does not own the word, which is unfamiliar to him as it is “infected by violence and lie.” In fact, it belongs to very few. Further on in the text, Bakhtin presents the creative process as a process of violence, which, nevertheless, is effectuated through the truth about the soul. This ethics of the truth, made possible by art, is opposed to the lie and the violence of the menacing authoritative word. Therefore, on the one hand, there is power, which intends to define the truth of the world based on the outside, on itself, and not on contextualized senses. This power is deficient in dialogicity and unfinishedness, for “a *finished* whole cannot be seen from within, only from the outside” (BAJTIN, 1997, p.145, original emphasis, our translation).²⁴ It is from this perspective – of the institutionalized power that characterizes the world – that Bakhtin views rhetoric, based on the understanding that it is the organized word, the word of falsity, owned by few:

The rhetorical lie. The lie in art. The lie in forms of seriousness (conjoined with fear, threats, and violence). There still is no form of force (power, government) without the inevitable ingredient of lying. (BAJTIN, 1997, p.146).²⁵

²³ In the Spanish translation: “*La palabra quiere influir desde fuera, determinar desde fuera. En la própria tarea de convencimiento está incluido un elemento de la presión exterior: (...) La palabra no sabe a quién sirve, llega de la oscuridad y desconoce sus raíces. Su seriedad está vinculada con el miedo y la violencia. El hombre auténticamente bueno, desinteresado y amoroso todavía no ha tomado la palabra, no se ha realizado en las esferas de la vida cotidiana, no ha tocado la palabra organizada, infectada por la violencia y a la mentira, este hombre no se hace escritor: (...) La palabra solía ser más fuerte que el hombre, él no podía ser responsable, al encontrarse en el poder de la palabra; se sentía el vocero de la verdad ajena, en cuyo poder supremo se encontraba (...). El proceso creativo es siempre el proceso de violencia que la verdad comete sobre el ama. La verdad nunca ha sido, has ahora, consanguínea del hombre, nunca le ha llegado desde su interior; siempre desde el exterior. Siempre ha sido una posesora. Siendo revelación, la verdad nunca ha sido sincera; siempre callaba algo, se rodeaba de misterio y, por lo tanto, de violencia. Triunfando sobre el hombre, la verdad era violencia, el hombre no era su hijo. No se sabe quién tiene la culpa de eso, la verdad o el hombre. El hombre se encuentra con la verdad acerca de sí mismo como con una fuerza mortecina.*” (BAJTIN, 1997, p.142-143).

²⁴ In the Spanish translation: “*un todo concluido no puede ser visto desde el interior, sino tan sólo desde el exterior.*” (BAJTIN, 1997, p.145).

²⁵ Translation by Leonidas Donskis. [DONSKIS, L. *Modernity in Crisis: A Dialogue on the Culture of Belonging*. New York, NY: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2011, p. 133]. In the Spanish translation: “*La mentiraretórica. La mentira en una imagen artística. La mentira en las formas de la seriedad (su fusión con el miedo, la amenaza y la violencia). Todavía no existe una forma de fuerza (poderio, poder) sin un ingrediente necesario de la mentira.*” (BAJTIN, 1997, p.146).

On the other hand, there is art, which, according to Bakhtin, liberates man and makes possible the dialogic participation of everyone in ethnic reality. This understanding is in line with his interest in works that emerged in times of disintegration of stable verbal ideological systems, a historical change that provided the novelistic prose with a rich soil. It is also in line with his interest in heterodiscourse, multi-language interaction, and his criticism to “the primary language system underlying its ideology and literature” (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.368), which views language as single, “Ptolemaic” and excludes, thus, heterodiscourse. In short, it is in line with the historical moment in which Bakhtin lived, that is, a time of historical changes in the emerging Soviet Union, which did not foster democratic political procedures such as the ones promoted by the West, but made possible the dialogue between the sectors of society that had had no access to literacy and art before.

To close this section we would like to quote two passages of *Mikhail Bakhtin: An aesthetic for democracy*, an important read of the Bakhtinian works by Ken Hirschkop (1999). In our opinion, it well expresses the connection between Bakhtinian thought and democracy:

Bakhtin does not write about language and culture sub specie aeternitatis but a language and culture which have decisively broken with traditional forms: a vernacular language, in which all have a right to speak, in which no speaker holds absolute authority, and where subjects should adhere to a moral code they elaborate together. (HIRSCHKOP, 1999, p.viii).

[...] conceptions of language and discourse structure democratic principles form within, informing the very critical standards we use in assessing actually existing democracy. (HIRSCHKOP, 1999, p.45).

If we take these aspects into account, we find another point of consonance between rhetoric, which in the beginning was closely connected to Greek democracy, and Bakhtinian thought. The changes the discipline has undergone throughout the centuries, especially its institutionalization, may justify how this tradition was absorbed by and integrated into Bakhtinian studies.

Dialogue II: Bakhtinian Thinking and Plato’s Rhetoric

Then, my friend, he who knows not the truth, but pursues opinions, will, it seems, attain an art of speech which is ridiculous, and not an art at all.
Plato (2007, p.523, 262 c)

As we seek to establish a dialogue between old rhetoric and Bakhtinian thinking, we must also examine, even if briefly, the way Plato's texts echo in the Circle's works. We cannot ignore that, in terms of rhetoric, Aristotle responds to Plato, his master, in disagreement or maybe in a complementary way. This dialogue reflects and refracts the way Bakhtin and the Circle also respond to the Greek philosophers (and to those who succeed them). Thus, new links in the constitutive chain of rhetorical thinking are forged. At first, however, when we read that "[r]hetoric, in proportion to its falsity tends to provoke real terror and hope" (BAJTIN, 1997, p.138), we imagine that Bakhtin refers to the image of rhetoric as a discourse that is emotional, manipulative, empty, and deceitful. This discourse, in fact, had already been criticized by Plato. Nevertheless, this is not the only aspect of rhetoric that Bakhtin and the Circle point out in their work, nor is this the only one with which they dialogue. This discussion will focus on this aspect first and then we will underscore the concept of dialogism through an investigation of the rhetoric of Plato, or more properly still, in Plato.

Rhetoric, in proportion to its falsity...

In Plato's time (428/427 BCE - 348/347 BCE), the definitions of the terms *philosophy*, *rhetoric* and *sophistic* were not clear and the latter two were hardly differentiated.²⁶ The distinction seems to occur through the "virtues of the soul of the philosopher," which embodies moral virtues: "Plato seems less concerned with offering definitions of the philosopher and sophist than with opposing through dramatic conflict the *person* of the philosopher, Socrates, to a number of different sophists and rhetoricians" (McCOY, 2008, p. 3, original emphasis).²⁷

Similar to the Dostoevskyan hero analyzed by Bakhtin, the character Socrates "[...] is not only a discourse about himself and his immediate environment, but also a discourse about the world." (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p.78). By the same token, for both Plato's Socrates and Dostoevsky, "[t]he truth about the world [...] is inseparable from the truth of the personality" (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p.78).

²⁶ Edward Schiappa (1990) argues that the term "rhetoric" was coined by Plato when he was writing *Gorgias* in around 385BCE. He justifies it by stating that the art of rhetoric had not been conceptualized it as such until the 4th century BCE. He still reminds us that Protagoras and Gorgias did not use the term as their works focused on *logos* and that Herodotus, who knew the works of the sophists well, did not use it either.

²⁷ See Bréhier (2004, p.99): "In the Greece of that time, the definition of a philosopher was never based on his relation to other genres of scientific or religious speculation, but on his relation to and differences with the speaker, the sophist, the politician. Philosophy is the discovery of a new way of intellectual life that cannot be separated from social life by any means." [In original: "*Dans la Grèce d'alors, le philosophe ne se définit nullement par rapport aux autres genres de spéculations, scientifiques ou religieuses, mais bien para son rapport et se différences avec l'orateur, le sophiste, le politique. La philosophie est la découverte d'une nouvelle forme de vie intellectuelle, qui ne peut au reste se séparer de la vie sociale.*"] Also see Pagotto-Euzebio (2018, p.5) on the role Isocrates played in the teaching of rhetoric, which he called philosophy: "It would be easier and apparently obvious to state that Isocrates was a rhetoric teacher. However, he did not call his work activity that way. As he never used the word rhetoric (*rhetoriké*) in his oeuvre, the fact the Isocrates used the term *philosophía* to define his work activity makes us somehow reconsider the meaning of these words in the educational and cultural context of the Athens of the 4th century BCE". [In the original: "*O mais fácil, aparentemente óbvio, seria dizer que Isócrates era um professor de retórica. No entanto, não foi assim que ele denominou sua atividade. Sem nunca ter utilizado a palavra retórica (rhetoriké) em suas obras, o fato de Isócrates usar o termo philosophía para definir seu trabalho nos obriga, de algum modo, a reconsiderar o sentido dessas palavras no contexto educativo e cultural da Atenas do século IV a.C.*"]

The polemic around rhetoric, its social role, and especially the content rhetors taught started with the Sophists' teaching of rhetoric in the 5th century BCE. Henri-Irinée Marrou (1990), a historian of education in Antiquity, reminds us that our knowledge about the Sophists is comprised of few fragments, doxographical reports, and chiefly Plato's dialogues. Plato concedes the possibility of rhetoric, but considers *episteme*, the search for truth, superior to *doxa*, the opinion, which is inclined to deceit, is available to most people, and seduces them into degeneracy. According to Socrates, in Phaedrus, "[...] he who knows not the truth, but pursues opinions, will, it seems, attain an art of speech which is ridiculous, and not an art at all" (PLATO, 2007, p.523, 262c). We could state that Plato concedes to "good rhetoric," a "philosophical" rhetoric that seeks the truth.²⁸

In his defense of "good" rhetoric, in *Gorgias*, a dialogue of his youth (or a transitional work, that is, the first work of the second period which focuses on rhetoric),²⁹ he addresses the topic of rhetoric very explicitly. Gorgias defines his art as the power to persuade, through words, jurors in the court, senators in the council and assemblymen. Socrates, a character in the dialogue, states that it manufactures persuasion and questions him about the object of persuasion. He makes the sophist embarrassed as he ends up saying that rhetoric can serve good or evil ends and that it is a "part of something which has nothing beautiful about it" (PLATO, 1984, p. 248, 463a), "a thing which is irrational" (PLATO, 1984, p.249, 465a) and that "shrewdly guesses at what is pleasant, omitting what is best" (PLATO, 1984, p.249, 464e). In short, this dialogue aims to showcase, through Socrates' words, that cultural development grounded in political eloquence, instead of education, destroys every sense of morality. Other dialogues, such as *The Sophist* (PLATO, 1922), return to this discussion.

This aspect of Plato's Socratic dialogues – the ethical and responsible action on the development of the other – evokes positions taken by Bakhtin in his first writings, the ones that seek a *prima philosophia*, such as *Art and Answerability* (BAKHTIN, 1990c) and *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* (BAKHTIN, 1993), which are more axiological than ontological in nature (FARACO, 2017). In the dialogue we have proposed in this paper, we know that the act that has ethical value in Bakhtin does not directly correspond to the issue of good or bad rhetoric in Plato. However, as we corroborate this possible and pertinent approximation, we remember Bakhtin's own words: "Historically language grew up in the service of participative thinking and performed acts, and it begins to serve abstract thinking only in the present day of its history." (BAKHTIN, 1993, p.31).

The ethical and responsible act, the participative thinking (BAKHTIN, 1993, p.18, p.20 and p.29, among other passages) are found in Socratic dialogues and these

²⁸ According to Barilli (1985), Plato's objective is to take away the rights most people have to arbitrate, choose, and decide. He adopts an anti-democratic stance and argues against common sense. For Plato, the philosopher plays a priority role and is alone worthy of wisdom, as *doxa* is neither science nor technique, inasmuch as it is inclined to deceit, being at the service of the majority and seducing them into degeneracy.

²⁹ In general, Plato's dialogues are classified according to two or three periods of his life: early life, middle life, and later life. From the first period, the dialogues are *Hippias Minor*, *Laches*, *Charmides*, *Lysis*, *Entipron*, *Ion*, *Hippias Major*, *Protagoras*, *Apology*, *Criton* and the first book of *Republic*, *Gorgias*, *Menon*, *Euthydemus*, *Cratylus*, and *Menexenus*. From the second, *Phaedo*, *The Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *The Republic*, *Theaetetus*, *The Sophist* (someplace it in his later life), and from the third, *Critias*, *Laws*, *Philebus*, *The Statesman*, and *Timaeus*. (CHAUI, 2002).

Bakhtinian texts, which defend that cognitive judgement is axiological and do not separate ethics from knowledge and aesthetics: “[...] that which is found to be on hand by cognition is not a *res nullius* but the reality of ethical actions in all their variety, and the reality of aesthetic vision.” (BAKHTIN, 1990b, p. 275). “In this acceptance of the ethical and the cognitive into its proper object resides the distinctive kindness of the aesthetic, its mercifulness. It does not choose, as it were, anything, it does not divide anything, does not abolish anything, does not push away and detach itself from anything.” (BAKHTIN, 1990b, p.279). According to Faraco (2017),

[Bakhtin] is interested in the lived life, based on the perspective of a consciousness that is responsible and participative. [...] Thus, living is acting from oneself in relation to the other (see TPA), positioning oneself axiologically (see A&H), and participating in the open dialogue, the universal symposium (see TPA). Three active verbs weave living, namely, acting, valuing, and interacting.[...]

From a Bakhtinian perspective, in interactions we do not exchange messages; we dialogize axiologies. (FARACO, 2017, p.52 and p.55).³⁰

For Bakhtin, if dialogue, which is always axiological and occurs in verbal interaction, were based on rhetorical “falsity,” it would not contribute to cognitive judgment (ethical and aesthetic). This is because the theoretical-philosophical conceptions that are expressed in an aesthetic object are connected to the concrete world of human acts and “are necessarily connected with the ethical constituent in content, with the world of performed action, the world of event. [...] [W]hat is cognitively *true* becomes a constituent of ethical performance or accomplishment” (BAKHTIN, 1990c, p.287-288, our emphasis).

Dialogism is “[o]vercoming the monologic model of the world. The rudiments of this in Socratic dialogue”³¹

The second aspect of the dialogue between Plato and Bakhtinian thinking refers to possible connections between dialogism and especially Socratic dialogues, which are frequently mentioned by Bakhtin in his studies about the novel. In fact, some Socratic dialogues discuss rhetoric, but none constitutes one of the traditional rhetorical genres. In different moments of his work, Bakhtin approaches rhetoric as one of the roots of

³⁰ In the original: “*Interessa-lhe [a Bakhtin] a vida vivida na perspectiva de uma consciência que age responsável e participativamente. (...) Assim, viver é agir responsabilmente a partir de si e em correlação com o outro (cf. PFA), é posicionar-se axiologicamente (cf. A&H), é participar do diálogo aberto, do simpósio universal (cf. PFA). Três verbos ativos – agir, valorar, interagir – tecem o viver: [...] Na interação vista pelo olhar bakhtiniano, não se trocam mensagens, mas se dialogizam axiologias.*” (FARACO, 2017, p.52 and p.55).

³¹ Bakhtin (1984b, p.292).

the novel as a genre.³² According to him, the Socratic dialogue as a genre belonged to a special realm of literature called the serio-comical (counterposed to the serious genres, such as the epic, the tragedy and the history). For Bakhtin, “*Socratic dialogue*, which replaced tragic dialogue, was the first step in the history of the new genre of the novel. But that was mere dialogue, *little more than* an external form of dialogism” (BAKHTIN, 1984b, p.291, our emphasis).

As we know, the practice of *dialogue*, which, as a genre, disseminated philosophy and even rhetoric, had been forgotten in philosophical reflections for centuries. Its importance was acknowledged only in the 20th century not only in Russia, but through different authors, such as Hans-Georg Gadamer, Martin Buber and Mikhail Bakhtin and the Circle, our focus here. In terms of using the concept of *dialogue* to understand language, Ivanova’s (2011) article “*O diálogo na linguística soviética dos anos 1920-1930*” [The Dialogue on the Soviet Linguistics of the 1920s and 1930s] (2011, p.239-267) shows the level of closeness between Voloshinov’s and Jakubinsky’s works. Moreover, Brait (2013) retrieves the concept of dialogue to show to which extent in the 20th century it integrates language studies under different perspectives in a consistent and diversified way. Besides the aforementioned authors, she adds Emile Benveniste and warns us to the fact that

[t]o see dialogue being valued in language studies and its metamorphosis into dialogism means, therefore, to discuss the transition from a linguistics of language to a linguistics of discourse, the moment when these two concepts play a decisive role. If we take into account that the concept of dialogue and the need to theorize about it is the hallmark of the 20th-century linguistics, present in several theoretical approaches, the focus of our study seeks support from some founders of this conception, namely, Émile Benveniste (1906-1976), Lev Jakubinsky (1892-1945), Valentin Voloshinov (1895- 1936), and Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). As we get to know some of their works, we are offered elements to realize how the concept of dialogue provides a new perspective on national tongues and languages, which, at a certain moment, is categorized as dialogism (BRAIT, 2013, p.98, our translation).³³

³² In Forms of the Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel (BAKHTIN, 1981b), From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse (BAKHTIN, 1981c), Epic and Novel (BAKHTIN, 1981d), Discourse in the Novel (BAKHTIN, 1981a), as well as in Toward a Reworking of the Dostoevsky Book (BAKHTIN, 1984b).

³³ In the original: “[E]ncontrar a valorização de diálogo dentro dos estudos da linguagem, assim como sua metamorfose em dialogismo, significa, portanto, discutir a passagem de uma linguística da língua para uma linguística do discurso, momento em que esses dois conceitos desempenham papel decisivo. Considerando que o conceito de diálogo e a necessidade de teorizar sobre ele é uma das marcas da linguística do século XX, presente em várias tendências teóricas, o recorte aqui estabelecido busca apoio em alguns fundadores dessa concepção: Émile Benveniste (1906-1976), Lev Jakubinskij (1892-1945), Valentin Voloshinov (1895- 1936) e Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). O contato com alguns dos trabalhos desses autores oferece elementos para observar como a concepção de diálogo produz uma nova visão de língua, de linguagem, explicitando-se, num certo momento, como dialogismo.” (BRAIT, 2013, p.98).

The “Socratic dialogue” as a genre, which Bakhtin studied, was carried out not only by Plato, but also by Xenophon, Antisthenes, Aeschines, Alexamenos, and others. However, we have had contact only with the writings of Plato and Xenophon and fragments of writing of Antisthenes. In his preface to one of the editions of Plato’s *Dialogues*, Nunes makes clear that

[Plato] did not create the Socratic dialogue. He was only one of the first to cultivate this literary genre and its most remarkable representative. After him, from Aristotle on – let us put it this way – Socrates relinquishes his position as the director of the debates and vanishes from the stage. The playwright takes over the ongoing display of his ideas without resorting to concise questions and answers, which Socrates really enjoyed and were well illustrated in Plato’s *first writings*. All the *literary part* of Aristotle’s work was lost, but through Cicero, who came to know it, we have an idea of how they were written. The dialogued passages of his work are extremely reduced. As a rule, the playwright displays his own ideas through long speeches (NUNES, 1980, p.6, our emphasis, our translation).³⁴

The Socratic dialogue is almost a memorialist genre, a written account of the memory of Socrates’ actual speeches, organized in a brief narrative. This is how Bakhtin understands it – as one of sources of the novel, a dialogic “variety in the development of the novel” (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p. 109). The other one is the Menippean satire. “The Socratic dialogue is not a rhetorical genre” (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p. 109); it has a folk-carnivalistic base, and it is deeply rooted in the oral stage of that Greek society.

Bakhtin brings an in-depth discussion on Socratic dialogues and shows enthusiasm and admiration for the genre. An example is *Epic and Novel: Toward a Methodology for the Study of the Novel*, in which Socratic dialogue connects philosophy to the initial development of the novel as a genre: “We possess a remarkable document that reflects the simultaneous birth of scientific thinking and of a new artistic-prose model for the novel. These are the Socratic dialogues. For our purposes, everything in this remarkable genre, which was born just as classical antiquity was drawing to a close, is significant.” (BAKHTIN, 1981d, p.24). In Bréhier’s words (2004, p.96, our translation)³⁵, “[...] the Socratic dialogues are not only an examination of people, but also a review of their

³⁴ In the original: “Não foi ele [Platão] o criador do diálogo socrático, senão um dos primeiros a cultivar esse gênero literário e o seu mais notável representante. Depois dele, a partir de Aristóteles, digamos, Sócrates cede o seu posto de diretor dos debates e desaparece do cenário, assumindo o autor da peça a responsabilidade da exposição corrida de suas ideias, sem o recurso das perguntas e respostas concisas, tão do gosto de Sócrates e tão bem ilustrado nos primeiros escritos de Platão. Da obra de Aristóteles perdeu-se toda essa parte literária; mas, por intermédio de Cícero, que ainda chegou a conhecê-la, podemos fazer uma ideia de como seriam redigidas. A parte dialogada é muito reduzida; de regra, o autor da peça expõe em discursos longos suas próprias ideias.” (PLATO, 1980, p.6).

³⁵ In the original: “Les dialogues socratiques sont, en effet, pour le moins autant un examen des personnes qu’un examen de leurs opinions: l’intérêt porte même plutôt sur le premier que sur le second.” (BRÉHIER (2004, p.96).

opinions; however, they are more interested in the former than in the latter.” In Plato, the dialogic composition is counterposed to rhetoric: the dialogues are like the encounter of souls that occurs through short interventions, with no digressions or strange elements, in an analytical effort to decompose discourses; besides, their objective is not to defeat the adversaries. They play the role of questioning the interlocutor or putting him to the test so that he can realize whether or not he agrees with himself. This is different from rhetorical discourse, which is spoken by only one person.

However, in terms of dialogism, these are genuine reflections, especially the dialogues of the first and the second periods of his life. In the late dialogues the method becomes close to rhetoric, albeit the continuance of the structure. In other words, the dialogues are more conclusive, unlike the ones in the first two periods, and arrive at an ethical and moral “truth.” In this regard, Bakhtin (1984a, p.110) states that

In Plato’s dialogues of his first and second periods, the dialogic nature of truth is still recognized in the philosophical worldview itself, although in weakened form. Thus the dialogue of these early periods has not yet been transformed into a simple means for expounding ready-made ideas (for pedagogical purposes) and Socrates has not yet been transformed into a “teacher.” But in the final period of Plato’s work that has already taken place: the monologism of the content begins to destroy the form of the Socratic dialogue. Consequently, when the genre of the Socratic dialogue entered the service of the established, dogmatic worldviews of various philosophical schools and religious doctrines, it lost all connection with a carnival sense of the world and was transformed into a simple form for expounding already found, ready-made irrefutable truth; ultimately, it degenerated completely into a question-and-answer form for training neophytes (catechism).

In Protagoras, one of the Socratic dialogues of the first period, which can be regarded as more ethical than philosophical, we read:

I think you’re right, Critias. *For those present at discussions such as this should give joint but not equal ear to both of two discussants.* For it’s not the same: one should hear both jointly, not assigning equal importance to each of the two, but instead more to the wiser, less to the unwise. For my part, Protagoras and Socrates, I think you should accede, and disagree with each other over arguments but not dispute. (PLATO, 1996, p.197, emphasis our).

Here we notice not only Plato’s criticism to the rhetoric that only seeks to defeat the adversary, but also the embryo of what Bakhtin will call the active responsive understanding. In fact, the dialogues from the first and second periods are less monologic

or dogmatic than the ones from his later life. They are known as aporetic dialogues, that is, they question the different modes of conceptualizing virtue, such as courage, piety, friendship. As this is their main topic, they denounce the fragility of these concepts, but their question is left unanswered. In other words, not only are they more *ethical* than philosophical, but they also seem to be unfinished texts to the readers. When studying Protagoras, it was common for scholars to approach the two positions in relation to virtues – Socrates’ and Protagoras’ – as equipollent. Thus, it was possible to realize that both Socrates and the sophists had contributed to the result of questioning, that is, a cultural hybrid that associates the traditional virtue of courage with wisdom and (implicitly) with the other civic virtues. This reminds us of Bakhtin, when he discussed the problem of the content of the work of art: “This reality of cognition is not consummated and always open.” (BAKHTIN, 1990b, p.277).

James Zappen (2004), in *The Rebirth of Dialogue*: Bakhtin, Socrates and the Rhetorical Tradition, declares that the Socrates in Bakhtin is different from the one passed down to us in the Western philosophical tradition: “Bakhtin’s Socrates is not a rhetor but a *respondent*, not an answerer but a *questioner*.” (ZAPPEN, 2004, p.37, emphasis our).

Bakhtin, however, invites an alternative reading of the Socratic dialogue as a free and creative interplay of the ideas – as an interplay of ideas within the texts, between the texts in their contextual relationships to each other, an within the texts as situated in their extratextual historical context. Thus situated, the Socratic dialogues resonate with the voices of other people – of Homer and Simonides, Pericles and (perhaps Plato) Thucydides. (ZAPPEN, 2004, p.67).

Now we turn to a short passage in which Bakhtin discusses this question:

As our starting point we have contemporary reality, the living people who occupy it together with their opinions. From this vantage point, from this contemporary reality with its diversity of speech and voice, there comes about a new orientation in the world and in time (including the “absolute past” of tradition) through personal experience and investigation. It is canonical for the genre that even an accidental and insignificant pretext can ordinarily and deliberately serve as the external and most immediate starting point for a dialogue; the “todayness” of the day was emphasized in all its randomness (accidental encounters, etc.). (BAKHTIN, 1981d, p.26-27).

Bakhtin reminds us that in Socratic dialogue, the search of this unofficial and unfinished “truth” through dialogue occurs through syncrisis, when different points of view are confronted to one another, and anacrisis, when the interlocutor is provoked

to express his own ideas: “[...] a means for eliciting and provoking the words of one’s interlocutor, forcing him to express his opinion and express it thoroughly.” (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p.110). Thus, the examination and confrontation of ideas, and the creation of new ideas through dialogue challenge people’s monologic discourse as they simultaneously support conflicting cultural ideas.

At the base of the genre lies the Socratic notion of the dialogic nature of truth, and the dialogic nature of human thinking about truth. The dialogic means of seeking truth is counterposed to *official* monologism, which pretends to *possess a ready-made truth*, and it is also counterposed to the naive self-confidence of those people who think that they know something, that is, who think that they possess certain truths. Truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born *between people* collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction. (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p.110, original emphasis).

This is how this perspective of Plato’s Socratic dialogues approaches Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism, according to which every discursive communication is part of an uninterrupted dialogue, every utterance is “a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances” (BAKHTIN, 1986c, p.69), encompassing written or oral production of any type. Similarly, all understanding is active, evaluative, and contains the germ of a response.

In short, as we reflect on the rhetorical conceptions in the oeuvres of Bakhtin and Plato, we can state that, although both reject a rhetoric that is not aware of ethical tenets, their agreement ceases when in the Plato of the late years dogmatism and “the monologism of the content begins to destroy the form of the Socratic dialogue” (BAKHTIN, 1984a, p.110). On the other hand, the understanding of the Socratic dialogues of Plato’s early and middle years, as presented by Bakhtin, surely contributes to the understanding of dialogism and the unfinished dialogue of every communication.

To Conclude

This study, a dialogical exercise, is an active responsive understanding of the Bakhtinian work, which was initially closely connected to rhetorical studies, especially with old rhetoric. In other words, as we read the members of the Circle, they always seem to establish this possible dialogue with rhetorical teachings, because verbal discourse is inevitably oriented toward prior discourses, whether the author’s or the others’, as part of the continuous chain of discursive communication throughout history. In fact, this study was carried out from a discursive perspective – not from a philosophical one, which could have been done.

We highlight that this approach, in our opinion, allows the understanding of dialogical studies in continuance with rhetorical studies, incorporating them.³⁶ It also allows the understanding of the way the theoretical approach developed in the work of the Circle can contribute to studies on argumentation. Moreover, we believe that the Bakhtinian thinking, presented as a dialogical theory of discourse, has evident potentialities for the teaching of argumentation, particularly in relation to the proposition of more open (unfinished) views and understandings of reality that are not simply dichotomized [Bakhtin criticized the rhetorical genres, stating that the rhetorical double-voicedness is not very deep (BAKHTIN, 1981a, p.354)]. This is especially important not only because we know that the Bakhtinian thinking is constantly used in education studies, but also because society frequently tends to polarize positions.

If today rhetorical and argumentative studies are less connected to the practical and educational aspects of the old discipline, the Bakhtinian perspective prompts possible reflections on the full development of an ethical and responsible citizenship, attempting to overcome the negative aspects indicated by Plato (and Bakhtin) and to incorporate the positive aspects indicated by Aristotle (and Bakhtin). Besides, if for Bakhtin, as we pointed out, knowledge and the use of rhetoric were associated with an official culture, when we see rhetoric from the Bakhtinian perspective as a whole, the teaching of argumentation can (and should) lead us to the appropriation of the word: the productivity of the alliance of these theoretical approaches to the understanding of discourse, however it is expressed, should go beyond the social practice that confines the power of discourse (in its production, circulation, or reception) to a small segment of society.

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³⁶ Some examples: Pistori (2018, 2016, 2015, 2013).

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- *RESUMO: Este texto propõe um diálogo entre a antiga retórica e análise dialógica do discurso, baseada na obra de Mikhail Bakhtin e o Círculo. Busca observar como os ensinamentos retóricos ecoam no pensamento bakhtiniano, buscando convergências e divergências entre ambos. Primeiramente, o diálogo proposto é com a retórica aristotélica, a seguir com as críticas de Platão a seu uso e funcionamento. Nosso objetivo é compreender as relações e possibilidades dialógicas entre a retórica e a obra do Círculo, defendendo a produtividade de aliança entre esses dois aportes teóricos na compreensão e produção do discurso e da argumentação. Considerando que são várias as concordâncias, mas também as críticas em relação à retórica encontradas naquela obra, é importante compreendê-las para que a aliança teórica se dê em bases epistemológicas confiáveis e seja produtiva.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Retórica. Argumentação. Bakhtin e o Círculo. Aristóteles. Platão.*

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GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES ON FACEBOOK FEMINIST PAGES

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- **ABSTRACT:** The present study deals with issues of relations between gender ideologies and language ideologies, with a view to discussing the hypothesis of the convergence between linguistic hegemonies and the hegemonic order of gender, underpinned by Western ethnocentric tradition. It has been developed using examples extracted from two feminist activist Facebook communities. These communities have been the object of a virtual ethnographic study since 2013. This research focuses on the metapragmatic function carried out by the comments of the participants in those communities. It is guided by an understanding of language as social action (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990); and of the concepts of “language ideology” (WOOLARD, 1998), discursive conflict (BRIGGS, 1996) and “metapragmatic attack” (JACQUEMET, 1994). The understanding of processes of identity construction in relation to power dispute and control in the contexts of interaction and the social world (SIGNORINI, 1998; MOITA LOPES, 2010) also plays a key role. Gender/sexuality hegemonies as well as linguistic hegemonies are co-articulated in space-time, thereby fulfilling the purposes of (dis)crediting arguments, face-saving (or threatening), and (re)orientating interactions. This occurs particularly when attempting to develop a set of language-use norms, which evokes a school-related cultural model and is capable of establishing relationships between said model and the ability of individuals to understand the gender- and sexuality-related issues under discussion.
- **KEYWORDS:** Gender ideologies. Language ideologies. Metapragmatic attack. Discursive conflict. Facebook.

Introduction

This study presents a fragment of a broader virtual ethnographic study underway since January 2013 on Facebook pages characterized by their militant position in favour of feminist and anti-homo/trans/lesbian-phobic causes. Initially, we examined the aforementioned pages as lurkers,¹ with a view to assessing the meanings attributed

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¹ A “cultural attentive observer” (a cultural lurker), a reader who does not publish messages – meaning assigned to the term by Hine’s Virtual Ethnography (2000, p.24).

to gender and sexuality as (co)constructed by participants. We were also aiming to enhance our understanding of the dynamics of identity (de)construction in contemporary linguistic practices.² Nevertheless, the daily follow-up of posts and interactions also led us to acknowledge that some participants' comments posted during discussions exerted a metapragmatic function. In other words, a "function embracing not only description and assessment, but also conditioning and orientation of language use in either oral or written production" (SIGNORINI, 2008, p. 117). More specifically, they were responsible for recontextualizing institutionalized graphocentrism-related regulations on language, while also revealing socioculturally established norms on gender, and (re)orienting interaction within those spaces.

By examining such dynamics, we were able to highlight a new issue of particular interest in applied linguistic studies, and one that serves as the focus of this study: metapragmatic function exerted by participants' comments, in addition to the hypothesis of convergence between linguistic hegemonies and other established hegemonic orders, particularly those of gender and sexuality, underpinned by Western ethnocentric tradition. In order to deal with the aforementioned issue, we were immersed in those spaces and guided by the following research questions: What are the language ideologies that appear on the pages? What are the gender ideologies³ that appear on the pages? How do these ideologies (gender and language) interrelate on the pages?

In light of the multiple linguistic and sociocultural devices brought into play by the participants in their language use, which also, in turn, present a number of ideological connotations, we discuss "conflicts" (BRIGGS, 1996) and "metapragmatic attacks" (JACQUEMET, 1994) related to two cultural co-dependent values occurring with a high degree of frequency on the pages studied: 1) concepts of masculinity/femininity; and 2) standard-language and linguistic correction ideals.

Initially, we present our research methodology, followed by a brief contextualization of the Facebook feminist pages under investigation. Thereafter, we focus on the theoretical basis of our study before finally discussing two sequences resulting from two posts published by the moderators of pages "*Moça, você é machista*" (Lady, you are sexist) and "*Diários de uma feminista*" (Diaries of a feminist). As further demonstrated, confrontations not only evoke a formalized school-related cultural model of language use, but also reveal relationships between said model, gender/sexuality-related ideologies, and the abilities of individuals to understand the issues and participating in the discussion.

² Outcomes of analyses are published in: Biondo (2015) and Biondo e Signorini (2015).

³ We use the term "gender ideologies" in this study to refer to any ideological issues and power relations that permeate male and heterosexual hegemony in our society. Furthermore, we made the choice to use it deliberately to counteract the pejorative appropriation of the term in Brazil, currently being applied, by which the field of gender studies itself is disqualified.

Research methodology

Research guiding the discussions developed in the present study was carried out on eight different Facebook pages characterized by their activist stance on gender causes. Out of those pages, six had been closely observed since January 2013. In June 2016, two pages were added to the investigation. All eight pages have in common the fact that they refer to themselves as “communities” with the primary goal of taking a militant/activist position against prejudice, inequality, and any form of violence somehow connected to certain minorities: usually women, homosexuals and transsexuals; but also black people, children, and other groups considered marginalized. All these pages are available to public view and may be liked and followed by any Facebook user. Based on Virtual Ethnography (HINE, 2000), we followed discussions published on the investigated pages on a daily basis in the role of lurker only, that is, without writing any posts ourselves.

According to Hine (2000), Virtual Ethnography implies the researcher’s immersion in online spaces of interaction, studying the relationship between online and offline spaces. Although it is grounded in traditional ethnography, since its central focus has shifted to online settings, virtual ethnography requires some reconfiguration, particularly regarding perceptions of space, place, time, and identity. In virtual ethnography, these perceptions must be guided by the specific situation under investigation, as well as by the sociocultural context in question – both in tune with how research itself is understood from the standpoint of virtual ethnography.

In short, the constructs of space, place, time and identity only exist (from this perspective) as a “field of relations” structured according to the social and cultural aspects of a given situation; under no circumstances existing as predetermined and fixed concepts prior to practice (HINE, 2000). Additionally, time and space are under determination, thus consisting in “space-time” – always determined by the social action in progress, underpinned by an abundance of material and discursive resources, and immersed in relations of power (LEANDER; MCKIM, 2010). Whenever investigating online space-time, as is the case with the Facebook pages assessed herein, Hine (2000) believes it is necessary to assign considerable importance to language and established interactions as substitutes for the researcher’s long-term immersion in physical space, as required by traditional ethnography.

Feminist pages under investigation

For the present study, we selected two out of the eight pages comprising our corpus: “*Moça, você é machista*” (Lady, you are sexist) and “*Diários de uma feminista*” (Diaries of a feminist). Our choice was based on the fact that both pages received the most likes and had the highest number of followers at the time of this analysis (Table 1). The former was created in April 2012 and is described simply as a “page created

by feminist queer theorists.” The latter, on the other hand, was created in October 2014 and is presented as an “intersectional-Marxist feminist page” publishing “not only didactic texts and posts, but also humorous feminist content: counter-discourse and irony.”⁴ The table below shows the data collected from the communities, within the pre-established timeframe, in order to compile a register for the present research (from June to September 2017):

Chart 1 – Data on the two feminist pages investigated in the study

	<i>Lady, you are sexist</i>		<i>Diaries of a feminist</i>	
	860,000 likes; 851,000 followers		741,000 likes; 740,000 followers	
2017	Posts	Addressed themes	Posts	Addressed themes
June	20	paedophilia, religious indoctrination, secular state, abortion, rape, current politics, homophobia, transphobia, stereotypes and violence against women, sexism, queer, racism, etc.	202	paedophilia, inversion of stereotypes, sexism, female beauty standards, homophobia, current politics, racism, misandry, etc. (most of which addressed with mockery and irony).
July	15		0	
August	24		53	
September	12		197	
TOTAL	71		452	

Source: Author’s elaboration.

This study focuses on those posts that received the most reactions (Like, Love, Haha, Wow, Sad, Angry) and comments, as well as those most often shared during the selected months, among those which attracted comments of with a metapragmatic function, particularly in relation to cultural values of masculinity/femininity and linguistic correction.⁵ We also selected posts by virtue of their being representative of confrontations of a metapragmatic nature, presenting gender and language ideologies in globalization-related space-time.

Language ideologies and language use metapragmatics

As stated by Woolard (1998), our definition of language is also a definition of our relations with the sociocultural universe, since it reveals how we comprehend human beings organized as individuals within institutions and interrelationships. Despite the several ways in which the concept of language ideology may be understood, depending on research tradition, the author opts to define it as “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world” (WOOLARD, 1998, p.4).

⁴ Information available on pages investigated herein. Data update on 12/10/2017 at 5:45pm.

⁵ Both pages were highly interactive during the months of investigation. Some posts published on “Lady, you are sexist” received up to 10,000 reactions, with more than 800 comments and 30,000 shares. Some posts on “Diaries of a feminist” received over 5,000 reactions, 500 comments and 1,000 shares.

Language ideology, as stated by Woolard (1998), is, therefore, understood in its relationship with a set of shared beliefs and notions about the structure and forms of rationalization used by a given language, articulated with sociocultural aspects. Hence, the author reminds us that the term might be referred to as “linguistic ideology,” “ideology of language,” or “language ideology,” all of which are taken as interchangeable, although a few research traditions consider them to be distinct. The present study, however, draws particularly on the research tradition originating in linguistic anthropology. It focuses on language ideology, with a special focus on the analysis of linguistic structures, as well as social and discursive aspects. In general, such studies are grounded in the concept of metapragmatics, presented through both explicit and implicit comments on the reflection and use of language (SILVERSTEIN, 1979).

In a more recent paper published in Brazil, Moita Lopes (2013, p.20) highlights the discursive nature of language, discussing the concept of linguistic ideology in terms of its relationship with both the sociocultural language models used by speakers and writers of Brazilian Portuguese in routine practices, and Brazilian Portuguese used by scholars in the field of language. For the author, “linguistic ideologies are multiple and come from specific political, cultural and economic perspectives” (MOITA LOPES, 2013, p. 21); they are structured from socio-historically situated and related practices, including the epistemological perspectives of their respective times. Thus, the author argues, linguistic ideologies can respond to the interests of specific social groups and can only be comprehended locally. In this way, it is necessary to consider that “to qualify the way a language is spoken is a political decision, a piece of anthropological data, an ideological product par excellence” (BAGNO, 2013, p. 323).

According to Signorini (2008, p.119), language ideologies are cultural systems of ideas and beliefs that belong to our social practices, and that speakers articulate in order to assess language use from a moral and political standpoint. This is done in such a way that these ideologies end up determining the “inclusion/exclusion of speakers in networks, practices, and institutions.” Thus, they relate to discourses of metapragmatic function; in other words, discourses that, whether directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly, eventually “describe, assess, condition and guide” language use in social interaction (SIGNORINI, 2008, p. 117). As stated by the author,

The metapragmatics of language in use within a given space/time is always heterogeneous and dynamic at different levels. This is because it results from a synergy of interconnected factors ranging from reflective property of language itself, combined with speakers’ metalinguistic and metacommunicative abilities, to socio-historical-cultural as well as political-ideological dimension of oral and written practices of language use, and discourse on how language use is/should be within social interaction. (SIGNORINI, 2008, p. 119).

Indeed, according to the author, metapragmatics guides political-ideological disputes, comprising the speakers' assessment of the language being used in interactions. Whether disputes are explicit or not, they are responsible for describing and regulating what is valuable or not, appropriate or not, suitable to be said/written by particular people or groups or not, according to "contextual circumstances" and social networks of power and authority (SIGNORINI, 2008).

Disputes of a political-ideological nature occurring in specifically situated interactions, as dealt with by the author, evince the character of language use as social action (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990). Since language in use is a situated, political and ideological phenomena in terms of space-time, the reflective nature of languages plays a key role in acting with and on language in various day-to-day socio-interactional situations (SIGNORINI, 2008). Subsequently, the forms of language use we deal with particularly are discursive disputes and reflective action, understood as "conflicts" and "metapragmatic attacks."

"Conflicts" and "metapragmatic attacks"

As Briggs (1996) reminds us, the process of differentiating an "Other" from a "Self" is crucial not only to the construction of identities, but also to the creation of communities. On the Facebook activist pages examined herein, these processes are clearly demonstrated in discursive disputes in confrontational contexts, whereby participants are constantly (re)negotiating their social universe, (re)defining and (de)constructing their sexuated and gendered identities in the face of otherness (BIONDO; SIGNORINI, 2015).

Thus, the pages draw attention to what Briggs (1996) named discursive "conflicts." According to the author, it is the process of conflict, or impasse, which matters when presenting social formations: "it is in the context of confrontation – when persons negotiate their social universe and enter into discourse about it – that the character of that system is revealed" (BRIGGS, 1996, p.5). Negotiation of the social universe via ideological confrontations /conflicts within social interaction is also discussed by Briggs (1996) in relation to the character of the social action imprinted on language use. Hence, the author discusses the need to clearly comprehend that language use not only reflects, but also constitutes relations of power and dominance. This is recognized by examining manipulation strategies used by interactees engaged in conflict, whether consciously or unconsciously, for the purpose of serving their own interests, on the one hand, and establishing norms and rules on the other.

An example of the use of sociointeractional dominance strategies is presented by Jacquemet (1994) in the context of trials. As shown by the author, those who take part in confrontations in court usually juggle with language use with a view to strategically keeping face or threatening their opponent. And their action in so doing is embedded in local communal values, codes of honour, and other resources exploited to achieve

the goals of enhancing their claim to credibility in terms of what is being said and reaching a dominant position in the interaction. The individuals involved in such cases draw on sociointeractional resources and cultural values, using social concepts, such as masculinity, to gain respect and manage the impressions elicited to suit their own ends. In general, they do so based on what Jacquemet (1994) calls “metapragmatic attacks,” by means of linguistic performances organized around certain ideologies. By producing their effects on a speaker’s individual consciousness and perception of interpersonal relations, some examples of language use turn out to represent real “ideological exhibition” functioning as “metapragmatic attack” in certain contexts.

Nevertheless, in order for a metalinguistic comment to be considered a metapragmatic attack, it is necessary to take into account its perlocutionary effect within the participation framework at hand. The speaker’s intent alone is not enough; either the recipient or the audience must acknowledge – be it directly expressed in an utterance, or indirectly through affective posturing or dramatic communicative shifts, such as silence, interactional withdrawal or dramatic reaction – that a metapragmatic event has indeed taken place (JACQUEMET, 1994).

In any case, the explicit use of metalanguage, whether acknowledged as a metapragmatic attack or not, is responsible for shaping and structuring the situated context through which social reality is construed. It is through such action that communicative boundaries determining who is “in” and who is “out” (social identity), who “has” and who “hasn’t” (social and class relations), who “can” and who “can’t” (power structure) are established, as clearly emphasized by Jacquemet (1994, p.303).

Gender ideologies and performativity

In a sociocultural context typified by transient and incomplete identities, easily identifiable in marked contact with otherness, that comprise globalization-related space-time, the feminist Facebook communities investigated in the present study represent the plurality of discourse forms, cultures and sociabilities that clash and, in so doing, (re)define identities in this space-time (BIONDO, 2015).

According to Moita Lopes (2010), particularly because the internet broadens the possibilities of making contact with the Other, reducing identities to one particular meaning has become increasingly difficult. They should, therefore, be understood based on a complexity array of positionings, thus undermining essentialist categories and moving towards a “post-identity” movement. This is the direction pursued by post-modern feminist epistemology: undermining the categories of woman, gender and patriarchy, while questioning their constituent notions of power (SARDENBERG, 2002; NARVAZ; KOLLER, 2006, among others).

A post-modern feminist framework, the theory of gender performativity (BUTLER, 2003[1990]; LOURO, 2008; MOITA LOPES, 2007) enables identity to be examined in connection with language. Such framework emerged from Austin’s (1962) speech

act theory, and the its subsequent expansion into theories of performativity, particularly noteworthy in the 1970s/1980s. Understanding language use as social action implies, among other things, valuing indexical over referential or symbolic meaning, with a close focus not only on relations established between the micro and macro contexts of communicative processes, but also on dynamic and situated language use. Therefore, there is room for the investigation of meanings other than those established by Western ethnocentric tradition, thus allowing the hegemonic order of language and society to be questioned (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990).

It is from this perspective that the theory of gender performativity was developed, questioning the “norm of intelligibility of gender” (BUTLER, 2003[1990], p. 39) supported by modern culture, which seeks to establish objective relationships between sex, gender and social behaviour: if one is born a “woman,” one should behave as such, have “feminine” traits and maintain a relationship with a “man.” Such norms are subverted by Butler (2003[1990]) as the author claims that gender identities do not exist outside social action; they are, rather, performatively constructed through action and underpinned by power structures: “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (BUTLER, 2003[1990], p. 48).

Thus, even if some gender identities are considered “illogical” on account of the established norm of a given culture, it is the very existence of said norm that enables the subversion and questioning of its regulations, and the presentation of alternative pathways along which to consider gender identities. Therefore, such identities can only be taken from within the ideological expressions in which they are immersed – whether they are binary and compulsory expressions (male/female; man/woman; heterosexual/homosexual); or whether they transcend the ideological expressions, as a result of being driven by instability, resignification and the questioning of the power formation supporting gender hierarchy.

In any case, gender expressions and constructions are usually guided by language performance, as argued by Butler (2003[1990]). According to the author, whenever we utter “it is a girl” at the birth of a child, we are acting, while naming this child, and initiating a process of “being a girl” within the social world. A set of ideological assumptions about being a woman is thus released as a regulatory force on this child’s existence, based on the norms and pre-established rules inherent to this side of the binary opposition. Conversely, by exploring other possibilities (performances) of being a woman, the ground for subversion and resignification of norms is broadened. From this perspective, gender is always a construction, subject to instabilities, continuously and endlessly being formed throughout one’s life. Gender construction is achieved through several learning and social practice-related experiences, in a “thorough, subtle, never-ending” process (LOURO, 2008, p. 18).

Metapragmatic confrontations on feminist pages

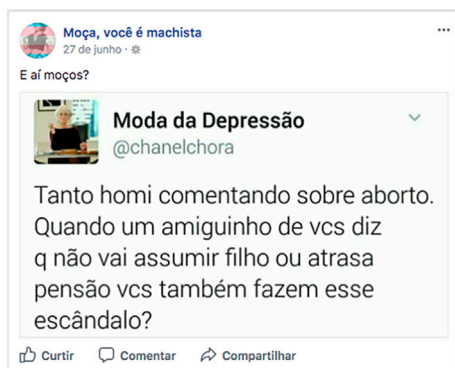
The participants of interactions on the Facebook pages investigated herein usually juggle with two strategies: those serving to assert and stand up for the activist purposes and ideals of the aforementioned pages, and those aimed at questioning and undermining these ideals. The strategies are organized through a number of metadiscursive resources ranging from one participant retrieving and assessing their own previous utterances, to observing and criticizing utterances made by other participants. Ultimately, they account for the interactional dynamics of those spaces which, according to Biondo and Signorini (2015), are characterized by repeated attempts to dispute and negotiate opinions, beliefs and world views, aimed at (de)stabilizing essentialist notions of what is culturally allowed in terms of being man and being woman in our society.

The confrontations reveal that participants use sociocultural codes related to the issues of identity addressed by the pages, drawn from established codes on those pages and communicative strategies linked to the ideal of “credibility,” with a view to achieving three interdependent goals: lending reliability to the arguments presented; undermining other arguments; and reaching a dominant position in the interaction. In order to achieve the aforementioned goals, they resort to several sociocultural devices whilst engaged in linguistic performances organised around the ideological connotations embedded on the pages. In order to analyse these devices and performances within the utterances made on the feminist pages, we were also guided by the concept of indexicality, which allows us to indicate the relationship between these performances and their discursive aspects, whilst also accounting for the historical, social and cultural aspects that both mobilize and provide them with visibility (BLOMMAERT, 2006).

Indexicalization is a theoretical-analytic construct through which semiotic resources can be analysed as indexes, guiding the process of signification, both on a micro and macro contextual scale. Thus, according to Silverstein (2003), linguistic tags/indexes that can be apprehended locally in the enunciation, signal the actions of the participants in it, and are always guided by conventions and projections of a textual, semiotic and social nature. The interpretation of a given discursive situation is, therefore, always contextualized, and it signals (indexes) local and shared cultural aspects. Thus, what we call “indexical fact” relates to the rules of use and social rules indicated by certain signs, since any indexical sign is capable of creating and presupposing specific contexts, pointing to such contexts and the regularizations that characterize them (SILVERSTEIN, 2003).

Two of the devices – socially and culturally apprehended through indexicality – most frequently used by the feminist communities’ participants and which present particular interest to us, are: 1) those relative to social concepts of masculinity/femininity; and 2) those relative to ideals of standard language and linguistic correction. Both are frequently recurring cultural values in the communicative strategies used in these spaces, serving not only to achieve the goal of reliability, but also to undermine opinions and arguments. This is illustrated by the below example, transcribed from “*Moça, você é machista*” (Lady, you are sexist):

Figure 1 – Post published by “*Moça, você é machista*”
(Lady, you are sexist) page moderator.



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/MocaVoceEMachista/> Access on: Oct. 14. 2017.

Lady, you are sexist

June, 17th

Hey, dudes!

Depression Fashion

So many dudes commenting on abortion. When that little friend of urs says he won't acknowledge his children or won't pay child support, do u freak out, too?

Like/Comment/Share

Example 1⁶ - comments⁷

Tadeu: Don't have any friends with kids, none has fallen into the pregnancy trap 😊

Talita: Guess why ur friends don't have kids 😊;))

⁶ Based on criteria that excluded similar comments and those not addressing the post's theme, we transcribed some of the 62 comments responding to this post between June 27th and October 8th, 2017. Based on those criteria and also due to lack of space, we also omitted some parts of specific comments and used [...] instead. Participants' names were replaced, and comments transcribed exactly as the original ones.

⁷ *In the original:*

Tadeu: Nao tenho nenhum amigo q tem filhos, nenhum caiu no golpe da barriga

Talita: Adivinha pq nenhum dos seus amigos têm filhos ;)

Caren: Queridinho, Punheta não engravida ninguém. Todo mundo sabe que seus abiguinhos bolsominions são virgens e provavelmente nunca deixarão de ser. E não adianta descarregar a frustração de vocês nas mulheres, eu sei que é mais fácil culpar as feministas, a internet, a sociedade mas não adianta tapar o sol com a peneira: vocês são ridículos e mesmo que conseguissem uma mulher para transar não saberiam o que fazer com ela nos 10 segundos de empolgação. Agora vai fazer o dever de casa antes que mamy te coloque de castigo. Paspalho.

Denise: Migo, é porque comer o bumbunzinho dos parça não engravida ninguém.

Tadeu: Oi? Kkkkkkkkkm quando a sexualidade entrou em pauta? Que legal, só falar algo pra uma fêmea mimizenta q não concorda, q os comentaristas sobre sexualidade começa kkkkkkk como se gay nao tivesse amigos heteros... melhorem femeas frustradas

Carla: Jesus....a humanidade está realmente perdida... golpe da barriga, fêmeas frustada. Deus, me diga por que não criou limite para ignorância e intolerância humana?

Helena: Para de falar merda fio. Golpe da barriga? Coitados de vcs, tão inocentes! Nem sabem como se faz um filho, como se evita...

Caren: Darling, jacking off doesn't get anyone pregnant. Everyone knows your bolsominion⁸ little buddies are virgins and probably will be forever. And it's no use taking your frustration out on women, I know it's easier to blame feminists, the internet, society but it's no use trying to hide the obvious: you are ridiculous and even if you got laid with a woman you wouldn't know what to do with her in your 10-second frenzy. Go do your homework before ur grounded by mommy. Douchebag.

Denise: Buddy, that's because fucking ur dudes' little ass doesn't get anyone pregnant.

Tadeu: WTF? hahahahaha when was sexuality on the agenda? So cool, start saying something to a whining female who doesn't agree and comments on sexuality begin hahaha. As if gays don't have hetero friends... get a life u cheesed-off females

Carla: Jeez... humanity is definitely lost... pregnancy trap, cheesed-off females. God, tell me, why didn't you set limits on human ignorance and intolerance?

Helena: Enough being full of crap son. Pregnancy trap? Poor u, so naive! Don't even know how to make a baby, birth control...

Tadeu: Whoever doesn't know about birth control is dumb... poor women, never got pregnant to catch a male, eh?! In my class I know about 5... dumb males deserve to get screwed over.

Tadeu: Quem nao sabe evitar filho é burro... coitada das mulheres, nunca engravidaram pra segurar macho ne?! So na minha sala conheço umas 5 ... macho burro tem q se fuder msm

Denise: BURN!

Ana: Uma pessoa de minoria (gay) destilando preconceito. Menino, você precisa aprender a viver! Reseta esse ódio de mulher pq tá bem deplorável.

Tadeu: Deplorável quando uma "minoria" acha q todao tem q swr igual, colocando sempre essa "minoria" como santa imaculada... dai quando tu fala q mulher nao é santa, que existe mulher tão sem vergonha quanto homem, é odio por mulher... santa paciência

Ana: Não imaculei nada. Só penso que quem sente na pele o preconceito instaurado socialmente pelo que é simples e fisiologicamente poderia ter mais empatia. Você não falou que mulher não é santa, você taxou as mulheres de serem tão dependentes de macho a ponto de dar "golpe" da barriga. Te contar, Você é muito jovem ainda, dá tempo de ter empatia e também de entender que as mulheres não concentram a sua vida em dar golpe em omi ou fazer deles o centro de suas vidas. Beijas

Tadeu: Ana vc sabe que existe casos de mulher engravidar pra segurar macho, e não são poucos... como eu disse na minha sala são 5... dois dos casos sao bem proximos a mim, mas o que ves gostam de fazer é colocar a mulher como santa e o homem o malvadao... igual os próprios gays, gays santos e heteros malvadao, gay provoca ate levar uma coça, pra depois gritar homofobia... exiate sim motivação diferente pra violência em gays e mulheres... mas eles participar dessa "minoria" não faz eles santos. Empatia eu tenho com a dona maria q apanhou do marido, da melissa que está na prostituição por falta de oportunidade, pq uma mulher trans na empresa, estraga a empresa, para o próprio feminismo que se fala tanto de empatia, ridicularizar falando q é um homem maquiado e vai chamar ela por nome social sim...

Vânia: Golpe da barriga é ótimo kakakaa ta bom criança. Você já provou que é um dos homens citados. Toma aqui seu biscoitinho

Ana: Minha Deusa, vai aprender a escrever suas opiniões e depois você volta. Nem entendi nada do que você disse acima. Como disse a moça, pega teu biscoitinho de macho, um leite quente e vai nanar criança.

Tadeu: Mimimi vai aprender a escrever kkkk alem de td é sinica kkkkkkk

Ana: Cínica 🤔😏

Tadeu: Como vc preferir

Anita: Tô vendo o golpe da barriga onde o pai do bebê mora com os pais, não tem ensino médio, não tem emprego e não tem onde cair morto... puta golpe da barriga esse!!! Kkkkkk

Tadeu: O golpe da barriga é so algo financeiro? Kkkkkkkkk

Ivo: Vcs são todos muito mal educados viu, que discussão horrível de ler...

Tadeu: Ivo a minha educação depende da sua educação...

⁸ Reference to a Brazilian politician known countrywide for his nationalist and conservative ideas. He's supportive of a military dictatorship regime and a fierce critic of the left party (Jair Bolsonaro); also reference to the American animation (Minions).

Denise: BURN!

Ana: Someone from a minority group (gay) oozing prejudice. Hey boy, you gotta make something of your life! Reset this hatred of women 'cause it's really pathetic.

Tadeu: Pathetic is when a “minority group” thinks everyone needs to be equal, always taking this “minority” as holy and immaculate... then when ya say women ain't saints and that some women are as perverted as men, it's hatred for women...God give me patience

Ana: I haven't said a word about being immaculate. I just think those who deeply experience socially established prejudice because of something simple and physiological could have more empathy. You didn't say women aren't saints, you labelled women as being so male-dependent to the point of making them fall into a pregnancy trap. I'll tell you what, you are a baby, you still have time to develop empathy and understand that women don't focus their lives on trapping dudes or setting their lives around them. XOXO

Tadeu: Ana u know there are cases of women getting pregnant to catch men, and the numbers are not low... as I said in my class there are 5... two people are close to me, but what you like doing is putting women on a pedestal and making men the bad guys... just like gays, gays are saints and heteros are bad boys, gays tease till they get beat and then they yell homophobia... sure, the motivation for violence against gays and women is different... but being part of this “minority group” doesn't make them saints. I have empathy for maria who is beaten by her husband, melissa who is a prostitute because she doesn't have opportunity in life, cause a transgender woman ruins a company, for feminism, that talks so much about empathy, to mock her and say she's a man with makeup and will call her by her social name for sure...

Vânia: Pregnancy trap is great hahahaha yeah, right, kiddo. You've proven you're one of those men. Have a nice little cookie.

Ana: My Goddess, go learn how to write your opinion and then come back. I don't get any of what you wrote. As the girl over there said, get your man's little cookie, some warm milk and go to sleep, u baby.

Tadeu: Boo-hoo go learn how to write hahaha besides, she's synical hahahaha

Ana: It's cynical 🙄🙄

Tadeu: Whatever 😊

Anita: I can see the baby daddy's pregnancy trap – living with his parents, hasn't finished school, has no job and is completely broke...what a pregnancy trap!!! hahahaha 🙄

Tadeu: Pregnancy trap is all about money? hahahahaha

Ivo: Ur all so rude, what a terrible discussion to read...

Tadeu: Ivo my manners are determined by yours...

In the aforementioned example, the post shared by the page moderator in June 2017 triggered discussion on the theme of abortion, addressing, with mockery, those men who expressed an opposing opinion on the page. Mockery can be inferred from the non-standard lexical choice *HOMI* (variant *OMI*), translated into English as “dude,” which

is often used in online communities to refer to sexist, immature men. Immaturity is a social value, of the order of indexicality, referred to frequently by participants. This can be seen in the discussion following the use of “*OMI*,” as shown in the aforementioned comments, in which Caren, Denise, Ana and Vânia use linguistic resources, such as diminutive words (“little buddies”, “little ass”, “little cookie”), as well as terms that refer to a childhood-related semantic field (“warm milk”, “little friend”, “baby”, “child”, “mommy”, and “Bolsominion”) to undermine the arguments made by Tadeu, who is taken as an example of “*OMI*” (“You’ve proven you’re one of those men”) and to whom most comments are addressed – men who oppose the ideas supported by the community, in general, by women, and who are taken as sexist.

It is Tadeu who triggers the discursive conflict by posting his first comment, which opposes the ideas of the community, and in which he uses a rather popular expression for insulting women accused of getting pregnant to “trap men” – in this case, to “catch” men (“Don’t have any friends with kids, none has fallen into the pregnancy trap”). He continues doing so at different points during discussion, while using other expressions with similar meaning, indexing sexist values that refer to a patriarchal culture (“catch a male”; “women ain’t saints”, “saints and immaculate”; “dumb males”) or to general accusations made against feminist women in general (“whining female”; “cheesed-off females”).

As a reaction to Tadeu’s comments, Talita, Caren, Denise, Helena, Carla, Denise, Ana and Vânia resort to several linguistic and interactional resources in an attempt to discredit the “*OMI*” who caused the conflict by undermining the argument in the post. Besides using diminutive words, the following resources have called our attention: Carla resorting to indexicality values of ignorance and human intolerance (“God, tell me, why didn’t you set limits on human ignorance and intolerance?”); the reversal of responsibilities conventionally assigned to women in patriarchal culture, as seen on the post published by the moderator, which brings the issue of men’s co-responsibility for children to the fore (“When that little friend of urs says he won’t acknowledge his children or pay child support, do you freak out then, too?”); the reference to the concept of misogyny by Ana (“Reset this hatred for women, ‘cause it’s really pathetic”).

The use of diminutive words and, in turn, the value of immaturity, is associated with another indexical value frequently used in the feminist communities under investigation: masculinity. In the example transcribed from the community “*Moça, você é machista*” (Lady, you are sexist), the entire discussion is framed in the form of an “attack” on Tadeu’s and his “little friends”’ masculinity, not only through the use of diminutive words, but also by questioning their sexual “performance,” as demonstrated by Caren (“your bolsominion little buddies are virgins and probably will be forever; and even if you got laid with a woman you wouldn’t know what to do with her in your 10-second frenzy”) and, particularly, through the use of marked-gender forms, as done so by Ana, when addressing Tadeu (“My Goddess”). The latter example, which is of particular interest to us in this study, clearly transgresses a rule in the Portuguese language – which itself reveals gender-related linguistic and social normativity. In doing so, Ana’s

comment functions as “metapragmatic attack,” thus alluding to Tadeu’s masculinity and operating as an affront to conservative religions, which usually represent God as a male figure. Conventionally, the unmarked grammatical gender is a morphological linguistic index commonly used to refer to male subjects, while the terminally-defined gender is conventionally used to refer to female subjects. In violating this rule, one draws attention to the indexed value of femininity traditionally pejoratively related to homosexuals and to Christian value given to the male figure.

Metapragmatic attack is also triggered by Ana’s comment aimed at Tadeu, not only when addressing him using a feminine form, but through her explicit use of another indexicality value with a view to questioning and undermining her interlocutor’s arguments: linguistic normalization/correction. In this case, the fact that Ana relates Tadeu’s ability to write his opinions coherently with his right to take part in the discussion/community (“go learn how to write your opinion and then you come back”), as well as her personal evaluation of Tadeu’s writing based on her own ability to understand it (“I don’t get any of what you wrote”) have called our attention. At this point, it is clear that linguistic ideologies of correctness and purity of language, traditionally schooled, are related to the gender ideologies in the communities investigated, being used to suggest that those who fail to dominate in the hegemonic order of linguistic correction, also, automatically, fail to dominate when it comes to ideological issues and knowledge about gender and sexuality.

The metapragmatic attacks are further confirmed in the conversation by the addressee himself, when Tadeu retrieves Ana’s comment while mocking and accusing her of being cynical (“Boo-hoo go learn how to write hahaha besides, she’s synical hahahaha”). Nevertheless, shortly afterwards, Ana once again corrects Tadeu’s writing by resorting to a graphocentrism-related/orthographic regulation. She does so with a view to showing the word used by Tadeu to offend her should be spelled, in the Portuguese language, with a “C” and an acute accent on the “I” (in Portuguese, “*Cínica*”). She does so with mockery, as inferred from the use of the winking emoticon.

Hereafter, discussion is undermined and followed by only four to five short comments without strong argumentation or attacks. It then comes to an end, as revealed by the comments transcribed above. Similarly to several other examples taken from interactions happening in the investigated communities, the manner by which events unfold is rather common: metapragmatic attacks undermine discussion, and although there are attempts to keep it on firm ground by means of authority discourse e.g. space and time examples related to what is understood to be real and “reliable”, these attempts usually trigger a more passionate tone e.g. vulgar language, mockery, poor argumentation, and the interactional withdrawal of interlocutors. This is blindingly obvious on the feminist pages when attacks explicitly refer to the indexicality values of linguistic correction and normalization. Generally speaking, the latter are also attempts to determine who has and who doesn’t have the “right” to take part in interactions happening in that globalization-related space-time.

Curiously, in these cases, the use of the linguistic ideology of correction and normalization is usually mobilized indexically by feminists and defenders of community values. In the same way, they are the participants who usually make metapragmatic attacks - albeit almost always in defence, responding to the initiation of discursive conflict by those who position themselves in opposition of feminist ideals. Contrary to the very dynamics of plurality that guide and constitute the struggle for the subversion of hegemonic notions of gender in activist spaces, language is used by feminists in a totalitarian and homogeneous way, referring to a linguistic ideology based on normative and scholarly values. It seems to us, therefore, that the defence of plurality and resistance to the established hegemonic order, in these spaces, does not apply to language.

Figure 2 – Post published by the “*Diários de uma feminista*” (Diaries of a feminist) moderator.



Source: <https://www.facebook.com/diariosdeumafeminista/>. Accessed on: Oct. 14. 2017.

Diaries of a feminist

September, 19th

“IF YOU’RE A FEMINIST, THEN PAY THE RESTAURANT BILL”

I pay mine/my guests’, but before that I say:

YOU SHOULD PAY IT WITH THE 30% HIGHER SALARY YOU GET JUST FOR BEING A DUDE.

Like/Comment/Share

Example 2⁹ - comments¹⁰

Valmir: 30%?????? Source: *carta capital, quebrando o tabu*¹¹ blablaba...

Beatriz: Who do you think you are, lady, to depreciate the work of *carta capital*'s employees?

Valmir: It's "mister," Beatriz. I know u are all confused with your own sexuality and how you should handle gender, with your leftist mental illnesses, but the photo shows I'm a man. The "work" done by *Carta Capital* is to lick and polish Lula's balls and implement the entire agenda of Brazil's left party. I'm not devaluing anything, they do their job quite well, creating misinformation, lying, defaming people, spreading sewer culture.

⁹ Based on the same selection criteria applied in example 1, we transcribed some of the 32 comments made in response to the post between September, 19th and September 20th.

¹⁰ **Valmir:** 30%?????? Fonte: *carta capital, quebrando o tabu, blablaba...*

Beatriz: Quem é a senhorita pra desmerecer o trabalho dos funcionários da carta capital?

Valmir: É "senhor", Beatriz. Eu sei q vcs são confusos com a própria sexualidade e como devem tratar os gêneros, com suas doenças mentais de esquerda, mas pela foto percebe-se que sou homem. O "trabalho" da Carta Capital é lamber e polir o saco do Lula e promover toda agenda da esquerda no Brasil. Não estou desmerecendo, eles fazem o trabalho muito bem, criando desinformação, mentindo, caluniando pessoas, espalhando cultura de esgoto.

Beatriz: E a senhora pode provar essa acusação sobre eles?

Valmir: Beatriz, não enquanto vc não aprender a ter algum respeito. Vcs exigem respeito, mas na hora de se dirigir a uma pessoa ficam com essa porrinha... se falar comigo direito, falo com vc direito. Se continuar a falar com respeito, vá à merda.

Beatriz: Enquanto vc for escrota eu vou debochar da sua cara 🙄💔 Além do seu argumento vir apenas do fato de não concordarem com a sua visão política, vc não é absolutamente ngm com intelecto e conhecimento o suficiente pra falar assim de alguém que estudou pra fazer o que faz. Se manque, imunda.

Valmir: Beatriz, ok, eu vou dar a sua resposta, mesmo vc sendo uma escrota do caralho e faltando com respeito, só pq é divertido fazer vcs passarem vergonha. Todo mundo sabe que a porra da Carta Capital é esquerdista. Quer falar de intelecto? <https://oglobo.globo.com/.../odebrecht-emprestou-verba...>

Valmir: Folha tb noticiou, seu animal. <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/.../1875168-lula-e-mantega...>

Beatriz: Entao pq a carta capital é de esquerda eles tem menos créditos que a palavra de um professor de piano? ATA LKKKKKKKKKKKKKKKKKKKK

Beatriz: Como provar que a carta capital nao tem credibilidade: Pega uma notícia dizendo que em 2007 um político ajudou financeiramente.

Valmir: Foi no meu perfil pessoal fuçar minha vida???? huahuahuhua vc é mais vulgar e escrota do que esperava! Eu não sou o assunto, retardada! Eu não tenho site, não promovo porra nenhuma! Foda-se se sou professor de piano, esse não é o argumento. Vc reclamou que queria que eu provasse a acusação, eu dou a prova e vc muda o argumento pra quem tem mais crédito!!!! Caralho, é de fuder a lógica heim!!!! Quem recebe propina NÃO TEM CRÉDITO, sua imoral cretina, não interessa minha vida particular, eu não perguntei a sua, quero q vc se foda, se for professora ou prostituta, caguei. Queria a prova, tá aí.

Beatriz: Muito prostituta sim ❤️ Na vdd vc nn provou absolutamente nd. E o que ser vulgar tem a ver com abrir uma ft de perfil e ler comentários?

Valmir: Beatriz "um político"?? Vc é analfabeta ou só cretina mesmo? Eu disse q a revista puxa saco do Lula e tem delação mostrando que Lula deu dinheiro. Não é "um político" qualquer, vc pode fingir demência, mas não é um político qualquer. Bom, já dei atenção demais pra vc. Estava sendo babaca, e mesmo assim respondi, vc conseguiu ser mais babaca e mudou o argumento por pura diarréia mental.

Beatriz: O dia que vc conseguir provar realmente que os funcionários da carta capital dão notícias falsas vc vai poder TENTAR debater. E pq ficou tão putinha? Tá infeliz com a sua vizinha de professor?

Beatriz: Ue gente, Lula não é político não? Que estranho

Valmir: Tem tudo a ver. O debate só é debate no campo das ideias. Qd vc começa a fuçar a vida das pessoas pra ter argumento, vc é um animal baixo, vulgar, e burro que não tem capacidade de argumentar sobre o assunto, acha q tem q vencer pela depreciação pessoal. Enfim. A prova tá aí. Não gostou, enfia o dedo e se rasga. Não tenho mais o q responder pra vc. Adios.

Beatriz: "Diarréia mental" BERRO

Como uma pessoa tão tapada consegue ensinar algo a alguém? KKKKKKKKKKKKKKKL

Beatriz: Ta ofendido pq professor não tem a capacidade de se meter em assunto de jornalista?

Beatriz: O mais engraçado é vc falar que eu sou vulgar por ir olhar seu perfil mas veio numa Page feminista só pra causar briga.

Beatriz: Professor tao bom que não tem nd melhor pra fazer numa manhã de quarta feira além de brigar no facebook (?)

¹¹ Brazilian magazines known for having ideals associated with the left party.

Beatriz: Can you, lady, prove this accusation against them?

Valmir: Beatriz, not while u insist in not learning to have some respect. U demand respect, but whenever you address someone you come with this shit... have manners when talking to me, and I'll have manners talking to u. If you continue to disrespect me, go fuck yourself.

Beatriz: While u go on being a cunt I'll mock you 🍑💔 Besides that your argument only results from the fact that people disagree with your political view, u have absolutely no intellect or knowledge to speak like that about someone who has studied to do what s/he does. Cut it out, you filthy xxx.

Valmir: Beatriz, ok, I'll give you your answer, even with u being a stupid cunt and lacking respect, just 'cause it's fun to make u feel embarrassed. Everyone knows fucking *Carta Capital* is leftist. Want intellect? <https://oglobo.globo.com/.../odebrecht-emprestou-verba...>

Valmir: Also news on *Folha*, you stupid animal. <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/.../1875168-lula-e-mantega...>

Beatriz: So just 'cause *carta capital* is leftist it means they have less credit than the word of a piano teacher? WTF LOLOLOLOLOLOLOL

Beatriz: How to prove *carta capital* has no credibility: Get a piece of news saying in 2007 a politician supported it financially.

Valmir: Went through my personal profile to snoop on my life???? hahahahahahaha u are a more vulgar and stupid cunt than I thought! I'm not the subject here, you retard! I don't have a website, don't promote a fucking thing! Fuck it if I'm a piano teacher, that's not the argument. U complained you wanted me to prove the accusation, I give you proof and u change the argument to who is the one with more credibility!!! Fuck! Fuck logic, eh!!!! Who takes bribes HAS NO CREDIBILITY, u immoral cunt, my private life is none of your business, I didn't ask about yours, go fuck urself, if you're a teacher or a whore, don't give a damn. Want proof? There it is.

Beatriz: Big whore, yes ❤️💔 Actually, u proved absolutely nothing. How does vulgar have anything to do with opening a pic and reading comments?

Valmir: Beatriz "any politician"?? Are u illiterate or just a cunt? I said the magazine is Lula's ass kisser and there are accusations showing Lula gave it money. It is not "any politician," u can't pretend having dementia, but it's not any politician. Well, I've given u too much of my time. You were being a douchebag, and even so I replied, u managed to be even worse and switched the argument to pure mental diarrhoea.

Beatriz: That day u prove *carta capital's* employees publish false news u might TRY discussing something. And why were u so annoyed, little whore? Unhappy being a teacher?

Beatriz: What? Lula isn't a politician? Weird

Valmir: It all makes sense. A debate is only a debate in the non-material world of ideas. When u begin snooping on somebody else's life to have an argument, u are a low, vulgar, stupid animal with no ability to reason about a subject, u think u have to win by insulting other people. Anyway. Proof is right there. Don't like it, stick your finger in your ass. I have nothing else to say to u. Adios.

Beatriz: "Mental diarrhoea" SCREAM

How come someone so dumb can teach anything to anyone? HAHAHAHAHAHAAAA

Beatriz: Were u insulted 'cause a teacher has no ability to snoop in a journalist's affairs?

Beatriz: The funniest thing is that u said I'm vulgar for taking a look at your profile but you came to a feminist Page just to argue.

Beatriz: Such a good a teacher that you have nothing else to do on a Wednesday morning besides go on facebook to argue (?)

Example 2 shows confrontation being established between two participants only: Valmir and Beatriz. Differently from example 1, in this case, the “metapragmatic attack” happens right at the beginning of interaction, when Beatriz reacts to Valmir's comment. The latter provokes a discursive conflict when doubting the credibility of information presented by the community moderator (“30%????? Source: *carta capital, quebrando o tabu*, blablabla...”). Beatriz's reaction happens via a metapragmatic attack when she brings the indexicality value of masculinity/femininity into the debate, thus violating the Portuguese grammatical rule requiring unmarked gender for the male gender while intentionally using marked gender (normatively established for female gender) to address Valmir (“Who do you think you are, lady”). This is done so with a view to attacking his masculinity and undermining his arguments, as usually occurs in this space-time.

Attack is immediately confirmed by Valmir's reaction, which not only explicitly corrects Beatriz (“It's “mister,” Beatriz”), but also uses the fact that she violated a grammatical-linguistic gender rule to make connections between subversion and the socially accepted norm of gender identity/sexuality (“I know u are all confused with your own sexuality and how you should handle gender”). At this point, gender ideologies and linguistic ideologies are explicitly related, as Valmir, just as Beatriz, subverts the linguistic norm established for the grammatical gender, by using the feminine ending to refer to a subject considered as the male gender, also subverting the traditionally established norm of gender and sexuality – which is well established and does not allow “confusion” in the forms used to “treat genders”. The participant seeks to reaffirm his masculinity and his position against these subversions (“but from the photo you can see that I am a man”). Beatriz, in turn, remains in her position and continues to address Valmir with the use of the marked gender, which in Brazilian Portuguese is highlighted not only with female-oriented lexical choices, but also with gender inflection as in “*senhora*”, “*escrota*”, “*imunda*”, “*putinha*”, with “-a” signaling the feminine gender.

Valmir makes a connection between subversion and a left-wing political position (“with your leftist mental illnesses”) – which is also rather common in the communities investigated herein, in which feminist positions are associated with left-wing political ideology. This ideology, moreover, seems to bother Valmir even more than metapragmatic attacks. So much so that, when the feminist participant establishes another metapragmatic attack, related to the linguistic and knowledge standards intellectually “accepted” by the educational social order (standards even feminists tend to align themselves with, as we have shown), he does not reverse the attack related to these standards, but

responds only in terms of party political ideology. This is what happens when Beatriz says that he did not “study” and, therefore, would not have the right to position himself and give his opinion on the subjects under discussion (“u have absolutely no intellect or knowledge to speak like that about someone who has studied to do what s/ he does”); and this is ignored by Valmir, who again frames the discussion in terms of party ideologies (“Everyone knows fucking *Carta Capital* is leftist”). It seems to us, therefore, that even for those who oppose the ideals defended in the community, there is greater invisibility when the question relates to the attack to the ideals of knowledge/ education traditionally established..

Particularly relevant in this example is the metapragmatic attack occurring right at the beginning of the confrontation, as a reaction to the discursive conflict triggered by Valmir, which undermines the rest of the interaction. The latter is then ultimately structured by the use of swear words both by Valmir (“go fuck yourself”; “stupid cunt”; “retard”; “immoral cunt”, etc.) and Beatriz (“cunt”; “filthy”; “little whore”, etc). Due to having his masculinity attacked, Valmir feels such an attack, making it clear and feeling upset, and therefore acting passionately during the interaction while seeking to restore interactional power. In order to do so, he resorts to sources he believes to be more reliable than that presented by the moderator (“<https://oglobo.globo.com/.../odebrecht-emprestou-verba...>”; “Also news on Folha newspaper you stupid animal” <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/.../1875168-lula-e-mantega...>”) with the ultimate goal of using authority discourse and aligning himself with a party political ideology contrary to the one he refers to as “mentally ill” (“with your leftist mental illnesses”) - that is, the advocates of gender plurality.

At this point, once again, we see relationships between ideological issues linked to gender and other hegemonic orders established in our society. This is because, in saying that left-wing feminists are confused about “their own sexuality” and with the forms used to “treat genders” with their “mental illnesses”, the participant mobilizes values of the indexicality order of homosexuality or any subversion of the traditional norm of the gender as being a disease. As we know, this value is very widely promoted today by reactionary forces strongly opposed to gender scholars and all those who take gender to be flexible, adopting a performative perspective.

Resorting to such discourse, however, is not enough to allow Valmir to restore interactional power. Thus, discussion remains undermined in terms of arguments until the end, when the participant Valmir interactively leaves the discussion (“*Adios*”). As in example 1, and in several others taken from the communities investigated herein, metapragmatic attacks usually strengthen discursive conflicts, undermine arguments, increase the likelihood of resorting to authority discourse and, frequently, trigger a passionate tone marked by the use of many pejorative terms and participants’ withdrawal from interaction.

It seems to us that these acts reveal a number of established relationships in the activist communities investigated, between language ideologies and gender-identity and sexuality ideologies, especially in relation to: the approximation gender subversion

and language subversion; ignorance on a linguistic (and intellectual) level and about gender-related issues; and finally, contradictions between resistance against gender hegemonies and the reinforcement of hegemonic structures in language.

Final considerations

In the present study, we discussed two of the many confrontations taking place in the gender-activism-related Facebook communities under investigation since 2013, taking a virtual ethnographic approach. Based on a new issue subject to investigation since late 2015, we focused on the metapragmatic effect of some of the comments made by participants in those communities. In doing so, we revealed language ideologies that are grounded in the description and assessment of language use, and aimed at conditioning and guiding these uses, as argued by Signorini (2008).

As shown in the examples analysed herein, participants juggle extensively with language, not only for the purpose of standing up for the ideals proclaimed by these activist pages, but also of undermining them. Importantly, this is achieved through the use of several sociolinguistic and metadiscursive resources, particularly by retrieving previous utterances in order to question and strengthen them, or to change the pathway of interaction according to specific interests.

The cases assessed herein are representative of the dynamics established in most confrontations and conflicts occurring on the aforementioned feminist pages. In other words, dynamics structured according to socioculturally determined codes and behaviour, linguistic performances grounded particularly in ideological devices relative to the ideals of masculinity/femininity, and views on the appropriateness/inappropriateness of language use in our society.

In being co-articulated in those modalities of space-time – which afford significant visibility to notions of power that encompass the setting up of identities, social classes and dominance structures – hegemonies of gender/sexuality as well as linguistic hegemonies identified in the communities herein respond to the sociointeractional goals of (dis)crediting arguments, keeping face and (re)orienting interactions. In view of those goals, comments not only evoke a school-related cultural model of language use, but also establish a relationship between this model and the ability of individuals to understand issues of gender and sexuality. Those are the models that end up determining who is and who is not authorized, and how, to take part in discussions held on the pages, depending on identity and language-related criteria grounded in social structures of power.

BIONDO, F. Ideologias de gênero e ideologias de língua(gem) em páginas feministas do Facebook. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 63, n.2, p.303-325, 2019.

- *RESUMO: O trabalho tematiza a questão das relações entre ideologias de gênero e ideologias de língua(gem), de modo a problematizar a hipótese de convergências entre hegemonias linguísticas e a ordem hegemônica de gênero, fixada pela tradição etnocêntrica ocidental. A partir de exemplos de duas comunidades ativistas feministas da rede social Facebook, investigadas desde 2013 em um estudo etnográfico virtual, o trabalho focaliza a função metapragmática exercida por comentários de participantes dessas comunidades, orientando-se pela compreensão da linguagem como ação social (BAUMAN e BRIGGS, 1990), pelos conceitos de “language ideology” (WOOLARD, 1998), de “conflito discursivo” (BRIGGS, 1996) e de “ataque metapragmático” (JACQUEMET, 1994) e pela apreensão dos processos de construção de identidades em suas relações com as disputas de poder e controle na interação e no mundo social (SIGNORINI, 1998; MOITA LOPES, 2010). Nesses espaços-tempos, as hegemonias de gênero/sexualidade e as hegemonias linguísticas se atravessam mutuamente, atendendo aos propósitos de (des)credibilização de argumentos, (não) preservação da face e (re)orientação das interações. Isso ocorre sobretudo nas tentativas de normatização do uso da língua(gem), que invocam um modelo cultural escolarizado e estabelecem relação entre esse modelo e a capacidade dos sujeitos de compreensão das questões em discussão, sobre gênero e sexualidade.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Ideologias de gênero. Ideologias de linguagem. Ataque metapragmático. Conflito discursivo. Facebook.*

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN OCEANIA: IN THE FRONTIERS OF COLONIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

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- **ABSTRACT:** In this article, we present an overview of the language policies adopted in the Oceanian countries and territories after analysis of legislation, plans and government programs. Representing 22.9% of all languages in the world — the vast majority spoken by few people and endangered —, this continent suffered an intense linguistic colonization marked by the instrumentalisation of indigenous languages by missionaries and by the subsequent imposition of European languages as the only ones allowed during European and American imperialism. Such a scenario has broadened the complex linguistic situation in Oceania and has imposed on the countries of the region many challenges about languages to adopt after their independences, in view of the many local problems, which caused the Oceanian peoples to seek diverse political solutions and to become frontier peoples — frontiers of languages, frontiers of meanings, frontiers of memories, frontiers between colonizer languages, indigenous languages and immigrant languages.
- **KEYWORDS:** Language policy. Oceania. Linguistic colonization. Bilingualism. Languages in contact.

Introduction

The last continent to be visited by Europeans, Oceania is still a geopolitical space little known in the West. It currently has 14 independent states, and 17 inhabited territories with greater or lesser political and administrative autonomy — from France, the United Kingdom, Chile, Indonesia, the United States and from Australia and New Zealand. The Oceanian continent has 3,509,212 mi² (9,088,818 km²) and it is slightly larger than Brazil. But it is inhabited by only 46.9 million people (UNFPA, 2019), that is, a population slightly higher than Argentina.¹ And although little known, the continent is often remembered by its largest country, Australia, which corresponds to 84.6% of the territory and concentrates 52% of its population. Such numbers often cause the

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¹ As Kirch (2000) and Cochrane and Hunt (2018) point out, the boundaries of the Oceanian continent are complex and vary according to archaeological, geological, anthropological, linguistic and (geo)political criteria, which may include some Japanese islands and even East Timor or exclude the American state of Hawaii, Rapa Nui (Easter Island) or the western part of the New Guinea.

continent to be presented as a synonym for its larger country, as if there were no other 13 nations that are grouped into three major historical geographic regions: Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.² However, linguistically, Australia currently represents only 13.5% of the continent's languages, out of a total of 1,630 languages (ETHNOLOGUE, 2017).³ This means that these 13 countries – Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu – and 17 territories – American Samoa, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Guam, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Papua, Pitcairn Islands, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Tokelau, Wallis and Futuna and West Papua – present approximately 1400 languages. This indicates that 22.9% of all languages in the world are originated in or spoken in the countries and territories of the continent, a region that concentrates only 0.5% of the world population (UNFPA, 2019); thus, becoming, according to Lynch (1998), linguistically the most complex region of the world.

All of these languages can be grouped into six major groups: a) Austronesian languages; b) Trans-New-Guinean languages; c) Indo-European languages; d) Australian Aboriginal languages; e) Sign languages and f) Creole languages, which refer to the majority of the continent's human settlements for thousands of years (LYNCH, 1998; PAWLEY, 2013). According to Ethnologue (2017), the Austronesian language family encompasses approximately 1,256 languages in a vast territory ranging from the island of Madagascar in Africa to Indonesia and the Philippines in Asia to parts of New Guinea, Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia in Oceania, including New Zealand and Hawaii.

The Trans-New-Guinean language family is composed of about 483 languages and extends through Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands. The Indo-European language family comprises approximately 449 languages. These languages came to the continent through linguistic colonization and are now present in all countries of the region, especially English and French. All these families can be divided into several smaller families.

² Such division of the continent in these regions was made by the French explorer Dumont d'Urville based on nineteenth-century racist and evolutionist criteria in which the Polynesians would be the most advanced in relation to the Micronesians and those in relation to the Melanesians for organizing themselves around indigenous chiefs (COCHRANE; HUNT, 2018). But recently, taking into account archaeological, anthropological and linguistic criteria, Green and Pauley (*apud* COCHRANE; HUNT, 2018) divided Oceania into two regions. The Near Oceania formed by New Guinea, the Bismarck Islands and part of the Solomon Islands and the Remote Oceania formed by the other islands of the continent. While the colonization of Remote Oceania occurred about three thousand years ago, Near Oceania has population remnants dating back 50 thousand years.

³ As we know, to delimit linguistic and cultural boundaries, as well as those of a continent, is something very complex and we would say even political-ideological, a topic already discussed by us (BARBOSA DA SILVA, 2018). In this way, to specify how many languages are spoken in the world or in Oceania is not easy and it is often a controversial task. Mühlhäusler (1996) mentions approximately 1470 languages; Lynch (1998), 1400; Kirch (2000), 1200; Lal and Fortune (2000), 1000; Pawley (2013), 1300. We decided to take as reference the data of the Ethnologue because, although in its history is the former Summer Institute of Linguistics, with religious purposes, including in Oceania, its database now compiles several linguistic researches about the world's languages, thus allowing us to have an overview of them. It should be remembered that, regardless of the exact number of languages spoken on the continent, there is no doubt that, as in other colonized regions of the planet, many more were spoken in Oceania before the European colonization.

The fourth group consists of about 379 languages of Australia — half of them are already extinct — of several isolated linguistic families. The fifth group is made up of 142 sign languages and is scattered throughout the world. In Oceania, the Australian Sign Language (Auslan) and the New Zealand Sign Language stand out. The last group is composed of creole and pidgin languages, formed from the contact of languages, generally having a European linguistic based.⁴

Currently, creole and pidgin languages are spread across America, Africa, Asia, and there are 15 of these languages in Oceania. The creoles and pidgins of continent's English-based are: Australian Kriol, Bislama (one of the official languages of Vanuatu), Hawaiian Pidgin, Ngatikese Creole (Micronesia), Norfuk Creole (Norfolk Island), Pijin (Solomon Islands), Pitkern Creole (Pitcairn Islands), Torres Strait Creole (Australia), and Tok Pisin Creole, which is spoken as a second language by four million Papuan New Guinean. The French-based is the New Caledonian Creole (extinct) and the Tayo Creole (New Caledonia) and German-based, the Unserdeutsch Creole (Papua New Guinea). The Austronesian/Asian-based consists of the Papuan-Malay Creole (Papua and West Papua), the Malay Creole of the Cocos Islands and the Hiri Motu Creole (Papua New Guinea) (HOLM, 2000; ETHNOLOGUE, 2017).

If we consider the large number of languages in relation to the population compared to other continents, Oceania has the lowest proportion of speakers per language in the world. This proportion is even more surprising if we analyze separately some countries of the continent such as Vanuatu, where this proportion reaches a language for 2.5 thousand inhabitants on average.⁵ Due to this and to the sea level rise caused by climate change,⁶ which threatens many island countries, according to Unesco (2010), 319 languages in Oceania — most of them in the Australian language group — are in danger of extinction in the next years. In addition to these ecological and demographic (or demolinguistic) factors, Hamel (2008) presents others that contribute to the disappearance or displacement of languages: a) the asymmetry of power among linguistic communities in contact; b) the lack of linguistic loyalty in subaltern communities; c) the expansion of the dominant, national and international languages through the State (public education), the media and commerce; d) the lack of recognition and support by State; and e) the repression against minority languages.

⁴ For the differentiation between creole and pidgin languages check Couto (1996) and Holm (2000).

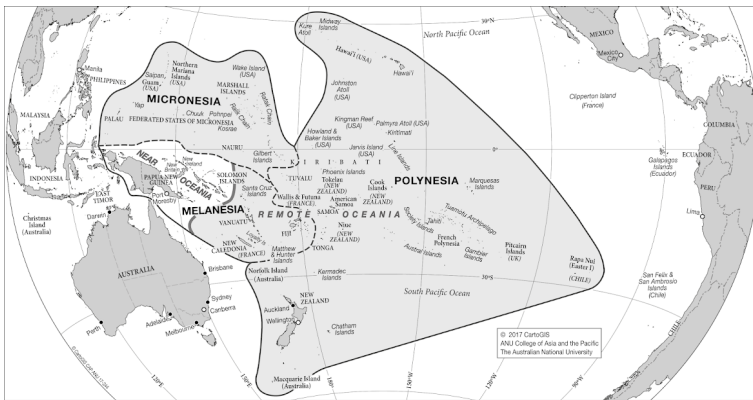
⁵ According to Lynch (1998), basically Micronesia and Polynesia have one language per island or group of islands. Melanesia, where Vanuatu is, has many languages per island, thus concentrating one of the greatest linguistic diversities in the world. This would be justified, according to Lynch (2017), due to the time of human occupation of Melanesia in relation to the other areas; by natural geographic separation (rivers, mountains, forests) in regions of Melanesia unlike the ocean that allowed vast contact between islands and atolls of Micronesia and Polynesia and by the different social structure of the regions. While Polynesian societies were organized in indigenous chiefs, in Melanesian societies there was not a defined hierarchy.

⁶ Global warming caused by the emission of polluting gases threatens many islands, atolls and archipelagos of Oceania, mainly in Micronesia and Polynesia, as Tuvalu, Tokelau and Kiribati. Tuvalu, made up of nine atolls, has even maintained a very active stance at the UN Climate Change conferences, condemning the emissions of gases from rich countries (CORLEW, 2012; FRY; TARTE, 2016).

With this background, in this article we aim to provide an overview of the political situation of the languages in Oceanian countries and territories, based on an analysis of their laws and policies so that we can reflect on the challenges that colonialism and globalization impose not only to these countries, but to the whole world. We believe that our view from Brazil, a geographical area that, despite not having much tradition or research about this region, was also colonized and is also on the periphery of the world system, can contribute to the reflection on this theme.

It is worth noting that this is not an easy task due to the diversity of peoples, languages and historical contexts of each country and territory of Oceania. However, our objective, at this moment, is not to deepen these policies according to the specificities of each country, but rather to focus on presenting a scenario of the language policies of the continent after colonization.

Map 1 – Oceania by regions



Source: Skirgård and Cartogis (2019). Distributed under Creative Commons BY-SA License.

Linguistic colonization in Oceania

The first European to reach Oceania was Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, during the first European circumnavigation trip of the planet, bringing in the Mariana Islands, which he baptized as Lázaro Islands on March 6, 1521 (CAMPBELL, 2003). After this first contact, other Europeans from various countries visited the continent, as the Spanish Alvaro de Mendaña in the Solomon Islands and Polynesia in 1567; the Dutch Abel Tasman in Tasmania, New Zealand, Tonga and Fiji in 1642-1643; the English James Cook on three voyages between 1768 and 1779 when he visited Australia, Alaska, Hawaii, New Zealand and the islands of Polynesia, and the French Louis Antonie de Bougainville between 1766 and 1769 in Polynesia during the first French circumnavigation (CAMPBELL, 2003; QUANCHI; ROBSON, 2009). Even with so many records of European travels to the region, to this day it prevails in

the social imaginary as the dominant discourse that the continent was discovered⁷ by James Cook, the first European who arrived in Australia in 1768 and claimed it as an English possession, although this fact is questioned by Portugal.⁸

It is noteworthy that when Europeans arrived in Oceania, they found, just like they did in Brazil, thousands of individuals divided into hundreds of ethnic groups and cultures. These individuals organized themselves into indigenous chieftainships or other non-hierarchical societies. Their ancestors would have migrated to Oceania from the Indonesian islands to New Guinea 50 thousand years ago and from there and from the Philippines to the other islands about three thousand years, developing civilizations such as the Lapita culture (1300-800 BC) in Melanesia; the cities of Nan Madol (0-1700 AD) and Leluh (500-1800 AD) in Micronesia; the Tongan Empire (950-1865 AD), and the best known in the world, Rapa Nui/Easter Island (1000-1400 AD) and its moai, the last two in Polynesia (KIRCH, 2000; CAMPBELL, 2015; COCHRANE; HUNT, 2018).

European colonial history in Oceania can be divided into two quite distinct phases, as in Africa and Asia.⁹ The first goes from the arrival of Magellan in the sixteenth century until the second half of the nineteenth century, the phase of exploratory and commercial expeditions, related to commercial capitalism, when America went through intense colonialism. The second phase goes from the nineteenth century until World War II and is embedded in industrial capitalism, marked by European imperialism, annexation of territories on the continent and formation of influence areas.

The colonization of Oceania was not very different from that which Europeans applied in America or Africa. There was also strong violence in the imposition of military superiority on indigenous peoples, forced displacement of the population,¹⁰ great population decrease, introduction of unknown diseases, institution of private property

⁷ To reflect on the different possible meanings about contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples through colonization, we suggest reading Orlandi (2008) and Barbosa da Silva (2018) that demonstrate, through Michel Pêcheux's theoretical and methodological apparatus, the ideological disputes of meaning between the discourse of discovery and the discourse of invasion.

⁸ Such controversy, around the discourse of discovery also applies in the debate on the first European to see Australia. The Portuguese people claim that two compatriots were the first to reach Australia: Cristóvão de Mendonça in 1522 and Gomes de Sequeira in 1525. In addition, the name Australia is attributed to another Portuguese, Pedro de Queirós who called the present Vanuatu Islands of *Australia do Espírito Santo* (Southland of the Holy Spirit), in relation to its geographical position in 1605 (QUANCHI; ROBSON, 2009).

⁹ Mühlhäusler (1996) divides the colonial history of Oceania into four periods: 1) from 1500 to 1750 — the phase of Spanish exploration and trade; 2) from 1750 to 1830 — phase of scientific and anthropological discoveries; 3) from 1830 to 1880 — phase of modern economic exploitation and 4) from 1880 to 1975 — phase of colonial contact.

¹⁰ According to estimates, between 22 and 27 thousand people were forcibly taken from Kiribati, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands to Fiji between 1864 and 1911 in a practice known as "blackbirding". From 1863 to 1904, approximately 62 thousand people were taken mainly from Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands to Queensland, in Australia. Between 1862 and 1863 about 3 thousand people — men, women and children — were taken from Niue, Rapa Nui, Tokelau and Tuvalu to Peru and in 1879, 1,210 Kitibatians and Vanuatuans were taken to Samoa. Other displacements were still made towards New Caledonia and Hawaii. All these displacements had the same goal: to provide cheap labor for sugar, cotton and rice plantations and also for mining. However, many died in the crossing or during the work on the plantations (SCARR, 1990; HORNE, 2007; GRAIG, 2011). Some areas of Oceania have also received immigrants from other continents such as Indians in Fiji and Japanese in Micronesia and Hawaii, many of whom were also working on the plantations. Such migration has contributed to the transformation of the language situation of these regions.

unknown by the natives, and the presence of Catholic and Protestant missionaries to Christianize the inhabitants of the islands, an act seen as synonymous of development (DENOON, 1997; CAMPBELL, 2003). This first phase is marked, initially, by the sighting of many islands by the Europeans, the first contacts and the exchange of gifts with native peoples in an attempt to form alliances that would help and allow the exploration of the islands (FISCHER, 2013; CHAPPELL, 2013a). In this first period, the Pacific Islands were used for the extraction of breadfruit, the fishing of sea cucumbers; and at the end of the eighteenth century, for the extraction of sandalwood and for whaling. They also served as a stop for the Pacific Ocean crossings since at first they did not present satisfactory mineral resources as in Latin America. (LAL; FORTUNE, 2000)¹¹.

Australia and New Zealand, however, present a separate chapter within this colonial history, with some peculiarities that deserve attention. Australia was reached by Europeans late in relation to many islands in Oceania, but, unlike them, it was occupied immediately. Twenty years after the arrival of James Cook, the city of Sydney, in the southeast of the country, was founded, in 1788, by William Bligh. Sydney quickly became an important trading post with the shipping industry as trade grew with Hawaii, the United States, and Tahiti (CAMPBELL, 2003).

Although Australia also had a colonial exploitation with the formation of plantations in Queensland, in the northeast of the country, using forced displacement labor from Melanesia, the settler colonialism prevailed as in Canada and the United States. At first the settlement was made by people who committed crimes in the United Kingdom. The condemned men, after serving time in Australia, received a small portion of land uninhabited for cultivation, but were forbidden to return to the UK. This policy ceased only in 1968, when the number of migrants was already higher than the number of the convicted. (MACINTYRE, 2009).¹²

As for New Zealand, the English colonization began at the end of the eighteenth century, with the first exploratory missions of the territory. There, the English found the Maoris that populated New Zealand around 1200 AD, coming from Eastern Polynesia. Unlike Australia, New Zealand was inhabited by only one people, who lived mainly in the hottest areas north of the North Island. But as in Australia, New Zealand's colonial option was for settlement, first with warehouses for whaling and then for missionaries and sheep ranchers. Such settlement intensified from 1840 on, when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, between the United Kingdom and Maori chiefs, in a sort of formal

¹¹ Only in the late nineteenth century, in the second colonial phase, the Europeans discovered considerable mineral reserves of phosphate in Nauru, Kiribati, Palau and French Polynesia; gold and copper in New Caledonia and Papua New Guinea, nickel also in New Caledonia and gold in Fiji (DENOON, 1997). Some mines have brought serious environmental consequences as in Nauru, where the center of the island is now devastated and uninhabited. Other mines are still in full production. Currently New Caledonia is one of the six largest nickel producers in the world (USGS, 2011). Australia and New Zealand also avoid this rule because they had gone through gold cycles already in the middle of the nineteenth century.

¹² According to estimates, from 1788 to 1968, approximately 165 thousand convicts were brought to Australia (AUSTRALIA, 2008).

annexation of the archipelago. The later years were marked by conflicts between settlers and Maoris because of the forced occupation of indigenous lands and the institution of self-government from the Constitution of 1852 (KING, 2003).

Unlike the other countries of the continent, Australia and New Zealand conquered their independence — although maintaining a union with the United Kingdom — relatively early in 1901 and 1907 respectively, while the other countries were passing through the second phase of colonialism. These two countries also took over the role of colonizing powers after World War I in many countries such as Samoa, Papua New Guinea and Nauru, and they remain in Cook Islands, Niue and Norfolk Island.¹³

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution that began in England a century earlier, spread to other European countries such as France, the Netherlands, Belgium and the German states. Capitalism, thus, entered into its imperialist phase. In order to continue capital accumulation, European states, in the ever-increasing search for consumer markets and commodity, built vast colonial empires (HOBBSAWM, 2011). An important and symbolic landmark of this event was the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), in which Europeans shared Africa and occupied almost all the continent's land.

Like Africa, Oceania underwent a period of imperial occupation by European countries, who acted, according to Ferro (1996), “in a preventive manner”, taking possession of lands before the rival did so, but unlike the African continent, Oceania was not shared by a specific treaty or action of this kind. Hence, in 1842, fearing to lose more areas in the Pacific Ocean, after the Treaty of Waitangi, which incorporated New Zealand to the United Kingdom, France annexed the Marquesas Islands in Polynesia, the first calculated act of imperialism on the continent (CAMPBELL, 2003). Around 1850, France also annexed the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) and New Caledonia, in Melanesia. Fearing attacks from other countries, local chiefs urged the British to take over the protection of their territories at Tokelau in 1877 and at Rotuma in 1881 (GRAIG, 2011).

Between 1884 and 1886, Germany and the United Kingdom divided New Guinea and Solomon Islands and created areas of German influence in the Caroline Islands (Micronesia) and British influence in the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) and the Ellice Islands (Tuvalu). Germany also annexed the Marshall Islands (1885) and Nauru (1888), after forming alliances with local governments and imposed a treaty on Samoa (LAL; FORTUNE, 2000; McINTYRE, 2014). The United Kingdom, in turn, realizing the power vacuum in the region and that German alliances with local governments would favor the country's advance, decided to occupy definitively the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in 1892 (CAMPBELL, 2003).

The United States also feared the German conquests in the Pacific and questioned the possession of Samoa, making it possible for the islands to be divided in 1899 between the two countries (CAMPBELL, 2003). In 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii and

¹³ Cook Islands and Niue have a different status among all non-independent territories in Oceania. They are states in free association with New Zealand, with total internal autonomy, but dependent on foreign affairs, although currently this rule is being contradicted.

conquered Guam after the victory in the Spanish-American War over Spain, which in turn sold the Marianas, Carolinas and Palau Islands to Germany. Chile occupied Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in 1888, and the United Kingdom finally took over the Solomon Islands in 1893, imposed a formal protectorate over the Cook Islands in 1888, over Tokelau, in 1889; and over Niue and Tonga, in 1900; and established a condominium with France over the New Hebrides in 1906 (McINTYRE, 2014).¹⁴

In a relatively short time, the whole continent was annexed by European empires and by the United States.¹⁵ Thus, began the second and main colonialist phase of Oceania. This phase also presents an intense linguistic colonization. For Mariani (2004, p.28, our translation),

[...] linguistic colonization [...] produces changes in linguistic systems that were becoming separate, or it causes reorganizations in the linguistic functioning of languages and ruptures in stable semantic processes. Linguistic colonization results from a historical process of meeting between at least two linguistic imaginaries constitutive of culturally distinct peoples — languages with memories, histories and policies of unequal meanings, under conditions of production such that one of these languages — called the colonizer language — aims to impose itself on the other(s), colonized¹⁶.

This change in local linguistic systems began with religious missions, which, although begun in the seventeenth century, intensified in the nineteenth century, remaining in many countries to this day. According to Mühlhäusler (1996), the number of missions with the diversity of creeds and methods employed in the Christianization of the region is quite complex to study and describe, especially in a continent with high

¹⁴ Japan also maintained an imperialist policy on Oceania, annexing the Ogasawara Islands in 1891 and occupying large areas of the continent, mainly in Micronesia, between the two World Wars (LAL; FORTUNE, 2000).

¹⁵ The European colonization in Oceania found strong resistance among the autochthonous peoples of the continent as: the resistance of the Australian Aboriginals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the New Zealand Wars against the Maoris between 1845 and 1872; the revolt during the conquest of Fiji in 1878; the rebellion on the Sokehs Island, in Pohnpei, against the German colonial administration; the rebellions in Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in 1914 and 1964 for greater autonomy and civil rights; the kanak guerrilla in 1917 in New Caledonia; the rebellion in Malaita in the Solomon Islands in 1927; the general strike at Rabaul in Papua New Guinea in 1929; the movement for the independence of West Papua from 1965 and resistance movements in Samoa with the founding of the organization “O Le Mau” in 1926, whose motto was “Samoa for the Samoans”. On December 28, 1929, eleven Samoans were killed by the European police during a demonstration at what became known as the “Black Saturday”. This intense movement of resistance against colonization in Samoa undoubtedly was one of the factors that made the country the first on the continent after Australia and New Zealand to gain independence in 1962 (FIRTH, 1997; CHAPPELL, 2013a; 2013b; GOTT, 2013; FOERSTER; PAKARATI, 2016).

¹⁶ In the original: “*a colonização linguística (...) produz modificações em sistemas linguísticos que vinham se constituindo em separado, ou ainda, provoca reorganizações no funcionamento linguístico das línguas e rupturas em processos semânticos estabilizados. Colonização linguística resulta de um processo histórico de encontro entre pelo menos dois imaginários linguísticos constitutivos de povos culturalmente distintos — línguas com memórias, histórias e políticas de sentidos desiguais, em condições de produção tais que uma dessas línguas — chamada de língua colonizadora — visa impor-se sobre a(s) outra(s), colonizada(s)*”.

linguistic diversity. The Pacific Islands received Catholic and Protestant missionaries from Europe, the United States, and from Oceania too. As the colonial empires, they disputed areas of religious influence and also diverged on how to Christianize better the local population.¹⁷

However, it is possible to raise a point in common among all the missionaries of the nineteenth century, although the best way to Christianize was to use local languages: for them the Oceanian languages were primitive and, therefore, incapable of being used to convey Christian teachings and concepts. Mariani (2004, p. 25) observed the same among the European missionaries in Brazil, what she called the “deficit ideology”, in which at the same time “already existing and before the contact, as it serves to legitimize how domination happens”.

To overcome this incapability of the indigenous languages, Mühlhäusler (1996) pointed out three alternatives to linguistic colonization that were adopted by the missionaries and which, in turn, completely affected the language environment of the continent: a) the use of local *lingua franca*; b) the use of pidgins and creoles; or c) the use of European languages.

The first alternative to be employed was to arbitrarily choose languages which would be *lingua franca*, to adapt them, to modernize them to represent the Christian reality and to promote them among the inhabitants of certain region. Such an initiative, according to Mühlhäusler (1996), was based on the adoption of a writing system using the Latin alphabet, on the elaboration of a grammar and a dictionary and on the translation of the Bible, which often ignored

[...] the metalinguistic intuitions of the speakers that distinguish the number of different (sometimes named) entities; linguistic differences which serve important social functions such as indexing group differences; the fact that questions of mutual intelligibility depend on factors other than having a common name (MÜHLÄUSLER, 1996, p. 145).

Such actions had as a consequence “the promotion of a language (or variant) that had traditionally no dominant role, the creation of hierarchies of languages, the modification of local vernaculars, the gradual silencing of those who spoke up for small languages” (MÜHLÄUSLER, 1996, p. 150) and, for us, the gradual extermination of nearby languages. As an example of this form of Christianization, Mühlhäusler (1996) points out the use of the Tahitian language in the colonization of Rapa Nui and the use of the Samoan in the colonization of Tuvalu, in this last creating a diglossic situation

¹⁷ In order to have an idea about this diversity, the Catholic missionaries included Jesuits, Marists and the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and among the Protestants were members of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) — formed by Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist — beside, Wesleyan Methodists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Adventist Lutherans and Mormons. It should be noted that the missionaries succeeded in converting some kingdoms to Christianity as Tahiti (1815); Tonga, Hawaii (1830) and Fiji (1854) (LAL; FORTUNE, 2000; CAMPBELL, 2003; GRAIG, 2011; SNIJDERS, 2012).

between the Tuvaluan and the Samoan during colonization — in which the local colonial government used the second language in its official acts — which affected the lexicon and the grammar of the traditional Tuvaluan language.

The second alternative was the use of a pidgin or a creole. Initially this alternative was widely criticized by the missionaries for their lack of standardization, constant modification, and even the conception that such languages could bring negative influences from the West to the natives¹⁸ (MÜHLHÄUSLER, 1996). However, this alternative became more acceptable when the missionaries encountered the linguistic situation of Melanesia, which, as already said, has one of the greatest linguistic diversities in the world. Such criticisms were reduced in the twentieth century, with the increase number of speakers of these languages in the continent.¹⁹

The third alternative, the use of European languages, according to Mühlhäusler (1996) had positive aspects for the missionaries. He considers the ability of these languages to express the message of the Bible, the possible relation between (linguistic) nationalism and the processes of civilization and Christianization, the ability to attract more missionaries because they do not have to learn the local language and the reduction of production costs of teaching materials in a much smaller number of languages. In addition, this alternative became even more attractive to them with the advance of imperialism — when the missionaries began to receive subsidies from European countries to spread their national languages.

However, regardless of the method used in the colonization, if Mühlhäusler (1996) affirms that all of them privileged communication, intervening, even, in the constitution of these languages in postcolonialism, we say that linguistic colonization “imposes itself by force and by writing, or rather, imposes itself with the institutionalizer force of the (European) grammatical language that already carries with it a memory, the memory of the colonizer over his own history and his own language” (MARIANI, 2004, p. 24). All the alternatives employed, thus, produced modifications in the local languages, either in the simple adoption of a Western script²⁰ or in the production of alterations in the semantic field, that bring this memory of the colonizer, producing other networks of meanings between the colonized and the colonizer.²¹

¹⁸ Here again we observe the functioning of the “deficit ideology”, which made inferior the pidgin and creole languages.

¹⁹ Mühlhäusler (1996) even assigns a certain importance of the missionaries for the development of some pidgins and creoles (as well as the system of plantations employed in various regions that has provided displacements of natives throughout the continent), such as the Australian Kriol, the Unserdeutsch, the Tayo and the stabilization of Tok Pisin.

²⁰ According to Mugler and Lynch (1996) no language of Oceania was written until the Europeans arrived.

²¹ An example of these complex networks of language meanings between the colonized and the colonizer is the millenarian movement “cargo cult”, whose anthropological and sociolinguistic studies also contributed to the development of research in the area of literacy and acquisition of writing in other parts of the world. According to Meggitt and Burridge (MÜHLHÄUSLER, 1996), this movement emerged in Melanesia, especially in Papua New Guinea, from the observation by indigenous groups that missionaries, planters, traders and administration officers were receiving cargoes food and Western products, by ships and airplanes, after sending letters and without the immediate necessity of using currency or even barter. The relevance of this movement to literacy studies is due precisely to the meaning given to writing by the natives and the questioning that the learning of writing would not in itself guarantee the power to send letters to receive products and objects, as occurred with missionaries and European officers.

With the advance of the European and the American imperialism over the Pacific and the establishment of colonies throughout the region, state structures, entities and institutions were created to exert control of the colonial empires, as it was done in Africa. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the colonizers intensified the prohibition of local languages in the Oceanian continent and the imposition of European languages enforcement policies as the only possibility. This happened until the independence of countries in the 1960s and 1970s or till the recognition of cultural and linguistic rights in countries already independent, such as Australia and New Zealand.

This change also took place in other parts of the world, and was possible only through the independence and decolonization movements in the Oceania, which had strengthened after the end of World War II and the creation of the UN in 1945, with the diffusion of the principle of self-determination of peoples. It was in the 1960s that most African countries conquered their independences and that the first countries in Oceania, after Australia and New Zealand, achieved their autonomy: Samoa in 1962 and Nauru in 1968.²²

As in all other countries that have obtained their independence after a historic process of colonization, the new countries of Oceania have faced many challenges of economic, political, social and linguistic nature. What official language to adopt for the new country, often forged based on colonialism? What is the best way to promote social development and to eradicate illiteracy in countries with a high linguistic diversity in Melanesia and in small countries with low linguistic diversity but with few speakers in Micronesia or Polynesia? How to promote indigenous languages as a way of expressing these groups? How to deal with the legacy of the colonizer's language(s) and its (their) relation to the language(s) of the colonized? How to act in an increasingly globalized world, connected by the internet and with increasing technological transformations? How to overcome such obstacles with the scarcity of financial resources? What are the best language policy(ies) to be adopted for this continent with such a complex linguistic situation?

These are the issues that worried and stimulated us to develop this research.

Oceanian language policy in the post-independence

As we could observe in the first part of this article, all languages are in constant transformations under human intervention. Calvet (2002) distinguishes these transformations in two management processes: *in vivo* and *in vitro*. *In vivo* management are the transformations naturally occurring in any and every language, such as linguistic variation based in age, gender or geography. *In vitro* management occurs when a

²² According to MacLellan (2016), in the last decade, we can observe a new wave of independence on the continent. The Chuuk state (Micronesia), Bougainville archipelago (Papua New Guinea) and New Caledonia (France) could be the next independent countries, following the decision of its inhabitants in plebiscites to be held between 2019 and 2020. And the French Polynesia returned to the UN List of Non-Self-Governing Territories, in 2013, after intense diplomacy of the Oceanian countries.

change is imposed on a language, usually by the State. This imposition aims to modify the language environment of a linguistic situation A to a linguistic situation B. And yet, Calvet (2002) claims there are no guarantees of success because the success of a language policy for him depends on the degree of acceptability of the speaker.

Such political actions that aim to modify a linguistic situation, according to Kloss (1969), can be classified as *corpus* planning and *status* planning. While the first is related to a formal planning of language, a change in the interior of the language, that is, when a language is equipped, whether in its lexicon, grammar or spelling to assume another function, the second is related to the functions that a language presents in relation to others and in a particular language environment. Cooper (1997) proposes a third category: the acquisition planning, which, for him, would be the actions taken to increase number of language users. Let us turn to the analysis of the current language situation in Oceania.

In order to carry out this research about the language policies of the continent, we consulted various sources, such as the legislation, statistical offices and education departments of the Oceanian countries and territories, in addition to several authors listed in the bibliography, but especially Leclerc (2018). Then, we elaborated the following table inspired by Ouane (2003) and Barbosa da Silva (2011) that researched the language situation of African countries, in an attempt to present in a simplified way the language conjuncture in the countries and territories of Oceania.

The first two columns present the name of the country or territory, with its independence date or the information of which country it is dependent from and its population by UNFPA (2019) data. The third column shows the number of languages spoken throughout the territory, divided into foreign and autochthonous languages, in addition to the main languages, with data by the Ethnologue (2017). The fourth column presents a list with the names of the main languages, either because it is the most spoken or because it is official.²³ The next two columns show the percentage of the population speaking those languages either as a first language or as a second language. The last five columns refer to the possible or non-use of those languages in the country. The first as *de jure* or *de facto* official language, the second as a *lingua franca*, that is, a contact language between speakers of different local languages. And the last three, as language of instruction²⁴ in a pre-primary education, the first four or five years of schooling; in the primary, four or five years later and in the secondary, three or four years before higher education.

²³ For us, every act of naming is an ideological act and the same happens with the languages. A language can have various names, according to the ideological position of those who names it, and can be called by the way in which its speakers designate it, by the same name that is designated by its group of speakers or by the way the Europeans called. For example, the local way of designating the language spoken in Kiribati is a translation of English which in turn came from the way locals called the country from the English-language Gilbert Islands, Kiribati, iKiribati.

²⁴ It is worth noting that we consider the language of instruction as the language used in the classroom for the most different subjects, including those of the exact sciences. Countries that include it only as subject in their curriculum school were not considered. Likewise, pilot projects were also not considered. In addition, we consider the reality and not the legislation, which is often not fulfilled.

Table 1 – Language Policy situation in Oceania

Countries (year of independence or country of which it is dependent)	Population UNFPA (millions)	Number of languages Ethnologue 2017			Main languages	Percentage of speakers		Language used as				
		Indige- nous	Immi- grants	Main		First language	Second language	Official language	Liingua Franca	Average education		
										Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary
American Samoa (USA)	0,055	2	4	2	English Samoan Tongan Japanese Tagalog	2 91 3,2 3 1,3	96	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X	X X	X
Australia (1901)	24,4	195	+ 150	1	English Chinese Arabic Cantonese Vietnamese Italian Greek Tagalog Hindi Spanish Punjabi Persian Korean German Tamil French Indigenous languages	72,7 2,6 1,4 1,2 1,2 1,2 1,0 0,8 0,7 0,6 0,6 0,5 0,5 0,3 0,3 0,3	21	X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X	X	X
Christmas Island (Australia)	0,0018 (2016)	0	6	3	English Chinese Malay Creole of Cocos Islands Cantonese Min nan	27,8 17,2 17,2 3,7 1,5		X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X	X	X
Cocos (Keeling) Islands (Australia)	0,0005 (2016)	0	2	2	English Malay Creole of Cocos Islands	22,2 69,6		X (<i>de facto</i>)		X	X	X
Cook Islands (New Zealand)	0,0173	4	1	2	English Cook Islands Maori Pukapuka Penrhyn	3,8 88,6 4,3 3,2	90	X X (<i>de jure</i>)		X X	X	X
Fiji (1970)	0,9	10	14	3	English Fijian Fiji Hindi Western Fijian Tamil Telugu Bhojpouri Gujarati Rotuman Kiribati Chinese	2,7 35,1 21,7 9,5 8,6 3,6 2,9 2,7 1,2 0,7 0,5	21	X X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X X X	X X X	X	X
French Polynesia (France)	0,283	7	2	2	French Tahitian Tuamotuan Hakka Chinese Austral North-Marquesan South-Marquesan Mangareva	30 44 8 4,7 2,6 1,4 1,3 0,8	35 30	X (<i>de jure</i>)	X X	X	X	X

Countries (year of independence or country of which it is dependent)	Population UNFPA (millions)	Number of languages Ethnologue 2017			Main languages	Percentage of speakers		Language used as				
		Indigenous	Immigrants	Main		First language	Second language	Official language	Língua Franca	Average education		
										Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary
Guam (USA)	0,164	1	7	3	English Chamorro Tagalog Chuukese Korean Chinese Japanese Palauan	38,3 22,2 22,2 3,4 2,4 1,9 1,8 1,4	61	X X (<i>de jure</i>)	X X	X X	X X	X X
Hawaii ²⁵ (USA)	1,4 (2016)	2	+ 100	3	English Japanese Tagalog Ilocano Hawaiian Spanish Korean Chinese Samoan Hawaiian pidgin	74,6 5 5,4 4 1,7 1,7 1,6 1,2 1	50	X X (<i>de jure</i>)	X X	X X	X X	X X
Kiribati (1979)	0,116	1	3	2	English Kiribati Tuvaluan Chinese	2 97 0,5	26	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X	X	X
Marshall Islands (1986)	0,053	1	3	2	English Marshallese Japanese Tagalog	6,8 86,9 0,6 0,6	90	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X	X X	X X
Micronesia ²⁶ (1986)	0,105	18	2	1	English Chuukese Pohnpeian Kosraean Yapenese	1,8 52,3 25,9 7 5,6	45,1 4,8 6,9 0,5 0,3	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X X X X	X	X
Nauru (1968)	0,011	1	7	2	English Nauruan Kiribati Chinese Tuvaluan Marshallese Kosraean	2 90 2 2 1	64 5	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X	X	X
New Caledonia (France)	0,276	34	7	1	French Wallisian Drehu Italian Nengone Paicî Tahitian Xârâcùù Ajië Iaai	25,7 8,8 4,9 3,9 3,2 2,8 2,6 2,1 2 1,7	70	X (<i>de jure</i>)	X	X	X	X

²⁵ An official survey by the Government of the State of Hawaii in 2016 found that 74.6% of Hawaiians speak English at home and 25.4% speak other languages (HAWAII, 2016). In this same research, the Hawaiian Pidgin, which reached less than 0.1%, was given as an alternative response. However, according to other researchers as Drager (2012), the number of Creole speakers is still imprecise, but can reach at least half of the Hawaiian population as a second language. We believe, therefore, that during this linguistic census, most of the Creole speakers did not declare themselves, having answered the question as English speakers.

²⁶ Micronesia is administratively divided into four states. Each state has its official language. The English is official in all along Chuukese in the state of Chuuk, Kosraean in the state of Kosrae, Pohnpeian in the state of Pohnpei, and native languages in the state of Yap.

Countries (year of independence or country of which it is dependent)	Population UNFPA (millions)	Number of languages Ethnologue 2017			Main languages	Percentage of speakers		Language used as				
		Indigenous	Immigrants	Main		First language	Second language	Official language	Língua Franca	Average education		
										Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary
New Zealand (1907)	4,7	2	+ 70	2	English Maori Samoan Hindi Chinese French Yue German Tongan Tagalog Afrikaans Spanish Korean Dutch New Zealand Sign language	81 3,7 2,2 1,7 1,3 1,2 1,1 0,9 0,8 0,7 0,7 0,6 0,6 0,6 0,5	15	X X <i>(de jure)</i>	X	X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X	X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X	X X X X X X X X X X X X X X X
Niue (New Zealand)	0,0016	1	2	2	English Niuean Tongan	21,3 76,6	32,4 16	X X <i>(de facto)</i>	X	X X	X X	X X
Norfolk Island (Australia)	0,0017 (2016)	1	1	2	English Norfuk Creole Fijian Tagalog Chinese	45,5 40,9 2 1 0,7	50	X X <i>(de jure)</i>		X	X	X
Northern Marianas Islands (USA)	0,055	3	6	1	English Tagalog Chinese Chamorro Carolinian Korean Palauan Japanese	10,7 24,3 23,4 22,2 3,5 3,4 2,3 1,5	85	X X <i>(de jure)</i>	X	X X X	X X X	X X X
Palau ²⁷ (1994)	0,021	3	3	2	English Palauan Tagalog Sonsorolese Angaur Japanese Tobian	19 68 10 3 0,7 0,1	79	X X <i>(de jure)</i>		X X	X X	X X
Papua ²⁸ (Indonesia)	3,67 (2016)	262	1	2	Indonesian Papuan-Malay Creole Western Dani Western Ekari Javanese	36,5 12,5 8,1 4,5 2,6	14	X <i>(de facto)</i>	X	X	X	X
Papua-New Guinea (1975)	8,2	839	2	3	English Tok Pisin Hiri Motu Melpa Huli Papuan New Guinean Sign language	1 2 3 2,4 2	5 64	X X X <i>(de facto)</i>	X	X X X X X	X	X

²⁷ Palau is administratively divided into 16 states and each state has its official language. English is official all along with the Tobian in the state of Tobi, the Sonsorolese in the state of Sonsorol, the Japanese and the Angaur in the state of Angaur and the Palauan in the other states.

²⁸ About the percentage of speakers of Indonesian and Papuan-Malay Creole as first language for the territories of Papua and West Papua we collected data from the 2010 Indonesian Census and Kluge (2014) respectively. Even when such data appear to be divergent, we have chosen to keep them in line with those references.

Countries (year of independence or country of which it is dependent)	Population UNFPA (millions)	Number of languages Ethnologue 2017			Main languages	Percentage of speakers		Language used as				
		Indigenous	Immigrants	Main		First language	Second language	Official language	Liingua Franca	Average education		
										Pre-primary	Primary	Secondary
Pitcairn Islands ²⁹ (United Kingdom)	0,00055	1	1	2	English Pitkern Creole			X X (<i>de facto</i>)				
Rapa Nui /Easter Island (Chile)	0,0077	1	1	2	Spanish Rapa Nui	78 13,8	19 33	X (<i>de jure</i>)	X	X X	X	X
Samoa (1962)	0,196	1	3	2	English Samoan Maori Chinese	5 93 0,1 0,1	57 6,7	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X	X X	X
Solomon Islands (1978)	0,611	73	3	1	English Pijin (Creole) Kawara'ae 'Are'are Kiribatian	2 6 8 4,5 1	37 76	X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X X	X	X
Tokelau ³⁰ (New Zealand)	0,0013	1	3	2	English Tokelauan Samoan Tuvaluan	1 93,4 10,5 4,5	57,4 2,7 31,5 2,7	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X	X	
Tonga (1970)	0,108	2	2	2	English Tongan Chinese Niufo'ou	1 96 2 1	87	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X	X X	X
Tuvalu (1978)	0,011	1	2	2	English Tuvaluan Kiribati	0,5 95 2	86 3	X X (<i>de facto</i>)	X	X X	X	X
Vanuatu (1980)	0,276	107	8	3	English French Bislama Lenakel	2 3,7 4,1 6	60,3 29,4 83	X X X (<i>de jure</i>)	X X X	X X X X	X X	X X
Wallis and Futuna (France)	0,011	2	1	3	French Wallisian East Futunan	10,7 58,9 30	72	X (<i>de jure</i>)	X	X	X	X
Western Papua (Indonesia)	1,36 (2016)	57	1	2	Indonesian Papuan-Malay Creole Javanese Mai Brat Hatam	69,7 22,5 6,2 3,5 2,6	27	X (<i>de facto</i>)	X X	X	X	X

Source: Prepared by the author based on the laws and websites of governments of the countries and territories of Oceania and Leclerc (2018).^{29,30}

At once, observing the number of languages present on each country or territory and considering the colonial history of the continent, we can divide them into four groups or categories:

²⁹ The small population of the Pitcairn Islands does not allow statistics to be drawn up. In addition, the islands only provide school education up to twelve years of age. Onwards, the young must study in New Zealand (LECLERC, 2018).

³⁰ None of Tokelau's three atolls have an institution that provides high school. The Tokelauans complete their studies in Samoa (LECLERC, 2018).

- a) group of the country with high linguistic diversity (autochthonous and allochthonous) and the English base settler colonialism: Australia;
- b) group of the country and territories with low native linguistic diversity but high or considerable allochthonous linguistic diversity and the settler colonialism of English base: New Zealand and the uninhabited until the first Europeans arrive, Norfolk Island and Pitcairn Islands;
- c) group of countries and territories with low autochthonous linguistic diversity that suffered exploitation colonialism: American Samoa, Christmas Island, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Guam, Hawaii, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Rapa Nui, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu and Wallis and Futuna;
- d) group of countries and territories with high autochthonous linguistic diversity that suffered exploitation colonialism: Fiji, Micronesia, New Caledonia, Papua, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and West Papua.

In the first group, with high autochthonous and also allochthonous linguistic diversity, which was colonized by settlement, is Australia, with approximately 195 indigenous languages and more than 150 immigrant languages. As we said in the previous section, Australian politics underwent a profound transformation in the 1970s, when the Australian government was pressured by Aboriginal movements to abolish both assimilation policy and White Australia Policy, which curtailed immigration from non-European descendants. Such measures allowed the arrival of the first Asians to Australia and culminated later in the adoption of multiculturalism as state policy (MACINTYRE, 2009).

It is from this moment that we can observe a series of initiatives aimed at valuing linguistic diversity, including those aimed at indigenous peoples, such as: the creation of the first pilot programs of bilingual education for Aboriginal peoples, at the 1970s; the development of policies aimed at the teaching of immigrant languages, as the “National Policy on Languages” in 1987, which chose a list of priority languages to be taught; the formulation of the “Aboriginal Education Policy” with the aim of providing Aboriginal access to education, increasing school attendance and ensuring their participation in educational policies, and the creation by the government of the “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission” in 1990, to advise the government with regard to the preservation of Aboriginal cultural and linguistic heritage (LECLERC, 2018).

However, in recent years, there has been a consolidation of a language policy of English supremacy in which indigenous schools are inexpressive and immigrant languages are taught only as subjects and restricted to the family context. According to the “Australian Curriculum”, for the first ten school years, known as the F-10, that has been developed since 2010, the education system must provide eight learning areas, among them “English and other languages”; seven general capabilities, including “intercultural understanding”; and three trans-curricular priorities, such as sustainability, “Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander histories and cultures”, and “Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia” (AUSTRALIA, 2018).

In the area of languages, Arabic, Australian Sign Language (Auslan), Chinese, French, German, Greek, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Spanish, Turkish, Vietnamese and Indigenous languages are offered as second languages (not as language of instruction) 2 hours per week, but only up to the first 10 years of the school curriculum. For Leclerc (2018), languages are taught with the purpose of integrating immigrants and their children into the country, thus facilitating the acquisition of the English language so that they can participate in public life and, we say, without worrying about the valorization or the preservation of these languages.³¹ This can be proven in the F-10 that it points about Arabic and its relation to English:

Arabic is used as the medium for class interaction and to demonstrate and model new language acquisition. English may be used to explain features of language and aspects of culture. *Both English and Arabic may be used when learners are communicating about similarities and differences between Arabic and other languages and cultures and reflecting on how they talk and behave in Arabic-speaking and English-speaking contexts* (AUSTRALIA, 2018, emphasis added).

The second group, formed by the country and territories with a prevalence of settler colonialism, but with low autochthonous diversity is New Zealand, with only two indigenous languages, Maori and Moriori (in the Chatham Islands, almost extinct) and dozens of immigrant languages. Like Australia, New Zealand has revised its policies of assimilation of indigenous peoples since the 1970s, after extensive mobilization of Maori groups, initiating a policy of appreciation of local culture and language.

Among the measures created were the programs *Te Wiki or Te Reo Māori* (Maori Language Week) in 1975, with a series of events aimed at the recognition of Maori; the *Kōhanga Reo* movement, which from 1981 onwards created pre-primary schools for immersion into Maori culture and language, then nationalized; the creation of *Kura Kaupapa Māori* in 1985, complementary to the previous ones, for primary and secondary education; the adoption of the Maori language as an official in New Zealand in 1987 (NASCIMENTO; MAIA; WHAN, 2017) and in the same year the creation of *Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori* (Maori Language Commission), with the purpose of developing policies promotion of the Maori. All these actions aimed to recognize the importance of the Maori language and to collaborate in the resumption of its transmission to future generations, because like in Australia, a large part of the country's indigenous population had become English-speaking as the first language.

The *Kōhanga Reo* movement achieved a certain success by expanding the number of speakers and eventually served as a model for other countries and regions such as Hawaii (with *Pūnana Leo* since 1984) and also Brazil, in the case of teaching indigenous

³¹ Something similar can be observed in Canada, where we had the opportunity to analyze the functioning of the discourse of multiculturalism (BARBOSA DA SILVA, 2018).

language kaingang (NASCIMENTO; MAIA; WHAN, 2017). The country is currently developing a program that guarantees the use of the Maori and immigrant languages such as Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands Maori and Niuean as language of instruction in two-level language: of 51% to 80% and 80% to 100% of the curriculum to secondary education in Maori schools and in primary education for immigrants. In addition, New Zealand presents initiatives such as Language Week, similar to *Te Wiki or Te Reo Māori*, and invests in the production of didactic material for immigrant languages, especially Polynesians, that present shortage of didactic material (NEW ZEALAND, 2018a; 2018b). However, even though governmental documents are produced in the two official languages and the streets of the country are visually bilingual, Leclerc (2018) warns that bilingualism in New Zealand is restricted to the Maori people and to immigrants because few English-speaking people want to learn other languages.

The third group consists of countries and territories that predominantly suffered exploitation colonialism and have low indigenous linguistic diversity, especially in Micronesia and Polynesia, which, according to Lynch (1998), have one language per island or group of islands. Immediately, it is apparent that such countries tend to implement a status planning to institute as official the single or the few indigenous languages alongside the European colonizer language. The fourth group presents countries and territories that predominantly underwent exploitation colonialism, but with a high indigenous linguistic diversity, especially Melanesian countries, where it is possible to observe a tendency to institute as official the European colonizer language with or without creole languages.

It should be noted that the countries and territories of the third group could even adopt only the indigenous language as official because almost all of the population speaks only one native language as in Kiribati or Tuvalu.³² However, this initiative encounters many problems, such as the lack of resources to develop teaching materials and to train teachers, or the small population and its dispersion across many islands or atolls. In most of these countries, higher education is provided by the University of the South Pacific, based in Suva (Fiji), and is conducted remotely via satellite but with poles only in the capital or main island, and there are cases in which there is not even the provision of secondary education, as in Tokelau and the Pitcairn Islands. This situation influences the migration of young people to countries such as Australia and New Zealand, who end up preferring English language instruction in secondary school to have better professional opportunities (LEE; FRANCIS, 2009; CONNELL; RAPAPORT, 2013).³³

³² In these countries, according to Unesco (2010) and Ethnologue (2017), languages are less endangered than in Melanesia, probably because they have national governments responsible for their language policies as Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu.

³³ Data from the national censuses show that around 144 thousand Samoans, 61 thousand Cookians, 60 thousand Tongans, 23 thousand Niueans (fifteen times the population of the territory), 14 thousand Fijians and seven thousand Tokelauans (five times the territory's population) live in New Zealand (2013). In Australia (2016), 61 thousand residents were born in Fiji, 24 thousand in Samoa and 10 thousand in Tonga.

The countries of the fourth group, besides these problems, are in a more complex language situation. Some of them with hundreds of local languages even have to implement a language policy that maintains the national unity, allowing the whole population to communicate in only one language, whether European or Creole, as in Vanuatu or Papua New Guinea, which chose to institute official Creole languages alongside European languages. In others, however, it is noteworthy that there is still a certain discrimination against these Creole languages, as in the Solomon Islands, which did not institute the Pijin as their official language or in Hawaii (territory of the third group), where only recently, in 2016, its linguistic census presented the Creole language as an answer option for the spoken language or even in the Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua – that still do not register in the national census this option.

As for the languages used in education, in general in these two groups, we can observe that most countries and territories, including Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Niue and Samoa, use transitional bilingualism. In these countries and territories, the child has as the language of instruction of the initial grades its first language and later it is introduced into the official European colonizer language. Often the formula is followed, with more or less emphasis on the mother tongue: mother tongue as language of instruction + allochthonous language as subject => mother tongue as language of instruction and allochthonous language as language of instruction => allochthonous language as language of instruction + mother tongue as subject. In general, such a measure would have the advantage of facilitating the acquisition of the colonizer language, thus increasing the country's international insertion in the world, but it has prevented local languages from reaching the upper echelons of the educational system, restricting them to family and religious contexts.

However, it is worth mentioning some variety or specificities of methods in bilingual education of the continent. Those countries and territories that do not adopt the transitional bilingualism system offer courses for local language in the initial grades, for example, in French Polynesia (from 2h to 2:30 per week) or in Fiji (3h to 4h per week). To overcome the difficulties presented, others implement policies and actions in a territorial manner as in Micronesia, which offers the local language according to regions of the country; in a segmented way as in Tonga, where in the capital there is a greater supply of schools with primary education in English in relation to the more distant places of the country due to the parents' interest; or politics of ethnic character as in Hawaii, that offers instruction in the Hawaiian language for the descendants of Hawaiians; or by subjects such as the Marshall Islands, which offer courses in social studies, health and art in Marshallese, and mathematics and science in English. In Palau, bilingual education varies according to the mother tongue of the teacher, and in the Northern Mariana Islands the lack of resources for bilingual education has meant that the government, since 2004, required proficiency in Chamorro or Carolinian for the conclusion of high school (LECLERC, 2018).

However, even with so many difficulties, some of the advances made mainly in *corpus* planning should be featured — even before the independence of some countries,

but especially after — aimed at equipping languages to take on more important spaces and functions. They could serve as a model for indigenous languages in Brazil with more speakers, such as tikuna, guarani kaiowá, kaingang, xavante and yanomami. Among these initiatives are the foundation of the *Kumision I Fino 'Chamorro/Chamorro* Language Commission (1964) in Guam; the institution of the Kiribati Language Board (1970) in Kiribati; the creation of the programs the Pacific Languages Development Project (1970), the Bilingual Education Teacher Training (1974) and their successors by the University of Hawai'i; the formation of the *Académie tahitienne* (1974), in French Polynesia and the Institute of Fijian Language and Culture (1986) in Fiji; the creation of the Chamorro/Carolinian Language Policy Commission (1994), in the Northern Mariana Islands; the constitution of *Faleula o fatu'aiupu o le gagana samoa/* International Samoan Language Commission (2000), in Samoa and American Samoa and of the *Te Kopapa Reo Māori/Maori* Language Commission (2003) in the Cook Islands; the institution of the Customary Law and Language Commission (2004), in the Marshall Islands; of the *Académie de langues kanak* (2007), in New Caledonia, and the constitution of the Niue Language Commission in Niue. These initiatives created government-specific offices and university programs responsible in, a greater or lesser degree, for developing and publishing bilingual dictionaries; standardizing spelling; describing the grammar; updating the lexicon; increasing the number of teachers; discussing educational programs and developing teaching materials for local indigenous languages, that is, responsible to implement the *corpus* and acquisition planning for languages of these countries (SPENCER, 1996; LECLERC, 2018).

Final considerations

In this article, we note that colonialism changed the language environment of this world region, that was even more linguistically complex before Europeans arrived, introducing distinct languages with others spellings and meanings than those already known by the indigenous peoples of Oceania. We verify, throughout the colonization of the continent, the extermination and transformation of local languages through the imposition of European languages. We observe too a process of linguistic decolonization since the 1970s, when another memory is produced about the colonized languages and also about the colonizer languages, marked in the many European-based Creole languages or in New Zealander and Australian Englishes that Holm (2000) even classifies as semi-creole.

Such situation has made the Oceanian peoples become frontier peoples — frontiers of languages, frontiers of meanings, frontiers of memories, frontiers between colonizer languages, indigenous languages and immigrant languages. However, they are not rigid borders but porous, multilingual, with many exchanges and movements, with meanings that come and go, affecting not only local languages but also European languages, even though they are restricted to the Church or the State contexts, respectively.

It should be noted, however, that in spite of the scarcity of the most varied resources, the countries and territories of the region present a relevant language policy of *status, corpus* and acquisition, guaranteeing the recognition of local languages by the State; fostering grammatical and lexical linguistic changes so they can occupy other spaces and increase the acquisition of written skills of the population in those languages. Such initiatives are therefore fundamental for is not to be reversed the extinction of languages, at least to reduce it by preserving in a sustainable way this complex and lively language environment.

BARBOSA DA SILVA, D. Política linguística na Oceania: nas fronteiras da colonização e da globalização. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 63, n.2, p.327-356, 2019.

- *RESUMO: Neste artigo, apresentamos um panorama das políticas linguísticas dos países e territórios da Oceania após análise de legislações, planos e programas de governo. Com 22,9% de todas as línguas do mundo, a grande maioria falada por poucas pessoas e ameaçada de desaparecimento, esse continente sofreu uma intensa colonização linguística marcada pela instrumentalização das línguas indígenas por missionários religiosos e pela posterior imposição da língua europeia como única permitida durante o imperialismo europeu e o americano. Tal cenário ampliou a complexa situação linguística da Oceania e impôs aos países da região muitos desafios em torno de qual língua adotar após a independência frente a muitos problemas locais, fazendo com que os oceânicos buscassem diversas soluções políticas e se tornassem povos de fronteiras, fronteiras de línguas, fronteiras de sentidos, fronteiras de memórias entre as línguas colonizadoras, as autóctones e as línguas imigrantes.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Política linguística. Oceania. Colonização linguística. Bilinguismo. Línguas em contato.*

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NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS IN THE SPEECH OF ONE BRAZILIAN AND ONE FRENCH CHILD: CASE STUDIES

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- **ABSTRACT:** This work is a longitudinal study of two children, one Brazilian and the other French. It focuses on the development of the expressions of negation in their early speech. It aims at showing that, in the beginning, gesture and vocalization are indissociable and they are provided with meaning through the other's interpretation. We call those expressions "proto-negation". The functions of the first negative particles uttered by the children are based on the socio-pragmatic classification system of negation developed by Beaupoil-Hourdel (2013). The following categories are considered: rejection/refusal; failed expectations; absence/disappearance; prohibition/command; opposition/correction; negative pleading; epistemic negation; functional negation. The results show that rejection/refusal was the first function to emerge in the speech of both children whereas absence/disappearance was rather late. The progressive complexity of the negations may be dependent on the introduction of personal pronouns in the child's utterances, and on more syntactic and lexical complexity, independently of the target language. On the other hand, actions and vocalizations by the children contribute to the delimitation of a meaningful whole, even with a rather restricted lexicon.
- **KEYWORDS:** Language Acquisition. Negation. Portuguese. French.

Introduction

This article focuses on the characteristics of expressions of negation produced by a Brazilian child and a French child from 11 to 32 months of age, in an interactional situation with their parents. The study of the development of negation is relevant due to it presenting an insightful milestone for the observation of linguistic trajectory, initially

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through gestures and vocalizations (during the first year of life) and, subsequently, through the emergence of the first verbal markers of negation (BEAUPOIL-HOURDEL; MORGENSTERN; BOUTET, 2016).

Vasconcelos (2013) and Vasconcelos and Leitão (2016) investigated the so-called *proto-opposition behaviours*, that is, actions produced by the child throughout the first year of life, such as crying and gestures, which were interpreted by adults as being opposition to wishes, desires, purposes, and commands. In their work, the characteristics of the adult and child negation displays of the Brazilian and French subjects are investigated, with a focus in the characteristics of the proto-negations. The prefix “proto” marks the precursory character of the child’s displays (gesticulatory and vocal) throughout development, which are interpreted by adults as protestations, oppositions, and negations. These are produced before the first “não/non”, between 6 and 19 months of age. With the first lexicalizations in the speech of the child, we verified the different negative displays¹ produced by the child (order of emergence, the relationship between different displays, intonation, and specific gestures). The attention to the period called *proto-linguistic*, which precedes the establishment of an initial lexicon, seeks to demonstrate that, even in this period, there are vocal modulations, that is, variations in pitch, duration, and intensity, which potentially integrate the construction of the opposing meanings in this initial phase of acquisition.

“Pre-language”

Since their birth (and even before, in the intrauterine life) babies are in constant contact with the language spoken around them, progressively developing the capacity to comprehend and subsequently reproduce this language (BOYSSON-BARDIES, 1996; NAME, 2011). In this process, adults and children mutually adjust themselves, even before the emergence of the first words, accomplishing communicative exchanges organized prosodically. Since very early on, the adult refers to the baby by using language with differentiated characteristics.

In the uterus, for example, the baby is able to pick up the sounds of their mother’s speech, and still in the first year of life, process them, differentiating between prosodic changes or the ordering of elements. (DESCASPER, *et al.*, 1994; NAME, 2011; BOYSSON-BARDIES, 1996). The precocity of prosodic processing, returning to characteristics of the maternal language, is equally affirmed in other research results (FRIEDERICI; FRIEDRICH; CHRISTOPHE, 2007; NAZZI; JUSCZYK; JOHNSON (2000), and it is presupposed that such capacity is strongly relevant to the acquisition of language in the second year of life.

From the point of view of production, while the fixation of steps restricted to chronological age is difficult to be fulfilled, the process of language development is

¹ As we will see further on, they are: rejection/refusal; unmet expectations; absence/disappearance; prohibition/command; opposition/correction; negative rogative; epistemic negation; functional negation.

commonly split into two supposedly delimited key moments: the “pre-linguistic”, characterized by reflexive vocalizations such as sighs, yawns, and crying and through the production of nasal and vowel-resembling sounds; and the “linguistic” period when the child would begin to produce the babbling referred to as “late”, which is characterized by non-systematic emission of vocalizations and basic syllables, in instances of expansion and variable prosody, and an initial lexicon, linked to morpho-syntactically configurations recognizable as such by the speech community.

This general developmental scheme ends up postulating certain discontinuities between the “pre” and “linguistic” periods, limiting the first year of life as the preliminary step in the development of language in which the child would only improve mechanisms of perception and production of speech. Yet, research points to the continuity between the babbling and the first words produced by the child (VIHMAN, 1992; BOYSSON-BARDIES; HALLÉ; SAGART; DURAND, 1989), observing the existence of a “proto-language” already in development. These works suggest that this period has been insufficiently described. This is the period that the literature considers as proto-linguistic, that which immediately precedes the linguistic phase itself (BLOOM, 1970). This is how some researchers show how nine-month-old babies are already capable of producing rhythmic and intonational characteristics of their birth language (KONOPCZYNSKI, 1990, 1991). As of the 9 month mark, the baby already reproduces the melodic configurations that are phonetically similar to interrogative, enunciative, and exclamatory phrases of its linguistic community, hence displaying a basic intonational contrast (DODANE, 2015), however this phonetic similarity does not necessarily indicate the same systematicity of the tones that characterize the child’s speech after the introduction of a primitive lexicon (SCARPA, 1988; SCARPA; FERNANDES-SVARTMAN, 2012).

Investigating specifically the emergence of negation, Dodane & Massini-Cagliari (2010) claim that prosody allows the children to position themselves in the interaction before the emergence of morphosyntactic markers of negation and that, in the moment of the emergence of these markers, it complements and supports the other linguistic levels that are still insufficiently developed. Dodane and Martel (2009) had already stated that in productions of two French younger French children - 10 to 12 months, a decrease in the syllabic duration and in the F^0 average can be observed, concluding that the child can regulate its productions since a very young age. These productions become shorter and more structured, reaching a better interface level between the prosodic and segmental levels of utterance.

The first negations produced by the child were classified according to their functions, based on a socio-pragmatic classification system, proposed by Beaupoil-Hourdel (2013), with the following categories: *Rejection/refusal*, subdivided in refusal of a person, activity, proposition, entity, interruption of an action, or continuation of an activity. *Unsatisfied expectations*, covering references to objects functioning badly or not at all, blockage of an activity, disappointment, and inability (of the child accomplishing an activity). *Absence/disappearance* - objects or people that

were previously present, habitually present, or whose presence was anticipated in a way, but are absent. *Prohibition/command* - orders and/or interjections that aim to stop or deter the child or actions with which it is engaged. *Opposition/correction* - situations of disagreement between speakers, negations used to indicate discordance or contradiction (only possible to the child when it begins to take into considerations the opinion, beliefs, and preconceptions of their speaker). *Negative Rogative* - terms with a negative connotation such as onomatopoeias and interjections such as Ew! Ugh! Jeez! *Epistemic negation* - expressions of lack of knowledge or affirmations of which there is no determined knowledge. *Functional negation* - production of a negative declaration to which a truth value can be traced, negation dependent in the interaction with a speaker, can occur as an answer to propositions, to yes/no questions, or declarations.

Through these categories we seek to, in this essay, discuss each negation function produced by the children, comparing its emergence in the speech of the Brazilian and French child, observing which negative markers and gestures are used in the construction of each function, as there are specificities in the development of these functions in both languages. On the topic of the child's productions, we initially sought to analyze characteristics of the first productions interpreted as oppositions, protests, and subsequently, as structured linguistic negations, in the period that precedes the first productions of the word "no" phonetically accomplished as such (the first negative particle produced by the child). Therefore, we are grounded in the hypothesis that, while there are no structural continuities between the earlier child's productions and their previous linguistic constructions, there is meaningful and functional anteriority between the first productions interpreted as negations and the negations which will be subsequently grammatically structured.

Vasconcelos (2017) observed how the same children observed here, after around their second year of life, make use of prosodic elements instead of only syntactic and morphological ones in the construction of negative utterances. The analysis of the children's constructions in a period for which there is evidence of more elaborate syntactic constructions, with utterances that are slightly longer, shows the mastery of complex aspects of their language. They produce, for example, intonational prominence of displaced elements and distinguish interlocked elements through distinct prosodic curves coupled with specific gestures (open hand, pointing, and others). Our objective is to analyze the resources used by children to express negation that precedes the use of morphological and syntactic markers of negation in their birth language.

Methods and Data

This study is about the longitudinal monitoring of a monolingual Brazilian child (Portuguese speaker), recorded in naturalistic situations of interactions with their family, lasting between 30 minutes to an hour, from 04 weeks to 2 years and 8 months

old. The analyses will focus on the period between 11 and 32 months, though general characteristics of the negative productions between 6 and 11 months are cited. The observed child, V., is an only child of a middle-class family from the city of Maceió-AL; aside from the target child, the participants in the study include adults that interacted with it during the observations.

Then, data of M., a monolingual French child (female) of a middle-class family from Paris-FR, were also analyzed. The data from M. were recorded monthly between 11 and 32 months of the child's life². Each registry is one hour in duration and also covers daily naturalistic situations.

Distinct aspects in the two cases such as the difference in gender and culture between the children, as well as the start date for the data registration (6 months for V. and 11 for M.) were considered; however, the analyses are not developed with the objective to directly compare the rhythm or speed of development of the two children, instead each developmental pathway is analyzed individually, especially taking into consideration the particularities of the two languages of acquisition- Portuguese and French. Comparative analysis was done longitudinally, that is, contrasting initial sections of video with the posterior sections of the same child.

In total, 43 videos were analyzed from which episodes of protonegation and negation were identified. It is noted that the first the child's productions are not considered negations as such, but it is only through adult interpretation that such productions are meaningful, structured and raised to the linguistic level, being, therefore, through them that the episodes of negation are identified.

However, the difficulty in extracting cutouts from the data remains, due to the indeterminacy of the first the child's productions; functional indeterminacy (different forms are used apparently with the same function); phonetic indeterminacy (large variation in the signal produced by the child); and indeterminacy of meaning (the same meaning can be attributed to a few different signals) (SCARPA-GEBARA, 1984). Additionally, variations in the adult's interpretations can also be observed. The adults, dealing with the undetermined range of the child's signals, engage themselves in attempts to transform these signals into signs, integrating them into the exchange of dialogues with the children. However, these attempts at initial linguistic insertion are not always organized in an explicit or consistent manner, but the interpretation of the adult can be translated into gestures and reactions that may be ambiguous and undefined. Even so, it is in the adult speech that the undetermined signals of the child find meaning, which is the reason why the situations in which the adult interprets the child's productions as negations are selected here.

All the data analyzed here were transcribed through the CLAN program, which permits the alignment between each transcribed utterance and its occurrence in video and/or audio, allowing for the visualization of the relationship between the linguistic

² The data belong to the Group COLAJE, coordinated by Dra. Aliyah Morgenstein and are available on the program CHILDES (MORGENSTEIN; PARISSE, 2012).

and extralinguistic elements. M's data have already been transcribed on the CHILDES platform in French. The data of V. were transcribed in the same way on the CLAN program through the CHILDES system- "Child language data exchange system", that standardizes rules of transcription of child language, facilitating its sharing and analysis in different languages. Each transcription contains lines that correspond to the orthographic transcription of the productions of the different speakers (*CHI for "child"; *MOT for "mother"; yyy = unintelligible sequence) and lines that refer to the other situations involved in communication (%act for the description of actions done by the adult or child; %sit for the description of the situation of the interaction). Subsequently, all the transcriptions were converted from the CLAN format to the PHON format. The PHON program (ROSE; WAUQUIER-GRAVELINES, 2007) has the objective of allowing the analysis of phonological data, facilitating systematic comparisons between the target production and the effectively produced speech from the segmental and prosodic point of view of the child, in addition to exporting audio segments to the PRAAT program for acoustic analysis.

The vocalizations were considered, as well as the child's body movements and gestures explicitly interpreted by the adults and negations. The denotation of actions, the direction of the gaze facial expressions and gestures during each opposition were done through the PHON program. The context of each production was equally described.

Initially, protestations, oppositions, and negations were described, as they were interpreted by the parents, produced by the children in the period that precedes the emergence of the first linguistically structured negations (around 16 months of age). Then, the first negations produced by the children were classified in functions, as they are described by Beaupoil-Hourdel (2013), observing if the different negative functions produced by the children display a specific order of emergence during acquisition, as well as if it is possible to relate certain negative functions to the use of intonations and/or specific gestures.

Results

Earliest children productions interpreted as negations

Approached here is V.'s period of development that covers the moments before her first structured linguistic negations. We analyzed the child's early productions that are interpreted as manifestations of discomfort, protests, oppositions, and denials made by the adults, such as crying, facial expressions, gestures, and vocalizations. The productions, while possessing undifferentiated an non-arbitrary character, being utilized in a series of indistinct situations and contexts that were not structured by the child, are interpreted by adults as expressions of the child's "wills" and "intentions" since very early, constituting, therefore, non-verbal predecessors of negative verbal constructions

in development. The prefix *proto* marks, therefore, the precursory character (functional and not structured) of these actions, interpreted and signified by adults as *negations*. This way, all of the child's productions qualified here as *negations* read as *protonegations*, unless some contrary consideration has been made.

In summary, what is said about the negations produced after six months of age, is observed in 15 episodes in which the infant's babbling was interpreted by the parents in the following manner:

- 5 productions interpreted as *inability* (situations in which V. tries to reach objects and can't), and
- 10 productions interpreted as *unmet expectations* through impeding an activity (8 situations in which the mother puts away an object with which V. played with and 2 in which her mother stops V. from placing an object in her mouth, situations in which the child reacts by moving and babbling).

Those productions are characterized by vowel repetition, notably central and anterior, that is many times confused by a child's cry. In such situations, the child's productions are similar to vowel repetition; they are accompanied by a crying expression, bodily tension and agitation, and many times lunging their body backwards. Those elements give evidence to the unstable character of these productions that do not seem to possess yet the distinct phonetic traces for the child (even though we can distinguish vowel-like sounds in their productions). Adding to this, it is possible to observe the emergence of the first multisyllabic productions, repeated in the context of babbling, though these seem to present the same undifferentiated character, without exhibiting the distinctive, phonological value of the adult.

Voice and gesture are practically inseparable in these emissions in their significant effect; both include multimodal elements that accompany the child's productions with the presence of corporeal tension, movement of the body as well as superior members and focusing on the child's gaze in the objects present in their surroundings, without focusing their gaze on the mother or father, adults with which they interact, even when they are directly in front of them.

The following illustrations are taken from videos made during this period and illustrate the elements described above. In the following episode (Episode 04), V. tries to reach a toy that his mother purposely placed outside of his field of reach, with the intention of making him crawl to reach it. Since V. seems not to be successful in obtaining the object, he extends his arms, elevating his body and neck, looking at the object and vocalizing. These actions are interpreted by his mother as protestations.

Episode 04 – V. tries to reach toys (16-06-12 / 6 months)

1. *CHI: 0.
2. %act: CHI looks at the toy and stretches his arm while leaning his body in its direction
3. *MOT: where is it son?³
4. *MOT: go!⁴
5. *CHI: 0.
6. %act: CHI looks at the toy while stretching out their arm and hitting the ground
7. *MOT: jeez!⁵
8. *CHI: yyy .
9. %act: CHI looks in the direction of another toy, moves their body in the direction of the toy and vocalizes
10. %sit: the toy CHI looks at has a drawing of a lion.
11. *MOT: where's the lion?⁶
12. *MOT: how does the lion go?⁷
13. %act: MOT imitates the roar of a lion
14. *CHI: yyy .
15. %act: CHI stretches his body and touches a toy, moving it further away
16. *MOT: yeah!⁸
17. *MOT: say I don't like this.⁹

Figure 1 – V. tries to reach toys (16-06-12 / 6 months)¹⁰



Source: Authors' elaboration.

V's mother interprets that the child is displeased with the situation (line 17), incentivizing him to try to reach the toy. It is noted the way how V's mother initiates

³ Original: *cadê filho?*

⁴ Original: *vai!*

⁵ Original: *eita!*

⁶ Original: *cadê o leão?*

⁷ Original: *como é que o leão faz?*

⁸ Original: *é!*

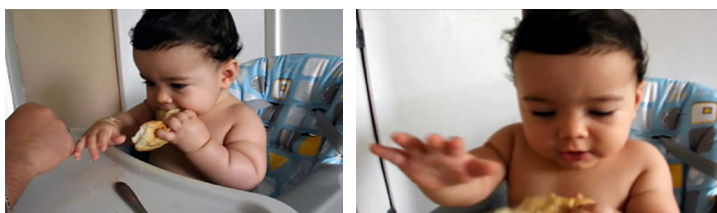
⁹ Original: *diga eu não tô(estou) gostando não disso.*

¹⁰ Illustration referring to the transcription displayed above in which it is observed how V. tries to reach an object without succeeding (two first images from the left to the right, elevating his body, focusing the gaze on the object and vocalizing (last three images).

her statement with the verb “*diga*” (=say) (line 17). In this way, she proposes to the child an alternate linguistic channel (a full utterance) to express negation, through the staging of a small dialogue between the mother (*diga*) and the child (*eu não tô(estou) gostando não disso*) (= I don’t like this), in which the point of view of both alternate in their own speech, attributing to the child a negative speech (CAVALCANTE, 1999). In this manner, undifferentiated infantile actions (vocalizations that repeat themselves in a more or less regular way in different situations) are interpreted and reinterpreted in a constant manner by the mother. This way, the functional, phonetic and semantic indeterminations of the child’s productions, ally themselves to variations in the interpretations done by the adults. These, dealing with the undetermined aspects of the child’s signals, engage themselves in attempts to transform these signals in linguistic signs.

From months 7 to 9, one observes three situations in which V. begins to make use of the differentiated voice quality (creaking) in productions interpreted by his parents as negations. Around the 7th month of life, V’s productions seem to become more complex, as his vocalizations start to present new characteristics (alterations in the voice quality) that start to differ from crying. They are accompanied by the adult interpretation, who attribute negative intent to this type of production by the child. In addition, his gestural production is also modified, as he begins to act in a more particularized way and adapts to each situation. In this episode, for example, when V’s father tries to take the piece of bread from his hands, V. yanks the bread with his two hands removing it from his mouth and moving it further away from the father, in a reaction that displays direction and intention directly opposed to that of the father.

Figure 2 – V. vocalizes and holds the bread¹¹



Source: Authors’ Elaboration.

In such situations, the child reacts in an integrated way, synchronizing vocal production (creaking voice), action (distancing the object while simultaneously distancing the adult’s hand) and the direction of the gaze (alternating his look between the object and the adult), in a complex production interpreted as negation.

¹¹ In the first image (from the left to the right) V. vocalizes and holds the bread with the left hand, at the same time he tries to distance the father’s hand with his right hand. Similarly, in the second image, V. uses one of his hands to hold the bread and with the other one distances the mother’s hand.

In relation to M.'s data, since her records began later, compared to those of V., only two videos cover this period, one done at 10 and the other at 11 months of age.

Episode 10 – M. tries to climb the stairs (20-02-06/ 10 months)

1. *CHI: 0.
2. %act: CHI crawls in the direction of the stairs.
3. *CHI: dada
4. %act: CHI crawls in the direction of the stairs.
5. %obs: MOT talks to the observer about one of the child's toys.
6. *CHI: 0.
7. %act: CHI stops with one hand in the step of the stairs, leaning on it and looks at the Observer
8. *CHI: da # baba dada.
9. %act: CHI looks forward again, begins climbing the stairs
10. *MOT: Madeleine Madeleine
11. *OBS: climb the stairs¹²
12. *CHI: 0.
13. %act: stops climbing the stairs, looks at her mother.
14. *MOT: no¹³
15. %act: MOT makes a gesture of negation with her head
16. *CHI: 0.
17. %act: Looks forward, begins climbing the stairs
18. *MOT: there, we come down¹⁴
19. *OBS: It works like a toboggan at the same time, it's good¹⁵
20. CHI: 0.
21. %act: continues climbing the stairs, climbs the first step, but stops and turns back around to the mother
22. *MOT: [=! laughter] She spends all her time climbing and going back down¹⁶
23. %act: looking at OBS.
24. *MOT: No # we come down¹⁷
25. %act: makes a gesture of negations with her head
26. *CHI: 0.
27. %act: CHI climbs down the stairs.

M's mother attempts to attract the attention of the child by calling her name twice, using a rising intonation (line 10). M. then turns around and looks at the mother (line 13).

¹² Original: monter les escaliers.

¹³ Original: non

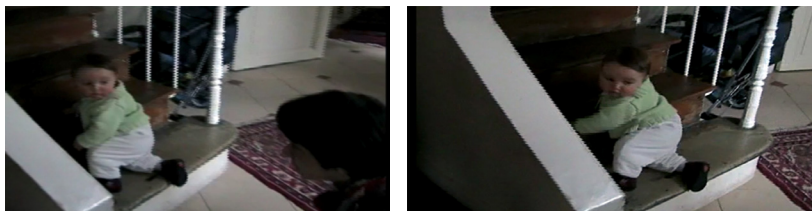
¹⁴ Original: non # voilà on descend

¹⁵ Original: ça fait toboggan au même temps #c'est bien

¹⁶ Original: elle passe tout le temps à monter et à descendre

¹⁷ Original: Non # on descend

Figure 3 – M. tries to climb the stairs (20-02-06/ 10 months)¹⁸



Source: Authors' elaboration.

The child's mother states "non" (=no) with a flat intonation and makes the gesture of negations with her head (line 14), then repeats the word "non" (line 18). M. reacts by climbing down the stairs, as if understanding the mother's negation (line 17).

Afterwards, M. goes back to climbing the stairs, but interrupts the action, turns around and looks at her mother again, as she had done previously, even though her mother had not called her. In this moment, M. seemed to anticipate her mother's opposition already at 11 months old interrupting her action and waiting for her mother's reaction (Line 21), who effectively states "non" again making the gesture of negation with her head (Line 24). M. then climbs down the stairs (Line 28).

The child's mother interprets that she already understands that she should not climb the stairs, hence repeating the action of trying to go up and down the first step several times a day, according to her account. The child does indeed seem to anticipate her mother's opposition, interrupting her action and looking to her, before the negation.

On the topic of M.'s productions, it can be observed how the child does little actions that are interpreted as negations, such as, for example, pulling at a book and removing it from her mother's hands. In the following episode, the child's mother tries flipping through and showing the book, while M. tries to recover it.

Episode 11 – M. tries to recover the book that her mother holds (20-02-06/ 11 months)

*MOT: look, this is yellow # yellow¹⁹

%act: opens the book in front of CHI and shows the yellow image

*CHI: 0.

%act: with her left hand she pulls the book, trying to take it from her mother, but she does not let go

*MOT: a blue pan²⁰

%act: turns the book's page and shows the blue image

*CHI: 0.

%act: pulls the book again with the left hand and removes it from her mother's hand

¹⁸ To the right, M. turns around and looks to her mother who just called her attention. On the left, M. climbs the stairs for the second time, but stops and looks at her mother.

¹⁹ Original: *oh ça c'est jaune #jaune*

²⁰ Original: *une casserole bleu*

Figure 4 – M. pulls the book away from her mother



Source: Authors' elaboration.

In the same way as was described in V's similar situation, when the parents attempt to remove a piece of bread from the child, here it is also possible to interpret that M's gesture production becomes more complex, since the child acts in a particular way and her actions adapt to the situations, by pulling the object at the same time as trying to push away her mother's hand, in a reaction that displays direction and intention directly opposed to the mother's. During this period M., occupies the active role in the interaction, by making use of actions to display negation.

V and M's productions from 6 to 16 months, considered here as manifestations of discomfort, protests, and oppositions, are initially characterized by babbling and generic actions. While they do not yet possess a specialized function, not being even necessarily directed at the parents, said manifestations are, therefore, systematically interpreted as the parents as 'the child's complaints and oppositions'. We name said productions "protonegations", consisting of an initial part of the negative productions in development. Throughout the period analyzed here, those productions change due to the addition of distinct vocal quality and gestural productions that are more particularized and adapted to each situation. It is noted that still in the initial moments of the process of language acquisition, how these children begin to coordinate verbal and nonverbal actions, which makes the productions more understandable to the adult. This observation corroborates the affirmations made by Balog and Bretanti (2008), which state that children already coordinate their verbal and nonverbal productions in the temporal and directional levels in the period of one word's production.

It is possible, therefore, to affirm that even though M's data are reduced when compared to V.'s during the first year of life, through them it is possible to corroborate observations conducted with V. The analyses stress common points such as the observation that around the end of the first year of life, the two children make use of gestures that are more particularized and adapted to each situation, synchronizing vocal and gestural productions. For example, it is seen how both M. and V. start pulling objects to distance them from the adults or distancing the hand of the adult away from objects, in actions that display direction and intent directly opposed from those of the adult, sometimes accompanied by vocalizations and interpreted as negations. In this manner, they begin to occupy the more active role in the interaction, acting and not just reacting to the parents. Around this period, both families seem to also interpret that the children begin to comprehend negations and prohibitions formulated by the adults.

In this section, the objective is to classify the negative verbal and gestural productions done by the children according to their functions, as classified by Beaupoil-Hourdel, Morgenstern & Boutet (2016). Through this classification, it can be observed how the majority of V.'s productions are classified as *rejection/refusal* (40 productions), situations in which the parents interpreted that V. rejects a proposition such as showering or lending a toy, for example. V.'s rejections were produced primarily through the word 'nãõ' (=no) or approximations of this word such as 'ã' and 'nã'. Only after 29 months of age did the functions of V.'s negative productions begin to diversify themselves, and *pposition/correction* (14), *prohibition/command* (3), *epistemic negations* (3) and *absence/disappearance* (1) are recorded. The following is a summary of V.'s productions:

Table 1 – Summary of the functional and prosodic categorizations of V.'s negative productions

Production (quantity)	Function
Variations of sounds close to 'nãõ' (=no) (28) Nãõ (8) "grunt" (3) Esse nãõ (=Not this one) (1)	Rejection/ Refusal
Nãõ nãõ (=no no)(5) a nãõ (=oh no) nenê foi nãõ (em)bora (=baby didn't go away) um nãõ nãõ mamãe (=a no no mommy) nãõ nãõ nãõ vô parece um um um pinóquio nãõ (=no no no am not gonna look like a a a pinocchio no) nãõ nãõ vou nãõ (=no no I'm not going) nãõ cai nãõ cai nãõ (=doesn't fall doesn't fall no) a mamãe a mamãe fez ti ti ti ti ti amo nãõ (=mommy mommy didn't do love you you you you you) nãõ nãõ fez ti ti ti amo ta mim nãõ (=no didn't make love you you you at me no) nãõ fez ta mim (=didn't do at me)	Opposition/ correction
Num sei (=don't know) A num sei mamãe (=a don't know mommy) Sei mamãe (=know mommy)	Epistemic negation
Assim nãõ (2) (=not like this (2)) É nãõ abi a boca (=Yeah don't open the mouth)	Prohibition/ command
Sem a vaquinha (=without the little cow)	Absence/ disappearance

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Table 2 – Summary of V.’s negative productions by month starting at 11 months²¹

Month (total negations)	Negative functions (quantity)
14 months (3)	Rejection/ Refusal (3)
15 months (13)	Rejection/ Refusal (13)
16 months (18)	Rejection/ Refusal (18)
19 months (3)	Rejection/ Refusal (3)
29 months (9)	Rejection/Refusal(3), Opposition/correction(2), Absence/disappearance (1), Epistemic negation (3)
30 months (3)	Prohibition/ command (3)
31 months (10)	Opposition/correction (10)
32 months (2)	Opposition/correction (2)

Source: Authors’ elaboration.

In general, V.’s negations in this period are initially used to reject and oppose parental actions and propositions; therefore, afterwards (after 29 months of age), the child starts to produce *epistemic*, *functional*, and *absence/disappearance* negations, producing, therefore, negative *propositions* and not only *reacting* to the parent’s propositions. During this period, the child performs findings of themselves and their lack of knowledge (epistemic negation) and findings of the absence of objects in their surroundings (absence/disappearance). These child’s negations are therefore observed not only through its linguistic complexifications but also through the development of the utilized negative functions, which transition from *reactions* to parental actions to negative *propositions*. Leitão and Vasconcelos (2016) arrived at similar results through the analysis of child oppositions, concluding that there are displacements in the discursive locations attributed to the child, who stops positioning themselves only as an opposer, to also occupy a proponent location in the interactions, acting towards the environment through a ‘personal point of view’. During this period, the child not only reacts according to the situations created by the parents but also takes initiative to act, mobilizing aspects of the environment in often negative propositions.

Regarding the productions of the French child, a large number of negations can be observed. For this work, 462 negations of M. were considered, highlighting that this elevated number is also a consequence of the quantity and size of the French videos, that exceed the Brazilian ones.

Large part of M.’s negations are rejection/refusal (115 negations), which also is the most frequent function produced by the Brazilian child, followed by unsatisfied expectations (inability/failure) (86), *opposition/correction* (77), *functional negation*

²¹ Note that there were months when any occurrences of negation were recorded, hence they are absent from the Table. Only the explicitly negative ones are registered here.

(74), *epistemic negations* (65), *absence/disappearance* (29), *prohibition/command* (14), and *negative rogative* (2). It can be observed, in this way, a large variation in the negative functions utilized by the child. The following table presents a summary of M.'s productions:

Table 3 – Summary of the functional and prosodic categorization of M.'s negative productions

Production (quantity)	Function
No (71) Statements with no (18) Statements without no (16) No in repetition (10)	Rejection/ Refusal
Statements without no (59) No (21) Statements with no (5) No in repetition (1)	Unmet Expectations
No (30) Statements without no (24) Statements with no (21) No in repetition (2)	Opposition/ correction
No (42) Statements without no (31) Statements with no (1)	Functional negation
Statements (56) No (9)	Epistemic negation
Statements (25) No (4)	Absence/ disappearance
Statements (11) No (3)	Prohibition/ command
Berk Euh euh	Negative Rogative

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Here follows the table summarizing M.'s negative functions produced per month:

Table 4 – Summary of M.'s negative productions per month²²

Month (total of negations)	Negative functions (quantity)
16 months (2)	Rejection/refusal (2)
19 months (17)	Rejection/refusal (9), Absence/disappearance (4), Unmet expectations (3), Epistemic negation (1)
21 months (2)	Rejection/refusal (2)
22 months (24)	Rejection/refusal (16), Opposition/correction (3), Absence/disappearance (3), Unmet expectations (2)
23 months (16)	Rejection/refusal (14), Unmet expectations (1), Opposition/correction (1)
25 months (55)	Opposition/correction (14), Absence/disappearance (14), Rejection/refusal (12), Unmet expectations (8), Functional negation (7)
26 months (18)	Unmet expectations (6), Functional negation (3), Epistemic negation (3), Rejection/refusal (3), Opposition/correction (3)
27 months (46)	Functional negation (13), Opposition/correction (11), Epistemic negation (7), Unmet expectations (6), Rejection/refusal (5), Absence/disappearance (2), Prohibition/command (1)
28 months (56)	Functional negation (20), Epistemic negation (19), Prohibition/command (6), Rejection/refusal (5), Opposition/correction (5), Absence/disappearance (1)
29 months (82)	Unmet expectations (42), Functional negation (14), Rejection/refusal (11), Opposition/correction (6), Epistemic negation (4), Prohibition/command (2), Absence/disappearance (2), Negative rogative (1)
30 months (42)	Epistemic negation (15), Rejection/refusal (13), Unmet expectations (7), Opposition/correction (6), Functional negation (3)
31 months (71)	Opposition/correction (23), Epistemic negation (13), Functional negation (12), Unmet expectations (9), Rejection/refusal (6), Prohibition/command (5), Absence/disappearance (3)
32 months (29)	Rejection/refusal (16), Opposition/correction (5), Epistemic negation (3), Unmet expectations (2), Functional negation (2), Negative rogative (1)

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Observing the two child's productions (Brazilian and French), we can conclude that, independently of the language, a *rejection/refusal* function is the first to be expressed, as was also observed by classic studies about typology and acquisition of negation (BLOOM, 1970; PEA, 1980). In a way, this conclusion is expected when considering that functions such as *absence/disappearance*, for example, many times require complex

²² Note some absence in this Table. There were months when no occurrences of negation were recorded, hence they are absent from the Table. Only the explicit ones are registered here.

syntactic structures in sentences with more than one word to be expressed, while the rejection is frequently produced through simple gestures and linguistic markers such as “no”. According to Pea (1980), the rejection can be observed in a nonverbal way since 8 months of age.

In the data analyzed here, the rejection is initially expressed by the French child through simple markers such as ‘non’. The negation marker ‘pas’ arises in the expression of negation after 23 months in statements such as “*non pas avec (bro)colis*” (= not with the broccoli) when the child rejects food offered by the mother. More complex expressions such as “*je veux pas*” (= I don’t want) arise at 25 months, with the utilization of the personal pronoun *je* (=I). It is noted that it is at exactly 25 months that the personal pronoun *je* emerges in M.’s productions and the use of the pronoun *moi* reaches its peak (93 productions), as related by Dodane & Massini-Cagliari (2010), contributing to the development of negation, permitting the child to position themselves in the interaction and build their point of view.

For the Brazilian child, the expression of rejection also begins with the productions that approximate to *não* such as ‘*na*’ and ‘*ã*’ and the ‘*não*’, which is phonetically produced at 16 months. V.’s negation expression complexifies at 29 months with the statement ‘*esse não*’ (=not this one) when the child utilizes the demonstrative pronoun *esse* to refer to the specific object that it rejects (in this case a toy offered by the mother). The usage of the personal pronouns in V.’s registered negations is observed more belatedly, at 29 months, when the child states “*a num sei mamãe*” (= oh I don’t know mommy) using the vowel ‘a’ as a filler that substitutes the personal pronoun ‘eu’.

The function *absence/disappearance* is only expressed once by the Brazilian child during the observed period, and it is extremely belated²³: it relates to the expression “*sem a vaquinha*” (=without the little cow) at 29 months, when V. searches for the toy cow without finding it. At this point, the child utilizes lexico-syntactic resources in a more complex statement than those used in *rejection/refusal*.

In French, the absence is expressed through simple markers such as “*non*” and more complex expressions such as ‘*a plus*’ in “*y a plus p(l)us poussin*” (there are no more chicks) when M. searches for toy chick at 19 months. They are still very formulaic expressions, that is, there is strong evidence of more sophisticated syntactic elaboration. Afterwards, the child utilizes expressions with the marker ‘pas’ (*Il y a pas - y a pas toboggan* – there is no toboggan, at only 25 months) and combinations with other lexical items ‘*y en a pas*’ and ‘*y a plus*’ (there is none, there is no more). Even though she is capable of intense usage, vocally and gesticularly, connected to the rejection/refusal function, only later does the child use lexical and morphosyntactic resources of the mother tongue to express said function.

²³ Differently to others subjects whose speech was analysed in researches about Brazilian Portuguese., such as De Lemos (1987) with the pair *ó/ bô* (= look/ gone) for appearance/ absence arising pretty early in the child’s speech.

The expression of the *unmet expectations* function did not occur in the accounts in Portuguese. In French, it was initially expressed through the marker ‘non’, that was often used when the child could not complete an action. *Epistemic negations* arise in the Brazilian child’s productions at 29 months through the expressions ‘*num sei*’ and ‘*a num sei mamãe*’ (=I don’t know, I don’t know mommy)²⁴.

In M.’s data, we initially observed the statement “*sais pas*” as a way of expressing the epistemic negation at 19 months of age. The absence of the personal pronoun *je* and the negation marker ‘ne’ in the sentence is noteworthy. However, it is emphasized that in currently spoken French, the particle *ne* is already omitted; that is, the negation in French is in the process of a linguistic change (ASHBY, 2001). M. seems to be sensitive to this change, because at 27 months she produces statements such as “*moi je sais pas chanter*” (I don’t know how to sing) adding the predicate which specifies that which she affirms ‘not to know’. At 28 months she produces epistemic negations about the lack of knowledge of third parties, in this case of her younger brother with only a few months of age - *Comme i(l) sait pas encore parler* (as he still does not know how to talk). In this way, she creates suppositions and affirmations about third parties and not just about herself.

On the topic of the *prohibition/command* function, it arises in the Brazilian child’s productions when V. repeats prohibitions stated by his uncle “*é não abi a boca*” e “*assim não*” (=don’t open the mouth, not like this) at 30 months. In M.’s data, the prohibitions are largely produced using the particle ‘pas’ - ‘*pas là faut me faire au photo*’ (not here can’t take my photo) at 28 months when she prohibits the observer to film in the street. In Portuguese, the *opposition/correction* is largely produced through the marker ‘não’ (alone or repeated), as well as complex statements that seek to negate in an explicit way the element affirmed by the mother. For example, at 29 months, V. produces the negation “*nenê foi não (em)bora*” (=baby did not go away) after the mother affirms that the child’s pacifier had ‘gone away’. In M.’s productions, the opposition is also expressed by the marker “non”. Afterwards, the child introduces the ‘pas’ also opposing an adult’s affirmations, such as, for example, “*i(l) dort pas*” (= he is not sleeping), produced by the child at 25 months in opposition to the observer’s affirmation that the teddy bear was sleeping.

Finally, the *functional negation* function was not observed in the data registered of the Brazilian child. In M.’s data, this function was largely produced through the marker ‘non’ in reply to the mother’s yes or no questions.

In general, similarities in the development of the two child’s productions can be observed, such as, for example, the progressive complexification of the negations produced through the inclusion of personal pronouns in their sentences, as well as through the introduction of variations in the negative particles used. On the topic of utilized functions, the introduction of the *rejection/refusal* as the first function produced

²⁴ Ramos (2006) two forms, one “full” (não), the other “reduced” (num) of the negative marker. The latter one is known as “weak” or “reduced” because it does not occur in final position of sentences, but only in pre-verbal or with quantifiers such as “nobody or “nothing” in the same sentence

by the two children and the development of the negative functions used can also be observed, which pass from *reactions* to parental actions to negative *propositions* in the two cases (VASCONCELOS; LEITÃO, 2016).

Final Considerations

Through the study of development of negation in the speech of the subjects, we strived to better understand questions concerning the constitution of the period referred to as *pre-linguistic* of development, that precedes the establishment of initial lexicon, as well as to understand how the negation functions emerge and become more complex and specialized, even in the face of an extremely restricted lexicon.

In this period, multimodal elements accompany the child's productions such as, for example, presence of a certain corporeal tension, movement of the body and superior limbs and focusing of the child's gaze in the objects present in the surroundings (object with which it plays, object that it tries to reach, or object that it tries to bring to its mouth), without focusing its gaze in the adult with which it interacts even when they are directly in front of the child. The first of the child's productions that are identified as protests, at around 6 months, are characterized by babbling. Said productions are similar to vowels in repetition (/a/), followed by expressions of crying, corporeal tensions, and agitation and, though they often present unstable and unstructured character, are frequently interpreted by the adults as expressions of infantile "wishes" and "intentions".

The gestural and vocal production of the child modifies itself. The gestures become more complex, seen as the child begins to act directly towards objects that are the focus of their attention (pulling or pushing objects, for example), as well as directly over adults (for example, pushing away the hand of the mother or father in situations of rejection), in reactions that present direction and intention directly in opposition to the adult, acting, therefore, in a more specialized way adapted to the situations.

Early vocalizations begin to present new characteristics that differentiate from crying, such as the use of different tonal qualities (such as the creaking voice used by the Brazilian child) and other elements such as syllabic repetition. In the long run, it was observed how the children began to synchronize vocal production (crying, yelling, creaking voice), action (pushing objects, distancing from parents) and direction of gaze (alternating between object and adult) in productions interpreted as negations. These observations seem to corroborate the work done by Balog and Brentari (2008), showing how still in initial moments of the process of language acquisition, the children begin to coordinate verbal and non-verbal actions, making their productions more directly comprehensible. It can be concluded, in this way, how a child's actions and vocalizations aid in the creation of a significant whole and at the start of the structuring that indicates the bridge between sound and meaning.

In this way, the analyses done here touch specifically in the theme of linguistic continuity/discontinuity, as was formulated by Jakobson and discussed by Scarpa (2005).

Through the data observed here, while it is not possible to affirm the existence of structural continuity between the first child's productions and its posterior linguistic constructions, there is functions and significative anteriority between the first productions interpreted as negations, and the negations that are grammatically structured afterwards. This anteriority seems to be constructed by the adult interpretation that attributes meaning and symbolic functions to the child's productions through linguistic elements. When the mother differentiated, for example, what she characterizes as "crying"-produced in the rhythmic and lasting way, from the whimper- like crying but presenting less height and duration, with subtle elevations and discontinued rhythm. This distinction bases itself in prosodic criteria of rhythm and duration, as pointed out by Vasconcelos & Leitão (2016), Freitas (2012) and Cavalcante (1999), attributing symbolic function to crying, in that it systematizes linguistic criteria of distinction and valorization, producing meaning through it. In this way, the adult already attributes symbolic function through the linguistic criteria to the first of the child's productions. This process promotes significative impact in the child's development, leading us to question the strict separation between the *pre-/proto-linguistic* and *linguistic* periods, as well as the comprehension of extralinguistic elements as "non-linguistic", seeing as these participate in the process of insertion of the speaker, via motherly dialects, in language.

NUNES DE VASCONCELOS, A.; SCARPA, E.; DODANE, C. Expressões negativas na fala de uma criança brasileira e uma criança francesa: estudo de casos. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 63, n.2, p.357-379, 2019.

- *RESUMO: O trabalho é um estudo longitudinal de duas crianças, uma brasileira e uma francesa, e focaliza o desenvolvimento das expressões de negação na fala das duas. Objetiva mostrar que, no início, nas instâncias a que chamamos de "protonegações", marcadas por gesto e vocalização, são indissociáveis e assumem sentido na interpretação do outro. As funções das primeiras partículas negativas produzidas pela criança foram construídas a partir do sistema de classificação sócio pragmática das negações desenvolvido por Beaupoil-Hourdel (2013). As seguintes categorias são consideradas: rejeição/recusa; expectativas insatisfeitas; ausência/desaparição; proibição/ comando; oposição/correção; rogativa negativa; negação epistêmica; negação funcional. Os resultados mostram que a rejeição/recusa é a primeira função a emergir na fala de ambas as crianças, ao passo que a ausência/desaparição é mais tardia. A complexificação progressiva das negações produzidas pelas duas crianças podem depender da inclusão de pronomes pessoais em seus enunciados, bem como da introdução de variações nas partículas negativas utilizadas. Por outro lado, ações e vocalizações infantis auxiliam na delimitação de um todo significativo, mesmo com um léxico bastante restrito.*
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Aquisição da linguagem. Negação. Prosódia. Português. Francês.*

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REVISITING THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY TO FOSTER ITS APPLICABILITY TO TELECOLLABORATION

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- **ABSTRACT:** The aim of this article is to discuss the concept of community in multimodal contexts of telecollaborative projects, specifically the one named teletandem (TELLES, 2006). Discourse communities (DC) are groupings of individuals who get together in order to achieve their communicative purposes through genres (SWALES, 1990). Although the concept has been extensively discussed in academic settings, there seems to be a lack of studies involving the theme and its importance for telecollaboration. One attempt in doing so is Silva's (2012) account of the teletandem community (TC), in which she investigates students who participate in the project Teletandem Brasil Foreign Languages for All (*Teletandem Brasil: Língua Estrangeira para Todos*). Our starting point is her criteria for defining TC and our analysis derives from our intense and attentive observation of teletandem practice at teletandem laboratory at UNESP – São José do Rio Preto. The results indicate that members of communities that are occasionally gathered in telecollaboration contexts tend to be governed by local and external rules, form complex organizations and share genres to achieve their goals.
- **KEYWORDS:** Telecollaboration. Discourse Community. Teletandem Community. Genres.

Introduction

The advance of digital technology tools for information and communication has enabled the contact among people from different languages and cultures who would probably not get the chance to be in touch with one another given the geographical distance. Such development has allowed the use of synchronous communication tools for pedagogical purposes as well, culminating in the creation of telecollaborative projects, defined by O'Dowd (2013) as projects that promote intercultural interaction among language students who are located in different places.

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Among the telecollaborative initiatives for foreign language learning around the world, in Brazil, the project *Teletandem Brasil: Foreign Languages for All* (TELLES, 2006), carried out since 2006 at São Paulo State University (UNESP), promotes the contact between Brazilian university students learning a foreign language and university students abroad who are studying Portuguese. These students meet weekly via synchronous communicative tools to help each other learn their native language (or language of proficiency).

The development of this project has led to the formation of groups of people engaged in the teletandem practice in São José do Rio Preto campus, where the integrated modality takes place. This modality includes the participants themselves, who want to develop their language skills; their professors, who might be interested in incorporating teletandem practice into their language classes; and researchers, who may find a rich field for research, which may be investigated under multiple theoretical perspectives (ARANHA; CAVALARI, 2014).

Given the fact that there are many individuals involved in teletandem practice who seem to work towards common goals (practicing languages, improving pedagogical opportunities, exchanging cultures and researching), they are likely to form a discourse community on Swales's (2016) terms, since they use genres to accomplish their communicative purposes. Silva (2012) has already investigated participants in teletandem in order to verify whether they would form a community or not. However, the author only considered the participation of students and did not take into account the role of professors and researchers in the context. On that account, Rampazzo (2017) has already argued for a revision of Silva's (2012) findings so that the concept of teletandem community proposed by Silva would still be valid to describe what happens in this context nowadays among the people involved in the practice.

Our aim here is to discuss the concept of discourse community in multimodal, multicultural and telecollaborative contexts, specifically the one named teletandem. We believe that the relevance of such inquiry lies on the fact that the notion of belonging or not (LEVY, 1999) to a community may help determine success or failure of an individual in the achievement of their goals (ARANHA; TELLES, 2011) and also result in the acculturation of older members' behavior. Moreover, there seems to be lack of studies that relate the concept of communities and telecollaboration.

We first present a theoretical review of the concept of discourse community on Swales terms (1990, 1998, 2016) and the criteria for teletandem community proposed by Silva (2012), who incorporated discussions from Swales (1990), Wenger (1998) and Levy (1999). We then introduce the methods used in this study and give more details on the context under investigation. This is followed by our analysis and, lastly, the discussion.

Theoretical Framework

The concept of discourse community (DC) dates from Swales (1990). At first, it appeared associated to two other concepts: genre and language-learning task. While most studies based on a socio-rhetorical perspective of genres have not focused on the latter, discourse community cannot be defined without being related to the former, because it develops and uses genres for their own purposes (SWALES, 1990).

Swales (1990) presents genres as communicative events used by a group of individuals – the discourse community –, who come together in order to achieve public and shared communicative purposes. His definition establishes that genres result from the needs of a community, that is, its members create standard discursive structures as a response to the demands of task completion and to the need to fulfil communicative purposes.

Regarding the definition of genre, Miller (1984) emphasizes genres shape social action, and help building the substance of our cultural life, a characteristic also pointed out by Swales (1990), who argues that genres offer possibilities and constraints in their structure, content and style. In 2004, Swales adds genres shape how people interact and provide rules that make one reflect on what is socially and rhetorically appropriate in certain social situations.

Based on the above, we may say that genres fulfill the needs of a discourse community and organize its actions. Still on this inextricable connection, Aranha (1996, p.21, our translation) states that

[...] a genre is formed within a discourse community and the community is responsible for it. We could suggest there is a self-feeding process: the discourse community generates certain genres and the existence of specific genres turns social groups into discourse communities because of the communicative purposes their members share, which are achieved by the use of genres that are relevant to the community.¹

In this way, we can argue that genres do not exist if there is not a community to make use of them and vice versa: if genres are not found in a community, it cannot be validated as such.

Concerning the discourse community (DC) characterization, Swales (1990) presents some criteria that would validate a group as a DC. However, as Hemais and Biasi-Rodrigues (2005) affirm, Swales's 1990 definition is not enough to analyse the process of group formation once it is useful only to validate well-established communities. Swales himself (1993) also admits the concept, as initially proposed, could not be

¹ In the original: “[...] o gênero se estabelece dentro de uma comunidade discursiva e ela se torna responsável por ele. Poderíamos sugerir que existe um processo de autoalimentação: a comunidade discursiva desenvolve determinados gêneros e a existência de gêneros específicos configura grupos sociais como comunidades discursivas por compartilharem propósitos comunicativos efetivados através dos gêneros pertinentes a ela.” (ARANHA, 1996, p. 21).

easily found in the real world. In 1998, he agrees with criticisms which suggested the concept was utopic and idealistic. Moreover, in 2016, the author states that the first definition was too static for it did not address how people would either join or leave communities. He mentions:

[...] the concept of discourse community as originally conceived was overly static. While this perhaps did not matter so much in 1990, in today's more unsettled and uncertain world, it looms larger as a problem; in particular, the concept did not firmly or directly address how people either join or leave DCs (SWALES, 2016, p. 11).

Because of the many arguments against the static initial description of the concept, Swales (1998) proposes new criteria to verify if a grouping of individuals could be described as a DC. The criteria should be exhaustive enough to distinguish groupings which hold the community status from those that do not. The author presents a textography of the three floors of a building in University of Michigan, when he comes up with the concepts of *place discourse community* and *focal discourse community*. In 1998, he focused on the former concept, but returns to discuss focal discourse community in an article recently published (SWALES, 2016).

The *place discourse community* is defined as a concept neither too vague nor too restricted. In other words, it is a definition that intends not to be unstable and confusing to be used to describe any grouping of people, nor overly perfectionist to restrict the groups that could be classified as a DC. Swales proposes the concept to describe a group of people who regularly work together and explains that its members are aware of their roles, their goals, and develop oral and written genres in order to achieve their communicative purposes. The author also states the genres have rhetoric and discursive characteristics of their own, which can be recognized by older members and work as a system to validate community actions from the outside. Another aspect of a place discourse community is the creation of a specific lexicon and a value system of what could be considered good (or bad) work. Furthermore, a place discourse community is conscious of its history and tries to communicate its tradition to new members so that they know how to appropriately participate in its discursive practices.

After almost twenty years from the author's last discussion on the topic (SWALES, 1998), in 2016 he explores three types of discourse communities and then reflects on the original criteria from the 90's, updating them and adding two others. The first type is the local discourse community, which bears a lot of similarities with the concept of place discourse community from 1998. Swales (2016) states the members of such community either work at the same place or have the same occupation in the same area; have developed a terminology not used or understood by the general public; and have its new members go through a kind of trial period, when they try to assimilate older members' behaviors.

The second type is the focal discourse community, already mentioned in 1998, which is treated as an association not restricted to a region as its members may come from different nationalities, ages, occupations, economic circumstances and educational backgrounds. The focal discourse community, says the author, may be informal or formal, but develops a set of rules. Focal discourse communities may come together either because of their focus on recreational preferences or because of professional reasons.

The third type, the “folocal” discourse community, means a hybrid community, having characteristics of both previous types. Swales (2016) proposes the members of the folocal DC have double allegiance and are confronted by internal and external pressures. In other words, these members have double commitments because they are dedicated to both local and external matters; they need to observe both local and focal demands.

Considering the existence of different types of discourse communities and the problems that the original definition posed, Swales presents in 2016 a reconsideration of the criteria for defining and recognizing discourse communities. He argues that: (1) a DC has a set of goals, which may be discoverable, publicly formulated, and recognized by its members; (2) a DC has mechanisms of intercommunication and has new digital technologies as an ally in this matter; (3) a DC uses its participatory mechanisms not only to provide feedback, but also to manage operations, promote recruitment, change, and growth; (4) a DC uses a selection of genres that are evolving as they are performed and re-performed; (5) a DC has developed specific terminology, which helps promoting efficiency; (6) there is an explicit or implicit hierarchy within a DC which manages the process of entry and progress, so some members have a degree of discursal expertise; (7) a DC develops a sense of “silential relations”, which means there are things in a community that do not need to be said or explained in detail; (8) a DC has a sense of its history and a value system for what is to be considered good or bad work.

The discourse community discussion proposed by Swales along the years has focused on the academic level and the research genres that are used in this context. As telecollaborative contexts are concerned, there are still few works that reflect on the concept or use it to explain relationships among their members. Darhower (2007) conducts a study on a telecollaboration project called “Bilingual Chat Community”, in which English and Spanish speakers interact via chat. He argues telecollaborations are by nature virtual learning communities and tries to identify the linguistic and social behaviors that define the process of forming a community and becoming full participants/members of it. Working with the definition of community of practice (LAVE; WENGER, 1991), the author defends that learners would ideally develop the ability to communicate in the language of the community and act according to its rules.

In this respect, we could argue that learning how a community works and how its members get things done is essential for novices to be successful in their endeavor of

becoming full members of a community. With reference to success, Aranha and Telles (2011), who present one of the first studies related to genres in teletandem, believe that sharing communicative purposes is vitally important for the non-integrated partnerships to be successful, that is, for them to last longer. The authors state the variety of texts produced in teletandem environment might be genres and if these are not shared by the participants, an interruption of the partnership might occur. On that account, we could suggest their arguments indicate a possible formation of a community in teletandem context since one of the criteria proposed by Swales (1990, 1998, 2016) to validate a community is the fact that participants share the same or similar purposes.

Silva (2012) investigates whether the grouping of students who took part in the project Teletandem Brasil had the characteristics of a community – the teletandem community, based on the concepts of discourse community (SWALES, 1990), community of practice (CP) (WENGER, 1998) and virtual community (VC) (LEVY, 1999). According to the author, no definition by itself seemed to work to describe students' association in teletandem. The author explains that in all three definitions, the members of the communities: (i) share common purposes; (ii) have intercommunication mechanisms; (iii) are not restricted to geographical barriers; (iv) share relations of exchange, reciprocity and feel they belong to the group; and (v) share a set of rules. The three concepts differ in that the DC is situated in the discourse level and its members share genres in order to achieve their goals, whereas the CP is situated in the practice level and its members work together in order to improve their practice. Moreover, members of a CP tend to contact each other directly and members of the VC always contact each other virtually. Both in CP and DC, members may navigate in physical and virtual contexts.

Based on the similarities and differences among the three concepts of community, Silva (2012) creates six criteria to identify the teletandem community (TC):

1. A teletandem community is formed because of similar interests, common goals, and because the members share the same knowledge and practice;
2. The interactions among its members occur frequently and are based on a process of cooperation or exchange (reciprocity) (feedback), working for building knowledge and generating a feeling of belonging;
3. The members of a teletandem community do not have a physical territory, therefore, are “non-present”;
4. A teletandem community has its own mechanisms of virtual communication;
5. Teletandem communities collectively develop a set of rules that govern their interactions (“netiquette”);

6. The members of a teletandem community share specialized lexicon and a bilingual communication (SILVA, 2012, p. 72, our translation).²

After establishing the criteria, Silva (2012) selected 86 teletandem participants, both Brazilians and foreigners, held semi-structured interviews and had them answer a questionnaire³. Her goal was to verify if the criteria proposed were valid to describe teletandem learning contexts.

Regarding the first criterion, about sharing goals, knowledge and practice, Silva (2012) reveals the majority of participants said their main goal in teletandem was learning and improving their ability in a second language. The second most common answer was getting to know another culture. The author believes then the first criterion of the TC is valid, as the students' answers demonstrate its members have shared goals.

The second item in her definition of TC is also valid. According to participants' answers, they do exchange linguistic and cultural information and feel part of the context. Students also said they interacted on a regular basis and at the time previously scheduled either by the partner, in the non-integrated modality, or by the professors, if the practice is integrated to the language class.

Both criteria 3 and 4 of the definition of TC are corroborated by the replies to the questionnaire. They established that the members of the community do not have a physical territory and get in contact with each other virtually.

The fifth criterion states the members create a set of rules that regulate interactions. The participants stated they did create rules and believed there were demands they had to meet. Students said they would agree on how to make corrections, on the deadlines to exchange texts, on obeying tandem principles (BRAMMERTS, 1996). The author concluded this criterion is also valid.

Finally, Silva (2012) argues the last criterion is also legitimate, in view of the fact that participants stated communication was bilingual, because of the separation of languages principle, and that they would use emoticons, considered by the author as specialized lexicon.

In conclusion, the members of teletandem community work together to reach common goals. In order to do so, they use two languages and follow rules previously established.

² In the original: "*1. Uma comunidade de teletandem se estabelece a partir de afinidades de interesses, objetivos em comum, compartilhamento de um mesmo conhecimento e de prática; 2. As interações entre seus membros são realizadas com frequência, tendo como base um processo de cooperação ou de troca (reciprocidade) (feedback) e a construção do conhecimento, provocando um sentimento de pertencimento; 3. Os membros de uma comunidade de teletandem são "não-presentes", desterritorializados; 4. Uma comunidade de teletandem cultiva formas próprias de comunicação virtuais; 5. As comunidades de teletandem desenvolvem um conjunto de regras, coletivamente, que regem suas interações ("netiqueta"); 6. Os membros de uma comunidade de teletandem compartilham um léxico específico e uma comunicação bilíngue.*" (SILVA, 2012, p. 72).

³ The author held three interviews. Despite having sent the questionnaire to all participants from the three campuses, only 67 answered.

Methods

The investigation presented here is a qualitative study. Because of its open and flexible nature, this paradigm allows adjustments as the study is in process. In that regard, Mason (2002) brings into consideration whether it is possible to design qualitative research, given its fluid and flexible characteristics. The author points out that qualitative studies reject a fixed, *a priori* research plan. That is because design decisions are made throughout the research process as qualitative researches have an exploratory, data-driven and context sensitive nature. Moreover, Dörnyei (2007) points out that qualitative studies try to capture, in more detail, the context in which data occur and support intense and long-lasting researcher's contact with the investigation material.

Regarding the analysis, the results are defined by the researchers' subjective examination, which qualifies the present study as interpretative. According to Moita-Lopes (1994), in interpretative studies, the analysis is indirectly conducted, that is, it is carried out based on the interpretation of the diverse meanings that constitute a fact. The author also explains that the access to the meanings occurs through the use of instruments that present descriptions of the social context.

With respect to this study, our interpretation of the facts was based on our observation of teletandem practice within diverse groups at UNESP – São José do Rio Preto campus. We examined the relations among the participants engaged in teletandem (students, mediators and professors), considering theoretical works on telecollaborative environments for language learning. We then described the characteristics of such context, confronting them to the theory of genres of socio-rhetorical basis. In other words, we checked which aspects of the grouping that occur in teletandem could be explained by the theory and whether the grouping could be defined in terms of a discourse community.

Teletandem context at UNESP

As exposed above, teletandem is a telecollaborative project that has been carried out at UNESP, campuses of São José do Rio Preto and Assis since 2006, and Araraquara since 2012.

The purposes of the project were twofold: pedagogical, with the aim of improving university students' linguist and cultural competences; academic⁴, aiming to offer a prolific context for studying language learning from different approaches in Applied Linguistics.

⁴ Most of the studies on teletandem are available at: <http://www.teletandembrasil.org/publications.html>. Access on: Aug. 13 2019.

Teletandem means that native (or proficient) speakers of different languages pair up and meet weekly with the objective of learning the language of the other in a telecollaborative environment mediated by VOIP technology, such as *Skype*. At UNESP campus of São José do Rio Preto, each meeting (named TOS - Teletandem Oral Session) lasts approximately 50 minutes and participants are supposed to dedicate half of it for the practice of each language. Being part of the project also means that students will participate in mediation sessions, defined by Funo (2015) as face-to-face or virtual meetings, in groups or individually – participant(s) and mediator – whose aim is to encourage autonomy and promote reflection. At São José do Rio Preto campus, mediation sessions occur in groups after the oral sessions as well as through the learning diaries in which the professors comment on.

Such division of the session in two languages agrees with teletandem principles. Based on tandem (BRAMMERTS, 1996), teletandem principles are (i) separation of languages, (ii) autonomy and (iii) reciprocity (VASSALLO; TELLES, 2006). Whereas the first establishes participants should have the same amount of time to practice the language of one another, the principle of autonomy establishes that students should be autonomous enough to make their own decisions regarding the learning process they engage in. According to the principle of reciprocity, participants should be equally involved in the learning process of their partner and take turns into the roles of tutors of their own language and learners of the other's language. These principles unite telecollaborative actions into the term teletandem.

Teletandem practice may be organized in different modalities. On that account, Aranha and Cavalari (2014) and Cavalari and Aranha (2016) describe the institutional integrated and non-integrated modalities and Zakir (2015) and Cavalari (2018) present a quick description of institutional semi-integrated teletandem.

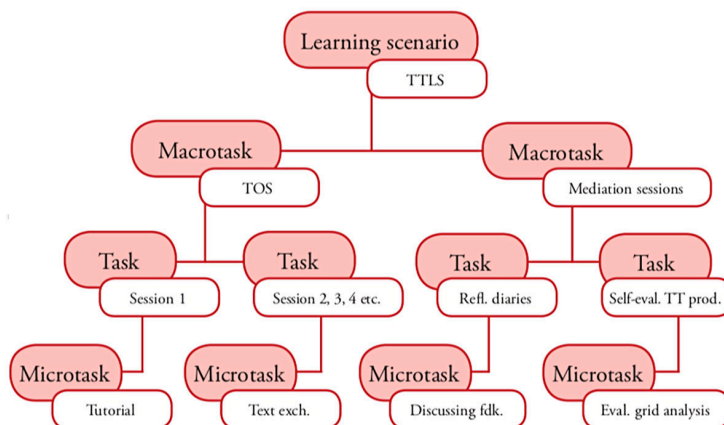
In institutional non-integrated teletandem, volunteer students have the support of the institution, but are the ones responsible for all the logistics concerning the partnership, such as scheduling the encounters, determining the length of the partnership, monitoring the use of both languages, evaluating their performance and solving any conflicts. Aranha and Cavalari (2014) name institutional integrated teletandem (iiTTD) the modality in which (1) participants are enrolled in language classrooms in both institutions; (2) participation in iiTTD is mandatory, (3) part of the tasks are proposed by their language professors; and (4) students are graded on the tasks performed collaboratively. In this modality, each Brazilian student is paired with a student from a university abroad and all enrolled participants have their teletandem oral sessions at the same time, during their language classes and in an appropriate environment. Professors need to agree on a schedule that includes the length and the dates when the oral sessions will happen. They also need to decide on the tasks to be fulfilled by students. Moreover, in iiTTD, as exposed in Aranha, Luvizari-Murad and Moreno (2015), in Luvizari-Murad (2016) and in Aranha and Lopes (2019), data collection is carried out in a systemic way in groups whose participants have consented to share their data for research purposes.

The modality of institutional semi-integrated teletandem (isiTTD) is carried out at UNESP campus of São José do Rio Preto when the classes schedules in both involved institutions of a partnership do not match and, as a result, it is not possible to integrate teletandem practice into the language classes at the Brazilian university. In this situation, teletandem practice is a requirement for students enrolled in Portuguese classes in the university abroad and the Brazilian participants are volunteers. Despite being another modality, it holds a lot of resemblance with the integrated one, as the oral sessions are also held at the same time and place with all participants and there are tasks to be carried out. The group of volunteers count on a mediator, usually a graduate student, who will guide them through the practice, explain the tasks and provide them with any support they might need.

Concerning the tasks, Cavalari and Aranha (2016) are the first authors to describe the ones that might occur in teletandem-integrated practice. The authors call them integrating tasks and present the characteristics of some. Their description explains each task without pointing out any hierarchy among them, stating that teletandem practice feeds the integrating tasks and are fed by them. On that account, Aranha and Leone (2016, 2017) propose that teletandem practice entails pedagogical scenarios, a notion defined by Foucher (2010) to describe which tasks are didactically programmed for a certain learning environment. A pedagogical scenario involves the objectives, previous and target competences, resources and instruments, the tasks and probable interactants. In teletandem, the concept has been used to describe the macro and microtasks intended for a partnership (ARANHA; LEONE, 2016).

The pedagogical scenarios in teletandem are characterized by two macrotasks: teletandem oral sessions (TOS) and mediation sessions. Even though the scenarios vary depending on what the professors agree to do, these two macrotasks are likely to be part of any teletandem partnership. The authors explain they use the terms tasks, macrotasks and microtasks to illustrate teletandem practice as a complex environment. Based on Mangenot and Soubrié (2010), they use *macrotasks* to describe the ones with a larger scale and scope and *microtasks* to describe the ones that contribute to overall task implementation. The authors provide a figure to illustrate one possible pedagogical scenario:

Figure 1 – The organization of a pedagogical scenario based on Teletandem.



Source: Aranha and Leone (2017, p. 180).

In the figure, we find that each macrotask originates tasks which have microtasks associated to them. The TOS macrotask, then, comprises each oral session that occurs during a partnership, i.e., the synchronous, virtual encounter between partners. Associated to these sessions, Aranha and Leone (2017) include various microtasks, such as the tutorial, a meeting in which the language professor and/or researchers in teletandem introduce the telecollaborative learning environment, its principles and the other microtasks associated with teletandem practice. Some information about these procedures can be found in a website⁵ by means of video tips. Another microtask related to TOS is the text exchange that may occur in a partnership. Following the class schedule, students should write a text in the target language on a topic provided by their professor and send it to their partners, who should revise it, e-mail it back with improvement suggestions and discuss the outcomes during the following oral session.

In the mediation session macrotask, we find other microtasks related to it. One of them is the learning diary, which students need to write after each TOS to reflect on their experience in the teletandem practice and think of the strategies that may be used to help their development as autonomous learners. Their professors – for iiTTD – or mediators – in case of the semi-integrated modality – read the diaries and elicit discussion topics to be explored in language classes (iiTTD). Cavalari and Aranha (2019, p. 562) argue that “a combination of one-to-one dialog through diaries and class discussion may enrich both EFL lessons and the telecollaborative experience in iiTTD”. The content of diaries should also feed mediation oral sessions, a meeting in which students and mediators reflect on the problems experienced in practice and discuss learning strategies that may be used. Another task connected to mediation sessions is the self-evaluation

⁵ Available at: <https://teletandemriopreto.wixsite.com/ibilce/informacoes-aos-participantes>. Access on: Aug. 5 2019.

procedures that are held through the filling of questionnaires, generally an initial and a final one. In the initial questionnaire, students answer about their expectations with teletandem practice, self-assess their language level and establish learning goals. In the final one, they write about the whole experience and evaluate the achievement of their goals. They also re-assess their language level. Nowadays, these questionnaires are available to participants in the form of a link that redirects to a file in *Google Forms*.

This is the current organization of teletandem practice at UNESP-São José do Rio Preto and the tasks presented are the ones that may occur in a teletandem partnership depending on the characteristics of the pedagogical scenario. We advocate that these macrotasks, which incorporate tasks, generate genres that might be studied in the very context of teletandem. As Miller points out (1984, p.151), “a rhetorical sound definition of genre must be centered not on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish”. This action “must involve situation and motive”. In case of teletandem, tasks are performed by language actions in a specific learning situation whose motive is to learn and exchange language and culture.

Teletandem community: a revision of the concept

We believe that the criteria for defining the teletandem community need to be revised so that the concept is still valid to describe the grouping of people involved in the teletandem context that now encompasses a system of interrelated genres (BAZERMAN, 2006a). These genres might occur in diverse pedagogical scenarios (as described previously), both in the integrated and semi-integrated modalities. Rampazzo (2017) considers the concept should incorporate both genres used and the other individuals engaged in the practice – professors, mediators, grad researchers.

We now present the expansion of some of the items proposed by Silva in 2012, the adjustment of others, and the inclusion of two other criteria to describe the teletandem community.

According to Silva, the first criterion was related to the reasons why members would get together in the teletandem community: “A teletandem community is formed because of similar interests, common goals, and because the members share the same knowledge and practice” (SILVA, 2012, p. 72, our translation). Her criterion, however, did not include the genres nor the multiplicity of purposes that may exist among the members of a TC. As presented in the theoretical framework section, the students do seem to share common goals, as Silva’s results showed. Indeed, Aranha and Bragagnollo (2015) also state students share a similar aim - the pedagogical purpose of learning a language - which is evident by the language discussions that occur during oral sessions (FRANCO, 2016; FRESCHI, 2017; RAMPAZZO, 2017).

Silva’s description of this criterion reveals that she considers only students as members of the teletandem community, ignoring that the professors and the researchers

are also involved in teletandem practice and that these members certainly have goals different from the students’.

Whereas students want to develop their linguistic and cultural competences, researchers may be interested in data collection or analysis of classroom environment, or any other. The objective of collecting data may not be of interest to students, although they give their consent to researchers use data they generate on teletandem. Still on the multiplicity of purposes, while professors and researchers may value the development of certain tasks, the ones participating in the semi-integrated modality, who are not graded on their involvement, may even ignore them for understanding they are not relevant for their own learning.

According to genre theory of socio-rhetorical basis, the existence of common goals in a community leads to the use and development of genres, which are shared by its members (SWALES, 1990, 1998, 2016). Silva (2012) does not include this aspect in her definition because when she presented her study, investigations about the existence of genres in teletandem community had not been conducted. Currently, Aranha (2014), Rampazzo and Aranha (2018), and Rampazzo and Aranha (2019, forthcoming), for example, suggest that the teletandem oral session is a genre. Rampazzo and Aranha (2018) investigated the first 15 minutes of the initial teletandem oral session (iTOS) and verified a rhetorical pattern for it. On that account, Aranha (2014) also suggests that the different activities that occur in teletandem might form a system of inter-related genres. According to Bazerman (2006b, p. 23), “genres are familiar places we go to create intelligible communicative action with each other and the guideposts we use to explore the unfamiliar”, and teletandem various activities are likely to be those places.

We identify the need to expand the criterion so that it includes the multiplicity of purposes among teletandem community members and the development and use of genres to serve community purposes. The first criterion is then changed to: “The teletandem community is formed because of similar interests, common goals, and because its members share common goals and practice. They develop genres in order to fulfil their purposes, which may not be the same for every member”.

The second criterion in Silva (2012, p. 72, our translation) is “the interactions among its members occur frequently and are based on a process of cooperation or exchange (reciprocity) (feedback), working for building knowledge and generating a feeling of belonging”. This criterion was not revised because interactions⁶ among the members still occur regularly. During the period established for a partnership, students talk to their partners every week both during TOS and via e-mail exchanges; professors are in touch with students, commenting on their diaries, meeting them for the mediation sessions, and, in the integrated modality, for language classes; and professors in each institution frequently talk to each other to make sure the procedures are having the expected outcome and, occasionally, to make adjustments.

⁶ By interactions we mean all types of communication involved in the practice.

This aspect of frequent interaction corresponds to Swales's (1998) definition of place discourse community, for he states the members of such communities work together regularly as seems to be the case for teletandem. Moreover, members do provide feedback to their peers: the students to their partners during oral sessions; the professors to the students; the professors among themselves when discussing the partnership; and researchers when studying the works of one another or when they share their works in academic events.

Silva's (2012, p. 72, our translation) third criterion is probably the one mostly changed. It states that "the members of a teletandem community do not have a physical territory, therefore, are 'non-present'". Regarding the roles of other individuals in the community, besides the students, Luvizari-Murad (2016) highlights how teletandem works based on the Activity Theory (ENGESTRÖM, 1987) and on who the ones involved in any partnership are. She argues that the institutional integrated modality corresponds to a variety of activity systems inter-related and organized in a macro-context and a micro-context. The macro-context, according to the author, is composed of the activity system formed by a community of researchers that includes the professor-coordinators, post-graduate students, guidelines for teletandem practice and tools. The micro-context, on the other hand, is equivalent to the activity system of each pair of students and the tasks they perform. She mentions that in institutional integrated teletandem there are

multiple voices, in view of the fact that it includes all different participants cited as well as their stories, cultures, position in work division, besides the institutional culture of the environment for the activity performance and the theoretical culture created by the community of researchers and practitioners in TTD that precede the current historical moment. (LUVIZARI-MURAD, 2016, p. 16, our translation)⁷.

Luvizari-Murad (2016) highlights the engaged participation of students, who are in contact with their partners, and the participation of professors and researchers in the teletandem activity.

On that account, considering the role played by professors and researchers in teletandem, both in integrated and semi-integrated modalities, we argue that they must not be excluded from the teletandem community. In that case, we could say that there are different degrees of participation in the community: there are the students, the professors responsible for the language classes or mediators; and the researchers, who may be in different levels of academic studies as well, from undergrads to post-doctorates.

⁷ In the original: "*múltiplas vozes, uma vez que possui todos os diferentes sujeitos citados como suas histórias, culturas e posições na divisão do trabalho, além da cultura institucional do ambiente de realização da atividade e a cultura teórica criada por toda a comunidade de pesquisadores e praticantes de TTD que antecederam o presente momento histórico*". (LUVIZARI-MURAD, 2016, p. 16).

As the students are not the only members in the teletandem community, we cannot say all members in the TC are “non-present” as interaction will not necessarily be virtual, as it is between partners – Brazilian and foreign. Interactions among members may occur as follows: student – student (virtual); students – professors/mediators (virtual or face-to-face); professor – professor (usually virtual); researcher(s) – researcher(s) (virtual or face-to-face); researchers – students – professors (virtual or face-to-face). The teletandem community members, then, navigate through multimodal environments, which may or may not be virtual. It is important to point out, however, that independently of how the interaction happens, its members work together regularly, which corroborates the definition of place discourse community (SWALES, 1998) and local discourse community (SWALES, 2016). The third criterion for defining the TC now includes that “The teletandem community has members of different degrees: students, professors and mediators, and researchers. Some of these members may be non-present”.

The fourth item in Silva’s (2012, p. 72, our translation) definition remains the same: “the teletandem community has its own mechanisms of virtual communication”. This was not changed because the members of the teletandem community do use online communication resources to get their work done, such as *Skype*, *Zoom*⁸, *Google Docs*, *Google Drive*, *e-mails*⁹. Other resources are also used, such as *PowerPoint documents* and *videos* for the tutorial presentation. This also confirms the second criterion of discourse community proposed by Swales (2016), i.e., a DC has intercommunication mechanisms and currently makes use of digital technologies to promote contact.

Silva’s fifth criterion stated there is a “netiquette” among members of the teletandem community. She mentions that “teletandem communities collectively develop a set of rules that govern interactions (‘netiquette’)” (SILVA, 2012, p. 72, our translation). This criterion was expanded in order to include the set of rules that regulate face-to-face interactions as well and the silential relations that may exist among the members of the TC.

The partners develop a set of rules that govern the virtual communication between them, but, apart from that, they also have to establish agreements regarding the use of the languages in each half of the SOT, if and how they will correct each other and how they will manage the encounters in order to meet the teletandem principles. In addition to observing the principles, students also need to be attentive to the schedule and deadlines proposed by the professors, to fill questionnaires and to engage in the tutorials and mediation sessions. Professors, mediators, and students also establish a set of rules that govern their interactions: (i) via e-mail (sending and replying to information), (ii) via Google Drive (allowing access to files, commenting on diaries), (iii) face-to-face, in mediation sessions and classes. Professors and mediators need to make sure they provide all the information in time and students need to respond to it.

⁸ Available at: <http://zoom.us>. Access on: Aug. 5. 2019.

⁹ See Cavalari (2018) for more information on the use of technological tools in teletandem.

Furthermore, we believe members in TC establish silent, tacit relations, according to Swales's (2016) definition that suggests there is a sense of things that do not need to be said or explained in detail. The members in TC seem to know what is appropriate or inappropriate to say among partners and professors. On that account, Souza (2016) points out students tend to avoid correcting their partners very frequently because they try to create a friendly atmosphere as a means of saving their faces. Rampazzo (2017) also states students tend to be friendly and polite to their partners in their first encounter as a way of ensuring a good relationship. Professors, on the other hand, also need to be aware of what can be said to their peers regarding the partnership, and how to address everyday issues. Approaching procedures are not told or taught to members, therefore, we can argue there are silential relations in the teletandem community, in view of the fact that there seem to be an understanding that some things do not need to be said or stressed in this telecollaborative learning environment. The fifth criterion is, therefore, expanded to "The teletandem community collectively develops a set of rules that govern their interactions, either online ('netiquette') or among members that meet face-to-face. The teletandem community also establishes silent, tacit relations of what is (in)appropriate to say to the partners".

Silva's (2012, p. 72, our translation) last item for describing the teletandem community, "the members of a teletandem community share specialized lexicon and bilingual communication", was also revised to include what is understood by "specialized lexicon". In her analysis, Silva (2012) considers the use of emoticon in chats during the oral sessions as specialized lexicon. Swales (2016) defends the specialized terminology used by discourse communities aims to make communication more effective and to make it more restrict to its members. In this regard, emoticons, communication tools typical of virtual environments¹⁰, could be comprehended as specialized lexicon in any virtual written communication, but not only them, since there are other terms in the TC that could be considered specialized terminology.

Rampazzo (2017) argues that the names given to the genres – teletandem oral session, for instance – used in teletandem community could also be viewed as specialized terminology because they are specific to this context. In effect, even the project name, teletandem, may not mean much to those who are not part of the community. Additionally, the terms tutorial, learning diary, and mediation session, for instance, may have another meaning in different contexts. Moreover, there is also the use of abbreviations in the teletandem community, such as TTD, for teletandem, iiTTD, for institutional integrated teletandem, TOS, for teletandem oral session, and so on.

Regarding communication, it is bilingual because of one of teletandem principles, the separation of languages. Communication is bilingual among students, who need to alternate the use of languages during the oral sessions, and it may be bilingual among students and professors as well. The sixth criterion is then adapted to "The members

¹⁰ Considering the technological development, the chat is no longer used as the primary tool for synchronous communication.

of the teletandem community share specialized lexicon and bilingual communication. The specialized terminology includes not only what is typical of virtual communication, but also the nomenclature given to genres and modalities and the name of the project”.

Silva only accounts for six criteria to describe the teletandem community. However, we believe there should be the inclusion of two more in order to get a more thorough characterization of the TC. The seventh criterion would encompass the place participants take. We propose the inclusion of “There is hierarchy among the members of the teletandem community, who are aware of their history and try to communicate their traditions to new members via tutorials and mediation sessions”. This is based on Swales (2016), who argues that there is an implicit or explicit hierarchy among the members of a discourse community. We believe there is a hierarchical relation in teletandem community. As indicated previously, there are three degrees of participation in TC: the students, the professors and the researchers. Among each degree, there are different levels of expertise, either because of the amount of time spent with practice – there are students participating in teletandem for the first time and those who have participated before –, or because of the amount of time observing and studying the context – a new researcher in teletandem probably would not have the same level of expertise as one that has been carrying out studies on the context for years. In this respect, we could say that the more studies and practice in the context, the higher the level of expertise of a member might be.

Associated to this hierarchy, the members with higher level of expertise in TC are concerned about sharing their history and practice to new members. Whereas students may not be aware of the history of the project in detail, they get to learn a little in the tutorials, during which the teletandem environment is presented, and in mediation sessions, when they have the opportunity to discuss learning issues and exchange experience. The researchers, on the other hand, are more conscious of the project background and development as well as the professors – at least in Brazil – who are engaged in practice for longer and prepare the tutorial materials.

Finally, the eighth and last added criterion declares that “In the teletandem community, there is partial and continuous replacement of its members. This may happen every semester for the students and every new selection process of graduate courses for the researchers”. Every semester, professors arrange partnerships based on the academic calendar of the institutions in Brazil and abroad. The number of oral sessions that may occur each time varies, but generally, there are 5 to 8 sessions for each group established in each semester. During this period, there is the participation of students enrolled in language classes – for the integrated modality – and of volunteer students from different undergraduate courses – for the semi-integrated modality. Although some of these students may have participated in teletandem before, regardless of the modality, normally, many are involved in teletandem practice for the first time. As a result, there is partial substitution of members in TC every semester, which also leads to the need of having tutorial meetings every semester. The chances of remaining in the community are higher for professors and researches in teletandem, as they tend

to stay engaged in the practice for longer. However, there may be fluctuation in the researchers group as new graduate students join the research team and others defend their thesis and dissertations.

Lastly, for this section, we present the eight criteria organized in a list:

1. The teletandem community is formed because of similar interests, common goals, and because its members share common knowledge and practice. They develop genres in order to fulfil their purposes, which may not be the same for every member.
2. The interactions among its members occur frequently and are based on a process of cooperation or exchange (reciprocity) (feedback), working for building knowledge and generating a feeling of belonging.
3. The teletandem community has members of different degrees: students, professors and mediators, and researchers. Some of these members may be “non-present”.
4. The teletandem community has its own mechanisms of virtual communication.
5. The teletandem community collectively develops a set of rules that govern their interactions, either online (“netiquette”) or among members that meet face-to-face. The teletandem community also establishes silent, tacit relations of what is (in)appropriate to say to the partners
6. The members of the teletandem community share specialized lexicon and bilingual communication. The specialized terminology includes not only what is typical of virtual communication, but also the nomenclature given to genres and modalities and the name of the project.
7. There is hierarchy among the members of the teletandem community, who are aware of their history and try to communicate their traditions to new members via tutorials and mediation sessions.
8. In the teletandem community, there is partial and continuous replacement of its members.

Final Remarks

This paper aimed to present a discussion on the concept of discourse community in a multimodal, multicultural, and telecollaborative context named teletandem. Silva (2012) had previously proposed a definition for a teletandem community (TC) based on the intertwining of three concepts: discourse community (SWALES, 1900), community of practice (WENGER, 1998) and virtual community (LÉVY, 1999). In view of the fact that telecollaborative practices develop and change over time, there seemed to be a need for updating the criteria so that they are still valid to describe the grouping of people involved in teletandem.

Besides observing the characteristics of TC that are typical of online communities and of communities of practice, the discourse community definition discussed by Swales (2016) is effective to discuss the concept of the teletandem community; however, the redefinition of the criteria suggested here is still a combination of the three concepts as presented in Silva (2012) due to the practical and virtual nature of telecollaboration itself.

Our investigation of teletandem community characteristics indicates people involved in the practice – either as a professor, a researcher or a student – are members of a “folocal” discourse community in Swales’s (2016) terms. That is because members need to observe both the aspects that govern local relations – members that meet in person, in the local lab context – and the ones that rule virtual communication – members that meet virtually or exchange information in a virtual way. Members of the TC need to be aware of the genres that occur in their local arrangements and in the virtual context. In other words, they need to adjust their behavior, discourse and communication according to what is expected from them in recurrent social situations and the purposes they aim at fulfilling. Also, the relations among members differ because they are organized by distinctive participants with specific roles.

Moreover, the very nature of the Teletandem project itself also points to an organization of a folocal community once telecollaboration is situated in a globalized world with the objective of preparing learners to operate in multilingual and multicultural contexts, as argued by Helm and Guth (2010). The external forces, then, have as much influence as the local ones.

In addition, besides sharing a set of rules and being both regionally and virtually/globally located, members of the teletandem community (and probably other telecollaborative projects) develop specialized terminologies. They also form a complex, multi-faceted group of individuals as there are members from different degrees (professors, researchers and students), there is an hierarchy from one degree to another and within degrees (more or less experienced members) and partial replacement of members.

Telecollaborative practices are constantly being adjusted, not only because they are sustained by ever-changing digital technology tools, but also because they may assume particular organizational dynamics. For that reason, we believe the communities occasionally formed in such projects need to be continually studied.

RAMPAZZO, L.; ARANHA, S. Revisitar o conceito de comunidade para discutir sua aplicação a contextos telecolaborativos. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 63, n.2, p.381-404, 2019.

- *RESUMO: O objetivo deste artigo é discutir o conceito de comunidade em contextos multimodais de projetos telecolaborativos. Comunidades discursivas (CD) são agrupamentos de indivíduos que se unem para atingir seus propósitos comunicativos por meio de gêneros (SWALES, 1990). Embora o conceito tenha sido extensivamente discutido em contextos acadêmicos, parece haver uma lacuna de estudos que envolvam o tema e sua importância*

para a telecolaboração. Uma tentativa nesse sentido é o trabalho de Silva (2012) sobre a comunidade teletandem (CT), no qual a autora investiga os estudantes que participam do projeto Teletandem Brasil: Línguas Estrangeiras para Todos. Partimos dos critérios elaborados por Silva para a definição da comunidade em questão e nossa análise deriva de nossa observação intensa da prática de teletandem. Os resultados indicam que os membros de comunidades que eventualmente são formados em contextos telecolaborativos tendem a ser regulados por regras locais e externas, engendram organizações complexas e compartilham gêneros para alcançarem seus objetivos.

- **PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Telecolaboração. Comunidade Discursiva. Comunidade Teletandem. Gêneros.

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ON THE SEMANTICS OF ‘DE VOLTA’: AN EXERCISE ON COUNTERDIRECTIONALITY¹

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- **ABSTRACT:** Within the framework of formal semantics and pragmatics of natural languages, the aim of this paper is to analyse the expression ‘de volta’ in Brazilian Portuguese, considering it as an event modifier of a particular type, a counterdirectional modifier. In order to do this, we develop our analysis using Neo-Davidsonian Event Semantics and the Semantics of Trajectories proposed by Zwarts (2005, 2008), allied to an analysis of event modifiers. First, we present the domain of counterdirectionality, its main distinctions and the proposal of Zwarts and Basso (2016), which also deals with Brazilian Portuguese. Next, we present several data related to the interpretations of ‘de volta’; in the following section, we develop our specific proposal for the semantic analysis of ‘de volta’. As a result, we propose a unified analysis of ‘de volta’ which accounts for its returnative, responsive, restitutive, and repetitive interpretations. We also present a review of the conclusions of Zwarts and Basso (2016) about ‘de volta’. We conclude this paper with some open issues.
- **KEYWORDS:** Counterdirectionality. Modifiers. Event Semantics. Formal Semantics. Presupposition.

Introduction

Amongst verbal modifiers, there is a domain that that can be identified as “counterdirectional”, as suggested by Fabricius-Hansen (2001). This domain has only recently received systematic attention by researchers in semantics, pragmatics and syntax of natural languages, such as Beck and Gergel (2015), Abrusan (2016), Zwarts and Basso (2016) and Zwarts (2019). The modifiers in the counterdirectional domain express that a given movement or event happens as a response to a previous movement or event, and it unfolds in the opposite of the usual direction. As argued by Zwarts and Basso (2016), this domain is composed of several interrelated meanings. Considering data from Brazilian Portuguese (BrP), examples of counterdirectional meanings can

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be found when verbal predicates are combined with expressions such as ‘ao contrário’ (‘fazer ao contrário’, “to make something backwards”), ‘de trás para frente’ (‘contar de trás para frente’, “to count backwards”), ‘para trás’ (‘andar para trás’, “to walk backwards” i.e. with one’s back leading), ‘de volta’ (‘caminhar de volta’, “to walk back”), and various uses of the prefix ‘re-’, as in ‘retornar’ (“return”), ‘recolocar’ (“to put something back”, “to relocate”), etc. (cf., CHUMAN, 2015).

In this paper, our aim is to provide a semantic characterization for one of the elements of the counterdirectional domain of BrP, namely the expression ‘de volta’. This paper is organized as follows: in the first section, we will characterize the counterdirectional domain, present some of the meanings that belong to it, and show how BrP, English and Dutch organize this domain as an illustration of different lexicalization paths. In the next section, we will analyze the uses and interpretations of ‘de volta’ which will motivate the semantic proposal that will be developed in the third section, “A semantic analysis for ‘de volta’”. On the Conclusion we will summarize our main conclusions and present some of the issues that need to be further investigated.

On the counterdirectional domain

The investigation of the counterdirectional domain is based on the observation that certain lexical items in different languages of the world aggregated a series of seemingly disparate meanings that on a more detailed scrutiny share common characteristics. This kind of observation was made by several researchers working under different theoretical frameworks and at different times. “Back”, in English, is an example of such an item – it is a polysemic item, which appears in different grammatical classes in its various interpretations and uses, and can be classified as a preposition, an adverb, a verbal particle, and a name. Note, for instance, the following sentences:

- (1) Dunworthy stepped *backward* and crashed into a six-year-old holding a plush Santa. (Connie Willis – The Doomsday Book)
- (2) I counted *backwards* from 10.
- (3) I ran *back* a few blocks.
- (4) Someone kicked a ball to John, and he kicked it *back*.
- (5) The explosion made him *back* awake.
- (6) The door closed *again*.

Except for the example (6), “back” (or a form derived from it) appears with different interpretations in all cases. However, there is something in common between these interpretations, which is precisely what motivates the existence of a “counterdirectional” domain, namely the fact that all these interpretations involve a trajectory or an event that goes in the opposite direction (or in response, in the opposite orientation) of a conventional or initial trajectory or event.

In (1) there is a movement made in the opposite direction to what is considered natural, since the subject walks in the direction towards which his back is facing – normally we move forward in the direction towards which our eyes are pointing and not in the direction towards which our back is pointing. But in (1) this is precisely what happens: a walk against the conventional orientation, in the orientation to which one’s back is pointing. This meaning can be called **rearward** and can be illustrated by BrP predicates such as ‘andar para trás’ or ‘caminhar de costas’ (“to walking backwards / with the back leading”).

Sentence (2) illustrates an event that occurred in the opposite direction to what is usual; in this case, count ‘de trás para frente’ (“backwards”, “from back to front”) is the exact opposite of what we normally do when we count. This is the **retrograde** meaning, and it is found in BrP examples such as ‘contar de trás para frente’ (“to count backwards”) and ‘pedalar ao contrário’ (“to pedal backwards”); such meaning may involve the reversion of a trajectory or simply the reversion of the way in which an event unfolds.

The **returnative** meaning refers to a returning movement to an earlier place, considering a previous trajectory. Sentence (3) exemplifies the **returnative** meaning: the subject has returned, running, a few blocks (in the previously traveled trajectory). Examples of this meaning in BrP are ‘voltar’ (“to go back”), ‘retornar’ (“to return”), and the presence of ‘de volta’ combined with verbal predicates, the topic of this paper. Sentence (4) exemplifies the **responsive** meaning, which occurs when an event is made in response to a previous one, and in that sense it occurs in the opposite direction – if A does something for B ($A \rightarrow B$), the answer will be something that goes from B to A ($B \rightarrow A$), that is, in the opposite direction of the first event. For BrP, once again ‘de volta’ plays an important role in expressing that meaning.

The **restitutive** meaning is exemplified in sentence (5): it indicates that a previous situation is reestablished, and again we have an opposite movement, back to an earlier situation, albeit in a more abstract domain because these cases involve states-of-affairs². Finally, example (6) shows the **repetitive** meaning; this meaning presupposes the existence of a previous event of the same nature to which one returns, repeating it. The repetitive meaning is also part of counterdirectional domain because in several languages the item that expresses this meaning also expresses the restitutive meaning. For BrP, these meanings are expressed by the expressions ‘de novo’, ‘outra vez’ (“again”) and in some cases ‘de volta’ for the restitutive meaning (“back”).

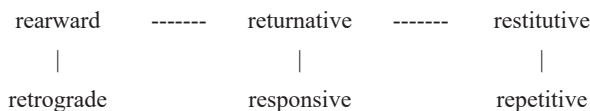
In summary, considering the case of the English item “back”, it is possible to find a series of different meanings, expressed by the same lexical item, which has as its

² We will not discuss the complex philosophical question of defining what are “states-of-affairs” in this paper. But it is interesting to note, as we shall see later, that we can take “states-of-affairs” as a specific organization of particulars and universals that make the sentences of a language true, according to the Correspondence Theory of Truth. As we hope will be clear, the philosophical details, however important, will have no impact on our semantic analysis.

basis an (abstract) notion of return, which can be understood as a movement³ contrary to what is normally the case – there can only be a return if there has been a previous movement, and the return has to occur necessarily in the opposite direction.

Zwarts and Basso (2016, p.28) propose the following scheme to represent the relations between the meanings in the counterdirectional domain, based on semantic relations between these various meanings and on attested lexicalization patterns:

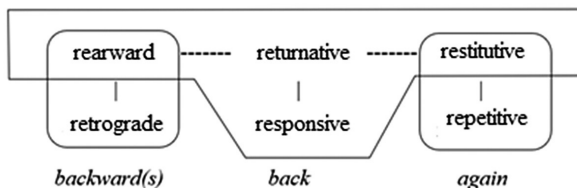
Scheme 1 – Organization of the counterdirectional meanings



Source: Author’s elaboration.

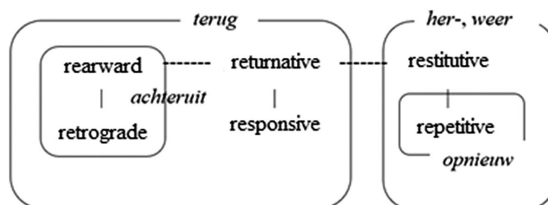
In that same paper, the authors offer the following proposal of organization for the expression of these meanings in English, Dutch and Brazilian Portuguese, which serves as an exemplification of the possible lexical organizations within the counterdirectional domain for different languages:

Scheme 2 – Lexicalization of counterdirectional meanings in English



Source: Zwarts and Basso (2016, p.28).

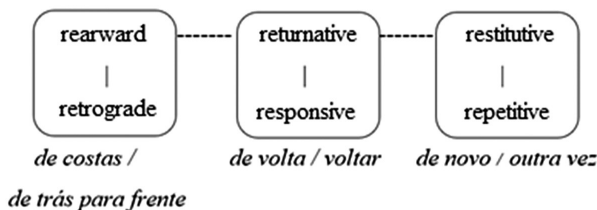
Scheme 3 – Lexicalization of counterdirectional meanings in Dutch



Source: Zwarts and Basso (2016, p.41).

³ We will argue throughout this paper that “movement” must be understood not only as spatial movement, but also as movement in more abstract domains such as eventive and states-of-affairs domains. It is also by this generality that the counterdirectional domain is interesting.

Scheme 4 – Lexicalization of counterdirectional meanings in BrP



Source: Zwarts and Basso (2016, p.41).

Each one of these languages followed different paths in the lexicalization of these meanings, but it is interesting to note that for the first four meanings (rearward, retrograde, returnative, and responsive), the items used by the three languages have a clear origin on body parts and/or orientation – “costas” (back), back, terug (“back”), trás (back), frente (front), voltar, ‘-wards’, ‘achter’⁴. The restitutive and repetitive meanings are more commonly composed of items that involve the idea of occurrence, such as ‘vez’, ‘time’, and ‘weer’.

In this paper, as we have said, our focus is on the expression ‘de volta’ and its semantic characterization. Now that we have showed the counterdirectional domain and its main meanings, in the following section we will explore some uses of ‘de volta’ in order to verify if the classification of Zwarts and Basso (2016) is sufficient or if there are other counterdirectional meanings that ‘de volta’ expresses. In the section “A semantic analysis for ‘de volta’”, based on the systematization of the data, we will propose a unified semantic analysis for ‘de volta’.

‘De volta’ and its meanings

There are several items with which ‘de volta’ combines, verbal and nominal in nature. Let’s start by investigating ‘de volta’ combined with names, as in the examples below, which are not intended to be exhaustive:

- (7) jogo de volta (return game / home game)
- (8) caminho / trajetória / percurso / rota de volta (path / way / route back)
- (9) passagem / ticket / bilhete de volta (return ticket)

For all these cases, an earlier event is presupposed, and it is this event which, in an intuitive sense, motivates and licenses the use of the expression ‘de volta’. That is, a ‘jogo de volta’ (“home game”) is only possible if there was already a ‘jogo de ida’

⁴ “back” comes from the word that refers to the back, as well as “rug” (in “terug”) and “achter” in Dutch, which refer to the back, or to the back of something.

(“away game”), which are opposed to each other; the same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, considering the examples in (8): they all presuppose the existence of a previous trajectory, in the opposite direction of the one mentioned in (8), combined with ‘de volta’. The examples in (9) are only felicitous if there is an outward/go ticket, which involves a trajectory contrary to that of the return ticket⁵.

It is also important to note the symmetry present in these cases: the return game can only occur if it involves the same teams (although there may be variation amongst the players); the way back has to end at the point where the *going* started; and a return ticket must have as its end point the departure point of the outward/go ticket – although there can be variation in the trajectory; for example: one can go from São Paulo to Brasília through Belo Horizonte but can make a way back (to São Paulo) without necessarily passing through Belo Horizonte.

Considering the cases in (8) and (9), we can represent the beginning of a trajectory p as $p(0)$ and its end as $p(1)$. Any trajectory pA , with final $pA(1)$, will have a counterpart ‘de volta’, pB , whose end will be $pB(1) = pA(0)$, even if there are different points in the middle of the trajectory – we will return to these questions later, as well as to a further explicit formalization. Moreover, in the cases in which there is a name on the surface structure, it is important to note its eventive nature – for (7) we are considering a “playing” event, and for (8) and (9) we are considering an event of movement, which shows that ‘de volta’ is a modifier that has events as arguments⁶.

Let’s now focus on verbal predicates. ‘de volta’ can combine with virtually all the verbs that indicate movement in the BrP, as exemplified in the list below, which is not exhaustive (cf. MEIRELLES; CANÇADO, 2017; RAMMÉ, 2012):

(a) verbs of manner of movement: ir (to go), caminhar (to walk), nadar (to swim), voar (to fly), dirigir (to drive), rastejar (to creep), engatinhar (to crawl), pedalar (to pedal), pilotar (to pilot), navegar (to sail), correr (to run), andar (to walk), pular (to jump), acompanhar (to accompany), seguir (to follow), conduzir (to lead)

(b) verbs that involve movement (inherently directed) / displacement: jogar (to play), chutar (to kick), trazer (to bring), levar (to take), carregar (to carry), embarcar (to embark), cair (to fall), arremessar (to throw)

The verbs in (a) can be associated with trajectories and their lexical content conveys different ways of fulfilling, traversing and reaching the end of such trajectories (PINKER, 1989; TALMY, 2000). When one combines any of these verbs with ‘de volta’, the result is the inverse of the trajectory traversed: if we consider that the trajectory

⁵ The opposition contrast with “ida” (“going”) becomes clear also when we consider that we can change ‘de volta’ for ‘da volta’ in examples from (7) to (9).

⁶ A more detailed analysis will certainly be interesting for these cases, especially if one considers that different nominalizations can lead to different counterdirectional meanings. For example, “jogo de volta” (“away game”) is responsive, but “nado de volta” (“back-swimming”) can be returnative. Be that as it may, our point here is only to note that there is always an event involved in these interpretations.

denoted by a particular use of the verb ‘navegar’ (“to navigate”) as pN, its beginning as pN(0) and its end as pN(1), the result of the combination with ‘de volta’, ‘navegar de volta’ (“to navigate back”), will involve the trajectory pNV, which will have the following characteristic: pNV(1) = pN(0). It is important to note once again that the pNV trajectory does not need to be composed of all the points that make up the pN trajectory – one can navigate one route (pN) and return through another (pNV), but we only consider it as a return (and we can use ‘de volta’) if the end of pNV is the beginning of pN, as we have seen with examples (8) and (9) above.⁷

It is also interesting to note that ‘de volta’, considering the verbs in (a), imposes restrictions on the trajectories involved and on their directionality, but not on how they are traversed, as the following example demonstrates:

(10) João foi para a escola de ônibus, mas caminhou de volta.
João went to the school by bus, but he walked back.

In (10), considering that João left from and returned to his house, the trajectory of going to school, pE, was traversed by bus, and the opposite trajectory, the way back, pEV, was walked on foot; moreover, it is quite likely that the routes traveled were different, since the bus route does not have to be the same as the walking route. In fact, what matters to license the use of ‘de volta’ is that pEV(1) = pE(0).

Perhaps one of the main characteristics of the verbs in (a) is that they are agentive (non-causative) and involve the subject’s displacement or movement. The verbs in (b), on the other hand, involve movement of their object, with a subject that causes or triggers such movement⁸. Despite this difference, what seems to be involved here, as in the cases in (a), is the existence of an anterior displacement or movement of the denotation of the sentence object in a certain direction/with a certain orientation; in all these uses we have concrete displacement, in the sense of involving a change on spatial location – the result of using ‘de volta’ is a spatial trajectory contrary to the one which occurred first.

Take, for instance, the sentence below:

(11) João chutou a bola de volta para o Pedro.
João kicked the ball back to Pedro.

⁷ Consider a case in which João went from point A (initial) to point B (end), passing through point C, between the two other points. Suppose now that he has to go to point C; even if we can say that João returned to point C from B, it would not be appropriate to say that he made a trajectory ‘de volta’ (i.e., that he went back). Notice the difference between (a) ‘João fez o caminho de volta’ (“João made the way back”) and (b) ‘João fez o caminho de volta até C’ (“João made the way back to C”). In the situation described, only (b) would be acceptable, and this is because a trajectory ‘de volta’ considers the given (or contextually retrieved) starting point. For this not to be the case, it is necessary to say explicitly which one is the new point to be considered.

⁸ There are several other ways of characterizing verbs in (a) and (b), such as saying that in (a) one will find the PATH-ROUTE verb type, and in (b), the GOAL verb type. We note that these classifications are orthogonal and compatible with our analysis of their counterdirectional component.

Sentence (11) is only felicitous if there was an earlier event in which the ball goes from Pedro to João – ideally, Pedro kicks the ball to John. Only under such conditions can one say that João kicked the ball back (‘de volta’) to Pedro. However, it is important to note that, again, the events do not need to be identical. Consider the case in which Pedro throws the ball with his hands at João, and when João returns it to Pedro, João uses his feet, kicking the ball. Even in this kind of situation, (11) is an adequate sentence; what matters is that the ball goes from Pedro, and returns to him – that is, considering the trajectory that the ball traveled from Pedro to João as pBPJ, and its beginning as pBPJ(0), the sentence in (11) represents an event whose trajectory, pBJP, has the following characteristic: pBJP(1) = pBPJ(0).

In more technical terms, the use of ‘de volta’ with motion verbs, and with the nominals in (7)-(9), (i) presupposes a previous motion event, which unfolds in space⁹, with a specific directionality, and (ii) results in an event of movement with an opposite direction with respect to the presupposed event, although neither the route nor the manner of the movement need to be the same. Considering these characteristics, we can conclude that the interpretations of ‘de volta’ that we have seen so far fit correctly into the **returnative** counterdirectional meaning, and its semantic description involves the presupposition of a previous event and the subsequent occurrence of an event in the opposite direction¹⁰.

Before exploring the relevant presuppositions and defining more explicitly what is to be taken as the “reverse direction” (or “opposite direction”), it is important to note, as the examples below show, that ‘de volta’ does not only combine with motion verbs. Consider the following list, which also does not aim to be exhaustive:

(c) escrever (to write), ligar (to call), mandar (to send), comprar (to buy), transferir (to transfer), receber (to receive), remeter (to forward), chamar (to call), enviar (to send), falar (to talk), bater (to hit), olhar (to look),

In fact, ‘escrever de volta’ (“write back”), ‘ligar de volta’ (“call back”), or even ‘comprar de volta’ (“buy back”), among others, do not involve a spatial dimension. But they involve, in a more abstract sense, a difference in directionality that presupposes the existence of an earlier event. Let’s take the sentence below to illustrate this point:

⁹ Obviously, verbs such as ‘jogar’ (“play”) have non-spatial interpretations, as in “João jogou o argumento de volta para o Pedro” (“John threw the argument back to Peter”), but such cases can be interpreted as metaphorical extensions from the spatial domain to the argumentative or eventive domain, and would thus be classified, as we shall see below, as cases of responsive meaning. We consider here spatial cases only to point out that spatial interpretations can be used, via analogy, in other domains (see PONTES, 1992; TALMY, 2000; JACKENDOFF, 1983, 1996, among several others). Be that as it may, in all cases, as we will argue, the role of ‘de volta’ will always be the same.

¹⁰ Some verbs such as ‘rastejar’ (“crawl”), ‘embarcar’ (“embark”), ‘cair’ (“fall”) may also have restitutive and repetitive interpretations, which is what we expect since all these meanings are instantiations of the counterdirectional domain, and, as we shall argue, can be expressed by ‘de volta’.

(12) João escreveu de volta para a Maria.
João wrote back to Maria.

(12) presupposes that there was a previous event of writing that “departed” from Maria and “arrived” at João, that is, the event of writing, simplifying things, has a trajectory that begins in Maria and ends in João, in a very similar way to what we have seen with example (11), above. We propose then a meaning extension for ‘de volta’ – it would also act in the eventive and not only in the spatial domain, offering the same counterdirectional semantic contribution. If we consider such a characterization, we can also say that ‘escrever de volta’ (“write back”) in (12) describes an event that begins in João and ends in Maria – as in the cases of the verbs in (a) and (b), we have thus the counterdirectionality guaranteed in such cases.

What is the similarity, for the cases of the verbs in (c), between the previous event (presupposed) and the counterdirectional event (expressed by ‘de volta’)? Can they be different as in the previous examples? In other words, is it strictly necessary, for the proper and felicitous use of (12), that Maria *wrote* to João, or she may have *spoken* to him, for example, instead of writing?

At least for the case of ‘escrever’ (“writing”), it seems to be the case that the events involved have to be “written events”, and the following example illustrates this:

(13) A Maria deixou uma mensagem para o João, e ele escreveu de volta.
Maria left a message for João, and he wrote (her) back.

The intuition behind (13) is that Maria left a written message for João, and so he *wrote* her back. Suppose now that Maria has left a voice message for João, and he has written back to Maria – in such a case, (13) does not seem completely adequate.

Let’s now use the verb ‘telefonar’ (“to phone”), suppose Maria has called João – can we now use (13), or its variation (13a)?

(13a) ? A Maria telefonou para o João, e ele escreveu de volta.
Maria phoned João, and he wrote (her) back.

Again, this does not seem to be the case: for the verbs in (c), the events involved require a greater degree of similarity¹¹ than those involved in the cases (a) and (b)¹².

¹¹ It is important to consider “similarity” and not “identity”, because Maria, for instance, may have left a written note to João, and he may have written an email back to her; but the two cases are still characterized as “writing” events. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, whom I thank for the remark, it may be possible to accept cases like (13a); the reason for this is probably because we consider, however different, that the events described are part of a whole event composed of events with different “directions”. So if we are considering one and the same conversation between João and Maria, we can accept that one of the events is via telephone and the other via written letter, for example.

¹² One possible explanation for this may lie in the fact that the cases in (a), (b), and the nominal ones we saw earlier are clearly linked to the spatial dimension, and it is a spatial trajectory (and its reverse) that guarantees the use of

Using the description of the counterdirectional meanings that we have showed in section 1, we can see that the verbs in (c) should be classified as instances of the **responsive** meaning, which refers to an action (or event) made in response to a previous action. We are not faced with events that develop or unfolds in space, but we are now in a rather more abstract domain involving events and a certain directionality in the relationship between the participants of these events. So, for instance, if João transfers money ‘de volta’ (“back”) to Pedro, it is because Pedro first transferred money to João, that is, from Pedro to João and only then from João to Pedro - it is on that directionality that ‘de volta’ operates when combined with the verbs in (c); we are dealing, roughly speaking, with actions or events that take place in opposite directions. Considering that “Pedro transfere dinheiro para João” (“Pedro transfers money to João”) has the trajectory pTPJ, and that “João transfere dinheiro de volta para Pedro” (“João transfers money back to Pedro”) has the trajectory pTJP, the result is pTJP(1) = pTPJ(0) – using the idea of (opposite) directionality for events, we can keep the same basic meaning for ‘de volta’ and explain these cases.

Differently from Zwarts and Basso’s (2016) claim, the examples below, in (d), show that ‘de volta’ also expresses the **restitutive** counterdirectional meaning:

(d) pegar (to take), pedir (to ask), pagar (to pay), dar (to give), mudar (to move), enfiar (to stick), atrair (to attract), colocar (to put)

Consider sentence (14), below:

(14) João₁ pegou seu₁ livro de volta.
João₁ took his₁ book back.

In (14) it is not the case that its interpretation involves a spatial trajectory (as in the returnative meaning) nor a “response” event (as in the responsive meaning) – for João to get his book back, it is enough that the book is not with João. As soon as João takes his book back, the state of “João having his book” is restored, and that is what we described as the role of the restitutive counterdirectional meaning. In other words, there is a return to an earlier state – consider the moment t₀ where João has his book (JL) and also consider a later moment t₁ in which João does not have his book (J~L); what ‘de volta’ does is to express that the state t₀ is again the case, that is, it indicates that we “traverse” back a state path going from t₁ (J~L) to t₀ (JL). Taking t₀ as the beginning of a trajectory pJL and t₁ as its end, the trajectory with ‘de volta’, pJLV, will

‘de volta’, rather than the specificity of the event performed. When we move to the domain of events that do not involve movements in space, we no longer have a “concrete” spatial trajectory to guarantee the similarity between the trajectories involved, and so this similarity must also be guaranteed by the types of events involved, which must have a high degree of similarity. Another possibility is that the events involved for the cases in (a) and (b) are all of motion, and thus fall under the same broad notion of motion events, which is not the case for items in (c). Obviously, these are just sketches of explanations, which need to be further developed but nonetheless illustrate possible alternatives to these issues.

have the characteristic: $pJLV(1) = pJL(0)$, that is, at the end of pJLV João will have his book back ('de volta'), as it was in t_0 .

A similar description holds for 'atrair de volta' ("to attract back"), 'colocar de volta' ("to put back"), 'mudar de volta' ("to move back") etc. – in all these cases, the result is the restitution of an earlier/previous state, but without involving spatial trajectories or a "response" to a previous event. Verbs such as 'pagar' ("to pay") and 'dar' ("to give") can have both a **responsive** and a **restitutive** interpretation, depending on contextual information. However, this fluidity of meanings should not be seen as a problem: our analysis of 'de volta' will ensure that it always has the same basic meaning and all these possibilities of interpretation are contained within the counterdirectional domain.

The ambiguity that exists between the items that express the **restitutive** and the **repetitive** meanings is noted by several researchers (DOWTY, 1979; KLEIN, 2001, among many others). In fact, an item like 'de novo' ("again") in BrP presents such ambiguity, as we can see in the example below:

(15) A porta abriu de novo.
The door opened again.

(15) can mean that the door has opened again (event repetition), or that the door is open again (state restitution). Since 'de volta' has restitutive meaning, and given the close relationship between these two meanings, we may wonder if 'de volta' also has repetitive meaning. The answer is positive, although that meaning may not be the most common for 'de volta'. Consider the example below:

(16) O exercício tá todo errado! Faz de volta!
The exercise is all wrong! Do it again!

The most usual interpretation for (16) is that of repetition, according to which the exercise must be done again – note that there is no spatial trajectory, response, or even the restitution of a previous state, but simply the repetition of an event. Whenever there is **restitution** there is **repetition**, and in that sense a repetition involves the idea that something will begin again, and to begin again, it is necessary to return to the beginning of a trajectory, be it on the spatial domain or on the eventive domain, which places repetition within the domain of counterdirectionality.

Finally, before we move on to the next section, there are three interesting cases that need to be considered: 'estar de volta' ("to be back"), 'ter de volta' ("to have back") and 'querer de volta' ("to want back"). Consider the sentences below, taken from popular Brazilian songs:

(17) Estou de volta pro meu aconchego... (Dominguinhos, "De volta pro aconchego")
I'm back to my coziness ...

(18) ... quem me dera ao menos uma vez ter de volta todo o ouro... (Legião Urbana, “Índios”)
... I wish at least once to have all the gold back ...

Sentence (17) as well as variations using the structure ‘estar de volta’ (“to be back”) involve spatial trajectories and can be considered as a case of the examples in (a). The peculiarity of (17) is that it involves the reaching of a TARGET of a motion verb that is not pronounced – we do not know the original trajectory p or how the reverse trajectory, pV , has been traversed, but we know that (17) expresses that $pV(1) = p(0)$ ¹³.

The structure ‘ter de volta’ (“to have back”) in (18) and similar ones have an interpretation close to what we have seen for the cases in (d), that is, we have here a counterdirectional restitutive meaning – ‘ter de volta’ is equal to restore an earlier state, which may or may not involve some kind of possession (cf., ‘ter de volta minha poupança’ (“to have back my savings”) vs. ‘ter de volta toda a minha paz’ (“to have back all my peace”).

For ‘querer de volta’ the analysis we propose is that this structure carries an elided verb, which may belong to any of the classes we distinguished above, and so we cannot analyze ‘querer de volta’ by its own:

(19) querer ir de volta (to want to go back) – returnative / repetitive

(20) querer chutar de volta (to want to kick back) – responsive

(21) querer ter de volta (to want to have it back) – restitutive

(22) querer fazer de volta (to want to do it back/again) – repetitive

As a summary of our descriptive analysis, we can say that ‘de volta’ has returnative, responsive, restitutive, and, perhaps less commonly, repetitive uses, covering thus many of the possible counterdirectional meanings. In addition, ‘de volta’ presupposes previous events similar to those with which it combines¹⁴. Another important component that we have mentioned is the fact that ‘de volta’ expresses events that occur in the opposite direction of the presupposed event, and in order to capture all its uses, we must clearly define “counter” or “reverse direction”. We will deal with this topic in the next section, in order to provide a semantic description for ‘de volta’.

¹³ There is a great number of metaphorical uses and extensions in cases with ‘estar de volta’ (“to be back”) which involves the person returning to his or her home, origins, roots, etc., which are not always spatial, but still involve an idea of path or journey, which can be subsumed in what we call trajectory. A clearer and more precise definition of these cases is certainly interesting, but it would take us too far from the task of providing a comprehensive description of ‘de volta’ and its counterdirectional uses.

¹⁴ The same goes for ‘de volta’ combined with names, as we noticed earlier.

A semantic analysis for ‘de volta’

The formal apparatus that will be used to describe the meaning of ‘de volta’ involves the notion of path or trajectory, the idea of an opposite direction (applied to trajectories), and certain presuppositions. Therefore, the first point we will elaborate on is the theory about trajectories that will be adopted in this paper.

In his influential work, Zwarts (2005), based on notions derived from “vector space semantics”¹⁵ (VSS, see ZWARTS, 1997; ZWARTS; WINTER, 2000), assumes that a trajectory is an ordered sequence of spatial points, which can be formally captured as a continuous function, in the interval of real numbers, between $[0,1]$; the starting point of a trajectory or path p is formalized as $p(0)$ and the end point as $p(1)$, and any points between 0 and 1 are intermediate parts of the trajectory. In the same manner as the sets of points used to model the meaning of locative prepositions in VSS, the trajectories p are part of the spatial domain P , alongside with the domains E (for individuals and events¹⁶) and T (for truth values). The denotation of directional prepositions, such as ‘para o parque’ (“to the park”), ‘pelo hospital’ (“through the hospital”) and ‘do trabalho’ (“from work”), are sets of trajectories.

In order to relate trajectories to movement events, Zwarts (2005), following Verkuyl (1993) and Krifka (1998), among many others, proposes a thematic function TRACE – if e is an event and p a trajectory, TRACE(e) relates the development of the event e to the trajectory p (which is the denotation of the directional PP). Schematically, we have the following (ZWARTS, 2005, p.17):

$$(23) \llbracket [V PP] \rrbracket = \{e \in \llbracket [V] \rrbracket : \text{TRACE}(e) \in \llbracket [PP] \rrbracket\}$$

It is important to notice, as claimed by Zwarts (2008), that there are different types of trajectories that can be taken as the denotation of directional prepositional phrases, and their properties affects the aspectual characteristics of the verbal predicates with which they combine. We will not, however, discuss this topic in this paper because we need only a definition of trajectory and a way to relate trajectories to verbal predicates, as stated in (23). In the last section, we have already used some of this formalization, which was only made explicit here.

Considering that ‘de volta’ indicates opposite direction in the spatial and in the eventive domains, the next step in describing ‘de volta’ is to explore what we must understand by “contrary” or “reverse”. Zwarts (2019, p.224) proposes a REVERSE relation, defined as in (24) below:

¹⁵ The Vector Space Semantics theory is an approach to deal with the semantics of simple locative spatial expressions and their modification by measure phrases such as ‘3 meters behind the house’. Many of the notions of the theoretical proposal that we present here come from the VSS and, therefore, they share a series of semantic properties.

¹⁶ It is an ontological simplification to consider events and individuals in the same domain. A richer ontology, however, is perfectly compatible with the analysis we offer here.

- (24) for any two paths p and p' , $\text{REVERSE}(p, p')$ if and only if
 (i) $p(0)=p'(1)$; and
 (ii) there is a point $j \in (0,1]$ and a point $i \in [0,1)$ such that $p(j)=p'(i)$

We have already seen, albeit informally, the first of the conditions in the last section, and it ensures that a reverse trajectory (i.e., given as the oppose of a previous one) must end where the original trajectory begins. Point (ii) demands that there be another non-initial point in p that coincides with some other non-final point in p' – this condition guarantees, for example, the “looping” reading as in the case in which the trajectory is $(p(0) = p'(1)$ and $p(1) = p'(0))$, and also guarantees that the trajectories are not necessarily identical¹⁷.

Using a theory of trajectories, we can define trajectories as well as operations on them, and that is what we have done so far. We must now deal with the presuppositions associated with ‘de volta’. In order to do that, it is also necessary to make explicit the treatment given to the counterdirectional meanings considered in this paper. Following Zwarts (2019, p.218) suggestions, we can treat each of the meanings seen in section 1 as event modifiers:

$\text{REARWARD, RETROGRADE, ...} = \lambda E \lambda e [E(e) \wedge \dots(e) \dots]$

“E” represents the set of events denoted by a given verbal predicate and “e” represents a subset of those events that have the relevant counterdirectional property – the semantic representation is Neo-Davidsonian. That is, each of the counterdirectional meanings is a modifier that takes events as arguments and returns events with some counterdirectional specification – thus, $[[\text{REARWARD}]]$, for instance, denotes a set of sets of events, whereas ‘walk’ denotes a set of events. If we consider ‘de costas’ (“back”) as an expression that instantiates the rearward meaning, the expression ‘andar de costas’ (“walk backwards”) denotes the set of walking events that goes in the opposite direction to what is considered the usual, with the back “leading”.

(25) defines the idea of a “back leading” orientation, using the VSS tools, such as the spatial axes and the FRONT function, which operates on the vector related to the motion verb (concrete or abstract), allied to a direction function DIR (e, t). Taking into account other common assumptions within event semantics, the meaning of REARWARD can be defined as in (26) (see ZWARTS, 2019, p.221):

(25) $\forall t [t \in \tau(e) \rightarrow \neg \text{FRONT}(\text{THEME}(e), t) = \text{DIR}(e, t)]$

(26) $\text{REARWARD} = \lambda E \lambda e [E(e) \wedge \forall t [t \in \tau(e) \rightarrow \neg \text{FRONT}(\text{THEME}(e), t) = \text{DIR}(e, t)]]$

¹⁷ According to Zwarts (2019, p.223-224), in a sentence such as “João saiu de São Paulo, mas veio de volta para Porto Alegre” (“John left from São Paulo but came back to Porto Alegre”) the starting point of the trajectory to São Paulo does not have to be Porto Alegre, which is the end point of the return trajectory. But in cases like these, we can assume that some contextual element will provide the information that the relevant trajectory has, in fact, begun in Porto Alegre.

(25) expresses that the unfolding of an event e ($\tau(e)$) occurs with the THEME of the event having its back forward/leading ($-\text{FRONT}(\text{THEME}(e), t)$) the directionality of event ($\text{DIR}(e, t)$)¹⁸.

Putting all the pieces together, and ignoring tense, sentence (27) is analyzed as in (27’):

(27) João andou de costas.

João walked backwards / with his back leading

(27’) $[[\text{João andou}]] = \exists(e)[\text{WALK}(e) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{joão})]$ ¹⁹

$[[\text{de costas}]] = \lambda E \lambda e [E(e) \wedge \forall t [t \in \tau(e) \rightarrow -\text{FRONT}(\text{THEME}(e), t) = \text{DIR}(e, t)]]$

$[[\text{de costas}]]([\text{João andou}]) =$

$\lambda E \lambda e [E(e) \wedge \forall t [t \in \tau(e) \rightarrow -\text{FRONT}(\text{THEME}(e), t) = \text{DIR}(e, t)]](\exists(e)[\text{WALK}(e) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{joão})]) =$

$\exists(e)[\text{WALK}(e) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{joão}) \wedge \forall t [t \in \tau(e) \rightarrow -\text{FRONT}(\text{THEME}(e), t) = \text{DIR}(e, t)]]$

(i.e.: there is a walking event; the theme of this event is João; while the event unfolds, its direction is oriented to the back of its theme).

When considering the **returnative** meaning, Zwarts (2019, p.223-224) proposes the following characterization (below we show an adapted version):

$\text{RETURNATIVE} = \lambda E \lambda e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{LPATH}(e), \text{LPATH}(e'))].$
 $[E(e)]$

In this formula, the material between the colon and the end point represents a presupposition. There are three pieces of information presupposed, which we detail below:

$\exists e' [e' < e =$ this first part is about the existence of an event e' prior to the event e ; the event e is asserted²⁰ in the expression;

$E'(e') =$ this line states that event e' is of the type E' ; it says that the events e and e' are closely related or similar. This is important to account for cases such as in (10) in which we need events that involve movement without necessarily being identical, and as in (13) where we need more similar events, such as events that are identified as “writing”

¹⁸ In order to apply “FRONT” to the THEME, we must first consider the spatial coordinates of the THEME in a vector semantics, since “FRONT”, being a spatial function, can only be applied to vectors or points of the domain P. The necessary semantic operations are available in VSS and are compatible with the analysis developed here. Similarly, we can say that the direction of the event e is determined by a vector that relates its unfolding to a time; in this case, the vector is characterized as having its beginning “backwards” (i.e., “-FRONT”).

¹⁹ The existential closure is given by the tense morpheme of the verb; again, a common assumption in event semantics that has no direct relation to our theme.

²⁰ We use “assert” as opposed to “presuppose” in this paper.

REVERSE(LPATH(e), LPATH(e')) = this line guarantees that the asserted event unfolds contrary to the presupposed event e', as we saw in (24). In addition, "LPATH" explicitly states that we are dealing with a spatial trajectory – we will come back to this point later.

Finally, the asserted part of the formalization simply states the existence of an event e that has the property of being **returnative**.

Using the suggested formula, let's look at the following example:

(28) João dirigiu de volta.

João drove back.

(28') [[João dirigiu]] = $\exists(e)[\text{DRIVE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{joão})]$

[[de volta]] = $\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e'[e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{LPATH}(e), \text{LPATH}(e'))]. [E(e)]$

[[de volta]]([[João dirigiu]]) =

$\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e'[e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{LPATH}(e), \text{LPATH}(e'))]. (\exists(e)[\text{DRIVE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{joão})])$

$\exists(e). \exists e'[e' < e \wedge \text{movement}^{21}(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{LPATH}(e), \text{LPATH}(e'))]. [\text{DRIVE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{joão})]$

(in prose: there is an event e; there is a presupposed event e' previous and similar to e, which unfolded in a direction opposed to e; e is a driving event; the agent of e is João)

Finally, we can check the existence of the presuppositional content using the test known as "p-family" (cf. CHIERHIA, 2003, p.186): if A presupposes B, then (i) a questioning using A also presupposes B, (ii) the negation of A also presupposes B, and (iii) a conditional sentence using A as its antecedent also presupposes B. Taking sentence (29) as A, and (29a) as its presupposition B, we can see that (29b), (29c) and (29d) presuppose B just like (29) does:²²

(29) João caminhou de volta.

(29a) Houve um evento anterior de deslocamento de João, que pode ter ou não ter sido uma caminhada, e que se deu numa certa direção.

(29b) João caminhou de volta?

(29c) João não caminhou de volta.

(29d) Se João caminhou de volta, então não veio ninguém com ele.

²¹ Here and in the other examples of derivation, we will leave the event in lowercase to represent that it is a presupposed event whose specificities will only be contextually resolved.

²² For the English version:

(29) João walked back.

(29a) There was an earlier event of João's displacement, which may or may not have been a walk, and which took place in a certain direction.

(29b) Did John walk back?

(29c) John did not walk back.

(29d) If John walked back, then no one came with him.

We propose that this analysis correctly describes the nominal cases that we saw in the previous section, as well as the verbs in (a) and (b) – obviously, with proper adjustments, but in all cases, we have a spatial trajectory involved.

When we move to the cases in (c) presented in the section “‘de volta’ and its meaning”, we are no longer dealing with spatial trajectories, but rather with two related events so that one occurs in response and in the opposite direction of a previous event; this is the **responsive** meaning. To capture this difference and maintain the same denotation of ‘de volta’ that we used in example (28’), Zwarts (2019, p.225) suggests that what are changed are the types of the paths related by REVERSE, which are no longer spatial (i.e., LPATH) but rather occur in the domain of events, so in this case we have APATHs (“A” for ‘action’). The formula offered by the author is as follows:

$$\text{RESPONSIVE} = \lambda E \lambda e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{APATH}(e), \text{APATH}(e'))]. [E(e)]$$

Such a strategy, although certainly quite simplified, accounts for the intuition that there is a changing from the spatial to the eventive domain, and so we have a different kind of trajectory for these cases, but ‘de volta’ has the same role in both cases. Let’s look at the following analysis:

(30) Pedro telefonou de volta para a Maria.

Pedro phoned back to Maria

(30’) [[Pedro telefonou para a Maria]] = $\exists(e)[\text{PHONE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{pedro}) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{maria})]$

[[de volta]] = $\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{APATH}(e), \text{APATH}(e'))]. [E(e)]$

[[de volta]]([[Pedro telefonou para a Maria]]) =

$\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{APATH}(e), \text{APATH}(e'))]. (\exists(e)[\text{PHONE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{pedro}) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{maria})])$

$\exists e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge \text{phone}'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{APATH}(e), \text{APATH}(e'))]. [\text{PHONE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{pedro}) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{maria})]$

(in prose: there is event *e*; there is a presupposed event *e'* previous and similar to *e*, which unfolds in the opposite direction of *e*, that is, it is a phoning-event which “goes from” Maria and “arrives at” Pedro; *e* is a phoning-event which “goes from” Pedro and “arrives at” Maria)²³

As we noted in the previous section, the main difference between cases such as (28) and (30) is that the events related in (30) must have a greater degree of similarity, and therefore the presupposed event in (30) must also be classified as a “phoning-event”.

A similar strategy can be used to deal with the **restitutive** meaning, that is, we must again consider in which domain we will find the relevant trajectories. In this case, we

²³ We might, for example, suggest that the thematic roles of AGENT and THEME are systematically associated with what we call the beginning (“departing”) and end (“arriving”) of the relevant abstract trajectories. However, such a statement, although reasonable, requires further investigations that we will not develop in this paper.

will suggest that the relevant operation occurs in a domain of state-of-affairs, and that the trajectories of this domain are named EPATH, following the description we have made for the previous cases. Thus, we will define the **restitutive** meaning simply as²⁴:

$$\text{RESTITUTIVE} = \lambda E \lambda e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{EPATH}(e), \text{EPATH}(e'))].$$

[E(e)]

What is at stake here is a return to a previous state-of-affairs, but the analysis is a little more complex because it is necessary to relate the event with the state-of-affairs that it restores, and that is precisely the role which we attribute to EPATH. Consider the following example:

(31) Maria pegou seu livro de volta.
Mary took her book back.

The relevant interpretation for (31) is something like: Maria picking up her book back restores Maria's state-of-affairs to be with her book. Intuitively, (31) presupposes: (i) the book was with Mary some time before, and (ii) the book is no longer with Mary. (31) states that the book is with Mary again, reestablishing an earlier state. The presupposed event e' is a possession event²⁵, whose EPATH is as below:

$$\text{EPATH}(e') = p(0)\text{have_the_book} / p(1)\text{not_have_the_book}$$

That is, the beginning of e' is to have possession of the book, and its end is to have no longer the possession of the book. As in the other cases, REVERSE results in an EPATH for e that is the opposite of the EPATH for e' :

$$\text{EPATH}(e) = p(0)\text{not_have_the_book} / p(1)\text{have_the_book}$$

As the intuitive paraphrase given above suggests, a felicitous context for (31) is the one in which the EPATH of the presupposed event e' was “traveled”, that is, Maria no longer has the book; the assertion of (31) involves an event e similar to the presupposed event, whose trajectory unfolds in the opposite direction to the presupposed event e' , that is, at the end of the EPATH of e Maria has the book.

²⁴ This is not, for example, the solution proposed by Zwarts (2019) nor by Beck and Gergel (2015) to deal with the restitutive meaning; these researchers use scales and scalar events to explain the restitutive cases. Here we choose to deal with states-of-affairs because not every restitutive meaning is combined with scalar (verbal) predicates; our example (31) shows this.

²⁵ An alternative would be to consider that states and events are separated on the ontology, and so instead of speaking of “possession events”, we could speak of “possession” or “possession states”. Again, this ontological distinction does not go against our analysis, since ‘de volta’ would have the same role, but according to this alternative, we would have a trajectory traversed in the eventive domain. Our choice here, however, is to continue to speak only in terms of events to highlight the semantics of ‘de volta’ without further exploration of ontological issues.

(31') [[Maria pegou seu livro]] = $\exists(e)[\text{TAKE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{maria}) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{Maria's_book})]$
 [[de volta]] = $\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e'[e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{EPATH}(e), \text{EPATH}(e'))]$. [E(e)]
 [[de volta]]([[Maria pegou seu livro]]) =
 $\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e'[e' < e \wedge \text{have_the_book}'(e') \wedge \text{REVERSE}(\text{EPATH}(e), \text{EPATH}(e'))]$.
 $(\exists(e)[\text{TAKE}(e) \wedge \text{AGENT}(e, \text{maria}) \wedge \text{THEME}(e, \text{Maria's_book})])$

The role of 'de volta' once again is the same, what will change, as in the other cases, is the domain in which the trajectories unfold – now in a more conceptual, more abstract domain.

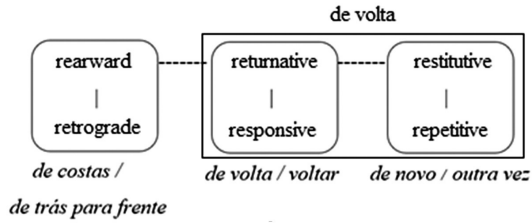
The last case is the one in which 'de volta' has the **repetitive** meaning, which is always very close to the **restitutive** meaning. As we have mentioned, this is probably not the most commonly associated counterdirectional meaning for 'de volta', but its existence can also be understood in the same way as we have seen above. Following a suggestion made by Zwarts (2019, p.226-227), we can represent the **repetitive** meaning as below:

REPETITIVE = $\lambda E \lambda e: \exists e'[e' < e \wedge E'(e')]$. [E(e)]

The emphasis in this case is no longer on the state-of-affairs that a given event brings about, but rather on the realization of a given event that presupposes the existence of a previous similar event. In this case, there are no more trajectories involved, but we still must consider that the **repetitive** meaning is part of the counterdirectional domain because in several different languages the items that express the **repetitive** meaning also express many of the other meanings of this domain. Still, it is possible to conceive that to redo an event means to go back to the beginning of a given process and then start it again, that is to say, there is, albeit in a more distant way, a path being traversed in reverse in the idea of doing something again, redo or restart something. In our analysis, repeating an event imposes fewer constraints than, for example, returning a movement event, responding to an event that does not necessarily involve spatial movement, or even reestablishing a state.

Given our characterization of the 'de volta' so far, we can return to the scheme that Zwarts and Basso (2016) propose for BrP. This scheme needs to be reformulated as below, in which 'de volta' expresses the returnative, responsive, restitutive and repetitive meanings:

Scheme 5 – Lexicalization of BrP counterdirectional meanings



Source: Author's elaboration.

With respect to semantic analysis, we can offer a single analysis for the returnative, responsive and restorative meanings abstracting the different types of trajectory involved in the presupposed REVERSE relation, noted now only as PATH. The result is the following structure:

$$[[de\ volta]] = \lambda E \lambda e: \exists e' [e' < e \wedge E'(e') \wedge REVERSE(PATH(e), PATH(e'))]. [E(e)]$$

That is, in these three uses, 'de volta' is an event modifier that carries specific presuppositions which relate the presupposed and the asserted event, so that the trajectory of one of them, in some conceptual domain, occurs in the reverse direction of the trajectory of the other.

The repetitive interpretation, in a simplified way, is a metaphorical extension of the other cases that "erases" the need to relate different trajectories of two events but maintains the rest of the presuppositions. In a sense, a repetition event is a less restricted type of a returnative event, in which the constraint on trajectory reversal is not observed. Let's now move on to conclusions and to some open issues.

Conclusion

In this paper, we deal with the semantic interpretation of the expression 'de volta' in Brazilian Portuguese. We offer an analysis of this item within the framework of event semantics of natural language, which considers 'de volta' as a particular type of event modifier – a counterdirectional modifier. Among the six possibilities of counterdirectional modification that we have mentioned, 'de volta' can express four of them in BrP. We have proposed that three of the counterdirectional meanings of 'de volta' (returnative, responsive, and restitutive) are closely related, and that repetitive meaning is a less restrictive version of these meanings.

Our analysis unifies several apparently different meanings in a clear and organic manner, without using *ad hoc* notions, based on independently motivated concepts and ideas. We arrive at a simple and compositional formal description, within the framework

of formal semantics, of a very common structure of Brazilian Portuguese. In addition, our analysis can be seen as an argument in favor of the idea that the spatial, eventive, and state-of-affairs domains are linked by relations such as metaphors and analogies, and so the same item can act in different “layers” of the space < time / event < states-of-affairs hierarchy.

Among the open issues we left on this paper, we mention that it would be interesting to explore the exact conditions that permit the repetitive reading of ‘de volta’ and what are the relations between this expression and the counterdirectional uses of the verb ‘voltar’ (“to return”), as well as to explore possible differences of interpretations of ‘de volta’ related to its syntactic position. These are topics that certainly deserve further investigation.

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BASSO, R. Sobre a semântica de ‘de volta’: um exercício em contradirecionalidade. *Alfa*, São Paulo, v.63, n.2, p.405-427, 2019.

- *RESUMO*: Neste artigo, nosso objeto é apresentar uma análise, dentro dos moldes da semântica e da pragmática formal das línguas naturais, da expressão ‘de volta’ no português brasileiro, considerando-a como um modificador de eventos de um tipo particular, um modificador contradirecional. Para tanto, lançamos mão de uma semântica de eventos neo-davidsoniana e da semântica de trajetórias proposta por Zwarts (2005; 2008), aliada a uma análise de modificadores de eventos. Na primeira parte deste artigo, apresentamos o domínio da contradirecionalidade, suas distinções e a proposta de Zwarts e Basso (2016), que trata também do português brasileiro. Na sequência, apresentamos diversos dados relacionados às interpretações de ‘de volta’ para então, na seção seguinte, desenvolvermos nossa proposta específica de análise semântica para essa expressão. Como resultado, propomos uma análise unificada de ‘de volta’ que dá conta de suas interpretações retornativa, responsiva, restitutiva e repetitiva. Além disso, apresentamos uma revisão das conclusões de Zwarts e Basso (2016) sobre ‘de volta’. Concluímos o presente texto com alguns problemas em aberto.
- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE*: Contradirecionalidade. Modificadores. Semântica de eventos. Semântica formal. Pressuposição.

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THE ROLE OF LOW HEADS IN THE CAUSATIVE INTERPRETATION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: SOME NOTES ON EVENT COMPOSITION, F-SEQ AND NANOSYNTAX

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- **ABSTRACT:** In this paper, we investigate the causativization process in Brazilian Portuguese in order to understand the constraints and generalizations that allow us to explain the apparently chaotic data in this language. We explore the hypothetico-deductive method and hypothesize that there are elements from the Aktionsarten domain that determine the verbal behavior in relation with a causative meaning. Consequently, we present a theoretical review of aspectual classes, employing the tools of a recent approach to the architecture of grammar named Nanosyntax (STARKE, 2009). Thereby, it will be possible to understand the finer-grained constraints that the classes of ‘states’ and ‘accomplishments’, for instance, impose for the causativization, taking into account ‘nano’ syntactic and semantic features, such as Initiation, Process, Result and Boundness. We conclude, therefore, that for a predicate to be interpreted as a causative one, the event denoted by it needs to be dynamic in its nature. In addition, we show that the functional sequence (F-seq), in the way it is proposed within the nanosyntactic model, allows us to explain the possible association of more than one syntactic node with the same verbal argument, as well as its underassociation and consequent identification with a null causative nucleus, as it happens to be the case in Brazilian Portuguese causativization.
- **KEYWORDS:** Causativization. Event composition. Aktionsarten. Nanosyntax. Functional hierarchy of the verbal domain.

Introduction

Since the mid-1960s, it has been recognized in linguistics the need to assume the existence of elements in our ontology that are related to broader concepts of human perception about the world. In this sense, certain components that integrate the spatial and temporal domains, for example, appear as syntactic-semantic features that work

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on the construction of natural language grammars in a systematic way. Although there is currently a consensus that elements such as path, manner and causality are relevant for the construction of sentences in natural languages, the debate about the exact *locus* of these elements is still unsettled (RAMCHAND; SVENONIUS, 2014).

Considering such framework, in this paper we intend to investigate phenomena related to the expression of causality in natural languages, aiming mainly to understand (i) one of the many ways in which the different languages of the world can convey this type of relation and (ii) the role of different grammar modules in the construction of a causative meaning. In particular, we will investigate the phenomenon of causativization, which consists roughly of a process that allows for the attribution of a causative interpretation to predicates or constructions that do not convey causality inherently, as it can be seen in the sentence pairs below, where (a) marks the non-causative version of the predicates ‘*pular*’ (‘to jump’) and ‘*emagrecer*’ (‘to lose weight’) and (b) the causative counterpart of the same structures.

- (1) a. *O menino pulou pela cerca.*
the.M boy.SBJ jumped.3SG-PST over-the.F fence
b. *A mãe pulou o menino pela cerca.*
the.F mother.SBJ jumped.3SG-PST the.M boy.OBJ over-the.F fence
- (2) a. *João emagreceu.*
João.SBJ got slim.3SG-PST.
b. *O remédio emagreceu o João.*
The medicine.SBJ lose-weight.3SG-PST João.OBJ.

In sentences (1a) and (2a), the processes described by the predicates ‘*pular*’ and ‘*emagrecer*’ occur in a “natural” or “spontaneous” way, i.e. our interpretation for these sentences is simply that there was an event in which “the boy jumped” and “John got slim”. In both (b) sentences, on the other hand, we have a rather unexpected configuration, since in these cases we interpret the processes denoted by ‘*pular*’ and ‘*emagrecer*’ as not happening naturally; instead, these processes were caused by the argument located in the position of the syntactic subject. That is, it is understood in (1b) that the mother somehow made the boy jump over the fence and, in (2b), the medicine made John lose weight. In these sentences, therefore, the event denoted by the predicate is, in fact, the result of another event (a causative one) performed by the subject.

This process seems to be quite pervasive throughout natural languages (RAMCHAND, 2008; HORVATH; SILONI, 2011; LYUTIKOVA; TATEVOSOV, 2012). However, it is important to realize that: (i) not all the predicates of a given language can convey a causal relation between two events (see the contrast between sentences (1) and (3)); (ii) there seems to be some language specific constraints that block the incidence of causality on its verbs (cf. sentences (3) and (4), respectively);

and (iii) the possibility of conveying a causative relationship applies to a certain set of verbs only in some contexts (see sentences in (5))¹.

- (3) a. *As crianças riram.*
the.F-PL kids laughed.
b. **O palhaço riu as crianças.*
the.M clown laughed the.F-PL kids.
- (4) a. Sami naura-tti tyttö-jä.
Sami.NOM laugh.CAUSE-PST girls.OBJ
“Sami laughed the girls” (= Sami made the girls laugh)
(Adapted from PYLKKÄNEN, 2008)
- (5) a. *Pedro caiu de cima do muro.*
Pedro.SBJ fell.3SG.PST off the.M wall.
b. **Joana caiu Pedro de cima do muro.*
*Joana.SBJ fell.3SG Pedro.OBJ off the.M wall.
c. *O Brasil caiu o índice de analfabetismo.*
the.M Brasil fell.3SG the.M illiteracy rate off.

After contrasting the data shown in examples (1) to (5), we can ask ourselves which is the source of the observed asymmetries regarding causativization. Why is that not all verbs (intra or crosslinguistically) can be interpreted as causative in any given situation? Considering, for instance, the contrast between the sentences (1) and (3), on the one hand, and (3) and (4), on the other hand, the phenomenon under discussion becomes even more interesting. Since both the predicates ‘*pular*’ (jumping) and ‘*rir*’ (laughing) belong to the class of unergative verbs and denote semelfactive events (ROTHSTEIN, 2004), why do the former can be causativized in Brazilian Portuguese (BrP), with no harms to interpretation, whereas the second one is systematically blocked to causativize in that language? In other words, why do verbs that seem to share the same set of syntactic-semantic features exhibit an irregular behavior in relation to the incidence of causality?

In order to answer the questions above, we aim to find some finer grained syntactic-semantic properties of BrP verbs and the events they denote that may contribute

¹ As an anonymous reviewer noticed, it is important to highlight the fact that there is no interdialectal uniformity in relation to the well-formed judgments of causative sentences. Moreover, in some cases the causative structure is very similar to a topic-subject construction. Despite this fact, we defend that the sentences discussed here legitimately exhibit a causative interpretation, associated with the fact that there is a new argument in the structure that causes the effect. The main argument to defend a causal reading for these sentences comes precisely from its meaning, which can be paraphrased by “x made VP”. It should be noted that (5c) can be paraphrased by “*o Brasil fez o índice de analfabetismo cair*” (“Brazil made the illiteracy rate fall”), while in a topic-subject construction such as “*o relógio caiu o ponteiro do minuto*” (“the clock dropped the minute hand”) or “*o carro faltou o freio*” (“the car lacked the brake”) the same paraphrase does not apply: “**o relógio fez o ponteiro do minuto cair*” and “**o carro fez o freio faltar*”.

to the understanding of the causativization process. To do so, we work with the hypothetical-deductive method as a means of investigation and we hypothesize that the factor which constrains the possibility of a given predicate from being interpreted as causative in our language is the architecture of the functional sequence (*f-seq*) segment that corresponds to the domain of event composition (“little-*v*”). In order to investigate our hypothesis and reach the goals outlined, this research is within the theoretical framework of Nanosyntax (STARKE, 2009), considering that, by integrating Minimalism and Cartography assumptions, this model offers us a very rich, elegant and predictive machinery that allows us to look at the smallest atoms of linguistic composition, thus providing a fine understanding of the structure and engine of the event composition domain and its intimate relationship with generalizations about the argument structure.

In the next section, we present the process of causativization, discussing the main problems that we find in the understanding of this phenomenon. Next, we will present the more general framework of Nanosyntax (STARKE, 2009; RAMCHAND, 2008; CAHA, 2009) and the main assumptions of the theory underlying our analysis. In the section “Investigating causativization in BrP within Nanosyntax”, we confront our given hypothesis with causativized sentences of BrP that will have their structure translated into the nanosyntactic terminology. In exploring the data, which appear to corroborate our initial assumption, we argue that the elements located in the lowest positions of the functional hierarchy seem to be the ones that make a difference in the verbal behavior regarding the incidence of causality. In addition, we explain, using nanosyntactic operation rules, how a causative meaning can be achieved and how the verbal structure is rearranged for both. We then show that there are distinct grammatical modules acting to construct a causative meaning. Finally, we draw some remarks about the ideas discussed in this paper. With this presentation, we hope to contribute to the description of Brazilian Portuguese and with the studies on the expression of causality in natural languages, also opening a new perspective for the investigation of causativization.

Licensing a causative interpretation for non-causative predicates: the causativization phenomenon

Causality has been a constant research topic in linguistics. As can be observed in seminal texts such as Dowty (1979), Parsons (1990), Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005), Kratzer (2005), Ramchand (2008) and Higginbotham (2009), this relation seems to be central to our understanding of aktionsarten and of the interface between syntax and semantics. According to Copley and Wolff (2014, p.11), “[...] much of the phrasal structure is organized around events (or entities similar to events, such as situations) and their causal relations.” As a consequence of this statement, based on empirical observations, we can say that investigating the mechanisms used by

different languages to express causality is an important step towards understanding various phenomena.

Causality here can be understood as a relation between two events: a *cause* and an *effect* (DAVIDSON, 1967; LEWIS, 1973b), organized in such a way that the *effect* should not naturally precede the *cause*. That is, unless we deal with time travel or quantum events, cases in which the sequence of events is explicitly manipulated, the natural ordering of causal relations is given by “*cause* → *effect*”. If, for example, we admit that a sentence like “Joan broke the window” expresses a causal relationship, then we must understand that Joan did something at t_1 that resulted in “the breaking of the window” at t_2 . That is, it does not matter whether Joan threw a stone at the window or hammered it; given a *cause* event, its occurrence must be prior to the *effect*, made explicit in this case by “the breaking of the window”. This fact, although presented briefly, compels us to insert a temporal parameter in the definition of what is causality, in consonance with the works of Aguiar (2003), Schaffer (2016) and Neeleman and van de Koot (2012)².

In linguistics, the causal relation is usually represented by the predicate CAUSE (JACKENDOFF, 1983; PINKER, 1989) and the temporal ordering between its events can be guaranteed by an ordered pair such as <*cause*, *effect*>. Thus, when one speaks about a causative interpretation of a certain sentence, it is assumed that an element of the type CAUSE<*cause*, *effect*> integrates the set of items that compose its structure. When the causativization process occurs, therefore, it is this entire component that is then computed into the overall meaning of the sentence. As we discussed in the introduction, not all the verbs of a given language can be interpreted as causative, that is, not every verb allows the insertion of an element CAUSE<*cause*, *effect*> in its structure. Considering this fact, let us examine the sentences below to understand some of the problems found in the causativization analysis in BrP.

(6) a. *Joana acordou.*

Joana.SBJ wake-up.3SG-PST.

b. *O despertador/Pedro acordou a Joana.*

the.M alarm clock/Pedro.SBJ wake-up.3SG-PST the.F Joana.OBJ.

(7) a. *A nota do programa subiu.*

the.F rating of-the-program.SBJ rise-up.3SG-PST.

b. *Os professores subiram a nota do programa.*

the.M.PL professors.SBJ rise-up.3PL-PS the.F rating-of-the-program.OBJ.

² Some authors admit that the causal relation also depends on a counterfactual parameter, given that time seems to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition to define this relation. By manipulating a possible world parameter, it is understood that if the cause does not occur, the effect event also does not occur ($\neg O(c) \square \rightarrow \neg O(e)$). In this paper, we do not explore the counterfactuality, however we refer the interested reader to the works of Dowty (1979), Eckardt (2000) and Kratzer (2005).

The predicates ‘acordar’ (waking up) and ‘subir’ (rise up) belong to the class of unaccusative verbs, since they allow for adjectival use in past participle constructions (PPA constructions) (SILVA, 2009) (see (8) below) and block the formation of nominalizations (cf. (9) below), a mechanism that operates freely on unergative predicates, which display in their structure a single external argument, usually associated with a role of agentivity in the unfolding of the event.

- (8) a. *A Joana acordada fica muito irritada.*
 the.F Joana.SBJ awake.ADJ gets very annoyed.ADJ.
 b. *Os arquivos subidos pelos usuários são criptografados.*
 the.M-PL files.SBJ uploaded by-the.M-PL users are.COP encrypted.ADJ.
- (9) a. **Pedro é acordador de gente preguiçosa.*
 Pedro.SBJ is.COP awakener.NMLZ of lazy people.OBJ.
 b. **Os subidores de arquivo chegaram³.*
 the.M-PL file uploaders.NMLZ arrive.3PL-PST.

These tests indicate that the only argument these verbs have in their structure ((6a) and (7a)) is a direct object, an internal argument of the VP layer. When these sentences are causativized, however, a new argument arises in the sentence in the position of the syntactic subject. We could, in principle, theorize that the unaccusative verbs causativize because they have a syntactic head available to receive a new argument ([spec-vP] or [voiceP]), thus triggering an interpretation of causality. However, this is not always the case, since not all unaccusative predicates can causativize (see (10)). Moreover, unergative verbs which already contain an argument in the position of spec-vP or voiceP can license the process in question, as it is shown in the sentences (11) with the verb ‘mergulhar’ (dive)⁴.

- (10) a. *Joana saiu de casa.*
 Joana.SBJ leave.3SG-PST home.
 b. **Alice saiu Joana de casa.*
 *Alice.SBJ leave.3SG-PST Joana.OBJ home.

³ In a quick search on Google, it is possible to find some uses of ‘subidor’. However, it is important to realize that speakers typically use this word with quote markers, which indicates that the use in question is done through a conscious manipulation of some underlying rules of the language. An example of such an occurrence may be given by “[a] capacitação é voltada para os ‘subidores’ de coqueiro [...]”, available at: <http://www.alagoas24horas.com.br/709551/workers-trained-for-coconut-collection>. In this case, it is also interesting to note that the use of ‘subir’ resembles that of an unergative verb, in which the subject acts with intentionality and control over her actions or, more specifically, the individual who initiates the event is the same which is affected by it.

⁴ To argue that the verb ‘mergulhar’ is truly an unergative predicate, it is possible to use the nominalization task. Since this verb allows the creation of a noun in ‘-(d)or’, as ‘mergulhador’, and block the formation of an adjectival past participle, as in “*a criança mergulhada sorriu”, ‘mergulhar’ cannot be an unaccusative predicate.

- (11) a. *A criança mergulhou no rio.*
 the.F child.SBJ dive.3SG-PST into-the.M river.
- b. *Tétis mergulhou a criança no rio.*
 Thetis.SBJ dive.3SG-PST the.F child.OBJ into-the.M river.

From the examples above, explaining the causativization of unergative verbs seems to be somewhat more complicated than the causativization of unaccusative predicates, since there is a transparent reorganization of the predicate-argument structure in the former case: in (11b), with the appearance of the new argument ‘Thetis’ in the sentence, the original argument of the verb, ‘the child’, is somehow shifted to the direct object position, which is allegedly a functional space that is not available for this kind of predicate⁵. Furthermore, in this case, the argument no longer plays an agentive role in the event but is affected in some way by the event played out by the new subject.

What the examples from (8) to (11) show, therefore, is that although causation seems to involve some kind of argument alternation, what we have is, in fact, a distinct phenomenon, independent of the intrinsic argument grid of verbs. In spite of this fact, we cannot deny that the phenomenon under analysis clearly presents a problem for the argument structure, because when causativization is allowed, there is not only the insertion of a new event in the structure, interpreted as the *cause* that leads to the event denoted by the predicate; but also (i) a new argument arises with the role of “causer” or “initiator” of the eventuality described by the main predicate, which is associated with the *cause* event; and as a consequence of the appearance of this other argument, (ii) some atypical thematic relations are established between the subject and the direct object. How can we explain the existence of all these new relations when a given predicate is causativized?

In Brazilian Portuguese, some previous work have already tried to answer this same question. However, in spite of isolating some descriptive properties of the causativization process in this language, they do not reach a real explanatory level, especially for the relations observed here (AMARAL, 2009; CAMBRUSSI, 2009; SILVA, 2009; FERREIRA; RAMMÉ, 2014). The research developed by Cambrussi (2009, 2011) and Amaral (2009), for instance, both elaborated in the framework of lexicon-conceptual semantics (JACKENDOFF, 1983; LEVIN; RAPPAPORT-HOVAV, 2005), highlight certain thematic properties as being responsible for the behaviour of BrP verbs regarding causativization, but they do not demonstrate the necessary rules for a causative interpretation to be reached in such framework. As an example, we can take the work of Cambrussi (2009, 2015) as a benchmark for this kind of research: when investigating the causativization of unergatives, the author proposes that only the verbs that denote an *internally caused state* allowing an external induction can be interpreted as causative, as long as the event keep the semantic relation of initiator between the verb and its single argument in the intransitive predicate. However, in

⁵ For a opposite view to the idea that unergatives have a single external argument, see Hale and Keyser (1993).

addition to the existence of counterexamples for the suggested constraint, as the sentences below illustrate, Cambrussi (2009, 2015) does not discuss which rules can explain the manipulation by which the unergative predicate pass so it could acquire a structure that will be interpreted as causative, which is, in our view, essential to understand the phenomenon of causativization in its completeness.

(12) a. **Joana tossiu o bebê.*

*Joana.SBJ cough.3SG-PST the.M baby.OBJ.

b. **Pedro chorou o João.*

*Pedro.SBJ cry.3SG-PST the.M João.OBJ.

Considering that both ‘*tossir*’ (‘to cough’) and ‘*chorar*’ (‘to cry’) are unergative verbs denoting internally caused states because they are bodily processes, the role of initiating the event would necessarily be maintained for the original argument of the predicate. After all, for the events of ‘coughing’ and ‘crying’ to occur, it is obligatorily that the person who initiates and plays them out be the one who is ‘coughing’ and ‘crying’. In other words, even though the sentences in (12) respect the properties listed by Cambrussi (2009) as sufficient and necessary for the licensing of causativization, the phenomenon is blocked for this type of predicate. Moreover, there is no explanation as to how a new argument can be inserted and computed in this type of structure, in which there is allegedly only one argument position to be filled.

In this paper, besides looking for finer grained properties of the event as being responsible for the behavior of verbs regarding causativization, which may not be related to the thematic properties of the verb, as defended by previous work (CAMBRUSSI, 2009, 2015; AMARAL, 2009), we intend to fill the explanatory gap regarding how the structure can be composed and interpreted as causative. We believe that mobilizing a theory that deals with events and the syntactic organization of verbal arguments, while considering a direct relation between semantics and syntax, may be more advantageous in helping us to clarify the running of causativization and understand why only a few verbs can license this phenomenon. The model explored in this research, to be discussed in the next section, can be presented as a promising model that will allow us to reach the goals outlined, since it has rules for the structure derivation, which are independently motivated, besides being a computational approach more economical in relation to the more classic models existing within the framework of generative syntax. As we shall see below, Nanosyntax (STARKE, 2009) displaces a number of auxiliary hypotheses from the generative framework, such as case and thematic theories, to the universal functional sequence (*f-seq*). Thus, as the model assumes the existence of a large set of ingredients for linguistic composition, we would be expected to find in natural languages as many structures as combinations of possible features. To avoid this overgeneration of structures, on the other hand, the model posits rigid rules for proper derivation of the hierarchy in an attempt to make the theory empirically adequate. In view of some

of the advantages of Nanosyntax as a grammar model, in the next section we present the theoretical framework in which this research is embedded.

The theoretical framework: Nanosyntax and event composition

Nanosyntax is a new theory about the architecture of grammar that searches in granular levels the different blocks of linguistic composition. The key question that led to the creation of this theory in the Center for Advanced Studies in Theoretical Linguistics (CASTL) at the University of Tromsø is the empirical observation that the syntactic representations developed in the last thirty years have used increasingly smaller elements in their composition, giving rise to ever larger and more articulated structures. According to Starke (2009), this fact contradicts one of the fundamental dogmas of the field, namely the conjecture that syntax is only a way of organizing the lexicon into complex structures. Thus, considering the existence of such a contradiction and the fact that several researches have shown in recent decades that syntax actually operates with non-lexical elements, smaller than a morpheme (HALLE; MARANTZ, 1993; MARANTZ, 1997; EMBICK, 2015, among others), Nanosyntax assumes that the nature of ingredients of linguistic composition is sub-morphemic.

It is important to note that the central idea of Nanosyntax is not a debut of the theory. Since the mid-1990s, the Cartography project developed by Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1999), Belletti (2004) and Cinque and Rizzi (2008) already worked with the same conception. Nanosyntax can be taken as a model of cartographic inspiration that ends up assuming as a working methodology the heuristic proposed by Kayne (2005), known by the maxim “a feature – a nucleus”. This observation may lead one to believe that there is no advantage in using Nanosyntax for the investigation of linguistic phenomena, since this model is concerned with mapping the hierarchy of the functional nuclei that compose the most diverse linguistic domains, such as DP, CP, IP, vP and KP, analogously to the work developed in Cartography (SHLONSKY, 2010). However, the coincidence between the models is only apparent, since Nanosyntax (CAHA, 2009) goes beyond Cartography by proposing rigid derivation rules that will impose themselves on the universal functional hierarchy (*f-seq*). If methodologically both approaches are similar, when we think of the rules of structural composition, we find parallels between the nanosyntactic proposal and Distributed Morphology (HALLE; MARANTZ, 1993).

For Caha (2009), the main theoretical foundation of Nanosyntax is the idea that syntax is not only a way of constructing complex phrases and sentences based on a list of items stored in the lexicon (morphemes and words); on the contrary, the syntax is considered as the only and true generative component that uniformly applies the same rules to the sub-morphic features, morphemes, words and phrases, and can thus elegantly construct sentences in the natural language, using only a small machinery which guarantees the explanatory adequacy of the theory. As a consequence of this

centrality of syntax in the computation, Nanosyntax is, like Distributed Morphology (DM), a late insertion system, and it is for this reason that the technical parallels established between these two models are inevitable (CAHA, 2018). Despite these points in common, however, Nanosyntax is distinct from DM, roughly speaking, by excluding from the system the need to postulate rules and post-syntactic operations, such as fission, fusion, impoverishment and the deletion of traces, which makes the whole system simpler and economical from a computational point of view. In addition, the perspective of what the lexicon is is also distinct in these two models: while DM works with bundles of features distributed in different lists in the lexicon, Nanosyntax takes only the individually stored sub-morphemic features as its basic composition blocks. Since the syntax in this model constructs the morphemes, it turns out to be impossible to take a lot of morphemes stored in a pre-syntactic lexicon as the first composition input.

Most probably, the lexicon conception in Nanosyntax is the factor that can distinguish it the most from other well established models in generative syntax. According to Ramchand (2008), the lexicon becomes, in this theory, a locus of transmodular unification, since it does not have its own rules of derivation, as the lexicalist approach proposes (JACKENDOFF, 1983; PINKER, 1989; LEVIN; RAPPAPORT-HOVAV, 2005). The lexicon in Nanosyntax only stores information built on other components. Specifically, a lexical entry is an ordered triple of the type $\langle \text{phonological information}, \text{structural information SMS}, \text{encyclopedic information} \rangle$, the “SMS structural information” corresponding to pieces of the universal f-seq constructed by the syntax, such that the entry carries Syntactic (PP = preposition), Morphological (KP = case) and Semantic (EvtP = event) information. It should be noted that the fact that the lexicon is a repository of information (and not a dynamic component of grammar with its own composition rules) does not exclude its importance for derivation, since the information it stores must be compatible with the structure constructed by syntax so that a given item can identify a given sequence of functional nuclei in the structure. Since we are looking for properties of the event construction domain that may be relevant to the licensing of causativization, we can better understand how the derivation occurs in Nanosyntax and the role that the lexicon plays in this theory by first discussing the nanosyntactic hierarchy that has been proposed for this domain.

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky (2000), it was in the mid-1990s that the syntacticians began to worry about understanding the role of the event structure in the organization of the syntactic structure. In this context, works such as those of Travis (1994) and Ramchand (2008) argued that the aktionsarten was directly encoded in the syntactic structure and thus proposed that the meaning of the verbs could be constructed in a compositional way from primitives connected to the syntactic functional heads and to the verbal abstract roots (DÖLLING, HEYDE-ZYBATOW; SCHÄFER, 2007). Although this idea is widely accepted today, considering the central role of compositionality in the construction of natural language sentences and the existence

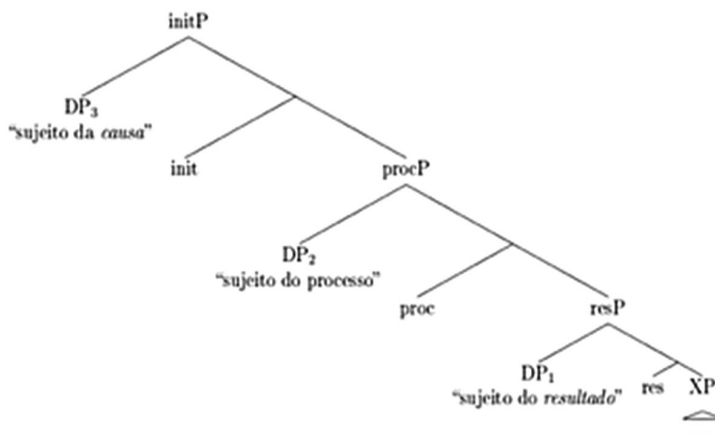
of a rigid functional hierarchy, there is still a great debate in the literature as to which elements of the event structure are to be represented in the syntactic structure, as functional heads, and which elements are to be seen either as an epiphenomenon of structural composition or as belonging to other domains of grammar and human cognition in a more general way.

In the scope of Nanosyntax, it is the work of Ramchand (2008, 2011, 2017) that seeks a solution to the problems listed above. Based on the observation that the phrasal layer “verb” is actually an abbreviation for a much richer functional structure (D’ALESSANDRO; FRANCO; GALLEGO, 2017), Ramchand (2008) proposes the existence of a more articulated structure for the verbal domain (vP), which is, according to the author, “the part of the representation of natural language that corresponds to [...] the *core of event building domain*” (Ramchand, 2017, p. 233, author’s emphasis). The vP structure engineered by Ramchand (2008) is thus configured as a model for the event-building domain, referred to by the author as “First Phase Syntax”, since there is a logical priority for the portion of the event construction denoted by a proposition regarding the computation of other elements, such as agreement and case marking, for example.

In the First Phase, selective generalizations are seen as submissive to the representation in terms of an articulated syntax with a systematic semantic interpretation. Since this system is developed based on nanosyntactic assumptions, there is a radical simplification of the grammar architecture, considering that the lexicon is eliminated as an independent module with its own rules and operations, and the computational core is shifted integrally to the syntax, a fact that limits the flexibility of the verbal item and its generalizations to this single component. We can thus say that linguistic competence is represented by a unique combinatorial system from which sentences are constructed with only a set of primitive features and a set of operations.

According to Ramchand (2017), the task of apprehending adequately which items make up this set of formal features must be semantically based, after all, the computational core of human language not only concatenates phrases that respect the specific syntactic ordering of particular languages, but there is an interpretation component that acts strongly over this core, establishing above all a relation between the linguistic processing prescribed by the universal grammar (GU) and the facts of the world. Because of this, the author proposes that the sub-representational features must be based on the notion of causation. According to the author, as speakers perceive the events in terms of an initiator that causes a process which, in turn, culminates in a result, it’s safe to assume that the features of the verbal domain configuration is a generalization of that intuition, based on force dynamics (TALMY, 2000). Hence, Ramchand (2008) proposes three fundamental elements for the eventive composition: initiation [init], process [proc] and result [res], which are organized hierarchically in a syntactic representation, as shown in the Figure 1.

Figure 1 – The Nanosyntax of the Event Domain



Source: Ramchand (2008, p. 39).

This representation is, as we said earlier, an articulated feature geometry for the event-building domain⁶. The features [init], [proc] and [res] and their projections are analogous to the different “flavors of v”; the vP denotation thus can be given by a set of events represented by the phrases “InitP”, “procP” and “resP”. The initP projection labels any given initial state or cause event that can trigger a process, described by procP, the core of a dynamic predicate, which expresses a property change. When this change can lead to the existence of a final state (which is a necessary consequence of the process in question), the structure can also be identified by the phrase resP.

Considering that the semantic-conceptual motivation is fundamental, but does not stand alone, Ramchand (2008) also discusses morphosyntactic evidence from unrelated languages to support her proposal and promote the features presented. According to the author, a syntactic motivation for the initiation feature [init] would be found in the transitivity alternations that are licensed by certain verbs. For example, verbs such as ‘quebrar’ (‘to break’) allow a transitive (13a) and an intransitive (13b) version, while verbs such as ‘jogar’ (‘to play’) block the structure in which the process initiation information [init] would be absent, as (14b) below:

⁶ According to Ramchand (2008, 2019), this internal complexity of events is motivated and supported by the works of Vendler (1957), Parsons (1990), Pustejovsky (1991), Krifka (1998) and Higginbotham (2009). These surveys seek to highlight the existence of finer features in the composition of each event class, such as [± dynamic], [±duration], and [±telic].

- (13) a. *Joana quebrou o pauzinho.*
 Joana.SBJ break.3SG-PST the.M little-stick.OBJ.
 b. *O pauzinho quebrou.*
 the.M little-stick.SBJ break.3SG-PST.
- (14) a. *Joana jogou o pauzinho.*
 Joana.SBJ throw.3SG-PST the.M little-stick.OBJ.
 b. **O pauzinho jogou.*
 *the.M little-stick.SBJ throw.3SG-PST.

In addition, Ramchand (2008) presents data from Hindi in which we observe how the sense of cause/initiation can be added to an event by the syntactic realization of a morpheme that carries the [Init] feature near the root of the verb, even if a new argument is not necessarily included in the equation:

- (15) a. *makaan ban-aa*
 house make-PRF.M.SG
 ‘The house was built.’
- b. *anjum-ne (*mazdur~o-se) makaan ban-aa-yaa*
 Anjum.ERG (*labourers.INS) house make-aa.PRF-M-SG
 ‘Anjum built a house.’
- c. *anjum-ne (mazdur~o-se) makaan ban-vaa-yaa*
 Anjum-ERG house make-vaa.PRF-M-SG
 ‘Anjum had a house built (by the labourers).’

On the other hand, the morphosyntactic motivation for the existence of a so-called process sub-event is found in the different possibilities of modification that certain dynamic predicates allow, as evidenced by, for example, the test of adjunct insertion “for x-time” into a structure, which makes the interpretation of an event that unfolds over time possible:

- (16) *Joana dançou por 2 horas.*
 Joana.SBJ dance.3SG-PST for 2 hours.
- (17) **Joana soube por 2 horas.*
 *Joana.SBJ know.3SG-PST for 2 hours.

Finally, one of the morphosyntactic evidence for the proposal of a resP projection below procP comes from languages such as English, in which there are morphemes or particles that, when added to dynamic events, indicate that the limit or final state of an event was necessarily achieved. In the index sentences (b) below, for example, the

“up” particle indicates that the table was completely cleaned or that the cheesecake was eaten in its entirety.

- (18) a. Joana cleaned the table.
b. Joana cleaned the table up.

- (19) a. Joana ate the cheesecake.
b. Joana ate the cheesecake up.

In addition to the tripartite event structure presented above, it is possible that the predicates also present complements that act as modifiers of the central projections, although they do not carry an eventive content (*aktionsart*), such as [init], [proc] and [res]. These modifiers, which act on the structure as part of the description of the event, can be of two types, according to Ramchand (2008): [path] and [rheme]. The first head can be found as a complement to the dynamic component (procP) and is interpreted as a property that determines the path of change by which the procP argument goes through, thus establishing a mereological relation (part-whole) with the event. The second can appear as a complement to the projections [init] and [res], adding to the structure properties that are related to the initial or final state of the object that carries or undergoes the state/process denoted by the verb.

Since, in this paper, we only explore the complements of procP, we will leave aside, due to space, the further development of the morphosyntactic and semantic motives for the modifier [rheme]⁷. However, it is important to highlight the characteristics of the path argument, once it occupies the position of procP modifier. For Ramchand (2008), the existence of [path] is justified by the need to distinguish between complements of dynamic verbs that sometimes can be labeled as procP arguments and sometimes as pathP arguments, since both can be found in the same sentence, besides being interpreted, systematically, in a different way. Thus, in (20) below, we observe that while “Joana” is the argument that *undergoes* the process denoted by the verb ‘nadar’ (‘to swim’), the direct object “two pools” is interpreted as a path that relates homomorphically to the UNDERGOER argument (Joana) and defines, therefore, the time and space of the event:

- (20) *Joana nadou duas piscinas.*
Joana.SBJ swim.3SG-PST two pools.OBJ.

Having presented and empirically motivated the elements that make up the *aktionsarten* domain, the tests that can capture the presence of these features in the

⁷ The distinction between ‘path’ and ‘rheme’ consists in the type of nucleus with which these elements can be combined. The ‘path’ element can come into composition with dynamic predicates, which display [proc] in their structure; whereas ‘rheme’ is a kind of non-dynamic modifier [init, res], which brings new information that complements the meaning of the event, but is not necessary for its construction. The lowest part of the structure, therefore, can be filled only by adjuncts that can modify events. For more details on this distinction, we suggest the reading of Ramchand (2008, 2017), which elaborates in detail the ideas presented here.

event structure are those recognized in the tense-aspectual literature: since the states represent the only non-dynamic class [-process] in the event typology, this is the only class that is incompatible with the expression ‘to do the same’ (BASSO, 2007) and generates agrammatical sentences with the aspectual verb ‘to continue’ (LUNGUINHO, 2005), as can be observed in the sentences below⁸. Consequently, in Nanosyntax, states only contain the initiation feature, which may have a non-dynamic complement of the rheme type, and all other dynamic events carry the process head [proc], suitably captured by the suggested tests.

- (21) **Joana sabe inglês e Pedro faz o mesmo.* [estado]
 *Joana.SBJ know.3SG-PRS English and Pedro does too.
- (22) *Joana corre no parque e Maria faz o mesmo.* [atividade]
 Joana.SBJ run.3SG-PRS in the park and Maria does too.
- (23) **Joana continuou a saber inglês.* [estado]
 *Joana.SBJ continue.3SG to know English.
- (24) *Joana continuou a construir a casa.* [accomplishment]
 Joana.SBJ continue.3SG to build the house.

The durability feature, related to the absence of the result head [res], can be captured by another test, namely, the insertion of an adjunct as ‘for x time’ (BASSO, 2007; BASSO; PIRES DE OLIVEIRA, 2011) in the sentence:

- (25) *#Pedro caiu por 10 minutos.* [achievement]⁹
 #Pedro.SBJ fall.3SG-PST for 10 minutes.
- (26) *Pedro estudou por 10 minutos.* [atividade]
 Pedro.SBJ study.3Sg-PST for 10 minutes.

Regarding the telicity feature, Ramchand (2008) does not propose a specific position in the hierarchy for this terminal. In fact, in the author’s work, [res] performs a dual function within the structure, being responsible for sometimes conveying the event telicity and sometimes conveying the idea of punctuality existent in achievement and semelfactive predicates. The author’s proposal explicitly carries three problems: (i) the semelfactive events are actually atelic (SMITH, 1997) (see “*Maria coughed in ten minutes”), (ii) it is impossible to know when the terminal [res] conveys

⁸ All the tests presented are made using the perfective aspect and singular objects. The composition, for example, of adjuncts like ‘in x time’ in imperfective sentences and with plural objects leads to a series of other interpretations for the event structure that are not the matter of investigation in this paper.

⁹ There is a possible interpretation for the sentence (25), in which the adverb operates over a kind of resulting phase of the event, which captures the idea that “*Pedro caiu e ficou caído por 10 minutos*”. This possible reading for a non-durative sentence with ‘for x time’ was observed by Basso (2007, p.147).

exclusively telicity and when it conveys exclusively punctuality and (iii) considering that Nanosyntax is a branch of Cartography (CINQUE, 1999), the assumption that the same head carries two features ([+telic] and [+punctual]) contradicts the maxim “one feature, one head”, which is central to the development of hierarchies. Due to these facts, in this paper we propose a small modification of Ramchand’s structure (2008) and insert the [bound] feature in the event hierarchy¹⁰, just below the [res] feature, which maps the hierarchy shown in (27) and can be captured by the adjunct test ‘in x time’ (BASSO, 2007).

(27) initP > procP > resP > boundP

Theoretically, this proposal fits to the nanosyntactic concern to represent each relevant element to the linguistic composition as an independent functional head and, empirically, it accommodates the existence of a series of morphemes found in different languages that introduce telicity into the sentence (PIÑON, 2001; RAMCHAND, 2008; BORER, 2005; among others), such as ‘-z’ in Polish, certain light verbs like ‘jana’ in Hindi (BHATT; PANTCHEVA, 2005) and ‘-eci’ in Korean (LIM; ZUBIZARRETA, 2012). Thus, it is possible to explain, for example, why predicates that denote *degree achievements* can sometimes display telicity and sometimes not (see sentences in (27)).

- (27) a. *A roupa secou por duas horas.* [atelic]
 the.F laundry.SBJ dry.3SG-PST for two hours.
 b. *A roupa secou em duas horas.* [telic]
 the.F laundry.SBJ dry.3SG-PST in two hours.

The presented phenomenon can be justified as Nanosyntax assuming a “light” version of cartography, thus allowing some terminals to be ignored in the computation as long as a series of strict rules of the Spell-out process is respected. The rule that would explain the omission of [+bound] in the structure is called “Anchor Condition”, which establishes that the lowest trace of a given hierarchy acts as the anchor of the structure and must necessarily be identified during Spell-out (CAHA, 2009, PANTCHEVA, 2011). This condition can be easily observed in the different meanings attributed to the light verb ‘dar’ (to give), exemplified below. During the Spell-out of some structures, it is possible to hide the higher heads, which will result in different interpretations, but not the lowest, which will make sentence (29) ungrammatical.

¹⁰ Labeling this head as “bound” rather than “telicity” is not a free maneuver, since paths and scales present (similarly to telicity) an upper bound.

- (28) a. *Joana deu um chute na porta.* [init > proc > res]
 Joana.SBJ give.3SG-PST a kick at-the.F door.OBJ.
 b. *10 menos 2 dá 8.* [proc > res]
 10-less-2.SBJ give.3SG-PRS 8.OBJ.
 c. *Deu duas horas.* [res]
 (it) give.3SG-PST two-hours.OBJ.
- (29) **10 menos 2 dá.* [proc]
 *10-less-2 give.3SG-PST.

Allegedly, the lowest feature of a degree achievement event would be the [scale] head, also present in dimensional adjectives such as ‘high’ and ‘low’. Therefore, this head cannot be left out during derivation. In other words, [scale] must be performed obligatorily, which allows [bound] to be hidden. This operation that ignores features in the derivation is called *underassociation* (RAMCHAND, 2008) and will be explored in the explanation of the causativization phenomenon in BrP.

As we said earlier, in Nanosyntax, some auxiliary hypotheses of classic gerativism, such as the thematic role theory, are shifted to the *f-seq*. Therefore, the presented architecture is also designed to capture structurally a set of semantic roles which identify the function that each argument plays in the unfolding of the event. According to Ramchand (2017), generalizations about aktionsart and the thematic structure converge, so this fact would be a real conspiracy if both types of generalization did not follow from the same facts about the syntactic structure. Taking that into consideration, the author proposes that the roles that one argument plays in the event should be assigned locally, depending on the structural position that it occupies. Hence, the initiation (initP), process (procP), and result (resP) projections form their own predicational structure, with the specifier positions being filled by the argument of the sub-event (INITIATOR, UNDERGOER and RESULTEE respectively) and the complement position being saturated by the phrase that describes (“offers the content of”) such a sub-event.

These predicational roles can be accumulated by a single argument and this possibility arises as a consequence of another nanosyntactic rule: the *Phrasal Spell-Out* operation that also distinguishes Nanosyntax from models such as Cartography and Distributed Morphology. The *Phrasal Spell-Out* predicts that non-terminal nodes are also targeted by the Spell-Out process. The motivation for the postulation of such an operation is the existence of languages in which a single morpheme carries the information of different functional heads, as it happens with the verbal inflection in Brazilian Portuguese, in which all the structural information ‘[time] > [aspect] > [mode]’ is performed by means of a single suffix. Another example is the Mongolian morpheme ‘-lüü’, which carries the spatial terminals of ‘[scale] > [goal] > [place] > [AxPart]’ (PANTCHEVA, 2011, p.98). Thinking about the aktionsarten composition, in unergative activity events, for example, the verbal argument not only initiates the event denoted by the predicate, but also undergoes it. Thus, in a sentence like “Joana ran”

Joana would be labeled with the complementary roles of [INITIATOR_i, UNDERGOER_i]. On the other hand, in an achievement event, such as “Joana broke the vase”, Joana is responsible for initiating the eventuality, however, it is “the vase” that undergoes a change that culminates in a final state, usually understood as “broken”. In this case, the direct object receives the role of [UNDERGOER_i, RESULTEE_i].

It is possible to recognize from this exposition about the First Phase Syntax that the nanosyntactic theory offers us a very elegant system to deal with issues of the event domain as well as with the relationship between events and the argument structure, eliminating, for example, the need to postulate semantic relations in the lexicon and linking rules from this level of grammar to the superficial syntax. Thus, based on what has been discussed so far, we can derive the aspectual classes by means of the following structures¹¹:

- A) States: [initP {HOLDER}];
- B) Activities: [initP {INITIATOR_i} > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > pathP];
- C) Achievements: [(initP {INITIATOR_i}) > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > resP {RESULTEE_i} > boundP];
- D) Degree achievements: [(initP {INITIATOR_i}) > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > boundP > scale];
- E) Accomplishments: [initP {INITIATOR_i} > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > boundP > pathP];
- F) Semelfactive: [initP {INITIATOR_i} > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > resP {RESULTEE_i}]

Before moving on to investigating causativization in BrP, a final question must be raised about the arrangement of vocabulary items and how can these elements be inserted into the structure. Following Starke (2009), we can say that the trees constructed by syntax, exemplified by the different configurations of the aspectual classes presented above, are stored in the lexicon and paired with phonological and conceptual information, which corresponds to the encyclopedic content or world knowledge. A verb like ‘correr’ (to run), for example, that belongs to the activity class, would have a lexical entry like </koRer/, [initP > procP > pathP], motion mode>.

In this model, the lexicon can be accessed after the insertion of every feature in the structure (i.e., in the intermediate projections), which sets up a cycle. In this sense, the Spell-out operation is cyclical and governed by some rules. A vocabulary item, for example, can only match a particular terminal if it is compatible at different levels with that position: (i) the element must contain in its entrance a constituent that contains the target terminal, which may be a superset of the intended structure (contrary to what

¹¹ The concepts presented between braces ({}) correspond to the aspectual roles of each projection; the symbol ‘>’ indicates that the element on the left is hierarchically higher than the one on its right and the keys simply delimit the structure.

is postulated in DM); (ii) every syntactic terminal must be lexicalized at the end of each cycle (*Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle*); and (iii) in the case of competition for spell-out, the item containing the least number of unused terminals is matched against the structure (*Minimize Junk Principle*). In addition, for Ramchand (2008), the encyclopedic content of the entry must be compatible with the content of the feature that it intends to lexicalize.

So far, we have a very simple machinery that allows us to thoroughly investigate the structures of different events in the natural language. This way, we can reach the subatomic elements of the aspectual classes and explore in this domain what are the factors that license a given predicate to receive an interpretation of causality. In the next section, we will investigate some BrP sentences based on the assumptions outlined here. We hope, therefore, to offer an interesting treatment for the causativization process in the BrP, that should isolate finer aktionsarten properties and allow us to explain a broad set of data.

Investigating the causativization in BrP within Nanosyntax

In this section, we will qualitatively investigate sentences that have gone through the causativization process from non-causal predicates. As we work with the hypothetico-deductive method, many of the sentences investigated were constructed by us, based on our intuition as BrP speakers. However, we also present some constructions coming from written Portuguese to ratify the existence of the phenomenon, since, according to the introduction of this work, we can find dialectical variation in relation to the judgments offered. Considering that, before we begin our discussion, it is important to recall the goals of this investigation: we intend to understand (i) the functioning of the causativization process; (ii) the role of different modules of grammar in the construction of a causative meaning; (iii) specific BrP constraints on this phenomenon; and (iv) the new and atypical relations that are unleashed between the subject and the object of the causative predicates in that language. To achieve the goals outlined above, let's examine the following sentences.

(30) *O piloto voou o avião por debaixo de uma camada de nuvens a cerca de 1.000 pés de altitude AGL e isto numa região montanhosa*¹².

the.M pilot.SBJ fly.3SG-PST the.M airplane.OBJ under a layer of clouds at about 1000 ft of altitude above-ground-level and this in-a region mountainous.

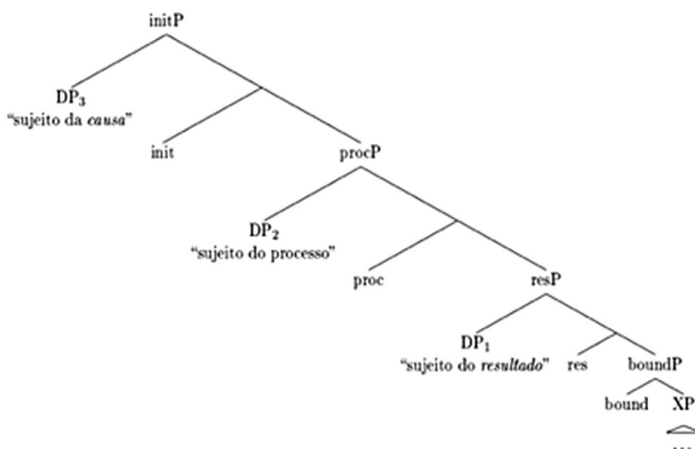
(31) *A agência desfilou suas melhores modelos em Paris.*

the.F agency.SBJ parade.3SG-PST its best models.OBJ in Paris.

¹² Available at: <http://www.aopa.pt/52-operacional/cronicas-de-seguranca-aeronautica/726-seguranca-aeronautica-no357>. Access on: 2 Sept. 2019.

In both sentences, the composition of the verb and its arguments denotes an activity event, which can be interpreted basically as a process of ‘flying’ and a process of ‘parading’ initiated by the argument in the subject position. Paraphrasing the meaning of the given sentences, in (30) we understand that “the pilot made the airplane fly”, and this fact even seems to go against the expectations of the speaker, since the sentence is finished with the construction “and this happens in a mountainous region”. This pragmatic observation can point to a clue about the context in which causativization can be licensed: the original argument of the verb seems to be forced to play out the event, even if it wasn’t able to initiate or develop it alone. In (31), similarly, the possible interpretation is that “the agency made the models parade”, that is, the INITIATOR argument affects, in some way, the UNDERGOER argument that is somehow compelled to play out the denoted event. From a semantic-conceptual point of view, both ‘flying’ and ‘parading’ are predicates that indicate a manner of motion. Considering the configuration of the nanosyntactic model, this information must necessarily be specified at the encyclopedic level. Thus, the lexical entry for ‘fly’ and ‘parade’ should be represented by the following generic triple, and only the phonological content would be distinct between both: </phonological information/, [initP > procP > pathP], manner of motion>. Since the verbs in question are unergatives, their structure would be distinct from that of the unaccusative verbs because the former have an initiation head [init], and besides that, the argument that initiates the event is the same that takes part in its process. For this reason, INITIATOR and UNDERGOER would be coindexed in the structure of these verbs, by means of the *Phrasal Spell-out* operation. Thus, based on this information, we can decompose the cited examples (in a simplified way) as follows.

Figure 2 – The Nanosyntax of the event domain



Source: Adapted from Ramchand (2008, p. 39).

Based on this structure, it is possible to explain some of the problems found, such as the insertion of a new argument. As we said in the previous section, the class of activity events is identified by the initiation, process and path phrases (initP > procP > pathP). In addition, we argue, following Ramchand (2008), that the roles of INITIATOR and UNDERGOER must be coindexed in the structure, since the argument that performs an unergative activity not only participates in the process denoted by the predicate, but also initiates or triggers this event. Thus, since the verbs in (30) and (31) are unergative predicates, in order for the causativization to happen, it is first necessary that the position of INITIATOR in these verb structures be free to receive a new argument that will act as the cause of the eventuality. This maneuver is allowed by means of the underassociation of the head related to this specifier, which must be independently identified within the phase. Since [init] is the highest terminal in the hierarchy, it can be ignored during the derivation without hurting the *Anchor Condition*. Hence, by underassociating the root initiation head, the entire initP structure is free for the Spell-out. In BrP, the *cause* event, represented in the First Phase Syntax by the initiation concept, is spelled out by a morphologically null item (\square_{CAUSE}), which languages such as Japanese and Finnish identify with morphemes overtly realized. Therefore, since the initiation head is matched against a null item in the spell-out process, considering the *Cyclic Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle*, its specifier position can also be filled by a new argument.

In other words, the causal relation between two events *cause* [init] and *effect* [proc] may emerge when initP is not identified by the same verbal root denoting the “*result*” of the *cause*, its *effect*. Thus, we are not claiming in any way that the process of causativization depends exclusively on the availability of a structural position for a causal argument. It is important to note that what is at discussion forefront is the initiation head identification, that is, the causativization process depends, mainly, on the insertion of a new event of the causal type in the structure, to which, by accident, BrP requires the association of a causative argument (INITIATOR). When we address, therefore, the causativization of predicates that traditionally already have an external argument (= INITIATOR), the impression that we have about the predicate “original” argument being shifted to the direct object position is, in fact, an illusion. After all, unless we are dealing with a state eventuality, whose only terminal of identification is [init], the single argument of an intransitive predicate will also be in the position of UNDERGOER, which is traditionally related to the verb direct object. In a nutshell, when the causativization process occurs, the single argument of an intransitive verb does not change its position in the syntactic structure, it only subtracts its highest initiation feature, when it is an unergative verb. In this way we can explain the argumental reorganization that seems to occur when a non-causative verb is interpreted as causal.

Having explained how a new argument can be inserted and computed in this type of structure, which would have only one external argument position to be filled, we did not clarify, however, what are the constraints for an unergative to causativize,

having simply demonstrated what happens in the syntax when such a phenomenon is licensed. In order to do that, we can investigate the structure of verbs belonging to this class that systematically block a causative interpretation. As the sentences below demonstrate, in a general way, predicates that specify in their lexicon-encyclopedic content some kind of motion or change, or that identify the [place] and [path] heads can license a causative interpretation, whereas predicates that do not denote these notions systematically block causativization, as it is the case for ‘*sorrir*’ (‘to smile’), ‘*tossir*’ (‘to cough’) and ‘*piscar*’ (‘to blink’), which are all predicates denoting semelfactive events.

(32) **O palhaço sorriu a plateia (com a piada).*

*the.M clown.SBJ smile.3SG-PST the.F audience.OBJ (with the joke).

(33) **O remédio tossiu a Joana.*

*the.M medicine.SBJ cough.3SG-PST the.F Joana.OBJ

(34) **Joana piscou sua filha.*

*Joana blink.3SG-PST her daughter.OBJ

The semelfactive events are identified by the hierarchy [initP > procP > resP], since they are initiated by the individual who performs the eventuality process and are punctual. Any durative reading that these eventualities may present is derived by *s*-summing (ROTHSTEIN, 2004). Structurally, the only distinction between the previously discussed class and the semelfactive activity verbs lies at the lowest head of each class: since there is a shifting from [path] to [res], this fact could lead us to believe that what prevents the predicates (32) to (34) from being causativized is the result head, which contributes to the punctual interpretation of the event. However, we can find some semelfactives, which would have the [res] head, but license a causative interpretation anyway.

(35) *A mãe pulou a criança por cima do muro.*

the.F mother.SBJ jump.3SG-PST the.F child.OBJ over the.M wall.

(36) *A treinadora saltou o cavalo.*

the.F coach.SBJ jump.3SG-PST the.M horse.OBJ.

Despite the presence of [res], these sentences are legitimately interpreted as causative, as we can paraphrase them by “the mother made the child jump over the fence” and “the coach made the horse jump”. Analogously to the activity sentences, these semelfactives present in their lexicon-encyclopedic content a notion of change in space (also associated with the path phrase ‘over the wall’) and manner of motion. That is, it seems that instead of a structural constraint related to some head of the *f*-seq, what is actually allowing the predicates under investigation to be causativized is an

element of the grammatical component that deals with our knowledge of the world. It is important to note that this type of information is also stored in the lexical entry of verbal predicates. In order to determine if this non-structural notion is indeed relevant for causativization to be licensed, let's examine a few more examples, this time with unaccusative predicates, which are identified nanosyntactically by not carrying the initiation head [init] and by denoting, usually, events of the achievement class.

- (37) **Maria caiu o Pedro de cima do muro.*
 *Maria.SBJ fall.3SG-PST the.M Pedro.OBJ off the wall.
- (38) **Joana chegou Alice na festa.*
 *Joana.SBJ arrive.3SG-PST Alice.OBJ at the party.
- (39) **Sáiram Alice da festa.*
 (someone) leave.3SG-PST Alice.OBJ from the party.

Since these predicates denote achievements, that is, punctual and telic events, they carry the [(initP) > procP > resP > boundP]¹³ part of the f-seq, and, in addition, because they are motion events, they encode a conceptual information of the “change in space” type. What we observe with these examples, therefore, is that the feature [res] in the case of achievements systematically blocks causativization, which ends up happening even if these verbs display an encyclopedic information that seems relevant for the unergatives. Most likely, [res] does not allow achievements to be causativized because this notion is incompatible with a definition of causality that takes into account an extensive temporal relationship between *cause* and *effect*. Unaccusative verbs that do not have the [res] head in their lexical entry allow the causativization freely:

- (40) *Suco verde afina a cintura.*
 Green juice.SBJ thin.3SG-PST the.F waist.OBJ
- (41) *O próprio Sigma evoluiu o vírus¹⁴.*
 The.M Sigma.SBJ itself evolve.3SG-PST the virus.OBJ.
- (42) *O corticóide engordou o Pedro.*
 The.M corticoid.SBJ fatten.3SG-PST Pedro.OBJ.

All three verbs ‘*afinar*’ (thin), ‘*evoluir*’ (evolve) and ‘*engordar*’ (fatten) denote gradual change events (they contain [scale], a notion derived from [path]), thus exhibiting the monotonicity property. In other words, each subpart of these eventualities is directly

¹³ The initiation feature appears as optional because of the unaccusative structure. Note that Note achievements can compose transitive structures without further constraints.

¹⁴ Available at: <http://alvanista.com/solidrenan/posts/3022101-o-triste-mundo-prottegido-por-x-e-zero-na-serie-megaman>. Access on: 2 Sept. 2019.

related to a subpart of its internal argument and this relation produces a homomorphic mapping that can be triggered by an INITIATOR individual. The monotonicity property, however, is not enough to license these predicates to causativization, considering that the class of accomplishments, which also exhibits this property, related to the object's incrementability, does not causativize. Just think of the agrammaticity of sentences like “**Joana construiu Alice a casa*”¹⁵ (= Joan made Alice build the house) and “**a mãe desenhou a criança um círculo*”¹⁶ (= the mother made the child draw a circle). The achievements, which seem to systematically block causation, can however be interpreted as causative when the property of monotonicity is computed in the sentence from some element that can introduce the notion of scale, such as it occurs with degree achievements. The sentences below confirm this fact.

(43) *O Brasil caiu o índice de analfabetismo*

the.M Brasil.SBJ fall.3SG-PST the.M illiteracy-rate.OBJ

(44) *A alta do dólar despencou o número de viagens ao exterior.*

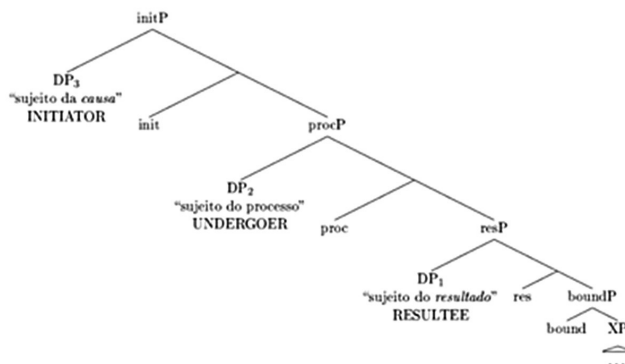
the.F rise of the dollar.SBJ plummet.3SG-PST the number-of-trips-abroad.
OBJ

Even if the data seem rather chaotic, it is possible to think about some generalizations to understand the constraints of BrP for the process under investigation. To do so, it is important to remember that within Nanosyntax the lexicon does not project the structures, but is matched against them depending on their syntactic information and encyclopedic content, which are paired in the lexicon with phonological information. For this reason, we need to know what would be the minimum structure necessary to obtain a causative interpretation and then investigate which language items may be good candidates to achieve this interpretation. Considering the discussion conducted up to this point, we assume that causality can be interpreted based on the following tree, since causative events denote a causal relationship between a dynamic process of change triggered by an INITIATOR individual which is distinct from the UNDERGOER argument.

¹⁵ “#Joana built Alice the house”.

¹⁶ “#the mother drew the child a circle”.

Figure 3 – “Thematic” relations assigned to the arguments in spec-XP



Source: Authors' elaboration.

Since Nanosyntax assumes the *Superset Principle* (CAHA, 2009), any event that contains more projections than initiation and process could be a good candidate to be interpreted as causative. In other words, the first requirement for a given predicate to causativize is that the event denoted by it contain in its structure the hierarchy [initP > procP], or at least the [proc] head, since this is the original predicate contribution to the interpretation of causality: it should be noted that when a verb causativizes, as in “Joana acordou Pedro”¹⁷, the individual who actually performs the process denoted by the event is the UNDERGOER argument, so that the *effect* brought about by the initiation event is necessarily associated with the causative verb root. As we have previously argued, the initiation [init] head can be identified by a null morpheme, so it can take part in the composition of events that do not identify it initially.

It is interesting to note that the existence of a null morpheme (\square_{CAUSE}) in the structure may even support our intuition that the nature of the initiation event – the *cause* – is not specified: we do not know what exactly the INITIATOR does to trigger the event played out by UNDERGOER. In the sentence given above, for example, Joana may have thrown some object at Peter or else she may have shouted for him to wake up. That is, what exactly the INITIATOR does is not relevant, the central question is that it does something that has an *effect* on the UNDERGOER, “forcing” it to play a part in the event denoted by the predicate. In view of these observations, we can predict that state verbs systematically block a causative interpretation because they only identify the initiation head of the structure stored in the lexicon. Furthermore, since this is the lowest hierarchy terminal in the case of this aspectual class, the underassociation operation would be blocked by the *Anchor Condition*, preventing a null causative head other than the one located in the verbal root from being inserted at that position. The sentences below exemplify the agrammaticality of causativized states.

¹⁷ “Joana woke Pedro up”.

- (45) **Joana soube o Pedro matemática.* (= *Joana made Pedro know math*)
 *Joana.SBJ know.3SG-PST the.M Pedro.OBJ math.
- (46) **Pedro teve Maria uma casa.* (= *Pedro fez a Maria ter uma casa*)
 *Pedro.SBJ have.3SG-PST Maria.OBJ a house.
- (47) **Joana amou Alice a Maria.* (= *Joana fez Alice amar a Maria*)
 *Joana love.3SG-PST Alice.OBJ the.F Maria.
- (48) **Joana gostou a Maria de brigadeiro.* (= *Joana fez Maria gostar de brigadeiro*)
 *Joana.SBJ like.3SG-PST the.F Maria.OBJ brigadeiro.

However, with the exception of states, all other aspectual classes are good candidates for causativization because they have the dynamicity [proc] terminal. However, the incidence of this phenomenon on activities, achievements, accomplishments, degree achievements and semelfactives seems to be quite irregular, depending on specific issues of each class. The activity verbs, that display the [pathP] terminal just below the [procP] head can cauzativize freely, though sometimes requiring a low-volitional UNDERGOER argument, as can be attested by the comparison between “*o piloto voou o avião até ao chão*”¹⁸ and “**o piloto voou o passarinho*”¹⁹. Achievements, which are punctual events [resP], systematically block causativization unless a [scale] element enters the structure composition, shifting these events, to a certain extent, to the degree achievements class, which will allow causativization without any other restriction. The semelfactives, which, like the achievements, are punctual events, block cauzativization, unless the lexical-encyclopedic content of the predicate exhibit some notion of spatial change, such as we observed in sentences (35) and (36). The accomplishments, finally, do not allow a causative interpretation in any context, most likely because of their monotonicity relation, given by [path], depends more directly on the UNDERGOER properties, such as definiteness. The table below tries to summarize some of the properties we found that appear to be relevant for the functioning of causativization in Brazilian Portuguese²⁰.

¹⁸ “the pilot flew the plane to the ground”

¹⁹ “*the pilot flew the bird.”

²⁰ Considering that the accomplishments are denoted by transitive verbs, we do not show them in the table. Anyway, this type of event does not license a causal interpretation in any context, as well as states.

Chart 1 – Relevant properties for the causativization process

	EVENT CLASS	NANOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURE	LICENSES CAUSATIVIZATION?
UNERGATIVE	ACTIVITIES	[init > proc > path]	YES
	SEMELFACTIVES	[init > proc > res]	only when denoting spatial motion
UNACCUSATIVE	ACHIEVEMENTS	[proc > res > bound]	only when denoting change along a certain scale
	DEGREE ACHIEVEMENTS	[proc > bound > scale]	YES

Source: Authors' elaboration.

Taking the data presented here, we can say in a nutshell that, within this proposal, unaccusatives and unergatives have nanostructures that are distinguished by the presence or not of [init]. Thus, unaccusative verbs would encode structures such as [procP {UNDERGOER_i} > resP {RESULTEE_i} > boundP] or [procP {UNDERGOER} > boundP > scale], while unergative verbs would encode structures like [initP {INITIATOR_i} > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > resP {RESULTEE_i}], when they belong to the semelfactives class, or [initP {INITIATOR_i} > procP {UNDERGOER_i} > pathP], when they belong to the activities class. The variation observed in the causativization cases concerning such classes could then be explained by the convergence of different characteristics: the absence of [init] in the verbal root of unaccusatives could explain these predicates greater facility to causativize; however, achievement verbs, which also belong to this class, do not causativize in any context, at least not in the way that degree achievements do. It is important to mention that it is the presence of the [res] head that seems to impose a strong restriction on the licensing of causativization for these predicates. Both the semelfactives and the achievements can only obtain a causative interpretation in a very specific context, related to somewhat different issues: semelfactives causativize when they denote in their encyclopedic level an event of spatial motion, probably also connected to some formal notion of path, while achievements causativize under a monotonicity property triggered by the presence of a [scale] head in the structure.

An explanation for the constraints we have encountered can be given considering the definition of causality exposed at the beginning of this paper. Given that a causal relationship requires a dynamic event, composed of a temporally related *cause* and *effect*, the presence of [res], which makes the event punctual, that is, without a temporal extension, is incompatible with a parameter required by causality. The activities and degree achievements, identified by the [path] and [scale] heads, causativize because they have heads that are compatible with the obligatory temporal parameter. Both [path] and [scale] somehow bring to the structure a homomorphic mapping between the direct

object and the event unfolding extension. Having clarified some of the restrictions for BrP causativization, we close this study, in the next section, discussing some of the problems that are left to be solved in future research.

Final remarks

In this paper, we investigated the causativization process in Brazilian Portuguese, in order to understand (i) how the structuring of a causative interpretation deriving from this phenomenon occurred; (ii) the role of different modules of grammar in the construction of a causative meaning; (iii) the specific BrP restrictions on causativization; (iv) how it would be possible to insert a new event into the structure, which would in turn be interpreted as the cause that leads to the event denoted by the predicate; (v) the emergence of a new argument associated with the cause event and carrying the role of “causer” or “initiator” of the eventuality described by the predicate; and (vi) the atypical thematic relations established between the verb subject and the direct object. To sketch an answer to these questions, we used the hypothetical-deductive method and assumed that elements of the event domain made the difference in the behavior of verbs in relation to the incidence of causality.

Based on the nanosyntactic theoretical machinery (STARKE, 2009; CAHA, 2009; PANTCHEVA, 2011; RAMCHAND, 2008, 2011, 2017), we have shown that for a predicate to be interpreted as causative it is necessary that the event denoted by it be of a dynamic nature, that is, it must present at least the nanosyntactic feature [proc]. The causality relation requires dynamicity and a connection between two sub-events identified by distinct verbal roots or by different arguments. Consequently, the state verbs class systematically blocks causation, which is certainly the most powerful generalization found in our analysis. Another interesting structural issue is that the cause event must be located at the initiation head position, so that when this position is already covered by the verbal root, it is necessary that the process of underassociation occur, leaving not only [init] free to receive an item that is identified as the cause event, but also a free INITIATOR specifier position to receive a causal argument. It is through the underassociation operation, therefore, that the thematic relations that appear to be atypical are triggered.

When we think of Brazilian Portuguese specific constraints for causativization, the picture seems to be somewhat confused and unsystematic. However, it is interesting to note that in fact some elements of the event domain seem to block or allow a causative interpretation for certain predicates, which corroborates our initial assumption. In addition, formal constraints (related to functional features) that are applied to specific event classes discussed in the previous section can be understood on the basis of a single generalization: the elements that license the process of causativization are the low heads of the *f-seq* that corresponds to the domain of event construction. The presence of the [path] terminal and the notion of [scale] widely allow predicates to be

interpreted as causative, while the [res] head systematically prevents the phenomenon of causativization from happening. Another element that interferes with the possibility of a predicate to causativize or not is the generic notion of change, present at the level of lexical-encyclopedic content, derived from the speakers world knowledge. In short, there are rules, structural elements and elements derived from the broader human cognition that, acting together, license the process of causativization in BrP.

We hope that this discussion may shed new light on the causativization phenomenon in general, which still lacks descriptive studies about specific languages, such as BrP, and on crosslinguistic studies that seek to systematize the differences between the causativization processes in different languages. In this sense, Nanosyntax presents us with a very interesting way of explaining the observed crosslinguistic differences, since different languages store different parts of the nanosyntactic structures in their verbs and morphemes. In a language like Portuguese, a verb like ‘rir’ (to laugh) can carry a structure [init > proc > res], whereas in Finnish, maybe the item labeled as ‘laugh’ will only carry [init > proc]. In order for the functioning of the causativization to be clarified and better systematized, we argue that it is necessary to adopt a theoretical and methodological approach that considers the articulation of syntax, semantics and world knowledge.

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- *RESUMO: neste trabalho, investigamos o processo de causativização no português brasileiro, buscando compreender as restrições e generalizações que permitem explicar os dados aparentemente caóticos de nossa língua. Para tal, utilizamos o método hipotético-dedutivo e partimos da tese de que são elementos do domínio acional que determinam o comportamento dos verbos em relação à incidência de causalidade. Como consequência, apresentamos neste artigo uma revisão teórica das classes acionais, utilizando ferramentas de um modelo decomposicionista recente denominado Nanossintaxe (Starke, 2009). Com isso, será possível entender as restrições mais rigorosas que as classes ‘estado’ e ‘accomplishment’, por exemplo, impõem para o fenômeno da causativização, levando em conta conceitos sintático-semânticos mais finos, como Iniciação, Processo, Resultado e Limite. Concluímos, deste modo, que para um*

predicado ser interpretado enquanto causativo faz-se necessário que o evento por ele denotado seja de natureza dinâmica. Além disso, demonstramos que a sequência funcional (f-seq) da forma como é proposta dentro do modelo nanossintático permite explicar a associação de mais de um nóculo sintático a um mesmo argumento verbal, assim como a sua desassociação e consequente identificação com um núcleo causativo nulo.

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Causativização. Decomposição de eventos. Classes acionais. Nanossintaxe. Hierarquia funcional do domínio verbal.*

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PAPER SUBMISSION INSTRUCTIONS

Alfa: Revista de Linguística

1. Editorial policy

ALFA – Revista de Linguística – the linguistics journal of the São Paulo State University (UNESP), sponsored by the Research Provost, publishes papers authored by professors, researchers, and PhD students in co-authorship with professors and researchers from national and international institutions of learning, teaching and research. Maximum number of co-authors should be 3. Regular issues are organized in a “continuous flow” system, and special issues are edited according to the organizers’ convenience. The journal publishes papers, book reviews, interviews and translations with a substantial contribution to any of the various branches of Linguistics.

Contributions in the form of articles should be original and unpublished and cannot be simultaneously submitted for publication in other journal. Only reviews of books published in Brazil in the last 2 years and abroad in the last 4 years should be submitted for publication in the journal. Translations should be preferably of scientific articles and book chapters published within twelve months of submission; interviews should be conducted with researchers with academic prestige acknowledged in Brazil and abroad.

All submissions are read by two anonymous referees. Authors’ identities are not revealed to the referees. Should

the judgment of the two referees be inconsistent, a third referee will be called in. Once the refereeing process is concluded, the review copies are sent to the author, or to the first author of co-authored papers, with the appropriate instructions.

Papers can be written in one of the following languages: **Portuguese, English, French, Spanish, or Italian**. In papers written in **Portuguese**, *TÍTULO*, *RESUMO*, and *PALAVRAS-CHAVE* should come before the body of the paper, and their English versions, *TITLE*, *ABSTRACT*, and *KEY-WORDS*, after it. In papers written in any of **the other languages**, the corresponding elements that come before the body of the paper should be written in the same language the paper was written; the corresponding elements that come after the body of the paper should be written in **Portuguese** for papers written in **English** and in **English** for papers written in **French, Spanish, or Italian**.

All articles are published in a bilingual format, with English necessarily as the second language version. Authors who submit for approval an article originally in English must, in case it is accepted, provide its version in Portuguese, following the same guidelines indicated for the English language. Only articles with accepted versions in Portuguese (or another chosen language) and English will be

published. If both versions are not accepted, the article will not be published.

The journal editor reserves the right to return a manuscript if it departs from the style requirements. When applicable, a personal letter will be sent to the author, asking for improvements and adaptations.

Authors are responsible for the data and concepts expressed in the paper as well as for the correctness of the references and bibliography.

2. Online submissions

To submit a paper, authors must be registered on the journal's website. To register, create a login name and a password by clicking **Acesso** (Access) on the journal's website. After logging in, fill in the profile by clicking **Editar Perfil** (Profile Editing) and start the submission process by clicking **Autor** (Author) and then **CLIQUE AQUI PARA INICIAR O PROCESSO DE SUBMISSÃO** (Click here to start the submission process). Follow the **five-step submission process** below:

Step 1. Confirm the agreement to the Journal Policies (**Condições de submissão**) and the Copyright Terms (**Declaração de Direito Autoral**) by checking the appropriate boxes. Select either **Artigo** (Paper) or **Resenha** (Review paper). Save the form and go to step 2.

Step 2. Enter metadata: first name, last name, e-mail, bio statement, and paper title are obligatory. Save the form and go to step 3.

Step 3. Upload the paper file. Go to step 4.

Step 4. If necessary, upload supplementary files such as appendixes and annexes with research tools, data and tables, which should conform to the ethical standards of

assessment, sources of information usually unavailable to readers, and pictures or tables that cannot be inserted into the text itself. Go to step 5.

Step 5. Confirm the submission.

After confirming the submission, authors will receive a confirmation e-mail from the journal editor. After submission, authors can follow the process up, from submission and acceptance, through assessment and final version preparation, to on-line publication.

After submission, articles will be assigned to reviewers by the Editorial Board or special issue editors. The journal's Editorial Board and Editors are responsible for the policy of paper selection, which is available at the link **Sobre a Revista>Processo de Avaliação por Pares** (About the Journal>Peer Review Process).

3. Preparation of manuscripts

3.1. Presentation

Authors should ensure that their electronic copy is compatible with *PC/MSWord*, and use *Times New Roman*, 12-point size. The page size should be set to A4 (21cm x 29.7cm), and the text body should be one-and-a-half spaced throughout. Leave 3 cm from the top of the page and on the left margin, and 2.0 cm from the bottom of the page and on the right margin. Articles should have a minimum of 15 pages and not exceed **30 pages**, including bibliography, appendixes, and annexes. The text must meet the rules of Portuguese new orthographic agreement, which became mandatory in Brazil from January 2016. Two versions of the paper must be submitted: one containing the name and academic affiliation of

author(s), and one in which all references to the author(s), including citations and bibliographical references are erased.

3.2. Paper format

The format below should be followed:

Title. The title should be centered and set in **bold** CAPITALS at the top of the first page. Runover* titles should be single-spaced.

Author's name: The name of each author follows the title and should be given in full with the surname in CAPITALS and aligned to the right margin, on the third line below the title, with a footnote marked by an asterisk referring to metadata in the following order: acronym and full name of the institution to which author(s) is(are) affiliated, city, state, country, zip code, e-mail.

Abstract. The abstract, which must summarize the contents of the paper (goals, theoretical framework, results, and conclusion), should conform to the following: it should appear on the third line under the name(s) of the author(s), contain at least 150 and at most 200 words, be single-spaced, and, with no indentation for the first line, be preceded by the word ABSTRACT in CAPITALS in the same language of the paper,

Keywords. Each keyword (seven, at most) is followed by a period. They should be preceded by the word KEYWORDS in CAPITALS, and appear two lines below the abstract. The Editorial Board suggests that the keywords should match general concepts of the paper subject domain.

Body of the paper. The body of the paper should be one-and-a-half-spaced

throughout. It begins on the third line below the keywords.

Subsection titles. The subsection titles should be typeset in **bold** and aligned to the left margin. They should not be numbered. There should be two one-and-a-half-spaced blank lines before and one one-and-a-half-spaced blank line after each subsection title.

Acknowledgements. Acknowledgements should conform to the subsection title layout, and should be preceded by the word “**Acknowledgements**” set in **bold**.

Title in English. For papers written in Portuguese, French, Spanish and Italian, the title in English (with no capitals and no bold) should be placed two blank single-spaced lines after the paper text body.

The abstract in English. For papers written in Portuguese, French, Spanish and Italian, the abstract in English should be typeset in *italics*, be preceded by the word *ABSTRACT*, typeset in *italics* and in CAPITALS, with no indentation for the first line, be single-spaced, and be placed three blank single-spaced lines after the title in English.

The keywords in English. For papers written in Portuguese, French, Spanish, and Italian, the keywords in English should be typeset in *italics*, be preceded by the word *ABSTRACT*, typeset in *italics* and in CAPITALS, and be placed three blank single-spaced lines after the abstract in English.

NOTE: For papers written in English, the title, abstract, and keywords referred to in 7, 8 and 9 above, respectively, should be written in Portuguese.

References. The subtitle **References** should be set in **bold**, with no indentation for the first line, and placed two blank

single-spaced lines after the keywords. The reference list should be single-spaced and ordered alphabetically and chronologically (see 3.3.1 below), placed three blank single-spaced lines after the keywords in English. **12. Bibliography.** The bibliography list, if essential, should come after the reference list. The word “**Bibliography**” should be set in **bold**, with no indentation for the first line, and placed three blank single-spaced lines after the reference list, aligned to the left. It will include all works not mentioned in the paper or in its footnotes.

3.3. Further instructions

3.3.1 Reference guidelines Both reference and bibliography lists should be ordered alphabetically by the last name of the first author. A single space should separate one reference item from the other. The names of the translators must be specified.

Examples:

Books

AUTHIER-REVUZ, J. **Palavras incertas:** as não coincidências do dizer. Tradução de Cláudia Pfeiffer et al. Campinas: Ed. da UNICAMP, 1998.

CORACINI, M. J.; BERTOLDO, E. S. (Org.). **O desejo da teoria e a contingência da prática.** Campinas: Mercado das Letras, 2003.

LUCHESE, D. **Sistema, mudança e linguagem:** um percurso na história da linguística moderna. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2004.

Book chapters

PÊCHEUX, M. Ler o arquivo hoje. In: ORLANDI, E. P. (Org.). **Gestos de leitura: da história no discurso.** Tradução de Maria das Graças Lopes Morin do Amaral. Campinas: Ed. da UNICAMP, 1994. p.15-50.

Thesis and dissertations

BITENCOURT, C. M. F. **Pátria, civilização e trabalho:** o ensino nas escolas paulista (1917-1939). 1998. 256 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em História) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1998.

Papers in journals

SCLIAR-CABRAL, L.; RODRIGUES, B. B. Discrepâncias entre a pontuação e as pausas. **Cadernos de Estudos Linguísticos**, Campinas, n.26, p. 63-77, 1994.

Online papers

SOUZA, F. C. Formação de bibliotecários para uma sociedade livre. **Revista de Biblioteconomia e Ciência da Informação**, Florianópolis, n.11, p. 1-13, jun. 2001. Disponível em: <...> Acesso em: 30 jun. 2001.

Newspaper articles

BURKE, P. Misturando os idiomas. **Folha de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, 13 abr. 2003. Mais!, p.3.

EDITORA plagiou traduções de clássicos. **Folha de S. Paulo**, São Paulo, 4 nov. 2007. Ilustrada, p. 6.

Online publications

UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL PAULISTA. Coordenadoria Geral de Bibliotecas. Grupo de Trabalho Normalização Documentária da UNESP. Normalização Documentária para a produção científica da UNESP: normas para apresentação de referências. São Paulo, 2003. Disponível em: <...>. Acesso em: 15 jul. 2004.

Paper in edited volumes, conference proceedings, and working papers

MARIN, A. J. Educação continuada. In: CONGRESSO ESTADUAL PAULISTA SOBRE FORMAÇÃO DE EDUCADORES, 1., 1990. **Anais...** São Paulo: UNESP, 1990. p. 114-118.

Films:

Macunaíma. Direção (roteiro e adaptação) de Joaquim Pedro de Andrade. Filmes do Serro/Grupo Filmes/Condor Filmes. Brasil: 1969. Rio de Janeiro: Videofilmes, 1969. Versão restaurada digitalmente, 2004. 1 DVD (105 minutos), color.

Paintings, photographs, illustrations, drawings:

ALMEIDA JÚNIOR. **Caipira picando fumo**. 1893. Óleo sobre tela. 17 cm X 23,5 cm. Pintura pertencente ao acervo da Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo.

PICASSO, Pablo. [**Sem título**]. [1948]. 1 gravura. Disponível em: <<http://belgaleria.com.br>>. Acesso em 19 ago. 2015.

Music CDs (as a unit or tracks)

CALAZANS, T. **Teca Calazans canta Villa Lobos**. Rio de Janeiro: Kuarup Discos, 1999. 1 CD.

CALAZANS, T. Modinha. In: CALAZANS, T. **Teca Calazans canta Villa Lobos**. Rio de Janeiro: Kuarup Discos, 1999. 1 CD.

3.3.2. In-text references and quotations

For references in the text, the surname of the author should be in CAPITALS, enclosed in parentheses; a comma should be placed between the author's last name and year, e.g. (BARBOSA, 1980). If the name of the author is part of the text, only the year is enclosed in parentheses: "Morais (1955) argues..."

Page numbers follow the year and are preceded by "p."; note a comma and a space between year and "p.", and between "p." and the number, e.g. (MUNFORD, 1949, p. 513).

References of the same author with the same year should be distinguished by using lower case letters in alphabetical order, e.g. (PESIDE, 1927a), and (PESIDE, 1927b). For references with one author and up to two co-authors, semi-colons are used to separate the surnames, e.g. (OLIVEIRA; MATEUS; SILVA, 1943); for references with more than two co-authors, the expression "et al." substitutes for the surnames of the co-authors, e.g. (GILLE et al., 1960).

Quotations longer than three text lines should be set in 11-point font size, and set out as a separate paragraph (or paragraphs) on a new line. The paragraph (or paragraphs) should be 4.0 cm from the left margin throughout, without any quotation marks. Quotations shorter than three text lines should be included in double quotation marks in the running text. Quotations from texts in foreign languages must be translated into Portuguese. Published translations should be used whenever possible. The original text should appear in a footnote.

3.3.3. Italics, bold, underlining and quotation marks

Italics: Use italics for foreign words, book titles in the body of the text, or for emphasis.

Bold: Use bold only in the title of the article and in the text headings and subheadings.

Underlining: Avoid using underlining.

Quotation marks: can be used to highlight parts of the major works, such as titles of poems, articles, chapters. The major works should be highlighted in italics, as the statement above; quotation marks must be used in the body of the text for quotations of excerpts of works. Example: A linguística é uma disciplina que "[...] se baseia na observação dos factos e se abstém de propor qualquer escolha entre tais factos, em nome de certos princípios estéticos e morais" (MARTINET, 1972, p.3).

3.3.4. Footnotes

Footnotes should be kept to a minimum and placed at the bottom of the page. The superscript numerals used to refer to a footnote come after any punctuation sign (comma, semicolon, period, question mark, etc.).

3.3.5. Figures

Figures comprise drawings, graphs, charts, maps, diagrams, formulas, models, photographs, x-rays. The identifying caption should be inserted above the figures, centered, preceded by the designation word designative (Chart, Map, Figure etc); if there is more than one, figures must be numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals using the same font and size of the body of the text. Indication of the source and other information necessary for its understanding should appear below the figure. Figures should be submitted as separate files, saved in the program in which they were generated. Maps, photographs and radiographs should also be submitted as separate files, high-resolution (300 dpi). Author(s) are responsible for image copyrights.

3.3.6. Tables and text frames

Tables should be used to present statistical information, and text frames should be used to summarize and organize textual information. The title is inserted above the table, centered, beginning with **Table 1** in bold, followed by a hyphen and the title without emphasis, in the same font and size of the body text; the title of figures should be presented above the figure,

centered, beginning with Figure 1 in bold, followed by a hyphen and the title without emphasis, in the same font and size of the body text. The numbering is consecutive, in Arabic numerals; if you need to specify the data source, it must be placed below the table or the table and the text aligned to the left. Tables should be built with the open side borders and no lines separating columns.

3.3.7. Appendixes and Annexes

When absolutely necessary to the text comprehension, and within the limit of 30 pages, Annexes and / or appendixes, following the subsection style, should be included in the end of the paper, after the references or bibliography.

3.3.8. Review format

The review should contain, at the beginning, the complete reference to the book being reviewed, including number of pages, in Times New Roman, 14 point size, single spaced, no title, no summary, no keywords. The name(s) of the review author(s), in 12 point size, must appear on the third line below the reference of the book reviewed, preceded by "reviewed by [name(s) of author(s)]". Names must be followed by an asterisk referring to a footnote containing the following information: full name and acronym of the institution to which the review author(s) belong; city; state; country; zip code; email. The text of the review should begin on the third line below the name(s) of the author(s) in Times New Roman, 12 point size 12 and spacing 1.5.

Page format is as follows: paper size: A4 (21.0x 29.7 cm); left and top margins 3.0 cm, right and lower 2.0 cm; minimum length of 4 and maximum of 8 pages, including bibliographic references and annexes and/or appendices; indentation: 1.25 cm to mark the beginning of the paragraph; spacing: 1.5.

3.3.9. Translation format

Translated articles are subjected to a peer review process, to decide on the opportunity and the convenience of their publication. They should follow the article format, where applicable. In the second line below the name of the author of the translated text, right-aligned, the name(s) of the translator(s) should appear in the following format: "Translated by [name(s) of the translator(s)]", with an asterisk referring to a footnote with the following information: full name and acronym of the institution to which the translator(s) belong; city; state; country; zip code; email. The translated text must be accompanied with a written authorization of the publisher responsible for the original publication.

3.3.10. Interview format

Interviews are subjected to a peer review process, which decides on the opportunity and the convenience of its publication. The format of the interview is the same required for articles, but the title should contain, besides the general theme, the expression "Interview with [interviewee name]", without emphasis, with an asterisk referring to a footnote containing a brief review of the biography of the

interviewee, which clearly demonstrates her/his scientific relevance. The author(s) of the interview should follow, according to the rules established for articles.

3.3.11. English version

The author(s) of paper accepted for publication in Portuguese, French, Spanish or Italian must provide the English version of the text until the deadline shown in the e-mail notification of acceptance. The standards for citation of authors in the text and the references of the English version are the same as the ones in Portuguese. *Alfa* appoints reviewers to evaluate the English version of the article. The review is restricted to checking the quality of translation, i. e. adequation to the standard norms of English usage for research papers.

In case there are citations of works with an English-language edition, this edition should be used both in the text and in the references. In case there is no English edition, the quoted text should be translated into English, and the text in the original language of the edition used must be included in a footnote.

If the text contains figures scanned from advertisements in newspapers, magazines or similar media, in Portuguese or another language, the English version of the text must be included in a footnote.

When the text contains examples the understanding of which involves the need to clarify morphosyntactic features, a literal version of them in gloss should be included, followed by the common English translation in single quotation marks. Example:

- (1) isso signific-a um aument-o de vencimento-s (D2-SP-360)
this mean-IND.PRS.3.SG a.M raise-NMLZ of salary-PL
'this means a raise in salary.'

Conventions for the glosses: *The Leipzig Glossing Rules: conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses*, edited by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel); available in <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.

3.3.12. Copyright transfer – publication authorization

Following acceptance of the paper, the AUTHOR AGREES PROMPTLY TO ASSIGN COPYRIGHT to UNESP, which is granted permission to reproduce it and publish it in the journal. The terms “reproduce” and “publish” are understood

according to their definitions in the Sections VI and I, respectively, of the Article 5 of the Law 9610/98. The PAPER is permanently available to be used in both print and electronic media, and readers have FREE-OF-CHARGE ACCESS through the Internet to read, download, copy, or print the FULL TEXTS of the PAPERS. This publication authorization is permanent, and UNESP is responsible for keeping the identification of the PAPER AUTHOR(S).

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