

THE LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND ITS APPROACH IN SPANISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

A DESCRIÇÃO LINGUÍSTICA E SUA ABORDAGEM NO ENSINO DA LÍNGUA ESPANHOLA

LA DESCRIPCIÓN LINGÜÍSTICA Y SU ABORDAJE EN LA ENSEÑANZA DE LA LENGUA ESPAÑOLA

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to present reflections on linguistic description approach in Spanish language teaching, regarding generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009) theoretical perspectives. For this, we will present the initial results of the research that we are developing about the 3rd person accusative pronominal object in the Spanish variety of Madrid and Brazilian Portuguese and reflections on Spanish language teaching. The idea is that the advances in linguistic description and its approach in teaching considering those theoretical perspectives can conduct the student to reflect on Spanish operation and to understand the linguistic and social contexts that were involved in linguistic variation.

KEYWORDS: Spanish. Accusative pronominal object. Generative grammar. Sociolinguistic. Spanish teaching as language foreign.

RESUMO: O objetivo deste trabalho é apresentar reflexões sobre a abordagem da descrição linguística no ensino da língua espanhola, tendo em vista as perspectivas teóricas gerativa (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) e sociolinguística (WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009). Para tanto, apresentaremos os resultados iniciais da pesquisa que estamos desenvolvendo sobre o objeto pronominal acusativo de 3^a pessoa na variedade de espanhol de Madri e no português brasileiro e reflexões sobre o ensino da língua espanhola. Nossa ideia é de que os avanços na descrição linguística e sua abordagem no ensino a partir dessas perspectivas teóricas possam levar o aluno à reflexão sobre o funcionamento do espanhol e à compreensão dos fatores linguísticos e sociais que estão envolvidos no processo de variação linguística.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Espanhol. Objeto pronominal acusativo. Gramática gerativa. Sociolinguística. Ensino de espanhol como língua estrangeira.

RESUMEN: Este trabajo tiene por objetivo presentar reflexiones sobre el abordaje de la descripción lingüística en la enseñanza de la lengua española, teniendo en cuenta las perspectivas teóricas generativa (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) e sociolingüística (WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009). Para ello, presentaremos los resultados iniciales de la investigación

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que estamos llevando a cabo sobre el objeto pronominal acusativo de 3ª persona en la variedad de español de Madrid y en el portugués brasileño y reflexiones sobre la enseñanza de la lengua española. La idea es de que los avances en la descripción lingüística y su abordaje en la enseñanza a partir de esas perspectivas teóricas puedan llevar al alumno a la reflexión sobre el funcionamiento del español y a la comprensión de los factores lingüísticos y sociales que están involucrados en el proceso de variación lingüística.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Español. Objeto pronominal acusativo. Gramática generativa. Sociolingüística. Enseñanza de español como lengua extranjera.*

Introduction

The aim of this work is to demonstrate how the advances of descriptive studies on the Spanish language and its approach to teaching that language, from the generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic theoretical perspectives (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009), can contribute to the student's reflection on the functioning of Spanish compared to that of their mother tongue. To do so, we will first present the initial results of the research we are developing on the third person accusative pronominal object in Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese (hereinafter BP), which is a continuation of the study developed in our doctoral thesis (SIMÕES, 2015). To conduct the research, we are analyzing interviews of the Spanish variety of Madrid belonging to the Sociolinguistic Project for the Study of Spanish in Spain and America (*Proyecto Sociolingüístico para el Estudio del Español de España y de América - PRESEEA*) (CESTERO MANCERA *et al.*, 2014) and PB interviews belonging to the Paulista Portuguese History Project (*Projeto História do Português Paulista - PHPP*) (LIMA-HERNANDES; VICENTE, 2012) and the Program of Studies on the Use of Language (PEUL), developed at UFRJ. As a theoretical framework, we adopted the biological conception of language (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) combined with sociolinguistics (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009). Considering the studies on Spanish (CAMPOS, 1986; FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO, 1999; GROPPi, 1997; LANDA, 1993; SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988), BP (CYRINO, 1994; DUARTE, 1986) and the results of our thesis (SIMÕES, 2015), we started from the hypothesis that, in the Spanish variety of Madrid, null objects would be favored by antecedents with the semantic feature of indefiniteness, the [-animated] and [-specific]. On the other hand, in PB, this ellipse would be favored by antecedents with the semantic features of indefiniteness, definitude, the [-animated] and [+/- specific] and there would be restrictions or impossibility of realizing the lexical pronoun with [-animated antecedents; -specific] indefinite or quantified. In a second part of this work, we will present

reflections on our experience in teaching the Spanish language at the Federal University of Alfenas, guided, as we have seen, also by the generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic theoretical perspectives (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; ; HERZOG, 2009), in addition to supporting the reflections of Kulikowski (2015) and Celada and González (2015), which retrieve the history of Spanish teaching in Brazil.

This article is organized as follows: in the first section, we will present the main concepts of generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic theories (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009); in the second section, which is subdivided into three subsections, we will discuss works on Spanish and BP, part of the results of our doctoral research (SIMÕES, 2015), as well as presenting the methodology and the initial results of our current research; in the third section, we will present our reflections on the teaching of the Spanish language; we will end with some final remarks.

The generative and sociolinguistic theoretical perspectives

In our current research, we rely on the biological perspective of language (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) combined with some aspects of sociolinguistics (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009). Although antagonistic, both theories proved to be fundamental for the interpretation of the results of our previous research (SIMÕES, 2015), so that we maintain these two theoretical perspectives in the analysis of our current study². In addition, in this article, we reflect on the teaching of the Spanish language guided by these theories.

The generative theory

According to Chomsky (1981; 1986), human beings would be endowed with an innate linguistic capacity, called 'Faculty of Language'. This device, present in the mind/brain, would be responsible for the development of linguistic knowledge, which, in turn, is acquired through the interaction between the linguistic data of the environment and the 'Universal Grammar', which houses the universal principles of natural languages. From this process, parameter setting would occur.

Linguistic knowledge corresponds to 'language-I', which is characterized by being internalized, intensive and individual, as opposed to 'language-E', which is characterized by

² Kato and Tarallo (1986) combined these theoretical perspectives and obtained significant results in the study of BP.

being external and extensional. In addition, linguistic knowledge comprises the 'competence' of the speaker, which differs from 'linguistic performance', called performance and which corresponds to the language in use.

After the process of setting parameters for a given language occurs, the speaker would have a 'nuclear grammar', which originates from this natural language acquisition process. On the other hand, throughout life, nuclear grammar would expand and the 'marked periphery' would emerge, responsible for harboring the residues of linguistic change and other phenomena.

In our research, we considered that both the clitic and the null object would correspond to the language-I in the Spanish variety of Madrid. This means that these forms of expression of the accusatory object would integrate linguistic knowledge internalized and acquired naturally by native speakers. As for BP, the clitic 'o'³ is no longer a natural acquisition (MAGALHÃES, 2006). Therefore, this pronoun would occur only in the production of schooled speakers (DUARTE, 1986) and, according to Galves (2001) and Kato (2005), it would integrate the marked periphery. Thus, in BP, only the null object and the lexical pronoun 'he' would form part of the grammar acquired naturally for the expression of the accusative object.

In the scope of the teaching of the Spanish language, when applying the generative theory, our objective is to lead the student to reflect on what the internalized linguistic knowledge would be, through the perception of what that knowledge would be in the scope of the mother tongue, so that, thus, he starts to become more aware of how Spanish works and its specificities.

According to Lightfoot (2006, p. 89), the language-E would be a reflection of the output of the grammars of the linguistic communities and the use of language in discourse and social variation. In our study, the interviews analyzed would comprise the language-E. On the other hand, the object's clitic and ellipse data in Spanish, as well as the lexical pronoun and the ellipse of the BP, would understand the language-I as internalized linguistic knowledge. Therefore, although the interviews represent the language in use and constitute both the internalized linguistic knowledge and the speaker's linguistic performance, the object of analysis in our research comprises linguistic competence.

³ Translated as 'the', but the 'o' is only used before masculine words.

Sociolinguistic theory

According to Labov (2008), linguistic systems would have a heterogeneous character, since languages suffer variation because they are inserted in speech communities. The variation would comprise equivalent linguistic forms, which would be shared by the members of a speech community, even though the production frequencies of each linguistic form are different in each of the speakers.

The linguistic variation would be a transitional phenomenon, which would manifest itself due to the fact that the innovative variant cannot replace the other variant instantly. However, there are phenomena of variation that extend over a long period, which are called 'stable variation'.

Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (2009) propose that the variability and heterogeneity observed in languages could not imply a change in progress, but a process of stable variation. However, for change to occur, the existence of variation is necessary.

For Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (2009), linguistic change would be governed by principles, which are: (1) the conditioning factors, which constitute linguistic and social contexts to which the forms in variation would be conditioned; (2) the transition, which would reveal the ongoing process of linguistic change; (3) fitting, which, in the linguistic sphere, manifests itself by the gradual change of variants and, in the social sphere, in social factors that would be related to one variant or another; (4) evaluation, which is the social meaning that speakers attribute to a given variant; (5) the implementation, which manifests itself, in the linguistic sphere, gradually through the system and, in the social sphere, the meaning of a variant could act both in its implementation in the system and in the regression of the change.

In our research, the Spanish variety in Madrid and the two BP samples we analyzed constitute different language communities. We focus on verifying the linguistic contexts that could favor the occurrence of the object ellipse in Spanish and the impossibility of pronominal realization or its presence in BP, in order to verify the fit of this phenomenon of variation in the linguistic structure.

With regard to the teaching of Spanish, our objective in approaching the grammar of that language from this theoretical perspective is to lead the student to reflect on the process of variation and the linguistic and social factors that affect it.

The linguistic description of Spanish compared to Brazilian Portuguese: the accusative pronominal object

We will cover, in this section, which is subdivided into three subsections, the works on the accusative pronominal object of 3rd person in Spanish, in BP, and the results of our doctoral research (SIMÕES, 2015) on the subject, and then present the methodology and results of our current research.

The grammar of Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese

According to the studies by Campos (1986) and Fernández Soriano (1999), in Spanish, the ellipse of the object in an accusative function would only be possible with [-specific; -defined] antecedents. However, in cases where the antecedent is [+specific], it would be necessary to resume by a clitic. According to Groppi (1997), the variety of Spanish in Montevideo would show the same trend. Observe the following sentences:

- (1a) — ¿Compraste **flores**?
 — Sí, compré \emptyset .
 — Sí, ***las** compré.
 (1b) — ¿Compraste **las flores**?
 — Sí, compré * \emptyset .
 — Sí, **las** compré. [Examples extracted and adapted from Campos (1999, p. 1530)]

Although Spanish is a language in which the possibility of null objects is highly restricted, some varieties of this language present the omission of the object in broader contexts, among them the variety spoken in the Basque Country (LANDA, 1993) and in Quito (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988).

Regarding the Basque variety, according to Landa (1993), the ellipse of the object would be possible with antecedents [+determined; +/-defined] in ditransitive constructions [example (2a)], with antecedent in topic position [example (2b)] and when the antecedent constitutes a sentence [example (2c)].

- (2a) También tengo las fotos_i del bote de J., pero están muy desenfocadas, así que no os= \emptyset _i=mando e_i . Los padres de J. quieren que les= \emptyset _i=mandemos e_i , aunque estén desenfocadas, así que me imagino que J. les= \emptyset _i=mandará e_i .
 (2b) La boda_i; me= \emptyset _i=pagó e_i éste de la Campa de Erandio.
 (2c) La madre piensa [que H. va a aprobar todo en septiembre]_i; pero yo no \emptyset _i=creo e_i . (LANDA, 1993, p. 139-140)

With regard to the Quito variety, null objects would occur with a [+defined] antecedent in topic constructions [example (3a)], when the antecedent appears in the previous sentence

[example (3b)], in constructions with the dative clitic [example (3c)] and when the antecedent is orational with all types of verbs [example (3d)].

- (3a) *Las elecciones yo nunca entendí Ø.*
(3b) *A mi mamá se le quedó un poco mal cerrado el armario y logré abrir Ø.*
(3c) *Bueno, yo te Ø saco.*
(lo = el vestido)
(3d) *No te olvides de decirle. (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988, p. 513)*

With regard to BP, as shown by different studies (CYRINO, 1994; DUARTE, 1986; GALVES, 2001; KATO; TARALLO, 1986; TARALLO, 1993), since the 19th century this language has been going through a process of change in its pronominal system, which caused the loss of the accusative clitic, the expansion of the possibilities of null objects, the appearance of the lexical pronoun in an accusative function, among other phenomena.

Cyrino (1994) reveals that, in contemporary BB, null objects would be possible with orational and nominal antecedents [+/-specific]. Duarte (1986) verified the occurrence of 23.7% of the object's ellipsis with [+animated] antecedents [example (4a)] and 76.3% with [-animated] antecedents [example (4b)]. From these results, we observed that the [-animated] antecedents would favor null objects in BP.

- (4a) *A FEBEM é um dos elos dessa corrente que cria o menor infrator; não é ela o único responsável, o único elo que cria (e), e como tal ela não consegue recuperar (e).* (interview) (46,47)
(4b) *O Armando leu a peça e aprovou (e).* (novela) (123) (DUARTE, 1986, p. 16)

Although in his data Cyrino (1994) did not find the omission of the object with antecedents [+animated; +specifics], according to Kato (2003), this empty category could refer to a [+human] antecedent if it occurs in a topic position, as observed in (5).

- (5) *Esse ator_i, eu acho que (eu) não conheci Ø_i.* (KATO, 2003, p. 139)

Finally, with regard to the lexical pronoun, according to Kato (2002), due to the loss of [+human] background restriction, this pronoun could resume a [-human] entity, as observed in (6), construction in which the pronoun refers to the noun syntagma (hereinafter NS) *the car*.

- (6) *Se tiver muita pressa, eu largo ele num lugar proibido mesmo (SP).* (GALVES, 2001, p. 163)

We will now proceed to present part of the results of our doctoral research (SIMÕES, 2015) on the realization of the accusatory pronominal object of 3rd person in the Spanish

varieties of Madrid and Montevideo compared to BP, from which we started to develop our current research.

Considering the studies by Campos (1986), Fernández Soriano (1999) and Groppi (1997), our hypothesis was that in the Spanish varieties of Madrid and Montevideo, the omission of the object would be restricted to [-determined; -specific] antecedents.

When analyzing the oral interviews of these varieties of Spanish, we observed the occurrence of 95.9% of clitic to express nominal antecedents and 4.1% of ellipse of the object in the Madrid variety. As for the variety of Montevideo, we observed that these indexes correspond to 88.9% and 11.1%, respectively. We found that null objects were not restricted to [-determined; -specific] antecedents, since we find this empty category with [+determined; +/-specific] antecedents⁴. These results reveal that our hypothesis was partially contradicted.

We found that null objects were favored by NS without a determinant, those introduced by a quantifier, by the indefinite article, the [-animated] and, in the Montevideo variety, also the [-specific]. Observe the following tables:

Table 1 – Nominal null objects according to the previous NS structure in the Spanish and Madrid varieties

	Madrid Variety			Montevideo variety		
	n./total	%	p. relativo	n./total	%	p. relativo
Det. Def	21/733	2,9%	0,45	33/630	5,2%	0,40
Art. ind.	7/158	4,4%	0,55	16/108	14,8%	0,68
Quant.	4/74	5,4%	0,57	10/72	13,9%	0,54
SN s/ det.	11/84	13,1%	0,78	41/89	46,1%	0,86

Source: adapted from Simões (2015, p. 138)

Table 2 – Nominal null objects according to the animacy and specificity of the antecedent SN in the Spanish varieties of Madrid and Montevideo

	Madrid Variety			Montevideo variety		
	n./total	%	p. relativo	n./total	%	p. relativo
[+an.]	3/274	1,1%	0,26	17/372	4,6%	0,31
[-an.]	40/775	5,2%	0,59	83/527	15,7%	0,64
[+spe.]	14/406	3,4%		10/411	2,4%	0,30
[-spe.]	29/643	4,5%		90/488	18,4%	0,68

Source: adapted from Simões (2015, p. 145-148)

⁴ Bearing in mind that our objective was to verify the contexts that would favor the omission of the object, the variant 'null object' was chosen as the application value of the variable rule. In the Madrid variety, they were selected as significant for the occurrence of a null object and, depending on the relevance, the semantic trait of animacy and the structure of the antecedent NS. As for the variety of Montevideo, the NS structure and the semantic features of animacy and specificity were selected.

Regarding the antecedents that constitute NS without a determinant, we attribute the result of our research to the incompatibility between the clitic, which is a definite pronoun, and this type of NS, which does not constitute a referential expression (see DI TULLIO, 1997).

As for the quantified and indefinite NS, according to Leonetti (1999), these determinants present the semantic trait of indefiniteness, which is characterized by not identifying the referent. Therefore, we attribute the trend found to this characteristic.

Finally, with regard to the [-animated] and [-specific] antecedents, according to the proposal of Cardinaletti and Starke (1994), addressed in Cyrino, Duarte and Kato (2000), these entities would be at the less referential end of the scale and would be more likely to express themselves anaphorically without phonetic realization. On the other hand, the [+animated] and/or [+specific] entities would be at the most referential end and the tendency would be for them to express themselves through a pronoun. Therefore, the results found in our research are due to this gradation in referentiality.

Let's look at some data on null objects found in the Spanish and Madrid varieties. In the constructions in (7), we omit the object with NS without a determinant; in (8) and (9), the antecedents constitute quantified and indefinite NS, respectively; and, in (10), we have NS that are [-animated] and also [-specific].

- (7a) E: y los estudios ¿seguirías con la idea de hacer **oposiciones** o no?
I: yo creo que sí porque yo creo que en mi casa aburrida / o a lo mejor no haría Ø / yo realmente hago oposiciones para tener un trabajo seguro / [...] (Interview 5 – Madrid)
- (7b) E: y en el jardín ¿tenés **plantas**?
I: sí / en el fondo tenemos Ø sí / ahora / [...] (Interview 17 – Montevideo)
- (8a) I: [...] bueno llevaba en el bolsillo **dos mi<alargamiento/>l y algo** / hh si le llego a dar Ø a mi hijo / pues el tío sale frustrado del todo ¿comprendes? [...] (Interview 16 – Madrid)
- (8b) E: ¿compraste **alguna rifa**?
I: no / mamá compra Ø en la de arquitectura <ruido = “ladrido”/> (Interview 20 – Montevideo)
- (9a) I: y<alargamiento/> no sé / bueno / ee / yo hace tiempo lo pensaba y un **una mercería que hay un poquito más abajo<alargamiento/>** la traspasaron menos mal / porque iban cerrando Ø [...] (Interview 4 – Madrid)
- (9b) I: nunca he llegado al <risas = “todos”/> / este<alargamiento/> / cuando llegué a los / a **unos cubiertos** creo que tenía Ø Devoto / [...] (Interview 1 – Montevideo)
- (10a) I: [...] aparte no me complico en **el cocido** la<alargamiento/>rgo Ø en plan de Lardi ni<alargamiento/> ni pollo ni gallina [...] (Interview 12 – Madrid)
- (10b) I: eran más definidas **las estaciones** ¿no? absolutamente / es más eh uno asociaba Ø a los juegos / la cometa por ejemplo / [...] (Interview 13 – Montevideo)

We also observed the occurrence of null objects in contexts that favor this omission in the Spanish varieties of the Basque Country (LANDA, 1993), Quito (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988)

and BP (CASAGRANDE, 2012; DUARTE, 1986), but that, in our research, were not selected as relevant to the occurrence of the ellipse. These contexts include constructions with a [-perfect] aspect, with verbal periphrasis, dative clitic, secondary predication, topic and cognitive verbs. Observe some data:

- (11a) I: los más modestos del barrio somos los que procedemos / hh de esa<alargamiento/> etapa / que nos adjudicaron / los **los pisos** que<alargamiento/> nos tocaron / no<alargamiento/> había opción de decir <cita> yo quiero Ø en esta calle en esta altura [...] (Interview 18 – Madrid)
- (11b) I: [...] no sé de qué será **esa sal** // a mí me han regalado Ø tengo ahí un poco pero bueno / [...] (Interview 13 – Madrid)
- (11c) I: sí / una plazoleta chiquitita / estee / 21 de Setiembre / se engancha con Bulevar España por ahí / **a una de ellas** / violaron Ø / eran las seis de la mañana (Interview 9 – Montevideo)
- (11d) I: [...] mi madre así <vacilación/> no se compraba **un helado** en la heladería <cita> porque Miguel no / porque / nos ayuda / y tú sabes que no / yo te hago Ø en casa de lo que tú quieras / de chocolate / de crema / pero **un helado de heladería** no te puedo comprar Ø </cita> [...] (Interview 14 – Montevideo)
- (11e) E: ¿y tienen una comida típica para Navidad o van cambiando **el menú**?
I: no vamos cambiando Ø de acuerdo al estado de ánimo de<alargamiento/>| que recibe / [...] (Interview 11 – Montevideo)

Regarding the comparison we made between the Spanish varieties in Madrid and Montevideo and the BP, by translating into this language some cases of null objects found in these Spanish varieties, we found that, with [+animated; + specific], whether the NS is definite or indefinite, it would be possible to vary between the empty category and the lexical pronoun [examples (12)]. This possibility of variation remains between the [+animated; -specific], whether the NS is definite or quantified [examples (13)].

- (12a) [...] **este** espera que eu te mostro Ø/ele [...] (referente: **o filho da informante**) (see interview 16 – Madrid)
- (12b) **uma amiga minha** eu chamei Ø/ela quando ela estava vendo TV para dedicar um vídeo para ela [...] (see interview 5 – Madrid)
- (13a) porque **a polícia** nós não chamamos Ø/ela porque eles não tinham entrado... não tinham roubado nada [...] (see interview 18 – Montevideo)
- (13b) A: e você considera que tem **alguns amigos**?
B: sim... E é uma
A: ah... sim
B: está bom então
A: por sorte eu encontrei Ø/eles/**alguns**... viu? [...] (see interview 2 – Montevideo)

Within the background [-animated; +specific], the variation between the ellipse and the pronoun would occur with the definite and indefinite NS. On the other hand, with quantified NS, it would only be possible to omit the object.

- (14a) [...] eu não sei do que é **esse sal**... me deram **Ø/ele**... eu tenho um pouco aí [...] (see interview 13 – Madrid)
- (14b) com uma barrinha de ferro que introduzia em **uma tábua**... eu tenho **Ø/ela** lá naquele quarto... depois eu te mostro **Ø/ela** [...] (see interview 12 – Montevideo)
- (14c) [...] eu levava no bolso **dois mil e alguma coisa**... se eu chego a dar **Ø/*ele** para o meu filho... o cara sai frustrado de tudo... entende? [...] (see interview 16 – Madrid)

As for the background [-animated; -specifics], when the NS is introduced by a definite determinant, the variation between the null object and the pronoun would be possible in constructions with dynamic verbs [example (15a)]. However, in constructions with static verbs, the pronoun would lead to a [+ specific] interpretation of the antecedent [example (15b)]. In the sphere of indefinite NS, the pronoun would be accepted in a construction with a dynamic verb, but it would not be accepted if the antecedent appears as a topic [example (15c)]. When it comes to construction with a static verb, the pronoun would not be possible [example (15d)]. Finally, with quantified NS, the expression by the pronoun would be accepted with the quantifier *many* (*muitos*) [examples (15e) and (15f)].

- (15a) [...] no arroz... por exemplo... **no arroz**... primeiro eu refogo **Ø/ele** com óleo e cebola [...] (see interview 8 – Madrid)
- (15b) [...] recebemos **os apartamentos** e não era possível dizer “eu quero **Ø/ele** nesta rua nesta altura” [...] (see interview 18 – Madrid)
- (15c) [...] minha mãe não comprava **um sorvete** na sorveteria... “porque Miguel nos ajuda e você sabe que não... eu te faço **Ø/ele** em casa do que você quiser... de chocolate... de creme... mas **um sorvete de sorveteria** eu não posso te comprar **Ø/?ele**” [...] (see interview 14 – Montevideo)
- (15d) A: e com ela você tem **uma boa relação**?
B: como eu tinha **Ø/?ela** com o meu irmão... como eu tenho **Ø/?ela** com a minha cunhada [...] (see interview 8 – Montevideo)
- (15e) [...] depois que está **tudo** frito... eu misturo **Ø/?ele**... agrego **Ø/?ele** à massa [...] (see interview 3 – Madrid)
- (15f) A: [...] pois eu tenho **muitos exames muitos atestados de incapacidade** que refazer é muito difícil
B: é verdade... é uma confusão... vai muito tempo
A: e só eu poderia fazer **Ø/eles** / porque meus filhos não fizeram **Ø/eles** (see interview 18 – Madrid)

To conclude this subsection, we will summarize the main aspects presented.

From the works of Campos (1986), Fernández Soriano (1999) and Groppi (1997), we found that, in Spanish, null objects would be restricted to antecedents that constitute NS without determinant, while in Spanish spoken in the Basque Country (LANDA, 1993) and in Quito (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988) it is possible to omit the object with determined NS.

However, we found in our study (SIMÕES, 2015) the omission of the object not only with [-determined] antecedents, but also [+ determined], this empty category being favored by NS that present the semantic feature of indefiniteness, either by the absence of determinant or

for being introduced by quantifier or the indefinite article. The omission was also favored by antecedents that would be less referential and would therefore be more likely to express itself through an ellipse. In addition, the null objects in the investigated Spanish varieties occurred in constructions that favor this omission in the Spanish varieties in which it occurs in broader contexts.

Although Spanish is not configured as a language of null objects, the results of our research (SIMÕES, 2015) could reveal the paths that natural languages take with regard to the expression of the object by an elliptical category. In this sense, the omission of the object that we found while reading a French children's literature book would be revealing, as observed in (16).

- (16) *On a cherché autre chose à faire et Agnan m'a dit que pour étudier les sciences, son papa lui avait offert un jeu de chimie. Il m'a montré Ø et c'est très chouette. (Le petit Nicolas, p. 139)*
 A gente procurou outra coisa para fazer e Agnan me disse que para estudar ciência, seu papai tinha dado para ele **um jogo de química**. Ele me Ø mostrou. É muito legal. (SIMÕES, 2015, p. 247)

We observe that this construction with null object presents the cognitive verb *montrer* and the dative clitic in function of indirect object, which are contexts related to the omission of the object in Spanish spoken in the Basque Country (LANDA, 1993) and in Quito (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988). In addition, although the construction has a perfective aspect and the antecedent NS is [+specific], it occurs in the sentence before the ellipse, as well as it is [-animated] and introduced by the indefinite article, contexts that, as we have seen, favored the omission of the object in the Spanish varieties we investigated (SIMÕES, 2015).

As for BP, we saw that, due to the process of linguistic variation and change that has occurred in that language since the 19th century, the omission of the object would be possible with [+/-specific] antecedents (CYRINO, 1994) and, above all, [-animated] (DUARTE, 1986).

In our analysis of the possibilities of BP (SIMÕES, 2015), we observed that the expression of the object by the pronoun would be conditioned to [+animated] and [+specific] entities. Regarding the [-animated] antecedents, only the [+specific] NS, definite or indefinite, accepted the variation between the pronoun and the ellipse in all constructions. The impossibility of expression by pronoun would occur when we have the combination of [-animated; -specific] antecedent, undefined and construction with static verb.

Methodology

In the current research that we have developed, we continue to analyze the realization of the 3rd person accusative pronominal object as a variable, the variants being its expression by null object and by pronoun, whether the clitic in Spanish and the lexical pronoun or the clitic in BP.

We analyzed interviews of the Spanish variety of Madrid⁵ (CESTERO MANCERA *et al.*, 2014) belonging to PRESEEA and BP interviews belonging to PHPP (LIMA-HERNANDES; VICENTE, 2012) and PEUL.

We investigated different linguistic contexts, including the structure and semantic features of the previous NS⁶, the lexical aspect and the verbal semantics.

Initial results

In this part, we will make some considerations about the initial results of our current research, which constitute a qualitative analysis of some of the data found, although our aim is to perform a quantitative analysis.

Our current research is justified by the need to advance in the description of this area of Spanish and BP grammar, detecting, in the Spanish sphere, the possibilities of ellipse and, in the BP sphere, the contexts in which a pronoun is essential to express the antecedent, as well as the contexts in which it would not be possible. This research would allow us to advance in the understanding of the mechanisms that act in the expression of the arguments of the verb by pronoun or ellipse in natural languages.

According to Kany (1969), the omission of the orational null object would be possible with communication and cognitive verbs, including in Spanish varieties in which the nominal null objects would be restricted. As we have seen, in the Spanish varieties of the Basque Country (LANDA, 1993) and Quito (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988), the oratory antecedents enable the ellipse of the object.

In our research (SIMÕES, 2015), we observed the occurrence of 11% of ellipse of an orational object in the Madrid variety and 31% in the Montevideo variety. We found that the omission of the object with an orational antecedent was favored by verbal semantics, so that both communication and cognitive verbs favored this omission.

⁵ It is likely that in our current research we will also analyze interviews of the Montevideo Spanish variety.

⁶ We verify if it is definite, indefinite, quantified or without determinant NS and if it presents the semantic traits of specificity and animacy.

The diachronic data of Cyrino (1996) reveal that the expansion in the possibility of nominal null objects in BP would have originated in the orational null objects. Cyrino (1994) found that from the 18th century onwards, the incidence of ellipse with orational antecedents began to accentuate and, in the 20th century, the rate of deletion of the object reached 90%.

We find in the interviews of the Spanish variety in Madrid that we are analyzing occurrences of orational null object with communication verb [example (17a)] and cognitive [example (17b)].

- (17a) E: ¿y tú recuerdas si eso también sucedía antes? eeh estos / estas eeh vamos cuando tú eras pequeño /
I: hombre yo / tanto ya no / no sabría decirte Ø pero vamos [...] (Informant 19)
- (17b) E: o sea que / o sea que fue que **se podía llevar // objetos pesados** / el el / ¿sí?
I: eeh hombre yo creo tanto no // pero vamos // cuando estás en esa situación nunca sabes Ø // (Informant 19)

Within the scope of nominal null objects, we find ellipses with NS [+/- determined]. With respect to NS [+ determined], these are introduced by the definite, demonstrative and indefinite article. Up to this point, all nominal null objects found are [-animated; -specific] entities. As for the constructions in which these ellipses occur, in (18a) we have a periphrasis with a main verb in the gerund and which can be classified as a communication verb. In the construction in (18b), periphrasis also occurs and the main verb constitutes a cognitive verb, as does the construction verb in (18c). In (18d), there is a dynamic verb in the first occurrence of object omission and, in the second, another gerund periphrasis also with a main verb with a dynamic aspect. Finally, in the construction in (18e), we have modal periphrasis and the main verb is inserted among those with a dynamic aspect.

- (18a) E: ¿qué pasa que es cara esa?
I: no / no es que sea cara // pero vamos es un / el problema que tiene esa moto es que nadie te la arregla ¿no? / o sea tienes que aprender a arreglártela // no es lo mismo que tú llegas con / con otra moto y llegas se te / tienes el concesionario el servicio oficial / es todas las piezas si quieres te vas a una tienda y consigues con una herramienta / o un repuesto / en esto no / en esto te tienes que buscar **las habichuelas** // y cad / cada dos por tres estás pidiendo Ø fuera <silencio/> (Informant 19)
- (18b) I: en lo que nosotros nos movemos es / pues eso // lo que son **las Scooter** por // porque es lo que nos gusta y porque sabes apreciar Ø realmente (Informant 19)
- (18c) I: lo comprenderías ¿no? o bueno / tampoco lo comprenderías ¿no? porque **esa violencia** / con la que ellos / eeh actuaron pues tampoco // yo es que no lo entiendo o sea no entiendo a la gente que puede ir haciendo
E: es decir porque han mirado mal a / a mi / a mi novia ¿no?
I: no / sí / pero es que no / aun así es que yo no entiendo Ø (Informant 19)
- (18d) E: ¿y a la juegas al / a los juegos de azar / la lotería / la quiniela?
I: eeh / en todo el año / compro el décimo de hoy para la / la lotería de navidad / y porque lo compramos todos en el trabajo / y si a lo mejor estás un día y estamos todos

- los amigos y viene ya **el de la ONCE** o algo de eso y compran / compras Ø / pero por el hecho de joder / a ver si les va a tocar a estos que están comprando Ø al lado mío pero a mí por mí o sea [...] (Interview 20)
- (18e) I: o te vas a vamos / hoy he estado hablando con un compañero mío de del trabajo que se ha cambiado de empresa / y se ha comprado ahora está viviendo / vive en M A por aquí / y se han comprado un / un chalé o algo así / o un adosado en / en Alcalá de Henares / y dice que es que ya estaba viendo que lo que le valía allí / y con lo mismo aquí compraba otro más grande que / y es que de meterte en un chalecito con no sé qué / a meterte en **un piso con una habitación de hace cuarenta años** pues no / y claro es que aquí no puedes comprar Ø de otra manera / y luego // en principio pues / seguir trabajando // tampoco he pensado mucho así en el futuro porqu (Interview 20)

These initial results, which allow us only a qualitative analysis of the data, point out some trends that are in line with the results of our previous research (SIMÕES, 2015), since we observed that all null objects found up to this moment constitute [-animated; -specific] entities.

Also striking is the structural and semantic contexts of the constructions in which object omissions occur. As we have seen, these contexts favor omission in Basque Spanish (LANDA, 1993) and in Quito (SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988). In addition, null objects of the Madrid and Montevideo varieties also occurred in these contexts. These initial results suggest that it acts in the possibility of omitting the object not only the structure of the antecedent NS and its semantic features, but also the structure and semantics of the verbal predicate. We had already seen evidence of this interaction in our previous research (SIMÕES, 2015).

In relation to BP, we analyzed 11 interviews belonging to PHPP (LIMA-HERNANDES; VICENTE, 2012) and which reveal the cultured spoken language of the São Paulo variety.

From the analysis of these interviews, we found the almost categorical occurrence of null objects and a few occurrences of clitic, but no production of the lexical pronoun. In view of this result, our strategy to verify the possibility of expression of the object by the lexical pronoun in BP consisted of using the pronoun and observing if it would be possible to use it in each of the constructions found.

In the sphere of quantified SNs, if the antecedent is [-animated; + specific] and the construction has a dynamic verb, it seems possible to alternate between the ellipse and the pronoun [example (19a)]. However, in the case of a [-animated; + specific], under construction with a static verb, the pronoun would no longer be accepted [example (19b)]. On the other hand, if the antecedent constitutes an [-animated; -specific] entity and in the construction a dynamic verb appears, it is possible to vary between the null object and the pronoun [example (19c)]. The tendencies that point to this qualitative analysis reveal that, with quantified NS, the lexical aspect of verbs would be determinant in the possibility or not of expression of the object by the pronoun.

- (19a) L1
 ((L1 voltando)) eu não encontro a nova fase já saíram **dois números da nova fase** mas eu fiquei tão decepcionado que eu acho que eu não sei se eu joguei Ø fora... ((risos)) mas aqui por exemplo é o número QUarenta e dois não é... deixa eu ver quem já (Informant 5)
- (19a') eu não sei eu joguei **eles** fora
- (19b) L1 pelo que eu saiba...a h n : : . . . pelo que eu saiba a FFLCH assim... eu não... eu não tenho ideia de que a FFLCH tenha tido **algum reitor** na USP
 L2 nunca teve Ø (Informant 2)
- (19b') nunca teve ***ele**
- (19c) L1 ah:: eu... gosto deMAIS (desse aí) eu acho que... desmistiFica / eu gosto muito desse trabalho sabe... foi uma pesquisa GRANde que nós fizemos eu não publiquei NEM um décimo dos resultados que eu tenho porque o problema que eu também sou uma grande::... como é que a gente fala?... coletei **muitos dados** ((risos)) [L2 ((risos))
 L1 e depois eu nem dou conta de... de usar Ø sabe... já vou pra outra pesqui::sa [...] (Informant 4)
- (19c') depois eu nem dou conta de... de usar **eles**

With regard to the NS introduced by the indefinite article, we note that with a [-animated; +specific], under construction with a dynamic verb, there would be a variation between the omission of the object and the pronoun [example (20a)]. As for a background [-animated; -specific], if the construction has a dynamic verb, the pronoun would also be accepted [example (20b)]. However, if the verb is static, the pronoun would not be possible [example (20c)].

- (20a) L1 não essa pesquisa terminou porque ago::ra eu tô fazendo **uma outra pesquisa que eu comecei agora...** que... porque porque primei/eu fi/o::lha são alguns pólos (que teve essa pesquisa)... primeiro é a mulher no mercado de trabalho... que eu queria saber exatamente quais eram as::... atividades femininas... que não são profissões (né) são atvida::des... mostrar que a mulher não fica trancada só dentro de ca::sa... essa coisa toda que... todo o mito né que se criou:: em torno da mulher... o segundo POlo que deCORre é essa::... das mulheres... chefiando domicílio... tá... e agora eu tô NO terceiro polo... que é o estudo da... da riqueza feminina então tô estudando os inventá::rios... e:: e procurando ver quais eram os bens que as mulheres possuí::am... se elas tinham mais escravos que os homens ou não ti::nham... se elas... libertavam mais os seus... os seus escravos ou as suas esca::vas... enfim eu tô fazendo... Ø comecei aGOra... essa aí...
- (20a') eu tô fazendo **ela**...
- (20b) L1 (eu meio que me) aventurei... a faze...então desde aquela época eu tento faze... as vezes dá certo às vezes num dá...às vezes faço **uma letra** eles não gostam muito eu refaço Ø... até dá certo né... [...] (Informant 6)
- (20b') eu refaço **ela**
- (20c) L1 [...] para:: fazer sua pesquisa... a partir da FAPESP não você passou a ter bolsas... passou a ter auxílios à pesquisa vindas de uma fonte:: externa à sua universidade... e isso com o tempo foi se generalizando... hoje todos o estados do país têm **uma fundação de amparo à pesquisa...** a mais pujante é a de São Paulo... mas TODOS os estados TÊM Ø... do Rio tá muito boa... da Bahia tá muito boa... de Pernambuco tá muito boa... Minas Gerais também... (Informant 3)
- (20c') mas TODOS os estados TEM ***ela**

As we have seen, according to Kato (2002), in BP, the ellipse of the object could refer to the antecedent [+human] if it occurs in a topic position. However, we found in the interviews the occurrence of an NS [+animated; +specific], which constitutes a proper name and which was made using the ellipse under construction with a dynamic verb and secondary predication. In this case, it is possible to resume the antecedent by the pronoun.

- (21) L1 é mui difíci / olha e::u... **a minha orientadora** que foi **Maria Teresa (Persona)** ela ainda é viva...
L2 uhn
L1 quando eu entrei na faculdade eu era muito MOça eu... tinha:::... entrei assim como instrutora voluntária eu tinha vinte e um anos vinte e dois anos () me formei muito jovem né... e ela falou “agora que cê é minha cole::ga... você não vai mais me chamar de senhora” MAGI::na... a vida inteira chamei Ø (Informant 4)
(21’) a vida inteira chamei **ela** de senhora

Within the scope of NS introduced by definite and [+animated; +specifics] determinants, we also find another case of null object under construction with cognitive verb in which the antecedent does not constitute a topic [example (22a)]. On the other hand, in (22b), we have an omission occurrence of the object with an antecedent [+animated; +specific], under construction with a cognitive and topical verb. In both cases it is possible to alternate between the ellipse and the pronoun.

- (22a) L3 e o senhor conheceu **sua esposa** em toda essa jornada quando?
L1 eu conheci... bom... aí primeiro eu me casei muito jovem não é minha filha sabe não é... me casei com quarenta e cinco quase quarenta e seis anos não é... eu conheci Ø num curso que eu fui fazer no Rio de Janeiro não é... [...] (Informant 7)
(22a’) eu conheci **ela** num curso que eu fui fazer no Rio de Janeiro
(22b) aqui perto do Ipiranga ele me diz “não você pode me deixar aqui que aqui” aí eu “não eu faço questão” “não não eu tenho um negócio aqui” aí que eu entendi falei “esse cara aqui é alguma coisa” e **Esse CAra** eu conheci Ø depois na morte de um dos caras que foram jogados no rio aqui perto... um cara que era amigo meu que era lá do Rio Grande do Norte não é...
(22b’) Esse cara eu conheci **ele** depois na morte de um dos caras que foram jogados no rio aqui perto

Finally, also within the scope of the defined NS, we find the possibility of variation between pronoun and ellipse with antecedent [-animated; + specific] [example (23a)] and [-animated; -specific] [example (23b)], with dynamic verb.

- (23a) L1 [...] eu acho que **o meu trabalho** ele é um dos primeiros trabalhos... senão o primeiro né... trabalho que surge na na... trabalho acadêmico né... que surge a respeito do assunto... e aí procurei disseminar Ø porque eu acho que [...] (Informant 4)
(23a’) aí eu procurei disseminar **ele**
(23b) L1 ((risos)) () é que eu não tô lendo mais **os manuscritos** porque não dá tempo...daqui a pouco eu já não sei mais ler... Ø ((risos)) (Informant 4)

(23b') *daqui a pouco eu já não sei mais ler eles*

The trends we observed through the qualitative analysis of the data reveal that, in BP, a language that is configured as of null object, there would be a gradation in the possibility of variation between the ellipse and the pronoun related to the referentiality of the previous NS, to the semantic features of definiteness and indefiniteness of the determinants and the lexical aspect of the verbal predicate. In that language, static verbs, which express a situation that manifests itself in a homogeneous manner (DE MIGUEL, 1999), combined with the indefiniteness of the determinant and less referential antecedents, comprise linguistic contexts related to the impossibility of expression of the object through the pronoun. In Spanish, this impossibility manifests itself with the NS without a determinant that appear in constructions with the stative verb *tener*: *¿Tienes cerillas? No tengo Ø* (see BRUCART, 1999, p. 2805).

As for the null object data detected in the Spanish variety of Madrid so far, we observe that, although we have found NS introduced by a definite determinant, they present the semantic features [-animated; -specific], corresponding to less referential arguments. In addition, the constructions in which the null object occurs present verbal periphrasis and/or imperfect aspect and communication and cognitive verbs, which are contexts that act on the possibility of null objects in other varieties of this language (see KANY, 1969; LANDA, 1993).

Reflections on the teaching of the Spanish language

In this section, we will present some reflections on the teaching of the Spanish language guided by the generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic theoretical perspectives (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009). First, we will discuss some aspects of the functioning of Spanish compared to BP, and then we will discuss our teaching proposal.

González (1994), in his pioneering and unprecedented thesis, detected an 'inverse asymmetry' between Spanish and BP in terms of the expression of the subject and the object. This researcher had as a starting point the asymmetry found by Tarallo (1993) between BP and European Portuguese.

According to González (1994), in the scope of the subject, while the tendency in Spanish would be to erase the pronoun, in BP, the tendency would be towards pronominal realization. As for the accusative object, in Spanish, the tendency would be to fill the object with the unstressed pronoun, which could be duplicated by the tonic for discursive needs, whereas, in BP, the tendency would be for the object to be erased and made real by the lexical pronoun.

According to Galves (1993; 2001), this change in BP would have originated due to the weakening of verbal agreement, generated by the loss of the distinction between the 2nd and 3rd person, from the insertion of the pronoun 'você' (you) as a form of treatment. Galves (1993), supported by Chomsky (1981), proposes that there would have been a parametric change in BP within the scope of the verbal agreement system. The BP flexional system would have turned into a weak agreement system, which is differentiated by the combination of the 'person' and 'plural' traits. On the other hand, a richly concord language, such as Spanish, has three values associated with the person trait.

González (1994) presents the syntactic phenomena that, according to Tarallo (1993), would result from the reorganization of the pronominal system and the reorganization of sentence patterns, both resulting from the weakening of verbal agreement. Among the phenomena related to the pronominal system, would be the expression of the subject and direct and indirect objects, the possibility of indetermination of the subject without the pronoun 'se'⁷, the passive and indeterminate constructions with 'se', the pronominal placement. As for the phenomena related to word order, these would include blocking the verb-subject order in constructions with transitive verbal predicates and changing the word order in direct and indirect interrogatives. Let's look at each of these phenomena in a little more detail.

With regard to the expression of the subject and the accusatory object, the BP presents a higher frequency of pronominal subjects and of deletion of the object in an accusative function, as we saw in the previous section.

- (24) Eu não sei como as pessoas conseguem ouvir *o João* no telefone. Às vezes eu estou do lado *dele* e não estou escutando (\emptyset). Parece que *ele* não está falando (SP81-1-K-9/10) (TARALLO, 2018 [1993], p. 64).

According to Fernández Soriano (1999), in Spanish, the possibility of the absence of the subject pronoun is related to the richness of verbal inflection, which is able to identify different grammatical people. In that language, the subject pronoun would occur for discursive needs, so it is used to establish contrast, differentiating two or more referents (FANJUL, 2014; LUJÁN, 1999). Observe the following prayers:

- (25) Trabajas de nueve a cinco todos los días. (FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO, 1999, p. 1224).
(26a) No iré a la estancia.
(26b) Yo no iré a la estancia. (FANJUL, 2014, p. 36).

⁷ There is no direct way to translate this Portuguese pronoun into English, for comprehension we can use the examples: “Alugam-se barcos”, translated to “Boats are rented”.

As we have seen, Campos (1986) describes Spanish as a language in which null objects would be restricted to NS without a determinant, although other varieties of that language accept this ellipse in broader contexts (LANDA, 1993; SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988) and in our work (SIMÕES, 2015) we also found null objects with specific NS in the varieties of Madrid and Montevideo.

In PB, we saw that it would be possible to express the accusatory object through the lexical pronoun, which, according to Kato (2002), lost the restriction to [+human] antecedent [example (27)]. In Spanish, on the contrary, according to Groppi (2009), only the clitic pronoun could resume NS due to an accusative object. The tonic pronoun could duplicate the clitic in cases where it is necessary to establish a contrast between two or more referents [examples (28)].

(27) Eu não vi **ele** lá. (GONZÁLEZ, 1994, p. 215).

(28a) *Veo a ella.

(28b) La veo [a ella]. (GROPPI, 2009, p. 100).

From the linguistic change, the BP started to present the tendency to an indeterminate interpretation of the subject in constructions without the pronoun 'se'. In Spanish, however, such a construction would receive a referential interpretation, since, according to Fanjul (2014), for the indeterminate interpretation to be possible, the pronoun 'se' or the third person of the plural would be necessary.

(29) “Não usa mais saia”

Portuguese in Brazil: Não se usa mais saia.

Portuguese in Portugal: Alguém não usa mais saia. (TARALLO, 2018 [1993], p. 66).

(30) — ¿Aquí **se hace/hacen** cambio de domicilio?

— Sí./ Sí, lo hacemos. / Sí, se hace. (FANJUL, 2014, p. 48).

As for the expression of the indirect object, according to Torres Morais and Berlinck (2007), the pronouns 'lhe'/'lhes'⁸ have low occurrence in less formal speech and writing in BP and there would be a tendency to use the preposition 'for' at the expense of 'the' to introduce the indirect object.

(31a) Por favor, MANDEM UM RECADO AO CAETANO VELOSO. No número 196 de CAPRICHOS, ele diz que se acha muito feio. O recado é este: Caetano, você é lindo. (*Capricho*, 04/1968, p. 42).

(31b) Vá voando para a cozinha, crie uma receita deliciosa que use o azeite do coração e MANDE PARA A GENTE. (*Claudia*, 2/1997, p. 33) (TORRES MORAIS; BERLINCK, 2006, p. 68).

⁸ These could be understood as inflexions of the pronoun you, being “lhe” the singular form and “lhes” the plural. Example: “Não **lhe** cabe decidir isso”, translated as “This decision is not up to you”.

On the other hand, in Spanish, the indirect anaphoric object is expressed by unstressed pronouns and can be duplicated by a tonic pronoun for discursive needs (FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO, 1999).

(32) Le di el regalo **a él** (*di el regalo **a él**). (FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO, 1999, p. 1248).

In BP, the reorganization of the pronominal system is also associated with a decrease in the frequency of reflective pronouns and the pronoun 'se' in non-accusative constructions. On the other hand, in Spanish, according to Fanjul (2014), it is necessary for the clitic to be present in reflective constructions [examples (33)] and in non-indicative constructions [examples (34) and (35)].

(33a) Eu (me) vejo a mim mesmo nele.

(33b) Me veo (a mí mismo) en él. (FANJUL, 2014, p. 47).

(34a) A gelatina amoleceu.

(34b) La gelatina se ablandó.

(35a) Quero (me) levantar cedo.

(35b) Quiero levantarme temprano. (FANJUL, 2014, p. 48).

In relation to passive sentences with the pronoun 'se', according to Araújo Jr. (2014), in BP, participle passives predominate [examples (36)], while in Spanish there is a predominance of passives with 'se' [examples (37)]. According to Nunes (1990⁹, *apud* GONZÁLEZ, 1994), there would be a tendency in the BP to decrease the concord in structures with the pronoun 'se', so that this pronoun would be interpreted as indeterminate instead of passive [example (38)].

(36a) O refém **foi libertado** após o pagamento do resgate.

(36b) El atracador **fue detenido** por la policía al intentar fugarse.

(37a) Segundo as estatísticas do governo, este ano **compraram-se** mais geladeiras, fogões e máquinas de lavar que no ano passado.

(37b) **Se han aprobado** leyes que dificultan la inmigración. (ARAÚJO JR., 2014, p. 134).

(38) Vende-se casas. (GONZÁLEZ, 1994, p. 216).

With regard to the change in the placement of clitic pronouns, according to Galves (2001), in BP, the pronoun appears as a proclisis to the main verb [(examples (39)]. On the other hand, in Spanish, according to González (1994), in the periphrases with the main verbs in the infinitive or gerund, the pronoun can appear as an enclisis to the main verb or as a proclisis to the auxiliary verb [examples (40)].

(39a) João queria lhe falar. (GONZÁLEZ, 1994, p. 216).

(39b) Agora não tinha me lembrado (POA – Did). (GALVES, 2001, p. 134).

⁹ See NUNES, J. **O famigerado 'se'**. Uma análise diacrônica das construções com 'se' apassivador e indeterminador. 1990. Dissertação de Mestrado, IEL/Unicamp, Campinas, fev. 1990, inédita.

- (40a) Quiero verte.
(40b) Te quiero ver. (GONZÁLEZ, 1994, p. 171).

With respect to the phenomena that integrate the reorganization of construction patterns, in BP, the expansion of the possibility of null objects would have generated the blocking of the verb-subject order in transitive constructions and, as a consequence, the standard order in BB became subject-verb-object.

- (41) Cadê o pronome? O gato comeu (e). (GONZÁLEZ, 1994, p. 217).

Another phenomenon linked to the organization of sentences constitutes the change in the order of the constituents in the direct and indirect questions, which in BP became subject-verb. On the other hand, in Spanish, according to Zubizarreta (1999), the pronoun must appear postponed to the verb in direct and indirect interrogative sentences. Observe the following constructions:

- (42a) O que o João comprou?
(42b) Me pergunto o que o João comprou¹⁰.
(43a) ¿Qué compró Juan?
(43b) *¿Qué Juan compró?
(44a) Me pregunto qué compró Juan.
(44b) *Me pregunto qué Juan compró. (ZUBIZARRETA, 1999, p. 4217).

Having carried out this approach on the differences in the functioning of Spanish and BP, we will start our reflection on the teaching of the Spanish language in the Letters course at the Federal University of Alfenas, located in the south of the state of Minas Gerais.

Every semester, for each of the disciplines we are responsible for teaching, we insert in the course program that the approach to teaching the functioning of the Spanish language will be guided by the generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic theoretical perspectives (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009)¹¹. On the first day of class, we present some of the concepts of these theories. We also rely on the reflections of Kulikowski (2015) and Celada and González (2015), which provide us with a foray into the history of Spanish in Brazil.

Our intention in addressing these theories in our teaching practice is that, when having contact with the grammar and functioning of Spanish, the student has a vision of language as an internalized knowledge, which varies and is conditioned by linguistic and social factors.

¹⁰ The sentences in (42) were prepared by us.

¹¹ As the disciplines aim to develop the four language skills in Spanish, these being oral and written comprehension and expression, we also rely on the perspective of Bakhtin's discourse genres (VARGENS; FREITAS, 2010).

In the first and second days of class of the subject of 'Spanish Language I', we use the statement '¿Cómo te llamas?'¹², Which the student will use to ask the name of his interlocutor informally, and we ask the students how we would do to ask for the name in BP. Immediately appears the construction 'Como você (se) chama?'¹³. We therefore ask you to note the differences and similarities between the two constructions. Some of the observations are the inflection of person and number present in the Spanish verb and the absence in that language of a pronoun corresponding to 'você' (you).

After these first reflections, we asked them if we could exclude the pronoun 'você' (you) from the BP statement and, even so, ask the name of our interlocutor, as in '??Como (se) chama?'. The students' response is negative. On this occasion, we explained that this would be the internalized knowledge that we, as BP speakers, would have and that it is knowledge acquired naturally since childhood, without the need for any type of formal learning.

Our goal would be for them to understand, from their experience with the mother tongue, what internalized grammar would be. We also explain about the process of variation and linguistic change that BP has been going through and that, as we have seen, differentiated it from Spanish. We clarify about the weakening of concord in BP (GALVES, 2001) and that, in Spanish, the ending of person and number -s would be sufficient, in this case, to identify the grammatical person.

Based on the construction '??Como (se) chama?', Which would cause a strangeness among BP speakers if the objective is to ask the interlocutor's name, we explain to the students that this would be perfectly possible if the subject of the sentence has as a referent an [-animated] entity, present in the situational or even discursive context. According to our BP speaker intuition, we thought that if the referent were [+animated], the pronoun would be necessary ('Como ele/ela (se) chama?')¹⁴.

¹² Later in the course, the student comes into contact with the phenomenon of 'voseo', so, on that occasion, he learns that to ask the interlocutor's name informally in the varieties in which this phenomenon occurs, he says '¿Cómo te llamas?' According to Fontanella de Weinberg (1999), Argentina, Paraguay and Costa Rica are included among the countries where this phenomenon is widespread. On the other hand, in Uruguay this form is conditioned by the degree of intimacy between the interlocutors and, in Chile, by the registration and education of the speaker.

¹³ This would be the equivalent to "what's your name?", but in literal translation it would read "how do you call yourself?"

¹⁴ We found, in the São Paulo subway, a statement of an advertisement about the movie The Addams family, which is observed in (1):

(1) "Acha que a sua família é esquisita?" ("Do you think your family is weird?")

In this statement, the subject of the main clause is elliptical. Our hypothesis is that this null subject would be possible due to the fact that 'think' is a verbal state and cognitive predicate. In addition, although the statement is addressed to an interlocutor, it is not exactly a specific interlocutor, since the advertising is directed to the various people who transit the São Paulo subway daily. We also noticed that, after making a card purchase, the attendant asked us, 'Quer sua via?' (Literally translated to: 'Want your receipt?'), instead of 'Você quer sua via?' (Translated to: 'Do you want your route?'). In this case, we have the possibility of null subject, with referent [+animated];

We continue with this first reflection on the functioning of Spanish in comparison with that of BP and draw the students' attention to the possibility, in BP, of variation in the expression of the reflective pronoun: 'Como você (se) chama?'. On the other hand, we clarify that, in Spanish, it is necessary to express the reflexive pronoun. If this pronoun is absent, as in '¿Cómo llamas?', we explain to students that a native speaker will not understand that we ask his name. The native speaker could ask us '¿Cómo llamo qué?', since the absence of the reflexive pronoun would generate the need for a direct object.

We also addressed the issue of the presence of the subject pronoun in Spanish. We explain to the students that, if the pronoun is present, it should, in sentences with interrogative elements, appear after the verb, so that the order is verb-subject, as in '¿¿Cómo te llamas tú?'. We clarify that the subject-verb order would be possible in some varieties of the Spanish language in certain regions, but considered ungrammatical in others.

Regarding the presence of the pronoun, we explained that it would appear in situations where it is necessary to express contrast (FANJUL, 2014; FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO, 1999). Therefore, if I address an interlocutor and ask him '¿Cómo te llamas tú?', my intention is to know his name, not the name of one or more people present in the environment. We clarified to the students that the corresponding construction in the BP would be 'Como VOCÊ (se) chama?', With the subject pronoun being produced with an emphatic accent, having, in this case, the same meaning effect of the construction with the presence of the subject pronoun in Spanish.

Based on all these explanations about the Spanish language and comparisons with the students' mother tongue made in the first days of class, we seek to lead students to reflect on what would be internalized linguistic knowledge and linguistic variation, which is conditioned by both factors linguistic and social, such as geographic region, age, education, among others. It is a time to make them aware, right at the beginning of the acquisition/learning process, about the particular functioning of Spanish grammar. According to Kulikowski (2015, p. 49-50), among the aspects involved in teaching Spanish in Brazil, would be:

[...] elementos que tienen que ver con el estudio de los sistemas gramaticales en juego y los procesos de adquisición/aprendizaje; aspectos que aproximan y diferencian ambas lenguas, español y portugués; [...] el estudio, a partir de diversas líneas teóricas, de la producción de sentido(s) y de efectos de sentido

+specific], being the construction verb stative and cognitive. It is possible that the semantics of the verb has a relevant role in the possibility of omitting the subject pronoun, since, according to the study by Duarte (2018 [1993]), the 1st and 2nd people of the discourse would be the ones that would most tend to express the subject by pronoun.

que auxilian en la lectura de las diversas discursividades presentes en las lenguas.

With the reflection that we seek to promote in our course, which goes through the different constructions that, according to González (1994), present an 'inverse asymmetry' between Spanish and BP, our objective is that the student can perceive, from the study of the Spanish specificities, the different meaning effect that generates the presence or absence of the subject pronoun ('¿Cómo te llamas?' / '¿Cómo te llamas tú?'), the absence of the reflexive pronoun ('¿Cómo llamo qué?') and the subject-verb order in sentences with interrogative elements, which would be possible in some regions, but would be ungrammatical in others ('*¿Cómo tú te llamas?' / '¿Cómo te llamas tú?').

In his criticism about the teaching of the Spanish language in Brazil, which for a long time was based on the belief in the similarity between the two languages, González (CELADA; GONZÁLEZ, 2015, p. 75) states that:

Pocas veces se considera lo que está por detrás de la superficial semejanza de las formas, la ilusión de comprensión que produce la semejanza formal, eso mismo que hace que se multipliquen, como dice Revuz (1998), los diálogos entre sordos y las situaciones grotescas en las que no se comprende lo suficiente para comprender que no se comprende.

In view of this reflection by González, we consider it important to raise awareness about the functioning of Spanish compared to that of BP right at the beginning of the acquisition/learning of Spanish, since it is in the mind of Brazilians, as these authors say, the idea of Spanish as an easy language that would not be worth studying and that the difficulties would be, for example, in false cognates. After our approach to teaching, a student reported that she understood why, on a trip to Chile, she had asked a Chilean boy '¿Cómo tú llamas?', with the intention of knowing his name, and he did not understand the question.

From the reflection of González (CELADA; GONZÁLEZ, 2015) and from this case that we report, it is possible to observe that, starting from this imaginary about the Spanish language, the tendency would be for the student, driven by the similarity of the forms, to make translations into Spanish considering the BP, which could generate ungrammatical constructions such as '*¿Cómo tú llamas?' and which would cause serious problems in communication.

Regarding the teaching of the object in an accusative role, in these first days of class for the subject of 'Spanish Language I', we make a brief reflection on the theme. We explained to the students that, while in Spanish a referent such as 'el libro' would be taken up by means of

the clitic pronoun, as in 'Compré **el libro**, pero todavía no **lo** leí', in BP, an ellipse would be possible to express the referent 'o livro' (the book) or the lexical pronoun, as in 'Eu comprei **o livro**, mas eu ainda não li **Ø/ele**' (I bought the book, but I still haven't read it). On that occasion, we commented on the possibility of null objects in some varieties of Spanish that are in contact with indigenous languages and with Basque (LANDA, 1993; SUÑER; YÉPEZ, 1988).

On the other hand, we asked them if it would be possible for us to understand that it was Maria that the speaker of the statement did not see in a sentence like '**A Maria** estava na festa, mas eu não vi ***Ø/ela**' (Maria was at the party, but I didn't see her) if we consider the ellipse. Immediately the answers that appear is that it would be possible to understand that it was Maria that the speaker did not see only in the case of the resumption of the pronoun, since its absence leads to the interpretation of an orational antecedent ('Não vi que ela estava na festa' - I didn't see that she was at the party). We reflect, then, that, although the BP presents a wide possibility of null objects, there are restrictions in the sphere of antecedents [+animated; +specifics] and that, just as we do not understand that we were referring to Maria in the case of the ellipse, a native Spanish speaker would not understand if we omitted the pronoun with a precedent such as 'María' or 'el libro' in an accusative function, since the restrictions in that language also occur with [-animated; +/-specific] antecedents.

From this further reflection, our goal is that the student grasps the notion of internalized linguistic knowledge. In the case of Spanish, the clitic pronoun would be incorporated into Spanish grammar through natural acquisition, so that even uneducated speakers produce them (FANJUL, 1999). In BP, on the contrary, the null object and the lexical pronoun integrate the internalized grammar, which is formed by natural acquisition, while the clitic pronoun is incorporated through formal learning (GALVES, 2001; KATO, 2005).

A little further on this subject, we propose an exercise in linguistic reflection based on the statement below, extracted from the Spanish newspaper *El País*.

- (42) “Ya llegué a dar a los niños esa agua. La herví y la colé. No teníamos otra”, reconoce avergonzada Andreia. (*El país*, 18/05/2015)

We made it clear to the students that the original statement was produced by a speaker of BP, who was interviewed for a story about the water crisis in São Paulo and was later translated into Spanish. Then, we ask them to try to reproduce the original statement of the woman interviewed, with the possibilities being: 'Eu já cheguei a dar aos meninos essa água. Eu fervei **Ø** e coei **Ø/ela**' (Literal translation: I have already given the boys this water. I boiled

and strained her¹⁵). Based on this result, we reflected with the students on the possibility of omitting the object in the BP and its need for expression in Spanish. In this sense, it would be part of the Spanish grammar to resume the referent '*esta agua*', which would be [-animated], through the clitic pronoun. In this case, we have the translation of an interview in the oral modality, which is represented in the written modality of the language, but, even so, it would reproduce an oral discourse, which, as we saw from the result of our research (SIMÕES, 2015), in certain contexts could be expressed through the ellipsis.

In another exercise, we ask students to look at a fragment of the story *La historia de Rubio, el perro callejero argentino adoptado por una azafata alemana*, also extracted from the newspaper *El País*, to which entities the highlighted clitic pronouns refer to. Then, we ask them to identify the referent of the pronouns 'la' and 'ella' in the sentence that appears underlined at the end of the fragment, explain the phenomenon that occurs and what it expresses.

- (43) “La historia comenzó el 9 de octubre del año pasado, cuando en una de las recorridas que hacemos cada día vemos al perro”, dice Ariel Rota, voluntario de la ONG que opera en Puerto Madero. “Era nuevo, mandamos fotos a las redes por si estaba perdido y nadie **lo** conocía. **Lo** llamamos Cola corta, porque **la** tiene cortada. El tipo venía, desaparecía, volvía a aparecer. Cada vez que volvía le dábamos de comer pero no hubo nadie que pudiese agarrar**lo**. En julio nos contacta Olivia y nos cuenta que ella veía un perrito cada vez que viajaba a Buenos Aires. Dijimos: ‘¡Es Cola corta!’”.
Para ese entonces la organización ya tenía un candidato para Rubio, un joven llamado Nicolás propuso llevarse**lo** a su casa. “Nos encontramos en el hotel con Nicolás y con Olivia. Ahí, como por arte de magia, la mujer pudo agarrar a Rubio. En 5 minutos nos dimos cuenta de que Rubio **la** quería sólo **a ella**”, explica Ariel, pero la mujer aún no había manifestado su intención de adoptarlo.

The objective, in this second part of the exercise, is to lead the student to reflect on the need to use the tonic pronoun 'ella', which must be introduced by the preposition 'a', to express contrast, that is, to refer in particular to a referent and not to others present in the discursive context. It is important for the student to realize that this use of the tonic pronoun is restricted to [+human] entities (GROPPI, 2009).

Final considerations

In this article, we present the initial results of our current research on the third person accusative pronominal object in the Spanish variety in Madrid and in BP, as well as reflecting on the teaching of the Spanish language in view of the advances in the linguistic description of

¹⁵ In Portuguese even inanimate objects, such as water, are referred to as he/she, since there is no true correspondent to the neutral “it”.

Spanish and the generative (CHOMSKY, 1981; 1986) and sociolinguistic theoretical perspectives (LABOV, 2008; WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2009).

We have seen that, although Spanish is described as a highly restricted language for the occurrence of null objects (CAMPOS, 1986; FERNÁNDEZ SORIANO, 1999; GROPPPI, 1997), some varieties of this language accept the omission of the object in broader contexts and, in our doctoral research (SIMÕES, 2015), we observed the possibility of an ellipse in the varieties of Madrid and Montevideo conditioned both by the structure and semantic features of the NS and by the structure and semantics of the construction. In our current research, the initial results on Spanish point to the trends already observed in our previous work (SIMÕES, 2015), and the same occurs within the scope of BP, a language in which the lexical pronoun would no longer be accepted with NS that present the semantic trait of indefinitude and in static constructions.

With regard to the teaching of the Spanish language, our idea is that the advancement of descriptive studies and their approach to teaching based on these theoretical perspectives will allow the student to reflect on the functioning of Spanish, comparing it with that of his mother tongue, to that he begins to understand the linguistic and social conditions that are involved in the possibility of omission or the need for the presence of a pronoun.

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