

ANÁLISE DE ALGUNS TRAÇOS FONOLÓGICOS GRADUAIS NA ESCRITA SOB A PERSPECTIVA DA SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA EDUCACIONAL

ANÁLISIS DE ALGUNOS RASGOS FONOLÓGICOS GRADUALES EN LA ESCRITURA DESDE LA PERSPECTIVA DE LA SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA EDUCATIVA

ANALYSIS OF SOME GRADUAL PHONOLOGICAL TRACES IN WRITING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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RESUMO: A escola brasileira enfrenta desafios, sobretudo no que diz respeito à escrita ou, mais especificamente, ao aprendizado da norma padrão difundida de maneira intensiva nos manuais escolares. No processo de ensino/aprendizagem da modalidade escrita, ignora-se a influência da oralidade, de que maneira os hábitos da fala são frequentemente representados nos textos escolares e como estes refletem variáveis comuns no falar do Português Brasileiro (PB). Sendo assim, o presente artigo objetiva analisar traços fonológicos graduais na escrita presentes em redações escolares do 6º ano segundo os princípios da Sociolinguística Educacional (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005). Foram selecionados e analisados os três tipos de desvios mais frequentes de acordo com a pesquisa de Sene (2018), através dos quais observou-se que os princípios da Sociolinguística Educacional são cruciais para compreender que tais desvios não devem ser vistos como fonte de conflito no espaço escolar, mas sim como oportunidade de reflexão sobre a importância da variação linguística e do saber sociolinguístico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Ensino/aprendizagem da escrita. Português do Brasil. Oralidade na escrita. Sociolinguística educacional. Traços fonológicos graduais.

RESUMEN: *La escuela brasileña enfrenta desafíos, especialmente en lo que respecta a la escritura o, más específicamente, al aprendizaje de la norma estándar que se difunde intensamente en los libros de texto escolares. Lo que se ignora en el proceso de enseñanza / aprendizaje de la modalidad escrita es la influencia de la oralidad, cómo los hábitos del habla aparecen con frecuencia en los textos escolares y cómo reflejan rasgos lingüísticos variables comunes en el habla del portugués de Brasil (PB). Por lo tanto, este artículo tiene como objetivo discutir acerca de los rasgos fonológicos graduales en la escritura de niños del sexto año de la Educación Básica según los principios de la Sociolingüística Educativa (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005). Se seleccionaron y analizaron las tres desviaciones observadas como más frecuentes en la investigación de Sene (2018), a través de las cuales se observó que los principios de la Sociolingüística Educativa son cruciales para comprender que tales desviaciones no deben verse como una fuente de conflicto en el espacio escolar, sino como*

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una oportunidad para reflexionar sobre la importancia de la variación lingüística y el conocimiento sociolingüístico.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Enseñanza/aprendizaje de la escritura. Portugués de Brasil. Oralidad en la escritura. Sociolingüística educativa. Rasgos fonológicos graduales.*

ABSTRACT: *The Brazilian school faces challenges, especially with regard to writing or, more specifically, to learning the standard norm that is intensively disseminated in school textbooks. What is ignored in the teaching / learning process of the written modality is the influence of orality, how speech habits are frequently represented in school texts and how they reflect variable linguistic traits common in Brazilian Portuguese (PB) speech. Thus, this article aims to discuss gradual phonological traits in writing present in 6th grade school essays according to the principles of Educational Sociolinguistics (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005). The three most frequent deviations according to the research by Sene (2018) were selected and analyzed, through which it was observed that the principles of Educational Sociolinguistics are crucial to understand that such deviations should not be seen as a source of conflict in the school space, but as an opportunity for reflection on the importance of linguistic variation and sociolinguistic knowledge.*

KEYWORDS: *Teaching/learning of writing. Brazilian Portuguese. Orality in writing. Educational sociolinguistics. Gradual phonological traits.*

Introduction

Most students suffer from the exclusion process on the part of the school, even at the beginning of literacy, as they do not present enough results in the domain of skills that involve reading and writing³ (GOMES, 2008; SENE, 2018; SENE; BARBOSA, 2019). There are countless reasons why students have difficulties, especially in the low proficiency of the written language, some of which will be discussed in this article: (a) the emblematic notion of standard norm, (b) the lack of knowledge of the relation between speech and writing and (c) decontextualized and outdated teaching of the varieties of the language.

Following an educational trajectory that prioritizes decontextualized teaching of writing, placing this modality as superior to the speech modality, has been the school's biggest mistake. When dealing with the perception of the social context, Moreno Fernández (2012) comments that both Labovian linguistics and most of the socially-based disciplines developed in the United States during the second half of the 20th century:

³ The National Literacy Assessment (ANA), carried out in 2016 with more than 2 million children, points out that 55% of students had poor performance in reading and 34% in writing. Available at: <https://envolverde.cartacapital.com.br/dificuldades-de-leitura-e-escrita-expoem-fragilidade-dos-processos-de-alfabetizacao/>. Access: Jan. 2020.

“has its foundation in the structural functionalism of Pason (1937), Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore (1945) or Robert Merton (1949) and has the concept of “consensus” as one of its foundations. Consensus theories consider that norms and common values are fundamental to society and that the social order is based on a tacit agreement that makes social changes slow and organized. This consensus also occurs in the language, as the linguistic conduct responds to the following of the norms that affect all the speakers because they belong to a community or a group. (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 43, our translation).⁴

In this sense, according to the author,

the theories of conflict, of Marxist roots, that indicate the predominance of some social groups over others and explain the order as a consequence of the manipulation and control by the dominant groups over the dominated ones, which can cause rapid and disorganized social changes. (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 43-44, our translation).⁵

Such manipulation is also common with regard to linguistic use, since language “is a substantial element for culture, an essential part of its nature and vehicle of its expression”⁶ (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 43, our translation).

Following these observations, there is a conflicting relation between orality and writing and the lack of appreciation of the first modality in the teaching process, as several authors have already discussed (MOLLICA, 2000; MARCUSCHI, 2001; SENE; ORANGES, 2017; HENRIQUE; HORA, 2016). However, to ignore the fact that there are more confluences than divergences between both modalities is to disregard the perception of the social context, especially the configuration of the language in the spaces and characteristics that make it up. According to Moreno Fernández (2012), Fernández Marrero (2004) mentions that:

In school and academic discourse, the norm is set through explicit statements and implicit assumptions. In the first case, that of explicit statements, the most common pattern is that there are ‘two types of use: a good and a bad’, where the assertion/negation duality is obvious; in the second, that of implicit presuppositions, the discursive pattern that usually presents itself is of the type ‘such use is correct (elegant, acceptable, cultured)’, which makes one assume the existence of others that are not correct, not elegant, not

⁴ “tem seu fundamento no funcionalismo estrutural de Pason (1937), Kingsley Davis e Wilbert Moore (1945) ou Robert Merton (1949) e tem o conceito de “consenso” como um de seus fundamentos. As teorias do consenso consideram que as normas e os valores comuns são fundamentais para a sociedade e que a ordem social se baseia em um acordo tácito que faz com que as mudanças sociais sejam lentas e organizadas. Este consenso ocorre também na língua, pois a conduta linguística responde o seguimento das normas que afetam todos os falantes por seu pertencimento a uma comunidade ou um grupo. (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 43, tradução nossa).

⁵ as teorias do conflito, de raiz marxista, que indicam o predomínio de uns grupos sociais sobre outros e explicam a ordem como consequência da manipulação e do controle por parte dos grupos dominantes sobre os dominados, o que pode provocar mudanças sociais rápidas e desorganizadas. (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 43-44, tradução nossa).

⁶ “é elemento substancial para a cultura, parte essencial de sua natureza e veículo de sua expressão”

acceptable, not educated.⁷ (FERNÁNDEZ MARRERO, 2004, p. 93, our translation).

Among those uses considered not elegant, not acceptable and not learned in the school environment, there are deviations ⁸ of the standard norm, many of which are diagnosed in school essays as reflections of frequent variable phenomena in Brazilian Portuguese speaking that end up representing gradual changing rules. It is verified, therefore, that in the teaching and learning process systematized by the school there is a centralization in the normatized linguistic behavior and based on the concept of standard norm, which ignores the importance of understanding the speech habit for writing as one of the explanations the emergence of a large part of linguistic deviations. Such behavior ends up placing these deviations in the duality dimension of “good” and “bad” mentioned by Fernández Marrero (2004), therefore, as linguistic deviations are representative of what deviates from the standard, they are almost always placed as what should be fought by the school. That said, and considering that in spelling many aspects are the result of a social agreement, given that they were defined in an arbitrary way (MORAIS, 2003), including with regard to the most basic rules, it must be understood that “when you are going to write, the student reflects on what he is doing and seeks subsidies in the oral language and the knowledge he is gaining on the structure of the written language to build hypotheses about the correct way of writing”⁹ and that the process of making these hypotheses “is becoming more efficient as the students progress in learning to write”¹⁰ (BORTONI-RICARDO; OLIVEIRA, 2013, p. 55).

If it is in the oral modality that the student seeks subsidies and hypotheses of how a particular written form is determined, the influence of one modality in the other naturally occurs, in this case of orality in writing. Thus, before students learn more about the “standard norm” - stabilizing and unifying - required by school manuals in the context of formal writing,

⁷ “En el discurso escolar y académico, la norma queda fijada a través de afirmaciones explícitas y de presuposiciones implícitas. En el primer caso, el de las transformaciones explícitas, el patrón más común es que ‘existen dos tipos de uso: uno bueno y uno malo’, donde la dualidad aserción/negación es obvia; en el segundo, el de las presuposiciones implícitas, el patrón discursivo que suele presentarse es del tipo ‘tal uso es correcto (elegante, aceptable, culto)’, lo que hace sobrentender la existencia de otros no correctos, no elegantes, no aceptables, no cultos.”

⁸ A noção de “desvios” ortográficos apresentada neste trabalho não abrange a possibilidade de transgressão do código aos usuários da língua, mas sim defende e respeita que, por existir diferentes modos de escrever o mesmo, todos são válidos e, mormente, representam tentativas não padronizadas da modalidade escrita. Estaremos, portanto, ainda diante de transgressões do padrão pré-estabelecido, o que reforça a importância de aprimorar ou até substituir tais ocorrências.

⁹ “quando vai escrever, o aluno reflete sobre o que está fazendo e vai buscar subsídios na língua oral e nos conhecimentos que está adquirindo sobre a estrutura da língua escrita para construir hipóteses sobre a forma correta de escrever”

¹⁰ “vai se tornando mais eficiente à medida que os alunos avançam na aprendizagem da escrita”

they must understand the influence of speech habits in writing and understand, above all, the role of both modalities.

Therefore, this article aims to discuss variation, orality and teaching from the analysis of some linguistic deviations extracted from 6th grade school essays, resulting from speech, specifically those that illustrate gradual phonological traits. To this end, the text has a structure that begins with the presentation of a theoretical contribution in which there is an initial presentation on the principles of educational sociolinguistics and a brief discussion on the influence of speech on writing; then, it brings an analysis of the selected school essays and, finally, outlines some considerations that finalize the article.

Basics of Educational Sociolinguistics

The conception that variation exists and is an essential part of all natural languages, therefore being inherent in the linguistic system, is not discussed within the scope of sociolinguistics. Labov (1972), for example, looked at the investigative bias of the relation between language and society¹¹ and, over almost 60 years of sociolinguistic research, he founded and enshrined that languages are naturally heterogeneous and that this heterogeneity is regulated and governed by linguistic and non-linguistic restrictions.

This dynamic character of the language systematized in sociolinguistic studies offers a great contribution to the reflection and awareness of teachers, students and the community in general about linguistic prejudice, as well as the understanding of variable linguistic phenomena. The Portuguese language in Brazil, for example, is made up of many varieties and, even though there is an apparent “linguistic unity” and only one national language, there is variation at different levels of the linguistic structure, which reinforces the idea that linguistic variation will exist regardless of any normative action.

The intersection of sociolinguistic studies with mother tongue teaching¹² has as one of its objectives the valorization of linguistic varieties and, consequently, the fight against linguistic prejudice. This combination results in a theoretical-practical current, called Educational Sociolinguistics (SE), which seeks to analyze the phenomena of variation under the precepts of sociolinguistic theory and also to verify the implication of these phenomena in

¹¹ Every linguist recognizes that language is a social fact, but not everyone places the same emphasis on it. When linguists write about linguistic change, we find a very different degree of concern for the social context in which these changes occur. Some expand their view to include a wide range of facts about speakers and their extralinguistic behavior, while others narrow their view to exclude as much as possible. (LABOV, 2008, p. 302).

¹² Discussions of an educational nature, within the field of sociolinguistics, were initially presented by Labov (1972) in “*Language in the Inner City*”.

the teaching and learning of students. Regarding its definition and scope, Bortoni-Ricardo (2005) clarifies:

I will call Educational Sociolinguistics, in a somewhat generic way, all the sociolinguistic proposals and research that aim to contribute to the improvement of the educational process, especially in the area of mother tongue teaching. (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005, p. 128).¹³

With this unfolding of Sociolinguistics, taking it only as a synonym for pure linguistic analysis of the phenomena of linguistic variation, would restrict the multifaceted and interdisciplinary essence of this science. On this aspect, Bortoni-Ricardo (2005) adds:

We do not defend the variation *per se*, but the analysis of the interactional process, in which the meaning that the variation assumes is evaluated. **The scholar's attention must be focused on the patterns of use of variation and the meanings it has in the interactional process of the actors involved.** The meanings that variation takes on can vary widely. **For some students, for example, the use of the vernacular dialect can be an indicator of insertion in a street culture they cherish; for others, the mastery of monitored styles represents prestige.** Among teachers, likewise, there will be those who attribute a very negative value to variation and others who see it as a natural characteristic of students, an indicator of their culture (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005, p. 132, our highlights).¹⁴

In this sense, indifference to the students' productions (oral and/or written), which vary, represents a disregard for important aspects, especially since the work of the mother tongue teacher resides, above all, in the need for linguistic sensitivity. Decontextualized language teaching, in which a normative perspective of language observation is proclaimed, has had no effect from the point of view of linguistic functionality and one of the main examples is the written texts of the students.

Deviations from the standard modality, which reflect both speech habits for writing and ignorance of the written code convention rules, can be observed at different levels of schooling, according to research by scholars such as Abaurre (1988), Baronas (2009) and Oliveira (2001). This aspect leads to the reflection on the fact that the students spend an average of 12 to 14

¹³ Denominarei Sociolinguística Educacional, de forma um pouco genérica, todas as propostas e pesquisas sociolinguísticas que tenham por objetivo contribuir para o aperfeiçoamento do processo educacional, principalmente na área do ensino de língua materna. (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005, p. 128).

¹⁴ Não defendemos a variação *per se*, mas sim a análise do processo interacional, na qual se avalia o significado que a variação assume. **A atenção do estudioso deve estar voltada para os padrões de emprego da variação e para os significados que essa tem no processo interacional dos atores ali envolvidos.** Os significados que a variação assume podem variar muito. **Para alguns alunos, por exemplo, o uso do dialeto vernáculo pode ser indicador de inserção numa cultura de rua que prezam; para outros o domínio de estilos monitorados representa prestígio.** Entre os professores, do mesmo modo, haverá aqueles que atribuem valor muito negativo à variação e outros que a veem como uma característica natural dos alunos, indicadora de sua cultura. (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2005, p. 132, grifo nosso).

years in school (considering Early Childhood Education) and it would be natural, if the teaching of the standard norm was done properly, that the deviations from standard modality common in students' written productions decreased or even no longer exist.

In this sense, Educational Sociolinguistics shows that working with variation is not only presenting, in just one chapter or a class, the linguistic differences that exist, but also reflecting on the issue and showing that such differences must be respected. Thus, the teacher must conduct the class in such a way as to achieve respect and acceptance of the students' different ways of speaking (MOLLICA, 1998) and, also, to promote a teaching and learning practice whose objective is the students' own productions, written or not. In this process, the need to teach the standard norm is not abandoned, but it is recognized that this new variety (the standard) will be added to the student's vernacular, as this is the form considered prestigious and, therefore, required in different spheres of society.

At school, clarifying that new linguistic forms that are learned should not erase or overlap the variety that students already bring from home, also results in the recognition of the legitimacy behind the variety that they use. In this way, they will understand that the standard forms are, in fact, abstractions and linguistic unifications whose objective is to standardize the form of writing. Aligning with this perspective, there will be not only the students' awareness process, but also the enrichment of their dialect, which increases their knowledge about linguistic possibilities. Thus, it promotes the abandonment of the unique need to memorize rules of normative grammar and, consequently, the understanding that the choice of the way of speaking or writing must be appropriate to each communicative situation, that is, the mastery of both its linguistic variety as well as those used at school and those required in the various areas of society.

According to Bortoni-Ricardo (2005), for the school to act as described above, there must be an understanding of six principles¹⁵, outlined by the author herself, for the implementation of Educational Sociolinguistics:

Chart 1 - Principles of Educational Sociolinguistics

1) First Principle: the school's influence on language acquisition should not be sought in the vernacular dialect of speakers, but in their formal, monitored styles. It is in the field of monitored language that linguistic planning actions have an influence. Therefore, Educational Sociolinguistics aims to offer	2) Second Principle: the socio-symbolic character of the variable rules that are not associated with negative evaluation by society are not the object of study at school. The school's objective, when studying the variable rules associated with negative evaluation by society, is not to make the student who has such variants in his vernacular
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¹⁵ Bortoni-Ricardo (2005) gives the name of principles and not rules, because principles presuppose basic notions, while rules have a function of direct and restricted regulation.

students knowledge and skills in prestigious oral and written varieties, so that they have access to different practices of literate culture.	inferior, on the contrary, it is to make him aware of the socio-symbolic values of such variants.
3) Third Principle: insertion of sociolinguistic variation in the social matrix. The teaching of prestigious varieties at school is not necessarily a source of conflict, although it can be a source of discrimination against children who speak popular varieties. To overcome this barrier, it is proposed that teachers develop a culturally sensitive pedagogy.	4) Fourth Principle: monitored language styles are reserved for classroom literacy events. In place of the dichotomy between “cultured Portuguese” and “bad Portuguese”, the dichotomy between literacy and orality was instituted at school.
5) Fifth Principle: the description of variation in Educational Sociolinguistics cannot be dissociated from ethnographic and interpretive analysis of the use of variation in the classroom. The starting point of Educational Sociolinguistics is not the description of the variation <i>per se</i> , but the detailed analysis of the interactional process, in which the meaning that the variation assumes is evaluated.	6) Sixth Principle: the process of critical awareness of teachers and students about the variation and social inequality it reflects. In this process, it is necessary that the teacher does not limit himself to transmit technical information, which is the product of academic research, but that an effective dialogue is established with the teacher through research, that enriches him and makes him able to promote self-reflection and a critical analysis of your actions.

Source: Bortoni-Ricardo (2005)

These principles are outlined in order to provide a reflection on the Portuguese classes at school and to provide fundamentals in relation to why, how and what for to teach the language. For these reasons, the analysis of some orthographic deviations in the students' school essays presented in this article, is carried out under the perspective of Educational Sociolinguistics.

From speech to writing

Writing is an indispensable asset for everyone's daily life and knowing how to write, today, is not only a necessary resource, but important for those who want some kind of social ascension. Thus, writing must be seen as essential to survival itself (MARCUSCHI, 1997), but not because of virtues that are immanent, since the ways in which it imposed itself on the oral modality, for example, the violence with which it penetrated in social media, is that put it in that *status*.

Although writing is indispensable, the way it has been presented to students, from literacy to the end of the school cycle, denotes some specific mistakes and the first one, which is the focus of this work, is the ignorance of the intersection between speech and writing. The relation between the oral and the written is a fact and any teacher of Portuguese or of writing has already come across texts that present deviations as, for example, the deletion of /r/ in infinitive verbs, as in **ama x amar** (love) or a monotongation in words like **caxa x caixa** (box)

and **pexe x peixe** (fish). All of them represent common habits in speaking Brazilian Portuguese that end up being translated into writing, mainly thanks to the continuum between the two modalities (oral and written), which is corroborated by the words of Marcuschi (2003, p. 32), who says that “because they are two modalities of language use, it makes the student, when mastering these two modalities of language, become bimodal, that is, fluent in these two modes of use”¹⁶.

Speech as a modality prior to writing justifies why, at the confluence of both modalities, it is the student's greatest domain and in which he seeks subsidies for understanding and learning the pre-established code that is writing. Thus, deviations such as those mentioned above, resulting from speech to writing, are common in different school phases.

In the school environment, it is common for teachers to attribute to speech the place of informality and to writing the role of appropriate representative of the language, therefore, it should be prioritized. This false supremacy of one modality over the other is what has distanced educators from recognizing the *continuum* between speech and writing. Both speech and writing can lend themselves to different degrees of formality, that is, how formal or informal a text/speech is will depend on the context of production/use that is variable.

In this way, we seek to align the perspective of Educational Sociolinguistics with the discussion carried out here, since both allow the language to be listed more clearly as a dynamic phenomenon. The notion of linguistic variation, then, evokes that both speech and writing are variable and, also, that it is not only writing that is governed by norms. After all, both written and spoken modes have: standard language/non-standard varieties, educated norms/colloquial norms and standard norms/non-standard norms. This is because the language is, in itself, heterogeneous and full of variation, and not a single and abstract system (MARCUSCHI, 2000; MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012).

Methodological aspects

The analyzed data, taken from the research by Sene (2018), compose a corpus with 56 essays from three different schools in the city of Araraquara (São Paulo/Brazil), totaling 168 texts. The informants were students in the 6th year of elementary school¹⁷ and the criterion for

¹⁶ “por serem duas modalidades de uso da língua, faz com que o aluno, ao dominar essas duas modalidades da língua, se torne bimodal, ou seja, fluente nestes dois modos de uso”.

¹⁷ Brazil has three types of school education: basic education, which is the child's first school education; elementary education, which starts, obligatorily, at 6 years of age and lasts, on average, 4 years and, finally, high school, which is the deepening of the knowledge acquired in elementary education.

data collection was the Basic Education Development Index (IDEB, Portuguese initials)¹⁸ of each school, that is, School A was the one with the highest index, while B and C were the one with the medium and lowest index, respectively. From the analyzed essays, 14 phonetic-phonological processes that represent speech habits in writing were identified, in addition to two other word segmentation processes that are not exclusively configured as phonetic-phonological processes.

For this article, only 3 of the processes were selected, not only because of their frequency and appearance (as shown in table 1) and representativeness/productivity: because they signify the influence of speech in writing and because they are variable and gradual phonological processes, but also because of the extent they allows us the article in question.

Table 1 – Absolute data frequency

Phonological process	School A	School B	School C
Deletion of /r/ in coda	140	105	101
Monotongation	67	59	50
Neutralization	79	91	80
Apheresis	37	56	27
Raising of pretonic vowels	21	17	19
Vowel deletion	31	25	27
Diphthongization	47	58	39
Hypersegmentation *	29	34	26
Hyposegmentation *	26	25	16
Monotongation	67	59	50
Neutralization	79	91	80
Palatalization	19	16	10
Vocalization	15	20	13

Source: adapted from Sene (2018)¹⁹

Table 1 illustrates the number of times that the referred linguistic deviation - which is explained by a phonological process - was found in the texts: of the 56 analyzed texts from School A, 140 deviations of the /r/ type were found.

As already mentioned in the previous section, the analysis of the 3 phonological processes selected is carried out from the perspective of Educational Sociolinguistics, therefore, it discusses the role of four, of the six principles outlined by Bortoni-Ricardo (2005), to overcome the deviations arising from speech to writing.

Data analysis

¹⁸ IDEB is an indicator created by the federal government to measure the quality of education in public schools.

¹⁹ More detailed information with an exuberance of the phenomena found can be observed in Sene's master's dissertation (2018).

The influence of speech in writing is a process that occurs for several reasons and one of them refers to the fact that it is in the oral modality that students seek subsidies for the representation of writing, therefore, the deviations analyzed here indicate the importance of focusing on orality teaching.

Regarding the deletion of /r/, the sociolinguistic literature has already shown that the variation of /r/ is an old phenomenon and an example is presented in the study by Callou, Moraes and Leite (1998) who evaluated the presence of the referred phenomenon in the pieces of Gil Vicente in the 16th century. According to the authors, the absence of the consonant in question was frequent in the speech of ordinary people and, therefore, with less or little prestige, while the prestigious and cultured Portuguese had their records marked by the presence of the consonant segment.

Recently, the deletion of /r/ is no longer explored only in speech and has gained space in the analysis of written production produced by students of different school levels. This variable phonological process is very frequent in the Brazilian's speech. Perhaps it is the type of variation that most extended within the urbanization *continuum* (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2004), thus reaching different social strata, which consists of a definition of a gradual variable rule, even if in a generic way, since, in the words of Bortoni-Ricardo (2005), the phenomena that are present in various social strata are gradual, regardless of their prestige. In this sense, when the suppression of /r/ is observed, as in **namora x namorar** (dating), **sai x sair** (going out), **anda x andar** (walk), in students' essays, there is a habit of speaking in writing, which also serves to reinforce the idea of that in oral mode he no longer uses this /r/.

The second most frequent phenomenon is monotongation, which occurs when in the diphthongs are observed the deletion of the semivowel [ai], [ei], and [ou] and become simple vowels [a], [e] and [o]. Like the erasing of /r/, monotongation has been the focus of discussion in oral and written works. Câmara-Jr (1957), in his article “*Erros escolares como sintomas de tendências linguísticas no português do Rio de Janeiro*” (School errors as symptoms of linguistic tendencies in Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro), had already pointed out this phenomenon of glide erasure in Portuguese, from which he analyzed sixty essays by children aged 11 to 13 years of a school in Rio, whose data showed a series of phonetic characteristics of the speech of these students. Of these, the researcher highlighted the monotongation of diphthongs /ou/ and /ei/ and their preceding and following contexts.

This phenomenon is also a significant representative of a gradual variable rule, because, as Bortoni-Ricardo (2004) points out, some diphthongs in certain linguistic environments are almost categorically reduced, even in formal styles of the urban standard language. In addition,

the monotongation phenomenon is a process “very old in the language, which comes from the evolution from Latin to Portuguese”²⁰ (BORTONI-RICARDO, 2004, p. 95).

As for the neutralization, which consists of the loss of a distinctive feature that causes the reduction of two phonemes to a single phonological unit, it is a phenomenon that, due to the high index of variation in the Brazilian Portuguese vowel system, especially in a pretonic and posttonic context, makes it very recurrent. In addition, like the other phenomena, due to “not suffering” stigmatization in speech, it has the characteristic of a gradual variable phenomenon.

Examples of neutralization are **sapatu x sapato** (shoe), **qui x que** (that), **momentu x momento** (moment), **ganhassi x ganhasse** (won), **vontadi x vontade** (will) (SENE, 2018), in which the neutralization of medium and high vowels is observed, because the trait that distinguishes /e/ e /i/, as well as /o/ and /u/ is neutralized. In the Brazilian context, on the final unstressed vowel, Câmara-Jr (1977) asserts that the occurrence of the neutralization process reduces the vowel system to three vowels /i, u, a/ as in the examples fom[ɪ] and ral[ʊ].

All the processes illustrate that the knowledge of the linguistic reality of each one is strongly present in the school. In addition, the variable phonological processes observed in the orthographic deviations of the school essays analyzed show that the way the student writes is directly related to the experience lived in their social environment. Therefore, in the light of Educational Sociolinguistics, the first principle outlined by Bortoni-Ricardo (2005) is necessary, as it is not in the vernacular of the students that the school needs to act, but rather in the reinforcement of more formal styles - such as written productions - in which Portuguese language teaching should prevail. In this sense, the role of the teacher is to direct the complementation of the oral and written modalities of the students, not so that they substitute in their vernacular the variable forms (deletion of /r/, monotongation, neutralization and others), which are characteristics of their identity, but so that they can access different practices of literate culture.

The second principle, which deals with the socio-symbolic character of the variable rules, is also important for overcoming the linguistic deviations found in school essays. The socio-symbolic character influences society's negative assessment of variable phenomena. Thus, understanding that deviations of the type of /r/ deletion, monotongation and neutralization suffer negative evaluations becomes one of the steps for the student to understand the aspects: that overcoming this challenge must take place not to lower the variety that the student brings

²⁰ “muito antigo na língua, que vem desde a evolução do latim para o português”

from home, but for him to become aware of the socio-symbolic value of variation, and that learning another variety (the standard) is the path to social ascension.

Such consideration occurs when the teacher, accompanied by a culturally sensitive pedagogy (ERICKSON, 1987), shows students that it is not learned just by learning. Writing practices, although historically agreed, are necessary for circulation in different social spheres. In addition, the information that there are no ugly or beautiful forms does not say much to those who are learning the standard variety, as everyday reality shows that linguistic forms, in written text or in oral form, are constantly evaluated. Although this assessment is not always negative, it is, in itself, a way of framing linguistic forms in variable spectra ranging from “very ugly” to “very good”.

This discussion ends up corroborating to another Education Sociolinguistic principle - the fourth - that discusses the abandonment of the dichotomy between educated Portuguese versus bad Portuguese. Phenomena such as the deletion of /r/ and monotongation, for example, do not represent “bad Portuguese”, but are phenomena, within the dichotomy of literacy and orality, common in oral practices and which must therefore be overcome to the measure advances in literacy practices. Another conception, one of the Education Sociolinguistics principles that would foster an understanding of the dynamics of variation in mother tongue teaching, is the consistent insertion of sociolinguistic variation in the school and social matrix. This third principle, perhaps the most discussed in the various works, whether they are Educational Sociolinguistics or not, is what probably needs most attention from the trainers.

Thus, Educational Sociolinguistics contributes to education on two fronts. First, with regard to the linguistic ecology of a community, since any variation must be respected, since it does not represent a linguistic “chaos”, on the contrary, it is governed by linguistic and social rules - as already evidenced by the sociolinguistic literature. Second, because it allows for more meaningful work with oral and written texts, since by inserting the variation in the social and school matrix, the teacher will understand, for example, that a large part of the spelling deviations presented by students reflects not a language deficiency or lag, but rather the reflection of the variable processes in school practices.

Final considerations

All the observations presented in this article demonstrate that the implementation of the principles of Educational Sociolinguistics at school represents an important contribution to the understanding of the *continuum* that exists between speech and writing. It would be an example

that linguistic variation should run through that single and brief chapter on linguistic variation and that the theme of variation in the school and social matrix should make students aware that, for example, phonological deviations, which they are frequent in school essays, do not demonstrate that they do not know Portuguese: they are a common phenomenon in the oral modality of the language and are representatives of a variety other than the standard. Thus, with accurate sociolinguistic knowledge, this information is no longer a source of conflict and becomes, therefore, a space for reflection, which corroborates that such domain would undo “order as a result of manipulation and control by dominant groups over the dominated”²¹ (MORENO FERNÁNDEZ, 2012, p. 43) and changes in the perception of varieties would be more organized for students.

As for the frequency of deviations presented in this study, it can be inferred that they may be associated with the unrestrained use of the virtual environment and social networks, in which the presence of speech habits in writing is frequently verified, such as gradual and variable phonological phenomena described in this article. Therefore, the hypothesis that the digital environment can corroborate for the appearance, including by the settlement, of these deviations cannot be ruled out. However, most of the phenomena found in school essays that reflect the influence of speech for writing, have historical explanations that transcend the modern era (SENE, 2018), which ends up reiterating the importance of understanding the changing rules of language.

In this sense, in the face of processes like the ones presented here, the teacher must prioritize the work with the closest resources that facilitate the student's learning, in this case, his own speech, primary and indisputable source, even if the circulation of these deviations, in the era digital, can be strengthened. After all, when formulating hypotheses for writing, students seek in the orality and little knowledge of orthographic conventions the forms of representation of “writing”, which generates an orthographic deviation that often reflects variable phenomena. Finally, the importance of the sixth principle outlined by Bortoni-Ricardo (2005) is highlighted, since it is a point that reinforces that the teacher should not limit himself to transmit technical knowledge, which are products of academic research, but that he must establish an effective dialogue between theory and practice and, from that, enrich and improve their own practices and actions so that, then, they can value and raise awareness of the student's teaching-learning process.

²¹ “a ordem como consequência da manipulação e do controle por parte dos grupos dominantes sobre os dominados”

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