



**INGLIDING AS STYLISTIC PRACTICE IN PORTO ALEGRE (RS)**  
**INGLIDING COMO PRÁTICA ESTILÍSTICA EM PORTO ALEGRE (RS)**

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**ABSTRACT:**

This paper analyzes ingliding ([ε]~[ε̃], [ɔ]~[ɔ̃]) in the Brazilian Portuguese spoken in Porto Alegre (RS) in order to examine both the variation pattern as well as the styles and social meanings associated with the variants of the process. To achieve this goal, two samples were analyzed quantitatively (variable rule analysis of the speech data, Cf. Labov (2008 [1972])) and qualitatively (stylistic practices analysis, considering the speakers' declared practices). In this work, *style* is treated as a practice of persona construction (ECKERT, 2005, 2012), a notion related to *lifestyle*, a set of tastes, beliefs and practices typical of a certain class or class fraction (BOURDIEU, 2015 [1979/1982]). The results show that ingliding is favored by open-mid vowels and disfavored by labial and dorsal following segments. The centring diphthong, which arises from the nuclear vowel itself in the prominent segments of the intonational phrase, seems to occur in elements of longer intrinsic duration. Ingled vowels are mainly produced by men and people in an intermediate age group, those who have a higher level of education and those in a higher socioeconomic stratum. These findings, interpreted in light of Bourdieu's social theory, suggest that ingliding can be a stylistic practice that provides symbolic profit to people in the post-modern paradigm of the youth movement that occurred in the Bom Fim neighborhood in the 1980s, who can index *freedom*, *innovation*, *youth* and *transgression* to the centring diphthong. There are currently at least two lifestyles of which ingliding is a part in the city of Porto Alegre. These styles, though in different ways, are associated with *cool* and *laid-back* meanings, such that the centring diphthong can construct *personae* opposed to a *formal*, *uptight* or *snobby* elite. The *freedom* associated with ingliding embodies a lifestyle that is marked by relaxation.

**KEYWORDS:** Ingilding; Centring diphthong; Style; Lifestyle; Social practices.

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**RESUMO:**

Este artigo analisa o *ingliding* ([ɛ]~[ɛv], [ɔ]~[ɔv]) no Português Brasileiro falado em Porto Alegre (RS) para examinar tanto o padrão de variação quanto os estilos e significados sociais associados às variantes do processo. Para cumprir esse objetivo, duas amostras foram analisadas quantitativamente (análise de regra variável de dados de fala, Cf. Labov (2008 [1972])) e qualitativamente (análise de práticas estilísticas, considerando as práticas declaradas pelos informantes). Neste trabalho, *estilo* é entendido como uma prática de construção de persona (ECKERT, 2005, 2012), noção relacionada a *estilo de vida*, conjunto de gostos crenças e práticas típicos de uma certa classe ou fração de classe (BOURDIEU, 2015 [1979/1982]). Os resultados mostram que o *ingliding* é favorecido por vogais médias-abertas e desfavorecido por segmentos seguintes labiais e dorsais. O ditongo centralizado, que surge da própria vogal nuclear em segmentos proeminentes do sintagma entoacional, parece ocorrer em elementos de maior duração intrínseca. Vogais com *ingliding* são principalmente produzidas por homens e por pessoas da faixa etária intermediária, que possuem nível de escolaridade maior e ocupam posições superiores no estrato socioeconômico. Esses resultados, interpretados à luz da teoria social de Bourdieu, sugerem que o *ingliding* pode ser uma prática estilística que confere lucro simbólico a pessoas inseridas no paradigma pós-moderno do movimento jovem que ocorreu no bairro Bom Fim nos anos 1980, que podem indexar *liberdade*, *inovação*, *juventude* e *transgressão* ao ditongo centralizado. Há atualmente, na cidade de Porto Alegre, ao menos dois estilos de vida de que o *ingliding* faz parte. Esses estilos, mesmo que de diferentes maneiras, estão associados aos significados *descolado* e *despojado*, de modo que o ditongo centralizado pode construir *personae* opostas a uma elite *formal*, *retraída* ou *esnobe*. A *liberdade* associada ao *ingliding* corporifica um estilo de vida marcado por relaxamento de tensão.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Ingliding*; Ditongo centralizado; Estilo; Estilo de vida; Práticas sociais.

**Introduction**

This study investigates variable *ingliding*, a term that has been used to describe the phonetic process of creating diphthongs that affect vowels in stressed syllables in Porto Alegre speech, since Battisti (2013), who, referring to Clements and Hertz (1996), defined *ingliding* as a diphthongal realization that is intrinsic to the phone. The author pointed out that *ingliding* is not a result of assimilation, a process that, according to Bisol (1989, 1994, 2012), explains the realization of other variable diphthongs in Brazilian Portuguese, in which high vowels emerge because of subsequent segments (/S, ʃ, ʒ, r/).

Oliveira (2015, 2016) carried out pilot studies on the perception and production of *inglided* vowels using the matched-guise technique (LAMBERT *et al.*, 1960), the hand-drawn maps technique (PRESTON, 1989), and the variable rules analysis (LABOV, 2008 [1972]), using samples of 8 subjects residing in Porto Alegre (composed of one man and one woman from each of the four city zones: Central, North, East and South). The main results indicate that *ingliding* vowels are perceived as typical of Porto Alegre. The process, which has a low rate of application, and seems to be favored by open-mid vowels, is somehow connected to the city's Central Zone and is perceived as typical of the Bom Fim neighborhood and of people who *have an accent* and can be described as *relaxed*, *cool*, *carefree* and *lazy*. Oliveira (2015, 2016)'s

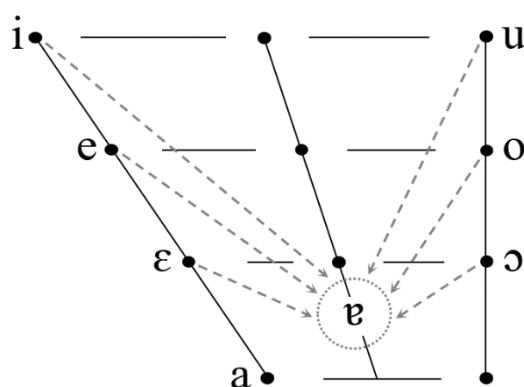
results can also indicate that ingliding is attached to the *personae* claimed by people who were part of a movement that occurred in the Bom Fim neighborhood during the 1980s. The social meanings created with ingliding might be linked to social agents from higher positions in the social space of Porto Alegre (BATTISTI; OLIVEIRA, 2017).

The present study treats ingliding as stylistic practice and seeks to gain further knowledge on: (i) the ingliding variation patterns in Porto Alegre; (ii) the styles constructed with ingliding; (iii) the social meanings created with ingliding. Therefore, quantitative and qualitative procedures of the three waves of variation studies (ECKERT, 2005, 2012) were brought together, exploring both the macrosocial categories *a priori* defined for a large-scale study, and *persona* creation, which includes ingliding realization as one of its practices. Silva's (1991, 2007) ethnographic study on the Bom Fim neighborhood during the 1980s supports this analysis, as it seeks to understand the significant difference in the rates of ingliding application even among social agents with similar social profiles who frequently visited the neighborhood. Bourdieu's (2015 [1979/1982], 2008 [1982], 1998 [1993]) social theory also conducts an explanatory qualitative analysis.

## Ingliding

Battisti and Oliveira (2014) observed that realizations that sound like inglided vowels have an increased duration and considerable F2 variation, indicating centralization. The authors analyzed the speech of a woman considered to be a prototypical speaker of Porto Alegre. The study also highlighted that the process can occur with any nuclear vowel in BP [i, e, ε, o, u], with the exception of [a]. Since the central glide that arises from centring diphthongs is very close to the nuclear vowel [a], the difference between a lengthened [a] and a homorganic diphthong [æ] may be imperceptible. Considering these issues, ingliding can be represented as in Figure 1<sup>2</sup>.

Figure 1 – Ingliding representation over BP's nuclear vowel trapezium



Source: Oliveira (2018, p. 64).

<sup>2</sup> Battisti (2013) has shown that the glide may be compatible with [ɐ] considering both F1 and F2 values. The values show that the last portion of the diphthongal realization is both lowered and centralized.

Figure 1 represents the centring movement that affects different BP nuclear vowels: **[i]** vowel: [i]sso~[iə]sso ('this'); **[e]** vowel: m[e]sa~ m[ɐ]sa ('table'); **[ɛ]** vowel: f[ɛ]sta~ f[ɛə]sta ('party'); **[ɔ]** vowel: h[ɔ]ra~h[ɔə]ra ('hour'); **[o]** vowel: [o]nibus~[oə]nibus ('bus'); **[u]** vowel: t[u]do~t[uə]do ('everything').

Following Ladd (2008) and Frota (1998), Battisti and Oliveira (2014) also carried out a qualitative pitch analysis, which indicated that ingliding seemed to occur on the last stressed element of the intonational phrase. Therefore, ingliding realizations can be a result of prosodic prominence marking in the intonational phrase.

Taking these previous findings into consideration, this study treats ingliding in Porto Alegre as a process that creates centring diphthongs from a single vowel, which, according to Donegan (1978), can be associated with an increase in vocalic duration. A diphthong is thus considered a vowel with a noticeable change in quality during a syllable (CAGLIARI, 1981; CRYSTAL, 2008; LADEFOGED; MADDIESON, 1996; LAVER, 1994).

### **Linguistic variation, lifestyle, and *personae* construction**

Labov (2008 [1972]) states that linguistic variation is inherent to language and constrained both linguistically and socially. The Linguistics field is established, from his perspective, as a study of the social community in its linguistic aspect. The studies based on Variation Theory, proposed by Labov (2008 [1972]), are organized by Eckert (2005, 2012) in three waves that present different notions of what *style* is.

The first wave corresponds to large-scale studies that focus on understanding distribution patterns of variables in geographically defined large urban populations, seeking to understand the correlations between linguistic and social variables. In this wave, *style* is defined as attention paid to speech, controlled by orientation towards prestige and stigma.

The second wave involves studies that seek to investigate social dynamics of communities of practice. In this wave, ethnographic studies are carried out to identify social categories, locally defined through social practices, finding identities that are associated with the use of linguistic variants. *Style*, in this wave, is understood as an act of affiliation to the community of practice under investigation.

The third wave brings together studies that focus on the social meanings of linguistic variables, considering that these variables are indirectly linked to social categories through the practices and ideologies that constitute them. In this wave, also called the stylistic perspective, *style* is related to how subjects create different ways of speaking, through a combination of variables, to construct *personae*, defined by Eckert (2005, 2012) as social types explicitly located in the social order. *Style*, as language itself, are social practices developed through a *bricolage* process (HEBDIGE, 1984), in which linguistic and non-linguistic elements are combined to construct new social meanings and modify old ones.

Podesva (2008, 2007, 2006a, 2006b) explores the relation between linguistic variation and social practices of a North American gay man attending medical school in his work, which are examples of third wave studies. The author reveals that the subject attributes new meanings to the use of certain linguistic variables and creates different *personae* in different contexts. In the clinic where he works, the speaker constructs a caring doctor *persona*, using variants associated with formality (infrequent -t/d deletion), competence (frequent -t/d release), restrained expressiveness (weak falsetto with limited distribution) and non-threatening stance (frequent rising intonation on declaratives). However, in a barbecue among friends, the speaker uses variants associated with informality (frequent -t/d deletion), prissiness (long and intense release bursts), expressiveness (frequent, extreme falsetto), animated stance (extreme F0 values in declaratives) and preciseness (peripheral vowels) while creating a gay diva *persona*. According to the author, the social meanings of stylistic performances are partly associated with interactional moves, and one style is constructed by contrasting with other ones.

Third wave studies show that variables do not have static meanings<sup>3</sup>. In fact, the social meanings associated with variables can be represented by indexical fields, constellations of potential social meanings that are ideologically related to linguistic variables and susceptible to constant reinterpretation (ECKERT, 2008). From this perspective, studying language variation as stylistic practice involves understanding that the placement of linguistic variables in styles is an integral part of the construction of social meaning (ECKERT, 2005). The investigation of social meaning in variation also needs to take the stylistic icons, or cultural models (GAL, 2016), into consideration, since speakers may align with or distance themselves from them depending on their interactive objectives.

Coupland (2001) considers style to be a situational correlate, and not an active, motivated, or symbolic process, which leads him to criticize some quantitative approaches to style. Rickford (2001) defines style as a resource and a strategy that is part of an interactive and dynamic process. The author considers style to be neither totally predictable nor totally unpredictable, such that empirical research should investigate the predictable aspects of it, both in the socio-cultural context of performances and in existing theories. Thus, however broad the notion of style is, there is room for predictability and regularity. Following this line of thinking, Rickford (2001) assumes Irvine's (2001) argument that the notion of style as distinctiveness depends on an understanding of what is predictable.

The concept of style as *personae* construction could lead to the understanding that speakers consciously take on variables to use them as stylistic practices. However, Eckert (2016) argues that discovering whether a stylistic movement is conscious or intentional is not central to studies of linguistic variation, and even very intentional stylistic movements can, over

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<sup>3</sup> There are different Brazilian studies that investigate the social meaning of variation, such as Mendes (2016a, 2016b), Oushiro (2019, 2015), among others.

time, become automatic. Therefore, *personae* are not necessarily intentional, and style itself is not in the intention, but can be located in the intersubjective space between production and perception. Eckert's (2016) definition of style is similar to what Bourdieu (2015 [1979/1982]) conceptualizes as *lifestyle*, since it is, in his social theory, precisely located between the schemes of production and perception of practices that define the *habitus*. It is in this space that the represented social world and, thus, lifestyles, reside.

Both Rickford (2001) and Coupland (2001) highlight the importance of encompassing other areas of knowledge in sociolinguistic studies, indicating the need to seek answers in social theories so that investigations can achieve an explanatory nature. The convergence between the notions of style shared by some linguists and the lifestyle notion of Bourdieu (2015 [1979/1982]) allows us to consider this author's theory relevant to the interpretation of stylistic moves associated with the use of linguistic variants. To understand Bourdieu's notion of lifestyle (2015 [1979/1982]), we must explore other notions associated to his definition of the social space.

The positions of social agents in the *social space* depend not only on the volume, but also on the type of capital accumulated by each agent (BOURDIEU, 2015 [1979/1982]). This capital can be divided into four types: *economic* (material assets, property rights), *cultural* (intellectual qualifications that exist in an incorporated state, as a durable bodily disposition, in an objective state, as a cultural asset, and in an institutionalized state, as a possession of titles sanctioned by institutions), *social* (network of relationships) or *symbolic* (rituals of honor and prestige). In this hierarchical social space composed of (symbolic) struggles, the distribution of capital is uneven, and an agent's position is constituted by its distinction in relation to other positions.

The social space is organized in *social fields*, markets with their own rules in which agents behave like gamblers, in which capital appears as a means and an end. To dominate a field, a social agent develops strategies for conservation or appropriation of capital. The social field, in turn, structures the *habitus*, defined as a set of durable dispositions, associated with conditions of existence, which acts both in schemes of action (production of practices) and in schemes of perception. From this perspective, our choices are not totally free, but guided by a *habitus* that is restructured based on the social moves of each agent. It is in the relationship between practice and practice perception, as previously mentioned, that *lifestyles* are constructed.

In Bourdieu's social theory (2015 [1979/1982]), a *class* is defined by its distinction in relation to other classes in the social space. In addition, although different styles may be part of the same class, members of the same class tend to share *habitus*. Bonnewitz (2003, p. 82), analyzing Bourdieu's reasoning, states that lifestyle is a "set of tastes, beliefs and systematic practices characteristic of a given class or class fraction". In this approach, along with class, lifestyle guides tastes and, consequently, consumption. Both tastes and consumption operate from what Bourdieu (2015 [1979/1982]) calls the *sense of the homology between goods and*

*groups*, that is, one consumes what one considers to be in accordance with their position in the social space, or what is perceived as being part of a position to be achieved. While the dominant classes have tastes of luxury (or freedom), the dominated classes are restricted to the tastes of necessity, which accentuates differences in lifestyles (BOURDIEU, 2015 [1979/1982]).

In summary, lifestyles can be understood as expressive intentions of social agents. The practices that construct lifestyles are diverse and operate in different symbolic subspaces, such as furniture, clothing, language and bodily *hexis*. In fact, the body is an objectification of class taste, such that the relationship with the social world is expressed by differences in using one's body (BOURDIEU (2015 [1979/1982])). A bourgeois use of the body in sports and language, for example, is marked by large body movements and by the confidence of being able to take the time of others, as opposed to popular hurry and petty-bourgeois haste.

Along with the body, physical space expresses the hierarchies and distances of the social space (BOURDIEU, 1998 [1993]). Certain physical spaces require, from their frequent visitors, the retention of capital (economic, cultural, social) and in turn provide cultural and symbolic capital to their members. This creates what the author calls the *club effect*, which highlights its members as distinct, and excludes those who are not considered desirable.

Bourdieu (2008 [1982]) refers to linguistic exchanges as economic exchanges placed in a linguistic market in which discourse acquires value and meaning. In this market, composed of negotiations in search of symbolic profit, the linguistic form value is dependent on the relationship of forces established by the capital of the social agents. Those who have greater linguistic competence can impose criteria of production, appropriation, and appreciation. Again, Bourdieu (2008 [1982]) mentions the body, explaining that linguistic competence is a bodily *hexis* dimension: the whole body responds to the tension of the linguistic market. The author mentions the existence of an articulatory style, an embodied lifestyle that determines phonological features and characterizes class pronunciation. Speaking is, therefore, a way of taking on expressive styles.

In the present work, as in Oliveira (2018), the concepts of Bourdieu's social theory (2015 [1979/1982], 2008 [1982], 1998 [1993]) are taken as operational. This study makes use of the *lifestyle* notion to understand which styles are constructed with *ingliding* and how the centring diphthong conveys symbolic profit to the social agents who use it. In this study, both the Bom Fim neighborhood and the city of Porto Alegre are treated as physical spaces that express the social space organization.

## **Methodology**

To study *ingliding* as stylistic practice, two methodological procedures were carried out: (a) a variable rule analysis (quantitative); and (b) a stylistic practices analysis (qualitative). Both methods were used with two data samples that will be referred to here as *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* ('A Movie About Bom Fim', MIGOTTO, 2015) and *LínguaPOA* (2015-2019). The

former is a documentary-film about the youth movement that took place in the 1980s in the Bom Fim neighborhood. The film was released in 2015 and contains interviews with 51 people who participated in this movement in different ways. The latter is composed of sociolinguistic interviews that occurred from 2015 to 2019 with residents of Porto Alegre: the speech data used in this study contains interviews with 24 speakers stratified by Gender (man, woman), Age Group (20-39 years, 40-59 years, 60+ years) and Zone (Central, North, East, South).

### Variable rule analysis

The variable rule analysis is a quantitative analysis that examines individual occurrences of linguistic features (tokens) to understand the recurrent choices an individual makes, which creates variation patterns (LABOV, 2008 [1972]; POPLACK; TAGLIAMONTE, 2001; TAGLIAMONTE, 2007). These choices can represent the underlying variable grammar of the speaker and the speech community to which one belongs.

To select contexts for possible ingliding application, the Praat software (BOERSMA; WEENINK, 2016) was used. First, the vowels were coded as monophthongs or centring diphthongs<sup>4</sup> auditorily, then the cases that raised uncertainty were solved with acoustic inspection. In the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample, the entire film (88 minutes) was analyzed quantitatively. In the *LínguaPOA* sample, 15 minutes of each interview were selected for quantitative analysis. The first 10 minutes of each recording were not used in the analysis, since some speakers needed time to become familiar and comfortable with the interview situation. All nuclear vowel data [i, e, ε, ə, o, u] in a prominent position in intonational phrases were considered in this study, except for inaudible contexts and contexts in which the vowel [a] followed the stressed vowel under analysis, since it is impossible to detect the occurrence of centring diphthong in these cases.

The linguistic variables analyzed in both samples were: **Nuclear Vowel** ([i, e, ε, ə, o, u]), **Preceding Segment** ([p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ɲ, r, f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ, h, l, λ, i, e, ε, a, ə, o, u] or pause), **Following Segment** ([p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ɲ, r, r, f, v, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, tʃ, dʒ, h, l, λ, i, u] or pause), **Syllable Type** (open, close), **Number of Syllables** (1, 2, 3, 4+), **Word Stress** (stressed monosyllable, oxytone, paroxytone, proparoxytone) and **Lexical Item** (random variable). The social variables analyzed in the *LínguaPOA* sample were: **Gender** (man, woman), **Zone** (Central, North, East, South), **Age Group** (20-39 years-old, 40-59 years-old, 60+ years-old), **Level of Education** (up to high school, college), **Socioeconomic stratum** (A, B1, B2, C1, C2,

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4 In future studies, the gradience of the process will be considered by measuring the centring movement of each vowel token.



D-E<sup>5</sup>), **Neighborhood income** (high, low<sup>6</sup>) and **Speaker** (random variable). In the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample, the only social variables that could be analyzed were the assumed **Gender** (man, woman) of each speaker and **Participant** (random variable).

First, chi-square tests were carried out with each predictor variable and the response variable. Then, multivariate mixed-effects analyses (fixed and random<sup>7</sup>) were run using logistic regression models. The multicollinearity of each model was tested with Variance Inflation Factors (VIF): there were no high levels of multicollinearity in the models presented here, since the VIF values were always between 1 and 2. All quantitative analyses were done with the R program (CORE TEAM, 2019).

Silva's ethnographic study (1991, 2007) about the Bom Fim neighborhood in the 1980s supports the discussion of the variable rules analysis' results. The author was part of the youth movement analyzed and is one of the participants in the documentary *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim*. The ethnographic study allows the present work to relate the practices observed by Silva (1991, 2007) to the speech with centring diphthongs in the movie.

### **Stylistic practices analysis**

This study's qualitative analysis of the subjects' stylistic practices considers their declared practices in the different samples. The movie *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* provides some information about the different stylistic practices that shaped the youth movement of the 1980s. In this sample, unlike the sample from LínguaPOA, participants know that they are producing public data, thus they can be treated as stylistic icons, since, according to Rickford (2001), the opportunities for stylization increase along with the audience: in front of large audiences, people tend to try to project *personae* in a more conscious way.

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5 The distribution in socioeconomic strata was made based on ABEP (Brazilian Association of Research Companies), the Brazilian Criterion of Economic Stratification, valid since 01/01/2015, and available at: <http://www.abep.org/>. The Brazil Criterion Questionnaire, answered by all LínguaPOA speakers, obeys a point system attributed in accordance to the variables: comfort items (number of bathrooms, cars, refrigerators, etc.); education level of the head of the family, that is, the person who contributes most to the household's income (level of education); and access to public services (water distribution, street pavement). The points related to each variable are proportional to the influence of each factor in the general estimate. The more points an informant gets, the higher his social class index is as follows: A> B1> B2> C1> C2> D-E.

6 Data obtained from The City of Porto Alegre's Observatory (ObservaPOA), available at: <http://www.observapoa.com.br/> (Accessed on: 22/06/2020).

7 Johnson (2009, p. 365) states that "for random effects, accounting for the variation in the population is more important than knowing the exact values of individual effects". Regarding the importance of mixed-effects analyses, the author explains: "Unlike an ordinary regression model with speaker included, a mixed model does not directly fit a parameter to each speaker's data. Because of this, it can still capture external effects, but only when they are strong enough to rise above the inter-speaker variation" (JOHNSON, 2009, p. 365).

Sociolinguistic interviews, on the other hand, are intended to generate spontaneous speech data through a series of procedures that ensure that speakers are engaged in what they are saying so that they forget that they are being recorded. The LínguaPOA interviews follow a common script that, in addition to seeking the creation of a comfortable environment for the speakers, enables a systematic analysis of the declared practices. To this end, the content of the subjects' full interviews was organized into a common set of themes: *Relationship with Porto Alegre, Relationship with the neighborhood/zone, Daily/leisure practices and tastes, Circulation in the city zones, Porto Alegre's needs, Media/communication vehicles, Religion, Additional Languages, Position: legalization of drugs, Position: Brazilian politics.*

The qualitative stylistic practices analysis<sup>8</sup> is here used as a way of interpreting the variable rule analysis results. If using ingliding is a stylistic practice, understanding what other practices are performed by those who produce more diphthong vowels is important. The examination of social practices, analyzed and interpreted according to Bourdieu's social theory (2015 [1979/1982], 2008 [1982], 1998 [1993]), provides a possible way to study the social meanings of language variation.

## Results

The results from both analyses are presented and discussed in this section. First, ingliding in the Bom Fim neighborhood is discussed considering the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample and Silva's studies (1991, 2007). Then, ingliding in Porto Alegre is examined considering the results obtained with the LínguaPOA sample.

### Ingliding in the Bom Fim neighborhood

There is a rate of centring diphthong application of 15.5% in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample. Of the 51 participants in the film, 6 had their data deleted because they only had a brief participation in the film, barely speaking. In addition, the only person who had 0% of ingliding was also excluded from the quantitative analysis. Therefore, data from 44 people were analyzed: 36 men and 8 women. While the participant with the greatest application of the process produced 47.4% of centring diphthongs, the participant with the lowest rate produced only 2% of inglided vowels. The analysis of those who produced more inglided vowels in the sample (more than 30%) provides interesting insights into their social meanings.

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8 This analysis, once referred to as 'content analysis' (OLIVEIRA, 2018), is simply called *stylistic practices analysis* here, so as to not be mistaken for 'content analysis' as suggested by Bardin (1977), Krippendorff (2004), among others. Although a content analysis *per se* was not conducted in this work, the analysis carried out in the present study also aims to achieve systematicity. The complete organized data is not shown here for concision, but the transcript of the speech data from the selected *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* participants and the declared practices, catalogued by themes, mentioned in the interviews from the selected LínguaPOA speakers are available in Oliveira (2018, p. 102-105; p. 172-177).

Of the 9 people who most produced ingliding in the film (6 men and 3 women), five are artists (*Marta B.*: 40.6%; *Biba M.*: 40%; *Marcio P.*: 33.3%; *Wander W.*: 30.4%; *Flu S.*: 30%), two are journalists (*Cristiano Z.*: 47.4%; *Eduardo B.*: 33.3%), one works with advertising (*Emilio C.*: 35, 7%) and one does not have a listed occupation (*Polaca*: 42.1%). This means that most of these participants are professionals associated with the media and used to speaking to large audiences, an aspect that, according to Rickford (2001), increases the potential for conscious speech stylization. Ingilding can also be a way of giving symbolic profit to certain social agents in certain fields, such as the artistic and communication fields.

Presently, no distinction has been made between nasal and oral vowels<sup>9</sup>, considering that the chi-square test run by Oliveira (2018) indicated that there is no statistical difference in making such a distinction ( $\chi^2 = 2.108$  (4),  $p > 0.7$ ). Both Preceding Segment and Following Segment were organized according to C place (CLEMENTS and HUME, 1995) in labial, dorsal<sup>10</sup>, coronal or pause. In addition, contexts with 0% of ingliding were excluded. One of these segments, the palatal nasal [ɲ] in following context (*tinha* [ˈtʃĩɲɐ] ‘there was’, *gente* [ˈʒẽntʃĩ] ‘people’), can inhibit the process, since it is a frequent context (269 tokens) in which none of the tokens the centring diphthong arose.

This study’s data coding stage indicated, as previous studies suggested, that the process occurs only in the intonational phrase’s most prominent segment. Considering that the process is limited to prominent segments, it makes sense that speech marked by ingliding is generally perceived as a “sung” or “dragged” speech, since prominence is the result of a complex set of phonetic cues that reflects greater articulatory strength and possible rhythmic regularity (LADD, 2008).

No correlation was found between ingliding and Gender in the analysis of the chi-square test ( $\chi^2 = 2,3808(1)$ ,  $p > 0,1$ ), so this variable was not included in the generalized linear mixed model. However, it is worth mentioning the considerable difference in the participation of men and women in the film sample: while there are 1413 contexts produced by men, there are only 254 contexts produced by women. If people were selected to participate in the documentary considering their participation in the youth movement, this could indicate that the movement had a greater male participation.

Among the linguistic variables, the only ones correlated with ingliding in the documentary sample, considering both the chi-square tests and the generalized linear mixed models, are Nuclear Vowel and Following Segment. These results are shown in Table 1.

The results for Nuclear Vowel show that lower vowels tend to favor the process, while high vowels tend to disfavor it, which could be associated with the articulatory proximity of nuclear vowels with the central glide that emerges from ingliding. Regarding Following

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9 Nasal and oral vowels were then grouped in the same factor.

10 Labial and dorsal were amalgamated in the statistical analysis ( $\chi^2 = 1,434(1)$ ,  $p > 0,20$  for Following Segment according to Oliveira (2018)).

Segment, it is observed that the labial and dorsal contexts, those articulated at the ends of the oral tract, disfavor the process in relation to the baseline. More about linguistic variables will be discussed in the following section, considering the LínguaPOA sample results.

**Table 1** – Ingliding in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample: summary of the generalized linear mixed model

App./Contexts = 258/1667 (15.5%)  
Intercept = -1.519

Predictors	App./Contexts	Estimate	Std. Error	z-value	p
<b>Nuclear Vowel</b>					
[e] (baseline)	87/404 (21.53%)				
[ɔ]	38/111 (34.23%)	0.906	0.318	2.848	< 0.01 **
[ɛ]	79/335 (23.58%)	0.359	0.275	1.307	0.191
[o]	30/256 (11.72%)	-0.815	0.295	-2.768	< 0.01 **
[i]	22/399 (5.51%)	-1.622	0.311	-5.208	< 0.001 ***
[u]	2/162 (1.23%)	-3.361	0.761	-4.416	< 0.001 ***
<b>Following Segment</b>					
Coronal (baseline)	166/963 (17.24%)				
Pause	52/310 (16.77%)	0.097	0.165	0.587	0.557
Labial + Dorsal	40/394 (10.15)	-0.934	0.263	-3.545	< 0.001 ***

Model: (INGLIDING ~ NUCLEAR.VOWEL + FOLLOWING.SEGMENT + (1|SPEAKER) + (1|LEXICAL.ITEM))

Source: the author.

The 9 people who most produced ingliding in the sample reported several similar social practices when addressing the youth movement of the 1980s and their participation in artistic manifestations. They often mention drug use, *madness* and *transgression* at that time, during which the youth at times even defied the police. When they talk about the people who were part of the movement, they mention both “workers” and people they described with adjectives such as “drifter” and “bum”. Going to bars, using drugs, participating in political movements, and going to the beach are among the practices listed as common at the time. The 1980s period is also identified by these frequent visitors of the Bom Fim neighborhood as a period of cultural innovation, in which behaviors could be classified as deviant. One of the participants, Eduardo B., is transgressive and challenging even in his way of talking about the movement and in including himself more explicitly among marijuana users. The *crazy people*, as the young people of the time are classified, were defined by Flu S. as those transgressors and innovators who did not even know what work was.

The cultural innovation movement in the 1980s that motivated the creation of the documentary used here as a source and sample was also studied by historians. They often

mention that the Porto Alegre nightlife in the 1980s was centered in Bom Fim, a neighborhood located in the Central Zone. The 1980s is a time viewed as a *golden age* for the youth culture of that time, in which new punk and rock bands appeared, for example (MONTEIRO, 2012). These characteristics appear in the film, which shows that the youth movement in the 1980s was attuned to the cultural effervescence of other Brazilian capitals (MIGOTTO, 2015). According to the participants in the film, people from the 1980s wanted to shock and create conflict, which may be related to the search for freedom that was a result of the Brazilian military dictatorship's recent end. Among the practices mentioned by the neighborhood's frequent visitors as common to young people at the time were participation in student movements, use of alcohol and other drugs, and participation in parties and cultural events in the city.

Pedroso (2009) defined the Bom Fim neighborhood as an open and young space, with bohemian transgression and intense, peculiar, and creative artistic productions. One of Bom Fim's most famous bars, *Bar Ocidente*, promoted different shows that brought people together to listen to bands inside, outside and around the bar throughout the night. After the 1990s, however, Porto Alegre's nightlife migrated to another neighborhood, Cidade Baixa, and a number of factors provoked a change in Bom Fim's nightlife, such as complaints of the noise caused by cultural events, the allegation that people felt the streets were unsafe and violent, and the real estate interest in constructing new buildings in the area.

The practices pointed out by Pedroso (2009) are easily reinforced by the participants of the documentary *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim*. Silva's (1991, 2007) ethnographic study of the Bom Fim neighborhood in the 1980s also provides important information regarding the practices and cultural manifestations of young people at the time. In his work, the author carried out participant observation and conducted about 100 interviews with different people in the neighborhood between the years of 1988 and 1989. The author developed his analysis based on what he called *utopian energies*, thus understanding *utopia* in three ways: as a political project derived from the social imagination; as an orientation towards what is considered an ideal way to live life; and as a proposal for organizing everyday life. Silva (1991, 2007) organized the frequent visitors to the Bom Fim neighborhood into three different paradigms, each corresponding to a lifestyle, which are associated with *utopian energies*: the pre-modern paradigm, the modern paradigm, and the post-modern paradigm.

Pre-moderns, also called freaks, are, according to the author, those who turn to the past. They are people who drink a lot, abuse drugs, start fights and claim sexual liberation. In addition, these agents are described as anarchists and as nostalgic people who love the 1960s. They align with hippies and the ideal of peace and love, and they usually come from lower or middle classes. The pre-moderns frequently go, in Bom Fim, to the spaces between *Lancheria do Parque* and *Lola*, two bars of the region.

Moderns, on the other hand, are those who look towards the future. They are described as bohemians, intellectuals, artists, students, and left-wing activists. They are extremely politicized and seek to change the world through the political system. They are also generally from the middle class and mainly frequent the *Lancheria do Parque*.

The post-moderns neither look to the past nor to the future: they are focused on the present. Unlike the moderns, they are not directly involved or engaged in political movements, even though they discuss political ideology. Their practices are classified by confrontation, criticism, transgression, innovation, respect for other people's differences and search for freedom, pleasure, and experimentation. Coming from middle or upper classes, post-moderns go to bars like *Bar Ocidente* and *Lola*.

The paradigms described by Silva (1991, 2007) provide important information to understand the great difference in the rate of ingliding application among agents who participated in the same movement. It is possible to infer, from Silva's studies (1991, 2007), that vowels with ingliding seem to be correlated with the post-modern paradigm: while participants who produce more ingliding in *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* often refer to practices associated with the post-modern paradigm, those who produce less ingliding may be associated with the other two paradigms. If we consider Bourdieu's statement (2015 [1979/1982]) that taste is at the origin of lifestyle, it makes sense that those who produce more inglided vowels share some tastes. Both centring diphthong use as well as taste and consumption can be strategies to construct a lifestyle or to be in a social position.

To exemplify how the film participants can be organized in the paradigms described by Silva (1991, 2007), we recall Flu S.'s statement, one of those who most produced ingliding in the sample, that the city of Porto Alegre was a *square* city and that they, the young people of the 1980s, needed to be crazy so that something would happen. He claims:

It was a *square* city, it still is, but back then we, the youth, maybe, and, and we were taking over the "Oh, we need to be the *crazy* ones so something will happen" you know? To promote concerts and for people to have fun, or to get high, or to hate it, you know?<sup>11</sup>

(Flu S. in *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim*)

On one side, there is the post-modern *crazy* and *innovator*, and on the other, the *square*. Another participant in the film, Giba A., uses the term *square* to classify himself when explaining that, at the time, he was connected with the hippie rebels and with the peace and love generation, feeling very attacked by punks and new-waves, who were more transgressive. The participant declares:

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<sup>11</sup> Original quote: "Era uma cidade careta, ainda é, mas naquela época a gente, jovem, talvez, e, e nós tomando conta assim da 'Ah, nós precisamos ser os loucos pra alguma coisa acontecer', entendeu? Pra ter shows e pras pessoas se divertirem, ou pra ficar louca, ou pra detestar, sabe?"

I always felt a lot more affiliated to the hippie rebel tradition and to the peace and love generation, etc., and I felt very attacked when the punks, the new-waves, showed up. I felt, I suddenly had gotten... I didn't know if I was, if I had gotten *old*, or if I had become *square*. Or both at the same time.<sup>12</sup>

(Giba A. in *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim*)

Giba A., who has a low proportion of ingliding (3%), can be considered a part of the pre-modern paradigm. In addition to the opposition between *crazy* and *square* in the statements by Flu S. and Giba A., there is the opposition between *young* and *old*, which does not necessarily have to do with age, but rather concerns different stances and *personae* creation.

Those who talk more about politics and who declare participation in party movements, the modern ones, also did not produce many inglided vowels. In fact, the only participant in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* that had a 0% rate of ingliding, Vera G., is a leftist activist who has run for local elections several times.

In addition, when mentioning the bars that they went to regularly, the participants of the film that produced more inglided vowels frequently refer to *Bar Ocidente*, considered a place that brought together people from different niches, such as performing artists and musicians. The bar, which is still open today in Bom Fim, is considered by Silva (1991, 2007) to be a space frequented by those who fit the post-modern paradigm.

Both the social agents present in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample and those present in Silva's ethnography (1991, 2007) refer to the innovations that occurred in the 1980s. Among the social practices performed by those who are in the post-modern paradigm, the ingliding use can be a stylistic practice that distinguishes someone who is *cool-innovator* from someone who is *square-conservative*, constituting an expressive difference that, in Bourdieu's (2015 [1979/1982]) terms, constructs lifestyles.

Another characteristic observed in the participants who produce more inglided vowels in the sample concerns the noticeable *freedom* of their ways, which is even evident in the bodily disposition of these social agents during the interview, marked by large body movements and corporal looseness. The relaxation of articular tension that allows ingliding to be produced is related to what Bourdieu (2008 [1982]) classifies as an articulatory style that expresses the refusal of censorship that is motivated by decorum over a body invested in *taboos*.

Ingliding can also be a strategy for achieving cultural capital, since this type of capital, in an incorporated state, is marked as a durable disposition of the body that, as a result, feels at ease speaking in public. In short, the realization of the centring diphthong defies the tension of the linguistic market and appears, in social agents endowed with linguistic competence to

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12 Original quote: “Eu sempre me senti muito mais filiado à tradição da rebeldia hippie e à geração paz e amor, etc., e me senti muito agredido quando apareceram os punks, new-waves. Me senti, de repente eu cheguei... Eu não sabia se eu tava, se eu tinha ficado velho, ou se eu tinha ficado careta. Ou as duas coisas ao mesmo tempo.”

impose production, appropriation and appreciation criteria, as a mark of *freedom, innovation, youth* and *transgression*.

There also seems to be in the Bom Fim neighborhood (and in the *Bar Ocidente*) what Bourdieu (1998 [1993]) calls the *club effect*: on the one hand, participating in these spaces demands economic, cultural and social capital, but in return, this participation provides the social agents with cultural and symbolic capital. Although social class is decisive for a social agent to join a certain club, its entry is constrained by other aspects of lifestyle construction. In view of the practice convergence observed in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* and in Silva's ethnographic studies (1991, 2007), one can assume that the ingliding use is a stylistic practice that generates symbolic profit and indicates belonging to certain post-modern clubs.

The investigation of ingliding in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample reveals practices performed by agents taken as cultural models that construct, with the variable, *personae* with the characteristics previously mentioned. Considering that the social meanings are not precise or fixed, but subject to reinterpretation, it is necessary to investigate ingliding realization in the city of Porto Alegre's speech community, in addition to the Bom Fim neighborhood and the participants of the 1980s youth movement. The results and discussions regarding ingliding in Porto Alegre are gathered in the following section.

### **Ingliding in Porto Alegre**

The results of the analysis carried out with the LínguaPOA sample revealed, as did the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample, 0% of centring diphthong before the palatal nasal [ɲ], a context that had an expressive number of occurrences (1250). This indicates a possible process inhibition in the face of this context, which, in the autosegmental representation, is a geminated and complex segment, endowed with a vowel node with the same characteristics of [i], which influences the stressed vowel that precedes it in the high vowel direction. Wetzels (2000) also points out that the palatal nasal predicts that a vowel+[i] sequence will always be split into two syllables (for example: ra.inha ('queen'); mo.inho ('mill')), explaining that the nasal in question cannot be preceded by a diphthong.

In the LínguaPOA sample, the overall proportion of ingliding is 5%, three times lower than the proportion found in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample. This result may explain the perception that the process is associated with Bom Fim speech, but it needs to be analyzed considering the differences between the samples: the documentary participants, unlike the LínguaPOA speakers, know that their data will be public, which, as previously mentioned in this study, generates greater potential for stylization (RICKFORD, 2001).

The results for the variables that are correlated with ingliding in the LínguaPOA sample are shown in Table 2 and Table 3.



**Table 2** – Ingliding in the LínguaPOA sample: summary of the generalized linear mixed model

App./Contexts = 302/6101 (5%)  
 Intercept = -5.062

Predictors	App./Contexts	Estimate	Std. Error	z-value	p
<b>Nuclear Vowel</b>					
[e] (baseline)	58/1301 (4.46%)				
[ɛ]	151/1376 (10.97%)	0.956	0.203	4.699	< 0.001 ***
[ɔ]	50/703 (7.11%)	0.616	0.221	2.790	< 0.01 **
[o]	20/659 (3.03%)	-0.444	0.276	-1.608	0.108
[i]	21/1608 (1.30%)	-1.378	0.269	-5.114	< 0.001 ***
[u]	2/454 (0.44%)	-2.244	0.707	-3.173	< 0.01 **
<b>Preceding Segment</b>					
Coronal (baseline)	171/3329 (5.14%)				
Pause	45/485 (9.28%)	0.645	0.268	2.412	< 0.05 *
Labial + Dorsal	86/2287 (3.76%)	-0.071	0.156	-0.454	0.650
<b>Following Segment</b>					
Coronal (baseline)	160/3306 (4.84%)				
Pause	122/1772 (6.88%)	-0.039	0.202	-0.196	0.845
Labial + Dorsal	20/1023 (1.95%)	-0.851	0.255	-3.331	< 0.001 ***
<b>Age Group</b>					
20-39 (baseline)	60/1889 (3.18%)				
40-59	154/2006 (7.68%)	1.800	0.813	2.213	< 0.05 *
60+	88/2206 (3.99%)	1.150	0.816	1.409	0.159

Model: (INGLIDING~NUCLEAR.VOWEL+PRECEDING.SEGMENT+FOLLOWING.SEGMENT+AGE.GROUP+(1|SPEAKER)+(1|LEXICAL.ITEM))

Source: the author.

Variables that were not orthogonal were analyzed separately, as in the case of Word Stress/ Number of Syllables and Preceding/Following Segment, for linguistic reasons. Age Group and Socioeconomic Stratum (amalgamated) were also analyzed in different models: while 5 out of 8 subjects in the 20-39 year-old age group are placed in the B2/C1/C2 stratum, in other age groups, only 2 out of 8 subjects are in the B2/C1/C2 stratum.

Nuclear Vowel and Following Segment show similar results to those found in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample. The result for nuclear vowel, as already mentioned, seems congruent when considering the central glide origin. Donegan (1978) explains that the longer the vowel duration, the greater the possibility for heterogeneous articulation, which can cause enough change in quality to create a diphthong. If ingliding depends on a longer duration coming from the context of prominence in the intonational phrase, it makes sense that it is favored by open-mid vowels, which require less articulatory movement between the starting point and the diphthong's end.

**Table 3** – Ingilding in the LínguaPOA sample: summary of the generalized linear mixed model

App./Contexts = 302/6101 (5%)

Intercept = -3.162

Predictors	App./Contexts	Estimate	Std. Error	z-value	p
<b>Nuclear Vowel</b>					
[e] (baseline)	58/1301 (4.46%)				
[ɛ]	151/1376 (10.97%)	0.957	0.212	4.503	< 0.001 ***
[ɔ]	50/703 (7.11%)	0.696	0.224	3.105	< 0.01 **
[o]	20/659 (3.03%)	-0.451	0.279	-1.621	0.105
[i]	21/1608 (1.30%)	-1.349	0.267	-5.044	< 0.001 ***
[u]	2/454 (0.44%)	-2.344	0.703	-3.336	< 0.001 ***
<b>Word Stress</b>					
Monosyllable (baseline)	124/1439 (8.62%)				
Paroxytone	150/3646 (4.11%)	-0.585	0.222	-2.639	< 0.01 **
Oxytone	19/773 (2.46%)	-0.741	0.319	-2.323	< 0.05 *
Proparoxytone	9/243 (3.70%)	-0.844	0.430	-1.961	< 0.05 *
<b>Socioeconomic Stratum</b>					
A/B1 (baseline)	267/3886 (6.87%)				
B2/C1/C2	35/2215 (1.58%)	-1.401	0.687	-2.040	< 0.05 *

Model: (INGLIDING ~ NUCLEAR.VOWEL + STRESS + STRATUM + (1|SPEAKER) + (1|LEXICAL.ITEM))

Source: the author.

Still regarding duration, it is possible that ingilding is favored by open-mid vowels due to their intrinsic duration. Lehiste (1970) explains that a higher vowel is shorter than a lower vowel, which requires greater articulatory movements for its realization. This difference, which is physiologically constrained, can be universal. Barbosa (1996) attests to this statement by Lehiste (1970) in a study with BP data obtained from a 30-year-old speaker from São Paulo. Escudero *et al.* (2009) find the same results considering data from both men and women who speak BP and EP (European Portuguese).

The result for Following Segment can also be related to intrinsic segment duration. In her review of Fischer-Jørgensen (1964) and Peterson and Lehiste (1960), Lehiste (1970) reported cases in which the coronal segments systematically increased vowel duration when compared to labial and dorsal segments. According to the author, vowel duration depends on the size of speech organ movement from the vowel to the position of the following consonant: the greater the movement, the longer the vowel. This movement may be shortened in dorsal and labial environments, especially in the latter, in which two different articulators come into play, which means that there is no delay in the movement from the vowel target to the consonant target.

Another possible reason for the Following Segment results is with respect to what Barbosa and Madureira (2015) explain when illustrating the alveolar tap effect on the formants of the adjacent vowels. There is, in this context, an effect understood as similar to that of other alveolodental stops: F2 centralization. These results found in experimental phonetic studies in BP may point to reasons for centralization due to coronal segments, but they do not allow for generalization without a detailed acoustic analysis of the data.

It is also noteworthy that the result for Following Segment has not shown significant differences between coronal segments and pause context. In this regard, it is relevant to present the findings by Colley (2009), who, in his acoustic study of diphthongization before /s/ at the end of the word in speech from Rio de Janeiro, observed the existence of centring diphthongs before pause. The author attributes the vowel movements towards the central vowels [a], [ə] or [i] to the movement of the tongue towards the resting position at the end of the vowel. For all vowels except /a/, the author observed long off-glides towards central vowels in a stressed environment, pre-pause and at the end of the word, a result that is similar to that found in this study on ingliding.

Although the result for Number of Syllables is not shown here, the variable, amalgamated in two factors – 1 syllable, 2+ syllables ( $\chi^2 = 0.566$  (2),  $p > 0.70$ ) – is correlated with ingliding. What Word Stress and Number of Syllables reveal is inseparable, since every context of a stressed monosyllable is, by definition, composed of a single syllable. It is noteworthy that the factor in question may be influenced by the Nuclear Vowel and Following Segment variables: of the 1439 monosyllabic tokens, 1215 have a pause as the subsequent context; of the 1439 monosyllables, 809 are from the open-mid front vowel<sup>13</sup>.

Regarding social variables, the analysis shows significant differences for Age Group and Socioeconomic Stratum, indicating the second age group (20-39 years) and the upper strata on the social scale (A and B1) as favoring the occurrence of ingliding. Both results support the interpretation that there may have been, in the 1980s, an increase in the use of ingliding due to the post-modern styles constructed with the variable, since it was the middle and upper classes that made up Bom Fim's post-modern paradigm. Furthermore, those who were young adults or teenagers in the 1980s are in the second age group considered in the present study.

Although the Zone and Neighborhood Income variables are not correlated with the process in the statistical analysis, it should be noted that the speakers with the highest production of ingliding among the 24 considered inhabit regions that, according to ObservaPOA, are

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13 Of these, 302 tokens are of “é” (he/she/it ‘is’), and 478 are of “né” (‘isn’t it?’), the two most frequent lexical items in the corpus, with ingliding application proportions of 14.2% and 11.7%, respectively.

considered to have the highest economic indexes. Among these, those who do not live in the Central Zone also do not inhabit the city's outskirts. The city's division into four zones (Central, North, East and South), as assumed in *LínguaPOA*, is the one that is commonly referred to by Porto Alegre residents and is used by the Public Transport and Circulation Company (EPTC) for the bus itineraries in the city (each zone is served by a different company)<sup>14</sup>. The Central Zone, much smaller in square footage than the other zones, is not geographically located in the center of the city, but to the side, on the coast of Guaíba Lake. This characteristic seems to accentuate the peripherization of the city, an aspect pointed out by Monteiro (2012), who explains that advances and changes in the city always start in the center and slowly spread to other areas.

Another variable that was not considered a condition of ingliding in the study was Level of Education. Even if it is not shown to be correlated with the process, this variable is part of the index that makes up the socioeconomic strata used in this study, in which higher levels of education contribute to a subject being classified as belonging to a higher stratum.

Gender is also not correlated with the process in this analysis. However, the variable appears to be correlated with ingliding in a new analysis, carried out with a *LínguaPOA* subsample, in which data from speakers who do not produce ingliding were excluded (with rates of application from 0% to 1.3%). Of the 24 speakers, 13 are among those who do not produce the variable, resulting in a subsample of 11 speakers. The rates of application among the subjects in the subsample vary from 3.1% to 16.5%.

In order to maintain the subsample's relative balance in relation to Gender and Age Group, the latter variable was reorganized: the first age group was excluded and the second was expanded, in order to include a 35-year-old speaker. Interactions between variables in the subsample make it impossible to consider the other social variables separately, since the necessary balance is not maintained. The results obtained are shown in Table 4.

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14 Map available at: [http://lproweb.procempa.com.br/pmpa/prefpoa/cs/usu\\_img/regioes\\_atendimento\\_cores.jpg](http://lproweb.procempa.com.br/pmpa/prefpoa/cs/usu_img/regioes_atendimento_cores.jpg) (Accessed on: 22/06/2020).

**Table 4** – Ingilding in the LínguaPOA subsample: summary of the generalized linear mixed model

App./Contexts = 281/2961 (9.5%)  
 Intercept = -2.451

Predictors	App./Contexts	Estimate	Std. Error	z-value	p
<b>Nuclear Vowel</b>					
[e] (baseline)	54/662 (8.16%)				
[ɛ]	140/606 (23.1%)	1.121	0.190	5.913	< 0.001 ***
[ɔ]	47/320 (14.69%)	0.649	0.218	2.977	< 0.01 **
[o]	19/338 (5.62%)	-0.385	0.279	-1.380	0.168
[i]	19/820 (2.32%)	-1.370	0.276	-4.968	< 0.001 ***
[u]	2/215 (0.93%)	-2.162	0.727	-2.975	< 0.01 **
<b>Following Segment</b>					
Coronal (baseline)	151/1670 (9.04%)				
Pause	112/810 (13.83%)	0.097	0.165	0.587	0.557
Labial + Dorsal	18/481 (3.74%)	-0.934	0.263	-3.545	< 0.001 ***
<b>Gender</b>					
Woman (baseline)	89/1590 (5.60%)				
Man	192/1371 (14%)	0.678	0.153	4.446	< 0.001 ***
<b>Age Group</b>					
35-59 (baseline)	199/1580 (12.59%)				
60+	82/1381 (5.94%)	-0.634	0.157	-4.043	< 0.001 ***

Model: (INGLIDING ~ NUCLEAR.VOWEL + FOLLOWING.SEGMENT + GENDER + AGE.GROUP + (1|SPEAKER) + (1|LEXICAL.ITEM))

Source: the author.

The model presented in Table 4 gathers linguistic variables that are correlated with ingilding in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample<sup>15</sup>. In addition to these, stressed monosyllables favor ingilding. Regarding social variables, Age Group and Gender are correlated with ingilding, which is favored by 35-59 year-olds and by men in general<sup>16</sup>. Considering that ingilding is a manifestation of someone who is *crazy* or a *transgressor*, as the results of the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample point out, it is plausible that it is favored by men. Although many of the frequent Bom Fim neighborhood visitors may have the intention of subverting gender expectations, the subversion of masculine domination (BOURDIEU, 2012 [1998]), which restricts female participation to certain spaces and makes it easier for men to adopt a *free* and *transgressive* stance, is slow.

<sup>15</sup> This refers to the Nuclear Vowel and Following Segment variables. The Preceding Segment, presenting a pause as a favoring factor, was correlated with ingilding only in the sample of 24 LínguaPOA speakers.

<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy that all speakers of the social profile that favors ingilding also have higher education levels and are in the A/B1 socioeconomic stratum, which means that the interpretation of the data should consider these characteristics.

The subsample's rate of application is 9.5%, which is between the rate of the LínguaPOA 24 speaker sample and the rate of the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample. What the results show, in short, is that ingliding is mainly produced by men and 35-49 year-olds who have higher education levels and are in a high socioeconomic stratum. With these results, the following questions arise: What do speakers who produce more inglided vowels have in common? Does it make sense to group them together? For what purposes is ingliding produced?

Answering these questions implies investigating which other stylistic resources, in addition to ingliding, are used by social agents to construct *personae* and lifestyles. This is possible, in the LínguaPOA sample, through the systematic stylistic practices analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews of those who most frequently produce the centring diphthong: the 6 speakers who have a rate of application greater than 10% and at least twice the rate of application of the other speakers in the subsample were selected. Based on the practices declared by the speakers who produce more inglided vowels, it is possible to organize them into two groups, here denominated Group A and Group B. The characteristics and attitudes shared by the different social agents in each of the groups can be systematized as follows:

**Group A** [speakers 1, 3, 14, 23]: main circulation in the city's Central Zone; cultural practices associated with the Central area; traveling inside the city mainly on foot; security is not the only/main problem in the city, increasing the number of police officers alone does not bring about changes; plenty of internet use, cable TV consumption (movies and series, cultural programs); in favor of drug legalization/non-negative view of marijuana; mention of left-wing politicians as good examples.<sup>17</sup>

**Group B** [speakers 8, 20]: main circulation away from the city's Central Zone; doing sports linked to the waterfront; traveling mainly by car in the city; security is the city's main problem, increasing the police force is necessary; plenty of internet use (but with reservations about overexposure and the virtual world), consumption of cable TV (sports programs) and radio; against drug legalization/negative view of all drugs; difficulty in mentioning good examples of politicians.<sup>18</sup>

(OLIVEIRA, 2018, p. 195)

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17 Original text: "Grupo A [informantes 1, 3, 14, 23]: circulação principal no centro da cidade; práticas culturais associadas ao centro; circulação principalmente a pé na cidade; segurança não é o único/principal problema da cidade, aumentar o efetivo policial por si só não proporciona mudanças; bastante uso da internet, consumo de TV a cabo (filmes e séries, programas culturais); posição favorável à legalização das drogas/visão não negativa da maconha; menção a políticos de partidos de esquerda como bons exemplos".

18 Original text: "Grupo B [informantes 8, 20]: circulação principal longe do centro da cidade; práticas esportivas atreladas à orla; circulação principalmente de carro na cidade; segurança é o principal problema da cidade, aumentar o efetivo policial se faz necessário; bastante uso da internet (mas com ressalvas à superexposição e ao mundo virtual), consumo de TV a cabo (programas esportivos) e de rádio; posição desfavorável à legalização das drogas/visão negativa de todas as drogas; dificuldade em mencionar bons exemplos de políticos".

As shown, Group A speaker practices are related to those found among the participants of the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample who produce more inglided vowels. Even if they are not artists, Group A speakers can construct *personae* similar to those of the 1980s and gather cultural capital using the diphthong variant. Therefore, it is assumed that the meanings attributed to ingliding by members of the post-modern clubs in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample are similar to the meanings attributed by Group A members. However, the practices and stances of Group B speakers indicate that the social meanings of ingliding do not seem to be the same.

On the one hand, speaking with ingliding can refer to media-speaking itself, without necessarily recovering the indexical history of those who participated in the youth movement of the 1980s. On the other hand, if stylistic movements are ideological movements, it is possible that there is coherence between the different indexical fields of potential social meanings for ingliding between Group A and Group B.

A first similarity between the groups concerns, in general, their tastes. After all, neither the taste for cultural practices, from Group A, nor the taste for sports, from Group B, are tastes of necessity (BOURDIEU, 2015 [1979/1982]), which marks the social agents of both groups as having relatively higher positions in the social space. In addition, out of the 6 speakers who produce more ingliding, two are teachers and two are salespeople, both occupations that require professionals to be familiar with talking to strangers or to large audiences, whether to teach a class or to make a sale. These agents need to develop strategies to talk in front of different people, which also brings them closer to the participants in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim*. It is possible, therefore, that ingliding gathers social capital and indexes *sociability*.

Another aspect in common between the speakers' practices organized into Group A and Group B is observed in their way of marking themselves as ideologically distant from the same neighborhood, Moinhos de Vento, a region of Porto Alegre with high economic rates that is understood by the speakers to be a place for the elite. In this regard, the informants state:

I've always enjoyed going to [the] Cidade Baixa [neighborhood] (...) I've always disliked this area here [region where the interview was conducted, the Moinhos de Vento neighborhood], it was often called after *patricinhas*<sup>19</sup> or more elitist, like, I thought it was so square, like. So, I've always enjoyed a lot, I lived in the Centro Histórico neighborhood, I lived on Fernando Machado Street for 7 years, and I was always in Cidade Baixa (...) <sup>20</sup>

(SPEAKER 14 – Group A)

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19 The term *patricinhas* refers to rich/upper-class girls who are generally concerned about fashion.

20 Original quote: “Eu sempre gostei de sair na Cidade Baixa [...] Eu sempre desgostei muito dessa área aqui [região onde foi feita a entrevista, Moinhos de Vento] mais chamada de patricinhas ou mais elitizada, assim, achava muito careta, assim. Então eu sempre gostei muito, eu morava no Centro, morei sete anos na Fernando Machado, e vivia na Cidade Baixa [...]”.

The South Zone is like this (...) it looks just like a beach, but it's not [a beach], (...) It's very common for you to go to a restaurant in the South Zone and find people wearing shorts, t-shirts, on the weekends... So... flip-flops. Something that in some neighborhoods in Porto Alegre, for example the Moinhos de Vento neighborhood, you won't find, there you'll see people dressed up as if they were going to... So, there they have more of a laid-back energy, a younger energy, so to speak. I think that the South Zone has that.<sup>21</sup>  
(SPEAKER 20 – Group B)

When indicating the areas that they like the most in the city, the Central Zone, for speaker 14, and the South Zone, for speaker 20, both contrast these places to the Moinhos de Vento neighborhood, understood as *square*. It seems that Group A speakers express significant differences between being *cool* and *square*, and, along with those who were part of the 1980s movement, they can index the meanings of *transgressor*, *crazy*, and even *stoner* to ingliding. Group B speakers, on the other hand, mark themselves as *laid-back*, as opposed to *well-dressed*, and may also index *sportsperson* and *beach lover* meanings to ingliding, considering their recurrent mention of the Guaíba Lake waterfront, the beach and sports. From the analysis carried out, it can be inferred that Group A, Group B and the frequent Bom Fim visitors who produce more inglided vowels construct lifestyles and *personae* who are similarly opposed to a *formal, uptight or snobbish* elite.

### Final remarks

The results presented in this study indicate that ingliding, which occurs in a context of prosodic prominence in the intonational phrase, is favored by open-mid vowels and disfavored by following labial and dorsal segments. This may mean that the process, which arises from the nuclear vowel itself (DONEGAN, 1978), tends to occur in contexts that have longer intrinsic duration (LEHISTE, 1970). The process occurs more frequently in the *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim* sample (15.5%) than in the LínguaPOA sample (5%), which suggests that participants of the 1980s youth movement, frequent Bom Fim neighborhood visitors, can be taken as cultural models (GAL, 2016) that construct post-modern (SILVA, 1991, 2007) lifestyles with ingliding and *cool, crazy* and *transgressive personae*.

In the LínguaPOA sample, the speakers who produce more inglided vowels, favored by men and by the intermediate age group, occupy higher positions in the social space, share class *habitus* and are not limited to the taste of necessity (BOURDIEU, 2015 [1979/1982]). The speakers who produce ingliding the most can be organized into two groups due to the similarities and differences between their reported social practices, one of which is more affiliated with the

21 Original quote: “A Zona Sul é isso [...] parece praia, e não sendo. [...] É mais comum tu ir pra um restaurante da Zona Sul e ver as pessoas de bermuda, camiseta, no final de semana... Então assim... chinelo. Coisa que em alguns bairros de Porto Alegre, por exemplo, Moinhos de Vento, tu não vai ver, tu vai ver as pessoas arrumadas como se tivessem indo... Então lá tem um ar mais despojado e um ar mais jovem, assim, acho que a Zona Sul tem isso”.



style of the post-modern youth of the 1980s. Similarly, the two groups can be associated with *cool, laid-back, and relaxed* traits, and are opposed to a *formal, uptight or snobbish* elite.

The social meanings of ingliding inferred from the practices reported by the social agents who use it revolve around a sense of *freedom*, which is both financial, considering the places that ingliding producers occupy in the social space, as well as stylistic. This *freedom* associated with the production of the centring diphthong is shown even in the dispositions of bodily *hexis* as an embodied lifestyle (BOURDIEU, 2008 [1982]). Through this perspective, the articulatory relaxation that creates the centring diphthongs must be related to bodily relaxation, something that can be observed qualitatively in the speakers who produce more inglided vowels in the documentary *Filme Sobre um Bom Fim*.

These findings broaden the horizons of ingliding research and highlight the importance of addressing embodiment, an aspect that, according to Podesva (2015), should be incorporated into linguistic variation studies. In addition, future research may run linguistic perception and evaluation tests with residents from Porto Alegre and from other Brazilian cities to compare production and perception results and to propose indexical field representations to the centring diphthong.

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