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Especial

Sumário

PRESENTATION

We are very happy for publishing this special issue, linked to the international cooperation project "Voices and Writings in the Different Spaces of the Portuguese Language", developed by the Postgraduate Program in Vernacular Letters within the scope of CAPES-PrInt. It consists of fourteen articles written by researchers from five Brazilian and nine foreign institutions – located in Germany, China, Spain, United States of America and Portugal.

The diversity of themes reflects the dynamism, integration and, at the same time, the significant increase in the number of researches on the varieties of the Portuguese language and the multiple manifestations of poetry and prose produced in the Lusophone world. Thus, this volume comprehends two major axes: the first dedicated to literary studies, and the second to linguistic studies.

Maria das Graças Salgado (Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro), in her article *Gender and exile emotion: Evelyn Scott's Brazilian experience*, examines issues of gender and emotion in Evelyn Scott's autobiographical account of her Brazilian self-exile (1914-1919). From the concepts of Critical Analysis of Discourse, Anthropology of Emotions, gender studies, and exile studies, the essayist concludes that exile was especially painful for the US author, which contributed to gender and emotion becoming crucial aspects of her experience as a woman and writer.

Emotion is seen as strategic in the literature of two Galician novelists in the article, by Dolores Vilavedra (University of Santiago de Compostela), *Towards a cosmopolitan historical memory? Transnationalisation and emotions in contemporary female Galician authors*. The essay focuses on texts written by Rosa Aneiros and Inma López Silva, highlighting how the literature of these authors contributes to reduce the overexploitation of the Spanish Civil War as a theme. Moreover, Vilavedra shows that the moral and political potential of such novels has not yet received the deserved attention.

The text *The Portuguese colonial press and the Estado Novo*, by Sandra Souza (University

of Central Florida), proposes to discuss the *Boletim Geral das Colónias* and the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* as informative vehicles on the field of art and literature during the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Thus, it investigates, among other aspects, the integration of a space dedicated to literary and cultural dissemination, the advantages of this type of dissemination in the Portuguese colonial space, and how this space contributed to the construction of a cultural imaginary about the colonies and about the colonizer.

In *The local-global novel*, Chloe Manchester Hill (Brown University) discusses the effects of global disasters on literary works. These events contribute to the "phenomenal world" of individuals – a hypothesis proven in the analysis of the characters of three novels by Michel Laub. The essayist adds the local modifier, seeking to understand the nature of world literature in the 21st century. Naming a novel as local-global complicates the notion of nation as imagined community by adopting the world as a community in which individuals, and their narratives, can be viewed as singular-plural.

Based on David Harvey's discussion of neoliberalism and urban space and Neil Smith's notion of gentrification, Katia Costa Bezerra (University of Arizona), in the article *A casa cai: unveiling geographies of exclusion and violence*, explores the ways in which the novel *A casa cai*, by Marcelo Backes, brings up issues of urban politics, displacement, violence and memory. In doing so, the novel seeks to uncover the intimate relationship between capital, *favelas* eradication programs, and issues of inequality and discrimination. The author concludes that the novel is part of a broader debate on the struggle between social justice and the reproduction of capital, integrating a revisionist project that brings out other facets of the military dictatorship in Brazil.

Lidiana de Moraes (University of Miami), in her article *Sowing women, harvesting a nation: rethinking Mozambican female discourses in Paulina Chiziane's Niketche: a story of polygamy*, shows how Chiziane reinvents what it means to be a Mozambican woman and how she subverts the dominant national sociopolitical structure that denies the fundamental participation of women in building a self-governing country. Niketche explores and goes beyond the limitations imposed on women by society, serving as an embodiment of Mozambican decolonization. If Chiziane's protagonist imagines herself as an independent woman, Mozambique must re-examine and reconstruct itself as independent from Portugal.

Fernanda Oliveira da Silva and Maria Teresa Salgado Guimarães da Silva (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) also analyze *Niketche: a story of polygamy*, by Paulina Chiziane. Based on the theories of Spivak, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, the authors show that Chiziane knows that there is no space for the feminine being to speak and be heard and, therefore, she writes her narrative starred and told by a woman, in a strictly patriarchal society. Through the use of popular sayings, oral knowledge and proverbs, women assume a prominent position, conquer a place of speech, preserve the oral tradition and value African culture.

Eliete Figueira Batista da Silveira, Márcia dos Santos Machado Vieira e Danielle Kely Gomes

Christian Mascarenhas (State University of Campinas) addresses the sacred and the profane in *Anchieta's writing – sacred and profane in Portuguese America*. Based on the reading of Anchieta's theatrical work supported by a historical, political and religious contextualization, the author defends the hypothesis that the records of Father Anchieta had a humanizing character, through which it was possible to provoke an awakening of conscience (at least religious) in his public. From the analysis of his plays and aiming to have an honest look at his production, the article seeks to show that, more than just a counter-reformist anticipation or form of cultural aggression, his literature shows itself, in some respects, humanizing and, by Ignatian molds, giver meaning.

In his article *Obscene voices in eighteenth-century Portuguese poetry*, Fernando Matos Oliveira (University of Coimbra) presents a re-reading of the obscene verse in Portugal in the second half of the 18th century. The aim is to integrate the poetics of the obscene not only into the classical heritage but also to understand this unique production in the broad context of the social and cultural uses of the verse. This line of interpretation also situates obscene poetry in two converging contexts: on the one hand, this writing occurs at a time when the modern concept of lyrical poetry itself, as an expressive and subjective capital, was being formed; on the other hand, the obscene relates to the protocols of truth and concealment promoted by the secular process opened by the Enlightenment, and thus having a profound relationship with the transformations that occurred in Portuguese society in the last decades of the 18th century.

Ana Teresinha Elicker, Rosemari Lorenz Martins e Viviane Cristina de Mattos Battistello (Feevale University), in their article *The Little Yellow Cap: an inclusive pedagogical proposal*, talk about a pedagogical practice in a third-year primary school class. Through the action research methodology, the authors develop a social and cultural study, proposing practical activities to teach literacy within an inclusive education perspective. In this way, they attempt a teaching technique connected with the demands of social practices that everyday life demands. For this purpose, the story "The Yellow Riding Hood", by Chico Buarque, was adapted in order to eliminate any obstacle that could limit the learning and participation of all students in the educational process.

In a critical analysis of the education system, Manuel Duarte João Pires (Sun Yat-sen University), in his text *Gaokao: far more than an exam*, carries out his research, based on a review of the current literature on the evaluation system in China. In this sense, he conducted interviews with Portuguese students at Sun Yat-sen University, located in the province of Canton, to assess the influence of the set of tests called Gaokao on the profile of Chinese students. The demands of Gaokao have an enormous influence on the social and academic profile of university students and shape the way Chinese students view the school and university. The author concludes that, in the short term, it seems difficult to change the weight of Gaokao in Chinese schooling due to issues related to population density, teaching methods, and socio-cultural issues.

In the article *Eurasian dynamics and paradoxes of their hybridity in Southern China*,

Maria Célia Lima-Hernandes (University of São Paulo) and Roberval Teixeira e Silva (University of Macau) discuss linguistic identities in Macau, considering some data collected in the *Macao Historical Archives*. The authors assume that the Macanese communities have aligned themselves over time until 1999, building a hybrid identity in their social actions. As a result, it became evident that the paradoxes Yin and Yang for explaining the movements of change in languages proved to be auxiliary to the understanding of movements of hybrid communities.

Revisiting the theme of the origins of Brazilian Portuguese, *The Portuguese language in Brazil: multiple peoples, multiple forms*, by Luciane Scarato (University of Colonia), analyzes the role of the Amerindian, African and Portuguese peoples in the formation and dissemination of the Portuguese language in Brazil from an interdisciplinary perspective. From secondary and primary sources, the text proposes that the dissemination and consolidation of the Portuguese language depended on the action of missionaries, the population, and colonial symbolic practices. Moreover, the predominance of the Portuguese language in Brazil did not prevent it from being deeply interconnected with indigenous and African languages. These languages formed a multilingual society, being largely responsible for the differentiation between European and Brazilian Portuguese.

The article *Ambiguity of projection and Chomskyan adjunction as a formal way of approaching predication in small clauses and secondary predication*, by Marcos Barbosa Carreira (Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa), focuses on the syntax of predication relations in predicative constructions, such as secondary predication and constructions of small clauses. Among the objectives, it is intended to present a formal and unified approach to the grammar of different types of predication, especially emphasizing cases of small clauses and secondary predication. The article presents new data that challenge classical analyses, providing a unified account for different types of predication.

As can be inferred from the syntheses presented above, the investigations that gave rise to the articles clearly indicate the existence of an extremely fertile field, which deserves more and more prominence in the national and international scenario. Finally, we highlight the potential of this issue to foster exchanges between the various research centers involved.

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APRESENTAÇÃO

É com grande alegria que lançamos esta edição especial, vinculada ao projeto em cooperação internacional "Vozes e escritas nos diferentes espaços da língua portuguesa", desenvolvido pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras Vernáculas no âmbito do CAPES-PrInt. Trata-se de catorze artigos inéditos, escritos por pesquisadores de cinco instituições brasileiras e nove estrangeiras – distribuídas por Alemanha, China, Espanha, Estados Unidos e Portugal.

A diversidade temática reflete o dinamismo, a integração e, ao mesmo tempo, o significativo crescimento do número de pesquisas sobre as variedades da língua portuguesa e as múltiplas manifestações da poesia e da prosa produzidas no mundo lusófono. Assim, este volume se divide em dois grandes eixos: o primeiro dedicado aos estudos literários, e o segundo, aos estudos linguísticos.

Maria das Graças Salgado (Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro), em seu artigo *Gênero e emoção no exílio: a experiência brasileira de Evelyn Scott*, examina o relato autobiográfico de Evelyn Scott sobre seu autoexílio brasileiro (1914-1919). A partir de conceitos da Análise Crítica do Discurso, da Antropologia das Emoções, dos estudos de gênero e dos estudos sobre exílio, conclui que o exílio foi especialmente doloroso para a autora estadunidense, o que contribuiu para que gênero e emoção se tornassem aspectos cruciais para sua experiência como mulher e escritora.

A emoção é vista como estratégica na literatura de escritoras galegas por Dolores Vilavedra (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela) em seu artigo *Towards a cosmopolitan historical memory? Transnationalisation and emotions in contemporary female galician authors*. O texto enfoca as obras de Rosa Aneiros e Inma López Silva, ressaltando como a literatura das duas escritoras contribui para reduzir o excesso de exploração temática da Guerra Civil Espanhola. Além disso, Vilavedra mostra que o potencial moral e político de tais romances ainda não recebeu a devida atenção.

O texto *The Portuguese colonial press and the Estado Novo*, de Sandra Souza (Universidade

da Flórida Central) propõe-se a discutir o *Boletim Geral das Colónias* e o *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* como veículos informativos sobre o campo da arte e das letras durante o Império Colonial Português. Desse modo, investiga, entre outros aspectos, a integração de um espaço dedicado à divulgação literária e cultural, as vantagens desse tipo de divulgação no espaço colonial português, e como esse espaço contribuiu para a construção de um imaginário cultural sobre as colônias e sobre Portugal colonizador.

Em *The local-global novel*, Chloe Manchester Hill (Universidade de Brown) discute os efeitos de catástrofes globais nas obras literárias. Esses eventos contribuem para o "mundo fenomenal" dos indivíduos – hipótese comprovada na análise dos personagens de três romances de Michel Laub. A ensaísta acrescenta o modificador *local*, na busca de entender a natureza da literatura mundial no século XXI. Dizer que um romance é *local-global* complica a noção de nação enquanto comunidade imaginada, ao adotar o mundo como comunidade em que indivíduos, e suas narrativas, podem ser vistos como *singular-plural*.

Com base na discussão de David Harvey sobre o neoliberalismo e o espaço urbano e a noção de gentrificação de Neil Smith, Katia Costa Bezerra (Universidade do Arizona), no artigo *A casa cai*: *unveiling geographies of exclusion and violence*, explora as formas como o romance *A casa cai*, de Marcelo Backes, traz à tona questões relativas a políticas urbanas, deslocamento, violência e memória. Ao fazer isso, a narrativa procura desvendar a relação entre capital, programas de erradicação das favelas e questões de desigualdade e discriminação. A autora conclui que o romance é parte de um debate mais amplo em torno da luta entre justiça social e reprodução do capital, da mesma forma que integra um projeto revisionista que procura expor outras facetas da ditadura militar no Brasil.

Lidiana de Moraes (Universidade de Miami), em seu artigo *Sowing women, harvesting a nation: rethinking Mozambican female discourses in Paulina Chiziane's Niketche: uma história de poligamia*, mostra como Chiziane reinventa o que significa ser uma mulher moçambicana e subverte a estrutura sociopolítica nacional dominante, que nega a participação fundamental das mulheres na construção de um país autogovernado. Niketche explora e rompe as limitações impostas às mulheres pela sociedade, servindo como personificação da descolonização moçambicana. Se a protagonista de Chiziane se imagina uma mulher independente, Moçambique deve se reexaminar e se reconstruir como independente de Portugal.

Fernanda Oliveira da Silva e Maria Teresa Salgado Guimarães da Silva (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro) também analisam *Niketche: uma história de poligamia*, de Paulina Chiziane. Baseadas nas teorias de Spivak, Sandra Gilbert e Susan Gubar, identificam que Chiziane nota que não há para o ser feminino um espaço onde possa falar e ser ouvido, por isso escreve uma narrativa protagonizada e contada por uma mulher, numa sociedade estritamente patriarcal. Mediante o uso de ditos populares, saberes orais e provérbios, as mulheres assumem uma posição de destaque, ganham lugar de fala, preservam a tradição oral e valorizam a cultura africana.

Christian Mascarenhas (Universidade Estadual de Campinas) aborda o sagrado e o profano no artigo *Anchieta's writing – sacred and profane in Portuguese America*. Com base na leitura da obra teatral do Padre José de Anchieta amparada por uma contextualização histórica, política e religiosa, o autor defende a hipótese de que os autos do jesuíta espanhol tinham um caráter humanizador, por meio do qual era possível provocar um despertar de consciência (ao menos religiosa) em seu público. A partir da análise de seus escritos teatrais e buscando um olhar honesto sobre sua produção, o presente artigo procura mostrar que, mais do que apenas uma antecipação da Contrarreforma ou forma de agressão cultural, sua literatura mostra-se, em certos aspectos, humanizadora (na leitura da época) e, pelos moldes inacianos, doadora de sentido.

No artigo *Obscene voices in eighteenth-century Portuguese poetry*, Fernando Matos Oliveira (Universidade de Coimbra) apresenta uma releitura do verso obsceno em Portugal na segunda metade do século XVIII. A ideia é não apenas integrar a poética do obsceno à herança clássica, mas também compreender essa produção singular, durante muito tempo secundarizada pela academia, no contexto amplo dos usos sociais e culturais do verso. Esta linha de interpretação situa ainda a poesia obscena em dois contextos convergentes: por um lado, ocorre num momento em que o próprio conceito moderno de poesia lírica, enquanto capital expressivo e subjetivo, estava em formação; por outro lado, o obsceno relaciona-se com os protocolos de verdade e de desocultação promovidos pelo processo secular aberto pelo Iluminismo, tendo assim uma relação profunda com as transformações que ocorrem na sociedade portuguesa nas últimas décadas do século XVIII.

Voltando sua pesquisa para o ensino, Ana Teresinha Elicker, Viviane Cristina de Mattos Battistello e Rosemari Lorenz Martins (Universidade Feevale), em *The Little Yellow Cap: an inclusive pedagogical proposal*, discorrem sobre uma prática pedagógica em turma do terceiro ano do Ensino Fundamental. Por meio da metodologia pesquisa-ação, empreendem um estudo de cunho social e cultural, desenvolvendo atividades práticas para alfabetizar letrando dentro de uma perspectiva de educação inclusiva. Dessa forma, intentam um ensino conectado com as demandas de práticas sociais que o cotidiano exige. Nesse sentido, adaptaram o conto "O Chapeuzinho Amarelo", de Chico Buarque, de forma a eliminar qualquer obstáculo que pudesse limitar a aprendizagem e a participação de todos os alunos no processo educativo.

Numa análise crítica do sistema de educação, Manuel Duarte João Pires (Universidade de Sun Yat-sen) expõe, em *Gaokao: far more than an exam*, a pesquisa que realiza, com base na revisão da literatura atual, sobre o sistema de avaliação da China. Para isso, empreende entrevistas com estudantes de Português da Universidade de Sun-Yat-sen, situada na província de Cantão, para avaliar a influência do conjunto de exames denominado *gaokao* no perfil dos estudantes chineses. As exigências do *gaokao* têm uma influência enorme no perfil social e acadêmico dos universitários e moldam a forma de os alunos encararem a escola e a universidade. O autor conclui que, a curto prazo, parece difícil mudar o peso do *gaokao* na escolaridade chinesa devido a questões relacionadas com a densidade populacional, os métodos de ensino e os traços socioculturais.

No artigo *Eurasian dynamics and paradoxes of their hybridity in Southern China*, Maria Célia Lima-Hernandes (Universidade de São Paulo) e Roberval Teixeira e Silva (Universidade de Macau) discutem as identidades linguísticas em Macau, considerando alguns dados coletados no *Arquivo Histórico de Macau*. Os autores partem do pressuposto de que as comunidades macaenses alinharam-se ao longo do tempo até 1999, construindo uma identidade híbrida em suas práticas sociais. Como resultado, ficou evidente que os paradoxos Yin e Yang para explicar os movimentos de mudança nas línguas revelam-se auxiliares para a compreensão de movimentos de comunidades híbridas.

Voltando-se para as origens do português do Brasil, *The Portuguese language in Brazil: multiple peoples, multiple forms*, de Luciane Scarato (Universidade de Colônia), analisa o papel dos povos ameríndios, africanos e dos portugueses na formação e disseminação da língua portuguesa no Brasil sob uma ótica interdisciplinar. A partir de fontes secundárias e primárias, o texto propõe que a disseminação e a consolidação da língua portuguesa dependeram da ação de missionários, da população e de práticas coloniais simbólicas. Além disso, a predominância da língua portuguesa no Brasil não a impediu de estar profundamente interligada às línguas indígenas e africanas. Estas línguas formavam uma sociedade multilíngue, sendo amplamente responsáveis pela diferenciação entre o português europeu e o brasileiro.

O artigo *Ambiguity of projection and Chomskyan adjunction as a formal way of approaching predication in small clauses and secondary predication*, de Marcos Barbosa Carreira (Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa), enfoca a sintaxe das relações de predicação em construções predicativas, como a predicação secundária e construções de *small clauses*. Oferece uma abordagem formal e unificada da gramática de diferentes tipos de predicação, enfatizando especialmente casos de *small clauses* e predicação secundária. Apresenta dados que desafiam as análises clássicas, fornecendo uma conta unificada para diferentes tipos de predicação.

Como se pode depreender das sínteses acima, as pesquisas das quais provêm os textos indicam claramente um campo fértil, motivo pelo qual merece cada vez mais destaque no cenário nacional e internacional. Ressalte-se, por fim, o potencial desta edição para fomentar o intercâmbio entre os diversos centros de investigação envolvidos.

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GENDER AND EMOTION IN EXILE: EVELYN SCOTT'S BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE

GÊNERO E EMOÇÃO NO EXÍLIO: A EXPERIÊNCIA BRASILEIRA DE EVELYN SCOTT

Maria das Graças Salgado[1]

ABSTRACT

In late 1913, the American writer Evelyn Scott eloped with Cyril Kay-Scott, a well-known physician who was, then, married, father of four, and more than twice her senior. Without passports, taking with them very little money, the couple fled first from New Orleans to New York, then to London, finally to Brazil, where they eventually faced poverty, starvation, and almost complete isolation in the backlands of Bahia. Using concepts derived from Critical Discourse Analysis, Anthropology of Emotions, Gender Studies, and Exile Studies, this work aims to examine issues of gender and emotion in Evelyn Scott's autobiographical account of her Brazilian self-imposed exile which extended from 1914 to 1919. The analysis is based on her autobiography *Escapade* (1923) and on part of Cyril Kay-Scott's *Life is too short* (1943). Results indicate that, although the couple suffered a great deal in exile, the experience proved to be particularly painful for Evelyn Scott, who did not speak a word of Portuguese. Besides, she was pregnant and had to go through a difficult childbirth in the outskirts of the city of Natal. The entire context contributed to make gender and emotion crucial aspects for Evelyn Scott's experience both as a woman and as a writer.

KEYWORDS: Evelyn Scott; Cyril Kay-Scott; discourse; gender; emotion; exile

RESUMO

No final de 1913, a escritora americana Evelyn Scott fugiu com Cyril Kay-Scott, um renomado médico que, à época, era casado, pai de quatro filhos e tinha mais que o dobro da idade dela. Sem passaportes, levando muito pouco dinheiro no bolso, o casal, primeiro fugiu de Nova

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1 Professora Associada de Inglês do Departamento de Letras e Comunicação da Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro.

Orleans para Nova York, em seguida, para Londres e, finalmente, para o Brasil, onde acabaram enfrentando pobreza, fome e isolamento no sertão da Bahia. Usando conceitos emprestados da Análise Crítica do Discurso, da Antropologia das Emoções, dos estudos de gênero e dos estudos sobre exílio, este trabalho objetiva examinar questões de gênero e de emoção no relato autobiográfico de Evelyn Scott sobre seu auto-imposto exílio brasileiro, que se estendeu de 1914 a 1919. A análise tem como base a autobiografia da autora intitulada *Escapade* (1923) e parte da autobiografia de Cyril Kay-Scott, *Life is too short* (1943). Resultados indicam que, embora o casal tenha sofrido muito no exílio, a experiência se mostrou particularmente dolorosa para Evelyn Scott, que não falava uma palavra do português. Além disso, ela estava grávida e teve que enfrentar um parto difícil na periferia da cidade de Natal. Esse contexto como um todo contribuiu para fazer com que gênero e emoção se tornassem aspectos cruciais para a experiência de Evelyn Scott, tanto como mulher quanto como escritora.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Evelyn Scott; Cyril Kay-Scott; discurso; gênero; emoção; exílio

Introduction

The American writer Evelyn Scott was born Elsie Dunn (1893-1963) in the small city of Clarksville, Tennessee. She was the only child of Seely and Maude Thomas Dunn, two exemplars of a typical Southern aristocratic family who owned tobacco plantation. At the age of 19, still legally a minor in those days, she fled as lover of Cyril Kay-Scott, who was born Frederick Creighton Wellman (1874-1960) in Independence, Missouri. Cyril did not have the same aristocratic background as Evelyn Scott, but he also belonged to a prosperous family whose members belonged to the railroad business.

From the very beginning the Scott's story was affected by discrepancies that would count against them for the rest of their lives, notably Evelyn's age and Cyril's marital status. When they first met Cyril was not only married, father of four, and more than twice her senior, but also a well known physician, researcher, and Dean of the School of Tropical Medicine at Tulane University, one of the most prestigious educational institutions (CALLARD, 1985, p. 1-2). It was against this conflicting background that they fell in love and, in 1913, eloped from the United States in search of a completely unknown future in Brazil. In different periods of their lives, both of them wrote powerful autobiographical accounts of their tropical adventure. Evelyn wrote the first draft of her autobiography while they were still living in Brazil. Cyrill, on the other hand, wrote his twenty years later.

Scholars and biographers (BACH, 1989, p. 76-91; JONES, 2001; WHITE, 1998; CALLARD, 1985; WELKER, 1958; SCURA, 1995) have pointed out that Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scott's romance began and developed under a complex emotional context in which feelings of hatred, persecution, and revenge emerged from two main sources: Cyril's ex-wife, who refused to be replaced by a younger woman while losing her marital status; and Evelyn's parents, who refused to lose their only child in a social scandal that would become a police case. The scandal became so out of proportion that they decided to adopt false identities in order to

ran away from their hometown. Their itinerary included first a one-night stay in New York, then London. Once in London, for fear of being found by the police authorities and because they did not have any prospects of securing jobs there, Brazil became a possibility, the country where Cyril believed he could get a proper job.

The affair could have been considered just a major social scandal. However, it had also the ingredients to become a police case, since it involved an older married man travelling with a minor. At the time this kind of action was illegal and could have resulted in the imprisonment of Cyril Kay-Scott.

Considering the relevance of gender and emotion in Evelyn Scott's self-imposed exile, this work aims to investigate the writer's autobiographical discourse drawing from her seminal work *Escapade* (1985 [1923]). As a young woman, who had agreed to share poverty and isolation with an older man in a foreign country, what was her role in such extreme adventure? Carrying aristocratic values, how did she respond to the hardships found in early twentieth-century Brazil? What was the relevance of gender and emotion to her experience and her discourse both as a woman and as a writer? Although this article focuses on *Escapade*, the autobiography of Cyril Kay-Scott, *Life is too short* (1943), proved to be essential for the purpose of the analysis.

The article is thus organized in the following order: In section 1, concepts of discourse, gender, emotion, and exile are presented as the theoretical support. Section 2 contextualizes the method describing the selection of the material and the criteria used for the selection. In section 3, the analysis is developed exploring excerpts taken from the autobiographical works *Escapade*, and *Life is too short*. Finally, some conclusions are drawn, pointing out the importance of further research on the role of gender and emotion for a better understanding of exile experiences of couples in isolation.

Relevant concepts

Discourse

Within Social Sciences, Linguistics in particular, the term discourse has become so familiar that, mistakenly, it has been taken for granted the need to clarify it more accurately. This inaccuracy, however, does not imply a small number of definitions. From Foucault (1972) to Van Dijk (1990), and Fairclough (1989), many scholars have dedicated significant part of their time investigating the complexities involved in the concept of discourse. The problem seems to be more related to the lack of punctuation in adopting the concept within a specific discussion than to a limited number of definitions. In what follows some of the existing definitions available are presented, so that we can point out which one is most appropriate to be used in the present article.

In the early days of descriptive linguistics it was not common for scholars of the area to establish a link between the concept of discourse and that of language use. The saussurean

semiotics separated the individual from the social being, approaching language as an impersonal objet, somehow distant from its meaning (COOK, 1996). Critical to this approach, Bakhtin (1975) highlighted that the individuals did not appear in the social scenery first, isolated from the others, using language to overcome this natural isolation. On the contrary, they existed through the relationship created between them through language. It is by using language that they acquire concret social existence. The individual, says the author, "is only a projection of the encounter between various discourses" (1975, p. 63). Given the weight attributed to language as a social activity Bakhtin was already disseminating the idea of discourse as social practice.

Contemporarily, one of the most prominent representatives of discourse as social practices was Michel Foucault. For the French philosopher, the term discourse should be thought as "[…] practices that form the objects of which they speak. Discourse does not exist per si, it is something that produces something else, be that a concept, an elocution, or an effect" (1972, p. 49). Discourse, as employed by Foucault (1971; 1972) and later adapted to critical discourse analysis ((FOWLER, 1987; FAIRCLOUGH, 1989; KRESS, 1992), refers to discursive formations and the power relations imposed in individuals in social practices. The medical discourse, for example, builds up knowledges and social identities in order to determine the concepts of health and illness. The same applies to other types of discourses.

This kind of approach was influential to a number of scholars coming from different areas of study. Within discursive linguistics particularly interested in his ideas were those who perceived a close relationship between language use, power relations, and political and ideological issues. Following this line of thought and concerned with power relations and the way they influence the production of texts, Fairclough (1992, p. 63) considers discourse a form of social practice as opposed to an individual activity, or as a mere reflex of situational variables. For the author, language is part of the social process. The intimacy that exists between society and language does not allow linguistic phenomena to be separated from society. In that sense linguistic phenomena are social and social phenomena are, in part, linguistic. But, according to Fairclough (1989), this proximity does not imply asymmetry between language and society because "the society is the whole and language is just an element that forms it. Therefore while all linguistic phenomena are social, not all social phenomena are linguistic" (1989, p. 23).

Complementing this social view of discourse but closely connected with cognitive approaches, Van Dijk (1990) argues that, since individuals need a mental representation of power, the relationship between language and society is intermediated by cognitive structures. For the author, it is the construction of cognitive structures that establishes the relationship between society and power, not the objective reality in itself (VAN DIJK, 1990, p. 164). Therefore, discourse meaning should thus include not only verbal and non-verbal observable elements, social interactions, and speech acts, but also cognitive representation and strategies involved during interpretation and production.

> The discourse meaning is a cognitive structure. It makes sense to include in the concept of discourse not only observable verbal and non-verbal elements, or social interactions and speech acts, but also the cognitive representation and strategies involved during the production or comprehension of discourse (1990: 164)

In this paper, the term discourse is used to refer to social practices in which power, culture, and ideology influence the way people use language to act upon each other in specific social contexts. Adopting such approach contributes to better understand the circumstances in which Evelyn Scott's autobiographical discourse was constructed. After all, during her long period of isolation in the backlands of Brazil she had to struggle to express her ideas within a social environment that was hostile to women, especially to young foreigner women. Not surprisingly, in *Escapade,* one can see that issues of gender and emotion emerge as aspects that affect her daily life and, consequently, her writing (discourse) about it.

Next, some gender concepts are described in order to unable us to follow the one most appropriate to our analysis.

Gender

In the 1970´s the perception of language marked by gender gave rise to a wide range of perspectives that tried to account for the role of gender in discourse. The so-called differences´ approach (LAKOFF, 1975) emerged as a landmark of analysis attempting to characterize existing differences between women's and men's language. Later on, the linguistic determinist approach suggested a historical male domination through language, understanding that language would have been planned by men to oppress women (SPENDER, 1980). As expected, alternative views to such approaches emerged. The first reaction came out through what was referred to as integrational approach (CAMERON, 1985). This perspective introduces a "discourse turn" in language and gender studies emphasizing the historical, dynamic and interactive nature of language in use, an approach which requires that "any instance of language or linguistic units be considered in relation to the function they serve in particular situated uses, and [...] that the units themselves not be taken as fixed and immutable" (ECKERT & McCONNELL-GINET, 2003, p. 17). Gender studies then should not concentrate on the correlations between linguistic units and social categories of speakers but rather on analysis of the gendered dimension of ongoing discourse. According to this approach, language should not be separated from other forms of social behavior or from its social context. And linguistic theory should consider questions related to the meaning of language, to the definition of women's and men's language, to the connection between language and reality, and to the relationship between language and social minorities (CAMERON, 1985, p. 47).

Simultaneously to the appearance of the discursive view of language there was a shift in gender studies, which promoted the idea of gender not as an identity that people simply "have"

but as a phenomenon that involves what people "do". Gender therefore should not be taken for granted as something that

> just exist, but as something that is constantly produced, reproduced, and changed through people's performance of gendered acts, as they project their own claimed gendered identities, ratify or challenge other's identities, and in various ways support or challenge systems of gender relations (ECKERT & McCONNELL-GINET, 2003, p. 18).

This "performance turn" is today mostly associated with the influential philosophical approach (BUTLER, 1999). However as early as the 1970's different traditions of sociology and anthropology (GOFFMAN, 1977; McKENNA, 1978) had already pointed out the significance of gender performance. This article supports the idea of gender as historically situated discourse, and also an act that people perform according to the context in which they occur. Bringing both the discursive and the performance turns together contributes to the notion of language and gender as essentially embedded in social practices that involve not just individuals and their individual choices and actions, but also ideological constraints that may shape these individual actions. In that perspective, "gender is not something given, but an achievement. Not cause, but effect" (ECKERT & McCONNELL-GINET, 2003, p. 18).

This kind of approach might help explain all the difficulties faced by Evelyn Scott in her process of adaptation during her long Brazilian exile, where she struggled to survive and have a voice in a completely new male-oriented society. In the next session, some concepts of emotion are presented in order to find the one that best fit our analysis.

Views of Emotion

Within linguistics emotion was initially examined by descriptive linguistics under its grammaticalization rules. When the Prague Linguistic Circle associates pointed out the expressive or emotive function of language as one of its main functions they tried to displace the focus from the referential meaning per se to the meaning that took into account the relationship between language and affect (GÜNTHNER, 1997). However, they did not move forward as to see language as an interactional phenomenon because they still kept too committed to the study of emotion from the starting point of its grammaticalization only. Later on, a new paradigm was introduced by discursive pragmatics, a field of language studies that valued research works focused on the close relationship between language and emotion from the starting point of different context of communication. At that point emotion became a key-element for the study of interaction.

Outside linguistics, though, emotion has been investigated under different theoretical perspectives. The essentialist, the relativist, the historic, and the contextualist are some of the approaches that deserve attention in order to reach an agreement on the view that is more likely to respond the questions raised in the present article.

(i) Essentialism

Influenced by the darwinian evolutionist theory, the essentialist approach conceives emotion as a merely natural phenomenon, intrinsic to all human beings regardless of any external circumstances to them (ABU-LUGHOD & LUTZ, 1990). In that vein, emotion may be understood as an experience that involves a set of basic shared feelings, which supports the idea of pre-existing emotions and inner emotional states common to all human beings. Even acknowledging that culture influences the expression of emotion, in other words, that every culture has its own ways of expressing emotions, the essentialists do not admit the idea of emotion as a socially constructed phenomenon. As a matter of fact, some essentialists got to the point of viewing emotion as just a sensation of the body (LUPTON, 1998).

This perspective was criticised by scholars committed to some sort of cross-cultural analysis (ROSALDO 1984; LUTZ 1988) who saw in the evolutionist movement an attempt to ignore the social role of emotion, emphasizing the dichotomy between emotional as irrational and chaotic in opposition to tought as rational and organized. As an alternative, some scholars suggest a relativist view.

(ii) Relativism

The relativist approach tries to relativize the western idea of naturality and universality of emotions, pointing out that the essence of emotion is culturally variable. Emotion is here viewed as a language phenomenon that modifies social behaviours through the reporting of stories. It is also perceived as a form of symbolic action and embodied thought, since feelings should not be viewed as substances to be found in our body but as social practices organized by stories that we can both tell and represent (ROSALDO, 1984,143). Unlike earlier researches on emotion drawn from ethnopsychology, the relativists approach to emotions stresses "[...] not what culturally variable ideas about emotion can tell us about other "deeper" psychological processes, but rather what implications these ideas have for social behaviour and social relations" (ABU-LUGHOD & LUTZ, 1990, p. 4).

In relativizing emotion and thought the relativists assume that emotion is culturally shaped. They thus contributed to the disarticulation of the excessively psychological paradigm of emotion that has prevailed in modern psychology. But they have also been criticized by those who claim that the relativist approach has ignored the role of history as a major aspect to understand the complexities involved in the experience of emotion as a historically situated phenomenon.

(iii) Historicism

According to those interested in emotions as sociocultural phenomena, a strategy to face the limitations of the strictly relativist approach is to historicize emotion. In that perspective, discourses on emotion, subjectivity, and the self should be examined over the time, looking at them taking into account particular social situations and historical moments, and observing if they have changed.

While the historical oriented researchers have shown great potential to expand they still have a long way ahead, since the amount of studies in that area is still small. In any case, some of them have focused on the history of formal and informal theories of emotions in the West (CANCIAN, 1987), and others have investigated the destiny of specific emotions (STEARNS and STEARNS, 1986).

For Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990), a major contribution for the historical approach is the research carried out by Elias (1978 [1a ed. 1939]), who, based on the Reading of etiquette manuals, has shown that significant part of the transformations of affective life in Europe took place during the absolutist state. One of these transformations, for the author, is "an expansion of the contexts in which disgust occurs and a diminution of aggressive affect or behaviour".

While acknowledging Elias' work as a contribution to open the debate about the types of changes that have occured in one historical setting, Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990) have also criticized him: "That he calls this "civilizing process" is symptomatic of his uncritical interpretation of these changes as involving a refinement of a somehow preexisting affectivity, a position that many anthropologists would regard with skepticism" (1990, p. 5).

They mention other scholars who have investigated the disappearance or social shift of various emotions, and also the manipulation of emotional discourses for political and state purposes. Sadness, for example, has called the attention of many scholars interested in historical approach. The case of melancholy and accidie, important during medieval times, have been traced in the contemporary period (JACKSON, 1985). Sontag (1977) studied melancholy for the nineteenth-century Romantic movement, suggesting that this kind of emotion was viewed as a sign of refinement that promoted individuality within that context. Radden (1987), still looking at the same emotion, points out that, in the past, melancholy was primarily a male complaint, which, at the time, was at least in part socially valorized. He also studied the emotional experience of depression and observed that the modern discourse on depression places women as the ones who mostly carry it. Good & Good (1988) investigate how the Islamic State, today more than ever, organizes both public and private emotional discourses. For them, the Islamic State has transformed the public discourse of sadness and grief, which represented important feelings for social ritualistic purposes, into strict loyalty for the state.

Finally, Abu-Lughod & Lutz (*op.cit*) reminds us of the referential work by Foucault

(1978) on the importance of confessions as the *locus* of social control and production of the twentieth-century discourse.

(iii) Discursive view

Observing limitations on the perspectives discussed above, Abu-Lughod & Lutz (1990) propose a contextualist view of emotion, which is mostly based on the notion of discourse as social practice. Inspired by earlier works on the importance of emotion for the social performance of language (Irvine 1982; Ochs & Schieffelin 1989), they argue for a view of emotion as discursive practice. For the authors, the advantage here lies on the fact that "emotions are phenomena that can be seen in social interaction, much of which is verbal [...] attention to discourse leads us to study new problems, such as how an audience's response to emotional performance can be unpredictable" (1990, p. 11). Emotion, according to this line, should not be viewed as "a substance carried by the vehicle of discourse, expressed by means of discourse, or "squeezed through" discourse, and thereby perhaps distorted in the shapes of language or speech" (1990:12). Quite on the contrary, for them, "emotional discourse should be understood as a form of social action that creates effects in the world, effects that are read in a culturally informed way by the audience for emotional talk" (1990, p. 12).

This discourse perception values the richness of specific situations and the role of language use. Also the emphasis on discourse favors a more complex view of the multiple and mutant meanings of emotion, which avoids essentialist concepts that tend to ignore the role of culture, language and gender in emotional exchanges and propositions. Outside linguistics, studies have suggested that gender can be viewed as a sociocultural construct that shapes women and men´s communicative behavior. Significant part of people's behavior is played by emotion, a category naturally associated with the definition of gender. Therefore, any discourse about emotion is also a discourse about gender (ABU-LUGHOD & LUTZ, 1990). In the same vein, it has been claimed (LUTZ, 1990, p. 69) that both the common sense as well as the specialized literature attributes more emotionality to women and more rationality to men. By identifying emotion as chaotic or irrational and subsequently labeling women as a more emotional gender, the ideological subordination of women is reinforced. Also, regarding types of emotion, women are expected to experience a wider range of emotions whereas only some types of emotion are assigned to men, particularly those of anger and hatred.

This has implications because the social value attributed to certain types of emotion might favor men, whose emotions are viewed as more important, more reasonable, and more explainable than those of women. While for women emotion has been generally perceived as an essential characteristic, for man, it has been seen as something conditioned to specific situations (HOCHSCHILD, 1985).

In this paper emotion is viewed as constitutive parts of discourses that form social

practices shaped by culture and specific historical contexts. Since Evelyn Scott's autobiographical discourse was constructed under the constraints of a typical emotional context such as that of exile, the discursive approach to emotion seems appropriate to our analysis.

Exile

In a generic and traditional perspective, exile can be viewed as something that is mostly accomplished under the form of political ban, voluntary expatriation, or emmigration for economic or religious reasons. However, in a more specific view, it may be circumscribed to an even more personal level when, for example, the exile participants are forced to leave their native country due to very private reasons, such as the undergoing of a forbidden love affair. In that sense, Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scott may be considered not only law fugitives but also exiles, since after the breakout of the Great War they find themselves caught in the human condition of exile in Brazil.

In any case, whatever its origin or motivation, exile is both a profound and unique human experience. And as a research theme, it has occupied a central place within the various fields of knowledge. In Western literature, particularly, classic works such as the Odyssey, the Greek epic poem ascribed to Homer, and Oedipus Rex, by Sophocles, had already approached the topic. In these influential works the most ancient forms of exile point out the suffering characteristic of the exile condition. However, modernity admits new meanings and concepts from the XIXth Century on, when the exiled becomes someone intrinsically associated with the alienating condition of the modern man and world (BRADBURY & MCFARLANE, 1991).

Adorno, as a prestigious voice of the XXth Century, pointed out that the modern alienation applies to everyone, including and especially to those in exile whose physical exile is felt twice as much. Adorno was an exiled himself in the United States, and for him every immigrant writer feels mutilated because he or she is caught in a new environment, which is completely ininteligible to them (ADORNO, 1978). Edward Said (2000) also states that, on the whole, any person who is prevented from returning home can be considered an exiled. For the writer, physical exile is an instigating thing to be thought about, but terrible to be actually experienced. It can in fact be compared with an unhealing wound, or a deep sadness which can never be overcome between a human being and their native land (SAID, 2000, p. 91).

This paper adopts the idea of exile as anyone who, in one way or another, is cought on a situation in which the choice of returning home is not available. Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scott did choose to leave the United States for Brazil, however, after arriving in Brazil they could not return to their native land due to war restrictions. In that sense, one can say that they may fit halfway two categories: the one of voluntary exiles and that of self-imposed exiles. The first, because they chose to leave their country, the latter because, once in Brazil, they were not given the choice to return home due to the restriction of the Great War.

Contextualizing method and material of analysis

The method adopted in this paper follows the criteria of a qualitative analysis inspired by the notion of discourse as social practice (FAIRCLOUGH, 1992; VAN DIJK, 1990). In-depth analysis of the material is thus developed under the assumption that the material in focus is viewed as historically situated discourses. And while they convey ideologies they also shape and are shaped by the culture and society in which they are produced.

The material comprises the autobiographies *Escapade* (SCOTT, 1995 [1923]) and *Life is too short* (KAY-SCOTT, 1943), whose powerful accounts can be considered a type of discourse circumscribed to the wider field of life-writing, "a generic term used to describe a range of writings about lives or parts of lives [...]" that "include [...] memoir, autobiography, biography, diaries, letters [...]" (LEADER, 2015, p. 1).

Evelyn Scott's work was published as an entire book about her life in Brazil whereas Cyril Kay-Scott's is a book about his whole life, dedicating only one chapter to Brazil. Both biographies have been compared so as to identity differences and similarities regarding the way the Scotts perceived and experienced the new country. This kind of comparative methodology might help identify and understand how gender and emotion might separate or approach the Scott's perception about their Brazilian experience.

According to Evelyn Scott she wrote her autobiography *in loco*. In *Escapade,* she affirms that she took daily field notes in Brazil, from 1913 to 1919). Notes that served as the foundation for the final writing process of her autobiographical masterpiece first published in the United States in 1923. Cyril Kay-Scott also took notes during their exile. However, his *Life is too short* was not published until much later, in 1943, in fact, as late as twenty years after the publication of *Escapade*.

The Scott's autobiographical accounts reveal how they perceived their radical adventure shared in Brazil. They also reveal that they observed very closely important ritualistic social moments of the Brazilian culture, such as birth, death, and festa, topics that became dear to them, especially to Evelyn Scott. The material is thus unique, providing various possibilities for research. However, in this paper the excerpts selected are mostly concerned with issues of gender and emotion expressed in their discourse. The reason for this choice relies on the importance of gender for the analysis of voices of different genders and generations reporting the same social experience.

A gendered emotional exile

In their enthusiastic minds and hearts the tropical paradise represented a place where Cyril Kay-Scott would find job as researcher of tropical specimens and Evelyn would have the time and peace of mind to free her imagination and become the writer she had longed for

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since she was a child. However, when the couple arrived in Brazil, problems of survival and integration started to emerge as soon as they disembarked in Rio de Janeiro. Related to gender, some of these problems affected Cyril, who, as the male provider, could not secure the idealized job of researcher of tropical specimens. Other problems affected Evelyn in particular as she had two fundamental survival concerns associated with health and sense of belonging. One was the sheer reality that she had become pregnant and was constantly suffering from morning sickness. The other was her complete helplessness to communicate in the new environment as she could not understand or articulate a single word of Portuguese.

Already in the first paragraph of *Escapade* she describes how she felt when, in their modest room of Hotel Rio Branco, she heard:

> a knock at the door, and the Portuguese girl entered, very slovenly, her coarse black hair hanging in stiff locks against her full florid cheeks. When she said, "Bom dia", I understood that, but the rest of her speech was a harsh murmur of guttural sound and depressed me with its strangeness. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 1)

Evelyn had immediately realized how crucial the mastery of the new language would be for her difficult process of adaptation to the new reality:

> John's gaze, always so still and kind, opened on me first. Then he talked to the girl. In the interchange of unintelligible noises I felt my exclusion from the life about me, my helplessness. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 1)

Over the time what seemed to be initial difficulties became actually serious permanente problems for both of them. The drama became obvious that they tried to return to the United States soon after arriving in Brazil. However, far too involved with their own feelings and problems, they did not have fully realized the devastating consequences of the forthcoming declaration of World War One, which would force them to remain in the country for further five long years.

> I think of the three thousand miles between here and New York [...] At any rate that isn't before us. It is perfectly definite now that our passport application has been refused. [...] We will live here somehow until the war is over and then perhaps we can get back to the coast and, without a passport, return to the States. I will be glad to leave here. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 175)

Their desire to leave Brazil was genuine but, without any prospects of returning home, they began to consider acquiring Brazilian citizenship instead. Nevertheless the very same war situation proved the intangibility of the plan:

> We have tried to become naturalized Brazilians – even paid a little to the lawyer we had to consult - but people of warring nations will not be accepted as citizens by the Brazilian government. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 147)

Prevented from returning to their homeland Evelyn and Cyril felt exiled in two dimensions.

One related to their host country, Brazil, and its war constraints that would not let them go, and another related to their own country whose society, with its severe judicial constraints, had forced them to leave. For Evelyn Scott in particular the devastating effects of this situation turned Brazil, their host country, into a kind of prison. In midst of such ordeal Evelyn faces a crisis of belonging in which she felt as though she had no place either under the shade of banana trees in the backlands of Brazil or close to the sensuality of the palm trees on the American coast:

> I know my country is not here around me where the pale light through the banana leaves is thin and poignant, nor there, where the palm trees sway like young girls dreaming after last night's dance. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 75)

In any case gender plays a decisive part in the couple's odyssey already in the early stage of their story when we notice that the choice for Brazil had two reasons which met Cyril's conveniences only. The first reason is related to his sense of adventure and vocation to explore the untouched. He was fascinated by the greatness of the Amazon rainforest, where he hoped to work as a researcher of tropical specimens. The second reason is related to a more fundamental element of survival in a new country: the mastery of its language. Cyrill spoke Portuguese, Evelyn didn't. As a man and provider, who mastered the new language, Cyril Kay-Scott could occupy many layers of public sphere and even enjoy his travels around the country both for business purposes and for provision. He was thus more exposed to a process of genuine social interaction (SCURA, 1995) and could probably find more energy to fight his own suffering. Evelyn, in contrast, was almost all the time isolated, confined to a precarious domestic space. Without the possibility of proper social interaction, she felt "drowned in ennui", oppressed by gender issues within a new reality in which she resented the fact that "the women greeted me with hostile eyes, and the men pursued me with their shallow cloying looks" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 30). One cannot forget that her autobiographical masterpiece is surprisingly dedicated to tropical animals not to human beings.

Considering Evelyn Scott's painful isolation in Brazil, it is not surprising that Cyril Kay Scott (her only companion) be a constitutive part of her autobiographical discourse. However, the same does not apply to him who, as mentioned, was not exactly isolated.

What I would like to claim is that they experienced a gendered emotional exile because, although both of them were affected by the hardships of integration, they experienced and responded to these difficulties differently. So much so that Evelyn, at a certain point, would claim that "Men have their own engrossments and unless you exhibit your emotions they are apt to ignore troubles under which the helpless other-sex is being crushed" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 214), while Cyril Kay-Scott would, today we can say, candidly, claim that "In isolation, women who can't make a bed, a pie, or a garden, make a situation". (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 123)

Evelyn is here complaining about a supposedly male mental framework in which, immersed in their own universe, men would have difficulty to face the basic aspects of

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a couple relationship. Cyril, on the other hand, resources to irony to criticize a supposedly typical bourgeois female incapacity to deal with the hardships of life, particularly the household management within precarious contexts such as the one they were enduring in the backlands of Brazil.

Their differences in worldview are visible even in the titles of their books. Evelyn's, *Escapade*, Cyril's, *Life is too short.* The first one evoking the truth of a particular event, that is, a disastrous elopment of lovers who, on the spur of the moment, fled from the United States without passports, carrying only a few pieces of closing in the uneasy historical pre-World War One context. The latter, suggesting a general statement about life regarded as ephemeral thus worthy of living it fully with all that it takes.

Regarding differences in style and worldviews, another point worth noticing is the dedications of the books. Reflecting his connection with social conventions, and the representation of family as a successful project, Cyril records in imposing capital letters "TO MY FAMILY OF ELEVEN CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED". (KAY-SCOTT, 1943)

Evelyn, in contrast, deconstructs conventional patterns of dedications to pay homage to her beloved exotic tropical animals (her true companions in Brazil) rather than to family or friends. She thus boldly writes down, not in imposing crying like capital letters but in elegant subtle italic:

> *To Adám, the monkey; Dinah, the tan and white bitch; the armadillo, a small unrelenting secret; the owl; the hawk; the deer; the mangy [mendgi] little chicken who lived in a cotton nest after its leg was hurt. To the delicious goats, and all the little birds with sunken breasts and rigid claws – my friends who are dead, who loved me for no more than the food I gave them.* (SCOTT, 1995)

Contrary to Cyril Kay-Scott's dedication, that explicitly displays a kind of reconciliation with his social and family network after the Brazilian adventure, Evelyn Scott's suggests displacement from the family establishment and, at the same time, reveals her freedom of thought and artistic expression. Another illustration of how gender affects their perceptions of the exile experience can be seen in their reports about their short stay in the outskirts of Rio. Although Evely felt constrained by the difficulties with the new language and environment, she seemed willing to integrate and help her partner. She uses the inclusive first person plural pronoun to describe the activity of collecting insects for scientific purposes

> we went out every morning with our nets: two green gauze ones for butterflies, and two canvas sweeping bags for beetles and the like. [...] I wore an old khaki riding skirt divided in the middle, and John was in overalls with a beach hat too small for him perched high on his head. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 19-20)

Evelyn's active participation can also be seen when Cyril worked as accountant in one of

the Singer sewing machines firms. On a certain occasion he had problems regarding calculations in the booking of the firm and, again, Evelyn was by his side trying to help "[...] Not long ago there was a mistake in his accounts and he was unable to discover it. He brought home the long sheets of paper and we worked together over them" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 7)

Regarding these two specific situations it is interesting to notice Cyril's difference in approaching the memory of events. About the collecting of specimens in Rio, unlike Evelyn, who uses the first-person plural pronoun, Cyril uses the non-inclusive first-person singular pronoun to describe the same event:

> Arriving in Rio de Janeiro, [...] I started at once my collecting trips around the Federal District. [...] I collected hard, going out every day all day. (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 176-177)

Similarly, with regards to the accounts problems in the firm where he worked, Cyril, once more, resources to first-person singular pronoun to describe the situation:

> [...] So, a few at a time, I took jornal, ledger, store invoices, receipts of sales, records of installments payments, reports, and other things home at night and worked late over them. How I sweated over those books! (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 179)

These are just some initial (perhaps still too generic) observations that might help contextualize autobiographical narratives that unveil important differences both in style and worldviews between Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scott.

The increasing process of isolation

In order to better understand the couple's process of isolation it is important to highlight that due to the lack of knowledge of the language as well as to gender roles of the time, Evelyn became more and more dependent of Cyril, therefore, more and more exposed to a process of extreme isolation. This mental process unveiled a profound sense of boredom in which the writer resented a systematic lack of occupation.

> [...] I want to feel, to feel anything – to purge myself of the heavy turgidness of the thoughts that come to me as I sit alone day after day with no definite occupation.(SCOTT, 1995, p. 13)

Cyril as man and provider did not stop. He was always busy and to a certain extent happy with his Singer's employee life, which allowed him to travel, better explore the country, and learn new things. While for Cyril the hard life of exile proved to be also a motivating experience, for Evelyn it was a torment dominated by isolation and nothing to be occupied with. It was almost impossible for Evelyn Scott to establish genuine contact with the new reality and when her companion was not home she simply "set there in the room with nothing at all to occupy me – nothing but my thoughts". (SCOTT, 1995, p. 2) Her exasperating degree of isolation can

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be inferred through the use of metaphors expressing the idea of lack of occupation as drowning, becoming blind, and being imprisoned. Images that express impossibility of survival of the body itself.

> I felt as if I was drowning in ennui. As if the sun had blinded me. Yes I was a blind person. In the long days when John was away I should have to sit there in my white empty prison, a prison in which nothing moved but the irradiation of the glare, in which there was no aim, no interest.(SCOTT, 1995, p. 30)

Despite the desire to write Evelyn Scott felt paralyzed by those conditions and tried to explain the drama to herself.

> If my brain was dead my hands and arms were dead also. [...] I imagined myself bound in the heat forever. [...] The heat was cold. It burned like ice. I wanted to be a writer but I had nothing to write about.(SCOTT, 1995, p. 30)

For Evelyn Scott the intellectual paralysis seemed unbearable, "Ennui is the most awful thing I have ever had to bear. I sit here hour after hour and my brain is clasped with iron" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 38). It is a difficult emotional state for the writer for whom "When I wake in the down there is quiet at last, and I lie there in the cool shadow of loneliness." (SCOTT, 1995, p. 40).

In the midst of such creativity and integration crisis one of her self-defense strategies against the complete lack of occupation was to develop true obsession for household tasks, "I did nothing but cook, and clean and splash buckets of water upon the brick floors. I had no interest in anything else" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 49-50). Evelyn Scott, as a pregnant woman in state of domestic hiper activity and as a writer going through a crisis of thinking, abandoned herself to the incapacity of putting in practice her desire to write, "I took a pencil and some paper from my handbag. If I could only write! But I had no thoughts. What possessed me completely was the faint disturbing náusea of my pregnancy" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 49-50).

Extreme isolation: Cercadinho

Finally, when everything seemed dramatically impossible for the couple's survival, Cyril decided to quit everything and buy a piece of land in the backlands of Bahia with the intention of becoming a rancher to live beside Evelyn and their son in Cercadinho, a place near the small town of Villa Nova da Rainha, today, a medium size city known as Senhor do Bonfim. Living within a context of complete dependency, Evelyn accepted the situation and seemed not to have taken any part on the decision.

> It took John three days to return to us [...] he wants to resign the Company, draw out our guarantee fund, buy some government land he has seen and stock it with sheep. [...] He will begin by asking a leave of absence on account of my health and in that way he can keep his salary until we have moved and are actually in the vicinity of the ranch. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 159)

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For Cyril, the decision had been taken in order to stay closer to his family. But in addition to that he seemed excited about the new adventure. "We were pioneers" (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 218) he says referring to the family's triumphal departure that, under his leadership, had traveled with

> seven pack mules and ten men, six of the men with extra mules for riding, or in case of accident to pack animals, and four Indians on foot who carried two trunks strung on poles, exactly as the Bihéans in Africa carry a *tepoia.* (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 218)

As they arrived in Cercadinho, Cyril still seemed quite excited with the novelty showing himself particularly touched with the beauty of the region, "Our arrival at Cercadinho was a great event. The beauty of the place was breathtaking. No one could resist it. Even Mrs. Dunn agreed that it was a nice landscape" (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 218). And he was also proud of his achievements as house builder "The big palm-covered hut was there, and my women folk were agreeably surprised at its great size". (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 219)

In general, his descriptions about their moving into the backlands are as positive as possible, expressing emotions that encompass sensation of pioneerism and feeling of astonishment with the beauty of the surroundings. But Evelyn was undergoing a different emotional process. It was in Cercadinho that she experienced utmost isolation and had her interactional life reduced to the minimum, that is to say the contact with her unbalanced mother, who had left the United States to join them in Brazil, a maid, and her baby son.

> While John was in the mountains measuring our land, Nanete, Estephania, Jackie, and myself, lived in a small dirty house [...] only two of the rooms had windows, but the doors at the back opened into a small overgrown garden with a high mold-green wall around. I felt lonely, separated from everything, like a sword pointing up, as if, in the pain of isolation, I were piercing heaven, piercing the world.(SCOTT, 1995, p. 167)

Although Cyril had resigned from Singer in order to stay closer to Evelyn, in Cercadinho, he still would have to be away from home, either to search for provisions in nearby villages, or to work the soil in order to make Cercadinho a more habitable place. So, Evelyn's isolation grew bigger and bigger and she also began to miss a more intimate contact with her husband.

> For some reason I imagined John had gone away from me forever, that he would never come back. I could, for the first time, see him whole, like an immortal, unbroken by words. Unable to send a message to me, he was gone for three weeks. His silence seemed to me beautiful, finished, but I wanted him again. I wanted to destroy his perfection with intimacy. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 167)

After approximately three years of isolation in the backlands of Bahia the dream of turning Cercadinho into a productive piece of land was destroyed by drought and a series of diseases that killed plants and animals forcing the couple to face bankruptcy, starvation, and despair.

> Our ranch is an utter failure. [...] The sheep [...] die and die [...] Sometimes for weeks at a time we have no meat. The last we bought when we disposed of the sick mare and the hides of two of the sheep that were in a better condition than the rest. We eat a little piece and hang the remainder from the rafters, and every day, for as long as it lasts, we have a bit. I used to throw away the portions on which the flies had laid, but now I scrape the eggs and maggots away as best as I can and we have that, too." (SCOTT, 1995, p. 229-30)

That extreme hardship of the situation made Evelyn feel as though they were "going mad, and [...] as drunk with suffering as any of the mule drivers are drunk with rum" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 236). However the wider historical context seemed to favor them according to Evelyn.

> John heard same marvelous news. Because of the war "down there" a new mining company – an American company has begun to operate along the coast and is sending men into the interior to locate manganese workings – manganese for the making of steel armament. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 249)

In hearing the news Cyril begin to think about the American mining company as a escape for his family's desperate situation. But in the meantime Evelyn tried to cheer herself up by doing something useful in favor of the humble locals who surrounded her.

> As for myself, I am eternally in quest of an occupation which will distract me, and I am teaching Antonio and Jovina how to sign their names and to read. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 248)

Leaving Cercadinho

Bypassers were rare in Cercadinho but the few who passed confirmed the news of the recruitment of employees by the American mining company. Thus, when everything seemed absolutely hopeless for Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scott, they saw the possibility of moving out with their family to the small town of Vila Nova, where he could work. Ironically the same War that in the past had forced them into isolation and exile would be now their only chance of making their way back to the United States.

The couple's reports about Cyril's decision to give up the dream of Cercadinho in exchange for an opportunity at the mining company converge. According to Cyril,

> As soon as I verified the rumor I made a decision. In pursuance of it I walked the eleven kilometers over to my Negro neighbour Hylarião's cabin. [...] And it was his clothes I wanted to borrow. [...] The suit (sky blue, as I have said, and gored in at the waist) fitted me terribly. [...] Also I was barefoot, but that didn't matter, as I had gone barefooted for over a year and my feet were like sole leather. [...] At daybreak I said good-bye to my family and started through the canyon. (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 245)

Evelyn seemed to agree about almost everything that was pointed out by Cyril and highlights that

> John has determined to secure a position with the mining company. He borrowed some clothes from Tenente Alfredo Hylarião in Lamarão and has gone on foot to Vila Nova. When he left here he was barefoot for he had to save the shoes. The blue suit he wore, the work of a provincial tailor, was very tight in the trousers, very small in the waist – almost ridiculous. (SCOTT, 1995, p. 252)

A curious detail, though, calls the attention regarding the care given to Cyril's appearance in order for him to make a good impression during the importante transition journey. While Evelyn says that she herself had "trimmed his beard and cut his hair, but he had no razor so he must wait to reach his destination before he can shave" (SCOTT, 1995, p. 252), Cyril gives all the glory of the care to their maid Stephania:

> That evening Stephania cut off my long hair and I shaved my beard. The next morning she rose before dawn and got me coffee and breakfast. The shoes [...] she tied in her best gaily printed big cotton handkerchief she kept to wear on Sundays.(KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 245)

Furthermore he makes a point in saying that "she, by the way, is the heroine of this part of my tale". (KAY-SCOTT, 1943, p. 213)

Final remarks

This article investigated issues of gender and emotion within the context of exile drawing from Evelyn Scott's and Cyril Kay-Scott's autobiographies related to their long stay in Brazil, from 1913 to 1919. With the outbreak of World War One they found themselves trapped in the country with no chance of going back home. As a result they made their way to the backlands of Bahia where they faced extreme poverty, isolation, and despair.

Evelyn Scott is today a well-known writer in the United States. She wrote many different genres, from poetry to prose. But it was in the confessional genre of autobiographies that the critics have recognized the highest literary quality of her work. Caroline Maun (2012), for example, points out Scott's "fearless artistic vocation to address social issues through her modern and experimental form" (MAUN, 2012, p. 78), while the pioneer researcher Dorothy Scura (1985) praised the fine quality of Scott's literary genius, referring to *Escapade* as a book that is "almost a feminist *cri de coeur*" (SCURA, 1985, p. 303). In Brazil, however, there is almost no record of her work except for the contributions of Otto Maria Carpeaux (1947), and Beatriz Jaguaribe (2000) whom, from different perspectives and in different historical contexts, brought to light Evelyn Scott's work in the country.

Carpeaux, the Austrian-born writer who left his country before the deflagration of World War Two to adopt Brazil as his home, became a mainstream literary critic most interested in travel writers who had lived in the tropics, especially in Brazil. It did not take long for him to acknowledge Evelyn Scott's genius. In a newspaper article published as far back as 1947

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he highlighted the originality of Evelyn Scott's modern autobiographical style and warned Brazilian translators that *Escapade* was a true masterpiece. On the other hand Jaguaribe's academic research (2000, p. 163-192) discusses the representation of the Brazilian landscape as a force of nature and Brazil as a land of adventure to explain the Scotts' choice for Brazil after the couple's elopement in 1913.

Cyril Kay-Scott was a doctor of tropical medicine, scientist, and educator. But he also had an artistic vein, and, besides his Brazilian autobiography he composed some plays, short stories, and poems. However he did not become the established writer that Evelyn Scott did. In Brazil, he remains practically unknown, for there is no record of systematic academic research about his work.

For a better understanding of gender and emotion in Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scot's experience and discourse, I would like to point out that their saga in Brazil has two landmarks: life before the backlands, when they spend some time in Rio de Janeiro imagining that they could become researchers of tropical specimens, and life in the backlands, when they got over that naturalist dream and dived into the harsh reality of survival. This device is important because it shows how gender issues had affected the couple's painful process of adaptation in exile and all the decisions taken within that context. Cyril Kay-Scott's career and actions define all their steps, from the brief stay in the republican capital of Rio de Janeiro to the definitive move into Cercadinho, in the heart of the then untouched backlands of Bahia.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that Evelyn Scott and Cyril Kay-Scott's autobiographical discourses show that both of them went through enormous material as well as existential difficulties in Brazil. But they lived under a complex range of emotions that was significantly shaped by gender issues. Within that complex emotional framework, isolation strikes Evelyn Scott in a particularly destructive way. As a result, the writer constructs a dark autobiographical account of her Brazilian experience, especially with regards to the hardships found in Bahia. Although she uses beautiful poetical forms to describe the landscape, most of the images evoked by her poetical language are disturbing, indicative that virtually everything in the country seemed to her ugly, painful, and difficult. Differently, for Cyril Kay-Scott, the experience, although painful and difficult, had a flavour of adventure and pioneerism. His account shows enthusiasm with the possibility of exploring the new landscape, of challenging nature: from the power of the Amazon River to the inhospitable climate of the backlands.

While it is hoped that this article may contribute to disseminate Evelyn Scot's life and work both among scholars and the general public, it is also believed that it may raise awareness to the importance of further research on the role of gender and emotion in experiences involving couples in isolation.

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TOWARDS A COSMOPOLITAN HISTORICAL MEMORY? TRANSNATIONALISATION AND EMOTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY FEMALE GALICIAN AUTHORS

PARA UMA MEMÓRIA HISTÓRICA COSMOPOLITA? A TRANSNA-CIONALIZAÇÃO E AS EMOÇÕES NAS AUTORAS GALEGAS CONTEMPORÂNEAS

Dolores Vilavedra[1]

RESUMEN

El artículo analiza la contribución de las narradoras gallegas a la transnacionalización de la común memoria europea de los pasados incómodos y como utilizan para ello estrategias de índole fundamentalmente emocional. Después de una revisión panorámica del corpus, el artículo se centra en dos obras de Rosa Aneiros e Inma López Silva, respectivamente, a modo de estudio de casos. El objetivo último del estudio es poner en valor dicha contribución en la medida en que, por una parte, permite superar el riesgo de esclerotización del tema de la memoria de la guerra civil española, y por otra, mostrar el potencial moral y político de esas novelas que está aún por explotar en profundidad.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Memoria Histórica; Emociones; Narradoras Gallegas; Transnacionalización; Holocausto.

ABSTRACT

This article analyses the contribution of female Galician writers to the transnationalisation of the common European memory of uncomfortable pasts, and how their main approach to it is through the use of emotional strategies. Following an overview of the field, this study focuses on two works by Rosa Aneiros and Inma López Silva, respectively. The aim of this study is to valorise the contribution of women writers which has helped to avoid the risk of the

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overexploitation of the subject-matter of the Spanish Civil War while showing the moral and political potential of such novels, this yet to be fully explored.

KEYWORDS: Historical Memory; Emotions; Female Galician Writers; Transnationalization; Holocaust.

Towards a socialisation of uncomfortable pasts?

Introduction

The contribution of female Galician writers to the configuration of a cosmopolitan memory, far from being an isolated phenomenon, needs to be interpreted within the broader context of the debate on how the processes of globalisation and Europeanisation have influenced local, regional and national narratives. In the field of sociology, close attention has been paid to certain processes that cannot be explained today without taking into account the increasing importance of migratory phenomena, plus the spread of forms of communication that alter the traditional conceptions of space and time, as well as the foundations of individual and collective identities.

Undoubtedly, a key element in this cosmopolitanisation has been the transnationalisation[2] of the memory of the Holocaust, both through audiovisual media and also driven by still-recent institutional positions, especially the decision of the General Assembly of the United Nations that, from 2005 onwards[3], every 27th January would be designated as the International Day of Commemoration of the Victims of the Holocaust. The 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz by Soviet troops took place on that specific date, and since then institutional declarations in parliaments, and more broadly through various commemorative and educational activities, have been customary on that day. However, the celebration also marked a turning point in the process of recognising the need to de-territorialise and institutionalise not only the memory of the Holocaust, but also all collective memories of what we might call "uncomfortable pasts".

On the other hand, the globalisation of justice (for example, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, created in 1994; that of the former Yugoslavia, created the previous

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2   Many specialists who have reflected on this subject, from fields such as sociology, philosophy and political science, use terms like 'cosmopolitanism' and 'postnationalism' as synonymous. From this there arises a certain terminological confusion, itself only exacerbated by the widespread (and somewhat abusive) use of the concept of globalisation. We will not make *casus belli* of this question, and we will prefer the term 'transnational', in that it is the least marked for the subject that concerns us here; however, we will also use 'cosmopolitan' and 'global' from time to time.

3   The process was in fact promoted through the 2000's public declaration by the Stockholm International Forum, organised in the Swedish capital by the International Holocaust Remember Alliance. For the different stages through which the international management of Holocaust remembrance has passed, see Levy & Sznaider (2002).

year; the Chilean dictator Pinochet's arrest in London in 1998 following an international arrest warrant issued by Judge Garzón; the presentation in 2010 by the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory of a lawsuit in Argentina against Francist crimes committed during the Spanish Civil War, etc.) has helped to focus on victims and the need to address these uncomfortable pasts from increasingly transcendent perspectives (ethical; legal) and hence from less contingent and local ones. In my opinion, both of these phenomena (the transnationalisation of memory and the globalisation of justice) are closely related to the appearance of new formulas for the literary codification of the past and, in addition, both point to the emergence of new possibilities for the creation of collective identities that must be analysed in a context dominated by the dialectic tension between the global and the local.

In the case of Galician fiction, the process of the transnationalisation of memory has acquired specific characteristics that have also developed differently in novels written by men and by women. Thus, male writers have tended to adopt the classic model of the adventure novel, seasoned with touches of police fiction, which, it seems to me, has allowed them to avoid the emotional dimension that would necessarily have to be dealt with if they chose to treat their respective themes within a memory-based framework. Such is the case with *Os fillos do mar* (2012) by Pedro Feijoo, *Cabalos e lobos* (2015) by Fran P. Lorenzo, and *Izan o da saca* (2015) by Xabier Quiroga. These three novels avoid de-territorialisation by bringing the memory of other conflicts to Galicia. The theme thus loses its potential performative value for what might be the creation of a global, or at least an European, memory. The resulting decontextualisation of characters and plots deactivates the historical value of the text and favours the stereotyping of both, so that their presence in history (in the sense of *story*, not of *history*) seems to be due to mere casuistry or chance; devoid of breadth and depth in terms of time, these elements come to resemble (somewhat dangerously) mere archetypes, and end up being reduced to little more than backdrops on which the truly important part of the novel take place: the particular conflicts of the characters in the case of Lorenzo's novel, and the police-based plots in the case of Feijoo and Quiroga. On the other hand, by focusing only on the fate of the perpetrators, feelings of empathy, compassion or solidarity with their victims are not generated. These victims are blurred by geographical and, in several cases, temporal distance, as is the case with *Os fillos do mar*, in which we travel from the present day to the Battle of Rande in 1702, passing through the Second World War and the Spanish Civil War. It produces a kind of temporal levelling that turns historical events into the adornments of "an attractive cloth" with which the "plot is covered", as indeed Feijoo's novel is described on its back cover. Consequently, and in addition to being works of entertainment, these novels avoid the possibility of acquiring any kind of moral appeal, since they demand no form of affiliative response from the reading public, along the lines of the distinction that Faber establishes between filiative/affiliative acts (FABER, 2011).

The approach taken by female authors tends to be more complex. The major difference here derives from the fact that they have de-territorialised our memory of the Civil War or, rather, have re-territorialised it by placing it within a global or at least a cross-border framework: the

memory of the War is integrated into that of Latin American exile and emigration, and within the European memory of the Second World War, thus coming to operate on a new supranational and diasporic scale. And this has happened in a context in which globalisation has provided the means of overcoming the idea that memory is the prerogative of nation states, so that it can operate on two other scales, the supra and sub-national ones. My analysis does not seek to evaluate globalisation in ethical-political terms, but simply to recognise it as an operative space, and in terms of the management of memory/memories. Thus, the need naturally arises to articulate, in literature, a new concept of memory that ignores the vision of the public sphere as a well-defined area in which group memories compete, and that articulates a mestizo and multidirectional memory to be built on the basis of "dynamic transfers that take place between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance" (ROTHBERG, 2009: 11). This multidirectional model of memory allows us to explain how female Galician writers are addressing the memory of Civil War in a completely different way, among other reasons because this new paradigm allows them to pay special attention to the emotional dimension of the topic by means of a series of strategies that I have analysed before (VILAVEDRA, 2016 a and b, in press) and that might be called "false distancing". We will return to this later on. I will now explore briefly how two of these writers, Rosa Aneiros and Inma López Silva, articulate this multidirectional memory in some of their works.

Firstly, and as I have already noted, Aneiros and López Silva are committed to a cross-border and diasporic form of memory that naturally integrates not only that of other conflicts, such as the Second World War, but also that of two key experiences in the construction of Galician collective identity: exile and emigration. These are hybridised with elements of otherness/alterity (concentration camps in France, the entry of the Nazis into Paris) with which the novelists establish a metonymic relationship, deconstructing these elements while concurrently deconstructing the canonical versions of this process of identity.

The novels thus succeed in creating scenarios that are more cosmopolitan than post-national, in that the latter would, in my opinion, be excessively Eurocentric for a memory such as the Galician one, which is fundamentally transatlantic. The development of this sense of the cosmopolitan, as far as the questioning of conventional frontiers is concerned, contributes to a deactivation of national(ist) valence (traditionally operative in a large part of Galician fiction written by men) and hence endowing this multi-directional memory with an added value of systemic renewal in the Galician sphere. Rosendahl has already drawn attention to the innovative potential of what he calls *traumatic literature*:

> Precisely because traumatic literature deals with complex and incomprehensible events, there is in this literature, more than any other, a need for those qualities that literary innovation can bring. This is accomplished while finding a balance, not between truth and fiction, because veracity is a given, but between the simple narrative of the eyewitness, and the complexity of history and discursive paradigms that colour history (ROSENDAHL, 2008: 137).

This potential for renewal can operate from a gender perspective, as a characterising element of one corpus versus the other (female/male fiction) but, above all, from the point of view of those new discursive models proposed for the literary development of historical memory and that can be especially useful for rescuing it from endogamic limitations and commercial conformism, thus guaranteeing its continuity.

Female galician writers and the multidirectional model

Let us consider some of the possibilities offered by the multidirectional model of memory, and how female Galician authors are taking advantage of them to renew the literary treatment of the Civil War. In the first place, multidirectional memory, without ceasing to be collective and historical, is also individual and biographical, which allows Aneiros and López Silva to take advantage of the testimonial autobiographical model. Certainly, this is also the most common approach in Europe in the texts comprising that body of work which has come to be known as "Holocaust literature", given that the phenomenological, referential and ethical problems that are posed in this type of text are also, to a greater or lesser extent, associated with the memorial testimonies of other European historical events which, if we follow Tony Judt's suggestion (JUDT, 2005: 1145), would form a contemporary European memory understood as a multi-directional and transnational memory of a recent and traumatic past. Helena C. Buescu sums up this seemingly paradoxical question well:

> Without the testimony, as well as a reflection on both its necessity and its paradoxical condition, no passage from memory to postmemory may be performed. Testimony literature prevents the closure of such events within a partial or limited set of people, thereby highlighting the impossibility of looking at national borders as defining the limits of ethical interest and responsibility (Buescu, in DOMÍNGUEZ, 2015: 20).

Indeed, both in the case of *Sol de Inverno* (2009) by Rosa Aneiros and in that of *Memoria de cidades sen luz* (2008) by Inma López Silva, it is the narrative discourse itself, in its factuality, that allows the conversion of the biographical memory of the characters into post-memory for subsequent generations. At the same time, both novels deactivate national borders by projecting this memory in multiple directions that take us not only to Europe, hybridising it with that of the Second World War, but also to America, in an inseparable link with the memory of emigration and exile.

Secondly, in both novels, multi-directional memory juxtaposes two or more problematic memories in a dynamic interaction that becomes productive. I do not refer only to the memory of different historical events, which have taken place in different places and/or times, as I have already pointed out. Rather, I also refer – and this is the key in the work of Aneiros and López Silva – to the different phenomenological levels at which these confluent memories operate, be they metaphysical or contextual, and which end up showing points of convergence. In the case

of Aneiros, it is the threat of Alzheimer that activates, paradoxically, the mechanism of memory and hence the very existence of narrative discourse; in the case of López Silva, Marcel's memory offers a different version from the official one found in canonical figures of the Galician literary and cultural movement such as Ánxel Casal or his wife, María Miramontes, a version that is impossible to prove and which therefore questions (and hence demystifies) as far as it is possible the official account of the relationship between the two.

In this sense, the collection of stories *Un animal chamado néboa* (2015) by Ledicia Costas represents a step forward in taking advantage of the multi-directional paradigm as a means of contributing, from the position of Galician narrative, to what we might call the articulation of a cosmopolitan memory. Costas makes use of the "fashion of memory" to deal with a subject as difficult as the Second World War, and does so specifically by deconstructing its canonical nucleus, dominated by the Holocaust, to remind us of other equally terrible episodes of that conflict which tended to be made invisible by the long moral shadow of the Holocaust (although we should not ignore the distorting effects of historiographic Eurocentrism): Leningrad, the naval battles in the Pacific, and the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This multi-directional approach allows not so much for a rewriting of the narrative memory of the conflict as for its re-construction, hybridising it with two types of material, these of a very disparate nature. On the one hand, the photographic and cinematographic memories of several generations, which have configured almost exclusively our imaginary of the war in the Pacific, and of the atomic bombs and their consequences, and with which Costas interacts dialogically; on the other hand, documentation of various kinds: in the author's own words in her prologue "Nota", "diaries, declarations, reports, etc[4].", in addition to the original transcripts of Göring's interrogations at Nuremberg, and of Höss and Eichmann in their respective trials. All these materials appear "*inseridos na propia ficción, coma se formasen parte da ficción literaria*", as we have noted. In both cases, with visual and textual sources, Costas carries out processes of transference and hybridisation that level the materials, concealing their origins and their phenomenological states, and thus renouncing their legitimating value, because what interests Costas is not, as she herself acknowledges, writing a "*crónica de guerra*" ("chronicle of war") but rather "*una crónica sobre a condición humana en situacións límite*" ("a chronicle of the human condition in extreme situations"). Therefore, the territories she is interested in exploring are not so much those of History as those of emotions. This is something very similar to what had already been seen in *Ácaros verdes* (2003) by Pilar Buela, when she chose to focus her gaze on the women of the Nazi hierarchies (Eva Braun and Magda Göbbels) during the final days that they spent locked up in the Berlin bunker before the final immolation.

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4   Unless stated othewise, all translations my own.

The systemic value and transnationalisation of memory

The contribution of female Galician writers to the transnationalisation of memory develops in parallel with their capturing of greater visibility in the public sphere. In this sense, it is quite curious that the novels cited here have not been received (that is, read, interpreted, canonised...) as part of the corpus that we usually label 'narrative of historical memory', and this has been, in my opinion, because they lack the appropriate context for this, they lack a network in which to share dialectical interaction. In the first place, there is no obvious authorial context, in that there are hardly any previous female authors, even less so any who have dealt with the subject of the Civil War[5], and indeed none who have done so within a multi-directional and transnational framework. But they also lack a thematic context, in the sense that exile or the Second World War does not form part of the vectors that endow this corpus with identity as such. Rather, the literary system has read these novels in terms of female authorship, a reading that was a perfect fit for the emotional focus of memory that these writers sought, but which radically ignored a transnational memory-based model that was completely original, not only in the fiction of female Galician writers but also in all Galician novels dealing with historical memory. In Bourdian terms, we could say that the narrative pattern on which these texts were built was not integrated into our reader habits and, therefore, to the extent that it was highly original, the system itself was not able to identify it and recognise it as significant.

On these lines, what happened with the aforementioned *Ácaros verdes* by Pilar Buela is a good example of the systemic deficits suffered by these female Galician writers, and how they have affected the interpretation and canonisation of their texts. The novel went largely unnoticed after its publication, perhaps due to the low visibility of the author, despite the work having won the Manuel Lueiro Rey Prize in 2003, the year of its publication. Born in 1966, Buela not only opted for a low public profile, more typical of the generation of female narrators of the 1980s ((see VILAVEDRA, 2007 and 2011, in which these issues are dealt with in a more detail), and neither did she publish any literary work subsequently. Curiously, although the film *Der Untergang* (translated into Spanish as *El hundimiento*) was released in 2004, a film which, despite the distances involved, deals with the same subject, *Ácaros verdes* did not benefit from this coincidence, perhaps because in the novel the figure of Hitler is seen very much as a secondary role, with the plot focusing instead on the characters of Magda Göbbels and Eva Braun. However, Buela's work was the first step in the multidirectional opening up of the literary treatment of historical memory, which for the first time in Galician narrative would be approached from a European perspective, and as such must be recognised.

The second great innovation of female Galician authors in terms of the literary treatment of historical memory (the first would being their transnationalisation) is that of the emotional

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5   On María Xosé Queizán as the predecessor of the current female Galician authors, see Vilavedra, 2016a.

approach to the subject. Faced with topical visions that identify sentimentalisation as alienation, this type of approach can open the way to processes of deliberation, reflection and action, if we understand emotions from a cognitive perspective (see SOLOMON, 2004). These are indeed essential processes when it comes to developing an open, hybrid and under-construction identity paradigm that cannot be disregarded as a reference when we seek to analyse how young writers of the 21st century develop their literary projects. In my opinion, the awareness of the global interaction of emotions, although drawing on such presuppositions, is not in fact anything new. Thus, for example, Ulrich Beck speaks of a "cosmopolitan empathy" and of the "globalization of emotions", arguing that "the spaces of our emotional imagination have expanded in a transnational sense" (BECK, 2006: 6, something that, as we will see, is evident in the novels we are analysing here.

We have art so as not to die from (so much) truth

The innovation of this emotional approach is that it is, on the one hand, resistant to gender stereotypes and, at the same time, an alternative to what would be the canonical model of "novels of memory" configured by male writers; on the other hand, it takes the form of a series of narrative strategies that, in the cases of Aneiros and López Silva, coincide to a striking extent in terms of both plot and discursive articulation, and which allow us to re-imagine the historical past from original perspectives that avoid the sclerotisation and exhaustion of the so-called "literature of memory".

In the resilient nature of this approach we can recognise the feminist program proposed by Françoise Collin, a program that addresses what she calls "the indominable[6]", which opens a space to the totality of experience and does not identify with the dominant, with that ideology that equates living "with doing [as if] there were no other time than that of history. As if 'history' should serve as a memory" (COLLIN, 1995: 170). Within the framework of her analysis of the specificity of what would be a feminist history or a women's history, Collin analyses memory – in contrast to history – as a singular form of access to temporality, a form that allows us to access that which is considered unrepresentable insofar as it is not represented (that is to say, is not considered representable because it has not yet been represented) and, consequently, unknown to the extent that it is ignored by patriarchal canonical historical knowledge (a knowledge that Collin qualifies as "hard" and "monumental" and that, in my opinion, is predominantly factual). Therefore, "*Si la memoria excede a lo representable, si el tiempo excede a su versión histórica o susceptible de serlo, ¿no hay huellas que son irreductibles a las marcas, a lo que se capitaliza y recupera?*" (COLLIN, 1995: 163-4). *Si las hay, y el arte se nos revela como una herramienta especialmente útil para detectarlas. Collin lo explica así: If there are, then art reveals itself to us as a particularly useful tool for detecting them. Collin explains it*

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6   This is a sphere in which we might situate, from a neurobiological perspective such as that of A. Damásio, emotions.

thus: "Quizá toda obra de arte es depositaria de una memoria ajena a la reconstrucción o a la construcción de la historia, una memoria que recoge el olvido de lo inmemorial: en la obra de arte lo que no depende de la **marca** *deja* **huella** *en un tiempo que no es ajeno, sino irreductible, a lo histórico, donde quedan abolidas las fronteras de lo privado y lo público, de lo singular y lo colectivo"* (COLLIN, 1995: 165, bold mine).

History would therefore not be the only depository of that experiential and emotional memory, not even the primary or prioritised one. If, as Collin affirms, "*la fidelidad a la memoria no se agota en su traducción histórica, ni en la esfera de lo representable*" (COLLIN, 1995: 170), then, I argue, artistic expression, free of the limitations imposed by denotation and referentiality, is constituted in the privileged environment as a means of giving form to that memory of the unnameable and the indominable. For that reason, as we will see, Inverno and Marcel, characters in *Sol de inverno* (2009) and *Memoria de cidades sen luz* (2008) respectively, engage in the act of writing. I will now focus on the analysis of these two novels that, as I have already noted, present striking similarities in the literary development of this emotional memory. The aim of such an analysis is to show the extent to which these texts concretise the innovative potential of this narrative model for dealing with memory established by female Galician authors.

The cases of *sol de inverno* and *memoria de cidades sen luz*

In addition to having been published at practically at the same time and being almost contemporaneous authors (Aneiros was born in 1976, López Silva in 1978), both novels begin in the same way: with a violent death, witnessed in one work by a five-year-old boy and in the other by a thirteen-year-old girl; in both cases, then, they are individuals who had not yet had contact with death, nor, above all, with gratuitous violence. Inverno, the main character in *Sol de inverno* (hereafter SDI) experiences these for the first time when her friend Fiz dies in her arms because "*ninguén lle advertira aínda que a vida remataba así, de súpeto, sen máis, aos dezasete anos. Que non se precisa accidente nin enfermidade. Que o odio e a envexa son suficientes para morrer. Iso aos dezasete anos non se sabe ou non se quere saber*" (24). The main character in *Memoria de cidades sin luz* (hereafter, MDCSL) is, at the beginning of the book, a five-year-old boy who watches from under his bed as his family is murdered and "*nese momento, creo, comenezou a miña vida*". Yet his life began not because he managed to survive, but because "*aquel día é o meu primeiro rcordo*" since "*no lembro nada anterior* ás *cousas que vin dende debaixo da cama*" (13); paradoxically, life and memory are synonymous for Marcel, although Lucia, the woman who rescued him and became his adoptive mother, had, since then, dedicated "*todos os seus esforzos a que esquecese o que viña de ver*" (15).

Memory is, from the very beginning, the catalyst of everything that is recounted to us in both novels, which indeed comes into existence exactly because their protagonists perform

an exercise of memory. In the case of Marcel, at the end of his life, now blind, when all that remains is his voice, he will be left with that memory which constitutes the seminal nucleus of his identity:

> Por iso souben que tiña que morrer en París, neste París no que a luz artificial resolve as ausencias e resolve a memoria toda que hoxe conto con nostalxia, porque me sei transitando na fronteira.
>
> *(...)*
>
> *Seguramente relato este capítulo despois de morto. A miña voz sobrevíveme (...) E cando eu desapareza, irá comigo a miña voz e, con ela, a memoria* (MDCSL: 338-9).

Also in the case of Inverno it is her voice, the custodian of memory that allows her to stay alive:

> *namentras esta voz siga a vibrar nas cordas vocais, seguirás a existir.*
>
> *(...)*
>
> *Pero antes, antes diralo todo, unha e outra vez. Repetiralo ata que non che queden folgos. Cada día. Esa é a única evidencia de teres existido (...) Namentres un recordo, Inverno, un maldito recordo alumee desde algún furado negro do cerebro, permanecerás viva* (SDI: 505).

As for Inverno, who fights Alzheimer's disease to her final days, life is quite literally a matter of remembering, consciousness of how it is still "*só agarda lembrar. É o único facho que queda aceso para continuar vivindo*" (SDI: 5).

In both cases, the incomprehensible and abrupt encounter with death metaphorises the shock that such an event always constitutes during war, making it much more sudden and incomprehensible. But in the novels of Aneiros and Lopez Silva death is individualised and from it derives, inevitably, a certain dehistoricisation that allows us to resize it and interpret it in a subjective and emotional way.

Those traumatic encounters, then, exert for Marcel and for Inverno a foundational value: in the case of the former, erasing the memory of all that had happened until then; in the latter, making her into an adult before her time, as her father perceived: "*Inverno, xa es unha adulta. Xa coñeces o peso das mentiras e dos silencios de Antes. Miñaxoia, que cedo che chegou...*" (SDI: 38). From that point onwards, the life of both characters will be an emotional carousel, one dominated by arbitrary and contradictory feelings. Their living states mark for them their emotions: Joy ("*a Rue de la Felicité[7] foi unha sorte de cidadela fortificada (...) que me condenou, irremediablemente, á alegría máis fonda*" (MDCSL: 117) but above all fear, a permanent fear ("*eu vivín con medo toda a miña vid*a", MDCSL: 317) which has even physiological consequences: "*Cando o medo chegaba, simplemente, volvíame parvo, paralizábaseme o*

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7   Obviously, the choice of the name of the street is no coincidence.

cerebro, nin memorizaba nin me concentraba absolutamente en nada" (MDCSL: 119); "*Cando xa case non me lembraba do que era, o medo volveu. Unha tarde do 42 (...) comprobei por enésima vez que non había maneira de librarse del, que fixese o que fixese, fose onde fose, o medo* ía *irromper inesperadamente para esfarrapar dunha labazada a felicidade. Xa se sabe: o medo volve sempre*" (MDCSL: 127).

For Inverno, after the death of Fiz, the feeling that is imposed is not pain or aching, "*era máis a sorpresa, o medo, a carraxe*" (SDI: 26); she felt such fear that she was not "*capaz de articular palabra*" (SDI: 30). In fact, in both cases the deepening of the fear until it is chronic seems to be due to the development of a pathology caused by shock: all symptoms fit with what may be an undiagnosed and untreated case of post-traumatic stress disorder (TEP), according to the criteria of the DSM-V diagnostic (American Psychiatric Association) or that of the ICD-10 (International Statistical Classification of Health-related Problems developed by the WHO).

The consequences, at the level of the consciousness, of traumatic events such as those lived by Marcel and Inverno in their early years have been studied widely (for example, Harkin 2009, following Fogelson), as also have the effects of certain absolutely anomalous emotional experiences, such as seeing one's own parents and siblings being killed when one is five years old: "certain emotional experiences may not find expression since they lack an appropriate cognitive structuration in the culture that would allow them to become the subject of discourse. In such cases, their unarticulated, un-nameable and chaotic qualities make them disturbing and dangerous and potentially creative forces" (HARKIN: 84). Of course, the society in which both Marcel and Inverno lived lacked this explanatory framework (the "appropriate cognitive structuration" that Harkin talks about) that would allow them to integrate and assimilate their trauma: it will in fact be the creative force of writing that helps them to live with the grief, a grief they will never overcome ("*O horror da visión de Fiz abatido na silveira non escapou nunca*", SDI): 39).

In MDCSL, practically all the characters write as therapy; Marcel, because "*só así un é quen de volver ver no maxín a morte dun fillo ou de escribir o medo co que sempre viviu, para que quede aí*" (321); René dedicates his novel to "*oito horas diarias*" because "*tiña tanto medo a ser criticado que botaba máis horas corrixindo ca escribindo*" (161) and would never come to publish this work "*que escribía unha e outra vez*" (215); even Armelle will compulsively write letters from prison in search of redemption. As for Lucia, "*despois das longas tempadas que pasaba escribindo naquela casa da Toscana, volvía a París moito máis tranquila e normal, quizais porque vertía todos os seus fantasmas nunhas novelas estrañas que publicaba co nome de Marie Royal-Benhamou*"; thanks to these novels, Lucia can rid herself of her memories, transferring them to a world of fiction in which there is more truth than in her own life: "*Nas novelas que escribiu na Toscana estaba todo aquel mundo de saudade e nostalxia que Lucía trataba de disfrazar coa enerxía dun* día a día conducido a *cen por hora. Era coma estar nunha vida de mentira e verter na ficción da literatura a súa propia realidade*" (122). The use of

the pseudonym Marie Royal-Benhamou is nothing other than the final link in this process of transfer and ontological unfolding in which Lucia lives.

Inverno will also turn to writing as a bulwark against nostalgia and oblivion. In order not to forget her origins, her father encourages her to write letters to her friend Laura (SDI: 136) but also chooses her to be a typist for the newsletter *Galiza Nova*, which was edited by anti-fascist Galician writers who had fled to Barcelona during the Civil War. And thus "*as letras ditadas por aqueles que papá chamaba irmáns e as cartas de Laura impedíronche esquecer. E aferrácheste ás palabras para sobrevivir á desmemoria*" (SDI: 138). The same will happen years later, in Cuba, when she is working for the island's press, at the official journal *Diario de La Marina* and also the underground magazine *Loita*. Inverno wrote in order not to feel "*tan endiañada, maldita e agonicamente soa*" (SDI: 411); she read and wrote "*compulsivamente para matar as horas*" (SDI: 411) because "*non querías esquecer, aferrábaste a calquera palabra para non te anular, para lembrar que eras Inverno*" (SDI: 412). At the typewriter "*afogabas todos os lamentos que xa ninguén quería escoitar*" (SDI: 412) while "*tecleabas saudades*" (SDI: 412).

If memory and life are, as we have seen, inextricably united, nostalgia is the vertex at which the two converge, in that it is the engine that drives their lives and, hence, that which makes the mechanism of memory work. We have already seen that Lucia suffers from chronic homesickness, and Marcel suffers an attack of this same sentiment on a trip to Buenos Aires (MDCSL: 232, 236) only to discover that, indeed, memory and nostalgia are inseparably united and feed on one another: "*Quizais a inmersión no pasado e nas emocións me tivera ata entón demasiado distraído como para pensar que, a fin de contas, eu non era máis ca un exiliado que volvera, e os motivos do exilio empezaron a virme á memoria na conversa con aquela muller*" (MDCSL: 298).

But the area in which I consider these female authors to be most radically innovative is in the love stories of their protagonists. If we accept that everything related to feelings of love is usually codified in an emotional framework, we will better understand the importance of subverting gender stereotypes in this area. In the case of Inverno, the history of her love contravenes what is expected of a woman of her social and cultural profile: what is striking is not only that she does not marry or have children but, above all, her deaf resistance to the realisation of a loving relationship that, ultimately, could deactivate the resistant memory-based practice that she has chosen as a *modus vivendi* and which will prevent her from achieving her main objective in life: to return to Antes, alongside Fiz, to die there. Neither Raphael, nor Ian, nor Tomás will be sufficiently interesting to divert her from that goal.

More complex is the case of Marcel, a character who perfectly embodies Foessel's theses (2010: 98) as to how links are established between individuals in modern societies, these no longer being predetermined by the family but knotted arbitrarily. Marcel was orphaned at an early age, and from that time he develops an unusual affiliation with Lucía, who in turn first

maintains a sentimental relationship with a married man before ending up in a relationship with a woman; Marcel will go on to live in a ménage à trois with Armelle and René in total normality, and with such intensity that he will relegate the question of Artur's paternity to a secondary level, and will maintain throughout his life a relationship with María that we will not know whether to label as friendly or loving. Only in the end, already blind, will he rediscover love with Nélia, a far younger woman.

A first and important element in the rupture of our conventional expectations of love is the fact that the emotional component does not necessarily make these novels "soft". That is to say, their characters do not experience an ascending emotional progression in a positive sense: love neither generates happiness, nor does it appear as a horizon to be reached in life, nor is "the happy ending" an operative vector in the development of the plots, elements which could all be understood, even expected, as a sort of poetic justice to compensate Marcel and Inverno for so much suffering.

It is only during childhood that the characters believe the myth of the promise of happiness: from then on, the more experiences they have, the more evidence they accumulate that the promise of the future was false and that happiness does not exist. That is why the novels of Aneiros and López Silva are nostalgic novels, which are constantly projected towards the past rather than the future, and it is also for this reason that both characters spend their lives yearning for their respective unfulfilled childhood loves which, because impossible, were perfect. So much so that Marcel, at the end of his life, when he reconstructs it through memory in order to narrate it, still sighs for that past: "*aínda hoxe desexo recuperar aqueles momentos, esa primeira tarde de falar con María e que aí parase o tempo*" (MDCSL: 55), a past in which everything fits together, in which the subject finds its reason for being ("*eu comecei a estar seguro de que María e eu eramos mozos, nós os dous, sós, un do outro. Era unha especie de mundo perfecto que, como non, xiraba arredor de min: eu, a miña moza e o meu mellor amigo, despois de ver as películas fantásticas no cine Savoy na Coruña, co olor a mar*", MDCSL: 58) and in which it was still possible to make any fantasy come true: "*me atrevían a darlle aquel bico que nunca máis olvidei, o bico de Hollywood que ela me deixou darlle coma se fose o máis normal do mundo e coma se ela tamén pensase nese bico tanto coma min, que nas noites imaxinaba e fantaseaba o bico no meu cuarto*" (MDCSL: 58).

Such an idyllic state, though, came to an end with the *coup d'état* of 18 July 1936 and the violence it unleashed, so perceptible that even some pre-adolescents were able to grasp the significance of its effects. Thus Marcel suddenly learned the great lesson of his life, the only promise that will be fulfilled repeatedly, and which he will thus never forget: "*din os budistas que mesmo estar feliz é sufrimento pois, cando un é feliz, sabe que a felicidade rematará antes ou despois. Diso empezamos a decatarnos ese día...*" (MDCSL: 59).

Something similar happens to Inverno. Her discovery of the impossibility of happiness

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also comes after the sudden disappearance of her beloved Fiz, snatched away by the primary and gratuitous violence unleashed in the weeks before the Civil War. As I have already noted, it is the character's father who is first to notice:

> *Inverno, xa es unha adulta. Xa coñeces o peso das mentiras e dos silencios de Antes. Miñaxoia, que cedo che chegou… Daquela non entendiches pero só unhas semanas despois soubeches de que falaba. Para ti a guerra comezou aquel serán do San Xoán (...) só tiñas trece anos (...) Esa tarde, Inverno, non o esquezas, comezou a guerra, unha guerra na que Fiz xa non podería acompañarte.*
> *O horror da visión de Fiz abatido na silveira non escapou nunca. Segues tendo o cheiro a cereixas e murmurio das candeas do castiñeiro envolvidos nos miolos. Foi imposible calalos malia tanto tempo como pasou (...) turraches por fuxir do cadáver de Fiz e nunca o conseguiches. Tentáchelo en Antes, en París, na Habana, en Pinar del Río, en Bos Aires, en Barcelona, sen saber que da infancia non se foxe. Nin do paraíso nin do inferno* (SDI: 38-39)

In both cases, the impact of childhood trauma is sustained until the end of their lives in such a way that what Marcel and Inverno are is self-explained by what they have lived through. The past, the remote past, is the axis around which they articulate themselves as subjects, which is why in these novels the identity of the main characters is constructed within their interior selves, in intimacy that they rarely need to externalise and that they even prefer to remove from the social sphere. This space for the intimate is a stronghold of freedom, of resistance and even of criticism of the conventions and negotiations imposed on them – as is imposed on all of us – by the public sphere (on this question, see Foessel 2010). And hence also the scant activity or appearance of bodies as vehicles of being and, perhaps by way of compensation, the obsessive presence of writing (I have dealt with these questions in more detail in Vilavedra 2016a).

On the traumatic past and (im)possible happiness

We have seen how Marcel and Inverno build their identities by exercising a stubborn resistance to forgetting the past, a resistance that LaCapra has described as a kind of "fidelity to the trauma" that can come from:

> *un sentimiento melancólico de que, elaborando el pasado para poder sobrevivir o participar nuevamente en la vida, uno traiciona a los que quedaron aniquilados o destruidos por el pasado traumático. El lazo que nos une a los muertos, especialmente a los muertos entrañables, puede conferirle valor al trauma y hacer que el volver a vivirlo sea una conmemoración dolorosa pero necesaria a la cual nos consagramos o al menos quedamos apegados* (LACAPRA, 2005: 46-47)

This foundational trauma can even be a key element in the construction of one's own identity, as indeed happens in these cases. Thus, the troubled journey through life for both characters is configured around loss and the permanent desire to compensate for it, to restore the original, destroyed order. This is why neither Marcel nor Inverno want to elaborate on and overcome their respective losses, despite the fact that they are historical and thus the

consequence of a series of concrete events that explain them, and which thus might help Marcel and Inverno to embrace and overcome them. In this sense, the subjective and contradictory versions that both characters construct from History and from their own biographies, this from a very *sui generis* combination of individual and collective experience, coincide fully with the autobiographical behaviour that Bou (2005) has described as characteristic of the exiled condition, in which the role granted to individual experience underpins frustration at the scant historical certainty and the consequent confirmation of the impossibility of achieving "*el sueño imposible de una memoria total que integrara la individual, la colectiva y la histórica*" (Bou, 2005: 31). For both, their losses are irremediable and constitutive and it is for this reason that "any reconstruction or renovation appears as something unacceptable by totalizing, repairing, optimist or naive" (LACAPRA, 2005: 4). The abrupt rupture of both with what would have been a conventional environment in which to develop a normal childhood, and their successive integration into traumatised environments, also marked by loss, renders the setting out or realisation of their original losses even more impossible and takes them to a permanent state of melancholy in which mourning is confused with "an endless quasi transcendental suffering" (LACAPRA, 2005: 95) that makes any attempt to achieve happiness in vain.

Denying the promise of happiness and love as a formula to achieve it, contrary to what might be the expectations of certain communities of readers that seek in literature a confirmation of their stereotypes, these novels resist being what LaCapra defines as those "*narrativas fetichizadas y totalizadoras que niegan el trauma que les dio origen retornando prematuramente al principio del placer, armonizando los acontecimientos y recuperando a menudo el pasado con mensajes exaltados u optimistas*" (LACAPRA, 2005: 7). In the case of Inverno, love does not even seem to enter into the broader project of her life, after Fiz's death and the failed adolescent attempts with Louis: neither Ian nor Tomás become much more than footnotes in her life, utterly secondary in the development of a life narrative centred around the management of a personal trauma that allows her, the main character, and us, the readers, to resize on a human scale the successive historical traumas in which she lives immersed. And the same will happen to Marcel: in the case of MDCSL, the author submits her character to what is perhaps the worst of fates, because after witnessing at five years of age the murder of his parents and siblings, he will have to see how his beloved Armelle kills his son Artur. López Silva radically alters the affective categories with which we usually operate: maternity, paternity, friendship, love… and absolutely all the characters in this novel force us to reconceptualise them because nothing turns out to be as we thought: mothers kill their children, children see their fathers killed, love and friendship are barely distinguishable... And Marcel ends his days by discovering, contrary to what he had always believed, that "*a vida e os dramas non tiñan por que estar tocados pola guerra*" (MDCSL: 333). After all, his past is revealed only as a past, just one more, surely neither more nor less traumatic than that of other characters such as René, Armelle or Nélia: for all of them, happiness would be nothing more than a chimera, a promise repeatedly refuted when the future becomes the present.

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By way of conclusion

In analysing the novels by López Silva and Aneiros, it is surprising how many narrative formulas coincide, both at the level of plot and also in terms of discursive articulation. In my opinion, these coincidences occur because the authors resort to such formulas insofar as they are especially appropriate for a narrative turn that allows us to re-imagine the Civil War from novel perspectives, avoiding its sclerotisation and exhaustion within the canonical framework of the so-called "narrative of historical memory", a model configured in Galicia almost exclusively by male narrators practically until the 21st century.

The singular, heterodox and renovating contribution of female Galician writers to the literary codification of historical memory is based, fundamentally, on their capacity to create, by means of certain discursive resources, a space for an emotional approach on the margins of expected gender stereotypes, these established from a cultural logic that associates emotion with the feminine and activism with the masculine. As we have seen, these resources have to do, above all, with the diffuse ontological condition of diegetic materials, with the capacity of these writers to hybridise different genre-discursive categories, and with the use of ambiguous modalyzing formulas by means of which they carry out a symbiosis between the biographical and the fictional. This is even the case in those modalities most linked to intimacy (as is the case with autobiography) which provide their narratives with a singular tension between the public and private, the intimate and the historical, in which the topical readings draw on confessionalism and sentimentalism to make the characteristic vectors of female-authored narrative. On these lines, the emotional dimension within which these stories take place, with their resistance to *happy endings* and their tacit affirmation that all traumatic memory is a sufficient condition for unhappiness, invites us to question the naive conviction in the healing power of memory, but at the same time forces us to rethink the duty of memory, its limits, possibilities and consequences. Perhaps this is the most innovative proposal, however heterodox, of the readings that these novels invite us to make.

Towards a cosmopolitan-political reading

Let us return to where we began. The recovery of the Holocaust and its historical time as a thematic motif, far from being seen as an anachronism, must be interpreted as a consequence of "the need for a moral touchstone in an age of uncertainty and the absence of master ideological narratives" (LEVY & SZNAIDER, 2002: 93). This assertion could be applied, by extension, to the novels we have just analysed and to their radical contribution to the transnationalisation of Galician historical memory and, therefore, to the configuration of a cosmopolitan European memory and identity.

Undoubtedly, "there is a bitter irony, but perhaps also a portion of hope, in the fact that a nationalistic, racist movement sparked an international consciousness that has been given

expression in a range of works that deal with the denial of the right to life, caused by war, genocide and disaster, and that it has become a significant part of world literature" (ROSENDAHL, 2008: 103). There is ethical potential (and perhaps also political) in the so-called "literature of the Holocaust" that seems to me comparable to the one that can be developed through readings of the novels of Aneiros, López Silva, Buela and Costas, in that the relationship (implicit or explicit) that establishes the memory of the Civil War with that of other conflicts, in order to integrate it into a dynamic centrifuge, both multidirectional and transnational, can have a compensatory effect in face of endogamic inertia and the risk of depoliticisation that the fictionalisation of any historical event always entails (as we mentioned above in relation to the choice of the model of the adventure novel by male Galician writers in dealing with topics such as the Second World War). Far from having an alienating effect, these female authors have shown that emotions and deterritorialisation are useful tools for stimulating a moral reading and that, although it may seem paradoxical from the outset, the expropriation of the memory of conflict and pain, with the consequent recognition of the international identity of the victims, can contribute to the generation of a feeling of universal solidarity.

Ultimately, the question posed by these novels is whether "a cosmopolitan reading may be an effective tool for overcoming the distance between past-oriented national memories and the anxiety of a globally shared European future" (DOMÍNGUEZ, 2015: 41). Or, to put it in another way, its potential **cosmopolitan-political** scope (MOUFFE, 2007: 103). Time will tell.

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THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL PRESS AND THE *ESTADO NOVO*

A IMPRENSA COLONIAL PORTUGUESA E O ESTADO NOVO

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ABSTRACT

This essay discusses the *Boletim Geral das Colónias (General Bulletin of the Colonies),* which was renamed and continued to appear as the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar (General Bulletin of the Overseas)*, as an informative vehicle about the field of art and letters during the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Based on the monthly publication of the section 'Arts and Letters,' which began in February 1948, this study explores the sudden integration of a space dedicated to literary and cultural divulgation into such a publication. It furtherly discusses the form in which it was transmitted to the public; the advantages of this type of divulgation within the Portuguese colonial space; the dynamics between center and the peripheries; and, in a wider sense, how this space contributed to the construction of a cultural imaginary about the colonies and about the colonizer.

KEYWORDS: General Bulletin of the Colonies/Overseas; literary and cultural divulgation; Portuguese colonial project

RESUMO

Neste ensaio proponho discutir o Boletim Geral das Colónias e o Boletim Geral do Ultramar como veículos informativos sobre o campo da arte e das letras durante o Império Colonial Português. Tendo por base a publicação mensal neste Boletim, a partir de Abril de 1945, de uma secção de "Artes e Letras Coloniais," pretendo averiguar e discutir a súbita integração de um espaço dedicado à divulgação literária e cultural; a forma como esta divulgação é transmitida ao público; as vantagens deste tipo de divulgação no espaço colonial português; a dinâmica entre o centro e as periferias; e, num sentido mais abrangente, como este espaço contribuiu para a construção de um imaginário cultural sobre as colónias e sobre Portugal colonizador.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Boletim Geral das Colónias/Ultramar; divulgação literária e cultural; projecto colonial português

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The presence of a colonial press in Portuguese has a long tradition, mainly since the last third of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the periodic at stake here distinguishes itself from other colonial press publications since it was officially connected to the State power. In an effort to stimulate its colonial project, the Portuguese State created the *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias (Bulletin of the General Agency of the Colonies),* whose first issue came out in July 1925. The creation of the *Boletim* results—according to Armando Zuzarte Cortesão, General Agent of the Colonies and the director of the *Boletim*—in an evolution of the colonial idea that has 'from twenty years until now, influenced in such a way the guidelines to be followed by the colonizers, that the orientation and mainly the processes that are used are today absolutely diverse from what they used to be' (BOLETIM, july 1925, p. 4). A monthly publication, the *Boletim* acquires several designations throughout time: from 1925 to 1935 is called *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias* (*Bulletin of the General Agency of the Colonies*), from 1935 to 1951 *Boletim Geral das Colánias* (*General Bulletin of the Colonies*) and, from 1951 to 1974, *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* (*General Bulletin of the Overseas*). These changes of name reflect the systematic alterations in the colonial policy of the Portuguese State, also reflected in the establishment of the 28 May 1926 Revolution. The *Boletim* became the 'official organ of Portuguese colonial activity [proposing] to make propaganda out of our colonial patrimony, contributing by all means for its aggrandizement, defence, study of its richness's and demonstration of the aptitudes and colonizing capacity of the Portuguese people' (BOLETIM, july 1926, s/p).

If we take into account the cultural, literary and artistic field, one of the first measures used to promote the 'colonial idea' in the spirit of the Portuguese was the creation of a Colonial Literary Contest, promoted and initiated by the General Agency of the Colonies, and divulged through its *Boletim*[2]. The use of literature — of a certain nature, it's true, assured through the attribution of prizes — as a vehicle that conveys a specific colonialist ideology intended to be inculcated in the Portuguese population, was mainly accomplished through this annual contest created in 1926, having lasted until 1968. Nonetheless, the investment of the government didn't stop there.

The Portuguese *Estado Novo* continues to invest in its colonial press, emphasizing more and more art and literature as a way to keep its colonial Empire untouched, at a moment when, after the Second World War, the process of decolonization began across other European Empires. Almost twenty years after the beginning of the Colonial Literary Contest, in April 1945 (issue 238), the *Boletim Geral das Colónias* starts publishing a space titled 'Artes e Letras Coloniais' ('Colonial Arts and Letters'). The responsible for this section was Augusto da Costa, a writer and researcher of Portuguese literature and culture. According to Augusto da Costa, the introduction in the *Boletim* of a rubric dedicated to arts and letters was something to be praised.

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2   On the Colonial Literature Contest, see Noa 2002 and Sousa 2015.

The reason for this was evident:

> more books are being published, both of fiction as of study, having as a picture or finality landscapes or customs, the policy or the economy of our overseas lands, and such works deserve to be mentioned, in higher or lower scale, in a publication which is intended to give a regular account of our colonial life. (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 94)

During the several years that he wrote the 'Crónica Colonial' ('Colonial Chronicle'), colonial culture was the theme which was given importance and which subsequently, according to Augusto da Costa, should not be forgotten by a country that considers its colonies to be a missionary vocation.

In fact, colonial culture was forgotten during the days after the 25th of April 1974 revolution, which brought with it the independence of the Portuguese colonies and the end of the colonial era. Examining the way in which artistic culture in general and literature in particular were instrumentalized by the colonial project during the *Estado Novo* thus becomes a necessity in the sense of understanding the mechanisms by means of which Portugal imposed its colonial domination in Africa. That interest transcends the purely historical and resonates in contemporary Portuguese society, for instance, in novels that express a longing for the colonial past. Examples of such resonance would be the case of novels such as Manuel Arouca's *Deixei o meu Coração em África* (2005), Júlio de Magalhães' *Os Retornados* (2008), Tiago Rebelo's *O* Último Ano em Luanda (2008) and Manuel Acácio's *A Balada do Ultramar* (2009), which focus on the colonial past and stage several aspects of lusotropicalism,[3] a doctrine adopted in the 1950s to support a regime increasingly fought against from within and questioned by international organisations. The use of artistic culture was indeed important in the sense of consolidating support in the political and economic domains during the colonization process. Today understanding how creative work was used in the service of the State offers a unique window not only into the historical colonial process but also into its variant neo- or postcolonial impacts in contemporary society.

An analysis of the section 'Artes e Letras Coloniais' allows us to discuss the importance of a space dedicated to the literary and cultural divulgation of the *Boletim Geral das Colónias* (*Ultramar*) in the overall colonial project and to evaluate the way in which this divulgation was conveyed to the public. It also facilitates an understanding of the advantages of this type of propagandistic dissemination in the Portuguese colonial space as well as of the dynamics between center and periphery. Lastly, and in a broader framework, we can develop a better sense of how this space contributed to the construction of a cultural imaginary about the colonies and colonizer in Portugal.

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3   For more information on lusotropicalism see, for example, Castelo 1998, and, Anderson, Roque, Santos (eds.) 2019.

Turning to Augusto da Costa and his first comment about the insertion of the column 'Artes e Letras Colonias' in the *Boletim*, it's worth noting the complaint about the general Portuguese tendency not only to copy foreign literature but also to buy it and consume it. This observation immediately reveals the utilitarian sense of literature as a form of construction of a national identity that has the colonizing mission as its central core. According to him, there is 'a fever [in Portugal] of foreign literatures, in often malicious translations' (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 95). He does not, nonetheless, refer what he means by a 'malicious translation.' This being the case, 'it should not be too much to ask the same audience to read Portuguese literature of colonial themes' (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 95). His critique continues, focusing on a presupposed complacent spirit of the Portuguese:

> being technical works—politics, administration or economy—they should be introduced to the knowledge of the new generations, who in the superior schools search for the ways of their future, opening to them more shining perspectives—from the individual point of view, and more useful from the national point of view—than a simple job of officer in the secretariat of Terreiro do Paço, with hours to spare to spend at the Rossio coffee shops. (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 95)

In any case, it is absolutely urgent and necessary that these works are not consigned to the shelves of forgotten books or are never read, since they 'bring a valuable contribution to the formation of a Portuguese imperial mentality' (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 95). Augusto da Costa is thus concerned with what is defined as colonialist literature, i.e., "that which was specifically concerned with colonial expansion. (…) it was literature written by and for colonizing Europeans about non-Europeans lands dominated by them. It embodied the imperialist point of view" (BOEHMER, 1988, p. 16). It was also "informed by theories concerning the superiority of European culture and the rightness of the Empire. Its distinctive stereotyped language was geared to mediating the white man's relationship with colonized peoples" (BOEHMER, 1988, p. 16). Augusto da Costa does not seem so attentive to colonial literature, or better said, the part of colonial literature written by creoles and indigenes, if by colonial literature we understand the literature that deals "with the colonial perceptions and experience, written mainly by metropolitans, but also by creoles and indigenes, during colonial times. Controversially perhaps, colonial literature therefore includes literature written in [Portugal] as well as in the rest of the Empire during the colonial period" (BOEHMER, 1988, p. 15).

In a phase that Augusto da Costa classifies as a "rebirth of letters and arts" in Portugal, it is important that the citizens of the country do not confuse values. The question that he poses is of essential importance for our study, in that it helps to understand the core of the issue and to evaluate the decision to insert a column dedicated to arts and letters in the *Boletim Geral das Colónias*: 'to what extent does that rebirth of the arts and letters contribute to the formation of a truly national culture?' (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 95). The point here is to separate the wheat from the chaff in literary terms, or even better, to fill the bag with the same type of cereal.

Augusto da Costa's answer will help to clarify my last comment:

> Books are not always *masterpieces*; and the masterpieces — even when they can be called that — do not always correspond to the needs of the national culture. Not for the individuals, not for the peoples, the culture constitutes an end in itself; it is a means to the service of an end, a subordinated element, therefore, a finality that surpasses it, which is the spiritual elevation of the individuals and, through it, the valorisation of the conscience of the peoples. It is up to writers to write works that increase the patrimony of the national culture; it is up to the critic to appreciate them; it is up to the press — journal or newspaper — to publicize them. (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 95-96)

It is interesting to discover that the first work that Augusto da Costa chooses to speak about is a thesis (and not a novel or a book of poetry) and that the intention of this choice is indeed not innocent. We are at the aftermath of Second World War, and we can infer from da Costa's words that literature is only a means to reach other ends. The topic of the chosen thesis is the *Colonização Étnica da África Portuguesa* (*Ethic Colonization of Portuguese Africa*), presented at the II Congress of the National Union, in 1944, by Vicente Ferreira, engineer and colonialist. In the indicated thesis, the author argues that, due to world circumstances, it is of extreme necessity to relocate the surplus of the metropolitan population in Africa. At stake are not only economic and social interests but, mainly, political. Augusto da Costa seizes the opportunity to emphasize that what is at stake is not to know if the world of tomorrow will be more democratic or totalitarian, but 'the defence of some against the hegemony of other peoples, that defence takes the active form of attack or the passive form of resistance' (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 97). It is obvious, that he does not want to see the end of Portuguese hegemony in the world. For da Costa what is important is to take away the claws of some hegemonic countries in order that Portugal does not lose its hegemony and power in its own African colonies. Please note Augusto da Costa's words:

> In the scheme of principles, we desire that from the war the right of the peoples to dispose freely of their destinies become victorious, in collaboration yes but not with the subordination to the strongest or richest peoples; in the scheme of realities, we should caution each time better what belongs to us; and the best way, for a colonial people, of cautioning what belongs to them is to populate its territories and develop its economic potential to ensure, on one hand, the elevation of its level of life and, on the other hand, to not offer stimulus to the greed of others, under easy pretext of incapacity of auto-administrate itself. (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 97)

There is an urgency of sending white families to Africa in order to solve one of the biggest problems of Portuguese colonization — and the one that is the cause of the lack of respect and almost contempt from other countries: namely, economic development. It is only in this way that Portugal will save itself from the attempts 'of appropriation by foreign elements' (BOLETIM, april 1945, p. 101). Succinctly put, in this first column on arts and letters, the author speaks about almost everything except art, going on for several pages in an enunciation

(or speculation) concerning the several ways and most favourable processes for an effective colonization by the Portuguese of their African territories.

The 'Artes e Letras Coloniais' article of June 1945 is interesting in the sense that it sheds some light on the cultural and literary dynamics between the metropolis and its colonies. Augusto da Costa mentions several books, all of them on a variety of subjects, from poetry to adminis-tration. Nevertheless, they are also all 'oriented in the same imperial sense, animated by the same desire of bringing together the Portuguese people of their overseas empire' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 306-307). Augusto da Costa decides to give priority to José Osório de Oliveira's brochure on the poetry of Cape Verde titled *Poesia de Cabo Verde* (*Poetry of Cape Verde*). Augusto da Costa justifies that decision with the fact that, while the people cannot live without administration, they also cannot live without the enchantment of poetry. He then asks if there is such a thing as a Cape-Verdean literature. Quoting Osório de Oliveira, there is in Cape Verde 'a humanistic knowledge and a fondness for the fine arts that isolation was not able to erase; rather it seems to have stimulated them' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 308).

However, the core question remains the following: 'Do we know, in the Metropolis, the literature of Cape Verde?' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 308). Apparently, and according to the lament of Augusto da Costa, the answer is no. In the critic's words, this 'is a very Portuguese flaw — mainly the modern Portuguese, who by force of wanting to belong to their time, forgets that which belongs, before anything else to his Motherland — it is a very generalized flaw between us knowing more what's foreign than what is national' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 308). Regarding the Portuguese insensibility for what is 'national of the colonies,' he provides the example of 'morna,' which besides dominating 'by music and lyrics, all the other artistic popular manifestations of the creole people is less known in Portugal than the Brazilian samba or the American *swing*' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 308). The problem of this Portuguese 'ignorance' is what creates this gap, or even a void, in the relations between the Portuguese and the supposedly 'also Portuguese' inhabitants of the colonies. If one intends an effective colonization that justifies the grandeur of the Empire and keeps it away from foreign claws, a cultural exchange is required that makes all the citizens spread across the different colonies feel as part of the same national unity. Quoting Osório de Oliveira, 'the Cape Verdeans need to feel that in the country to which they belong, or better: in the nation that they are part of, that they love and serve, even or mainly when they do poetry, there are hearts capable of understanding their nostalgic sobs and their shouting of anxiety' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 308).

Changing colony, this time to the notes of General Henrique de Carvalho about Guinea, Augusto da Costa is once again peremptory in relation to the attitude of the Portuguese. He mentions that 'the Portuguese resident of Lisbon knows very well that he possesses overseas territories, but barely knows where they are located and how much they are worth it. It would not be so bad, therefore, that he peruses books like this one, infinitely more beneficial for his culture and patriotism than the brochures of foreign propaganda and the coffee-shop conversations'

(BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 309). These types of books, therefore, can provide the Portuguese citizen a feeling of admiration for everything that his heroic ancestors did throughout that 'world that the Portuguese created4' (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 309), and at the same time urge upon him the necessity of not losing the overseas patrimony.

Augusto da Costa ends his column, once more, speaking more about politics than books, or maybe better, about the politics of the books. And once more he criticizes the Portuguese people. According to him, there exist today a *plan,* a *course* and a *command* in Portuguese colonial policy. These are 'in the conscience and in the intelligence of the governors; are they also in the intelligence and conscience of the governed?', he asks. The answer is that

> we would lie if we said that the Nation, as a whole, doesn't vibrate in face of the offenses made by third parties to our historic rights: but, in this case, sensibility intervenes more than reason (without, evidently, incompatibility between both); now, we need to dislocate the question from the level of sensibility to the level of intelligence, completing the instinctive reasons of one by the rationalized reasons of the other. It is not enough to react against the offenses made to our rights; it is necessary that we have a clear conscience of those rights and the intelligence of the necessary means to its preservation. In other words: a retrospective patrimony is not enough, we need rather a *prospective* patrimony, one that sees our overseas domains more at the level of the future than at the level of the past. (BOLETIM, june 1945, p. 311-312)

In February 1948 in issue 272, Augusto da Costa performs a critical recension — that he calls 'notation' — of Gastão de Sousa Dias' book, *Como Serpa Pinto Atravessou a África.* The reasoning behind the choice of this book comes not only from the fact that the editor had sent him a copy, but 'because all the pretexts should be availed to praise the publication of books like this one, live lessons of patriotism, faithful mirrors of the Portuguese heroism at the service of the Motherland' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 52). It is noteworthy that Augusto da Costa confesses to worrying much more about the substance of the works than with the style of the authors. He points out: 'I mean: taking into account to the main objective of the works, the possible slips that the authors reveal in their style is of little importance, so much more because the purpose of the authors is not to write pieces of art, but only to divulge some of the most glorious pages of our colonial epopee' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 53). Regarding style he states that it is clear, simple and direct, 'as it is convenient to the nature of the narrative and the public to whom its destined' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 53). Costa does not spend much time on any kind of analysis of Gastão de Sousa Dias' book; his main concern is essentially one of a literary propagandist whose mission is to change the mentality and the reading and writing habits in colonial Portugal. He follows with a lament: 'How many books could be written for

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4   Note here the influence of Gilberto Freyre who published two of his works considered "foundational" of lusotropicalism before the 1950's: *Casa Grande & Senzala* in 1933 and *O mundo que o português criou (aspectos das relações sociais e de cultura do Brasil com Portugal e as colónias portuguesas)* in 1940.

the youth of the schools, who deceive their necessities with despicable detective stories, if we searched the adventurous and romantic depth in our colonial history, so rich and so beautiful' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 54). After all, Portuguese colonial history is a bottomless pit of 'themes capable of dazzling the imagination of our boys and of channelling their interest to colonial life' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 54). From the scientific exploration of Brazil to the bellicose feats in which Mouzinho 'features as an invincible semi-god' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 54), Portuguese writers seem to have more fabric than sleeves in this Portugal that intends to reign in Africa. Augusto da Costa proceeds with the complaint:

> It is a pity, actually, to verify that a country that possesses an unequalled colonial history, and that needs by all means to channel its excessive population to its overseas domains, is not able to create a literature that knows how to take advantage of that gold lode, in which the marvellous offers itself so spontaneously to the vibrant hands that want and know how to mould it. (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 54)

The intention, therefore, is once more, as with the Colonial Literature Contest, to encourage the Portuguese people to immigrate to Africa and to embrace with their bodies and souls the Portuguese colonial project.

The already much debated problem, which apparently lacks a solution, has to do with the disinterest for that kind of book that, according to Costa, 'should be in the hands of all the boys' (BOLETIM, February 1948, p. 55). Obviously, the girls are not mentioned, but they are arguably included in the designation 'new generations', to whom it should be explained 'who were the heroes of our past, both distant and immediate', so that in the future complete ignorance will not prevail, since 'the colonial culture elevates itself on a daily basis, enriching the cultural patrimony of the Nation' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 55).

It is worth observing that Augusto Costa refers, with comparative intentions, to what is happening in Guinea. Alluding to Commandant Sarmento Rodrigues, Guinea's governor, he states that in this colonial space, suddenly there was a concern with "the things of the spirit" and that they have started to study its environment. The *Boletim Cultural* (*Cultural Bulletin*) produced in Guinea, 'having started by being a magazine of colonial culture, […] matches with the best that is edited around the world' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 56). Augusto da Costa asks: 'why don't they do as much, why don't our other colonies and overseas provinces follow the example of Guinea?' (BOLETIM, february 1948, p. 56).

The answer is perhaps the emptiness, the silence, and Costa's struggle continues. His column of 'Artes e Letras Coloniais' is every month oriented in the same imperial sense, animated by the same desire of bringing Portuguese citizens closer to the overseas Empire to which they belong and to which they seem oblivious.

In the year of 1951, 'a revision of the Constitution substituted the imperial idea typical

from the period between the two World Wars, stated in the Colonial Act, by an assimilationist conception, where the colonies transformed themselves in 'overseas provinces', forming with the metropolis a united nation' (ALEXANDRE, 2000, p. 195). In August of that same year, in the issue 314, the *Boletim* changes its name once again to *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* (*General Bulletin of the Overseas*). At the same time, the column 'Artes e Letras Coloniais' is newly designated "Artes e Letras do Ultramar' ('Overseas Arts and Letters'). In 1950, in the issue 305, this column starts to be signed by António Alberto de Andrade, an historian and university professor. Two aspects deserve to be highlighted in relation to his debut. First of all, the first book that António Alberto Andrade chooses to review is the *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, collected and annotated by António da Silva Rego. The choice of this type of works does not undergo a change other than the change of the name of who is now in charge of this mission. Given his career as an historian, this choice does not come as a surprise. Moreover, the choice of vocabulary in the appreciation of this book remains biased in the sense of preserving the importance of the Empire. Words such as 'patriotic', 'motherland glories', 'epopee' (BOLETIM, november 1950, p. 43) have the flavour of the centuries of the Discoveries. Secondly, it is worth mentioning that António Alberto de Andrade ends this column with praise for the benefits that result from the publications of scientific studies – even though this space is titled 'arts and letters' — and evokes one in particular. According to him, the work entitled *Medições de inteligência de algumas tribos indígenas da Zambézia e do Niassa (Moçambique)* 'is one of those that should be divulged, at least at the universities, national and foreign, that study psychology. It inserts a curious observation about the reaction to several *tests*, of individuals of black race, which will contribute a lot to the most complete knowledge of the African psyche' (BOLETIM, november 1950, p. 48).

In the first 'Artes e Letras Coloniais' column, António Alberto de Andrade decides to speak about poetry and music. If the reaction to what is produced in foreign countries had already been notorious in Augusto da Costa's reviews, here the route continues the same. Despite proclaiming that 'the cultural life in several of our overseas possessions is a tangible reality', although modest, the author emphasizes that this 'modesty of its achievements stands out when we compare it, for example, with the intellectual activity of the Belgian Congo' (BOLETIM, august 1951, p. 99). And he proceeds by praising the work done by the African Union of Arts and Letters, founded in 1946 in Elisabethville. According to António de Andrade, this Union

> is able to be the coordinator of the letters and arts of the Belgian Congo, providing to the white people, the spiritual and artistic environment to which they were accustomed to in the white continent, at the same time that it creates a richer sensibility amongst the blacks, making them appreciate better and develop harmonically their art, with new acquisitions provided by the white art. (BOLETIM, august 1951, p. 100)

The exchange here, if we can call it that, has only one direction, and it presupposes the superiority of white art.

Despite lamenting that in the overseas provinces there's 'no similar institution which develops such intense activity', he comments on the existence of 'a series of good-will nuclei' (BOLETIM, august 1951, p. 100). This explains the success of, and the award of the prize 'Cidade de Paris' ('City of Paris') to, the Mozambican pianist (or better, Portuguese, born in Mozambique), Sequeira Costa, in the International Contest Marguerite Long-Jacques Thibaud.

Regarding the poetry of the overseas provinces, he affirms that 'without reaching a common characteristic, not even within each one of them, they do manifest the shared generic trait of being small lyric poems, that the literary journals or the small volumes bring to us once in a while' (BOLETIM, august 1951, p. 100-101). In his perspective, the poetry of the overseas provinces is still in the crib of childhood, not touching 'the vigorous conscience of adulthood, the perfection of rhythm, the rapture of forms or the poetic perfume of the compositions by Camões, João de Deus, Augusto Gil, António Nobre, Florbela Espanca, Fernando Pessoa' (BOLETIM, august 1951, p. 101). He also refers to the poetry of Fonseca do Amaral, Manuel Aranda, Rui de Noronha, Noémia de Sousa and Tomás Vieira da Cruz. The appreciation of these 'overseas' names is done in a perceptive way: on the one hand, valuing it; on the other, devaluing it, not without a tone of irony. In António Alberto de Andrade's words:

> The scenery is exuberant, the life of the jungle or of the African city has dramatic expression and awakens such strong sensations as European, Asian or American life. The environment, while it is not impregnated with artistic effluvia that usually are an important part in the poetic elaboration, is what can prevent the blooming of the true poets. In the felicitous phrase of Rabindranath Tagore, it keeps carelessly paying with bracelets, instead of filling the ewer and returning home…. (BOLETIM, august 1951, p. 101)

He ends in an abrupt way, stating that there is hope, and then switching to another completely different subject (one that makes total sense in a column of arts and letters…): the history of overseas medicine, the importance of which, needless to say, is great and implicitly superior to the topic of humanities.

The following month, António Alberto de Andrade dedicates himself to making a list of the publications of the General Agency of the Overseas Provinces, emphasizing the monthly publication of the *Boletim* which 'is already, and it will be mainly in the future, with the passing of years, the best repository of the most varied subjects of interest to the Overseas, either under the form of studies or the facet of short news' (BOLETIM, september-october 1951, p. 112).

Jumping ahead a few years, we find praise for a Mozambican painter, António Manuel Calçada Bastos Aires, on his early death at age twenty-two. António Alberto de Andrade states that 'Mozambique can be proud of António Aires, who knew how to leave a valuable contribution for the artistic aggrandizement of his beautiful land' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 60).

This is a fascinating chronicle in the sense that Andrade dedicates several pages

to a 'small booklet' on the subject of colonial literature that Rodrigues Júnior, arguably the most prolific colonial writer who lived in Mozambique, sent him. Andrade asserts that to Rodrigues Júnior it is basic — and nobody will contest it — that 'one can only produce colonial literature knowing well the black man's soul and the conditions in which he lives' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 61). Andrade admits that the knowledge of *visu* is essential to write this type of literature, which is certainly a difficult task, but one, which nonetheless should not prevent those who have never set foot in Africa from writing. He claims: 'also from far away we will be able to attain a more or less perfect knowledge of the idiosyncrasy of the non-white' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 60). He tries mainly to salvage the role of the literary critic who, according to his view, 'maybe is the one, nevertheless, who resents less the lack of direct knowledge, when he doesn't want to dive into details of harder reach' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 61). Andrade proceeds, 'Africa is not as hermetic today that we don't know about the psychology of its people, its folklore, that we ignore his conditions of life. There's much yet to be revealed. But the general features are defined' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 61).

And if he excuses, on one hand, the role of the literary critic, he attacks, on the other, the role of every Portuguese who, 'in the present moment, has the obligation of knowing the overseas provinces as he knows the metropolitan provinces. If he cannot visit them, he should look to inform himself with those who have walked all over with seeing eyes, and only then he can speak, write or criticize' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 61). There is hope that the day 'will come in which direct observation will be possible for the totality of those who need to speak or write about the Overseas' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 61). This is one of the great objectives of the present policy. It is noticeable by the literary topics chosen by Augusto da Costa and Alberto de Andrade that a change in perspective has occurred, linked nevertheless to the *Estado Novo*'s new approach towards its colonies. The notion of colonial literature appears to have expanded with Andrade to include the colonial perceptions and experience, written mainly by metropolitans, but also by creoles and indigenes.

Alberto de Andrade further states that, despite being censured, the money that the Overseas minister, Sarmento Rodrigues, has been spending on cultural exchange has been a blessing. This money has facilitated 'personal trips in both directions — journalists, — men of science, art technicians, university professors, boys and girls of the Portuguese Youth' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 62). According to Andrade, 'only in this way could a conscience of national unity generalize itself, one which will end racial differences, even though the rivalries that in the Metropolis also happen could persist, from Province to Province' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 62). This is a Rodrigues Júnior who, projecting an ideal government, tries to use all possible means to justify the Portuguese presence in Africa. Availing himself of historian Yves Léonard's words, 'it was, besides anything else, to establish the tone of feelings of unity and fraternity that should bring together all Portuguese from different components of the Empire'

(LÉONARD, 1999, p. 34). For such a purpose, the General Agency of the Overseas Provinces had as criteria the 'search in the Metropole for those who could write about colonial problems, editing their books' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 62). The Agency should publish books of overseas writers, 'meaning, by that, writers that live or have lived the Overseas' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 63). Complying with a desire apparently formulated by Rodrigues Júnior, the Agency has been 'stimulating writers with literary prizes' which, however, 'will never be considered a reward of their work, nor even a direct allowance to support the expenses of the edition' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 63-64). In a third section of this long column, António Alberto de Andrade reflects on the *negritude* movement, a new movement, he tells us, that 'goes around the world, […], of a coming to consciousness, an awakening' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 64). After stating the obvious differences between blacks and whites, such as the inherent phycology of the first, he affirms that 'the inferiority of the blacks, as men specifically, never found an auspicious environment in our ideas of colonization' (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 65). As such, the literary movement to which Andrade refers would not embody an intention to react against the Portuguese way of colonizing. Saying the opposite, would be to go against the new colonial policies. He mentions the notebook *Poesia negra de expressão portuguesa* and ends with a vain hope:

> We hope that the movement proceeds with its program, setting aside the 'political factions and patriotisms of the 'mal du poète', but without forgetting that the black person of Portuguese Africa is truly the new Portuguese, and that circumstance will bring him new particular features that will distinguish him from the foreigners, allowing the pride of being Portuguese to emerge. (BOLETIM, august 1953, p. 66)

We now come to 1953, the year in which the Organic Law of the Overseas is enacted. This law imposes unity between the metropolis and the overseas provinces. The Status of the Indigenous People, 'who in practice took on Portuguese citizenship among the majority of the African population' (ALEXANDRE, 2000, p. 195), is eliminated in São Tomé e Príncipe and Timor, but continues ruling in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. According to Valentim Alexandre, 'from that situation only the "assimilated" escaped — those to whom integration in the forms of lives and values of European civilization were expressly recognized — ones who were no more than an infamous minority (0,8% in 1961, when the Status was finally abolished)' (ALEXANDRE, 2000, p. 195). In 1954, a new Statute of the Indigenous of the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique is enacted. According to Yves Léonard, 'theoretically, this had as an ultimate goal to favour, by stages, the total assimilation and the achievement of Portuguese citizenship' (LÉONARD, 1999, p. 37). The historian states further that in the second article of this Statute the indigenous were defined as 'those individuals of black race, or their descendants, who, having been born and lived habitually in Guinea, Angola, or Mozambique, still did not possess the education and the personal and social habits considered necessary to the integral application of the public and private rights of Portuguese citizens' (LÉONARD, 1999, p. 37).

In 1961, the artistic situation still does seem to have changed in relation to the inaugural column of 'Artes e Letras Coloniais/Ultramarinas.' António Alberto de Andrade laments that 'Africa, land of life and colour, still [hasn't seduced] enough poets, in a way to inspire in them the great poem that it deserves' (BOLETIM, january-february 1961, p. 283). He praises, nonetheless, the poet António Sousa Freita who collected a small volume of some poems inspired by the theme of Africa. The fact, more than probable, that the poet had never set foot in Africa stands out. But, precisely because of that fact, the critic declares, the poet's effort 'is laudable, by trying to feel the strong life that throbs in that portion of Portuguese land' (BOLETIM, january-february 1961, p. 284). Maybe it is obvious that the critic considers the best poems of the above-mentioned poet to be those of historic features that sing the deeds of Infant Dom Henrique, Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama, Honório Barreto, and so forth.

If we take into account the efforts of the General Agency of the Colonies/Overseas in functioning as an encouraging medium of the literary, cultural and artistic field in Portugal — both through the launching of the Contest of Colonial Literature in 1926 and the launching of a section of "Artes e Letras Coloniais/Ultramarinas" in 1945 — we can say that those efforts, in a restricted sense, were not in vain. Proof of that is the quantity of books about colonial themes printed and sponsored by the Agency. As Francisco Noa states,

> The number of editions and reeditions of works of an author such as Eduardo Paixão, for example, proves that, in particular in the ex-colony, in that fringe of much less than 10% of literates which included Portuguese settled and assimilated and schooled Mozambicans (few), colonial literature, in particular, the colonial novel, had an enormous circulation. (NOA, 2002, p. 20)

It is also necessary to hold in consideration that this type of initiative did not limit itself to Portugal; it is included in an ampler system of European colonization of African territories5. Ideas and strategies were shared, borrowed, and circulated among the different Empires during their phase of intense Imperial expansion. In reality, Portugal was on the tail of the other colonial empires in relation to its cultural project.

If we take into account the extensive period from the 1920s to the '60s, the support of the public seems to fall short of desired expectations. This space of literary and artistic criticism, which intended to emphasize, reinforce and invigorate legitimizing discourses of the Portuguese presence in Africa, ends up being a space essentially of the voicing of frustrations. This is obvious when one observes the usually disappointed tone of the critics writing the monthly column, a tone expressing their ill-fated attempt to 'open the eyes' of the Portuguese audience to the national works that seem to excite much less interest than the foreign ones. The admonishing tone, together with the tone of national glorification and coloniality, are characteristic of the way in which this column is written and transmitted to the readers of the *Boletim*. In that sense, the

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5   On other imperial literatures and their application on the colonial context see, for instance, Boehmer 1998; Beekman 1988; Warmbold 1989.

reaction of the public does not correspond to the committed effort of the authors of the column 'Artes e Letras Coloniais/Ultramarinas.' That patriotic stimulus, both from the State and its loyal followers, fails when confronted with a population whose majority is alienated from the African colonial question and, consequently, more interested in the European cultural perspective.

Even though there had been an attempt to promote a literary and cultural exchange between the Metropolis and its colonies by some of the *Estado Novo* ideologists, this turned out to be a frustrated one. Obviously, the supposedly cultural superiority of the center could not be called into question, and perhaps, a larger exchange was impaired by that reason. The cultural dynamic could never be satisfactory if there was a discourse that legitimized the hegemonic presence of the Portuguese. Francisco Noa's words help us to understand other justifications such as illiteracy that the critic attributes to Mozambicans – and here we can extend that to the colonial population in general. Illiteracy, of course, was also equally pernicious among the Portuguese, but more so was the general ignorance and rejection of art in Portugal:

> If in relation to the Mozambicans, the ignorance can be explained by the fact that, in the period that this literature was mostly produced and circulated (1930-1974), the population was illiterate, on what concerns the Portuguese […] the main recipient of this literature, […] it becomes revealing both the ignorance and the process of rejection that persisted. (NOA, 2002, p. 20)

The works that are published — the books which are mentioned and valued, a large number of which cannot even be classified as 'literature' — are usually books that engage in propaganda for the Empire and not in its critique. Thus it is not surprising that the signs of such efforts are still visible in the Portuguese cultural imaginary today: the glory of the Discoveries, the idea of the differentiation between the black population of Portuguese Africa and those of other regions, and, as a consequence, the difference between Portuguese colonization and the other European Empires. All of these ideologemes are part of today's Portugal that titles itself as 'post-colonial.' Although the commitment of the agents of the State in promoting reading, circulation and transmission of art and culture might have resulted in something positive — as it would have been in the case of respect and appreciation of the *other*'s culture — in reality the imperial ideology of this type of works is antithetical to literary and cultural equality. When we read the section 'Colonial/Overseas Arts and Letters,' we verify that the colonial discourse inlaid within it is overlaid with several specific political goals: culturally unifying the population; winning the 'hearts and minds' of the colonized populations; and implementing a cultural norm to be followed. The articles of Augusto Costa and António Alberto de Andrade show the instrumentalization by the State of the cultural institutions and apparatuses of the artistic community both in the metropolis and in the colonies.

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/DIADORIM

THE LOCAL-GLOBAL NOVEL

O ROMANCE LOCAL-GLOBAL

Chloe Manchester Hill[1]

ABSTRACT

John Tomlinson (1999) argues that there are certain events, such as the fallout in Chernobyl, the fall of the Berlin wall, the collapse of the communist world, the creation of the European Union, global summits on climate change, wars in Beirut, the Gulf, Somalia, or Bosnia, that "may add to the extension of the individual's 'phenomenal world'". Such is the case for the characters in Michel Laub's trilogy of novels: *Diário da queda* (2011), *A maçã envenenada* (2013), and *O tribunal da quinta-feira* (2016). In these novels, global catastrophes (the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide, and the AIDS epidemic) are juxtaposed, both formally and narratively, with the personal tragedies suffered by their protagonists, thus creating an analogous relationship with the local/global dialectic. This paper studies Laub's trilogy as global novels, seeking to subvert the market term by adding the "local" modifier, in an attempt to understand the nature of world literature in the twenty-first century. The Local-Global Novel, of the kind produced by Laub, complicates Anderson's (1983) notion of nations as imagined communities by adopting the world as a community in which individuals, and their narratives, can be seen as *singular-plural* (NANCY, 1996).

KEYWORDS: World Literature, the Global Novel, Twenty-First Century Fiction

RESUMO

Há certos eventos, afirma John Tomlinson (1999), como o desastre de Chernobyl, a queda do Muro de Berlim, o colapso dos regimes comunistas, a criação da União Europeia, cimeiras globais a respeito de mudanças climáticas, guerras em Beirute, o Golfo, Somália ou Bósnia, que podem contribuir ao "mundo fenomenal" dos indivíduos. Esse é o caso dos personagens da trilogia de romances de Michel Laub: *Diário da queda* (2011), *A maçã envenenada* (2013), and *O tribunal da quinta-feira* (2016). Nestes romances, catástrofes globais (o Holocausto, o

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genocídio em Ruanda e a epidemia de AIDS) são justapostas – tanto ao nível narrativo quanto ao nível formal – às tragédias pessoais dos protagonistas, construindo, assim, uma relação análoga com a dialética local/global. Este trabalho examina a trilogia de Laub como romances globais, visando subverter este termo do mercado ao acrescentar o modificador "local", na busca de entender a natureza da literatura mundial no século XXI. O Romance Local-Global, do tipo escrito por Laub, complica a noção da nação como uma comunidade imaginada (ANDERSON, 1983) ao adotar o mundo como uma comunidade em que indivíduos, e suas narrativas, podem ser vistos como *singular-plural* (NANCY, 1996).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: literatura mundial, o romance global, ficção no século XXI

In her debut novel, *Asymmetry, Lisa Halliday (2018) writes:*

> Today, you could stand in Firdos Square and Google how the Bengals or the 49ers or the Red Sox or the Yankees or Manchester United or the Mongolia Blue Wolves are doing *right now*; you could check out the temperature in Bay Ridge or Helsinki; you could find out when the tide will next be high in Santa Monica or Swaziland, or when the sun is due to set on Poggibonsi. There is always something happening, always something to be apprised of, never enough hours to feel sufficiently apprised.

Halliday's quote neatly illustrates what British sociologist John Tomlinson has called "complex connectivity" in his understanding of globalization, as it relates to culture. For Tomlinson (1999), "...globalization refers to the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern social life". Connectivity presents itself most often as a global-spatial proximity. Distances seemingly shrink, Tomlinson (1999) argues, "through the dramatic reduction in time taken, either physically (for instance via air travel) or representationally (via the transmission of electronically mediated information and images) to cross them". Shrinking distances result in the stretching out of social relations across them. Being connected does not abolish concrete distance, but does change the way we think about and experience this distance, as Tomlinson (1999) asserts, in such a way that "we think of such distant spaces as routinely accessible, either representationally through communications technology or the mass media, or physically, though the expenditure of a relatively small amount of time (and, of course, money) on a transatlantic flight". However, one of the challenges of this connectivity is the reality of cultural difference. How much does the connectivity of the Globalized Age allow intercultural interaction and proximity, beyond the technological modality, at the level of locality?

The reconfiguration of social relations across a global territory allows for the penetration of distant events into local experience. For most people then, Tomlinson (1999) writes, the experience of global modernity "is that of staying in one place but experiencing the 'dis-placement' that global modernity *brings to them"*. The impact of globalization "is felt not in travel but in staying at home", making "the distinction between literally travelling to distant places and 'travelling' to them by talking on the telephone, typing at the computer

keyboard or watching the television set", Tomlinson (1999) later writes. Through the paradigm of connectivity, Tomlinson (1999) emphasizes globalization as a two-way process between the local and the global:

> As connectivity reaches into localities, it transforms local lived experience but it also confronts people with a world in which their fates *are* undeniably bound together in a single frame… Local experience has to be raised to the horizon of a 'single world' if we are to understand it, and local practices and lifestyles increasingly need to be examined and evaluated in terms of their global consequences.

This two-way process undermines the relationship between culture and the fixity of place, for "meanings are equally generated by people 'on the move' and in the flows and connections between 'cultures'" (TOMLINSON, 1999). Tomlinson further highlights this two-way process through the metaphor of routes and roots, suggesting that the two exist simultaneously and are both subject to the transformations of global modernity.

Metaphors and narratives are essential to Néstor García Canclini's understanding of globalization as imagined. Since globalization does not mean one thing to all people, its meaning is produced through acts of imagining that "express the ways individual and collective subjects represent their place and their agency in [the] processes of [globalization]" (CANCLINI, 2014). "What is usually called globalization", Canclini (2014) writes, "appears as a collection of processes of homogenization and, at the same time, an articulated fragmentation of the world that reorders differences and inequalities without eradicating them". This collection of processes amounts to a collection of narratives that result from local-global and local-local connections. Metaphors and narratives facilitate the linkage between the local and the global. Narrating stories in the global era, Canclini (2014) argues, "even if they tell our own history, where we were born and live, is to speak for others, narrating not only what exists but imagining outside of our cognitive framework". Metaphors "explain the meaning of something by comparison with something different" (CANCLINI, 2014). Metaphor and narrative, as constitutive of the imaginary, "produce knowledge in their attempt to grasp what becomes fleeting in the global disorder, that which cannot be delimited by borders but rather crosses them" (CANCLINI, 2014). Metaphors "tend to figure, to make visible that which moves, combines, or mixes" (CANCLINI, 2014). Narratives "seek to trace an order amid the profusion of travels and communications, in the diversity of 'others'" (CANCLINI, 2014). Through emphasis on metaphor and narrative we can understand the local-global relationship of globalization better. This relationship ought not to be thought of as an opposition, but rather as a dialect in the Hegelian sense, a process that might be located on the borders or in "translocal situations", as Canclini calls them, and that works in service of their diversity. The Local-Global Novel creates these translocal situations through its narrative form, reordering geography and social relations, planting roots and charting routes.

The nation and the novel

The novel has long been theorized over as it relates to ideas of the national. This is only natural, considering that the novel as a genre emerged at the same time as national borders and identities were becoming more clearly defined. The novel as an imaginative instrument for the creation of national communities is likely best elaborated in the work of Benedict Anderson. In his now canonical book, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson (2006) defines the nation as a collective act of imagining, calling attention to print-languages, more specifically the novel and the newspaper, which highlight simultaneity across time, regions and dialects, and thus are "the technical means for 're-presenting the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation". Anderson argues that these print-languages established the basis for national consciousness in a variety of ways: by unifying communication between written and spoken languages, by applying a fixity to language through the permanence of the book-object, and by creating a kind of hierarchy among certain dialects.

Let us examine the role of unified communication in the construction of national identity. Through print-media, Anderson (2006) argues, speakers of a wide variety of vernaculars:

> become capable of comprehending one another via print and paper. In the process, they gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community.

Communities are thus formed through the reading of the same language in the same time-space.

In an era of mass translation and immediate access to information, world literature scholars are asking how the novel might operate as a cultural tool for imagining the globe. Indeed, if the construction of nationhood is an imaginative act that is reinforced through cultural fictions as we see in Benedict Anderson – and that globalizations are also imaginative, *pace Canclini* – then it does not seem so hard to imagine that the twenty-first century novel might imagine a global community, given the an ever-increasing set of cultural fictions it has to draw upon. Rebecca Walkowitz (2015), author of *Born Translated: The Contemporary Novel in the Age of World Literature*, has urged philosophers of the nation to "ask how the translation of literary texts into more languages and faster than ever before establishes networks of affiliation that are less exclusive and less bounded to the nation's 'community of fate'". The Digital Age has offered us new opportunities to create new communities based on shared experiences that are not contingent upon a shared language. In her own reading of Anderson, Walkowitz underscores the novel's capacity to represent simultaneity, not just textually but as an object as well. The novel functions, per Anderson, as a container for the collectively among strangers: the readers

who imagine themselves as participants in a simultaneous reading public and the characters that constitute a collectively. As Jonathan Culler (1999) has written, this container for collectively is staged by the novel's formal structure, "involving what can be called 'the space of a community'... the novel's formal encompassing of different kinds of speech or discourse enacts the possibility of a community larger than any one individual can know". Anderson's novel as a constitutive factor of the imagined community is not the container of national characteristics that might be possessed, but rather engenders community through simultaneous imaginative action – action based on the assumption that a text has an original language that will coincide with the language of its readers. We need to ask, Walkowitz prompts us: what happens when these languages are not the same?

The newspaper equally functions as a container for simultaneity through its use of juxtaposition, Anderson (2006) argues:

> If we were to look at a sample front page of, say, *The New York Times*, we might find there stories about Soviet dissidents, famine in Mali, a gruesome murder, a coup in Iraq, the discovery of a rare fossil in Zimbabwe, and a speech by Mitterrand. Why are these events so juxtaposed? What connects them to each other? Not sheer caprice. Yet obviously most of them happen independently, without the actors being aware of each other or what the others are up to. The arbitrariness of their inclusion and juxtaposition… shows that the linkage between them is imagined.

Here, we hear echoes of the connectivity portrayed in Halliday's quote. Google appears as another form for engendering juxtaposition, for shrinking distances between faraway places. The novel also has recourse to this kind of compression and juxtaposition through its *emplotment.*

The world and the novel

The relationship between globalization and literature has gained steam in the twenty-first century as a hotbed for scholarly debate. New genres – the global novel, transnational fiction, planetary poetics – have emerged to attend to this growing phenomenon. I present here my own addition this taxonomy: the Local-Global Novel, which I approach specifically from the context of Brazilian letters of the twenty-first century.

The Local-Global Novel is a species of the Global Novel that foregrounds the local while examining the effects of globalization on local experience. My own nomenclature seeks to privilege this locality without dressing it up as planetary or cosmopolitan, though it may very well be these things. This kind of novel dramatizes global networks at the level of local experience through narratives of migration and personal tragedy, while at the same time staging international contact and reimagining catastrophes of planetary dimensions. In this way, the Local-Global Novel globalizes local perspective and localizes global perspective.

The Local-Global Novel resists the teleological narrative of globalization as a linear

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process by sketching improvised communities of individuals from around the world whose lives are still inherently local, rejecting the notion of some world-state as the end goal of global social organization. The Local-Global Novel asks us to see the integration of the world, however, it does so differently from globalization itself, that is to say, without the smoothing out of, or homogenizing, the contours of locality. This integration does not enact a diffusion of consumer culture, as is often the critical view of globalization, but rather constructs a network of simultaneity between diverse local experiences. The Local-Global Novel recognizes, and makes reference to, the hegemony of a global consumer culture, but its world-creating project starts at home, highlighting the effects of such global culture on local experience, not by staging a deracinated global order. The Local-Global Novel repositions locality as it erects new global networks through its narratives.

The Local-Global Novel responds to ideas about globalization that conceive it as a relatively new phenomenon that homogenizes previously secure, delineated home-states. The Local-Global narrative does not dispose with, or destroy, the sense of home, but rather reconfigures or restructures it. These narratives highlight global availability without occupying foreign localities in a move that would seem to mirror colonization, but rather by presenting those localities as fully-fledged subjects that dialogue with other fully-fledged localities. Mike Featherstone (1995) writes "the drawing of a boundary around a particular space is a relational act which depends upon the figuration of significant other localities within which one seeks to situate it". This relativity is enhanced in the Local-Global novel through its arrangement of geographies. Popular imagination is quite capable of conceiving of the whole globe as a locality. One need only look at images of Earth from space seen as an isolated entity, or ideas of our collective humanity, the sacredness of mankind (FEATHERSTONE, 1995). This imagined unity, ideological in scope, promotes a false sense of concreteness that is mitigated in the Local-Global Novel through the juxtaposition of diverse individual, local narratives.

The local is leveraged here not to be cast in opposition with the global but to recognize it as the global's natural and necessary complement. The Local-Global Novel examines the interpenetration of the local and the global, of the universal and the particular. By parceling out terms like local and global, we will continue to operate under the sign of the negative, of an absence versus a presence. By linking the two, however, our approach can be one that is applied under a positive aegis, acknowledging a multiplicity of presents.

Adam Kirsch, author of *The Global Novel: Writing the World in the 21st Century*, suggests than any novel that addresses the experience of human beings in the twenty-first century is implicitly global. Yet, he also makes clear that this kind of global novel has not surpassed the regional or national novel; it is not a genre apart, but rather a mode of interpretation. It is, he writes:

faithful to the way the global is actually lived – not through the abolition of place, but as a theme by which place is mediated. Life lived *here* is experienced in its profound and often unsettling connections with life lived elsewhere, and everywhere. The local gains dignity, and significance, insofar as it can be seen as part of a worldwide phenomenon (KIRSCH, 2016).

It is worth noting that the majority of the authors Kirsch adopts for his fleshing out of the global novel seem plucked from the bookshelf of traditional contemporary world literature: Orhan Pamuk, Haruki Murakami, Roberto Bolaño, Margaret Atwood, Elena Ferrante and others. And while they demonstrate a multilingual, multi-territorial variety, they are authors that occupy World Literature's center as it currently stands. In other words, their novels may be considered global precisely because they are globally successful. The definitions he supplies for what a global novel can be are broad and elastic, suggesting that anything written in the twenty-first century that deigns to look beyond its national of origin could be a global novel. By adding the local modifier to my own terminology of the global novel, I am looking at a specific iteration of literature's global consciousness that binds local experience to planetary networks, that disrupts the familiar circuits of transnational cultural exchange, and that criticizes in implicit and explicit ways globalization's false promise of a worldwide standardization, graphing points of contact that posit the local as its x axis.

In his book *The Cosmopolitan Novel*, which examines twenty-first century British fiction, Bertold Schoene (2009) writes that cosmopolitan narration "assembles as many as possible of the countless segments of our being-in-common into a momentarily composite picture of the world", and "proceeds without erasing the essential incongruousness or singularity of these individual segments, which are left intact, even though they remain subject to continual reassortment". The cosmopolitan novel, per Schoene, emphasizes world-creation over rendition, in which political and economic realities are scrutinized and re-imagined. Schoene argues that this world re-imagining is different from the national re-imagining of post-colonial fiction.

Both Schoene and Kirsch acknowledge the impossibilities of a kind of fiction that is devoid of local experience. The cosmopolitan novel demonstrates that "there is no world that does not commence at home, taking shape from one's own singular emergence in the interplay with others'", Schoene (2009) contends. Later he writes, acknowledging the dialectical relationship between the local and the global:

> the local is never simply globality's recipient, but a participant and integral part of it, as well as, occasionally, its sparring partner, implicated in the world even at the moment of most passionately trying to evade it. Neither is globality, in turn, ever a simple container of an endless diversity of multifarious world cultures (SCHOENE, 2009).

Kirsch (2016) recognizes the global as a mediating interpretative mode for the local, and in discussion of the Elena Ferrante phenomenon, he writes:

individual lives… take place at the intersection of the local and the global, are the product of their dialectic. Just as it is impossible to live an immediately global existence, untethered to language or place, so it is impossible to live an entirely local existence, uninfluenced by history, politics, and economics.

The Local-Global Novel tackles these twin impossibilities in its reimagining of communities composed of transterritorial individuals.

Schoene's *cosmopolitan novel* is perhaps a closer approximation to my own Local-Global Novel than Kirsch's loosely defined *global novel*. The Local-Global Novel achieves its dialectic not only through content but through form. Narratives are emplotted through the formal structuring of diverse localities, resulting in an organization marked by simultaneity. Schoene's cosmopolitan representation conveys this synchronicity, just as the Local-Global Novel does, through juxtaposition. Juxtaposition assumes linkage is imagined, as in Anderson's example of the newspaper, resulting in a composite sketching of community. A text's composite quality is as essential to the *cosmopolitan novel* as it is to the Local-Global Novel. Schoene (2009) writes:

> [e]posidic yet cohesive, compositeness forges narrative assemblage out of a seemingly desultory dispersion of plot and characterisation. Cosmopolitan representation resorts to the montage technique of contemporary cinema, effecting rapid shifts in focus and perspective with the aim of cramming as many story lines and clashing imageries as possible into one and the same mise en scène.

The local-global is not so much a function of plot, common of the Global Novel, in which characters have experiences abroad and are tasked with confronting the particularities of here and there through travel, but rather the Local-Global Novel organizes these particularities in its narrative form, juxtaposing here and there, sampling and collating[2] its subjects and their respective geographies, in such a way that imitates the connectivity of contemporary life. The reader experiences distinct spaces not by accompanying the protagonist on a transnational journey, but by means of a dynamic reading process that situates diverse localities, and therefore narratives, side-by-side on the page, much the way one might engage with information on the internet, for example. Form in these novels functions as the hyphen between their eponymous modifiers. This hyphen describes their manner of representation, as Anderson or Tomlinson would say, for in these novels the globe's diverse localities are compounded in narrative, are made composite.

The Local-Global novel does not attempt to depict the entire world at once, but rather a narrative of world-shaped networks in a particular time and space. That the world does not quite fit into a book is acknowledged by Hector Hoyos in his latest book *Beyond Bolaño: The*

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2   I borrow this turn of phrase from Rebecca Walkowitz's (2015) *Born Translated*: "Sampling allows literary works to make very large-scale claims using relatively small-scale data… Collating implies reciprocity: that each part is geographically, linguistically, or ethically comparable, and that the novel has generated a plausible system or container for those parts".

Latin American Global Novel. Despite this impossibility, Hoyos (2015) writes, "some works of literature have an effect on how we see the world and on how we conceive of their place within the world. Such narratives… *matter* beyond their immediate national contexts". Hoyos also makes the important distinction between the world depicted literarily and the actual real world, pointing out how the novel can inform globality. "As it turns out", he writes, "we imagine the global as we imagine everything else: through metaphor, narrative, image and related means" (HOYOS, 2015). By positioning this brand of Brazilian fiction as simultaneously local and global, the novel might then be seen as "always-already global", a condition not traditionally bestowed upon cultural products of Latin America, as Hoyos argues. Hoyos's approach to the global novel is not dissimilar from my own with the Local-Global Novel. "To conceptualize certain Latin American novels as global", Hoyos (2015) writes:

> seeks to preserve, not resolve, tensions between particularism and generalization, vernacular and widely understood linguistic practices, high prestige and low-prestige denominations, cultural essentialism and relativism, 'parochial' and 'world-class' aesthetic values, and locally embedded and abstractly detached art forms.

Where Hoyos seeks to demonstrate a "novelistic form that is both global and Latin American, that belongs within a regional and world paradigm", I attempt to tighten the aperture from regional, or even national, to that of a single city cast against the shadows of the globe.

The Local-Global Novel: Michel Laub

Michel Laub is one of the foremost names in contemporary Brazilian letters. Born in Porto Alegre in 1973, Laub was included in Granta's 2013 list of the Best Young Brazilian Writers and his works have been nominated for the Jabuti prize in both the novel category and the book published abroad category. Transnationality is characteristic of Laub's fiction. His featured Granta story, "*Animais*", stages movements from Germany to Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo and Sierra Leone. Between 2011 and 2016, Laub published a trilogy of novels that examine personal trauma alongside global catastrophes. *O diário da queda* (2011) examines the reverberations of the Holocaust in three generations of a Brazilian family. *A maçã envenenada* (2013), paints a portrait of the early 90s, juxtaposing the American grunge scene led by Kurt Cobain with the genocide in Rwanda. Laub's most recent novel, *O tribunal da quinta-feira* (2016), reflects on the dialectical tension between local and global in the digital realm. Questions of what is public and what is private are writ large through the platform of the Internet, while the narrative also engages with the global implications of the AIDS epidemic.

Laub's novels call our attention to the ways in which people attach themselves to tragedies without having actually experienced them. The narrator of *Diário da queda* will feel the impact of the Holocaust on his domestic and social lives; brief passages in *A maçã envenenada* will suggest how fans bound themselves to the tragedy of Kurt Cobain's suicide; and, in a reverse

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move, anonymous commentators will feel they can opine on the private conversations between two friends in *O tribunal da quinta-feira.*

Laub's novels reposition, namely, São Paulo and Porto Alegre as the center of these literary networks that extend outwards to such localities as Auschwitz, Aberdeen, WA, Mataba, Rwanda, London, San Francisco, and beyond, such that these diverse geographic regions are organized conterminously. Writing of Kazuo Ishiguro's novels, Rebecca Walkowitz (2007) asserts, "[a]s narratives, they organize local anecdotes into global networks and then consider the ethical consequences of that process". As Laub's novels organize personal traumas and global catastrophes they too ask us to consider the ethical implications of such contermination.

Diário da queda

Diário da queda is the first novel in Laub's trilogy. It was translated as *The Diary of the Fall by Margaret Jull Costa in 2014, three years after its original publication*[3]. The unnamed narrator-protagonist of the novel is the grandson of a Holocaust survivor. The narrative spans most of the narrator's childhood and adult life, juxtaposing his grandfather's legacy of displacement as both an immigrant in Porto Alegre and as a survivor of Auschwitz with an incident at a classmate's thirteenth birthday party. In his youth, the narrator attends a posh Jewish school in which there is one non-Jewish student, João. In an effort to help his son fit in, João's father throws his son a thirteenth birthday party. At the party, João is hoisted up in a chair supported by a group of his classmates that includes Laub's narrator. On the thirteenth upward heave, João's classmates let the chair fall to the floor. João suffers a cracked rib and must wear a brace for the rest of the semester. In Laub's novel, this accident is coupled with a series of notebooks penned by the narrator's grandfather, as well as his own father's battle with Alzheimer's and another number of banal coming-of-age moments that tether his intimate life in Porto Alegre, and later São Paulo, to the global impact of the Holocaust.

This is a novel that begins with displacement. The opening chapter sees the narrator's grandfather arriving in Brazil after the Second World War. He is a subject that has been doubly displaced, first held prisoner at Auschwitz, later freighted to the New World. We understand through this displacement, then, how catastrophes of global proportions place bodies into circulation. Despite his two generations removed from the Holocaust, it is the metric by which the narrator makes sense of his own life. Displacement is so ingrained in his community that it affects their commercial and legal lives, for his father advises him to pursue a profession that could be held anywhere, to not depend on a language that is not spoken anywhere else, to not depend on rules that might not apply anywhere else.

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3   There are both US and UK editions of the translation in hardcover, paperback, and eBook formats. The novel has also been translated into French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Italian and Swedish, all within two years of its original publications. As of 2013, the novel was in its third re-printing with Companhia das Letras.

However, the Holocaust and its aftermath do not merely stage the migration of bodies in this novel, but its global history also has a profound impact on the narrator's personal history. The narrator's entire life orbits around the fact that his grandfather survived Auschwitz – the tricycle his father gifts him at three years old, which he loads with miscellaneous household items and pretends he is a traveling salesman, is haunted by the memory of his grandfather's arrival in Brazil at which time he performed a similar function as that imagined in the boy's make-believe. It is not only the grandfather's migration that shades the narrator's childhood memories, but also the motivation for migration (the Holocaust), as the recollection of the bicycle is immediately followed by mention of the grandfather's arm, tattooed at Auschwitz. Even the narrator's first sexual experiences seem to be just one step removed from the memory of Auschwitz. The pornographic films he would watch with his friends at the afternoon's double feature are tainted by the expression "meio século depois de Auschwitz". His first trip to a brothel is again accompanied by this refrain. It appears that there is not a single memory of his childhood or adolescence untouched by the Holocaust despite his having been born decades after the fact.

The narrator not only connects his grandfather's experience at Auschwitz with the personal tragedies he suffers in his life, but he also equates that experience with the personal tragedies suffered by those around him. A key example is that of João's mother, who suffered from an illness during João's youth and eventually died. The narrator concedes that to speak of his grandfather and João's mother is to call upon on the cultural references he has accumulated throughout his lifetime: films, photographs, documents, the first time he read Primo Levi's *If This is a Man.* For the narrator, the notes with drawings of Hitler that he received at his secular school – he transfers with João a year following the fall at the party – are inseparable from the notes he sent to João, bitter at his friend's new-found popularity, with drawings of his mother's corpse. So it is that to draw Auschwitz, as represented in the images of Hitler, becomes the same act of violence that it is to draw the corpse of João's mother. Consequently the story of his grandfather's experience at Auschwitz is inextricably tied to the story of João's mother's illness.

While we accompany the inner turmoil of a man trying to sift through personal and collective catastrophe, we are also reminded of the globalized world that this man lives in half a century after Auschwitz: a world in which his parents travel internationally, where his father spends the afternoon in electronic stores and his mother fills suitcases with clothing and presents for friends and family in Brazil. Coming of age at the end of the twentieth century, our narrator navigates between emblems of a capitalist consumer culture (trips to Disneyland, the latest video game console) and his family's legacy as immigrant and Holocaust survivor. So that while we are looking at how the machinations of the global past impact the personal present, we are also looking at the scope of the global present, neoliberal globalization's circulation of commodities.

This contemporaneity, posed against the tragedies of the past, is underscored by passing mentions of the Internet and digital communication. Technology, as presented in the text, serves as a tool that informs our knowledge of the both personal and collective tragedy. Through the internet, the narrator's father discovers the symptoms and effects of his illness. But the internet is also the place where one might find conspiracy theories that suggest the Holocaust was a hoax, the narrator explains. For these characters, the world-opening possibilities of the Internet are eclipsed by their personal traumas and their sense of identity as defined by religious affiliation or migration is called into question.

The novel is organized by non-chronological, fragmentary chapters that jump between the narrator's grandfather's notebooks, his relationship with João, and his relationship with his father. These fragments are organized into eleven sections and appear as overlapping concentric circles: "Algumas coisas que sei sobre o meu avô", "Algumas coisas que sei sobre o meu pai", "Algumas coisas que sei sobre mim", "Notas (1)", "Mais algumas coisas que sei sobre o meu avô", "Mais algumas coisas que sei sobre o meu pai", "Mais algumas coisas que sei sobre mim", "Notas (2)", "Notas (3)", "A queda", e "O diário". With each new section, the chapter numbers start over again.

The first round of "notas" separates things that are known about the grandfather, the father, and the narrator himself from more things that are known about them, while the second and third round of "notas" separate the sections about the grandfather, the father, and the narrator from the remaining two sections. The "notas" are not divided into fragments as the other sections are and read almost as stand-alone entries. "Notas (1)" details the narrator's relationship with his father – things his father taught him: how to ride a bicycle, how to read and write, how a sewing machine works (the family ran a garment business), the significance of the Bar Mitzvah ceremony. Then the narrative rapidly shifts to a description of the Jewish school the narrator attended, outfitted with eight-foot walls to protect against bombing attempts. The narrative then dilates once more to discuss João, his wrinkled clothing, the tiled floor of the party hall where his thirteenth birthday was held, the taxi they took when the party was over. Then the reader is provided with insight into how the friendship between João and the narrator develops after the accident, how the narrator admits responsibility in the principal's office. We shift once more to a fight between the narrator and his father which leads to a discussion of the father's Alzheimer's diagnosis, which ultimately reveals the narrator's own struggle with alcoholism.

"Notas (2)" and "Notas (3)" are much more concise in their offerings. In "Nota (2)", the narrator outlines theories propagated by Holocaust deniers. These theories are meaningless to the narrator's father for whom Auschwitz is not a place or a historical fact or an ethical discussion, but rather a concept in which one does or does not believe, depending on their willingness to do so. "Nota (3)" itemizes what the narrator has and has not inherited from his father. He has not inherited his name, his hair, his nose, his ability to calculate large sums in his head, his morning routine of bread and cheese and talk radio. He has inherited his eye color,

his reading habits, his stubbornness. These traits lead us back to the father's Alzheimer's and the secrets shared and not shared between father and son. In a way, the "notas" function as montages that summarize certain events of the larger narrative. They are high-speed close-ups of the novel's darting transits through memory, time, and space.

"A queda" develops the narrator's struggle with alcoholism, how his father deals with his Alzheimer's diagnosis – by drafting a record of his memories, reproduced in the text just as the entries from the grandfather's notebooks – and his grandfather's suicide, which the narrator suggests might be justified by his experience at Auschwitz. Indeed, he explains, suicide is the fate of so many Holocaust survivors: Primo Levi and a number of others in Mexico, Switzerland, Canada, South Africa and Israel, a fraternity of men forgotten by time that symbolize the global repercussions of the Holocaust. In this section we learn about the narrator's marital problems and his trips back and forth between São Paulo, where he presently lives and works as a writer, and Porto Alegre to visit his ailing father. The information documented in the section is not new to the narrative, but rather revisited. In this rambling, repetitive re-telling, the narrator tries to make sense of the relationship or connections between Auschwitz, his grandfather's suicide, his father's Alzheimer's, his friendship with João, his alcoholism, and his failed marriages.

These same incidents are elaborated on in the section "O diário". The day in which the narrator stops speaking to João serves as a rite of passage that everyone must suffer through, just as his grandfather stood at the gates of Auschwitz, just as his father discovered his own father slumped dead over his desk. Auschwitz, he writes, was for his grandfather, what the discovery of his suicide was for his father, which for the narrator was the same as the last note he received from João with a drawing of Hitler. In writing about his life from the age of fourteen, the narrator asserts, he is forced to correspond cause and effect among events. The novel's fragments and sections that shift and double back in time through memory and the reproduction of journal entries effectively create a network, joining together place, individuals, and experiences, establishing points of contact between Auschwitz, Porto Alegre 1945, Porto Alegre in the 1980s, and contemporary São Paulo.

The local-global dialectic of this novel is, in fact, reinforced through the generational traumas passed down from grandfather (Holocaust survivor, immigrant), to father (first generation Brazilian, son of an immigrant), and son (born in the second half of the twentieth century, coming of age alongside globalization). The novel's locality is confined not only to the Jewish community in Porto Alegre, but to that of a single family, while its globality can be located in the legacy of the Holocaust, and how these three generations are bound to it. In the novel's final section, we discover that the narrative is directed to the narrator's unborn son, thus adding to the collection of notebooks that the novel stages as a tool for grappling with trauma.

The appearance of the grandfather's notebook entries creates a temporal shift in the narrative, a device that might be called characteristic of Laub's fiction. As we move

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between his vignettes, we are taken to Auschwitz, late twentieth-century Porto Alegre, early twenty-first century São Paulo, and post-war Brazil seen through the eyes of an immigrant. Time is manipulated, etching a network between the experience of the Auschwitz survivor, the immigrant, the son of the immigrant, the *goy* in the Jewish private school, the *kike* in the secular school, the Alzheimer's patient, the son of the Alzheimer's patient, the recovering alcoholic leaving his third wife. We span three generations of tragedy and loss, personal and collective, in the attempt to answer the questions: how should a man be? What should he be judged for? One of the novel's constant questions asks us to consider how one's first-hand experience of a global catastrophe influences who they are and how they might be judged. Should the narrator's grandfather forever be seen as an Auschwitz survivor or might be he allowed to be viewed as a husband and father like any other? Is he permitted a local life or is he forever haunted by his displacement?

At first glance, it is not apparent in what language the grandfather's notebooks are written. Only pages after their first appearance in the narrative does the reader learn that the narrator is reading the notebooks in translation. The narrator confirms that after his grandfather's death, his father sent the notebooks to be translated for he needed a register of the memories recorded within them and it appeared he was the only person interested in reading them. The translations are then reproduced for the narrative constructed by Laub's narrator, thus multiplying their reading audiences: (1) son and grandson of their author, (2) the narrator's son to whom the narrative is destined, and (3) the empirical reader of Laub's novel.

The grandfather's notebooks appear as almost personal dictionaries, vignette-length definitions of words that correspond to memories, or rather how the grandfather wanted to remember these events. They serve as a way for the grandfather to describe the world around him, or rather the way the world should be. This idyllic world is first described in the grandfather's native tongue through the arrangement of specific words that correspond to specific memories that are then redressed in saccharine fashion. In this way, the grandfather's original notebooks also function as a translation. They gloss over tragic experience as they seek new definitions for their chosen terms, contributing to the world-making or cartographical project of the novel. They offer a view of the local setting of the text – the grandfather's arrival in Brazil, the boarding house he lives in when he first arrives in Porto Alegre, the hospital where his son is born – through a language that is foreign to that setting, which is then enlarged vis-a-vis translation into 16nglish16se, and finally dissected by way of their reproduction in the narrative.

The discovery of his grandfather's notebooks allows the narrator to engage with the memory of the Holocaust on a personal level. It is no longer an experience mediated through the story of a stranger, Primo Levi, a story the whole world has access to given its literary success. However, it is an experience that will never be personal for the narrator and thus he concludes this passage about the notebooks by stating that if he had to speak of something that was truly his, he would start with story of his classmate who fell at a party. By placing

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Auschwitz and João's fall on the same page, the narrative once again tightens the bond between personal trauma and collective tragedy.

The novel's final section, "O diário", introduces us to the refrain 'the impracticality of human experience in any time and in any place.' According to the narrator, Auschwitz is the greatest tragedy of the twentieth century and thus the greatest tragedy of all time. There is not a single continent untainted by tragedy during the twentieth century, yet the Holocaust seems to be the accumulation of all of these tragedies. The world Laub posits in this novel is a cartographical network linked by tragedy. His geographical inventory of twentieth-century catastrophes, catalogued at the end of the novel, lists a quarter of the world's nations in alphabetical order, placing Honduras next to Hungary, Mexico next to Myanmar. The narrative's guiding thread relies on this very interconnectedness: not just the relationship between distinct geographies and catastrophes of global proportions but also the interdependencies the narrative creates between grandfather's experience at Auschwitz, his father's experience as the son of an immigrant and suicide, the narrator's own relationship with João, and later his failed romantic relationships. In this way, these connections are temporal (past/present) as well as spatial (local/global), for the two are intertwined in the text's mnemonic process. The narrator only escapes 'the impracticality of human experience in any time and in any place' by looking towards the future – escaping the introspective spiral of his forbears – by directing the narrative to his unborn son.

A maçã envenenada

Laub's second novel, *A maçã envenenada*[4], opens in Aberdeen, Washington, the site of Kurt Cobain's suicide. The reader enters into the narrative, written in 17nglish17se, through the United States. In this first cartographical move, the narrative rejects the traditional relationship between language and geography while also binding geographical spaces – Brazil and the Pacific Northwest – not traditionally tied in the popular imagination. Yet this cartographical etching is elliptic – the 17nglish17se-language is set in North America, while Kurt Cobain is read through a particular Brazilian lens, for as the narrator describes he will forever be the man who got up on stage at the Morumbi Stadium in São Paulo. As Rebecca Walkowitz (2015) describes of the *Born-Translated Novel,* Laub's *A maçã envenenada* enacts an effacement of origin. Stated more plainly, the novel begins in several places at once. There are four different beginnings: (1) Kurt Cobain's suicide; (2) the narrator's first encounter with Valéria, his girlfriend; (3) perhaps Rwanda; (4) a post office in a 'faraway city'.

The story of the narrator's military service with the Brazilian National Guard (CPOR),

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4   *A maçã envenenada* has been translated into english by Daniel Hahn. It was published by Random House UK in 2017 with the title *A Poison Apple* and was named one of the Financial Times Best Books of 2017. The translation was nominated for the Jabuti Prize in the best book published abroad category. The novel was also translated into French in 2016.

which he is completing in Porto Alegre at the time of the novel's opening, is a story that starts with the arrival of Nirvana in Brazil[5], he claims. But then it appears that geography oscillates back to a particularly Brazilian landscape (as particular as it can be despite the fact that the novel makes rare mention of Brazilian musicians or the socio-political climate of the time); it is actually a story that begins the night the narrator meets Valéria. The novel thus far has presented us with two encounters that are responsible for its genesis: an encounter of global dimensions between an American rock group and their Brazilian fans and an intimate encounter between two lovers.

A few short chapters later, the geography of the narrative dilates once more, dropping the reader into a place, as yet, unnamed but rather described by its topography, flora, fauna, signs of what life must be like there. It is only in the following chapter that the reader understands that this place must be Rwanda, and we are introduced to Immaculée Ilibagiza[6], an engineering student in Mataba, Rwanda in April of 1994. In an odd cartographical transit between fragments the novel arranges Immaculée's narrative in 1994 alongside the narrator's personal narrative in Brazil in 1993 and London in 1994, where he spends a brief sabbatical following Valéria's suicide, as well as Kurt Cobain's suicide in 1994. The text also realizes this encounter between geographies in the present: in 2013, Immaculée is a writer, traveling the world giving lectures. She has been in São Paulo recently, the narrator tells us.

Not only does the narrative suggest relationships between geographies not likely to be tied together in the imagination, but it also disturbs geographical links traditionally held to be quiet tight. For example, where the connection between Brazil and Kurt Cobain is emphasized, Nirvana is a rarity in London, which is strange considering the linguistic ties between the US and England. The simultaneity of here/there persists, however, represented through mention of suicides in Seattle, Australia, and Turkey in the days following Kurt Cobain's funeral. The news of these incidents is announced through modes of communication such as the radio; while in London the narrator tunes into a station out of Seattle. The simultaneity of time and space that is generated by the novel's cartographical positioning – mediated through popular forms of communication: the radio, newspapers, pop music, pop literature – is contrasted by the diversity, "different times, opposite worlds" as the narrator puts it, that describes the day before meeting Valéria and the day following the Nirvana show, which is when he discovers that Valéria has committed suicide. In this way, international interconnectedness is attenuated by a kind of domestic disconnect that is still conditioned by international terms, for in the mind of the narrator the day of Valéria's death will always be the day of the Nirvana concert.

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5   It is worth mentioning that the narrator does not end up attending the show at Morumbi, but feels tied to it all the same by virtue of the events in his personal life that will follow it. This solidarity, or collectivity, is depicted on the cover to the Companhia da Letras edition: a panoramic image of engaged concert-goers.

6   Immaculée Ilibagiza is an author and motivational speaker, best known for her 2007 book *Left to Tell: Discovering God Amidst the Rwandan Holocaust*

At any moment the narrative's geography might change. It is not particularly fixed or tethered to a particular place; it is, in fact, uncertain. One of the novel's early fragments establishing the narrative's setting suggests a city that is not one's own, but that seems so familiar. The reader will come to discover that this place is São Paulo, visited by Valéria attending the Nirvana show at Morumbi, going to the post office to mail the postcard the narrator will receive two months after her death. By juxtaposing these diverse geographical spaces the narrative serves as a distinct cartographical unit, a time-space of its own invention: Rwanda and London, 1994 and 1993, Kurt Cobain and the CPOR, Unha, the narrator's best friend, and Valéria, Porto Alegre and São Paulo all serve as narrative antipodes among themselves, diametrically opposite, yet impossibly entangled. Narratively, the text stages the circulation of Nirvana in Brazil, and, formally, it places experience in Brazil alongside experience in Rwanda. In so doing, it stages place as part of a network and not a mere container for (national) belonging.

Time and geographical space are indivisible in Laub's cartographical project. His chapters make diachronic leaps between 1993, 1994 and 2013, transits made possible through the process of memory, the way it creates a network between people, places and experience. Cimara Valim de Melo (2015) argues that this network of events that span the course of twenty years, pictured side-by-side in the narrative, allows for time to be stretched and compressed, distorted by a subjective spatial approach. Memories, though perhaps disorganized in the narrator's consciousness, Valim de Melo (2015) asserts, "travel across the cities of Porto Alegre, London, Seattle, and Mataba, establishing a range of points of contact between three continents, in a cartographical narrative".

The novel explains, or portrays, April 1994 through three distinct moments: Kurt Cobain's suicide, the genocide in Rwanda as seen through the experience of Immaculée, and the narrator's experience in London. Time is measured for the narrator between his first encounter with Valéria and the Nirvana show at the Morumbi Stadium eleven months later. Time is measured for Immaculé during the 90-day period of the Rwandan genocide. The novel also reflects on how the present speaks to the events of 1994 almost twenty years later. The London the narrator flees to no longer exists, changed by an economic boom and the 2012 Olympics, and gentrified neighborhoods. Immaculée's memoir of the war in Rwanda has been optioned for film rights and the narrator wonders if the film will premiere before or after the twentieth anniversary of Kurt Cobain's death – not the start of the genocide.

Life in London is 'uncontaminated' by Brazilian experience beyond the few Brazilian acquaintances of the narrator: he does not correspond with his parents, he reads nothing in 19nglish19se, and only eats two or three times at a Brazilian restaurant. Yet, he records all aspects of life in the European capital in excruciating detail: finances, dates, slang words, hangouts, etc. At the same time, it would be a mistake to assume that he's fully integrated into social, legal, or linguistic life. In order to secure a student visa, the narrator matriculates in an 19nglish course, only to give it up a week later to work as a delivery boy. His stint in London

is provisional – suspended in time and space – a sort of geographical and temporal hiatus that is concretized by the "agenda" that documents his time spent there. What is not included in the journal, however, is the sense of anonymity, of becoming "an other", that he experiences and that is also bound up with a sense of mobility. The student visa permits him entry into the country, yet the contingent relationship between language and citizenship is left unfulfilled, thus bearing a sense of displacement through which he feels, he writes, as if he belongs to "another time and another continent". Through this bifurcated sense of belonging, the narrator suffers the loss of his geographical past while also reimagining, from a distance, what that past was or could be.

The narrative poses a series of reflections on the act of writing, authorship, translation and language, that is reified through the figure of the writer – the narrator is himself a journalist and Immaculée, a memoirist. The novel is split into three sections: "Que sorte ter encontrado você", "Por trás da beleza", and "A não ser que seja sobre mim". The first and last section titles are translations (by Valéria in her postcard and "transcribed" by the narrator) of the Nirvana song *Drain You*, while the middle section comes from the narrator's own words: "É muito difícil enxergar por trás da beleza, ainda mais na primeira manhã depois do primeiro namoro…" (LAUB, 2013). But yet again, this title "belongs" to Valéria: "Ela dizia: você consegue me enxergar por trás da beleza?" (LAUB, 2013); "O que acontece quando não se consegue enxergar por trás da beleza?" (LAUB, 2013). The title of the novel, "Poison Apple", also comes from the same Nirvana song. Differently from *Diário da queda*, the chapter numbers continue in chronological order between the novel's different sections.

Historical time and geographical space are organized in the novel by the intimate writings of three distinct people – Kurt Cobain's suicide note, Immaculée's memoir of surviving the Rwandan genocide, and Valéria's postcard to the narrator. In a way, these three documents offer us two suicide notes, one of which is a translation of a song by the author of the other suicide note, and a story of survival, outlining, perhaps the two possible options for dealing with trauma. These subjects and their writings are historically distinct and distant from each other, yet the narrative imagines encounters between them. The latter half of the novel stages an imaginary interview in which Immaculée comments on Kurt Cobain's suicide letter – "What do you think of the author having written this section just one day before the war started in Rwanda"[7], prompts the narrator, further highlighting the interconnectedness and simultaneity of these seemingly disparate events. The following chapter wonders what would have become of Valéria if someone like Immaculée had been her idol and not someone like Kurt Cobain. The chapter then imagines an interview in which Valéria comments on Immaculée's memoir. Would she have found Immaculée's positive outlook naive or even cheesy? While the narrative does not supply any answers to these questions, when the narrator imagines the encounter

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7   My translation.

between Valéria and Immaculée's memoir, he is asking us to consider how our lives are shaped by a series of networks and what the consequences (good or bad) might be as a result of the alteration in those networks. How might Valéria's life been different if she had encountered the work of Immaculée instead of Kurt Cobain? Might the novel's intimate writings include two stories of survival instead of one?

The narrator asks himself what the appearance of a text, its syntax and style says about its author. Valéria's postcard contains a single quote from Nirvana's *Drain You,* eight lines of an imprecise translation, which leads the narrator to question how listeners interpret the message behind the lyrics. He wonders if they are aware of the specific context in which those verses where written: the episodes and references and inside jokes that amount to a loquacious banality which only achieves meaning when accompanied by the musical appeal to one's emotions. A famous addict singer from Aberdeen, Washington would only be a famous addict singer from Aberdeen, he contends, if, in 1993, it weren't tied to someone (ostensibly the narrator, potentially Valéria) from Porto Alegre who understood it all wrong. Kurt Cobain is elevated beyond mere mortal musician in the narrator's attempt to exorcise his demons and those of Valéria. In so doing, the narrative folds an imaginary map in such a way that it creates an immediate border between Aberdeen, Washington and Porto Alegre, that if the narrator only knew the right way to cross over he might be unburdened of his tragedy.

Pages later, the narrator reflects on Valéria's knowledge of 21nglish. He wonders where she learned the language. In judging her translation, he questions how long it might take to learn that *without* means *sem*, that the correct translation of *Drain You* would be something like *você me ensinou tudo sem precisar / da maçã envenenada*, where instead Valéria has translated the lyric as *você me ensinou tudo ao me dar / a maçã envenenada*. But is Valéria's, in fact, a mistranslation, or might she have intentionally altered Cobain's lyrics in her address to the narrator? In personalizing the proverbial sin of the poisoned apple, Valéria's mistranslation provides equal commentary on the personal relationship between herself and the narrator and the effects of global 21nglish in Brazil. The poisoned apple serves as a metaphor for their fraught relationship, while the narrator's semantic parsing speaks to the state of the 21nglish language instruction in Brazil. This sense of superimposed languages and geographies is returned to in the novel's present. A conversation between the Brazilian narrator and Immaculé is unencumbered by translation, or an interpreter, but rather communication is implicit across languages. We might assume that they communicate in 21nglish, yet this is never explicitly stated.

Translation from 21nglish into 21nglish21se reappears with the transcription of a Neil Young quote from Cobain's suicide letter, which is placed in the narrative not in 21nglish, but in 21nglish21se, as if it were the original. Yet this quote is immediately followed by the acknowledgement of translation: "A edição brasileira das memórias de Immaculée Ilibagiza tem capa cinza…" (LAUB, 2013) suggesting that the "original" book object is different not only in language but in appearance. The Local-Global Novel asks us to accept the differences

and similarities between here and there. It is on the same page as the Neil Young quote, for example, that Kurt Cobain's suicide letter is organized against Immaculée's memoir of the war in Rwanda.

It appears that the very impetus for the narrator's comparison between the lives of Immaculée and Kurt Cobain is rooted in ideas of translation. As he listens to Immaculée give a lecture at the University of São Paulo as part of a press tour for her memoir, he hears her explain that the soldiers who would free her from the small church room that was her refuge during the war would speak 22nglish and that she would need to learn the language well enough to explain to them and to the world who she was and what had happened. The church had an 22nglish dictionary and a half dozen books from England, and so Immaculée studied them, learning through trial and error the nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives hidden in this unfamiliar code. It is in this moment that the narrator likens Immaculée's story to that of Kurt Cobain. Was there something to take away from the last moments of Cobain's life, the narrator wonders, the translation he too must have performed as he wrote his final note, some code that might explain why he was there on that day with that gun in his hand. Ultimately, the narrator's comparing and contrasting of Kurt Cobain and Immaculée Ilibagiza serves to cast his own life, and that of Valéria's, against these international opposites: two stories of survival, two stories of defeat.

O tribunal da quinta-feira[8]

Differently from the other two novels in this trilogy, Laub's latest novel forgoes national localization in its opening fragment, favoring, instead, to pinpoint its temporal setting in the twenty-first century by announcing that the narrator has received a Whatsapp message. And while Laub's novel is a critique of social life in the Digital Age, it is also a primer on the history of the AIDS epidemic: its victims, how it appears in popular culture, and North American cultural attitudes and public policy. José Victor, the novel's narrator-protagonist, lives in São Paulo, works at an ad agency, and belongs to the upper class. His life is derailed when his aggrieved ex-wife, Teca, discovers the password to his email account and uncovers correspondence between José Victor and his best friend Walter, an HIV-positive homosexual, which she subsequently distributes to her friends, who then send the messages out to more people, thus leading to a viral phenomenon. The narrative that follows is José Victor's defense, for the Thursday Tribunal of the title is somewhat like the court of public opinion writ large in the Digital Age.

The narrative painstakingly documents the process through which José Victor's emails are made public. It is assumed that Teca has copied the messages before reaching out to José

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8   Laub's latest novel was translated into Dutch in 2018, but it has yet to see a translation into a major language. Companhia das Letras' first re-printing features critical acclaim for Laub's previous novels from such publications as the Financial Times, Le Monde, and revista Ler (Portugal) on its back cover. However, the book presents no national evaluation of Laub's work.

Victor so that he does not have time to change his password. Next, she makes a selection of the best passages: copying and pasting message after message, reformatting the paragraphs, typeface and font size, a series of editorial choices to ensure that the sequence of messages makes sense for the reader. In the following days, Teca's friends receive the messages, which they forward to other friends. Someone uploads the messages to an anonymous site. Links and copies begin appearing on social networks. José Victor attributes the virality of his emails to a "combination of morbidity and bad luck", that the post was published at the exact right time of the day or that someone with a large number of followers became interested in the story, or the simple fact of living in an era when celebrities are not the only ones susceptible to having their personal lives exposed to the masses. He finds himself exposed in the "eternal present of the virtual space" to scrutiny and commentary from architects, publicists, economists, teachers, furniture makers, bus fare collectors, and other interested judges.

In this virtual space we find a horizontal relationship between members of diverse professional classes, but we also see an allusion to literary production – especially in the Digital Age when so many people can self-publish or launch e-books that never see paper copies – thus bearing the question, can analogue media go viral? Laub's other novels discuss literary circulation in much more explicit ways. *Diário da queda* discusses the ubiquity of Primo Levi's writings on the Holocaust, while *A maçã envenenada* stages the international movements of Immaculée Ilibagiza in promotion of her memoir. These two previous novels also engineer the circulation of personal writings – the notebooks that are translated and shared between three generations of fathers and sons in *Diário da queda* and Valéria's postcard sent from São Paulo in *A maçã envenenada*. In this vein, *O tribunal da quinta-feira* sketches the hybridity of personal and public in circulation that is characteristic of the Digital Age.

This personal/public dynamic is reiterated through the narrative's geographical movements. As the narrative transitions from chapter two to chapter three, the reader is transported from Brazil 2016 to San Francisco 1981, as the narrator dismisses the significance of one's local, contemporary political views to get at the guiding thread of his monologue – the AIDS epidemic and its political and cultural impacts in North America. The narrator recalls an interview he saw with a San Francisco resident who describes the AIDS epidemic as his generation's war in Vietnam. In the same breath, the narrator transports the reader back to Brazil (Bariri, São Paulo, 1983, more specifically) to the childhood home of his friend Walter, when Hélio Costa appeared on the TV program *Fantástico* interviewing doctors and patients at American hospitals.

This same chapter imagines what the world would look like had it not been for the AIDS epidemic (two or three generations of engineers, bankers, scientists, accountants that would still be alive, books, films, albums that would have been produced, families that wouldn't have been destroyed), while also listing international events that appeared on the television the same year the disease appeared (the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II, General Figueiredo riding a horse in Cleveland after bypass surgery, Zico scoring a goal in the Maracanã stadium).

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Just a few short chapters later, the narrative places experience within the gay community in California alongside experiences of the same community in Brazil, such that theses identities are no longer unique to their respective nationalities. These experiences, and the theories of identity and morality that arise from them, all relate back to our narrator, how he should be judged for the messages he exchanged with Walter. A 1986 Californian law of quarantine for AIDS sufferers and Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell's campaign against homosexuals are mentioned side-by-side with the hospital admittance of Cláudia Magno and Sandra Bréa.

What makes the emails exchanged between José Victor and Walter so scandalous, and thus worthy of virality, is their particular brand of humor. The messages are proliferated with jokes of the poorest taste about, for example, an escaped slave caught stealing a watermelon in Alabama, 1862, or about a bearded man afraid of ovens for fear he might be mistaken for a pizza in Poland, 1944. The material for these particular jokes is not local but invokes the scars of global history: the North American slave trade and the Holocaust. In other instances the material is local, for example, Cláudia Magno and Sandra Bréa are used interchangeably to suggest unprotected sex. These jokes are not actually funny to those other than the narrator and Walter. The jokes are part of a lexicon that functions only between the two because they are clued into its code. The get lost in translation, so to speak, when they are transposed to a larger audience. Integral to the misunderstandings that occur among outside readers of Walter and José Victor's correspondence is that while the lexicon relies on signifiers that are nationally or globally recognized, their signifieds are intimate and personal; they correspond to a language with only two speakers.

Where translation smooths out difference in *O diário da queda*, the grandfather's "translations" of traumatic experience into palatable memories, for example, and in *A maçã envenenada*, in which translation can be read as a phenomenon for fostering transnational communication and a bringing together of diverse international figures, translation, though it appears less explicitly, in *O tribunal da quinta-feira* emphasizes difference. The novel's approach to translation is an approach of 25nglish25se25bility. The private vernacular that emerges from Walter and José Victor's shared vocabulary does not resonate even within its original national language because the cipher with which to understand it is not commonly shared. While translation augments transcultural experience in Laub's earlier novels, here it seems to quarantine the intimate lives of two individuals, irreducible as it is to collective experience and the kinship among languages.

Immediately following a paragraph defending the codified inside jokes between Walter and himself, the narrator recounts a 1988 American Supreme Court Case involving pastor Jerry Falwell and *Hustler* magazine editor Larry Flynt. Flynt ran a fake ad in his magazine claiming that Falwell had lost his virginity to his own mother. Flynt argued that the joke was so grotesque that no one could actually belief it to be true, José Victor explains, which he likens to how he himself feels delivering platitudes to the court of public opinion that flings accusations at

him for his emails with Walter. In this passage, our Brazilian narrator has identified his North American counterpart in the figure of Larry Flynt, who in turn becomes part of a fictional universe that includes not only Jerry Falwell but also Sandra Bréa and Cláudia Magno through Laub's emplotment of characters, in a geographical arrangement that thrusts José Victor's feelings about his own personal drama up against a North American scandal.

If the narrative posits Larry Flynt as José Victor's North American parallel, then it also seems to suggest that Jerry Falwell might serve as Teca's North American equivalent. She has mobilized a digital community of retirees, religious preachers, fan club members and whoever has been hiding in the shadows until the technology has appeared which permits them filterless and limitless expression to publicly condemn José Victor for his own private filterless and limitless expression. One might understand this digital community as not dissimilar from Falwell's own Moral Majority given the organization of José Victor's musings on right-wing American grandstanding and his current public scandal. This is, of course, a false equivalency, ideologically speaking, but is also demonstrative of the ways in which geographical connections are established in the novel. Much the way Kurt Cobain, Valéria, Immaculée Ilibagiza, and the narrator figure into an antipodal relationship in *A maçã envenenada*, so too do Teca, Jerry Falwell, Larry Flynt, and José Victor in the structure of this narrative.

In this vein, while the AIDS epidemic is certainly the global catastrophe this novel tackles as its counterpoint to José Victor's personal drama, it also seeks to position digital culture – or a digital culture in which we are made judge and jury, where we are able to participate in the worst of humanity (8chan and its use by alt-right internet subcultures comes to mind) – as our impending catastrophe. It looks at our cultural past as well as our cultural future. Teca's personal revenge is elevated to a political cause as José Victor's emails reach a larger audience such that he is longer viewed by this public as an individual capable of making mistakes but rather as a living symptom of historic and collective injustice. In this sense, he remarks, the four days following the release of his emails have been glorious for Teca. Here is her ex-husband, publicly exposed for his indiscretions and cowardice, and every stone thrown at him is a public declaration against what he has said. However, this indignation does not seem to apply to the indiscretion of logging into someone else's email and forwarding the messages found there, as José Victor points out. It does not take into account how leaking these emails might damage the individual lives of everyone involved.

When made public, the narrator's discovery and development of his sexual predilections become fodder for debates over morality and misogyny. They no longer exist as choices between two consenting adults. His messages to and about Dani, his young lover and subordinate at work, reveal a growing taste for BDSM, a consensual violence, as he calls it, meant as erotic symbolism, that will be transformed into unilateral violence practiced in the real world. The joke becomes fact, he writes, the character a flesh and blood person, and he himself becomes seen as someone who literally performs his own bravados. José Victor's affair with Dani is

exposed as collateral damage to his correspondence with Walter. And as José Victor admits, despite that fact that Dani belongs to a generation with different ideas about intimacy and privacy, that she grew up in the era of cyber-bullying and adult chatrooms, a sex scandal is still a sex scandal after all.

The personal/collective tragedy dialectic, doubly refracted in this novel to include the public/private dialectic, can also be seen on the scale of a single city. As the novel attempts to identify who Walter contracted AIDS from, the reader is transported from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro, a sunny city where you drink a *caipirinha* while people are being shot or falsely arrested in the favelas, as José Victor describes it. Yet despite this, he continues, it is still possible to meet someone on the beach as you return from a swim. It is on this afternoon, while people are falling ill in the grated buildings of Barra or Zona Sul, that Walter falls irremediably in love with someone. This someone will then bind Walter forevermore to an improvised network that includes Sandra Bréa, Cláudia Magno, Cazuza, Caio Fernando Abreu, Freddie Mercury, the Castro district residents of the 1980s, Jerry Falwell and others. In this way, the Local-Global Novel asks us to confront the ripple effects of individual actions, how local experience contributes to and is contributed by global networks and communities.

Similarly to *A maçã envenenada, O tribunal da quinta-feira* ruminates on the English language. Where Laub's second novel addresses English as the *lingua* franca that allows for communication between the diverse geographical territories the narrative charts, his latest slyly demonstrates the language's influence on the Brazilian lexicon. Following his tirade on the current state of the Digital Age, José Victor resumes his history lesson on the AIDS epidemic, finally giving a name to the virus he has discussed for over eighty pages. As he spells out the acronym's components, he is forced to acknowledge the Brazilian adoption of AIDS over SIDA, the Englishese equivalent in the Lusophone world.[9] The following mentions of AIDS in the book appear as this binary term, AIDS/SIDA, both English and Englishese. The text is filled with other examples of English words that have infiltrated the Brazilian vernacular, especially in digital and workplace vocabulary. The term "counseling" is used to describe the meeting Dani has with human resources after her romantic link to José Victor is discovered. Other examples include "refresh" as in a webpage; "briefing" as in a meeting; "experience", "storytelling", and "big data" as resumé buzz words. English is the metalanguage for the Internet and industries in the innovation sector, but, differently from how it is dissected in *A maçã envenenada*, actual rhetorical understanding of the language is irrelevant.

Unlike Laub's previous works, this novel offers glimpses into the Brazilian economic situation of the 1990s and 2000s, shaped of course by broader globalizing forces. José Victor

9 This is also a passage in which José Victor discusses the inequalities of access to AIDS treatment. Although antiretroviral drugs appeared as early as 1996, he explains, there are still millions of people (in Africa and the Arab world, he points out) for whom this drug cocktail is merely a name printed in a foreign newspaper.

explains his entrance into the world of advertising in the early 1990s because, despite his interest in film, it was no longer a viable career path given the collection of economic reforms and inflation-stabilization plans that are associated with the Collor government, and the end of Embrafilme, a state-funded company created for the production and dissemination of Brazilian movies which was disbanded by Collor. Dani also enters the workforce at a time of crisis. With the advent of the Internet as a widely-used tool, the market began to favor online corporations over traditional advertising agencies. Clients could reach a more specific public with a smaller budget thanks to algorithms that customize our habits and choices, obtaining more efficient and quantifiable responses through such resources as pay-per-click, dispensing with the cost of traditional ad houses. In fact, the agency José Victor and Dani work for is in the process of being sold to an American company, Banfeld/McCoy.

New dimensions of Imagined Communities

The Local-Global Novel is a novel of simultaneity – both representational, of course through narrative, and also, seemingly, physical through its arrangement of transterritorial narratives. Local-global simultaneity is portrayed in *Diário da queda* through the relationship the narrator contrives between his grandfather's forced imprisonment at Auschwitz and João's mother's illness, two geographically and temporally distinct moments that the narrative places in tandem. Transnational simultaneity is developed in *A maçã envenenada* through a charting of international events that took place in 1994, while national asynchronicity is represented through the narrator's failing relationship with his girlfriend and her eventual suicide. *O tribunal da quinta-feira* also offers different scales of simultaneity: on the scale of a single city; on the scale of the transnational, comparing and distinguishing between, for example, the TV interviews of the Castro residents in 1981 and the Helio Costa reporting for *Fantástico* which Walter watched in 1983; and on a virtual scale, bringing together a diverse group of people from different economic, social, and political backgrounds in the crusade against José Victor and his emails.

Provided this simultaneity among strangers, that is both spatial in its juxtaposition of territories and temporal in its juxtaposition of memory, we are able to conceive of newly shaped and defined communities. The French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy describes this simultaneous space-time as *being singular plural*. He writes, "… it is… always an instance of 'with': singulars singularly together… The togetherness of singulars is singularity 'itself.' It 'assembles' them insofar as it spaces them; they are 'linked' insofar as they are not unified" (NANCY, 2000). Communities are not the sum of individuals but rather signify "the chaotic and multiform appearance of the infranational, supranational, para-national and, moreover, the dis-location of the 'national' in general" (NANCY, 2000). The Local-Global Novel achieves plural singularity, or singular plurality, through its fragmented representation of life across the different segments of the local and the global. In so doing, this kind of novel provides provisional communities for its characters to be *singular plural*, while asking its readers to redefine what community means.

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The approach to community in the Local-Global Novel is accommodating to the whole world without the pretense of assuming to contain it. The kind of community engendered here is one untethered from place or time, splintered, a momentary composition of diverse constituents. Through this community, as represented in the novel, individuals are found to be tied together beyond the national. They are not initiated into global circulation, but rather, as Schoene (2009) has argued, "they are in fact what constitutes, propels, and perpetuates this circulation… all individuality amounts to is the production of variations on one and the same theme of contemporary human existence". In Laub's novels, the theme of contemporary human existence is accentuated by global catastrophes of the twentieth century, variously produced in a wide range of localities that contribute to the way their Brazilian narrators are able to understand their immediate reality.

There are certain events, Tomlinson (1999) argues, such as the fallout in Chernobyl, the fall of the Berlin wall, the collapse of the communist world, the creation of the European Union, global summits on climate change, wars in Beirut, the Gulf, Somalia, or Bosnia, that "may add to the extension of the individual's 'phenomenal world'". Distant events become relevant to individuals' routine experience in such a way that significance is not self-contained within physical locality or politically-defined territories. In Laub's novels, the Holocaust, the Rwandan genocide, Kurt Cobain's suicide, and the AIDS epidemic are folded into the local experience of Laub's narrators, providing different scales of significance for local reality.

In emphasizing such significance, we must return to Canclini's metaphors and narratives. "Metaphors and narratives", he writes, "are forms of organization of imaginaries; they give order to dispersion of meaning in the act of imagining, a dispersion that is accentuated in a globalized world" (CANCLINI, 2014). Metaphor and narrative, then, are the Local-Global Novel's basic tools for the representation of a simultaneous space-time, for the creation of communities of global proportions.

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A CASA CAI: UNVEILING GEOGRAPHIES OF EXCLUSION AND VIOLENCE

A CASA CAI: DESVELANDO GEOGRAFIAS DE EXCLUSÃO E VIOLÊNCIA

Katia Costa Bezerra[1]

ABSTRACT

Favelas have existed for more than a century and have been historically portrayed as spaces of violence, criminality, and poverty. Over the years there have been different efforts to eliminate them from the wealthiest parts of the city. In spite of the different policies to remove them, the presence of favelas persists in areas close to wealth neighborhoods such as Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon. In 2014, Marcelo Backes published the novel *A casa cai.* The book tells the story of a former seminarist who leaves the priesthood after his father's death. While investigating documents from his father's safe, he realizes that part of his family's fortune was made from real estate investments at the place where it used to be the Favela da Praia do Pinto. Drawing from David Harvey's discussion on neoliberalism and urban space and Neil Smith's notion of gentrification, the essay explores the ways in which the novel engages with questions of urban policies, displacement, violence, and memory. In so doing, it attempts to unveil the close association between capital, favela eradication programs and issues of inequality and discrimination. I argue that the novel is part of a larger debate over the struggle between social justice and the reproduction of capital. I also contend that Backes's novel is part of a revisionist project that attempts to bring other facets to the military dictatorship in Brazil.

KEYWORDS: Urban space; Favelas; Gentrification; Memory; Military regime.

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RESUMO

As favelas existem por mais de um século e têm sido historicamente representadas como espaços de violência, criminalidade e pobreza. Através dos anos, diferentes esforços foram feitos para eliminá-las das partes mais ricas da cidade. Apesar das várias políticas para removê-las, a presença das favelas persiste em bairros ricos como Copacabana, Ipanema e Leblon. Em 2014, Marcelo Backes publicou o romance *A casa cai*. O livro conta a estória de um ex-seminarista que abandona o seminário após o falecimento do pai. Enquanto investiga documentos que estão guardados no cofre do pai, o narrador percebe que parte da riqueza da família se origina de investimentos imobiliários num lugar onde costumava existir a Favela da Praia do Pinto. Tendo por base a discussão de David Harvey sobre o neoliberalismo e o espaço urbano e a noção de gentrificação de Neil Smith, esse ensaio explora as formas como o romance traz à tona questões de políticas urbanas, deslocamento, violência e memória. Ao fazer isso, o romance procura desvendar íntima relação entre o capital, programas de erradicação das favelas e questões de desigualdade e discriminação. Eu argumento que o romance é parte de um debate mais amplo em torno da luta entre justiça social e a reprodução do capital. Eu também argumento que o romance de Backes é parte de um projeto revisionista que procura trazer outras facetas para a ditadura militar no Brasil.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Espaço urbano; Favelas; Gentrificação; Memória; Regime militar.

> O dia das mães nunca mais seria festejado do mesmo jeito naquele lugar, e meu pai ainda pensou que ele e os seus bem poderiam ter escolhido uma ocasião melhor para expulsar de uma vez por todas aqueles importunos que infestavam o nobre terreno da Zona Sul do Rio de Janeiro […].
> (BACKES, 2014, p. 116)

Celebrated in films, songs, and literature for its beauty, the city of Rio de Janeiro has undergone several waves of gentrification. In the beginning of the 20th century, Mayor Pereira Passos carried out urban transformations that changed the city's landscape. Tenement houses were destroyed, opening space to large avenues and new urban developments. Having as a model the Parisian boulevards designed by Haussman, the main goal was to increase the importance of the city on the international scene (BRANDÃO, 2006, p. 37). The urban interventions carried out let to profound modifications in the physical, social and economic structure of the city. In the beginning of the 1940s, there were attempts to improve life in favelas but, at the same time, efforts were made to eliminate favelas from more affluent areas. The creation of BNH (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento) in 1964 and CHISAM (Coordenação de Habitação de Interesses Sociais da Área Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro) in 1968 were part of a large-scale favela removal program paired with a massive relocation effort in which displaced favela residents were settled in public housing compounds located on the city's outskirts (BRUM, 2013, p. 182).

Favela da Praia do Pinto is one of these cases. Its history is revisited by Marcelo Backes's novel *A casa cai,* published in 2014. The plot revolves around a former seminarist who leaves the priesthood after his father's death. While investigating documents from his father's safe, he realizes that part of his family's fortune was made from real estate investments at the place where

it used to be the Favela da Praia do Pinto. The narrator thus unveils the connection between his father's economic projects and the dictatorship. Drawing on David Harvey's discussion on neoliberalism and urbanization and Neil Smith's notion of gentrification, this essay examines the ways in which the novel engages with questions of urban policies, displacement, violence, and memory. In so doing, it attempts to unveil the close association between capital, favela eradication programs and issues of inequality and discrimination. I argue that the novel is part of a larger debate over issues of social justice and the reproduction of capital. I also contend that Backes' novel is part of a revisionist debate that attempts to bring alternative facets to the military dictatorship in Brazil.

Rio de Janeiro and Favelas:

According to 2010 Census, there are around 763 favelas in Rio de Janeiro alone. The 2014 Brazilian Population Census informs that about 20% of Rio de Janeiro's population is made up of favela residents, more than one million people living in communities marked by socioeconomic differences. The proliferation of favelas can be explained by massive migrations from rural areas to the cities, the ever-present shortfall of housing and a precarious and expensive transportation system that forces many low-income workers to live close to their workplace. When favelas first appeared in Rio's landscape, they were mostly ignored. According to Brodwyn Fischer, isolated or small groupings of shacks were common throughout the nineteenth century. It was only in the early twentieth century that favelas emerged as a problem due to Brazil's concern with "European standards of civilization, culture, hygiene, and race" (FISCHER, 2014, p. 16). The perception of favelas as uncivilized, violent and unhealth areas justified the implementation of policies that attempted to eradicate them. As a consequence, diverse programs of sanitation and public policies were implemented on several occasions, targeting low-income populations. This was the case of the demolition of tenement houses by Mayor Pereira Passos's urban reform from 1902 to 1906. According to Roberto Segre, Pereira Passos's urban reform "almost eliminated the tenement houses (*cortiços*) of the center of the city, which housed approximately 100,000 people in 1890 (SEGRE, 2008, p. 77). The data provided by different censuses can give us an idea of the rapid rates of urban growth. In 1849, Rio de Janeiro had around 205,906 inhabitants, while in 1890 this number had gone up to 522,621, and in 1903 the population was around 805,335 (FISCHER, 2008, p. 22). The growth of favelas can be attributed to the lack of state policies that could address housing problems of the poor segments of the population. Without places to live, low-income and landless segments of the population settled on hills near their workplaces or were forced to move away to the suburbs. Wood-and-zinc shacks sprang up rapidly on hills, leading to neighborhoods deprived of the most basic municipal services such as running water, electricity, sewage, and trash collection (FISCHER, 2008, p. 22).

This same dynamic was present in the demolition of Morro de Santo Antonio. Located

in downtown Rio de Janeiro, Morro de Santo Antonio had around 1,314 shacks in 1910 (Segre 77). In 1950, the city census estimated a population around 2,840 residents (FISCHER, 2008, p. 84). Perceived as an "excruciating blight of urban misery" that could jeopardize the image of a civilized city, by the late 1950s the houses of the poor had been completely destroyed and part of the hill was gone (Edmundo p. 249-252, 266). Only the church and the convent were preserved due to their significance as part of the colonial history of the city. The earth removed from the hill was dumped on the Flamengo beach, creating a new waterfront park (Aterro do Flamengo).[2]

The fact is that the perception of favelas as dysfunctional territories within the city has influenced and justified the way urban policies have been structured over the decades. Historically inscribed as territories of dangerous, irrational, poor, and uncivilized black individuals, the close proximity with affluent neighborhoods has made them more visible. For this reason, one of the major goals of the urban policies adopted in diverse historical contexts has been to civilize and modernize the city, which has resulted in the eviction of those who do not fit in with a certain perception of the city. Forms of intervention that, as David Harvey reminds us, serve private interests due the locations of some favelas in more affluent neighborhoods. As can be seen, we are faced with urban interventions that, attuned to the market and the ambition of a local elite, attempted to establish "how and by what means space can be used, organized, created, and dominated to fit the rather strict temporal requirements of the circulation of capital" (HARVEY, 1985, p. 37).

Favela da Praia do Pinto:

In the 1940s, with the increase in population, politicians and speculators became more interested in the perpetuation of favelas. With promises, politicians could attract favela voters and residents could rent a room or open a small business to make the ends meet. As a consequence, some projects were created to improve housing conditions and sanitation (SEGRE, 2008, p. 78). In the 1960s and 1970s the government created housing projects to eradicate favelas from more affluent neighborhoods. Favela da Praia do Pinto was one such case. Located in Leblon's wealthy south zone, Favela da Praia do Pinto completely burned down in May 1969. On the following day of the fire, the police tore down the few remaining houses that were still standing and everyone was forced to leave. The plan to remove Favela da Praia do Pinto dates back to the 1950s but for a while the families were able to resist. According to data from the Favela Census (1949), in 1949 at least 20,000 people lived in the location. Favela da Praia do Pinto was considered the largest horizontal favela in Rio and

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2   The Convent of Santo Antonio had its origins in a small chapel, which stood on the banks of the pond that was occupied in 1592 by Franciscan friars, Fray Antonio Martyrs and Fray Antonio das Chagas. However, its construction only began in June 1608 under the presidency of Fray Vicente do Salvador and in 1615 opened a part of the Convent and Church of Santo Antonio, where the first Mass was celebrated on 8 February.

most of the residents were removed to housing projects in the suburbs of the west zone. This removal was part of a larger project that transferred from 1968 to 1975 almost 50,000 families from affluent neighborhoods to the outskirts of the city. Mario Brum reminds us that the main concern was the implementation of an urban beautification plan as part of a project of social cleansing. One of the strategies used to encourage favela residents to leave their houses was the promise that there would be improved-housing conditions in the new areas – a promise that, of course, the government never fulfilled (BRUM, 2013, p. 184). Some of the residents were allocated at Cruzada São Sebastião, located between Rodrigues Freire Lagoon and Praia do Leblon. Cruzada São Sebastião was launched by D. Helder Câmara, the auxiliary archbishop of Rio de Janeiro in 1955, as an alternative to solve the problem of favelas in Rio. Comprised of 10 apartment buildings of 7 floors each without elevator, and with a total of 910 residences, Cruzada's main goal was to provide permanent residency for families living in favelas "with satisfactory conditions of hygiene, in comfort and safety" (VALLADARES, 2003, p. 78).

In the capitalist logic, investment in built environment is considered a secondary sector of capital accumulation that can absorb impacts generated from industrial production. One consequence is the inevitable ascendancy of real estate companies that profit from the replacement of dilapidated urban spaces by upscale buildings and facilities. In the case of the Favela da Praia do Pinto, it is not only the contrast between a poor housing areas and nearby luxurious condominiums that justifies the intervention but also the perception of favela population as black and criminal – individuals who did not belong there. The fact is that the removal of Favela da Praia do Pinto residents opened a new area to the construction of a middle –middle/upper class condominium known as Selva de Pedra with 40 buildings, 2251 apartments, four internal streets and a central square.[3]

It is precisely this episode that the novel evokes when the main character examines his father's safe and understands his decisive role in the fire. As the citation that opens this essay makes it clear, favelas and their residents were perceived by an elite as a stain imprinted or infesting a noble (wealthy) neighborhood. The use of words such as "infested" bring to mind some of the terminology used in the nineteenth century to explain human differences. As discussed by scholars as Thomas Skidmore (1974), in the nineteenth century we witness a strong association between eugenics and hygiene as an attempt to regulate bodies and practices. Miscegenation was the focus of the discussion about the nation and, from the deterministic analysis, intense mixing could promote racial degeneration (physical, intellectual and moral anomalies). In reproducing some of this terminology in the novel, the author does not only unveil the beliefs of the main character's father and his neighbors but the terminology allows us to trace back some of the discourses that have contributed to the perception of favelas and their residents as a source of stigma and discrimination.

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3   The 1960s is a period marked by a large real estate boom in the neighborhoods of Leblon, Ipanema, Gávea and Jardim Botânico (BRUM, 2013, p. 185).

The urge to act and clean the "noble land" justifies the adoption of a policy of removal that involves violence, the bribery of the police and community leaders, and even the arrest of those who resisted eviction with the excuse that they were communists. As we know, Brazil was under a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. The military justified the 1964 coup as a necessary measure to protect Brazil from communism. The regime violently suppressed any opposition, arresting, killing and disappearing members of the armed resistance and community leaders. One of the premises of the military regime was to look for strategies to become integrated to the international capitalist market, increasing state intervention in all spheres of social life. In his work, Harvey (1989) calls attention to the ways the capitalist logic of power creates territorial configurations through the privatization of land. This spatiality of capital accumulation has given rise to an intense struggle that goes on to determine whose interests and needs will prevail. In partnership with the state, the private capital engages in projects convenient to them that not only affect communities' lives but that of everyone living in the city. It is not by change that in various moments the narrator mentions the role played by an authoritarian state in the success of his father's business project since those who tried to oppose his father's project were arrested as communists. In order to put into question discourses that justified the evictions in the name of development and beautification, the novel brings the dramatic impact of the fire on the local community. In so doing, the narrator not only highlights the contrast between the two realities but also the insensibility of the "good" residents of Leblon to favela residents' tragedy:

> Pessoas corriam, desesperadas, para fora de seus barracos, crianças e velhos eram arrancados da cama, uma garota que passou correndo olhou pro meu pai implorando silenciosamento por ajuda […] Alguns velhos choravam na calçada, dúzias de crianças zanzavam perdidas no meio da multidão […] Enquanto isso a Lagoa dormia placidamente ali perto (BACKES, 2014, p.116, 117)

The favela is set on fire as a pre-condition to facilitate a process of displacement since Leblon is experiencing a rapid increase in gentrification. However, it is not only poverty that justifies the eviction of the residents but race becomes a fundamental factor in the effort to restructure and re-present the community. The displacement is thus a response to the racialized construction of territories that need to be cleansed if gentrifiers want to attract higher income residents as the narrator attests when he refers to:

> O branqueamento benfazejo da Zona Sul, o isolamento da pobreza em lugares distantes e regularizados era levada a cabo por planos governamentais, e meu pai aproveitava sua chance, já que a instituição fundamentava com empenho seus projetos mais ambiciosos. (BACKES, 2014, p. 119)

The narrator illustrates how in the minds of a Brazilian elite blackness was incompatible with a modern, civilized society. He points to the ways in which systems of domination and oppression have constructed and maintained a practice of segregation, through the exclusion

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of blacks from the "good, wealthy" neighborhoods. What happens is that discriminatory educational and employment practices and prescriptive racial stereotyping keep blacks low in standards of living and this gives support to white prejudice, creating a vicious circle. Therefore, by denouncing the racism that underpins social practices, the novel challenges discourses that celebrate Brazil as an egalitarian, multicultural and racist-free nation, as a model of a cultural and racially hybrid nation. It points to the presence of a subtle racism that lurks behind and tends to conceal or naturalize racial and territorial power relations.

However, the disappearance of Favela da Praia do Pinto does not mean that the "good" community was free from the undesirable residents. Cruzada São Sebastião is also perceived as a stigmatized territory in Leblon - a neighborhood "onde havia um pouco mais de vinte mil domicílios apenas, e menos de cinquenta mil moradores bem selecionados" (BACKES, 2014, p. 291). Some of the comments voiced by these well-selected residents and ironically reproduced by the narrator contribute to the reproduction of racism as a form of domination albeit in different ways as we can see in the examples when members of the elite refer to Cruzada São Sebastião: ""Agora a cidade vai conviver com essa doença até o fim dos tempos, os ratos vão ficar pra sempre na casa-grande"" (BACKES, 2014, p. 125), "[é] mesmo o cancer do bairro, a sujeira eterna debaixo do tapete." (BACKES, 2014, p. 125) The comments unveil a hierarchical construction of groups to whom are attributed specific collective, biological naturalized traits that characterize them as inferior. Traits that may primarily relate to physical and biological features but also include cultural practices, customs and traditions that are evaluated as negative, and backward when compared to the hegemonic desired ones. As Kátia da Costa Bezerra discusses on her work on the relationship between favelas and urban policies:

> Although questions of race are usually erased from discussions on urban policies, it is only when we start to consider their impact on the daily life of individuals and low-income communities that we can understand how urban policies reproduce and reinforce structures of inequality and exclusion. This process of racialization of space, however, is usually occluded under discourses that claim for the common good or the urge for progress/beautification—a process that dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, as described by Fischer. (BEZERRA, 2017, p. 134)

In our specific case, the connection with a determinist discourse and the reference to a colonial past are clear examples of how these images are recycled to solidify and reproduce a certain social order, pointing to the ways in which the relationship between space, race and the reproduction of capital is established. This means to say that Favela da Praia do Pinto or Cruzada São Sebastião become the commodity for profit-seeking capital through a process that involves racial/social cleansing and low-cost land. As discussed by Smith, the search for a high return on investment is the primary goal behind gentrification (SMITH, 1979, p. 542). Of course, as the novel continuously reminds us, the adoption of an economic model based on the free interplay of market forces as a new basis for capital accumulation, implied suppressing

opposition wherever it appeared and the making of new political coalitions and social alliances. The final goal was to insert Brazil into a different international economy as a strategy to overcome a serious economic crisis and mounting competition.

The fire of Favela da Praia do Pinto and the consequent construction of the Selva de Pedra condominium demonstrate the ways in which the relations of production attempt to reproduce themselves. The events point to the impacts of gentrification on local community's life and social practices, the way they try to eliminate the possibility of difference by re-inscribing a certain spatial order. In so doing, these events highlight the dialectical dynamics between the capitalist and the territorial logic of power, unveiling the connection between urbanization, race, and inequality. It is not by change that, little by little, physical barriers were constructed around the Selva de Pedra condominium to avoid that "moradores, marginais e favelados, saíssem de seu espaço subqualificado [da Cruzada São Sebastião] e frequentassem livremente as áreas da bem mais gloriosa Selva de Pedra" (BACKES, 2014, p. 297). Yet, the gentrification process does not stop with the eviction of the undesirable residents from Favela da Praia do Pinto. There is a second moment of gentrification when, as predicted by the narrator's father, little by little the middle class residents of the Selva de Pedra condominium were displaced by the influx of higher-income newcomers:

> Em sua astúcia, meu pai inclusive parecia ter adivinhado desde o princípio que a Selva de Pedra acabaria mudando o perfil, apesar das vizinhanças irremovíveis da Cruzada. Ele sabia muito bem o que eu só agora descobria, quanta coisa eu descobria, que os planos nem um pouco inocentes e bem interesseiros de acabar com a Praia do Pinto [...] tudo porque o Leblon, sempre mais ao Sul da Zona Sul, era o norte pro qual apontava a bússola assaz convicta da especulação (BACKES, 2014, p. 126-127).

As for Cruzada São Sebastião, although many consider it a vertical and unmovable favela, nowadays a twenty-one-square meter apartment can be sold by R$ 265.000,00 depending on its location (TROVIT). According to the record of the residents' association, a 20-square meter studio apartment can be home of up to ten people. With a population of around three to four thousand residents from low income to middle class families, in 2015 the state government proposed to upgrade the condominium with the installation of elevators, restoration of the buildings and the regularization of property titles (COSTA, 2015). Of course, this would have an impact on the state and municipal taxes and a significant increase in the real estate value in the neighborhood that could trigger another process of gentrification.[4]

The urban interventions are thus orchestrated by cycles of investment in which the ultimate

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4   Built in 2006 next to Cruzada São Sebastião, Shopping Leblon is one of Rio's most exclusive and upscale malls. It was an investment strategy that contributed to the neighborhood value appreciation. In spite of its constant projects to engage the Cruzada São Sebastião's residents in social projects, we cannot deny its strategic position (with its back to Cruzada) isolates or hides one side of Cruzada São Sebastião.

goal is guided by a profit-driven market economy. The fact is that land values "increase most rapidly during periods of particularly rapid capital accumulation and decline temporally during slumps," giving rise to cyclical processes of spatial expansion (suburbanization) and expansion in situ (gentrification) (SMITH, 1979, p. 541). It is a process of economic growth and urban development characterized by further marginalization through land speculation. In order to reverse this unequal pattern of development, marginalized groups challenge an official rhetoric that, although advocating social equality and democratic channels of discussion, its inherent objective is completely different. As discussed before, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, for decades a discourse of consensus has been used to justify targeting interventions to spaces occupied by the so-called problematic, marginalized, criminal segments of society. It is a dominant mode of representation that reduces the issue of inequality to a territorial problem rather than structural economic and political issues. There is no doubt that the project of gentrification described by *A casa cai* is still under way. Only that, in recent years, it is the increase of taxes or the possibility of profit that will probably force old (poor/black) residents to move to other less expensive/upscale neighborhoods. Therefore, in spite of an inclusive legal framework of the 1988 Constitution and the constant discourses on social inclusion, many marginalized groups still struggle to assert themselves as equal and legitimate citizens.

However, the novel does not restrict itself to a sharp criticism of the connections between urban policies and capitalism but it also proposes alternative frameworks to rethink the past. The novel questions a dualistic logic (the struggle between the military and left-wing groups) traditionally used by diverse discourses to refer to the Brazilian dictatorship, opening the conditions for the emergence of alternative experiences. In selecting the disappearance of Favela da Praia do Pinto as his point of departure, Backes explores the impact of the military regime on favela residents – stories usually absent from the official record. In so doing, the novel thus gains a supplemental status in which "se junta a outros processos de armazenamento e divulgação da memória […] para o estabelecimento da mediação entre passado e presente que afirma o vivido como experiência coletiva" (JORGE, 2017, p. 28). It can be argued that by proposing more complex ways of revisiting the past, *A casa cai* offers a sense of inclusion to forgotten experiences and stories, inaugurating new dimensions to the mapping of the social and cultural memory of the nation – a crucial step if we want a more inclusive, democratic society.

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DIADORIM

SOWING WOMEN, HARVESTING A NATION: RETHINKING THE MOZAMBICAN FEMALE CONDITION IN PAULINA CHIZIANE'S *NIKETCHE: UMA HISTÓRIA DE POLIGAMIA*

SEMEANDO MULHERES, COLHENDO UMA NAÇÃO: REPENSANDO A CONDIÇÃO FEMININA MOÇAMBICANA EM NIKETCHE DE PAULINA CHIZIANE: UMA HISTÓRIA DE POLIGAMIA

Lidiana de Moraes[1]

Mozambican writer Paulina Chiziane opens her novel *Niketche: Uma História de Poligamia*[2] with a Zambezian proverb that says: "A woman is earth. If you don't sow her, or water her, she will produce nothing"[3]. From this statement, it is possible to sense that we are about to embark on a journey to a world that has yet to be deeply explored by literature: the world of women of Mozambique. Most of the literary production of the country usually portrays the matter of womanhood through the words of male writers. Paulina Chiziane is a pioneer in introducing us to a new literary terrain. Through her gaze into the feminine condition, the epigraph becomes open to a different interpretation. Even though the saying may be understood as a compliment to women; it also raises some questions in regard to the position female characters do partake in society. After all, who is responsible to sow and water earth, so it can produce something? By addressing a third party as the one responsible to make sure that women are productive, aren't we ignoring their capacity to be fecund in spite of the interference of others? Who determines when, why, what, or how women are supposed to be fertile (in every sense of the word)?

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1   Doutoranda no programa de Literary, Cultural, and Linguisitc Studies, da University of Miami, departamento de Modern Languages and Literatures.

2   Translated into English with the title *The First Wife*: *A Tale of Polygamy*.

3   "Mulher é terra. Sem semear, sem regar, nada produz."

Paulina Chiziane did not randomly choose that proverb as an introduction to the story that was about to come. She understands the difficulties faced by women in societies in which morality is still considerably conventional. As a representative of feminine literature in Mozambique, she uses her voice to discuss how the patriarchal system continues to influence the social and political agenda of her country. Through her own experience, Chiziane crafts literature that provides a realistic portrayal of womanhood, especially in situations that contribute to the ideological constitution of a postcolonial and post-independence nation.

In this respect, *Niketche: Uma História de Poligamia*[4] is a text that explores the limitations imposed on women by society. Considering the Mozambican context, women are perceived as land owing to the fact that their grounds are also limited by borders levied by men. From a traditional stance (therefore male) of the Zambezian proverb, men are the ones responsible for sowing, watering, and finally reaping female outcomes. In contrast, Chiziane surveys the boundaries that are enforced on the female characters in order to expand them. Initially, female characters are a result of the men who surround them, with no freedom to go beyond the limits set by masculine oppression. But then, once they (self)examine their condition, the narrative takes a different turn (particularly if in comparison to the conventional man-oriented stories). Not only the female viewpoint enlightens readers as to the living traditions that are part of the national environment, it also indicates that, like it is happening to the earth (Mozambican women), Mozambique is experiencing a process of transformation.

Examples of change in the country that can be comprehended through the female experience can be recognized already in the title of the novel, after all because "the very practice of remembering and rewriting leads to the formation of politicized consciousness and self-identity. Writing often becomes the context through which new political identities are forged. It becomes a space for struggle and contestation about reality itself." (Mohanty 34). For starters, *niketche*, the dance of love, refers to a ritual that is part of the cultural heritage of the country. It is a dance that can only be performed by women, "A dança do sol e da lua, dança do vento e da chuva, dança da criação. Uma dança que mexe, que aquece. Que imobiliza o corpo e faz a alma voar" (160). The ceremony can be interpreted as the passage from being a girl to becoming a woman – "…somos mulheres. Maduras como frutas. Estamos prontas para a vida!" (160). At first, this imagery could be construed as a preparation of women, so they can be "sown" by men. Chiziane's representation; however, illustrates that by embracing this ritual (thus their sexuality) women may also achieve freedom over their bodies and take flight, depending only on what they choose to do with their lives (or how they react to the possibility of independence). The *niketche* and polygamy represent the two sides of one story. They can be used to reinforce subjugation of women to the old social customs, or they may be encompassed as opportunities for female characters to emancipate themselves, becoming owners of their

4   First published in 2002, it was the first book to receive the *Prémio José Craveirinha de Literatura*, prize established in 2003 by the *Associação dos Escritores Moçambicanos* (AEMO)

own land. Through the examination of what it means to be a Mozambican woman, the dance is converted to more than an attempt to overcome barriers imposed to women, it turns out to be a demonstration of a whole new world of opportunities for Rami – the main character who learns about the *niketche* at an old age – and consequently also to the other women in the community.

Bearing this in mind, through the analysis of the text I aim to show how Chiziane reinvents what it means to be a Mozambican woman, and how she subverts the entire national sociopolitical structure that denies women's collaboration as fundamental for the construction of ideals that are in line with a self-governing country. My argument is that in *Niketche*, the liberation of female bodies – in all aspects: physical, psychological, sexual, social, and political – personifies the decolonizing trajectory of Mozambique. If Rami needs to reimagine herself as an independent woman, Mozambique also needs to reexamine what it means not to belong to Portugal anymore. As a result, the feminine core that fuels the narrative is a representation of the "motherland" that finds itself in a state of (auto)(re)cognition[5] in search for acknowledgment within and outside its borders.

In other words, Rami, protagonist and narrator of *Niketche*, personifies the development of a female consciousness. First, she observes her identity as a woman (detaching from the male gaze), then she explores who she is in a collective setting (her feminine identity among other women, and the female behavior as a group amid men). Finally, feminine unity comes to a halt as a reflection of the national transitional status as a free country. In short, we are interested in this literary text because it demonstrates how women seek respect and recognition as freethinking individuals inside a social context that values female submission to men in the same manner as Mozambique is looking for its identity as an independent nation, free from Portuguese ruling. Nevertheless, before the discussion about nationhood, let's see how Rami's step to consciousness helps to probe female significance in Mozambique.

Sowing the seed: Rami is confronted by the mirror

According to Patrícia Rainho and Solange Silva, *Niketche* depicts "uma mudança consciencializada da mulher em relação aos seus direitos" (173). Not only that, it is a twist on novels of coming of age. There is growth happening on every page because Chiziane makes us follow the path to the consciousness of the female characters who, despite not being teenagers anymore, are treated as such due to male dominance. Essentially, the text represents the learning course that Mozambican women have to experience – especially the ones from the south, as I will explain later on – to be able to go from "depending" on men, as children do, to being

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5   I use this term in order to encircle all aspects of the process of awareness to the female condition depicted in *Niketche*. It starts with the self-examination of the main character and it extends itself to the women that surround her to finally reach a wider range, the one of national traditions. Furthermore, the act of (re)cognition represents the communion between the past and present beliefs that shape the diverse history of Mozambique (the African roots, the heritage as a Portuguese colony, and the status post-independence).

self-sufficient adults, in their eyes and in the eyes of others.

Rami feels the growing pains that mark the change from emotional youth to adulthood. Just like it happened to the violent progression to national independence in Mozambique, Rami's learning curve is traumatic too. Once she unveils the story that her husband, Tony, has several other women he treats as wives, she becomes some sort of outcast (in her community and in her own mind). The social context in which Rami was brought up makes women carry the shame for a failed marriage. Therefore, her reaction is the natural response of female individuals raised in a society that constantly accuses them of responsibility for the reprehensive actions of men. She sees herself as liable for Tony's behavior, then she moves on to blame the other women. Despite already being in her forties, Rami is immature. She does not think for herself, reproducing the speeches that she heard from the patriarchal system. Then, to break with the cycle of obedience and overcome the stigma of polygamy, her first step is to venture on a journey within herself, something that at least in the beginning, she cannot do without guidance.

Among the many breakthrough moments in *Niketche*, the one that triggers Rami's excursion to a new world of explorable femininity is when she finds a confidant on her mirror's reflection. In the conversations with "herself" in the form of an "other", she discovers a persona she did not remember existed. Here the process of (auto)(re)cognition starts. "The mirror game, this game of reflector and reflected, reality and illusion, plays a principal, contradictory, and complex role throughout the novel" (Marques 135). Finding help in the mirror instead of another person (maybe a neighbor or someone in her family) illustrates Rami's isolation and the fact that elaboration of consciousness must happen inward (and after the individual can externalize it to promote social change). The mirror presents itself as her twin (15), yet Rami tries to resist that "unknown" side of herself. Ultimately, she starts to trust and listen to her reflection (a symbol of her empowerment), and consequently to raise awareness of the unfairness of the female condition.

As I previously mentioned, Rami's initial reaction is to accept the culpability for her husband's infidelity, repeating a conduct common to women who are subjugated and abused by their partners. She says "vou ao espelho tentar descobrir o que há de errado em mim" (15) because she thinks she is the problem. Nonetheless, the mirror will show her that the only issue here is how she perceives herself. The reflection indicates its otherness to Rami by introducing a perspective that she was not able to appreciate without its intervention. The double she encounters is a happy woman, with bright eyes and a smile on her lips that in her own words "traduzem uma mensagem de felicidade que não podem ser os meus, eu não sorrio, eu choro" (15). Her insistence to focus on her own misery resonates the consequences of her conservative upbringing of colonial assimilation. Rami has the impulse to run from the intruder in front of her; still, she stays and confronts the hypnotizing and enchanting creature:

> – Quem és tu? – pergunto eu.
>
> – Não me reconheces? Olha bem para mim.
>
> – Estou a olhar, sim. Mas quem és tu?
>
> – Estás cega, gêmea de mim.
>
> – Gêmea? Não sou gêmea de ninguém. Dos cinco filhos da minha mãe não há gêmeo nenhum. Estou diante do meu espelho. Que fazes tu aí? (15)

The beginning of the dialogue implies the unconscious difficulty that Rami has to understand anything that goes beyond what she has been told by the dominant discourse. As a woman from the south, Rami is a black Mozambican raised under the Catholic dogma. She is indoctrinated to silently obey her husband, have children, take care of the house, and tend to the male necessities as a sign of blind respect to the Christian faith. In this case, happiness is not a goal woman should have for themselves. They are taught to work to guarantee male bliss (which is not necessarily equivalent to fulfilling their own needs). Rami cannot recognize herself in the enthusiastic image on her mirror because that is a portion of her identity that was erased to conform to social conventions.

As a Mozambican woman from the south, Rami personifies the impasse of being raised with Portuguese values while also being surrounded by opposite beliefs that are associated with her African roots. To match the expectations of patriarchy, women must show no strength, and their charm must be reserved for the husband. Any qualities that are not devoted to the male spouse, have no value, or worse, they are portrayed in a negative light (as some sort of evil trait that women use to lead men to sin, in a similar setting as the one of Eve, who "made" Adam eat the forbidden fruit). But in her reflection, Rami sees who she could be if she resisted the oppressive authorities. It takes her some time to understand that freedom can be an option. As the mirror responds, Rami is blind not only to the image reflected right in front of her but also to the importance that women have in society. When she responds that she does not have a twin, she references her family history, after all, women depend on the household collective because they cannot exist as individuals (going back to the idea that earth needs someone responsible for sowing, watering, and harvesting it).

In other words, Rami is the result of the colonial legacy that used several subordination apparatuses, such as religion, to create compliance to the Portuguese philosophies. In a certain point in the story, the protagonist questions, for example, the way how women are portrayed in the Bible:

> Até na bíblia a mulher não presta. Os santos, nas suas pregações antigas, dizem que a mulher nada vale, a mulher é um animal nutridor de maldade, fonte de todas as discussões, querelas e injustiças. É verdade. Se podemos ser trocadas, vendidas, torturadas, mortas, escravizadas, encurraladas em haréns como gado, é porque não fazemos falta nenhuma. Mas se não fazemos falta nenhuma, por que é que Deus nos colocou no mundo? E esse Deus, se existe, por que nos deixa sofrer assim? O pior de tudo é que Deus parece não ter

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mulher nenhuma. Se ele fosse casado, a deusa – sua esposa – intercederia por nós. Através dela pediríamos a bênção de uma vida de harmonia. Mas a deusa deve existir, penso. Deve ser tão invisível como todas nós. O seu espaço é, de certeza, a cozinha celestial. (68)

Rami's take on the Bible is not concerned with demystifying the existence of God, yet she wants to understand how this celestial power who created women can be so evil to them, therefore questioning the treatment that religion offers to them. When she affirms that even the saints would treat women as vile, disposable creatures, she is stressing how old the patriarchic system is, and how unreasonable it sounds. In a way, Rami brings forth one of her greatest dilemmas: how can she be in favor of a God who constantly seems to be against her? To prove her point, she reimagines the religious structure she was taught by the Bible by adding God's wife. Even though the goddess could be the protector of women, Rami is not certain that there is much she could do for them considering that she probably would live in subservience as well. The irony of her comment shows the discrepancy in the care given to the two genders. Paying attention to details, Chiziane refers to the "deusa", without the capital letter as it is used in "*Deus*". This symbolic gesture points to the long history of deference stored to women. Even God's wife does not have the same power, and just like other mere female mortals, she ends up in the kitchen, a witty reference to one of the most iconic sexist sayings there is in the Portuguese language: "lugar de mulher é na cozinha".

The back-and-forth attitude of Rami makes evident that she suffers from the blindness that impairs women because of the constant scenario of overpowering masculinity, yet she is about to regain her sight. In the mirror lives Rami's female identity that was obliterated by her husband. Nonetheless, the act of facing the glassy image and paying attention to it can be translated into an act of rebellion.

> The image reflected in the mirror serves to remind Rami of her genuine self: the mirror is the object that permits Rami to look at herself in a reflective and more profound manner, thus taking beyond the superficial persona reflected and allowing her to uncover (or at least envisage) her deeper, genuine self: that self untouched by the various social agents that are responsible and suppression as a fully entitled human being. (Marques 135)

Rami's truth and the one about female subordination come out in the (re)encounter with her "self" in the reflection. The mirror serves as a tool to materialize Rami's awareness of who she is and in what society she lives in. In the exchange with the mirror, it refers to Rami as "child" when she insists that her husband was stolen (16). This comment emphasizes the immaturity of the protagonist that still has to understand (and accept) that Tony was not taken away by other women, he was the one who chose to leave, and he should be the one blamed for his choices. Rami accuses the mirror of lying and from here she goes through a tidal wave of emotions until she admits:

> Tento, com a minha mão, segurar na mão da minha companheira, para ir com ela na dança. Ela também me oferece a mão, mas não consegue me levar. Entre nós há uma barreira fria, gelada, vidrada. Fico angustiada e olho bem para ela. Aqueles olhos alegres têm os meus traços. As linhas do corpo fazem lembrar as minhas. Aquela força interior me faz lembrar a força que tive e perdi. Esta imagem não sou eu, mas aquilo que eu fui e queria voltar a ser. Esta imagem sou eu, sim, numa outra dimensão. (16)

Within the same passage, Rami goes from denial – this image isn't of me – to acceptance – this image is me, but in another dimension. In the conversation with the mirror, we witness the reencounter of the past, present, and future of the protagonist. The cold, icy, and glassy barrier that stops Rami from being taken away by her twin was constructed by the social norms that imprisoned her "other" self. With the awareness brought by such revelation, Rami's next challenge is to balance her internal conflicts, so she can make amends with her happy self.

The last sentence in this chapter accentuates how the institution of marriage tyrannizes women like Rami. She affirms: "espelho revelador. Vivemos juntos desde que me casei. Por que só hoje revelas o teu poder?" (17) According to the narrator, the mirror has always been there since she got married. Nonetheless, the commitment to serving and being faithful to her husband are two reasons why she had not look attentively in the mirror up to this point. It was necessary that her marriage became a castle in the sand for her to face that the life she had been living was not the one she thought.

It is interesting to highlight that *Niketche* is not about judging the legitimacy (or the correctness) of polygamy. In fact, Chiziane takes us to reflect on what it means to women to live in a polygamic context. In the first instance, polygamy can be seen as a demonstration of male power. Tony is entitled to have other wives, but the same right is not reserved to Rami. Nonetheless, the protagonist takes over the narrative, defying her female status as a Mozambican woman from the south, and turns polygamy into her own political agenda. Here lies the idea of conscious change addressed by Rainho and Silva and that I want to explore in terms of collective transformation.

Watering the land: manifestations of a love hexagon

Niketche is a story about the conflict between choices and social impositions. Rami personifies a female post-colonial crossroad: she is split between keeping up with the tradition (to follow the social norm of the south and risk losing her husband) or accepting a new reality that reconfigures the notion of family by adding the polygamic scenario (associated to the north of Mozambique). Rami's plight exemplifies the saga of all women who are constantly asked to choose between being subservient to the dominant discourse or demanding control over their own narratives. The path to consciousness in her case is also a journey of reconciliation with the pre-colonial past. As Rami becomes aware of other forms of femininity, she also gains

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awareness of her condition as an assimilated subject, recognizing a menagerie between the Portuguese legacy and the Afro-Mozambican heritage.

> Rami is in the liminal space. An educated woman from the south, she does not know how to perform African dances or rituals. The self in the mirror dances to remind her of her culture and the symbolism implied in performance and dance. Through memory, she reconstructs what is meaningful in her culture to reconcile with the self in the mirror. The image dances to educate Rami about the importance of continuity in a modern environment where changes become overwhelming. The self in the mirror reconnects her with culture. This reconnection makes her regenerate. (Silva 5)

Rami states: "a vida é uma metamorfose" (95). Transformation and education are hand in hand in *Niketche*. Stuck in "her" old ways – "her" because as it was already established the conservative unhappy Rami is what society made of her – she must go in another direction and fathom that differently from what the oppressive discourse implies (a notion of superiority of the Portuguese culture, usually depicted as more civilized), she lives in a post-colonial configuration in which individuals have a plurality of layers that form their identities. The wakeup call comes when she realizes that in spite of what her "European" upbringing might say about polygamy and the African rituals associated with the sensual life (especially of women), they can be used as cultural artifacts that produce a sense of community, detaching womanhood from the ideas of loneliness and captivity.

Rami was isolated before she came to terms with the idea of a polygamic relationship as the solution to save her marriage, instead of the reason for it to end. She was fighting with others and with herself as represented in the mirror[6]. She struggled to understand her female condition, but she learns that there is more to her feminine status than she has been taught by the patriarchic system, especially in Mozambique where there are many ways to understand themes such as love, marriage, and sex. Despite the Catholic conservative speech, through the contact with the women from the north, Rami sees that the "love hexagon" she is in offers more to women than a life of obedience and sacrifice.

As the woman from the south, and the one most betrayed by Tony, it is up to Rami to explore and lead the alteration of the social structure, so that it may come to favor her[7]. From this internal investigation, she realizes that the distinction between villain (women) and hero

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6   "Canto a minha canção preferida para espantar a solidão. Dentro de mim cresce a vontade de deixar tudo. Divorciar-me. Estoirar este lar pelo ar. Procurar um novo amor, talvez. Mas não. Não, não largo o Tony. Se o deixo, nesta cama dormirão outras mulheres, não vou sair daqui. Se eu me divorcio o meu marido vai casar com a Julieta ou com tantas outras, não vale a pena sair daqui. Se eu vou, os meus filhos serão criados por outras, comerão o pão amassado pelas mãos do diabo, não posso sair daqui." (27)

7   "Vejam só o meu caso. O meu lar cristão que se tornou polígamo. Era uma esposa fiel que tornei-me adúltera – adúltera não, recorri apenas a um tipo de assistência conjugal, informal, tal qual a poligamia desta casa é informal." (95)

(men) it is not as black and white as she led to believe. After the physical encounter with the "second wife", Julieta, Rami hears from the mirror a truth that reshapes her way of thinking: "agrediste a vítima e deixaste o vilão. Não resolveste nada" (27). Later on, the mirror repeats the same conundrum, but now making it even more obvious to Rami that she has been focusing on the wrong problem: "Pensa bem, amiga minha: serão as outras mulheres as culpadas desta situação? Serão os homens inocentes?" (33).

The seed of doubt was planted, and Rami needs to water it to see what sort of result it will produce. Her first action, then, is to attend a "love class", a traditional practice connected to the valorization of female sexuality in the north of Mozambique. Here, Rami crosses the limits that were imposed to her up to this point as a Catholic Mozambican woman from the south. Once she sees with her own eyes the world of desire and fulfillment she had been missing on, she breaches the cultural line she was trying so hard to maintain.

Paulina Chiziane says that "as culturas são fronteiras invisíveis construindo a fortaleza do mundo" (39). Her narrator is the representation of the possibility that women have to trespass these frontiers, so they can expand the meaning of their existence. If poet John Donne wrote in his famous poem "no man is an island entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main", the same should be said about women. As an important part of the social cloth that covers the nation, Rami realizes that its necessary to create a sense of communion with the other wives. Such attitude leads to what Hilary Owen describes as "a modified, urban form of polygamous union" (204). Nonetheless, as a result of the fragmentation of identities that we can find in Mozambique due to its colonial past, there is an almost ironic and conflicting essence in the polygamic establishment, as pointed out by the narrator:

> Que sistema agradável é a poligamia! Para o homem casar de novo, a esposa anterior tem que consentir, e ajudar a escolher. Que pena o Tony ter agido sozinho e informalmente, sem seguir as normas, senão eu teria só consentido em casamentos com mulheres mais feias e mais desastrosas do que eu. Poligamia não é substituir mulher nenhuma, é ter mais uma. Não é esperar que uma envelheça para trocá-la por outra. Não é esperar que uma produza riqueza para depois a passar para a outra. Poligamia não depende da riqueza ou da pobreza. É um sistema, um programa. É uma só família com várias mulheres e um homem, uma unidade, portanto. (94)

Here the first wife depicts how useful "proper" polygamy can be to the female agenda[8], and that opposite to what the external gaze might think, polygamy is an organized system, with norms just like any other social construct. Yet, in spite of its "pleasant" side, Rami has the challenge of dealing with what she calls "informal" polygamy because "Rami recognizes that Tony is not a polygamist husband, rather he takes advantage of a system to appropriate as

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8   Forming a female collective that empowers them as a group since they are denied of strengths as individuals.

many women as possible" (Silva 7). Tony does not follow any regulations – nor monogamic or polygamic – because as a man he is entitled to break boundaries. Silva also points out that Mozambique has banished polygamy in the country (7), but this sort of practice is accepted, as long as it benefits men considering that in the polygamic context they can fulfill their male desires while also exploring female submission.

It is interesting to remember that Rami is not the only assimilated subject in the story. Tony is a man from the south, brought up as a Catholic. Therefore, it should be expected of him the same monogamic Christian standards that are demanded of Rami. Gender is what separates them in this equation. Tony is permitted to do whatever he wants without great consequences[9] while the male discourse continues to position women as the ones who should be blamed for their husbands' actions[10]. For example, when Rami tries to level with Tony not on a sentimental stance, but in a logical one – by using the law as a reference – he inverts the game, showing that the policies applicable to women are not the same to men:

> – Traição é crime, Tony!
>
> – Traição? Não me faça rir, ah, ah, ah, ah! A pureza é masculina, e o pecado é feminino. Só as mulheres podem trair, os homens são livres, Rami.
>
> – O quê?
>
> – Por favor, deixa-me dormir.
>
> – Mas Tony – sacudo-o furiosamente – Tony, acorda, Tony, Tony, Tony…! (29)

Tony's voice is just one among several male voices represented in *Niketche.* Most of the time they are there to remind women of their inferiority and to mock their pursuit of equality. Even when women like Rami use arguments as logical as the social norm – cheating is a crime – they react in a manner that diminishes their ideas as if they were insane. For Tony is clear that men are free while women are subject to the social judgment. To make matters worse, while Rami wants to continue the discussion, Tony goes back to sleep as if nothing was happening. Rami's plea for her husband to wake up is also the female supplication for society to see that things should be different and that they deserve to be heard.

We have been discussing the role of polygamy in Chiziane's narrative; still, it is important to call attention to the fact that polygamy is a general term used to describe non-monogamous

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9   The reaction of Tony's mother to the news of her son's adultery shows the consonance of society with the male behavior.

10   In an interesting passage of the text, Rami looks for comfort within her own family, but instead of finding compassion coming from her relatives, at a certain point her own father says "Se o teu marido não te responde, é em ti que está a falta." and he continues: "As mulheres de hoje falam muito por causa dessa coisa de emancipação. Falas de mais, filha. No meu tempo, as mulheres não eram assim." The narrator makes a meaningful statement right after "Estou desesperadamente a pedir Socorro e respondem-me com histórias de macho." (97).

relationships. Nonetheless, in *Niketche* we see the acceptance of polygyny, the specific polygamous relationship in which men are allowed to have more than one women. Polyandry (when a woman is allowed to have many husbands) is not an option. So, in spite of the "democratic" and "liberal" ideas that may be associated to polygamy, in this scenario female space is still limited. At a certain point, Tony reacts to Rami's transformation by stating that women "Julgam que têm espaço, mas não passam de um buraco. Julgam que têm direitos e voz, mas não passam de patos mudos." (166). It is this double standard that Rami needs to contest, not the other women in the narrative because only as a group is that they can rise up against the patriarchal system.

The power of the female collective is demonstrated when all Tony's wives decide to satisfy his male desire. They are confused, and not happy, with Tony's behavior once the informal polygamous system is installed in their lives. He has not been giving the same attention (especially sexually) to the women, so they get together to confront him. He tries to stand his ground as the righteous one in that relationship, but he ends up showing his weakness, not managing to handle the excess of femininity in the room, especially when the women want to sleep with him all at the same time:

> O Tony fica atrapalhado. Somos cinco contra um. Cinco fraquezas juntas se tornam força em demasia. Mulheres desamadas são mais mortíferas que as cobras pretas. A Saly abre a porta do quarto. A cama estava desmontada e o soalho coberto de esteiras. Achamos a ideia genial e entramos no jogo. Era preciso mostrar ao Tony o que valem cinco mulheres juntas. Entramos no quarto e arrastamos o Tony, que resistia como um bode. Despimo-nos, em strip-tease. Ele olha para nós. Os seus joelhos ganham um tremor ligeiro. (143)

This passage shows that the polygamic relation that Tony desired had less to do with sex, and more with male enablement. Nonetheless, the union of the wives emasculates him, and then he reacts with despair – "Meu Deus! Por favor, parem com isso, por Deus, que azar que me dão agora?!" (143). His response is to see the female communion as some sort of witchcraft that will cause his doom. The moment of empowerment of women is interpreted by the conservative discourse as a violent attempt to undermine men and it cannot be accepted. After this, Tony resorts to the most traditional institution he can use, a family council. As Rami explains, his intent is to gather support[11] and reinstate his "reign". Following the script, he gets what he wants, finding the endorsement he was seeking in the traditional belief that women can ruin a man's life[12]. Thus, when the greatest plot twist happens – Tony "dies" – the wives are blamed once more for the unfortunate end that such "good man" had.

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11   "Ele precisa dessa reunião para colher ideias. Para ganhar testemunhas da sua desgraça e aliviar a consciência. Quer ganhar aliados para melhor segurar o seu rebanho, que lhe foge do controle." (151)

12   "A tensão de Tony liberta-se miraculosamente. Porque toda a gente lhe dá razão e condolências antecipadas pela sucessão de azares que ainda está por vir. Lança-nos um olhar de troça e de triunfo enquanto enxuga o rosto suado." (155)

The events unfolded after Tony's supposed death replicate in detail the unfair treatment that the patriarchic society gives to women. Polygamy, that before was "accepted" because it favored Tony, it is depicted as immoral. The five wives; however, receive different treatments. Rami becomes a female martyr because she is the one who suffers at the hands of the traditional conduct after the husband dies. Not only she is relinquished of all her possessions, she needs to go through the *kutchinga*, a ritual of "purification" of the widow through sex with another man. The ceremonial is imposed to the first wife is violent. Even though Rami gives the idea that Levy managed to satisfy her sexually in a way Tony never did, we are still talking about a sexual act that happens not from consent and desire, but as an imposed practice.

The *kutchinga* is not Rami's choice, it is part of the national narrative. But once Tony "comes back from the dead," his impulse is to question his first wife as to the events that succeed when he was not around:

> – Vi tua morte e fui ao teu funeral – desabafo – Usei luto pesado. Os malvados da tua família até o meu cabelo raparam. Até o *kutchinga*, cerimônia de purificação sexual, aconteceu.
>
> – O quê?
>
> – É a mais pura verdade.
>
> – Quando?
>
> – Há poucas horas, nesta madrugada. Sou *tchingada* de fresco.
>
> Ele olha para o relógio. São dez horas da manhã.
>
> – Quem foi o tal?
>
> – Foi o Levy.
>
> – Não reagiste, não resististe?
>
> – Como? É a nossa tradição, não é? Não me maltratou, descansa. Foi ate muito suave, muito gentil. É um grande cavalheiro, aquele teu irmão. (227)

Tony is not worried about what happened to Rami or what was done to his family. Instead, he is concerned with his own masculinity. As I previously mentioned, polygamy in the patriarchic context only serves to men. But the idea that his wife has been with another man hurts his ego. In his point of view, she should have resisted because the husband expected the spouse to react to defend his honor. Tony even says: "És uma mulher de força, Rami. Uma mulher de princípios. Podias aceitar tudo, tudo, menos o *kutchinga."* (227). His statement reflects the paradoxical situation that Rami is in. But at this point, she is already aware of her status (the journey to consciousness seems complete) and she answers to his "compliment" with a certain sarcasm: "Ensinaste-me a obediência e a submissão. Sempre te obedeci a ti e a todos os teus. Por que ia desobedecer agora? Não podia trair a tua memória" (227).

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In the dispute between female rights and duties, Paulina Chiziane shows how women have to deal with a back and forth situation that constantly plays with female identity. Rami is supposed to behave as a southern woman but adapt to the customs of the north (to please her husband). Once she goes through this transformation, she cannot demand more freedom as a consequence of the polygamic system because it was accepted only to facilitate men's adultery. Finally, when she surrenders to another tradition, the *kutchinga*, she is misunderstood once more. According to Chimalum Nwankwo, the conflicts faced by African women "are expressed as integral parts of the problems of colonial and post-colonial Africa." (152). Thus, the liminal space where Rami sees herself in reflects not only the liberation of the female body but in the decolonization of Mozambique as I will argue in the following section.

Harvesting a nation: reexamining the Mozambican frontiers

So far, I have discussed the road to consciousness that starts with Rami and results in the formation of a female unity in *Niketche*. Rami, as a woman from the south (and the first wife), represents the legacy of the assimilated culture. As she embarks on a journey of (self) discovery, she becomes progressively detached from the male gaze, and from the colonial voice that continues to mandate the traditions that should be followed in its former colony. Then, once she blends with the other female characters and their traditions; their newborn sisterhood establishes a symbolic amalgamation of the north and the south, that can push them forward to better (independent) lives[13].

Ana Margarida Martins declares that "In *Niketche*, national identity is built in terms of regional alignment, which have been historically calibrated with an Outside - a male European-based aesthetic experience that was once responsible for the anthropological and literary creation of a non-Portuguese 'African voice'" (Martins 64). The novel represents the decolonized voice because African identity is discussed from within the borders of Mozambique. Furthermore, the female African voice found in Chiziane's writing shows to the exterior world that within the borders of her country there are many ways of being African, especially after the independence, denoting the attempt to reorganize the former colony.

The Mozambican identity portrayed in *Niketche* continues to be formed with one foot on the oppressive postcolonial past and the other in the fragmented landscape that was a consequence of the violence that impacted the land after 1975. Looking back in history, the country underwent the colonization phase that lasted long enough to leave permanent scars. In

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13   One example of this change it is the financial independence these women acquire once they start to support each to work. "Temos que trabalhar -- diz Lu --, ainda temos um pedaço de pão porque o Tony ainda está vivo. E quando ele morrer? Do luto até encontrar um novo parceiro vai um longo período de fome. É preciso prevenir o futuro." (118)

comparison, if in *Niketche* we question if it is possible for the land to blossom without male domination, the postcolonial past destabilized the sociocultural African foundation. After the Carnation Revolution, civil war contributed to another fragmentation of the national identity. This violent trajectory highlighted the hard task to define what it means to be Mozambican within the national reality. After all, to whom does the land belong?

In *Niketche*, the answer to this question lies, once more, with Rami. Let's consider, for example, that she holds the status of the first wife. This title can carry the emblematic value of the connection that the African country maintained with Portugal. Just like the marriage of Rami and Toni, the colonial relationship between the two places represents a bond based on power. As the first wife, Rami has more responsibilities than the other women in Tony's life. She is the land that is explored because it was conquered and colonized by the outside world. Nevertheless, the other women are allowed to maintain certain perks because they were not dominated by the colonial thought, which means that inside that land, they have more right to freedom because they are closed to their native roots, while Rami is a stranger in her own land.

The peculiarity of Rami's condition as a colonized individual speaks to the dilemma of the nation after its independence. "Throughout the narrative, the nation is also significantly re-built as a plural body, or as a 'national-body-with-strangers-within'. The novel narrates the confrontation with these strangers – female subjects whose presence (in the body/family/nation) questions the way in which the masculine 'I' inhabits and defines the nation-space" (Martins 72). Rami becomes more than one when she morphs her southern persona with the northern one that was hidden in the mirror, therefore becoming a plural body. She dances between the Catholic religion and the African traditions and even comes to reimagine these cultures, as when she says that "No paraíso dos *bantu,* Deus criou um Adão. Várias Evas e um harém. Quem escreveu a bíblia omitiu alguns factos sobre a génese da poligamia. Os bantu deviam reescrever a sua Bíblia." (40). The spelling bible/Bible may be another metaphoric sign of the plural identity that Rami has. She is not a woman from the south anymore, nor from the north, she is a Mozambican woman, someone whose land spreads all over the country without any limitation because she is willing to tear down the patriarchic walls.

The mixture of identities in this context becomes a symbol of resistance. Mozambique does not belong to Portugal anymore, and it has to be recognized for itself, not as an eternal "former colony". As the representative of the new discourse detached from the male interests, Rami says "Lobolo no sul, ritos de iniciação no norte. Instituições fortes, incorruptíveis. Resistiram ao colonialismo. Ao cristianismo e ao islamismo. Resistiram à tirania revolucionária. Resistirão sempre. Porque são a essência do povo, a alma do povo. Através delas há um povo que se afirma perante o mundo e mostra que quer viver do seu jeito" (47). The way to achieve this goal is to embrace the postcolonial and decolonized individual as one.

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What we see in *Niketche: uma história de poligamia* is that the sociopolitical male agenda is too focused on its own needs and desires to fully understand and capture the conflicts that are happening inside the country. That is why Chiziane's voice is so meaningful for the construction of a national ideology that connects men and women, the past and the present, the Portuguese inheritance and the African ancestries. It is up to the female discourse to highlight the ideological problems of the nation and explore the dichotomies in favor of the people, because characters like Rami "represent women who redefine their spaces, and since they share the spaces with men and are revealed in their relationships with them, they also progressively redefine men's spaces as well as how spaces are structured societally" (Okafor 340). Even though Mozambique may still be a patriarchic society, Paulina Chiziane and Rami force the limits of the conservative discourse and emphasize the presence of women in the history as the representatives of the interests of the motherland, after all "Desde pequeno lhe ensinam que um homem voa, sem asas, mas voa. Desde pequeno que dizem que ele é grande, é dono, é senhor. Mas mal quebra uma pena, lá vem correndo para o colo da mãe." (244).

With my analysis of *Niketche: Uma História de Poligamia*, I hope to have contributed to the development of the panorama of transformation and (auto)(re)cognition of Mozambican women and of the independent nation. Paulina Chiziane deserves attention not only as a skilled writer but because she transgresses the limitations imposed to women in her country and writes down her name in the literary history as someone who allowed forsaken women to speak through her words. The legitimacy of her experience as a female author justifies the comprehension of *Niketche* as a text that helps to tear down the frontiers built around Mozambique and Mozambican women and reinforce the need to have representation in the discussions of the national project.

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THE AWAKENING AND THE VOICES IN *NIKETCHE: UMA HISTÓRIA DE POLIGAMIA, BY PAULINA CHIZIANE*

O DESPERTAR E AS VOZES EM *NIKETCHE: UMA HISTÓRIA DE POLIGAMIA*, DE PAULINA CHIZIANE

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ABSTRACT

Questioning the positions women occupy in a patriarchal society is one of *Niketche's* main reflections: Paulina Chiziane's story of polygamy. From the dialogues with the theories of Spivak, Sandra Gilbert, Susan Gubar, one can see how there is a need for women to have their place of speech, thus demonstrating a change in their situation of subordination. Paulina Chiziane notes that there is no place for women where they can talk and be heard and, therefore, writes a narrative with performed and told by a woman. With her writing, Chiziane breaks the objectification of women made by male literature. It is observed that the struggle for a speech space happens both in the real world, undertaken by the writer, and in the literary universe, performed by Rami. The awareness of having her voice silenced is driven by the anguish the character (and we dare say the writer too) feels as she becomes aware of her subordinate place in society. It is also noted that the use of popular sayings, oral knowledge and proverbs would be a way to bring women into a prominent position and also preserve the oral tradition and make an appreciation of African culture.

KEYWORDS: Paulina Chiziane; Women; Orality; Feminine Voices

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RESUMO

Questionar as posições que as mulheres ocupam em uma sociedade patriarcal é uma das principais reflexões ao ler de *Niketche: uma história de poligamia*, de Paulina Chiziane. A partir dos diálogos com as teorias de Spivak, Sandra Gilbert e Susan Gubar, percebe-se como existe a necessidade da mulher de ter seu lugar de fala, demonstrando, assim, uma mudança em sua situação de subalternidade. Paulina Chiziane nota que não há para o ser feminino um espaço onde possa falar e ser ouvido e, por isso, escreve sua narrativa protagonizada e contada por uma mulher. Com sua escrita, quebra a objetificação da mulher feita pela literatura masculina. Observa-se que a luta por um espaço de fala acontece tanto no mundo real, empreendida pela escritora, quanto no universo literário, realizada por Rami. A consciência de ter sua voz silenciada é impulsionada pela angústia que a personagem (e, ousamos dizer, que a escritora também) sente, ao tomar consciência de seu lugar subalterno na sociedade. Nota-se também que o uso de ditos populares, saberes orais e provérbios seria uma forma de trazer as mulheres para uma posição de destaque e também preservar a tradição oral e fazer uma valorização da cultura africana.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Paulina Chiziane; Mulheres; Oralidade; Vozes Femininas

First woman to publish a novel in Mozambique, Paulina Chiziane was present in the conquest of national independence as a militant. She makes her narratives a way of telling the world themes related to the tradition and modernity of her country; and thus enters a universe that was once composed only of men.

Chiziane, born in 1955 in Majancaze, Mozambique, is the author of five novels: the first of them, *Balada de amor ao vento*, published in 1990; then *Ventos do apocalypse*, in 1993; *O sétimo juramento*, in 2000; *Niketche: uma história de poligamia*, in 2002, which gave the writer the José Craveirinha Prize, in 2003, and lastly, *O alegre canto da perdiz*, in 2008. Recently, in 2013, she published a book of short sories, *As Andorinhas*, and in 2018 released her first book of poems, *O canto dos escravizados*. The books *Quero ser alguém* (2010), *Nas mãos de Deus* (2012), *Por quem vibram os tambores do além* (2014) and Ngoma Uethu (2015) are also part of her iterary production.

Chiziane's works have attracted the public's attention in many countries. Her writing attracts the attention of readers, because, besides the innovative power, she brings controversial issues related to women from Mozambique. Such a brave attitude raises much criticism. However, this does not prevent the writer from giving up exposing taboos about the Mozambican female universe.

The stories lead us to travel through Mozambican culture, introducing us to the traditions and customs carried by the colonizers, the country's history and especially the inequalities that women suffer in their daily lives. We have learned that there is no possibility of talking about the female issue without considering the patriarchal cultures rooted in the country, especially in the south. Thus, we come into contact with various habits and discourses that corroborate the oppression of women in Mozambique.

Paulina Chiziane's text denounces the situation of colonized, marginalized and subordinate women, thus evidencing a struggle for the proper recognition of the feminine being as a woman, as a citizen and as a human being. The claim of the rights, dreams and desires of women, to reach their space and, thus, being able to (re) write their history, are characteristic of the writer's works.

Reading *Niketche: uma história de poligamia* is listening to the voices of women who have long been drowned out by patriarchal society. Chiziane inaugurates this space of female speech not only by presenting a woman narrating and starring in the novel, but also by using recurrent orality as an allied element to promote the visibility of the voices of Mozambican women.

In a brief account to summarize the work, the main character is Rami, a woman from southern Mozambique who has a high social level compared to other women in the country. Tony, with whom she has been married for twenty years, holds an important position in the local police. As her husband is often strangely absent, Rami goes looking for an explanation and finds that Tony has extramarital relationships with four women - Juliet, Luisa, Saly and Mauá Saulé - and becomes aware of the existence of Tony's other children. To the reader's surprise, the protagonist sympathizes with the inferior condition in which these women and their children live and begins to live with them until they become mates.

Before we broaden the discussion of this study, it is interesting to know that Paulina Chiziane belongs to Chpe culture, one of the ethnicities of southern Mozambique, in which musicality is a significant aspect. This would explain the inheritance of oral word and musicality well present in his works. Thus, in the passage "Titubeio uma canção antiga daquelas que arrastam as lágrimas à superfície. Nessa coisa de cantar, tenho minhas raízes. Sou de um povo cantador." (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 15). The orality in the form of song appears to the character as characteristic of her origins.

The importance of orality in African cultures is undeniable, since the spoken word existed and was responsible for the transmission of knowledge before the written word. The oral word represents tradition, "diffuses ancestral voices, seeks to uphold the law of the group, thus making it an exercise in wisdom." (PADILHA, 2007, p. 35). As it appears in other African literary works , orality is one of the main features of Chiziane's work, but in a reinvented way. The oral elements are not only connected with tradition, as they lead us to know the real position that the Mozambican woman occupies in society.

At the beginning of *Niketche's* reading, it is believed that the plot will develop only around the protagonist's life, as she is turned inward, raising questions about her position and trying to understand who she is. However, when seeking answers to their questions, Rami leaves the private environment, her home, to the outside and, from contact with other women, leads to the narrative different situations told by the voices of women from different parts of the country.

The dialogues that Rami has, throughout the novel, with other women bring to light the situation of subordination in which they find themselves in society. It becomes apparent that one of the narrative's intentions is to denounce the reality of Mozambique's feminine being and, through conversations between the characters, enable the protagonism of these silenced voices. We defend this view, because Chiziane, in an interview by Rosália Diogo to Scripta Magazine, confesses: "I have tried to make a kind of provocation by showing that the feminine deserves to be heard."

Bringing the place of speech and listening to the woman is to allow her to be free from the only condition that the scenario commanded by man provides her: that of inferiority, subservience. In some moments of the novel, it is noted that Rami realizes having the right to voice and to be heard denied: "Do I have the right to be heard at least once in my life? I'm tired of being a woman. Endure every whim. Being a foreigner in my own home. I'm tired of being a shadow." (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 203)

Thinking about the concept of "place of speech" brings us to the Indian writer Spivak, especially her work *Can the Subaltern Speak ?*, which raises important reflections on the silence imposed on those who were colonized. Critics believe that these oppressed groups can and should overcome this barrier.

Spivak notes within the group of underlings the difference between men and women:

> In the context of the obliterated itinerary of the subordinate subject, the path of sexual difference is doubly obliterated. The issue is not that of female participation in the insurgency or the basic rules of the sexual division of labor, because in both cases there is "evidence." It is a further matter that, although both are objects of colonialist historiography and subjects of insurgency, the ideological construction of gender retains male domination. If, in the context of colonial production, the subject has no history and cannot speak, the female subordinate subject is even more deeply in obscurity. (SPIVAK, 2010, p. 66 - 67)

The above passage helps us to understand that it is not only in the literary universe that women are considered inferior and that their words are not heard. We can consider that, through Rami, besides the fictional voices, Chiziane's voice is exposed, and her "narrative (...), when confronting past, present and future, ends up bringing out hypocritically disguised and clandestine cultural practices. but deeply rooted in Mozambican society." (SALGADO, 2004, p. 302). Researcher Victor Azevedo analyzes this issue and realizes that even with the "concern to distinguish the empirical subject from the self-biographical reports, from the perspective of narratology, in common sense there still remains a certain confusion between narrator and author, especially in first-person narratives." (AZEVEDO, 2016, p. 102). Therefore, the novel denounces the reality of the Mozambican woman and, as Francisco Noa states, "the literature implying the creation of imaginary worlds, nevertheless, establishes relations with the world to which we belong" (NOA, 2015, p. 257).

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Although Paulina Chiziane is concerned to clarify that the protagonist narrator and the other characters are fictitious and different from her, the writer states: "I will confess something about this book: I have something with me that I call the author's book. I wrote the book in a very personal way, I wrote my version. " (CHIZIANE, 2013, p. 363-364).

Important for this chapter is the statement Chiziane often makes when she is called a novelist: "My starting point is orality, and all my work to date is based on oral tradition, so I don't like to say that I made a novel, a novel, whatever. I tell a story and, in telling it, add a point. And it can be big or small." (apud AZEVEDO, 2016, p. 4).

Paulina's insistence on being recognized as a storyteller rather than a novelist leads us to pause Niketche's study to analyze the behavior of the female writer. These statements undoubtedly attest to Chiziane's desire to claim a "legacy of orality that rural childhood has given her," as Leite states (p. 29). Such a strategy would also indicate, continues Leite (p. 29), an authorial intentionality of moralizing, that is, pedagogical meaning, committed to the formation of ethical and behavioral values.

Although such observations are pertinent, let us raise some considerations regarding the question of female authorship brought by the theorists Gilbert and Gubar, in the article *Infection in the sentence: the woman writer and the anxiety of authorship*, also fit. In this text, the researchers analyze how the writing process between men and women diverges. In the case of writers, they realize that the psychology of literary history - anxieties and tensions - is linked to predecessors. While the writer tries to distance himself from the previous texts, which will be called "anxiety of influence", the woman, at first, has her presence marked in the literature as stereotypical characters, which would influence her writing. The writer would thus suffer from "anxiety of authorship". Unlike the man who is afraid of not being original, the woman would be afraid "of not being able to create, because she can never become a 'precursor', the act of writing will isolate or destroy her." (GILBERT, GUBAR, 2017, p. 193). Thus, this anxiety would be intensified by the fear of fighting male predecessors, resulting in the experimentation of their own identity and the search for a female model to authenticate themselves in the literary space.

We are interested to note that throughout this common process in a male-dominated society, the writer will experience "downward phenomena" and, consequently, will experience "her gender as a painful obstacle, or even a debilitating inadequacy." (GILBERT, GUBAR, 2017, p. 194).

Thus, we can see similarities between Chiziane's speech, when she says she doesn't want to be called a novelist, with the ideas of Gilbert and Gubar, because even being the first woman to publish a novel in Mozambique, Chiziane opts for the category of storyteller. This would indicate, simultaneously, a movement of affirmation of the place of orality, but also of self-protection, thus avoiding possible comparisons of his work with that of authors.

The writer will show in some of her speeches some of the reasons that led her to write *Niketche*: the inconvenience to identify the absence of women who write about women and the uneasiness to be part of an unequal reality. When asked by Rosália Diogo about her country's literature, Chiziane reports that:

> There were people who thought I succeeded by chance. Some writers considered that I was writing about feminine because it was fashionable. But I followed with great force and determination. (...) The fact is that I am a woman and I write about topics that touch me in my condition. (CHIZIANE, 2013, p. 362-363).

So we can say that romance will be a way of claiming a place of speech for female voices. It is not enough to bring themes about women, there is a need for stories to be told by them. Once again, another statement by Paulina corroborates our perspective: "I like the poets of my country very much, but I have never found in literature that men write the profile of an entire woman. It is always the mouth, the legs, one aspect. Never the infinite wisdom that comes from women." (CHIZIANE, 2013, p. 358). Therefore, throughout the novel appear stories, myths and legends told by women. This shows the wisdom being imparted by them through orality, such as the passage below where Rami's aunt explains how the practice of polygamy worked.

> — No nosso mundo não havia haréns — explica-me ela. — eram famílias verdadeiras, onde havia democracia social. Cada mulher tinha sua casa, seus filhos e suas propriedades. Tínhamos o nosso órgão — assembleia das esposas do rei — onde discutíamos a divisão de trabalho, decidíamos quem iria cozinhas as papas matinais do soberano, quem ia preparar os banhos e esfregar os pés, cortar as unhas, massajar a coluna, aparar a barba, pentear-lhe o cabelo e outros cuidados. Participávamos na feitura da escala matrimonial de Sua Majestade, que consistia numa noite para cada uma, mas tudo igual, igualzinho. E ele cumpria à risca. Ele tinha que dar um exemplo de Estado, um modelo de família. Se o rei cometesse a imprudência de dar primazia a uma mulher em especial, tinha que suportar as reuniões de crítica dos conselheiros e anciões. (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 71)

In the passage above, it is through Aunt Maria's voice that the main character and we readers have an explanation of how one of Mozambique's cultural practices worked. Interesting is Chiziane's care not only to talk about, but to present and clarify to the reader traditional customs.

Popular sayings, oral knowledge and proverbs are also some resources that will contribute to the record of orality in the novel. For example: "The popular voice says that the neighbor's wife is always better than mine." (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 37). Similarly, the retrieval of memory will appear as a way of bringing oral knowledge. In some moments, Rami acknowledges that there is a past that is not only hers and that it is related to her culture traditions: "This is my certainty, my subconscious, rescuing sayings and knowledge hidden in my memory." (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 172).

Interesting is to analyze the legend of Princess Vuyazi that appears in Niketche. As the story about polygamy told by Aunt Maria, this legend is told by a woman, explains how menstruation arose, and teaches that unsubmissive women are punished. That is, it has a moralizing effect for Rami and the other wives. Ana Mafalda Leite will recognize in the novel this moralizing character and notes that "Stories illustrate such knowledge, effabalize tradition, run through a specific temporality, since it is the reappropriation of a secular voice and knowledge, retaking and responding in a Griotic attitude of pedagogy criticism." (LEITE, 2013, p. 30).

> — Era uma vez uma princesa. Nasceu da nobreza mas tinha o coração de pobreza. Às mulheres sempre se impôs a obrigação de obedecer aos homens. É a natureza. Esta princesa desobedecia ao pai e ao marido e só fazia o que queria. Quando o marido repreendia ela respondia. Quando lhe espancava, retribuía. Quando cozinhava galinha, comia moelas e comia coxas, servia ao marido o que lhe apetecia. Quando a primeira filha fez um ano, o marido disse: vamos desmamar a menina, e fazer outro filho. Ela disse que não. Queria que a filha mamasse dois anos como os rapazes, para que crescesse forte como ela. Recusava-se a servi-lo de joelhos e a aparar-lhe os pentelhos. O marido, cansado da insubmissão, apelou à justiça do rei, pai dela. O rei, magoado, ordenou ao dragão para lhe dar um castigo. Num dia de trovão, o dragão levou-a para o céu e a estampou na lua, para dar um exemplo de castigo ao mundo inteiro. Quando a lua cresce e incha, há uma mulher que se vê no meio da lua, de trouxa na cabeça e bebé nas costas. É Vuyazi, a princesa insubmissa estampada na lua. É a Vuyazi, estátua de sal petrificada no alto dos céus, num inferno de gelo. É por isso que as mulheres do mundo inteiro, uma vez por mês, apodrecem o corpo em chagas e ficam impuras, choram lágrimas de sangue, castigadas pela insubmissão de Vuyazi. (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 157)

Looking closely at the participation of the women who make up the narrative leads us to reaffirm that *Niketche* is a space in which women's voices demarcate a place for their speech. Through Rami's dissatisfaction with her life, we have questions that lead us to think about the condition of being female in society. At the same time that we "hear" their voices, we know that they are mostly set aside in public spaces. Thus, Chiziane manages to fill orally the void caused by the silencing imposed. Here's the scene where the characters try to argue at a family reunion, and after unsuccessfulness, one of the main character's thoughts exposes the situation:

> Cerramos as nossas bocas e as nossas almas. Por acaso temos direito à palavra? E por mais que a tivéssemos, de que valeria? Voz de mulher não merece crédito. Aqui no sul, os jovens iniciados aprendem a lição: confiar em mulher é vender a tua alma. Mulher tem língua comprida, de serpente. Mulher deve ouvir, cumprir, obedecer. (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 154)

In *Niketche*, the characters realize that they should have studied, but instead of being encouraged, they were assigned to activities related to marriage and household chores. Not having attended these places interferes with adulthood, making them dependent on her husband and even being represented by his voice.

> É a nós que a sociedade não dá oportunidade para ganhar com dignidade o nosso próprio pão. (...) Enquanto isso, os homens vão para a escola do pão. Enquanto eles aprendem a escrever a palavra vida no mapa do mundo, nós vamos pela madrugada fora, atrás das nossas mães, espantar os pássaros nos campos de arroz. (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 291)

Being limited in their spaces in society means that women do not have, since childhood, a space to express themselves with words. Which is harmful, not only to the female, but to any individual, since the voice is the mark of a worthy existence. Not listening also happens and will be a recurring practice when women claim their right to speak, because for those who have always obtained the power of speech, being in your position is comfortable. All this ends up discouraging the woman who was silenced trying to take her place, for example, when Rami, even though she was right, was sure they wouldn't hear her: "Mas quem iria me ouvir? Alguma vez tive voz nesta casa? Alguma vez me deste autoridade para decidir sobre as coisas mais insignificantes da nossa vida?" (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 228).

At the end of the novel, we come across a very different Rami from the beginning of the story. Now she is no longer afraid to speak, as shown in the following passage: "Falo com muito prazer e ele sente a dor (...). No meu peito explodem aplausos." (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 227) And, a few pages later, Rami goes on to say what has long been kept: "A minha linguagem é mais dura que uma rajada de granizo. Chicoteia. Eu dizia tudo sem rodeios." (CHIZIANE, 2004, p. 229).

Paulina Chiziane creates a new literary proposal as she makes *Niketche* a work of contestation by giving voice to Mozambican women from her characters and at the same time opening a space to address the silenced issues in society. Therefore, claiming for the right to have a voice is paramount to achieving liberation.

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ANCHIETA'S WRITING – SACRED AND PROFANE IN PORTUGUESE AMERICA

A ESCRITA DE ANCHIETA – SAGRADO E PROFANO NA AMÉRICA PORTUGUESA

Christian Mascarenhas[1]

ABSTRACT

During the second half of the 16th century, the newly proclaimed saint of the Catholic Church resorted to the appropriation of the indigenous "pagan" vocabulary in order to convey the Catholic faith to native Brazilians and, taking advantage of the notions of sacred and profane in a rather literary construction, raised them from the condition of savages to sons of God, thus resembling the "white man". The methodology used here is the reading and analysis of Anchieta's theatrical work supported by historical, political and religious contextualization. As a result, it is argued that his plays had a humanizing character through which it was possible to provoke an awakening of consciousness (at least religious) in his audience. Based on the analysis of his theatrical literary production and aiming to have an honest look at its production, this article seeks to show that more than just a counter-reformist anticipation or form of cultural aggression, its literature is in some respects humanizing (in the reading of the time) and, by Ignatian molds, giver of meaning.

KEYWORDS: Anchieta; Literature; Sacred; Profane; Portuguese America.

RESUMO

Durante a segunda metade do século XVI, o recém proclamado santo da Igreja Católica recorreu à apropriação do vocabulário "pagão" indígena a fim de transmitir a fé católica aos nativos brasileiros e, tirando proveito das noções de sagrado e profano numa construção mais que literária, elevou-os da condição de selvagens a filhos de Deus, portanto, semelhantes ao "homem branco". A metodologia aqui utilizada consiste na leitura e análise da obra teatral de Anchieta amparada por uma contextualização histórica, política e religiosa. Como resultado,

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defende-se a hipótese de que seus autos possuíam um caráter humanizador, através do qual era possível provocar um despertar de consciência (ao menos religiosa) em seu público. A partir da análise de sua produção literária teatral e buscando um olhar honesto sobre sua produção, o presente artigo procura mostrar que mais do que apenas uma antecipação contra reformista ou forma de agressão cultural, sua literatura mostra-se, em certos aspectos, humanizadora (na leitura da época) e, pelos moldes inacianos, doadora de sentido.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Anchieta; Literatura; Sagrado; Profano; América Portuguesa.

Introduction

This article focuses on a panoramic view of the Anchietian literary work, having as its fundamental focus his theatrical production on the 16th century's coast of Colonial Brazil. Due to the great diversity of his production, it is impossible to cover all its aspects in one study. Thus, in this work we chose not to enter the merits of style, but only historical and content analysis, in order to contribute to Anchieta's literary and sociological study.

For this article, we analyzed the twelve autos attributed to Anchieta (ANCHIETA, 1977). Taking into account the limitations of space, it was decided to treat the interesting aspects of its production in general, detailing its approach and quoting it when necessary. Consequently, three autos appears more explicitly in this text. The "Auto de São Lourenço" ("Saint Lawrence Auto"), an adaptation of his first play ("At the Christmas" or "Universal Preaching") performed during the feast of the homonym saint in 1587 (or 1583. See ANCHIETA, 1977, 141), the "Dia da Assunção, Quando levaram sua imagem a Reritiba" ("Mary's Assumption Day, when they took its statue to Reritiba"), staged in 1590, and the "Auto da Visitação de Santa Isabel" ("Auto of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth"), his last work, performed at the Visitation feast in 1597. Thus, not exhausting the subject, the text sheds light on aspects not yet studied in the work of the Canarian poet and opens space for further discussions about the evangelization program undertaken by Anchieta.

The Canarian Context

For a better understanding of the problem, it is necessary to situate, even briefly, the cultural and historical moment lived by Anchieta and the Catholic Church. A direct reflection of the Renaissance, 15th century humanism made deep criticism of the orthodox theocentrism of Catholic Church in the face of the effervescence of sciences and arts, proposing anthropo-centric solutions. In addition, with the publication of Luther's 95 theses in 1517, the Protestant Reformation began, criticizing several points of Catholic doctrine and proposing radical changes within the Church. In response to this movement, in 1545 the Council of Trent began, which, as the engine of the so-called Counter-Reformation (or Catholic Reformation) by which the Roman Church made a complete revision of its discipline and reaffirmed dogmatic points of its doctrine; among other interesting measures, has recognized new religious orders such as the

Society of Jesus and encouraged catechesis of the New World[2].

Within this troubled historical, religious and social context, it was born in 1534, on the Tenerife Island of the Canary Archipelago, under Spanish rule, José de Anchieta. At fourteen, José goes to study at the Royal College of Arts in Coimbra, and in 1551 is received as a novice at the Society of Jesus. Two years later, at the request of Father Manuel da Nóbrega, Anchieta and six other colleagues are sent to Brazil. Already in those lands, he remains just under three months in São Salvador and leaves for São Vicente, where he founds the Colégio São Paulo [College of Sao Paulo] on the plateau of Piratininga. Having lived closely with the Indigenous people for most of his life, he participated in various political negotiations on the coast of the country, was appointed Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, wrote several autos, poems and letters, and a grammar of the Tupi language. After living 63 years, died in 1597 in Reritiba (nowadays Anchieta city, Espírito Santo state).

The catechetical theater

Within possible dramatic influences on Anchieta's formation, one is a consensus among scholars: Gil Vicente's production. Although their theatrical production is still strongly linked to Christian values, they already reflect humanistic values in seeking to reach and provoke human consciousness. The sometimes comic but less satirical aspect of the characters in which we would expect a strong dramatic accent confirms that.

As argued by Armando Cardoso (ANCHIETA, 1977, p. 14-15), it is almost certain that Anchieta had extensive contact with Gil Vicente's plays in Coimbra[3]. In addition, Anchieta's autos seem to have inherited much of the style[4] and ideas[5] of the Portuguese theater's father. However, the peninsular forms and content have been reshaped by the indigenous mentality through Anchieta's assimilating vision and this is precisely where their originality lies, - as explained by Cardoso (ANCHIETA, 1984, p. 195) - despite of the influences of metropolis, the structure of their autos is inspired by a frequent and normal spectacle that was becoming frequent and regular among the Brazilian Indigenous people: the reception of an illustrious and sometimes unknown character.

Although its audience is also made up of several other groups such as settlers, soldiers, sailors, and fixed or transitory villagers, its main target has always been the indigenous

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2   To see more about the context: BOXER, 1981.

3   Gil Vicente's autos were very popular a♦t that time, especially in the university town where Anchieta lived for 5 years (NAVARRO, 1999, p. VII).

4   Among the stylistic aspects they have in common we can list the use of simple rhymes, the larger *redondilha*, the quintile stanza, among others.

5   The personifications of goodness and badness through the figures of the angel and the devil (the latter sometimes being bragging, joking) are other references to Vincentian influence in Anchieta's theater.

community. Due to that, Anchieta devoted himself especially to the Tupi language when writing autos intended for catechesis in order to reach the Indigenous people more effectively, which did not exempt him from serving other audiences, having also written extensively in Latin, Portuguese and Castilian. More than that - following the Jesuit evangelism program, which will later become one of the Society's trademarks - in addition to its linguistic appeal, he also took advantage of the natural inclinations of foresters to singing and dancing, including these elements throughout their presentations - either in their native form or in that imported from the metropolis.

All people in all ages have always made the distinction between sacred and profane. "Sacred", an Indo-European word meaning "separated", can be understood, in its most primitive sense, as a quality that is attributed to powers over which man has no control and consequently recognizes as superior to himself, participants in a divine dimension, "separated" from their simple "profane" reality (GALIMBERTI, 2003, p. 12). The term "profane", literally translated "before or outside the temple", in turn embraces the sphere of the secular, reflecting all that is temporal and common, a category sometimes overlooked for its banal appearance.

Both above mentioned categories represent antagonistic aspects, regardless of the cultural context to which they belong. According to Eliade (2010, p. 20), they "constitute two modalities of being in the World, two existential situations assumed by man throughout his history". This opposition was also present, of course, in the newly found Brazilian lands, since even the indigenous people brought with them these notions - although in a different way from the European ideas, they also presented this duality present in their culture. Anchieta knew how to take advantage of this situation and made use of these categories in the construction and execution of the Indigenous catechization process. Anchieta's evangelizing endeavor consisted precisely in using this common substratum between the two cultures – the sacred and profane conception and their different conceptual and symbolic forms - in order to enter that new cultural universe and to convey the aimed message more easily, which was very nasty for the colonization procedure.

Thus, Anchieta's appropriation of indigenous mythological-cultural ideas was not only due to the assimilation of their vocabulary and traditions, but especially to the use and readjustment of its concepts. For this purpose, during the auto's presentation, figures badly regarded by Indigenous people - as their enemies - were identified with the devil and his fallen angels, and esteemed figures - such as shamans and the Caribbean (a kind of shaman) - were in turn related to Jesuit angels, saints and priests. In the "Auto de São Lourenço" ("Saint Lawrence Auto"), trilingual play of 1583, for instance, the demon characters who bear the names of Tamoio chiefs identify themselves in a way that scares the Indians:

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Guaixará:

I'm drunk Guaixará

I'm snake, jaguar,

anthropophagic, aggressor,

winged spectral bat,

I'm a slayer demon.

Aimbirê:

I'm python, I'm a tiger heron,

the great tamoio Aimbirê.

Anaconda, spotted hawk,

I'm a shaggy anteater,

I'm a bright demon.
(ANCHIETA, 1997, p. 59-60, our translation)[6]

However, association of concepts did not stop in superficiality. Also, the deities and the hierarchy were associated, *Tupã* became the one Christian God,

> [...] Bishop is *Pai-guaçu*, that is, the greater shaman. Blessed Mother sometimes appears under the name of *Tupansy*, mother of Tupã. The kingdom of God is *Tupãretama*, land of Tupã. Church is consistently *tupãóka*, house of Tupã. [...] Demon is *anhaga*, wandering and dangerous spirit. For the biblical-Christian figure of the angel, Anchieta coined the word *karaibebê*, flying prophet [...]. (BOSI, 1992, p. 65, our translation)[7]

This nascent representation of sacred corresponded to a new symbolic sphere derived from the Christian tradition and Tupi culture, a hybridism that, according to Bosi, was made possible only by the singular colonial conditions.

For the conversion to take place, many indigenous practices would have to be tackled and

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6   Guaixará:
Sou Guaixará embriagado
sou boicininga, jaguar,
antropófogo, agressor,
andira-guaçu alado,
sou demônio matador.

Aimbirê:
Sou jibóia, sou socó,
o grande Aimbirê tamoio.
Sucuri, gavião malhado,
sou tamanduá desgrenhado,
sou luminoso demônio.

7   [...] bispo é *Pai-guaçu*, quer dizer, pajé maior. Nossa Senhora às vezes aparece sob o nome de *Tupansy*, mãe de Tupã. O reino de Deus é *Tupãretama*, terra de Tupã. Igreja, coerentemente é *tupãóka*, casa de tupã. [...] Demônio é *anhaga*, espírito errante e perigoso. Para a figura bíblico-cristã do anjo, Anchieta cunha o vocábulo *karaibebê*, profeta voador [...].

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permanently abandoned. Those included anthropophagy, witchcraft, polygamy, communication with the spirits of the dead and *caiunagem* (recurrent drunkenness by cauim, a strong drink produced from the fermentation of tubers such as cassava):

Good measure is to drink

cauim until vomiting.

This is a way of enjoying

life, and it is recommended

for those who want to enjoy.

[...]

Walking killing with fury,

Living together, eat

each other, and yet being

a spy, arresting *Tapuia*,

dishonest the honor to lose. (ANCHIETA, 1997, p. 48, our translation)[8]

This *cauim* is what hinders

your spiritual grace.

Lost in Bacchanal

your spirits shrink

in our fatal lace.

(ANCHIETA, 1997, p. 61, our translation)[9]

Anchieta was faced with a great challenge in standing against indigenous practices that were averse to European moralizing thinking, as these were common and consummate practices that marked the cohesion of groups and were still filled with a religious-sacramental character. Both acts (indigenous practices such as anthropophagy and *caiunagem*) could be celebrated individually or interconnected in day-long celebrations. In order to combat them, Anchieta

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8   Boa medida é beber
cauim até vomitar.
Isto é jeito de gozar
a vida, e se recomenda
a quem queira aproveitar.
[...]
Andar matando de fúria,
Amancebar-se, comer
um ao outro, e ainda ser
espião, prender Tapuia,
desonesto a honra perder.
9   Esse cauim é que tolhe
sua graça espiritual.
Perdidos no bacanal
seus espíritos se encolhem
em nosso laço fatal.

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coined the term *angaipaba* (which in Tupi would mean something like "things of the wicked soul"), by which he introduced the notion of sin:

> – Let's escape from the village,
>
>   Before they kick us out!
>
>   Yes! Let's go fast
>
>   To take *sins* away!
>
> (From the Auto "Dia da Assunção, Quando levaram sua imagem a Reritiba". In ANCHIETA, 1977, p. 252, our translation and emphasis)[10]

In addition, as already said, Anchieta also made extensive use of the association's feature within his autos, demonizing the Indigenous' practices by marking them as the fruit of the inspiration of evil spirits who wanted for themselves the possession of the souls of those poor men who, while "numb" in their rites, became vulnerable to their perverse coercion.

Through the catechesis autos that, by their simple and dynamic matter, were the simplest and most accessible way to reach the public and enable them to understand sometimes abstract contents, it became possible to instill in the natives the moral and the main dogmas, thus representing undeniable influence over their habits and traditions.

With the scope of conversion, Anchieta's Jesuit artistic-theatrical program first sought to capture the viewer for itself, achieving his imagination through which he made room for the entrance of hidden intellectual arguments which were more easily accepted. By using the sensible representation (visual and audible) of death and perpetual punishment, the fear of this punishment was aroused in the public and, consequently, the assent of the truths of faith. (FILHO, 1966, p. 190).

One must, however, see this movement not with the eyes of the 21st century, but from the perspective of the 16th century. Anchieta must have been influenced, perhaps since childhood, but especially during the novitiate, by the medieval morality autos, which carry a dense, moralizing and pedagogical aesthetic. Thus, being aware of the reality surrounding Anchieta (a culture previously unknown and arguably opposed to his own) and the ideology that marked his formation (corresponding to his own time), it becomes possible to read his work from a less prejudiced and intellectually more honest perspective.

Anchieta's greatest wish was undoubtedly to convert as many as he could in order to "save" as many souls as possible. The "apostle of the Indigenous people" was not aware (because it was not a concern of his time) of the irreparable cultural destruction resulting from the imposition of the new civilizing values of the Metropolis. However, among most of the time, which instilled their values with iron and fire, he was the least energetic in his actions and the mildest in the form

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10   – Neí! Tiasó tanjé
angaipába amo rerú... (Tupi's original version)
– Eia! Vamos depressa
longe os pecados levar... (Portuguese translation)

of evangelization, including and enabling manifestations of native culture. Proof of this is the fact that he is "the only national playwright to use tupi" (PONTES, 1978, p. 84).

Another argument in this regard is the appreciation that Anchieta also gives to indigenous rituals by incorporating them into his autos. In addition to music and dance, the ritual of receiving visitors who are considered friends is almost always present in their records - to meet the future guest still on the way to the village and to accompany him in a festive way was a common practice of the Indigenous. This practice was reproduced in Anchieta's autos and used by him for the reception of political and religious figures.

A Counter-Reformation literature

Anchieta's intentions in writing his autos were not primarily aesthetic, but rather didactic, and this linguistic objective that overlaps the literary is noticeable in his work in the conscious sacrifice of literature, in view of the range and understanding of the pieces by his audience (PONTES, 1978, p. 15).

Since the entire literary production of Anchieta, especially that aimed at the didactic purposes of catechesis, is permeated by a dramatic accent that goes back to medieval tradition and morality, but which concomitantly points to baroque aesthetics; the deficiency of delimitation of Anchietian literature[11] only as a 16th century becomes evident.

In Anchieta's literary production one can notice a certain medievalism (in the technical[12] and aesthetic sense) expressed in his devotional and didactic-moral thinking, strongly imbued with the medieval spirit. In addition to the use of allegories and assimilation of devils to deities and indigenous characters (as done with the pagans in general), the opposition between the anti-earthly spirit of medieval religiosity and the indigenous anthropophagic paganism of these lands is also explicit.

This medieval facet of Anchieta is very explicit in the "Auto da Visitação de Santa Isabel" ("Auto of the Visitation of Saint Elizabeth"), considered the last play written by the Jesuit in 1597, where there is a catechetical dialogue between Saint Elizabeth and a pilgrim, who enquires her, following scholastic patterns, about the divine judgment, of Mary and her virginity, addressing in a simple way a Catholic moral and dogmatic content. As reminded by Cardoso (ANCHIETA, 1977, p. 361), at the end of this play there is another fact that brings it

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11   Here remains a modern controversy about the possibility of considering Anchieta production as literature and, even more, as Brazilian literature. There is a consensus today that the first Brazilian literary manifestations do not constitute a literary school. According to Antonio Candido (1999, p. 18-20), although Anchieta has produced literary works in his autos, the Brazilian literature will emerge only in the 18th century, when the reference points of these "literary manifestations" are no longer external and linked to the Metropolis, allowing the creation of a fully local literature.

12   Medieval technique and poetics in Anchieta's literature are topics widely discussed in Leodegário A. Azevedo Filho's thesis (1962), in which he claims that there is no Renaissance influence, at least in his production in the Portuguese language.

closer to many of Gil Vicente's records - a poem "sung in farewell procession" by all present.

At the same time, themes that will be frequent and iconic in Baroque art and literature, such as the fugacity of time, the ephemerality of earthly life and the inanity of mundane things are also present, albeit in a germ or veiled form, in Anchietian production with the purpose of motivating conversion by the *postmortem* life idea and possible eternal damnation after divine judgment.

Thus, Anchieta's literature presents itself as extremely original, a legitimate echo of medieval morality and anticipation of the counter-reformist proposal in Amerindian America.

Conclusion

The task of penetrating the Indigenous imagination and transmitting the Catholic religious message to them was not easy, and Anchieta accomplished it through the theater and its resources. Anchieta's literature, however, was not limited to this. Deeply influenced by the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola (founder of the Society of Jesus), Anchieta demonstrates this in his autos and sermons. Even in his letters, unlike those eminently adminis-trative-pragmatic of his comrades, it is noticed that "mystical vein which every religious work ultimately presupposes" (BOSI, 2003, p. 19).

From the analysis of his texts, one can see that the purpose of his oratory was not only to "convert" the indigenous and / or "keep the faith in" the settlers - as so many people claim and as would be most expected in a counter-reform movement. Rather, and attached to it, the aim was to "provoke" its audience to a mostly religious awakening of consciousness.

What Anchieta did through most of his autos was to provoke the *thaumázein* (in Greek, it is the expression for perplexity, wonder or astonishment that leads to reflection) in the audience through artifices such as the surprise or the comic. In this way, he exposed a given circumstance or aspect of reality, previously ignored or not perceived, as problematic and that, therefore, should be better thought and worked out. More than a mere attempt at conversion, Anchieta's literature proves to be an unique mode of personal provocation that encourages a search for meaning.

Anchietian literature, as a poetic work, acts as a way of rescuing the truly human (therefore, sacred) and can overcome barriers by transferring the indigenous character from the profane circle, within which it had been prejudiced by "civilized" man, to the sacred sphere, one who can be part of the Christian community and sit at the table. In Anchieta, the Indigenous loses the necessary appearance of an evil wild man by nature and becomes a creature like any other, capable of God and good. Desired by both saints and devils, defended by angels, and by the Mother of God, the Indigenous becomes free from worldly slavery and able to make his own choices (at least spiritually).

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OBSCENE VOICES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PORTUGUESE POETRY

VOZES OBSCENAS NA POESIA PORTUGUESA DO SÉCULO XVIII

Fernando Matos Oliveira[1]

ABSTRACT

This study offers a rereading of the obscene verse in Portuguese poetry in the second half of the 18th-century. The main goal is to integrate a poetics of obscenity not only in the classical heritage, as has been pointed out by literary criticism (CIDADE, 1986; PIRES, 2004; NEUMANN, 2006), or more overtly by studies of rhetoric-stylistic content (PÉCORA, 2011), but to understand this singular production, largely ignored within the academy, within the broad context of the social and cultural uses of the verse. This line of interpretation also situates obscene poetry in two converging contexts, which we consider decisive for its analysis. This writing occurs at a time when the very modern concept of lyric poetry, as expressive and subjective capital, was in formation. at the same time, the obscene is related to the protocols of truth and concealment promoted by the secular process opened by the Enlightenment, thus having a profound relationship with the transformations that occur in Portuguese society in the last decades of the 18th-century.

KEYWORDS: Obscenity; Desire; Poetry; Power; Class.

RESUMO

Este estudo apresenta uma releitura do verso obsceno em Portugal, na segunda metade do século XVIII. Pretende-se integrar a poética do obsceno não apenas na herança clássica, como vem sendo assinalado pela crítica literária (CIDADE, 1986; PIRES, 2004; NEUMANN, 2006), ou mais assumidamente por estudos de teor retórico-estilístico

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1   Docente no Departamento de História, Estudos Europeus, Arqueologia e Artes da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra – Portugal.

(PÉCORA, 2011), mas compreender esta produção singular, durante muito tempo secundarizada pela academia, no contexto amplo dos usos sociais e culturais do verso. Esta linha de interpretação situa ainda a poesia obscena em dois contextos convergentes, que entendemos decisivos para a sua análise. Por um lado, esta escrita ocorre num momento em que o próprio conceito moderno de poesia lírica, enquanto capital expressivo e subjetivo, estava em formação. Por outro lado, o obsceno relaciona-se com os protocolos de verdade e de desocultação promovidos pelo processo secular aberto pelo Iluminismo, tendo assim uma relação profunda com as transformações que ocorrem na sociedade portuguesa nas últimas décadas do séc. XVIII.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Obscenidade; Desejo; Poder; Poesia; Classe Social.

This study offers a rereading of the obscene verse in Portuguese poetry in the second half of the 18th-century. The main goal is to integrate a poetics of obscenity not only in the classical heritage, as has been pointed out by literary criticism (CIDADE, 1986; PIRES, 2004; NEUMANN, 2006), or more overtly by studies of rhetoric-stylistic content (PÉCORA, 2011), but to understand this singular production, largely ignored within the academy, within the broad context of the social and cultural uses of the verse. Let us recall in this respect an already classic statement, when Foucault reminds us that as much as speech seems to be little, the prohibitions that affect it reveal very quickly its strong connection with the realms of desire and power. He reminds us that there is nothing surprising about this, since discourse is not simply that which manifests or hides desire (cf. FOUCAULT, 1997:10). As we will be commenting, the discourse of obscene verse it also that which in itself is the object of desire. This verse is thus played out in close relation to the conditions of enunciation and writing, at a time when the very concept of poetry is still making its way towards the subjective expressivism that will later define the lyrical mode after Romanticism.

The obscene verse thus interferes in this period with a broad thematic spectrum, crossing social, political or specifically literary issues. The vigilance of writing stems from the growing diversity of the social uses of verse, to an unprecedented scale until then. We described in an earlier work this culture as metromania, simultaneously circulating in copies, manuscripts and prints (OLIVEIRA, 2008). For this reason also, poetry is strongly guarded by the apparatus of censorship, given the possibility and danger of a free proliferation of writing. The forbidden verse thus simultaneously raises a truth-seeking *logophilia* and intends to experience the authoritative limits of writing[2], but also a latent *logophobia*, caused by the confrontation with the guarded order and the protocols of classical decorum.

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2   The relationship between modern censorship and the constitution of modern authorship as a legal entity is well known. This relationship is only possible in the context of the growing dissemination of a written culture. The author's name is enhanced by his authoritative inscription as well as by the publicity of his signature. Take the central thesis of A. Patterson's book, published in the 2nd edition after the Salman Rushdie affair: «Rushdie's article "A Pen against the Sword: in Good Faith" supports my central thesis, that it is to censorship in part that we owe our very concept of "literature", as a kind of discourse with rules of its own, a concept that has for centuries been thought to be capable of protecting writers who have tried to abide by those rules.» (PATTERSON, 1989, p. 4).

Bocage's writing reveals in this context a particularly critical character, visible in his praise for the freedom to come, in the celebration of scientific reason, in the anticlerical lyric or in the obscene writing of various compositions. For this reason, censorship is in close relation with the process of establishing limits to literature itself: the historicity of the *name* of literature, understood as a discourse to which modernity will recognize the authority to say everything, is here at a critical moment in terms of its ontological and jurisdictional grounding:

> «Let's make it clear. What we call literature (not belles-lettres or poetry) implies that license is given to the writer to say everything he can, while remaining shielded, safe from all censorship, be it religious or political […]. In the end, the critico-political function of literature, in the West, remains very ambiguous. The freedom to say everything is a very powerful political weapon, but one which might immediately let itself be neutralized as a fiction.» (DERRIDA, 1992, p. 38)

The obscene verse is thus made by the very vigilance of writing in this period, for in its common meaning the obscene is that which <u>hurts shame</u>[3], especially in the realms of desire and sexuality. When in 1966 Natália Correia edited the long-awaited *Antologia de Poesia Erótica e Satírica*, she organized her introduction into three parts, in a gesture of clear emancipatory intention, ordering them towards a final acceptance of Eros: "Aphrodite's Captivity", "The Poet's Purgatory" and "The Reintegration of Eros" (cf. CORREIA, 1999). Despite the expectation and boldness set out in this volume dedicated to the period in question, this anthology did not *invent* an erotic 18th-century, but it did create an editorial object and contributed to legitimize a less 'literate' discourse on poetry. Given the absence of a local tradition in erotic prose, it was the verse that very early associated Bocage's name with a unique editorial history, controversial from the moment he lay dying (cf. GONÇALVES, 2003, p. 279). The popular mythification of his improvisational genius would eventually condition his literary reputation[4], but the first edition of the *Poesias*

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3   In the case of corporal and sexual shame, I return to the definition that Jean-Claude Bologne used to trace the history of this perpetual tension between instinct and reason: "Sentimento de vergonha, de incómodo que se tem ao fazer, ao enfrentar ou ao ser testemunha das coisas de natureza sexual" (BOLOGNE, 1996, p. 6). On the obscene, let us also remember the colloquium organized by S. Floch (1983). In a short text, which opens the original 1974 edition, G. Almansi summarizes the scope of his own study, which comprised authors from Dante to Henry Miller, as follows: «Questo libro vuole agganciarsi, sia pure con fragili grappini d'arrembaggio, a una storia secolare di operazioni inutili, di speculazioni fallimentari, di elaborate e raffinate esegesi che finiscono sempre nello squallore di un *cul-de-sac*. L'area entro la quale ho praticato le vane esercitazioni della critica estetica è quella dell'osceno, dell'oltraggioso, del volgare, con particolare predilezione – forse significante – per le trascrizioni letterarie di atti sessuali» (ALMANSI, 1996, p. VII).

4   In the preface to an unpublished text of Sade, Anatole France appears to have expressed the following philological differentiation: «Il n'est pas nécessaire de traiter un texte du Marquis de Sade comme un texte de Pascal». This observation by Anatole France was the motto for an excellent essay on genetic criticism by Michel Delon, Jean-Christophe Abramovici and Éric Le Grandic, entitled «Sade au travail, dans ses manuscrits.» (in: Écrire *aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Genèses de textes littéraires et philosophiques*, Jean-Louis Lebrave et Almuth Grésillon (Dir.), Paris, CNRS Editions, 2000, p. 137-168).

Eróticas, Burlescas e Satíricas in 1854 allowed this textuality finally to be given a book form.

Since there is not much in Portuguese literature that we can undoubtedly call a pornographic tradition as in the exceptional case of France or something affiliated with Moratín's *Arte de las putas* (1977) in Spain, obscene imagery in Portugal is strongly associated with the hybrid "erotic and satirical poetry", to which we must add, however, the classical tradition and the importation of the many forbidden books ("livros licenciosos"), mostly of French-speaking origin (cf. MARTINS, 2001). In this study I will consider this archive both for Bocage's satire and erotic poetry.

In her preface to her own anthology, Natália Correia uses the concept of "the transposition of style" ("transposição de estilo") to characterize the procedures that dominated obscene writing in the 18th-century. The expression arises when she attempts to articulate the conventionality of this poetry, still clearly marked by the rhetorical-stylistic codification of classical origin, with the prevalence of satire as a "combat weapon" in the social arena (CORREIA, 1999: 26). The "transposition of style" is indeed a very pertinent process for describing the instrumentalization and polemization of the verse. The criticism of Bocage's poetry oscillates between this kind of enlightened and empowered version, proposed by Daniel Pires, among others (cf. BOCAGE, 2004-2005, VII: IX-XL), and a more rhetorical reading like that of Alcir Pécora, which tends to read the obscene verse of this period as a more stylistic rather than referential manifestation (PÉCORA, 2001, p. 203-245).

Pécora's position radicalizes the "transposition of styles" mentioned by Natália Correia, because it is a precept that can be found throughout the heroic style used in mock-epic poems and other abundant satirical poetry of this period (cf. Cidade, 1984: 311-339; Maffre, 1994). But from this stylistic universalization, the critic ruthlessly runs through Bocage's satirical and erotic poetry, diluting each verse into a code, each semantic piece into an inherited form. The risk of the subject who wrote the composition entitled *Pavorosa Ilusão da Eternidade* is referred to the 'anecdotal', although he admits there exists a "stiff empiricism of authority". But everything happens as if there was no difference between walking naked or dressed, speaking of time or sex, looking out the window like Nicolau Tolentino, or getting two women to talk about their common experience of orgasm, as in Bocage's *Cartas*.

No limite, o facto de existir uma personagem na lírica bocageana que se apresenta como «Preto na cara, enorme no mangalho» ("Ribeirada") seria mero efeito necessário à retórica sublime, um divertimento letrado no contexto de uma «libertinagem verosímil" que transforma o soneto "Liberdade, onde estás? Quem te demora" em efeito estilístico. (id: 217-225)

In the end, the fact that there is a character in the Bocage's lyric who presents himself as "Preto na cara, enorme no mangalho" (*Ribeirada*) would be a mere necessary effect of the sublime rhetoric, a literate amusement in the context of a libertinage ("libertinagem verosímil") which transforms the sonnet *Liberdade onde estás? Quem te demora*? into a simple stylistic

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effect (id: 217-225)[5].

The existence of a rather conventional game around the gallant libertine is not in question, but this does not exhaust the *Cartas de Olinda e Alzira*, let alone the totality of the author's obscene poetry. The rhetorical-formal constraints pointed out by Pécora, especially based on the fundamental language and structure of the text, are certainly something to be taken into account, as a defense to a strictly national reading or psychological stance.

These *Cartas* resume the classic scene of instruction in the arts of love: a more experienced woman teaches a younger woman, giving advice and passing on her experience. Despite variations in characters and topography, the structure of the text inherits from Ovid (*Heroides*)[6] and Aretino (*Ragionamenti*), but it has also been influenced by French texts of the 17th and 18th centuries, especially by *L'École de filles* (1655), *Académie des dames* (1680) or even *Thérèse Philosophe* (1748), as quoted in a strangely cautious context: "Que uma *Teresa*, que outras tais francesas / Em impuros bordéis se ufanam"! (BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII, p. 34)[7].

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5   The interpretation of Pécora reminds us of a comment once made by Derrida about rhetoricism being taken litterally. In an interview with Gary Olson for the *Journal of Advanced Composition*, Derrida recalled the importance of contexts and situations, including 'political' and 'libidinal' situations, in any verbal statement, forcing the distinction between rhetoric and rhetoricism: «Now, this doesn't mean that everything depends on verbal statements or formal technique of speech acts. There are speech acts everywhere, but the possibility of speech acts, or performative speech acts, depends on conditions and conventions which are not simply verbal. What I call "writing" or "text" is not simply verbal. That's why I'm very interested in rhetoric but very suspicious of rhetoricism […]. I think a self conscious, trained teacher of rhetoric should teach precisely what are called "pragmatics"; that is, the effects of rhetoric don't depend only on the way you utter words, the way you use tropes, the way you compose. They depend on certain situations: political situations, economical situations, the libidinal situation, also». In the same interview, when asked about the opposition between philosophy and rhetoric, he replies: «Well, from that point of view I would be on the side of philosophy. The tension comes first from the fact that rhetoric as a separate discipline, as a technique or as an autonomous field, may become a sort of empty instrument whose usefulness or effectiveness would be independent of logic, or even reference or truth—an instrument in the hands of the sophists in the sense that Plato wanted to define them. So contrary to what some people think - for instance, Habermas - I would be on the side of philosophy, logic, truth, reference, etc.» (cf. Jacques Derrida, «Rhetoric and Composition: A Conversation», in *Journal of Advanced Composition*, Nº 10, Vol. 1, 1990, pp. 1-21 [ed. ut.: http://www.jacweb.org/Archived_volumes/Text_articles/V10_I1_OlsonDerrida.htm

6   Bocage was the author of an imitation of Ovid entitled *Arte de Amar ou Preceitos e Regras Amatórias para Agradar* às *Damas* (The Art of Loving or Loving Precepts and Rules to Please the Ladies), which opens with a foundational purpose: "Se, lascivos do mundo, amais sem arte, / Lede meus versos, amareis com ela" (BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII, p. 47). This text also ends with a pedagogical statement: "Eis em resumo as regras necessárias, / A fim de conseguir femínio afecto: / Delas aprendereis, destros mancebos, / A serdes, prevenindo os laços / Armados por Amor à inexp'riência, / Pendurando assim troféus inúmeros / Ao carro triunfal da vossa glória" (BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII, p. 60).

7   The survey of the intertextual relations raised by the *Cartas* has been deepened recently, especially by authors such as Florence Nys (2005), Martin Neumann (2006) and most impressively by Eckhard Höfner (2006), an author who clearly associates the work with the epistolary tradition. Considering the diverse naming either as "epístola", "cartas" or "letras" (in the original text itself), Florence Nys suggests that the nobility of the epistolary tradition in relation to the letter may have been a strategy of concealment.

In Bocage's *Letters*, the educational scene is also evident. Olinda had asked for help because of her "estranha agitação" and "viva chama", devouring her from inside (id.: 11). Alzira promises help, provided Olinda follows her experienced advice, obviously intended to deepen the art of physical love, leaving her friend, only three years younger, to rely on the "sabia mão da Natureza", both in the fulfillment of desire as in the transformations of the adolescent body:

"Porém, depois que o Sol da Primavera

Fecundos raios sobre nós dardeja,

Então de novas formas animado,

Pula nas veias afogueado sangue,

E sem perder da infância os atractivos,

Da puberdade o lustre desfrutamos.

Então sentimos comoções insólitas,

Que origem são dos males que te oprimem,

Do amor que te domina, melancólico,

Da forte agitação que em ti pressentes.

Mas tudo tem remédio, eu hei-de dar-to.

Feliz serás, se o trilho me seguires."
(BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII: 12).

Between Epistles I and V, Alzira encourages her friend to follow Nature. In Epistles VI and VIII the situation is reversed and the pleasure also arises from the gratification drawn from the cross-reading of their erotic experience (cf. NYS, 2005). Each friend goes on with the description of their own meeting, exposing the detailed and graphic learning of the female body and the male body. Epistle VII, which ratifies Olinda's extraordinary progress, ends in a more politicized tone, by offering her friend a final account of her own initiation with Belino. The scene culminates with the learning of the body, in growing narrative which refers to the libertine topic of nakedness, the size of the male limb, the many flames ("chamas") and also to martial penetration ("grossa lança"), oscillating between pain and pleasure and, with remarkable frequency, to the female orgasm.

In this 7th Epistle, Olinda manages to reach climax ("o prazer mais saboroso") four times, until she falls half-dead, after hours of what she calls "combate aceso". Each orgasm occurs in different situations: before penetration; with penetration; at the same time ("cadência recíproca aliada"); and with the young woman in leading position (Bocage, 2004-05, VII, p. 38-42).

The verse letter bears witness to the hybrid character of Bocage's literate forms of communication, demonstrating a great capacity for thematic inclusion. The letter operates as a conversational mediation that places it beyond the manuscript and below the print, in a place that capitalizes precisely on the relative intimacy of epistolary writing and the publicity of the printed object. This duality still persists when circulation does not abandon the strict form of the manuscript.

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In this context, the obscene completely demystifies itself, integrating the reversibility between the subject and the object. It is precisely after the third orgasm that shame becomes hateful ("odiosa"), thus turning invisible to Olinda's moral system at the very moment of her educational progress:

> «Mas curvando-me um pouco e com justeza,
>
> Achei convir ao estojo o instrumento,
>
> Cuja palpitação, sem ajustar-nos,
>
> Em cadência recíproca aliada,
>
> Bastava a provocar gosto indizível,
>
> De modo que sem mais fadiga eu pude,
>
> Na grata posição Belino imóvel,
>
> Atingir o prazer mais saboroso,
>
> Nadar em mil deleites engolfada.
>
> Aqui, amada Alzira, essa virtude
>
> Que apelidam pudor, foi-me odiosa.»
> (BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII: 41).

A few verses later, after the fourth orgasm, things finally become morally clear to Olinda: «Neste instante, expirou dentro de minh'alma / Temor nefando, que imolava ao culto. / *Nova moral raiou de Olinda aos olhos;»* (BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII: 43). The old morality therefore gives way to a kind of redemptive 'orgasmomania'. As is so often in libertine literature, this final saturation confirms that female orgasm is not a communicative problem in the late 1700s, a period before male traumatization of this topic in their perception of sexuality (STEINTRAGER, 1999). It is therefore not something that a feminist reading can be invested in. Still, their readability in these *Letters* benefits from being witnessed by the woman. The coincidence between orgasm and moral reconstruction is not fortuitous either; orgasm is at the peak of the pleasure system, an essential part of the science of pleasure, necessary for the "instruction" that concludes the last three verses, when Olinda conjures an instructive and confidential covenant: "Minha instrução confio aos teus cuidados; / D'amizade o esplendor, dá-te a mim; / Acaba de fazer-me de ti digna." (BOCAGE, 2004-05, VII, p. 45).

Before I proceed with more evidence of the obscene in Bocage and in some of his contemporaries, it is worth adding that one of the reasons for the recent widespread critical dissent on this text relates to its libertine consistency and even to the possibility of subjecting him to an admittedly pornographic reading. Contrary to Hernâni Cidade, Florence Nys recently proposed a reading of the Letters not as "sensuality without pornography", but as an actual pornographic account (NYS, 2005). Florence Nys tries to avoid the question of value and even separating meaning from form: «We do not want to catalog the *Cartas de Olinda e Alzira*, nor reduce them to a pejorative and injurious label that seems to ignore the poetic and lyrical

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quality of the text. The issue of pornography will not be raised in literary terms, but rather in terms of strategies" (NYS, 2005: 66). It is a somewhat paradoxical objective, because in using the 'énonciation pornographique', which Goulemot explored in a libertine context, the question of reading effects necessarily implies an ordering of reference. She identifies, however, some pornographic strategies according to the model adopted, namely the presence of an erotic self that individualizes the story, the succession of erotic images and the existence of a voyeuristic structure.

Assuming that the concept of pornography can hardly be used in a transhistorical sense, applicable to all representations of sexuality, then the *Letters*, like the obscene Bocage himself, would rather be in the transition from cult eroticism to pornography[8]. On a more strictly eighteenth-century level, we can say that Bocage transitions from the "obsceno freirático" (HATHERLY, 2003), linked to Baroque sociability, to the more erotic-pornographic obscene of modernity, a manifestation of more a urban inscription, marked by a certain confrontation and increasingly by the language of money. António Lobo de Carvalho's sonnet, which presents a friar asking for money to see prostitutes ("ir às meninas") is symptomatic about these changes. The convent as a site is progressively no longer a free libidinal archive, and therefore the priest has to be subjected to rising prices. The style acquires a more popular stance:

«Ah que del-rei! Não há quem me socorra!

(Certo frade arreitado à mãe dizia)

"Valha-me a rua Suja, ou Cotovia,

Antes que mártir do tesão eu morra!"

Larga a mãe um tostão ao frade borra,

Mas ele, que acha pouco, assim porfia:

"Veja lá, mãe, se acaso gramaria

Por tão pouco *d'argent* tão grande porra?"

Fica a santa mulher toda aturdida,

Não tendo nunca visto, nem tocado

Porra tão grossa, porra tão comprida.

Que fará, vendo o filho em tal estado?

Apara papel, toma-lhe a medida,

Vai levar a bitola ao seu prelado.»

(Carvalho, 1852: 143)

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8   Ian Frederick Moulton has written a compelling study on the misapplication of the concept of pornography to premodern times. Revisiting the work of Linda Williams (1989), Lynn Hunt (1989), Walter Kendrick (1987), among others, Moulton identifies pornography with the emergence of modern capitalism, urbanization, the culture of visuality and above all the emergence of a sex industry. On a literary level, this situation generates narratives with characteristics quite different from the erotic representations of the premodern period (cf. F. Moulton, *Before Pornography. Erotic Writing in Early Modern England*, Oxford: OUP, 2000, p. 3-32).

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We can only speculate about the meaning of the final verse. However, it is noticeable that this type of composition departs from the "obsceno freirático" and from its stricter codification, thus less available to the contemporary language and informality. Nicolau Tolentino in the quintiles entitled *The Lovers*, still addresses the "freiráticos" as mythical suppliers of "fina ternura":

> "Porém se da plebe escura
>
> Em pouco o triunfo prezas,
>
> E queres fina ternura,
>
> Extremos, delicadezas
>
> Os freiráticos procura;
>
> Gentes de mais alta esteira,
>
> Ternos, finos corações,
>
> Que em fechada papeleira
>
> Vão guardando em batalhões
>
> As cartas da sua freira;"
>
> (Tolentino, 1994: 79)

Returning to the argument, a second point of contention about Bocage's Letters appears to be the weakness of their libertine argument, marked by various contradictions. Such restrictions would weaken the emancipatory content of the Letters, in several ways: in the erotic learning; in the affirmation of the natural body; in the naturalization of desire; in questioning dogmatic tutelage; in the supremacy of reason ("O que a razão desnega, não existe", in Bocage, 2004-2005, VII, p. 24). More than moderating this impulse, the comparative philological exercise of Höfner (2006) and above all Neumann (2006) is rigorous, moderating his libertine energy, for some important reasons: Alzira is married; the presence of a "sensitive heart" reveals a weakened sentimentality; and erotic encounters take place at home rather than in the convent.

Satirical obscenity is Bocage's version of the sexualized ban which he most often practiced, sometimes in compositions for which doubts on his authorship still persist. Obscene writing manifests itself above all in medium-sized poems such as *A Manteigui*, *Ribeirada*, *A nocturnal company* and even a series of sonnets. This corpus crosses obscenity with politics, prejudice or morality. The description or suggestion of sexual activity is the aspect that unites them in their confrontation with shame. They are also compositions that do not manifest a visible relationship with the libertine tradition, but rather with the various sexual interdictions, in shades that oscillate between the satirical and the purely burlesque.

"A Manteigui" refers to a female figure in Damão's society. This is one of the texts which most violently confronts the interdict by exploiting the prostitute wife in a colonial environment. Bocage removes all the effects of the above-mentioned "style transposition", opening his "bitching" epic loudly:

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> "Canto a beleza, canto a putaria
>
> De um corpo tão gentil como profano;
>
> Corpo que, a ser preciso, engoliria
>
> Pelo vaso os martelos de Vulcano;
>
> Corpo vil, que trabalha mais num dia
>
> Do que Martinho trabalhou num ano,
>
> E que atura as chumbadas e pelouros
>
> De cafres, brancos, maratas e mouros."
> (Bocage, 2004-05, VII: 125-126)

What follows is the Invocation, addressed to Venus, also packaged in a lascivious register[9], before starting the description of an interracial encounter involving the heroine and a "sórdido cafre asselvajado", which Manteigui, a nymphomaniac mind, occasionally co-opted for luxurious satisfaction. Then emerges the topic of bestialization, both of the native, converted into "elephant", and the husband himself, who surprises them without showing any concern for the fact:

> "Neste comenos o cornaz marido
>
> O bode racional, veado humano,
>
> Entrava pela câmara atrevido
>
> Como se entrasse num lugar profano;
>
> Mas vendo o preto em jogos de Cupido,
>
> Eis sai logo, dizendo: "Arre, magano!
>
> Na minha cama! Estou como uma brasa!
>
> Mas, bagatela, tudo fica em casa".
> (id.: 129)

The close representations of satirical obscenity also very clearly contradict the hygienic discourse that the Enlightenments promoted. The ideal of transparency and clarity is confronted with versions of the body and the sexual act that enact true monstrosities, without rejecting prejudice. In *Ribeirada*, the protagonist, nicknamed "fodaz Ribeiro", opens with a succession of stanzas starting with the aforementioned "Musa galicada e fedorenta". In the fourth stanza, the dirt acquires unprecedented and indeed execrable traits. We are in the universe of abjection:

> « Adorna hirsuto ríspido pentelho
>
> Os ardentes colhões do bom Ribeiro,
>
> Que são duas maçãs de escaravelho,
>
> Não digo na grandeza, mas no cheiro.

---

9   The same happens in the poem *Ribeirada*: «Ó Musa galicada e fedorenta! / Tu, que às fodas de Apolo estás sujeita, / Anima a minha voz, pois hoje intenta / Cantar esse mangaz, que a tudo arreita» (id.: 134).

Ali piolhos ladros tão vermelho

Fazem com dente agudo o pau leiteiro,

Que o cata muita vez; mas ao tocar-lhe

Logo o membro nas mãos entra a pular-lhe.»

(id.: 134)

Bocage grants this soiled 'brute' an unexpected night bath, aggravating the degradation, before maritally joining him with a female "genital enxúndia", at which point the violent bestialization returns:

"Prossegue o desalmado; mas a esposa

Que não pode aturar-lhe a dura estaca,

Dando voltas ao cu, muito chorosa,

Com jeito o membralhão das bordas saca;

Ele irado lhe diz, com voz queixosa:

"Não és uma mulher como uma vaca?

Porque fazes traições, quando te empurro

O mastro? Quando vês que gemo e que zurro?"

(id.: 140-141)

Although close to obscene satire, these compositions resort to a set of procedures that manifest affinities with pornographic literature: enumerative strategies, amplifying the number of partners or positions; the male perspective, focused on penetration and excitement of the male imaginary; a tendency towards undifferentiated objectification of women, more evident in the sonnets and in the *Ribeirada*. There are also several metaphorizations of rape, with different agents and situations as varied as the marital scenario in the *Ribeirada*. The poem ends with a curious didactic note, not so much in the sense of enlightened emancipation, but of practical advice. It is especially addressed to the "fodilhões encarniçados", informing them that in the face of the outrageous actions of "fodaz Ribeiro", a positive lesson should be drawn: "Que não são tais porrões ao gosto delas: / Que lhes não pode, enfim, causar recreio / Aquele que passar palmo e meio" (id.: 143).

In the sonnets, Bocage further emphasizes the transition between the satirical obscene and the pornographic obscene, a movement that we can root in Bocage's own persona and a conspicuous form of life, which would lead to the nineteenth-century concept of literate bohemia, with which Bocage maintains a foundational relationship[10]. This tendency for the presentation of

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10   In Bourdieu's words: "As an ambiguous entity, the bohemian inspires ambivalent feelings, even among its most ardent advocates. First, because he defies classifications: close to the "people" whose misery he often shares, he is separated from him by the art of living that socially defines it and which, though ostensibly opposed to bourgeois conventions and conveniences, places it more close to the aristocracy or the big bourgeoisie than the orderly petty bourgeoisie, especially in the order of relations between the sexes where all forms of transgression, free love, venal love, pure love, eroticism are experienced (…)" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 77, my translation).

the self is announced in two autobiographical sonnets. The first one consists of the uncensored version of the well-known *Magrão, de olhos azuis, carão moreno*, varying in the final verse, now in a dysphoric register; the second stages his own death, ending with an epitaph: «Aqui dorme Bocage, o putanheiro; / Passou vida folgada e milagrosa: / Comeu, bebeu, fodeu sem ter dinheiro" (id.: 72).]

The diversity of the human gallery represented in the sonnets reinforces the social implication of these verses, directed to preferential targets. The clergy benefit from a vast gallery, including "frades", "fradalhões", "franciscanos", "velhos impotentes" and "semi-clérigos".

He also addresses the dissolute clergy whom he literally asks to "desentolhar esses conventos", properly regimenting these "serviçais da preguiça": «Existam estes lobos carniceiros, / Para não arruinar inteiramente / Putas, pívias, cações e alcoviteiros» (id.: 92). A healthy girl can move at a glance from being a simple seamstress to the hands of a pimp, ending up as a "menina de muleta" in the infirmary (id.: 102). Anticlericalism is popularized in Lobo de Carvalho, a sonnetist with a certain mastery of form and a clear tendency towards transgression and abjectness.

Prostitution is one of its most recurring themes, with unprecedented variations on the dissolution of morals ("fanchonismo" above all[11]), disease (Gallic evil, recurrently), misery, and a whole urban underworld that has rarely been laid so bare in eighteenth century verse.

The epocal fixation on the figure of the prostitute, which he himself presents in a monetized urban context, with its places and rituals, leads him to dedicate a sonnet to Nicholas Tolentino himself, against the mania of "making verses to whores and footmen". The sonnet *Se a lira pulsas e o pandeiro tocas* ends with the explicit warning:

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11   "Fanchonismo" tends to be associated with court depravation. In one of his sonnet *Contra o fanchonismo*, Lobo de Carvalho describes what he understands to be a disease:

"Das tartáreas masmorras o Diabo
Trouxe nos cornos a brutal punheta;
Jurando aniquilar com manha e treta
Delícias feminis, por quem me babo;

Corre Lisboa do princípio ao cabo;
Inspira em corja vil que esquive a greta,
Que ao gosto singular da mama e teta,
Hoje a mão substitua, a bimba, o rabo;

Lavra o prazer bastardo; eis Madragoa,
Eis Taipas, Cotovia em abandono,
Rara pica nas bordas já se assoa:

E perdeu tanto a voga o pobre cono,
Que até certo taful viu em Lisboa
Um gato sodomita, um cão fanchono!"
(Carvalho, 1852: 152)

> "Prossegue, Nicolau, na fácil peta,
>
> Que os versos teus são fulminantes raios
>
> Que contra a plebe sacas da gaveta;
>
> O céu te dê à Musa altos ensaios,
>
> Porque eu te juro que hás-de ser poeta,
>
> Enquanto houverem putas, e lacaios."
>
> (Carvalho, 1852: 132)

The universalization of the condition of the prostitute does not fail to translate a certain societal anxiety, in which power, misery and money increasingly intersect and prostitute each other. In Bocage poverty subsists and the cynical irony at the 'metal' obtained at the cost of an agonizing disease - "Uma empada de gálico à janela (…) Tudo em metal por dois canais ajunta." (Bocage, 2004-05, vol. VII, p. 107 and 114).

We are faced with what Bataille called 'low prostitution', a form of the utmost degradation of the prostitute woman, to the point of making the perception of the wrongdoing itself unfeasible (Bataille, 1988, p. 117). Their language inscription is equally varied. Bocage takes advantage of empirical poetic advantages, addressing his Nise in terms that denote the indifferentiation of prohibitions, as if the courtesan who knows how to transgress and the prostitute who survives beyond the society that recognizes the prohibition are in equal circumstances:

> "Não lamentes, ó Nise, o teu estado;
>
> Puta tem sido muita gente boa,
>
> Putíssimas fidalgas tem Lisboa,
>
> Milhões de vezes putas têm reinado.
>
> (…)
>
> Todas no mundo dão a sua greta
>
> Não fiques pois duvidosa
>
> Que isto de virgo e honra é tudo peta."
>
> (Bocage, 2004-2005, VII: 93).

It was also the whole of this obscene poetry that the Encyclopedic Journal had in mind when it wrote, in the year of Almeida Garrett's birth: "Poetry has often prostituted its talent to wickedness and to the most infamous obscenities." (1799, p. 166). Between Bocage, the figure that clearly protagonizes the obscene, and Lobo de Carvalho, the heteronomy of the poetic is manifested in this muse no longer through a descent to the strictly political, but to the social and corporal materiality, the multiple universe of transgressions, the repressed and the marginal.

Portuguese literature does not demonstrate robust versions of the francophone libertine heterotopia. The verse maintains a dual relation with local materiality and expressive tradition, but it is apparent that the erotic-libertine love of the *Cartas de Olinda e Alzira* already hides some compromises regarding the intimacy of the emerging bourgeois love, as reflected in the "coração sensível".

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DIADORIM

THE LITTLE YELLOW CAP: AN INCLUSIVE PEDAGOGICAL PROPOSAL

CHAPEUZINHO AMARELO: UMA PROPOSTA PEDAGÓGICA INCLUSIVA

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ABSTRACT

Literating in a literacy way serves as a basis for all students who are inserted in the school context. In this sense, this study discusses an action research project with a pedagogical practice in a class of the third year of the initial grades of Elementary School. This research-action is justified by its social and cultural nature, which aims to develop practical activities to literate in a literacy way within an inclusive education perspective. Although, there are governmental programs that regulate the literacy process, and the school context shows a reality that reflects precarious rates of literacy in Brazil. This is possibly due to teacher training, school infrastructure and to "non-methods". To literacy without literate, according to Soares (2004), is disconnected from the demands of social practices that everyday demands. In this context, the story "The Little Yellow Cap" was adapted from the perspective of an open curriculum, using diverse curricular proposals directed to the understanding of all the students. The objective was to eliminate any obstacle that could limit the learning and the participation of all students in the educational process.

KEYWORDS: Adapted Curriculum. Inclusive Education. Literature. Literacy.

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RESUMO

Alfabetizar letrando serve como base para todos os alunos que estão inseridos no contexto escolar. Nesse sentido, este estudo discorre sobre um projeto de pesquisa-ação com uma prática pedagógica em uma turma do terceiro ano das séries iniciais do Ensino Fundamental. Esta pesquisa-ação justifica-se por ser de cunho social e cultural, que visa desenvolver atividades práticas para alfabetizar letrando dentro de uma perspectiva de educação inclusiva. Embora existam programas governamentais que regulamentam o processo de alfabetização, o contexto escolar mostra uma realidade que reflete índices precários da alfabetização no Brasil. Isso se deve possivelmente à formação de professores, à infraestrutura das escolas e aos "não-métodos". Alfabetizar sem letrar, conforme Soares (2004), está desconectado das demandas de práticas sociais que o cotidiano exige. Nesse contexto, adaptou-se o conto "O Chapeuzinho Amarelo", na perspectiva de um currículo aberto, utilizando propostas curriculares diversificadas direcionadas ao entendimento de todos os alunos. O objetivo foi eliminar qualquer obstáculo que pudesse limitar a aprendizagem e a participação de todos os alunos no processo educativo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Currículo Adaptado. Educação Inclusiva. Letramento. Alfabetização.

Introduction

Inclusion promotes diversity, but the challenge goes beyond ensuring that students have access to educational institutions; it is about tackling any obstacle that may limit the learning and the participation of all students in the educational process. In this context, this work proposal emerged, that is characterized as an action research, which is justified by its social and cultural nature and by proposing practical activities with curricular adaptation to literate in a literacy way within an inclusive education perspective.

Oliveira and Machado (2007) emphasize the relevance of curricular adaptations, which, in general, involve organizational modifications in objectives, contents, methodologies, didactic organization, time organization, philosophy and evaluation strategies, allowing the fulfillment of the educational needs of all students in relation to the construction of knowledge. According to Garrido (2002), changes are needed in several elements of the basic curriculum to adapt it to the different situations, the different groups and the people to whom it applies. In addition, the curricular adaptations are intrinsic to the new concept of curriculum.

In fact, an inclusive curriculum must have adaptations to meet the diversity of classrooms. However, it should be made clear that the term "adapted curriculum" is much broader than one might imagine. It is not only to have an adapted curriculum or to separate activities that are different from those offered to the class for students with disabilities, but to make activities flexible for all students, because in a classroom there are students who learn by means of different strategies and, therefore, it is necessary to use a pedagogical proposal that is open to different adaptations (BRASIL, 2008, pp. 19).

In inclusive education, opportunities should be provided for all students, so that everyone can learn, whenever possible, together, respecting differences and recognizing the diverse needs

of each student. In order to have a quality education, it is necessary to adapt the curriculum to everyone, so that children with disabilities receive the necessary support for a good education (BRASIL, 2008, pp. 19). Many schools, however, still do not take into account students' needs and they continue to use traditional methodologies that do not take the student's reality into account and they do not promote literacy, which is of paramount importance to the literacy process. This is one reason why literacy rates continue to be unsatisfactory in Brazil.

Research-action Project: a proposal for literate in a literacy way

When literate in a literacy way, it is possible to reach all students, including those with disabilities. Promoting equal access and permanence to everyone in school, without any kind of discrimination, is a principle that is in Art. 206, item I, of the Brazilian Constitution since 1988. Special education, whose focus are the students with disabilities, should be included in the pedagogical proposal of the school, according to the proposals of the *Política Nacional de Educação Especial na Perspectiva da Educacional Inclusiva*. It should be articulated with the common teaching, but it need to be oriented towards meeting the special educational needs of students with disabilities (BRASIL, 2008, pp. 15). Special education aims to promote the development of the potential of people with disabilities and it covers the different levels and degrees of the education system. In inclusive school, the educational process should be understood as a social process, in which all children have the right to schooling as close to normal as possible, that is, it is a modality of teaching for everyone (ALMEIDA, 2012, pp. 11).

Literacy, according to Kleiman (2008), is a practice of literacy, which is part of the set of social practices of writing; Literacy already involves a set of skills, skills and multiple competences and knowledge, some of them are unrelated to reading. To Soares (2004, author's translation), it needs to be as close as possible to normal, that is, it is a modality of education for everyone.

> To literacy means taking him/her (the child) to the practice of reading and writing social practices. [...] a literate child (taking this adjective in the semantic field of literacy and literacy, and not with the sense traditionally has in the language, this dictionarised) is a child who has the habit, skills and even pleasure of reading and writing of different genres of texts, in different media or carriers, in different contexts and circumstances[4]

To the same researcher,

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4   **Original text**: letrar significa levá-la (a criança) ao exercício das práticas sociais de leitura e de escrita. [...] uma criança letrada (tomando este adjetivo no campo semântico de letramento e de letrar, e não com o sentido que tem tradicionalmente na língua, este dicionarizado) é uma criança que tem o hábito, as habilidades e até mesmo o prazer de leitura e de escrita de diferentes gêneros de textos, em diferentes suportes ou portadores, em diferentes contextos e circunstâncias.

> […] individuals and social groups that dominate the use of reading and writing, and therefore they have the skills and attitudes necessary for lively and competent participation in situations where reading and/or writing practices play an essential role, maintains with others and with the world around them forms of interaction, attitudes, discursive and cognitive competences that give them a certain and differentiated state or condition in a literate society (SOARES, 2010, pp. 146, author's translation)[5]

The literacy process, according to Ferreiro and Teberoski (1991), is slow. In order to be literate, the apprentice observes, internalizes concepts, doubts them, re-elaborates, until it reaches the alphabetic code used by the adult. It is with this code that the student begins to develop the awareness between thought and language and, from it, is to make use of writing. The student, in order to be literate, needs to understand the relationship between orality and writing, as well as knowing the rules of writing. The inclusion student, on the other hand, may present specific characteristics of the disability or even comorbidities. A student diagnosed with Down Syndrome, for example, may present language deficits, which may hinder the learning of reading through the phonic method, which is based on the sound-letter association.

Children with Down Syndrome show a multiplicity of clinical characteristics, but they are not always present. It should be noted that children with this syndrome have a similar phenotype, but they present slower physical and motor development, generalized muscular hypotonia and facial dysmorphia, mainly due to delayed mental development. (Alao et al., 2010). Due to these characteristics, they may present impaired intellectual development and they present mild or moderate mental deficiency. Whereas, they generally have a good visual memory capacity and, therefore, they benefit from literacy strategies that work with "whole-word" recognition, as is the case with the global method.

According to Troncoso (1998),

> […] people with DS have the attention, perception and visual memory as strengths and that they develop with a systematic and well-structured work. However, there are significant difficulties in auditory perception and memory, which are often aggravated by acute or chronic hearing problems. For this reason, the use of learning methods that have a strong support in verbal information, hearing and interpretation of sounds, words and phrases is not very effective (TRONCOSO, 1998, pp. 70, author's translation).[6]

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5 **Original text**: indivíduos ou grupos sociais que dominam o uso da leitura e da escrita e, portanto, têm habilidades e atitudes necessárias para uma participação viva e competente em situações em que práticas de leitura e/ou escrita têm uma função essencial, mantêm com os outros e com o mundo que os cerca formas de interação, atitudes, competências discursivas e cognitivas que lhes conferem um determinado e diferenciado estado ou condição em uma sociedade letrada (SOARES, 2010, p. 146).

6 **Original text:** pessoas com SD têm a atenção, percepção e a memória visuais como pontos fortes e que se desenvolvem com um trabalho sistemático e bem estruturado. Porém, se verificam dificuldades importantes na percepção e memória auditivas, que com frequência se agravam por problemas de audição agudos ou crônicos. Por essa razão, a utilização de métodos de aprendizagem que tenham um apoio forte na informação verbal, na audição e interpretação de sons, palavras e frases, não é muito

Therefore, the contents must be enriched with innovative methodologies that awaken the student's willing to learn, taking into account their difficulties and their facilities. For this, it is important to use visual support and concrete materials, contextualizing the content in the daily life of the child.

Thus, in order to teach literacy with adapted activities, it is imperative to know the students and to develop tasks for the class so that the disabled student is effectively included. To conceive a curriculum as a practice of meaning, immersed in social relations (of power), is to take it as a political act of translating the interests of certain groups and not of others, is to conceive it as a disputed, contested, conflicting space that involves particular hierarchical and asymmetric relationships (SILVA, 2004). Therefore, in the curriculum, multiple relationships, explicit or "hidden", involving reflection and action, administrative political decisions systematized in the central organ of education and the pedagogical practices developed in the school are established (SACRISTÁN, 1998).

In this sense, it is necessary to respect the characteristics of each student, offering pedagogical alternatives "that meet the educational needs of each student: a school that offers all this in an inclusive and welcoming environment, where everyone can live and learn from the differences"[7] (GIL, 2005, pp. 18, author's translation). With regard to inclusion, it causes changes in the school environment, pointing out equal opportunities for all learners, allowing the development of skills and competences effectively and for everyone.

Thus, educational inclusion presupposes the realization of open and flexible curricula that are committed to meeting the educational needs of all students, whether they have disabilities or not. Some authors, such as Gonzales (2002) and Pastor (1995), are unanimous in affirming that there should not be a curriculum differentiated or adapted for some students, but a curriculum that encompasses all, however, it making the needs of each one more flexible

Nevertheless, Oliveira; Machado (2007) corroborate on the curricular adaptations, that must involve organizational modifications, in the objectives and contents, in the methodologies and didactic organization, in the organization of the time and in the philosophy and evaluation strategies, allowing the attendance and the construction of the knowledge for all the students. In this way, it is essential that the classroom take place meaningful learning, in which it promotes partnerships between teachers and students in order to combat exclusion and discrimination. Thus, it is necessary that the proposal of school inclusion favors the learning of students with disabilities, for this, it is important that curricular modifications are made, aiming for significant changes in the curriculum and respecting the diversity of students.

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eficaz (TRONCOSO, 1998, p. 70).

7   **Original Text:** "que atendam às necessidades educacionais de cada aluno: uma escola que ofereça tudo isso num ambiente inclusivo e acolhedor, onde todos possam conviver e aprender com as diferenças" (GIL,2005, p. 18).

Method

This work proposal had a qualitative character and it was characterized as an action research, based on the following question: how to alphabetize and to literate students from a 3rd grade class of Elementary School by flexibilizing/adapting activities for a student with Down Syndrome?

The sample was constituted from the observation of classes and the application of a questionnaire with the teacher and the monitor, which was characterized, from the first collection, as a diagnosis for the application of reading project and textual production. The project lasted four meetings and it was applied in the month of March in 2018. The research participants were the researchers, the teacher and 20 students from a 3rd grade class from a public school in the municipality of São Leopoldo City, Rio Grande do Sul State, in southern Brazil. The class has an 8-year-old student diagnosed with Down Syndrome/Intellectual Disability/Language Delay. The remaining students are about 7 and 10 years old. Participation in the research was authorized by the parents or by the guardians of the participating children by means of the signing of an *Termo de Consentimento Livre Esclarecido*.

Research-actions Procedures

Initially, an interview was conducted with the teacher and the monitor, in addition to the observation of the class, in order to trace the diagnosis of the class and to understand how the inclusion process in this group happens and to jointly plan the application of a reading and of a production project with an adapted curriculum. At the first meeting, the mediators questioned the students about what they liked to read. In the sequence, Chico Buarque's book "Chapeuzinho Amarelo" was shown and it was verified that the group already knew the story, relating it to the story of the "Little Red Riding Hood".

The story of the book "Little Yellow Riding Hood" was explored, exploring the images and the relationships with other stories and the question of the character's fears. In the second moment, the students made a drawing representing their fears. At the next meeting, the students told what they remembered about the story of the "Little Yellow Riding Hood". Each student noted what he remembered on the board. The writing of the student with Down Syndrome, from now on DS, was mediated by the assistant teacher. Following, a bingo game was held, for which a card was made with names and figures of the story to facilitate the reception of the student with DS. Then, each student received a card with the name of a color and they had to find another student who was a card of the same color in order to form pairs.

After the organization of the pairs, students were asked about possible characteristics that the "Little Riding Hood" could have if, instead of "Little Yellow 'Cap'", it was Purple, Orange, Pink, White, Gray, Green or Blue Cap. After that, it was proposed that each pair create a story

telling about the characteristics of the Little Riding Hood of the color corresponding to the pair. For the girl with DS, it was initially proposed a sequencing activity of the story and then performed the activity of creating a story and a double drawing. The student with DS assisted in drawing and she also made use of modeling clay to represent the story. At the end of the lesson, each pair presented the drawing and they read the story. The girl with DS explained the drawing, as she still has not mastered the reading, while the other colleague read the story of the Little Pink Riding Hood.

Final Considerations

The curricular adaptation aims to promote the development and the learning of students who present difficulties and who has as reference the elaboration of a differentiated pedagogical project and the implementation of inclusive practices in the school system. Therefore, it is necessary to consider some aspects, such as the flexibility of the teaching-learning process, to meet the individual differences of each student who presents difficulties, to justify the prioritization of resources, the use of an open curriculum and diverse curricular proposals. But, even adapting the curriculum, the student may not want to participate, so it is imperative that the teacher has the sensitivity to adapt the activities according to the need and the interest of each student.

Pedagogical practices based on fundamental questions, such as flexible planning and teacher mediation, are always aimed at student's autonomy. Thus, teachers should organize a work context in which reading presents in a variety of ways and on several occasions on a daily basis, as happened in the application of this project, in which interventions were made with questions and comments to stimulate students both to pay attention to the details and feelings aroused in works, such as observing and appreciating works, so that interpretations flow among children (COLOMER, 2007, pp. 116).

In observing the application of the project, it was verified that the class was already habituated with the oral readings and with visual narratives, although some students still did not have absolute mastery of the reading. In order to enhance the student's literacy process with DS, the global method was used with the use of the whole word, and it was possible to observe that it already demonstrates a good recognition of the words. In the evaluation of the activities, the group showed satisfaction with the project. So much so that, after completing the tasks, the teacher commented that some students who could not express themselves by means of writing had succeeded in doing so with the proposed activities.

Nevertheless, the curricular adaptations are a set of actions that are carried out in the objectives, contents, criteria and evaluation procedures, in the activities, also covering methodologies that attend to the individual differences of the students. Therefore, the proposal of an open, flexible and decentralized curriculum requires a set of educational development measures and policies that are essential for significant changes in the reality of the school practice.

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GAOKAO: FAR MORE THAN AN EXAM

GAOKAO: MUITO MAIS DO QUE UM EXAME

Manuel Duarte João Pires[1]

ABSTRACT

China has an education system of hundreds of millions of students, notable regional and economic differences, and cultural factors that greatly influence the social roles of teacher and student, and the way society views education. All these have shaped a unique education system in which written examinations played a vital role. Based on a review of the current literature on this topic and interviews with students of Portuguese at Sun-Yat Sen University in Guandong Province, this study addresses the influence of *gaokao* (National College Entrance Examination) on the profile of Chinese students and aims to contribute to bring to light this determinant feature of the Chinese education system. The Chinese education system consists of a succession of exams, the best known of which is *gaokao*. The demands of *gaokao* have a huge influence on the social and academic profile of Chinese college students and affect the way they face the school and university. In the short term it seems challenging to change the burden of *gaokao* in Chinese schooling due to population density, teaching methods and socio-cultural issues.

KEYWORDS: China; Chinese students; National College Entrance Examination (*gaokao*); Portuguese as a Foreign Language.

RESUMO

A China possui um sistema de educação composto por dezenas de milhões de estudantes, por marcadas assimetrias regionais e econômicas e por questões culturais que influenciam muito os papéis sociais do professor e do aluno e no modo como a sociedade encara a educação. Todas essas características refletem na existência de um sistema de avaliação pouco flexível no qual os exames escritos assumem uma enorme importância. Com base na revisão da

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literatura atual sobre esse tema e em entrevistas aos estudantes de Português da Universidade de Sun-Yat Sen, situada na província de Cantão, este estudo aborda a influência do *gaokao* no perfil dos estudantes chineses e pretende contribuir para trazer à luz esta particularidade incontornável do sistema de educação chinês. O sistema de educação chinês é constituído por uma sucessão de exames, cujo mais conhecido é o *gaokao*. As exigências do *gaokao* têm uma influência enorme no perfil social e acadêmico dos estudantes universitários e moldam a forma de os alunos chineses encararem a escola e a universidade. A curto prazo, parece difícil mudar o peso do *gaokao* na escolaridade chinesa devido a questões relacionadas com a densidade populacional, com os métodos de ensino e com os traços socioculturais.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: China; estudantes chineses; exame nacional de acesso à universidade (*gaokao*); Português Língua Estrangeira.

Introduction

One key element of Chinese education system which greatly restricts the speed with which a more communicative language-teaching method is implemented in the country is the significance attached to exams (JIN; CORTAZZI 1997; 2006; WANG; HUANG; SCHNELL, 2013; ZHANG; LI; WANG 2013; CHEN, 2016). The most crucial one among these exams, beyond dispute, comes as *gaokao*, the National College Entrance Examination, which is probably one of the most difficult exams all over the world. What makes it far more than an exam is its role as an origin of stress as well as an absolutely decisive turning point in young Chinese students' life (JIN; CORTAZZI, 2006; KAI, 2012; WANG; HUANG; SCHNELL, 2013; TSEGAY; ASHRAF, 2016; HEGER, 2017).

After *gaokao* was restored in 1977 as one outcome of educational reform as the government had recognized how important higher education means to modernization of the country (TSEGAY; ASHRAF, 2016), citizens regained the opportunity to elevate their social status through education, which in turn contributed to social and economic development (HEGER, 2017).

According to Tsegay e Ashraf (2016), every year millions of high school students will attend this exam that lasts for two days. Those with higher marks will gain the access to better universities, approach better jobs and eventually become those successive personages amid the prosperity of Chinese economy. Yet it is considered to be the root of intensive pressure since the future of candidates is indelibly linked with their performance in this exam.

A study conducted by Wang, Huang e Schnell (2013) about the risks of stress associated with this exam reveals that many secondary schools in China are assessed by the result of *gaokao*. Besides, how teachers are rewarded depends on the marks of students they teach. Consequently, many people refer to this system as the culprit of current conservative educational practices for apart from inducing excessive level of pressure and competition, it literally turns students into "test machines" with their creativity development limited.

In a study of Zhao, Selman e Haste (2015), where they propose a program to curb academic stress in China, it is referred that while people in the United States talk about American students' mediocre performance among international rankings, in China what is discussed by the authority are the causes and preventions of the stress which students, families and schools suffer, especially that provoked by National College Entrance Examination. Chinese educators and students are confronted with high levels of stress related to an exam-oriented education system, which, affecting psychological, social, moral and civic development of Chinese young people while at school, has become a huge social problem. Zhao, Selmon e Haste also affirm that numerous studies has proved a higher risk of suicidal mentality as well as attempts among Chinese adolescents. The negative impact that academic stress brings about is not merely limited in individual psychological health, but also extends to students' social relationship with their colleagues and their attitudes towards the whole society. As a result of intense competition, sentiment including jealous, distrust and animosity grows among peers. One's intimate friends can be frequently regarded at the same time as their rivals or enemies in academic competition. These authors argue that these problems derive from various political and socio-cultural factors. First and foremost, due to apprehension about children's future and traditional culture which emphasizes academic record, Chinese parents always hold a resistant attitude towards new potential policies about college entrance. What's more, cultural factors make it habitual for individuals to be judged or compared with others in from daily life to personnel-recruitment market, while an impressive degree is exactly a symbol of distinction. Finally, the rigorously applied one-child policy since 1979 have made many youngsters only-children who are expected to shoulder the responsibility alone for attending to their parents when they become senior. Because of these reasons, they defend that it is difficult to change this college entrance system in depth insofar as China is fighting with an education system still highly vulnerable to institutional corruption. Hence *gaokao* is considered by the majority of Chinese to be a selection mechanism relatively fair and objective.

In conclusion, using *gaokao* as the only criteria on admission to university, the education system of China has continued to define academic success according to external judgement, which, with focus on test results, imposes a high level of stress (on schools, parents and students) and ends up with producing students with low self-confidence and creativity. Under this system, passing *gaokao* and enter a great faculty is compared to a "paved road, not the steep, bumpy and uncertain one—if there even is a bumpy one rather than a dead end—that awaits those who fail to slay the Gaokao" (ZHAO; SELMON; HASTE, 2016, p. 7).

Implications of *Gaokao* in chinese society

In a research to explore how Chinese students relate *gaokao* with the access to university, Heger (2017, p. 120) mentions that students' account conveys a clear message that effort to enter university is a very glorious topic in their mind. From the moment they pass the exam on,

this experience will keep being recalled in great detail. This can match my own experience in my class when sometimes hearing my students say "Today is the first or second anniversary of my *gaokao*", telling how alive is that experience in their minds.

Beside this argument, this same author tells that the entrance to university is described in different ways as a turning point in students' life. Being admitted to university is something that someone can take substantial pride in since many others can not manage to do so. With their whole adolescence immersed in pressure and competition, young people associate studying in university with a new type of liberty regardless of some requirements on their courses. The same notion of liberty is also cited by Jin e Cortazzi (1997) in a study about the communicative approach in foreign language teaching China. Involving students from Chinese universities, it reveals that after going through the "hell of exams" and fierce competition, students feel that university provides them with more tranquility and leisure compared with their former academic journey. In other words, in spite of all the new challenges, life in university is seen as a period where there exists less pressure than before, especially in contrast with their past years in high school where the pressure and competition of going to university reach the peak.

Some of my students as well as other friends not in academic institutions share with me their similar experience of the final months approaching their *gaokao* from time to time. Stories are repeatedly told that they did not leave their senior secondary school for months to work diligently; slept little over this period; studied hard till mid-night on their beds with light of cellphone on when light of dormitory had been turned off after a day filled by classes (in some cases holding cellphone is prohibited, too); seldom contacted their families and friends, doing nothing anything but study for months. For those who come from a distinctive educational culture, it could be difficult to understand the extent of hard-work that Chinese students demonstrate to succeed in this exam.

Some of this kind of effort are reported by Larmer (2015) in *The Washington Post* in an article describing days at a high school in Shanghai anteceding *gaokao*. He interviews some students who share their sacrifice in this phase. One of them claims that in the final three years, they have classes from 6 a.m. to 20 p.m. everyday including weekends and that he did not do anything apart from studying. He also tells that if all the test sheets over three years are collected, they can "wrap all the way around the world" (LARMER, 2015, p. 13). Other students compare the memorization of materials during preparation for *gaokao* to the trainings for the Olympic Games "You have to keep up the momentum. Skip a day or two, and you can get off form" (LARMER, 2015, p. 15) The report indicates that cases of suicide tend to increase when the exam is close and a viral photo online taken by a student years before this report is put to exemplify, a scene of a classroom full of students having intravenous drips which seem to be whey to offer them strength to work hard. Larmer also points out other problems such as prohibition of some school on using telephones or computers and ban on puppy love. Namely, it is forbidden or opposed to date someone in high schools. Some students constantly talk about

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this, recounting that being found dating will lead to students' parents called by the dirirector at school and suspension or even expulsion in case of recurrence.

Besides, the report written by Larmer discuss the burden of some students from the periphery of Shanghai and struggle of their parents, those who mainly work in agriculture or civil construction. They pump all their earnings into their children's education for the concern that their young generation might eventually end up with the same profession as themselves without achieving a positive result in *gaokao.* In these cases, it is evident that all the sacrifice and endeavor made by the young people and their relatives are to help outshine other millions of candidates.

According to Heger (2017), among all the important challenges during the race towards higher education, what comes first is *zhongkao*, the middle or intermediate exam to select students into three-year high school before *gaokao*. This exam decides whether a student is able to acquire admission to regular high school, where education is oriented toward *gaokao*, or just vocational high school, a stigmatized option whose sole advantage is the access permitted directly to the job market, although limited only in occupations considered to be inferior. In fact, only half of teenagers in China are able to obtain seats in high school.

As is stated by Wang, Huang e Schnell (2013) since the second that students step into high schools for their last three years followed by university, they have been connected with education aimed at *gaokao*, which summarizes their former academic journey by only one evaluation event. Regarding the entry to higher education, those scholars make a comparison between China and the United States where multiple criteria are taken into consideration including aptitude tests, the average of grades over high schools, extracurricular activities and life experiences.

Through this comparison it is possible to understand how requirements on chance of higher education can play such a significant role in not only teenagers' school life but also their personal development and social skills. On the one hand, for students, a system with more than scores of tests taken into account asks for different types of capabilities besides learning in classroom, which help to promote their participation in community and get accustomed to other social roles flexibly aside from students. On the other hand, a system that loads all the pressure of going to university on only one exam severely aggregates individuals' struggle and competition, only confining teenagers' life to school.

The reason why *gaokao* is a source of competition and stress lies not only in the fact that it roughly judges students' effort within just a few hours, but the whole atmosphere of intensive studying and pressure from society and family to be successful.

According to Heger (2017) this exam defines far more than an avenue to university itself. On top of that, a prestiged university will enhance the possibility of obtaining a pleasing job, too. Another factor of stress concerning *gaokao* is the inconsistency between the meritocracy

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represented theoretically by the exam and the actual inequality that shows when it is carried out. Since the access to university and respective degrees are based purely on results of an exam, *gaokao* owns a meritocratic connotation. Nevertheless, in practice, the system is unequal to a large extent out of different regional requirements on access to university. The Ministry of Education of the PRC established a quota system which assigns every province the number of students that an university can enroll. The Ministry also determinates the lowest mark a student must achieve in different provinces to go to a certain university. In provinces more prosperous, the minimum passing score to enjoy higher education is less demanding. Given that better high schools are located always in provinces also with high-quality universities, local teenagers has less difficulty to be accepted by local universities. These regional and social-economic imbalance are hence "perpetuated throughout all levels of education" (HEGER, 2017, p. 116).

Albeit the massification of higher education across China, the gap to study at universities among different areas has long been widening due to the system of regional quotas In a study on problems of *gaokao* in China, Liu (2016) tells that the system of regional quotas consists in a series of policies stipulating quotas for every province. Under this system, every university has a fixed number of students that it can accept in different provinces, with a larger percentage from the province where that university is situated in. Even though there have been attempts to guarantee social and educational equality, it is frequently criticized for its inherent inequity. In contrast to other regions, the situation seems more unfavorable for students from central and western China, "especially for those provinces with over 500,000 applicants" (LIU, 2016, p. 11). C. Liu explains, emphasizing that there are 26 higher education institutions in Beijing and 10 in Shanghai. Together, they are more than the total of the central and western regions of China. Quite different from Beijing and Shanghai, each of most underdeveloped provinces only has one university counted as high-level in China. As the regional quotas are distributed in accordance with geographical distribution of higher education institutions, students resident in major urban centers own more convenience in terms of being accepted by a university more prominent. For instance, the opportunity to enter Peking University for candidates taking *gaokao* in Beijing is "is 31 times of that for students in Henan" (LIU, 2016, p. 11).

With regard to this aspect, a study of Liu (2013) about the meritocracy of *gaokao* indicates an association between educational conditions provided by parents and the socio-demography of families, which greatly affects the result of *gaokao*. The author then comes to a conclusion that socio-demographic factors seem to play a more considerable role than socio-economic statue when it comes to opportunities of higher education (LIU, 2013).

Some parents with better economic conditions, to overcome all the obstacles and secure the social position of their family through higher education of their children, will try to avoid *gaokao* by sending their children abroad to attend foreign universities (JIN; CORTAZZI, 2006), while others opt for buy houses in provinces, which guarantees their children more advantages to be admitted by universities. Families who change their place of residence in

order to win the opportunity for better universities like this are called "migrants of *gaokao*" (HEGER, 2017, p. 127).

Kan (2013) also touch this issue in his study about the challenges faced by the current young generation in China when discussing an education system that "systematically reproduces disparity between generations" (p. 67). She is sure that in contemporary China, the socio-economic status and registered permanent residence (*hukou*) of a family to which the underage pertain is decisive for their access to better education so long as schools in rural provinces maintain underfunded. In rural areas, the lack of high-quality education make young people there lag far behind urban students, and there are still few mechanisms to rectify such disadvantages. As Kan (2013) stated, in addition to these disadvantages, those better universities are known to show preference for local students, accepting local urban candidates with much lower scores at the sacrifice of those scored higher but from countryside. Like so, local students who have already enjoyed better teaching resources are expected to face challenges in university better and hence are further favored by top universities.

Kan (2013) points out that another great conflict tied to regional differences in Chinese education is relevant to migrants who move from rural areas to major cities in pursuit of plentiful job opportunities and better life conditions. However, those from other places always have restrictions when it comes to permissions and social welfare. In this way, achieving access to decent education is a rather tough task for children whose parents are these migrant workers. Neither these children have local *hukou*, nor are they included in the government budget for public education. On this account urban schools continue imposing heavy financial burden on migrant parents through temporary accommodation for students, compensation payment and taxes of school selection. Even with some measures to remove these loads and exempt taxes, migrant parents who normally only have inferior jobs with lower salary have to keep dealing with exorbitant expenses compared with families with local *hukou*. Many children of migrant workers have no choice but to stay in their place of birth, distant from their parents, and when they try to accompany their parents, usually for chance of higher education they are forced to return to their original province since not allowed to attend local *gaokao* without *hukou*. For some of these teenagers, this not only means separation from parents and adaptation to a new environment on their own, but also retrogression to schools with worse teaching resources. Some teenagers simply choose to leave off their study, others turn to polytechnics and professional schools run by local governments or private companies, while their peers with urban *hukou* step into prestige universities with abundant subsidies and greater convenience rendered.

The social position of parents has an apparent preponderance during race of *gaokao* and admission to universities. Outstanding academic performance can be attributed to parents who manage to guarantee their children success in exams (BIGGS, 1998; LIU, 2016; KAI, 2012; LIU, 2016; YU, 2017), dedicating all their energy and income into one objective. In some cases

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mothers will resign to entirely support their children during the phase while those teenagers are absorbed in preparation for *gaokao*.

However, support like this might also bring about a contrary effect with parents pushing youngsters too hard and "making decisions on behalf of their children" rather than guiding them to face their own paths in life (HEGER, 2017, p. 123). Heger gives an example of a student participating in his research whose major was decided not to her delight but by her parents.

Throughout my experience in Sun Yat-Sen University, I have noticed that it is common for students to follow the blueprint of their parents. When asked about why they chose the current major, students usually start with "because my parents think...". This can be extended from the general major to the motivation to learn Portuguese or their participation in exchange programs including choices of countries (Brazil or Portugal), cities and universities. Accustomed to respond with opinions of their parents, sometimes they are not even sure what is they own thought and decisions. This is recurrently happening given that Chinese parents are authoritative during the decision-making process of their children (HEGER, 2017).

As demonstrated by a research conducted by Liu (2016) about international mobility of Chinese students, the momentousness that families attach to children's scholastic triumph is intimately related to some particularities intrinsic in Chinese culture, specifically, the culture of giving priority to education of juniors and of thrift. Liu (2016) reckons that in China the values of putting education of children in the first place makes Chinese parents try their utmost to find the best educational options for their children. In parallel, the traditional virtue of thrift contributes to accumulation and allocation of resources for education. Accordingly, they seek to send their children to the best public schools, which stimulate the rising of real estate prices surrounding those schools. W. Liu argues that if parents do not buy a house at the catchment area, they have to pay for high taxes for an eligible school, albeit with their residence far from the district of the school. In the matter of universities, parents prefer those with more reputation, especially in Beijing or Shanghai. Providing there is enough financial capability, a common practice is to send their offspring to study abroad, "preferably to the US", because "Higher education abroad is generally understood as better" than in China (LIU, 2016, p. 56). Such sacrifice that parents are willing to make as well as pressure they impose on their children over their school days are summarized by Liu as follow:

> Chinese parents might be unique in the extent of the sacrifices they are willing to make so that their children can get the best education possible, irrespective of the return. The Chinese education-first culture is partly rooted in a highly competitive social structure, the result of a large population and scarce educational resources. Chinese parents tend to push their children as hard as they can, so that they can exhaust their intellectual potential in their schooling. (LIU, 2016, p. 54).

Salili (1996) also connects the Chinese values of collectivism with academic performance

of Chinese students whose personal achievement is also viewed as honor of their families, influencing their social life and their families' satisfaction. Under this mode, students' endeavor, not just limited to their individual ability, is counted in Chinese culture as a "key to academic success" (SALILI, 1996, p. 102). These characteristics are allied to the absence of parents' praise and their elevated expectation, generating strong incentives for students to always do better at school but meanwhile exerting huge pressure. Consequently, the purposes of intense effort that students make to succeed are not only to be academically accomplished but to obtain recognition from their parents and hence the glory of their families at a social level. The author further points out that although under pressure, what happens in such public education might not be expedient in development of "creative or critical thinking" of Chinese students (SALILI, 1996, p. 102).

In respect of the role of teachers and its impact on students' grade in *gaokao*, according to teachers will take strategies such as repetition of exams taken in previous years, homework and in-class exercises to guide their students while checking whether students are well-prepared for *gaokao*. Teachers have to carefully come up with similar test questions and set numerous tests to evaluate students' progress. The authors refer that as far as students are concerned, a teacher's encouragement also profoundly affect their result of *gaokao*. Students stress that one thing that helps them stay motivated is inspiration and confidence delivered by teachers. Mainly for those whose parents are distant from them, teachers become their "main source of motivation" (TSEGAY; ASHRAF, 2016, p. 73). This phenomenon can also be interpreted from Chinese educational culture where a teacher is usually regarded as a paternal figure (JIN; CORTAZZI, 1998, 2006; RAO, 2002; ZHANG; LI; WANG, 2013). Based on this definition of teachers, Tsegay e Ashraf (2016, p. 74) add that teacher also serve as a model for students to achieve impressive marks in *gaokao* – a model not only entrusted with the mission to teach and inspect students, but also to convey support, motivation and advice to accompany students to go through this exigent period of life. Nonetheless, it is also possible to hear students admit that regardless of all the encouragement, severity and sometimes punishment also come from teachers (WANG; HUANG; SCHNELL, 2013; LARMER, 2015).

The problem of *gaokao* goes beyond the question of passing it or not. Achieving higher marks means to be ranked among the tops and therefore to enter better universities. For this reason, the exam should be "difficult enough to distinguish the excellent students" (GUO et al., 2017, p. 111). In most provinces, *gaokao* has a "3+X" structure, namely three basic subjects (Chinese, Mathematics and a foreign language, normally English) plus a subject (X) chosen by students themselves on fields they study. The total mark is 750 with every basic subjects of 150 and the subject "X" of 300 (TSEGAY; ASHRAF, 2016, p. 68).

For Heger the objective of students is to pass the exam with a best potential score to be accepted by more reputable universities. For some students, failing to go to an elite university involves disillusion and even loss of face, so some of them will take a risk. For example,

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sometimes they will apply for a less popular major to increase the possibility of entering a prestige university – then endeavor to change their majors after the first year. This means to study a major they are not interested in for a year but fight to stay among the best 10% of students, who are given the qualification to change major. After this they also have to pass an internal exam of admission to the new major applied for. Any failure in the processes mentioned above will end up with being "imprisoned" in the original major for four years. (HEGER, 2017). Moreover, the desire for a diploma awarded by a prestige university becomes even stronger given than upon graduating young people have to face current tough employment situation — where many of them might only find low-skilled jobs. These problems are touched in dozens of recent researches (KAN, 2013; POSTIGLIONE, 2014; HEGER, 2017; YU, 2017).

In accordance with a study of Postiglione (2014) about reforms of *gaokao*, the fact that many post-graduates might only find a job far below expectation or demanding less professional competence than cultivated is quite disturbing. As Postiglione finds out, in rural district families generally make greater sacrifice to pay for youngsters, only to perplexedly find that when a student who passes the grueling national examination and attends university, their children cannot find a good job. This risk of instability concerning personal career create even more anxiety about access to universities. In this sense, the *gaokao* is also a "barometer of the challenges facing China's economic rise and its breakneck expansion of higher education" (POSTIGLIONE, 2014, p. 17).

About the reforms of *gaokao*, Postiglione (2014) tells that Chinese government intends to divide this system into two exams, one for access to professional-technical education to satisfy growing demand for workforce with qualified technical skills and another for traditional academic areas. However, this is not thought highly of given the inferior social status represented by the former degree, which is normally considered to lead to a less promising future. Moreover, this divided system might even deepen the educational and cultural gap between areas and social classes with different economic conditions.

Regarding the way students cope with the exam, Heger's (2017) study revealed that students are aware of all the problems about system of *gaokao* but simply think it as a less serious and something that all have to accept and get used to, which kind of suggest the logic of a Portuguese idiom "if you can't beat them, join them". Students often mentioned their origins to illustrate the obstacles and the chances they had to get a place in higher education, however, no one has addressed these issues as unfair or unequal, but as a fait accompli which they have to deal with. In their point of view it is the reality that everyone must try to confront with rather than protest against. The students adapt themselves to the present situation, doing their best and devising their own strategies to tackle this challenge (HEGER, 2017). To comprehend this attitude, the demographic and social conditions of China must be taken into account: students fight with all their strength for a position in higher education, which promises them brilliant work prospects and, in many cases, social mobility. *Gaokao*, in this way, is thought to be

comparatively proper for current national conditions considering that the results of the exam remain insusceptible to corruption. For another, its efficiency also get widely acknowledged since millions of candidates get selected by just one event. All these explain why "calls to abolish or fundamentally reform the system have failed so far" (HEGER, 2017, p. 116) for all the attempted measures.

For all the setbacks, the way that individuals try to overcome the intrinsic collective difficulties in their pursuit to higher education presents a reason for which, surprisingly, "never has been a collective effort spanning all social strata to change the status quo", even though "reports regarding the problems and inequalities in college admission appear in media every year" (HEGER, 2017, p. 128).

By analyzing researches on this topic it is possible to spot two pertinent questions on *gaokao*. The first one is linked with what passing or failing the exam actually indicates. Between these two circumstances exists a sort of chasm, showing two disparate world, which is even more noticeable for the young generation from peripheral provinces or underprivileged classes. Not passing the exam seems to unavoidably reduce career opportunities and send them to a less optimistic future; while being able to stand out in the exam means not only better jobs, but also social mobility for those with an unsatisfactory background. The other question is the prevalent idea that as a rigid system sometimes unfair, *gaokao* is an inevitability that has no alternative with the same degree of efficiency and public acceptance.

This part of the article aims at giving an outlook of particularities of Chinese education system, which, along with its effects are mostly partial or totally unknown to Western countries. It results in personal, family and social competition yet the pursuit of a pleasing result of the exam might actually pose great difficulty to widely implement communicative methods in teaching-learning process. We must not forget that practically the whole schooling is affected by this exam. We can say that *gaokao* is a product peculiar to Chinese society with increasing students at all levels of education, regional, social and economic asymmetries as well as representative cultural traditions. However it is meanwhile an institution reinforcing these features. This forms a cycle seemingly without feasible solution so that every family and student make all efforts to reach a place in a good university.

To fully understand the significance of *gaokao* to Chinese society and its impact on personal and academic experience of undergraduates is fundamental for foreign teachers who teach Chinese. Knowledge about *gaokao* helps to perceive what their students have (or have not) gone through before university as well as the way students embrace their future. When discussing this topic, my students always told me that it is hard to explain all this to a foreigner: the efforts, the pressure, and the sacrifice that *gaokao* represents. I believe it will be difficult to describe these feelings in words, while what is even harder is to depict the context entailing *gaokao* to someone who comes from another educational and socio-cultural background

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Same youth as others', but with *Gaokao* as a principal task

After reviewing the literature about *gaokao*, I find it essential to discuss what I have figured out about the influence of this exam on Chinese education system and adolescents' life with some students at Sun Yat-Sen University. The purpose is to discuss how those students feel about the conclusions collated. Although having exchanged my opinions with my students in class occasionally, I decided to gather students native in Canton to confront the main ideas presented by those literature. To this end, I invited five seniors who major in English with Portuguese as their minor. The data used for this study was acquired by means of semi-structured, qualitative interviews conducted with five undergraduate students from SYSU in Zhuhai, Guangdong Province in the fall of 2018. A round table was provided so that students can openly conveyed their viewpoints on topics including the pressure to prepare for the exam, the roles of parents and teachers, their relationship with classmates, and lastly, differences between rural and urban zones together with the issue of provincial quotas set for universities. To make interviewees freely make comments without straying from the point, all the questions follow the guidance of a semi-structured interview (SOUSA; BAPTISTA, 2000, p. 80), which is a method to collect main opinions of an individual or a small group "without time limits and a broad freedom to state their views" (SOUSA; BAPTISTA, 2000, p. 81).

Although some students were more participative, there was agreement on the arguments and personal accounts they presented to a larger extent.

These students affirmed that of three years in high school, the first two years are spent on studying while the final year is entirely for preparation for the exam. As is mentioned by Heger (2017), the planning of going to university begins from *zhongkao*, the exam for high school entrance. Nevertheless, the students said that the preparation along with pressure for college entrance actually starts since primary school because pupils have to take an exam in the final year of primary school to get access to junior secondary school. Candidates with higher marks also have better choices of schools. In this sense, the direct link between performance in exams and possibility of attend better schools has successively existed since the beginning of primary school, which will become the most apparent in *gaokao* and the entry to university.

When it comes to tension associated with *gaokao*, these students conceded being stressed out and pointed out a rise in suicide rate with *gaokao* approaching. One of them recalled that a few years ago she heard of a piece of news that a young student committed suicide at home after being forced by his parents to study hard time and again. They acknowledged feeling exhausted in face of pressure exerted by both parents and teachers, explaining that parents want their children to have a brighter future and save the whole family's face through succeeding in the exam. Therefore there is a widespread saying that *gaokao* is an exam for parents rather than students. Similar opinions can be found in researches of Kan (2013) and Heger (2017).

The students also agreed that pressure of teachers is acute owing to the correlation between their salaries as well as positions and the note of the class under their charge. Questions about whether there is penalty prescribed by professors as described in reports of Larmer (2015) and Ash (2016) are answered affirmatively. For example, if not getting a mark required, students had to do more exercise and tests than others. Besides, teachers usually asked their students to add morning jogging in routine. Those who refused to do so would face more homework and exercises. When asked about activities beside studying, those students said they only have life consisted of studying and sleeping, adding that their teachers prohibited them from reading books unrelated to exam content and any other activities having nothing to do with g*aokao*. But a student offered a fun fact that teachers impose exercise for students to work out and relax. However this is only restricted to jogging or strolling while collective sports like football and basketball are objected to for its risk of causing injuries and hence interrupting preparation for the exam. One of the student recounted that for many times she and her classmates did not want to jog simply out of unwillingness but had to do so, especially in the morning, for otherwise they would be punished. In other words, although physical exercise is supposed to release students' stress, making it mandatory ends to be paradoxical with its benefits. And so, the only activity which is "not studying" also owns an compulsory character.

Another aspect in *gaokao* to take into account is the anxiety that students demonstrate about how their answers in exams will be scored. For example, I once helped a middle school student who was preparing for *zhongkao*. One day she was pretty upset about getting 96% in the English test. Then she showed me his answer sheet and explained to me that the loss of 4% resulted from his unclear handwriting of the letter "v" in "above", which might be misread as a "u". Personally, I did not find any mistake. But the fact was that girl was truly frustrated (with herself) for she had not obtained the maximum note. I told this experience to my interviewees. They considered it to be common and told me that teachers will pay special attention to clear orthography. The clean presentation of answer sheet is vital because every teacher will correct a great amount of sheets. A letter not perfectly legible will take teachers more time to tell, and annoyance like this might influence how they score the answer, sometimes subtracting scores. Preparation for *gaokao* is thoroughly combined with the skill to present answers in a best manner, either in terms of content or format, to delight teachers correcting papers. That is to say, the bother is not merely about writing a text as better as one can, but also the prediction of teachers' correction. It is also for this reason that some authors refer to some students as machines to take exams (WANG; HUANG; SCHNELL, 2013; LARMER, 2015; ASH, 2016).

Concerning the relationship with their colleagues, those students admitted that teachers will encourage students to compete with others. One shared that she had a teacher who kept repeating that "To enter a university you don't have to be the best, but you have to be better than your classmates". Other teachers also reminded the class from time to time that only 20% of them would have the chance to a great university and so everyone must exert their utmost

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efforts. Competition among peers is also acknowledged to be normal and one students even said that "friends can be enemies at the same time". All these opinions are in accordance with studies conducted by Kai (2012), Wang; Huang; Schnell, (2013) and Zhao; Selman; Haste, (2015) on severe pressure induced by *gaokao*.

Then about the exam per se, these students discussed the obligation to conquer the exam of Mathematics even when their aptitudes are for Humanities and Social Sciences. About the regional gap, they approved that major cities do offer greater facility to enter well-acknowledged universities and it is increasingly common to find other ways to access the university, just as Tsegay; Ashraf (2016) and Kan (2013) find out. For more affluent families, this means to study at universities overseas or private faculty whose tuition, according to students, is far more expensive since they are not funded by government. The students highlighted that this is more common in metropolitans city like Canton where better-off families will not necessarily bother about *gaokao* that much. They also said that in major cities there are a variety of contests organized by municipal government on subjects such as Physics, Chemistry, English or Mathematics. Students take part in these contests just to make their admission to universities go more smoothly because winning these contests offers bonus points in *gaokao*. Another significant disparity among different regions referred to is about logistics installed in high schools: urban high schools has Physical and Chemical laboratories, advanced technological equipment and more qualified teachers. A student took her own experience as an example: in a Physics exam she encountered a question on LED illumination, a term which students living in rural villages might not even see in their life.

The poor oral capability of English teachers in rural schools is also mentioned by these students. All factors combined, apart from relative difficulty caused by the quota system in access to university, in most cases, youngsters from countryside also face disadvantages in quality of teachers and lack of sufficient technological support at schools. Still, in favor of what Heger (2017) concludes in her study, these five students thought it hard to find a better solution impervious to corruption dealing with talent selection for higher education. Reasons given for this conclusion is the fierce competition among increasing candidates and the fact that this exam is equal for everyone. Consequently, millions of young Chinese have no alternative but to strive for better, believing that along with the day they pass *gaokao* will come the liberty.

Conclusions

The main conclusions extracted from relevant studies are corroborated by students with more examples of pressure they are subject to, the function of parents and teachers and the regional discrepancy, which metaphorically reflects a race like Formula 1: race tracks are the same for all drivers, they may even have the same skills as drivers, but the quality and investment made by the race teams in the cars they drive make them take a clear advantage over

others. To be specific, while all the racing teams share the same rules, some drivers enjoy an evidently advantage with respect to investment and quality of the team they belong to. Out of all the extrinsic factors, students in rural areas perseveringly work hard to reach a podium finish and prove that they are excellent racers.

My home is right situated in front of a junior secondary school where I can regularly see students smoking around the corner, buying snacks or dating in cafes. After all, they are just like young people as in so many other parts of the world. Considering the Chinese cultural principles and values which involve education and the image of students, the duty to pass *gaokao* (with high scores) does pose unmeasurable impact on life of young Chinese students. It is by no means a pure coincidence that when asked about how they felt after their *gaokao* came to an end, they unanimously described it as "an escape from prison" or "termination of captivity".

Chinese students' capability or dedication to study have been well-presented and won recognition among professors home and abroad. However, for many times, foreign teachers remark that Chinese students depend too much on textbooks or they are not good at teamwork (Doyle, 2005, Li, 1999). But in fact they are just accustomed to view their colleagues not as mates or partners but someone who they have to forcefully rival with. *Gaokao* has affected teaching methods and the way students learn (Liu, 2016) undeniably through not only what it demands but also what it criticizes and forbids. Probably foreign teachers have heard of the word "*gaokao*". Still, there may be a considerable need of understanding about how it influence students in various aspects. To study the particularities of Chinese students' learning pattern compared with those from western countries and analyze communicative approach in language teaching in China, we should not ignore the decisive role of *gaokao* – the most emblematic one among countless exams over their academic journey and likely the most influential element in Chinese education system.

So frequently have we discussed cultural differences, we still sometimes tend to forget practical or logistic issues for each country. There are about 70 million of senior secondary school students in China (Ministry of Education of the PRC, 2017), overall more than the population of most European countries. In recent years, articles about the success of Chinese students frequently grab headlines all over the world. It is by highlighting personal hard-work that China manage to enhance quality and equality in different levels of education nationwide. This vast country is perseveringly trying to figure out these long-existing problems every day aware that life is a long run, as Confucius taught.

Lastly, it is worthwhile reflecting on following questions: Is there a better and more impartial method to qualify students for university in countries with territory so broad and a population so large? Assuming that most youngsters in Western countries have to devote all their adolescence to prepare for a college entrance exam which neglects everything beside study, their academic progress driven by fierce competition and consecutive tests, will the way

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they lead their personal and academic life be so different from Eastern students?

In the future, other questions may be asked and other answers may be sought regarding the Chinese students' schooling background, bearing in mind that before making comparisons it is necessary to know and understand the intrinsic issues of each culture.

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EURASIAN DYNAMICS AND PARADOXES OF THEIR HYBRIDITY IN SOUTHERN CHINA. DINÂMICAS

EUROASIÁTICAS E PARADOXOS DE SUA HIBRIDEZ NO SUDESTE DA CHINA

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we propose to discuss linguistic identities in Macao, considering some data collected from the *Macao Historical Archives*. The purpose of this article is to return to this discussion already rehearsed in other moments of our studies (LIMA-HERNANDES 2010, 2015, 2016; TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA & LIMA-HERNANDES 2010, 2014, 2015; LIMA-HERNANDES & TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA 2012, 2017; LIMA-HERNANDES, CARVALHINHOS & TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA 2014; TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA, LIMA-HERNANDES & ALMEIDA 2012; among others). This work is based on a more extended dimension into the concept of Macanese identities, obtained through access to new documents, together with the assumption that Macanese communities aligned over time until 1999, building a hybrid identity in their social actions. However, since then, the direction of this movement has been gradually changing to meet the new projects of life in Macau. The goal herein is to demonstrate that, despite the perceived fluctuation of identities in the conversations and reports, there is a change in the conception of what Macao and its community are. We have argued that the Yin and Yang paradoxes, used by Givón (2005) to explain the movements of language change, contextually reveal a powerful tool to the understanding of movements within hybrid communities.

KEYWORDS: Sociolinguistic Identity; Macanese History; Yin and Yang paradoxes.

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RESUMO

Neste texto, propomo-nos a discutir identidades linguísticas em Macau, considerando alguns dados coletados no *Arquivo Histórico de Macau*. O propósito em retomar a essa discussão já ensaiada em outros momentos de meus estudos (LIMA-HERNANDES 2010, 2015, 2016; TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA e LIMA-HERNANDES 2010, 2014, 2015; LIMA-HERNANDES e TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA 2012, 2017; LIMA-HERNANDES, CARVALHINHOS & TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA 2014; TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA, LIMA-HERNANDES & ALMEIDA 2012; dentre outros) assenta-se na dimensão mais estendida ao conceito de identidade macaense que pudemos alcançar, efeito do acesso a novos documentos. Partimos do pressuposto de que as comunidades macaenses alinharam-se ao longo do tempo até 1999, construindo uma identidade híbrida t em suas práticas sociais. A direção desse movimento, no entanto, foi gradativamente mudando para atender aos novos projetos de vida em Macau. É objetivo demonstrar que, a despeito das flutuações identitárias percebidas nas conversas e relatos, há uma mudança de concepção do que seja Macau e sua comunidade. Evidenciamos que os paradoxos Yin e Yang, empregados por Givón (2005) para explicar os movimentos de mudança nas línguas, revela-se, nesse enquadramento contextual, poderoso auxiliar para a compreensão de movimentos de comunidades híbridas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Identidade Sociolinguística; História Macaense; Paradoxos Yin e Yang.

Introduction

The whole course of a community, their movements and interactions constitute clues that allow the reconstitution of its linguistic history. When we risk retelling the social history of Macao, now known as the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR), we run the risk of drawing a peculiar historical picture of a deictic place, influenced always by the identities of the analyst him/herself. Even more so, will be this access a barrier when considering the young Macanese, who are constructing the most recent social history of Macao. To consider the situation of a community with its history and culture, and the relationship that this situation produces in the current sociolinguistic coexistence, constitutes the core of the work of language policies.

Considering that the languages of the land (official, maternal and inherited) respond to the variables governing the general policies dictated in the region, means to be aware that forces (here identified as sociolinguistic identities, school and inherited languages) constitute opposing movements and seemingly contradictory ones that act to reconcile what is diverse by historically recurrent mechanisms (Yin and Yang paradox: GIVÓN, 2005). This paradox is summed up in the idea that, if differences act to disintegrate the sociolinguistic system, still more cohesion will prove systemic.

Therefore, it is an ingenuity through which the speaker is impelled to be expressive and innovative, but he does so in accordance with rules of inter-comprehension. The formula adopted by the person will align intuition and memory according to the discourse-pragmatic repertoire of the interlocutor. From this action, discursive practices would emerge outside the context (paradox of diffuse attention), giving the impression that the disparity manifests itself,

but instead, the speaker would make the decision for what is more productive and more frequent in her/his language (paradox of rooting and ease).

By adopting recurring patterns of use for atypical contexts, the speaker would reanalyze constructions (paradox of practice out of context), offering an already known response in unknown syntactic contexts, from which new words and innovative constructions would emerge. These are the contexts in which conception and language can change, but this change must nonetheless be perceived as an attempt to survive the existing system, already mixed with traces of the novelties imposed in daily life. This ingenuity is reflected in the Macao society in various periods of its history.

To perform the study, we used two record sources. The record documents refer to the last two years of the 19th century and the first ten years of the 20th century. All interviews and reports were recorded during the two field work periods held between 2010-2011[3] and 2015-2016[4], respectively, in Macao[5]. Through this documentation, it was possible to notice a change of behavior between the generations of Chinese inhabitants of Macao. This same finding was reported by Sing (1997), who mentioned differences in professional performance, especially in the formal education time, dowries and rituals in marriages. In fact, throughout our visits to study in Macau, we have noticed the resilience of traditional Chinese habits (customary practices), such as visiting temples, attending Chinese operas, and eating, among others. But there is a change that called our attention: how the heirs are named.

The element that marked this change was the *Handover* in 1999, which dictated the political guidelines of the region, strongly influenced by unusual customs practiced until then in Macao, at least for those who had a closer contact with the Portuguese and Macanese administration. In the moments prior to the realization of this change of sovereignty in Macao, the idea that the Chinese of Macao followed the plan to have their children get married with Chinese from the mainland or Macao has already been verified (SING, 1997). The prestige embedded in this idea became stronger, since the future of the Eurasians was even more uncertain in Macanese lands. Let us remember that until recently, the rejection of this idea was a fact. Chinese were then the least prestigious community during the Portuguese rule, although real power over Macao was already emanating from the Chinese regarding various instances, including commerce in general, from clothing to food, basic needs in a place where effectively there is not plantations or animal husbandry to supply the population.

At the time of the *Handover*, 57.1% of the parents interviewed stated that the official language of Macao should be Chinese, but did not specify whether Chinese was to be Cantonese, Mandarin or some other Chinese language. However, of the children interviewed,

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21.4% chose Cantonese as the exclusive language of Macao. These responses could only be a representation of a still distant moment of the reality of change of sovereignty, but it is not what is demonstrated by the attitudes of the young couples (with the configuration "Chinese + Macanese") and of the elderly Macanese parents from the last field research previously mentioned (LIMA-HERNANDES, 2011).

In that foray, it was possible to verify that the young couples had a preoccupation with the baptismal name of their offspring. Macanese grandparents also revealed their concern for the school and education of their grandchildren, directing their children, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law to identify Chinese-sounding syllables in the names to be chosen, as well as enrolling them in schools where they could learn Chinese, something unthinkable during most of the 20th century.

A deeper understanding of the ascension dynamics among the Macanese

Several studies portray the Macanese society during the Portuguese administration (REGO 1950; GALVÃO and SELVAGEM 1953; TEIXEIRA 1994a, 1994b; FORJAZ 1994; MORBEY 1994; SILVA 1997; GALANTE 1999; GASPAR 2014; AMARO 1994a; 1994b; AZEVEDO 1984). How a change of intentions occurred in Macanese society was something that intrigued us while editing documents, deciphering birth certificates, death certificates and wills, or even listening to the reports of the research participants. Throughout the studies, we joined other researchers so that the reflection gained in different perspectives from ours.

LIMA-HERNANDES, CARVALHINHOS & TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA (2014) was one of these partnerships, where we studied the ways of naming Macanese in the first decade of the 20th century and the decision for a Western name in general was evident in Macao. In the documentation we collected as a sample for the first ten years of the twentieth century and initially restricted to the community of Santo António, we became aware that the baptismal name was the first step towards the social inclusion of children. The second step bifurcated into one of two decisions, mainly for the girls: marriage or the monastic life. We decided to focus on this first step to deepen our understanding of existing contextual motivations and pressures.

At that moment, it was necessary to inquire about the origin of these children and the motivation of so many orphans in such a small city. In an individual investigation into the facts of everyday life in Macao, we discovered that by the end of the 19th century, around 1895, an epidemic of bubonic plague struck Macao. Only between 1885 and 1951, 65,000 children found shelter in the Asilo da Santa Infância.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the number of Chinese orphans was enormous. Due to the parallel reading of several other documents of the period, we concluded that there is a relationship between these facts and the stories reported by participants in our research. Older

people reported that the mother was of Chinese origin, but most of that origin was not registered in the mother's name. In their names, they kept exclusively the surname of the family of the father, who was of Macanese origin (that is, son of Portuguese with an Asian mother).

From reports collected in historical documents, it was learned that orphaned Chinese girls were left at the door of the asylum and, after being welcomed, they were baptized in the Parish of Santo António, which at that time was the most Chinese-oriented parish in Macao, with no access to the services and benefits of the city. Besides these, there were those who were "rescued" by Macanese and later baptized as adults, whereupon they ceased to be invisible in the history of society.

In the baptism documents we edited, we found that these children and young women were given names, but not surnames. On the other hand, some Macanese, not from an elite power, had names associated with the Catholic religion, usually the name of the saint of the day. Knowing the history of this group became the first interest of our research. Thus, the divergent way of conceiving the space of coexistence calls for analyzing the name from various perspectives. One is that which refers to cultural distance. This distance can be read historically by the riots in Macao against the Portuguese (and Macanese).

In 1966, the Chinese, excluded from their right to have an Eastern cultural education, sought a license to build a Chinese school on Taipa Island. Since they did not succeed through legal channels, they began to construct it anyway. The police were sent and violently apprehended everyone without distinction. The Chinese press and associations linked to China began to attack the Macao government as a form of protest. The sense of revolt grew uncontrollably and, with the mobilization of the entire Chinese community, was influenced by the nationalist sentiments of the Cultural Revolution, whereupon the Beijing authorities took a favorable part in the revolt. It is true that this riot shows us that many were those who did not submit to the Portuguese or Macanese government, asserting their Chinese identity in their actions and social engagements.

Sociocognitivists know that the whole movement of the body is reflected in the language. It is true that the onomastic processes (CARVALHINHOS and ANTUNES, 2007; CARVALHINHOS, 2011) can be explained by these movements. From these movements, we understand that the dynamics reflect different group identities and that they coexist in a tiny space of land. From a broader perspective, one can analyze the name in two cultural spheres. A first implies the geographical association of individuals, which favors the assumption of the cultural identification of a being, while the second, considers that the graphical boundaries have become less noticeable, given the shifts in borders, and so too the adoption of names seems flexible.

The internet, television, movies, and the entire cultural framework make names virtually migrate and be targeted for evaluation, producing rejection or incorporation into groups, giving

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temporal cohesion to the choices. In a motivating microsphere, there is the one that instantiates a personal subjective projection in the children by the one who chooses how they will be named (usually the parents), creating a symbolic one by means of the chosen name, or even originating from a safe harbor that can guarantee success to the loved one at the time he/she is baptized. This second bias allows us to analyze (albeit briefly) the aforementioned in order to ensure that a secure future can be assumed from a choice of name; thus, baptism would be valued as a VIP ticket in another culture.

Unlike Western names, most Chinese names may come from numerous classes of words and not exclusively from the noun / adjective binomial. And in this logic, the reasons that govern the choice of the names of the children may be very different from those already mentioned. The name may bear, for example, a symbolic meaning of what is to come, as in ancient Western societies. In this way, it is common to find anthropomorphs related to ambitions, professions admired by the parents, desire for longevity and good health, patriotism, desire for wealth, happiness, intelligence, physical beauty and high moral. The Chinese orphans of Macao, however, received names chosen according to quite a different logic, as we have already explained.

With this brief exposition, it seems clear that the whole cultural panorama that involves the choice of a name can preserve differences and peculiarities derived not only from the local language, but also from identity linings that reflect on cultural significance. In the first decade of the 20th century, the choice of a Portuguese name represented the project of socio-cultural insertion initiated by the Catholic sacraments and by the erasure of ethnic names. In addition, the adoption of a Western name generated, at the beginning of the 20th century, the emptying of the sense of belonging to a group and camouflage of ethnic bonding (despite obvious physical traits).

Some conservative forces coexisted in this space of struggles for domination and power. This place of sociocultural relevance competed with the Chinese culture (hence, its Cantonese language), millennial in Eastern history, always rooted in daily life to actions and values, native beliefs and even in the projection it had in the language described by Batalha (1988a, 1988b). Portuguese culture, considered a foreigner one, was a teenager in the spatial context because it could hardly manage that space it considered a "colony", although it had imported an administrative apparatus that could be "efficient". Except for a few confrontations, the impasse between these two groups was very invisible during the 400 years of Portuguese administration, coming to the forefront, more robustly, in three historical adventures: the death of Ferreira do Amaral and Mesquita; later, the reorganization of China in the *post-mortem* period of Mao Tse Tung; and the approach of *Handover*. It is at this moment that they accept, although with few restrictions: (i) the coexistence of Catholic practices alongside Chinese rituals and rites; (ii) the incorporation of Chinese as a Catholic mass language in traditionally Chinese communities, such as Santo António; (iii) the peaceful coexistence of Chinese and Portuguese

sections in schools, admitting dialogues in English as a form of inter-comprehension; and (iv) the division of powers and public administrative services between Chinese and Macanese.

Having fulfilled this stage of acceptance of the differences and empowerment of Chinese who did not know Portuguese, some consequences already planned by the new government came to be as a rule: (i) the rise of Mandarin in South China, via the use of a general label "Chinese", with teachers teaching Mandarin; (ii) the transmission of all contents in Chinese and not only in the Chinese language classes; (iii) the Portuguese school begins to lose students and starts to make plans to welcome Chinese students[6]; (iv) bookstores linked to the Macao government still have books in Portuguese on their shelves.

By 2015, this picture was already altered in the following aspects: (i) schooling is becoming more and more organized in Mandarin; (ii) bookstores linked to the Macao government have much less copies of books in Portuguese; (iii) the Chinese returnees, especially from the United States, occupy prominent positions at the University of Macau, a traditional Portuguese stronghold.

All these actions differ from those adopted in the early 20th century, when: (i) Portuguese was practically the only language in the administration; (ii) the social occidentalization of young women through marriage and renaming was promoted; (iii) the Chinese and the Portuguese people were separated in different groups and schools, depending on the adopted family policy and the ties with the Portuguese culture; (iv) Eurasian/ Chinese marriages implied low prestige for the Macanese.

The strategies adopted in the early 20th century and after the Handover are the same: revision of family design of choices and ethnic identity bonding. Let us look at the following tables:

Table I: Unmarried, natural Chinese girls from mainland China, daughters of unknown Chinese parents

Birthdate	Baptismal name	Age
01.20.1900	Maria	80
03.06.1903	Maria José	24
06.29.1900	Maria Magdalena	19
09.22.1900	Maria	18

(LIMA-HERNANDES, CARVALHINHOS E TEIXEIRA E SILVA, 2014)

Table II: Macao's unmarried girls, the daughter of Chinese parents

Birthdate	Baptismal name	Age
08.14.1901	Ritta Alan (Alau?)	16
02.27.1903	Agueda Alan (Alau?)	
11.18.1904	Anna Mac	16

(LIMA-HERNANDES, CARVALHINHOS E TEIXEIRA E SILVA, 2014)

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6   About this, cf. Rocha (2010).

Table III: single girl, Canossian religious

Birthdate	Baptismal date	Age
08.15.1909	Maria Augusta	26 (filha de chinas)
05.17.1913	Silvestra Lopes	37

(LIMA-HERNANDES, CARVALHINHOS & TEIXEIRA E SILVA, 2014)

It is important to note that in the Parish of Santo António, the date of registration in this period rarely equaled the birth date of the individual. The best date for baptism was determined by a vacancy in the parish and sisters' agenda, except for cases where the individual's health condition was very serious. The baptisms were collective. These records make it possible to verify that no individual had a surname or was entitled to receive one during the baptismal ceremony but had the right to have a godmother or godfather (the sponsors).

Let us remember that in this context, being Catholic provided a high index of social inclusion. The more 'dignified' the sponsor, the greater the individual's luck in having access to citizen rights.

Relationship between names and identities in Macao

Some criteria allow to establish action patterns, namely, the sponsor's status and the baptismal name, which separates individual members of the group whose parents are unknown. A survey like this allows to recognize changes in the social patterns of behavior in Macao.

The results led us to note that female philanthropic participation was already very present, and the agents were people who had already undergone a similar process of social inclusion[7]. The attitude of these women was fundamental for other citizens of Macao to awaken to the cause, making it more visible and paving the way for a normalization and extension of this practice to the ordinary citizens of Macao.

In addition, the strategy of assigning surnames or two names appears, one of which would be re-examined in the future as a surname. Here are some examples:

a) Luzia Petronilla < Petronilla Tam > Sister Petronilla

The baptized was called Luzia Petronilla because her godmother was Petronilla Tam, a Canossian sister of Chinese origin. She, in turn, was baptized Petronilla for having had as godmother Sister Petronilla, born in Italy.

b) Firmina Filippa < Filippa Cian > Sister Filippa, native of China.

The baptized was named Firmina Filippa, for having had as godmother Filippa Cian, baptized, in turn by the sister Filippa, native of China, but part of the order of Ca-

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7   About godmothers and her actions, cf. Teixeira e Silva & Lima-Hernandes, 2012.

nossian sisters.

c) Thereza Angelina < Maria Thereza Manhão

The baptized was called Thereza Angelina, for having been baptized by Maria Thereza Manhão, who is a Macanese of a traditional family in Macao, although she was born Chinese and lived in the home of the Canossians.

d) Thereza Francisca < Francisca Athôn

The baptized was called Thereza Francisca, due to having had Francisca Athôn as godmother, former inhabitant of the home of the Canossians, who had married and started to help others with similar history.

Something, however, is changing in the communities of Macao and this is a sneaky change: among many Macanese, it is evident now the tendency to attach with Chinese cultures and one consequence is choosing Chinese names. To feel the weight of these attitudes will depend on living longer in the 21st century: this evidence already occurs in the family activities of the grandparents and parents, who care about the future of their offspring and descendants in a space that is increasingly dominated by Chinese languages and cultures and by the interference of China's central power.

Responses to this concern range from official language teaching documents to the choices of children's schools in order to master Chinese writing. And as Margarida, a Macanese grandmother, says: "(...) if one wants to continue in Macao, one must have the Chinese name to have the connection ..." (she refers to the daughter -in-law and the name of her grand-daughter, which in 2011 was about to be born) (LIMA-HERNANDES & TEIXEIRA-E-SILVA, 2010, p. 47). Thus, others do the same. In the sonority of the syllables, they look for the necessary bond to be linked to the Chinese ethnic group.

Handover effects on sociolinguistic identity

At the time of the *Handover*, there were some policies in order to respect the identity's choices of the Macao's inhabitants. Each one made the decision to be linked to the Chinese ethnicity or the Portuguese one. Most of the Macanese ratified their desire to remain attached to the Portuguese group. They divested themselves of assets, collected money and bought property in Portugal.

However, while in Portugal, they found out through contact with the Portuguese that the perception of themselves could be mistaken. In fact, they were considered Chinese. Their nationality was questioned, and their brio was shaken by the Portuguese who could not understand that an individual with oriental appearance could be speaking Portuguese. For many,

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the situation was so impressive that some returned to Macao after the dust subsided and decided to take their Macanese place and admit their dual identity in some cases and their Chinese identity, despite the Portuguese passport.

Those who already had family in Portugal did not feel this rejection. They continued there, and the Macanese identity's traits are even stronger. The Macanese who affirmed their Chinese identity continued in the project of socio-political participation. Time will tell if their actions still conform them in their Portuguese hereditary bases.

The participants of the survey, who agreed to talk about the theme even though at the time this was a social taboo, referred to a certain fear of the change of political system in Macao. They feared for their descendants, but they were convinced that the change would not affect themselves because of their age group. They felt, however, that it was a matter of survival to have a "card up the sleeve" since the vision of a "communist" China was frightening to the Macao people: they knew the effects of the Cultural Revolution in China and the condition of those who asked for shelter in Macao. The news they heard at the time, on the other side (after the Gate of Siege), did not encourage prospects.

On the other hand, the news of the effects in Hong Kong, post-*Handover*, calmed their hearts. At the time of the inquiries, Hong Kong lived in complete peace with the giant neighbor and people did not realize that a siege was being organized, but not a physical one. There was already a move to occupy the seats in the legal decision positions also in Hong Kong. The news in Hong Kong from 2010 onwards was blamed for relating the story of the real resumption of control by the central government.

This perspective can be grasped from reading the account of Bernardo da Silva, a Macanese and former teacher of the Pedro Nolasco Commercial School. He wondered about his origin when it was, indeed, far from Macao. He was a man outside his original space, but in his words he showed the difference that distinguished him from the Chinese: "Macanese have always lived with the Chinese inside and outside their borders" and "this coexistence led the Macanese to speak Cantonese, the dialect [sic] of the Southern Chinese" (*apud* RANGEL, 2004, p. 32). Reaffirming the bilingual base is a trait of Macanese, who have always brokered political issues between Portugal and China, as well as in their public adminis-trative functions in serving the Chinese population of Macao.

These excerpts reveal the idea that for the Macanese, Cantonese was a language learned from contact with the "foreigner", which is a misnomer for the citizens of the land. In fact, what this report displays is a huge desire to move away from the Chinese origin and approach the Portuguese heritage at that time. However, this attitude distorts a stubborn reality: Cantonese for every Macanese is even one of the root languages, intertwined and interpenetrating in the moment of relaxation. Recognizing this truth depends on a more intense contact with Macao residents. Talking with them, approaching their truths and collectively constructed truths are

goals of the mission of the researcher who intends to understand this community.

In addition, there are those who consider themselves "Macao Chinese" and who have gone through a similar process, but in reverse. This is the case of one of the survey's seniors who reported that although he was not an orphan, he had studied in the Western system because, from his parents' perspective, he would guarantee a better future. This Chinese gentleman, 88 years old in 2016, had studied in the college of parents. He reported that he always had a great deal of difficulty with the Portuguese language. His effort, however, secured him a job in the navy's public service. When we met him, he lived in his own flat in Taipa and had a quiet retired civil service life.

The process of integrating Macao into the Chinese political system

China's decisions regarding the integration of Macao and Hong Kong into the Chinese system have been cautious, for two reasons: (i) an older population is still living in the old system; (ii) a young Mandarin-speaking population formed in the logic of Chinese studies is still being formed. Moreover, there is no way to devise a new logic since the laws and those that elaborate them are not aligned with the central government.

Because of this reality, some essential care is taken daily by China in its steps: (i) to renew legislative and executive positions at every opportunity; (ii) to ensure that Taiwan does not become alarmed at the effects of the resumption of power; (iii) to occupy spaces around Hong Kong and Macao, which often require landfills that in turn, demands time before construction; (iv) to link all Chinese territories by land in order to create a territorial identity and, at the same time, to protect them from invaders; (v) to control virtual networks and other forms of ideological invasion in China, thereby avoiding articulated online contestation. The game is complex and because of this, it has to be played slowly enough in order that the effects are not felt abruptly by society. As such, the motto "A belt and road" draws a connecting line among the Chinese people while strengthening the country's unity around the goals of success and prosperity.

Final Considerations

Macao (MSAR) is a space in which historical layers have been consolidated, allowing culturally diverse realities to remain in continuous coexistence. In some specific moments, cultural shocks were evident and allowed us to know identities manifesting themselves in demands and claims. Some movements can be recognized from the deictic linkage of the agents, in response to the language policy implemented at the time.

Until 1999, the most general rule in the registries administered by the Portuguese was that everyone should have a Portuguese name, and this act was necessarily preceded by religious

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conversion. Throughout the 20th century, period of this study, the Chinese were atheists, the Portuguese were Catholics. The Portuguese were never a cohesive group, among them, for example, there were the Eurasian (Macanese), who lit incenses for the gods of the East, even though they had participated in the rosary at 6 pm in the local church. These Eurasians constitute a social league, the element that allows dialogue between two very different ethnic groups: the Portuguese and the Chinese. In very few moments, during the time that the Portuguese ruled in Macao, the dynamics of this dialog and co-existence was disrupted, creating identity movements that were silently conceived within the midst of the Chinese and Macanese communities.

If we interpret these dynamics according to the logic of the paradoxes proposed by Givón in order to explain the changes of languages, we can conclude that language is corporeal, language is movement, and it is also action because it manifests cultures in their immateriality. The confounded realities in this Macanese league, in moments of tension, are broken up into two shocking worlds. This configures the paradox of diffuse attention, since identities that overlap and become invisible, in the case of the Eurasians, are segmented between two poles. The most productive decision is illustrated in the context in which one acts without losing the component of one's hybrid root, which is precisely what gives it the flexibility to perform actions in both cultures (paradox of rooting and ease). As a Chinese, one's practice responds outside the Portuguese context and, as a Portuguese, one's practice responds outside the Chinese context. Macanese are the materialization of the superposition of at least two realities. In the tranquility of the city, little is known of this double reality, but it is enough that a typhoon is marked in the distance so that the swinging of the bamboos (CABRAL & LOURENÇO 1993; CABRAL 1994) can rely on totally paradoxical actions.

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DIADORIM

[1]THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE IN BRAZIL: MULTIPLE PEOPLES, MULTIPLE FORMS

A LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA NO BRASIL: POVOS MÚLTIPLOS, FORMAS MÚLTIPLAS

Luciane Scarato[2]

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the role of African, Amerindian, and Portuguese peoples in shaping and spreading the Portuguese language in Brazil from an interdisciplinary approach. Drawing from secondary and primary sources – such as Antônio da Costa Peixoto's *New Book of the Mina General Language* (1741) and Friar Cannecattim's *Dictionary of the Bunda or Angolan Language* (1804) – it explores the interplay between language, power, and identity to historicise the process by which Portuguese became the primary language in Brazil, despite its multilingual landscape. In doing so, it challenges the idea that the spread of Portuguese and language shift was always a conscious product of the Portuguese Crown and a result of open violent imposition. On the contrary, the spread and consolidation of Portuguese deeply depended on the missionaries, the population, and symbolic colonial practices. Additionally, the fact that Portuguese prevailed as the main language spoken in Brazil has not precluded it from being profoundly intertwined with Amerindian and African languages. Such languages formed a multilingual society, being largely responsible for the differentiation between European and Brazilian Portuguese.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese; General Languages; Africans; Evangelisation; Brazil.

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa o papel dos povos Ameríndios, Africanos e dos Portugueses na formação e disseminação da língua portuguesa no Brasil sob uma ótica interdisciplinar. A partir de fontes secundárias e primárias – tais como o livro *Obra Nova da Língua Geral Mina* (1741), do português Antônio da Costa Peixoto, e do *Dicionário da Língua Bunda ou Angolense*, escrito pelo missionário capuchinho Cannecattim em 1804 –, este artigo explora a conexão entre linguagem, poder, e identidade para historicizar o processo através do qual a língua portuguesa se tornou a principal língua falada no Brasil, apesar do cenário multilinguístico predominante nos primeiros trezentos anos de colonização. Assim, este texto questiona a ideia de que a consolidação da língua portuguesa e a sua adoção como língua materna foi sempre um produto consciente da coroa portuguesa e um resultado inevitável de imposições abertamente violentas. Ao contrário, a disseminação e a consolidação da língua portuguesa dependeram da ação de missionários, da população e de práticas coloniais simbólicas. Além disso, a predominância da língua portuguesa no Brasil não a impediu de estar profundamente interligada às línguas indígenas e africanas. Estas línguas formavam uma sociedade multilíngue, sendo amplamente responsáveis pela diferenciação entre o português europeu e o brasileiro.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Língua Portuguesa; Línguas Gerais; Africanos; Evangelização; Brasil.

Introduction

In the dictionary *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*, Raphael Bluteau includes Portuguese in the group of the main languages in the world derived from Latin (Bluteau 1716). Bluteau lays bare the idea of Portuguese as an imperial language, one that the Europeans 'took' to Brazil, Africa, and Asia (BLUTEAU, 1716, p. 138).3 With this idea of Portuguese as an imperial language in mind, this paper examines the role of Portuguese, Amerindian, African, and 'Brazilian' people in spreading the Portuguese language. In other words, it reflects about the reasons that led certain groups choose Portuguese over other languages in different situations and on the long haul (Fasold 1987: p. 180). In doing so, it explores the interplay between language, power, and identity, in an effort to historicise the process by which Portuguese became the first language in Brazil, despite its multilingual heritage (MIGNOLO, 1989). How did language in Brazil evolve from societal multilingualism to an extensive use of general languages that led to the predominance of Portuguese (SCHMIDT-RIESE, 2000, p. 392)? Was Portuguese the only linguistic choice? Did the Portuguese Crown always impose the use of Portuguese? Why have virtually no creoles survived in Brazil? To answer these questions, comparison with Spanish America appears as a transversal cut that enlarges our understanding of the spread of Portuguese in Brazil.

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3   "As linguas ainda que pareção innumeraveis, todas se podem reduzir a duas, a saber, linguas matrizes, & geraes, que se estènderão muito, & saõ usadas entre muitas nações diversa, em razão das Conquistas, Religião, commercio, que as introduzio; & linguas particulares, ou proprias de alguma nação, que por consequencia são menos dilatadas. Hoje as linguas matrizes & geraes saõ quatorze, a saber, a lingua Latina, que dividida, & como transformada em varios idiomas, corre todas as provincias da Italia, França, Portugal, & Castella, & pelos Europeos foy levada a muytas partes da America, à nova Hespanha, ou Indias de Castella, ao Canadá, ou nova França, ao Perû, ao Chili, ao Paraguay, ao Brasil, às Ilhas Antilhas, & finalmente a algûas costas, & Ilhas da Africa, da Asia, & do Continente Magellanico".

Considering how the Brazilian linguistic landscape compares with that of other Iberian colonies, Portuguese has practically disappeared from Asia as has Spanish from the Philippines; conversely, Portuguese is spoken by virtually the entire population of Brazil, as is Spanish in Latin America (MOYA, 2013). Language is, therefore, one of the most persistent aspects of Iberian culture in Latin America. Brazil presents an especially significant case for the study of linguistic development, as it is a unique example of "sustained territorial occupation of a colony by the Portuguese" between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries (BETHENCOURT, CURTO 2007, p. 4). Portuguese colonization of Brazil implied the construction of new memories for settlers, Amerindians, and Africans within cultural and territorial discontinuities (HENRIQUES, 2014). As Elizabeth Buettner puts it, large-scale migration created social and political changes that "provided the historical conditions for new groups and identities to take shape, with ideal conditions for the reconstitution of ethnic identities (BUETTNER, 2011, p. 252)". This process was already taking place in Europe – between late antiquity and the medieval period – but in the New World it gained characteristics that made the (re)constitution of identities even more complex (BUETTNER, 2011).

The fact that Brazil is home to most of the Portuguese-speakers in the world reveals the longevity of Atlantic exchanges (ARMITAGE, BRADDICK 2002; BAKEWELL, 2004). Looking at individual mobility across the ocean is vital to understand not only economy but also political structures, social organization, and culture (BETHENCOURT, 2013; FERREIRA, 2007). Therefore, connecting language practices in Portugal with those in Brazil, modified and adapted to the colonial context, is one of the most effective ways of assessing language. As Anthony Russell-Wood notes in his work on the Portuguese expansion overseas, when it comes to language, "what is truly amazing is the manner in which the Portuguese language was carried beyond the bounds of the confined area of Portugal to the uttermost ends of the earth and the sheer endurance to our own days of its linguistic legacy (RUSSELL-WOOD, 1992: 191)". Along the same lines, Luís Rebelo argues that Portuguese went from being spoken in a few areas along coastal Africa and the Indian Ocean, to being the primary means of communication in areas touched by intercontinental maritime trade in Asia, Africa, and the Americas in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (REBELO, 2007). In the same vein, Joseph Clements states that "Portugal's linguistic legacy was essentially established around 1550, about 135 years after Portugal began its maritime expansion to Africa, Asia, and the Americas (CLEMENTS, 2009, p. 42)". In Brazil, this was particularly significant when taking into consideration the immense territory of the colony, combined with the numerous Amerindian and African languages.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are, therefore, of paramount importance to understand what happened in the following two centuries in terms of language in Brazil, as doing so challenges the idea that the Portuguese language was homogenous, or the first and only linguistic alternative. As Kittya Lee observes, Portuguese was not impermeable to change or outside influences and it could have been surpassed by other languages (LEE, 2005). The

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fact that Portuguese prevailed does not preclude it from being profoundly intertwined with Amerindian and African languages. On the contrary, such languages formed a multilingual society, being largely responsible for the differentiation between European and Brazilian Portuguese. Against this background, this paper is organised into three sections that will look at the main points raised in this introduction. Firstly, the connection between language, power, and identity. Secondly, it will examine lay and religious linguistic policies in the colonies, particularly regarding Portuguese and Amerindian languages. Finally, it will analyse African languages and the role of Africans in spreading Portuguese as a lingua franca. In the end, it hopes to contribute to the broader debate about linguistic practices in the Portuguese speaking world.

Language, Power, and Identity

Two reasons contributed to the predominance of Portuguese over other languages, both related to power. Firstly, and most notoriously, Portuguese was the language of coercive power. Power is implicated in culture because its signs and habits are internalised in everyday life and used as mechanisms of power (COMAROFF, COMAROFF, 1991). In this sense, power and language should be studied at its extremities, in regional and local forms, at a subjective, unconscious level (FOUCAULT, GORDON, 1980). As Michel Foucault puts it, "we need to see how these mechanisms of power at a given moment, in a precise conjecture and by means of transformation, have begun to become economically advantageous and politically useful (FOUCAULT, GORDON, 1980, pp. 100-101)". Myriad uses of Portuguese and other languages worked as mechanisms of power; the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil was the moment; and the transformation of European vernaculars was the conjecture that shaped the linguistic landscape in Brazil.

A second, less cited reason for the spread of Portuguese in Brazil is connected to symbolic or 'soft' power and identity. Portuguese represented power in a way that, when incorporated into local cultures, brought the geographically distant Portugal closer to the colony (COMAROFF, COMAROFF, 1993). Portuguese colonisers created an illusion of cultural hegemony and greater numbers over the Amerindians and Africans that encouraged these peoples to adopt Portuguese instead of retaining their mother tongues, although they kept a degree of linguistic autonomy (RAFAEL, 2012; RUSSELL-WOOD, 1992). This 'Lusitanian atmosphere' rarely occurred in the Portuguese colonies in Asia – for example, in Goa, Malaysia, and China where Portuguese was segregated (SUBRAHMANYAM, 1993). The Portuguese in these areas were separated in other environments and did not build a colonial society from scratch as they did in Brazil (BETHENCOURT, 2015). Portuguese hegemony in colonial Brazil – understood as the few urban settlements and the hinterlands surrounding them – allowed no substantial pidgins or creoles to survive in Brazil, in contrast with Malacca and Asia, where Portuguese creoles continued into the twentieth century (BONVINI, 2008; BOXER, 1963;

COMAROFF, COMAROFF, 1991; FASOLD, 1990; MIGNOLO, 2000; MUFWENE, 2014).[4]

In Portuguese America, as colonisation progressed and indigenous peoples encountered Portuguese and Africans, they became familiar with other languages. As a result, a varied linguistic knowledge prevailed wherever they went (LEE, 2005). Migration from other parts of the colony also brought together speakers of Amerindian languages who communicated in Portuguese out of necessity in order to better understand each other, which introduced variations to European Portuguese (MELLO, 2014). On balance, Luso-Brazilians carried Portuguese with them, or at least the variety of Portuguese they spoke (DISNEY, 2009).[5] At a more formal and local level, the mestizos and missionaries who worked in the colonial administration contributed to the spread of Portuguese too, particularly with the creation of *línguas gerais* (MUFWENE, 2014; SILVA NETO, 1950). The *línguas gerais* (general languages) were not the *línguas francas* that the Amerindians used before the arrival of the Europeans, but a product of the missionaries' activities, a construction based on common features between various Amerindian languages (ZWARTJES, 2011, p. 145). The concept of general languages was established in parallel with a negative discourse of multilingualism – an obstacle to evangelisation and colonisation (BARROS, 2015). In this sense, the *línguas gerais* were part of the colonial apparatus, used to evangelise and civilise the native populations (ESTENSSORO, ITIER, 2015). The next section will further look at religious and lay language policies in the Portuguese Empire.

Portuguese and Amerindian Languages Between the Sword and the Cross

European colonisation, in addition to territorial and cultural discontinuities, demanded articulation between economy, administrative structures, and social rearrangements (HENRIQUES, 2014). Colonisation implied the maintenance of power in a broader sense, not only by coercion, but also by creating legitimacy (SWARTZ *et al.* 1966). Rites and symbols played, therefore, a key role in legitimising power (SWARTZ *et al.* 1966). In the legitimising process of colonisation, language was one of the most powerful symbols and contributed to the Portuguese prevalence in Brazil since it was a key component of culture that the colonial project relied on – whether consciously or not (EDWARDS, 1985; SWARTZ *et al.* 1966).

Although the Portuguese language was used in colonial government and education, the colonization in Brazil also relied on general languages with Portuguese only later rising in prominence (EDWARDS, 1985; SWARTZ *et al.* 1966). However, the fact that Portuguese was the imperial language, the decline of Amerindian populations, and the subjugation of the African populations are insufficient to explain this language shift (ABULAFIA, 2008;

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4   Pidgin: a language whose vocabulary comes from another tongue. Creole: a pidgin that becomes a mother tongue.
5   Variety is a way of speaking that a community applies Burke, Peter. *The Art of Conversation.* Cambridge: Polity, 1993.

DISNEY, 2009; FREIRE, 2011; MELLO, 2014; MONTEIRO, 2000; MOORE, 2014; MUFWENE, 2014; RONCARATI *et al*., 2003). As Gabriela Ramos observes about the indigenous elite in colonial Peru, "the process by which different individuals *became* part of an indigenous elite, as a consequence of acquiring a specific type of knowledge, has been overlooked (RAMOS 2014)". It is thus necessary to look at both intentional and indirect language policies in colonial Brazil.

The language policy that predominated in the colony at the beginning of colonisation was haphazard: as elsewhere in Europe during the early modern period, there was no coherent language imposition program (COHEN, 2001). Although there was no clear pro-Amerindian language policy from the Portuguese Crown, between 1686 and 1727 authorities declared the *Brasílica* – the term preferred by K. Lee to designate the general language most spoken in Brazil – to be the official language of "contact, education, colonization, and catechesis" in the Amazon (LEE, 2005). On the other hand, the Crown also made intermittent attempts to impose Portuguese (1681, 1701, 1717, 1722, 1727), commanding missionaries to teach Portuguese to the Amerindians (ALDEN, 1996; SILVA NETO, 1950). In some areas such as São Paulo and the Amazon, the population spoke general languages until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (RODRIGUES, 1985). In Grão Pará and Maranhão, most of the population did not speak Portuguese until the nineteenth century, despite the Portuguese administration prohibited and often violently prevented their use from the 1750's (FREIRE, 2008, pp. 135-140; MARIANI, 2004, pp. 103-104).[6] This occurred after the *Diretório dos* Índios (The Law of the Directorate) prohibited and often punished indigenous children from using general languages and officially institutionalised Portuguese in the colony (BURKE, 2004; MARIANI, 2004; MAXWELL, 1995).[7]

In comparison, Spanish language policies towards native tongues were more forceful than those of the Portuguese (FÁVERO, 2008). From the early stages of colonization, Spain created more material conditions and infrastructure for institutionalising the teaching and reproduction of general languages in its domains (LAGORIO, 2003). Colonisers considered Mayas, Incas, and Aztecs more civilised than the Amerindians in Portuguese America, which certainly contributed to such policy. For example, in sixteenth-century Peru, colonial authorities ordered Quechua to be the main language in indigenous groups to facilitate the teaching of the doctrine; the colonial administration also advised priests to spend longer periods of time in the same parish in order to learn local languages (DURSTON, 2007). The fact that the University of Lima offered Standard Colonial Quechua lessons is another sign of the efforts that the Spanish administration made to consolidate general languages (DURSTON, 2007). Similarly, in Guatemala, there were classes

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6   Grão-Pará and Maranhão was a Portuguese colony separated from the south. It was created in 1621 and its capital city, São Luís, was transferred to Belém in 1737.
7   The Treatise of Madrid played a fundamental role in this language policy change, as one of the main criteria to define whether an area belonged to the Portuguese or to Spanish was the main local spoken language.

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of Nahuatl for judges, notaries, and other Spaniards (MATTHEW, ROMERO, 2012). In Brazil, Portuguese authorities only founded the first universities at the beginning of the nineteenth century, without offering any indigenous language subjects until the twentieth century, three centuries after Mexico and Peru (BAKEWELL, 2004; FÁVERO, 2008).

The adoption of the printing press also explains the difference between language policies in Spanish and Portuguese America. According to Sylvain Auroux, both the printing press and standardisation were part of the same revolution: printing had consequences for the writing and publishing of grammar books, not only because it increased the number of copies in circulation, but also because printing itself demanded standardisation (AUROUX, 1994). To organize a vernacular, standardise it and "endow it with a grammar", was to legitimise it as a language (RAFAEL, 2012, p. 24). At the same time, a 'translation fever' occurred in Europe as language started to be seen as a human creation and a global means of communication (COMAROFF, COMAROFF, 1991). The printing press was present in Spanish America from the sixteenth century, whereas in Brazil – despite earlier attempts to establish one occurred in 1705 and 1745 – printing only officially started in 1808, when the Portuguese royal family relocated to the colony (ABREU, 2010; BRAGANÇA, 2010; CAVALCANTI, 2004; ELLIOTT 1984; MORAES 1979; RUSSELL-WOOD, 2002). Although the importance of the printing press cannot be overrated, the high numbers of Amerindian grammar books published in Spanish America contributed to the greater consolidation of native tongues in their colonies when compared to Brazil (DURSTON, 2007).

Given the Crown's haphazard language policies, missionary work was crucial for their organisation in Brazil. In both Portuguese and Spanish empires, the Crown was in charge of ecclesiastical affairs, a prerogative known as *padroado régio* – royal patronage (SÁ, 2007). The kings were responsible for nominating bishops and creating bishoprics, later subject to papal confirmation (BOXER, 2002). The Crown also controlled the missions overseas and the missionaries, as even if they were not Portuguese, they had to abide by Portuguese rules (SCHWALLER, 2011). The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540 and, contrary to the mendicant orders such as the Benedictines and Franciscans (that supported their activities through alms and gifts) the Jesuits accumulated wealth (MULLETT, 1999; SCHWALLER, 2011). They played a pivotal role in evangelisation and in the education of the elites as, in spite of the presence of Carmelites, Benedictines, and Franciscans, the Society of Jesus was the first to establish a mission in Brazil (1549), becoming the most active religious order in the fields of both evangelisation and education (ALDEN, 1996; BAKEWELL, 2004; CASTELNAU -L'ESTOILE, 2000; DELUMEAU, 1977; DISNEY, 2009; MOORE, 2014; WORCESTER, 2008; ZWARTJES, 2011).

The Society of Jesus controlled a considerably large portion of indigenous labour, grouped in village settlements called *aldeias* (ALDEN, 1996; BETHENCOURT and CURTO, 2007). The establishment of *aldeias* constituted a significant part of colonisation, as they were places where

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the Amerindians learned the doctrine and the necessary skills to supply the colonial project with workforce (ALMEIDA, 2010; BETHENCOURT and CURTO, 2007). Traditionally seen as coercive spaces where the Amerindians were deprived of agency and subject to colonial interests, the *aldeias* were environments where the indigenous peoples had to construct new relations and cultural habits (ALMEIDA, 2010). The Crown supported the *aldeias*, but they were founded and administered by missionaries (LMEIDA, 2010; BETHENCOURT and CURTO, 2007) . The *aldeias* were constant involved in disputes between settlers and missionaries, as the former were avid to explore the Amerindians as workforce outside the *aldeias*, while the latter were protective of them (CUNHA, 1992).

The difficulties in defining the borders between Portuguese and Spanish America in the south of Brazil complicated the Jesuits situation from mid-eighteenth century (ALMEIDA, 2010; BETHENCOURT and CURTO, 2007). As the Jesuits had controlled the *aldeias* in the south outside the Portuguese Crown jurisdiction, they posed a problem for the expansionist purposes of the Crown (BETHENCOURT and CURTO, 2007). This, combined with the fact that the Society of Jesus had achieved a greater power than the Portuguese Crown expected, culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 (ALDEN, 1996; BOXER, 1962; DISNEY, 2009). The Marquis of Pombal – Secretary of State from 1750 to 1777 – banned the Jesuits from all Portuguese domains. The conflict with the Jesuits did not mean a rupture with the Catholic Church (MONTEIRO, 2008). On the contrary, the separation between the state and religion occurred much later, gradually, and not completely (ASAD, 1993). Initially supported by the Jesuits, Pombal turned them into a universal enemy in order to fulfil his regalist intentions (Monteiro 2008)[8].

The haphazard language policy of the Portuguese Crown allowed Amerindian and African languages to influence the Portuguese spoken in Brazil in spite of its late 'victory' (RODRIGUES, 1985). By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, language contact had already changed Portuguese to such an extent that it gained the attention of intellectuals of the time. Early modern Portuguese sources mention *fala da Guiné* (the chatter of Guinea) or *fala dos negros* (the chatter of the blacks), a pidgin formed in West Africa through contact between African languages and Portuguese (RODRIGUES, 1985). It was usually an object of ridicule in written sources, depicted as 'bastardised' and 'miscellaneous'. With time, the Portuguese spoken by Africans became part of popular culture and was usually regarded as a variant of Portuguese and not a creole (HAVIK, 2007).

Playwright Gil Vicente observed different ways of speaking Portuguese in Portugal under Spanish and African influence, considering it a 'half-language' due to the prevalence of grammatical slips and mispronunciation (LEE, 2005; REBELO, 2007; TEYSSIER, 1959). One of the most important Portuguese intellectuals of his time, the Jesuit António Vieira also noted different forms of the Portuguese language (DISNEY, 2009; GONÇALVES and JONATHAN

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8   Regalism: a sovereign's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters.

DE FRANÇA, 2012; LÚCIO D'AZEVEDO, 1918; RUSSEL-WOOD, 1992)[9]. Since Vieira was an educated man who was familiar with a number of languages, his observation of differences between European Portuguese and its colonial variants is significant. António Vieira made his awareness explicit in the sermon *Xavier Dormindo e Xavier Acordado* (Sleeping Xavier, Awaken Xavier) written in the seventeenth century in which he also employed the term 'half-language' in reference to the Portuguese spoken in different colonies such as Brazil, Angola, Malaysia, and Japan.

Vieira elaborated on why these languages were 'half' or 'broken': they were half European, half indigenous; half political, half barbarous; half Portuguese, half the property of the nations which 'chewed' and pronounced them in their own way (VIEIRA, 1694, p. 165)[10]. The comparison reflects the meaning of the term barbarian, derived from the Greek: to utter unintelligible sounds – to babble (GRILLO, 1989). By establishing a dichotomy between being European/political and indigenous/barbaric, the Jesuit (whether consciously or not) placed the Amerindians in an inferior, subordinated position that could lead either to war or truce (HERZOG, 2015). Father Vieira shared the same views with contemporaries in other parts of the world, including France and England: subordinate languages and dialects were barbarous and the peoples who spoke them were savages (GRILLO, 1989). This comparison mirrors the power dynamics that existed between colonizers and colonised, where the latter were not civilized, their 'half-language' standing as a proof of barbarism (GRILLO, 1989). Therefore, if the indigenous peoples were barbarian, they did not have God, law or justice. As barbarians, they were incapable of speaking Portuguese or pronouncing it 'entirely', as the verb 'to chew' might mean either 'to omit certain words or sounds', or 'to speak in a different rhythm and intonation'.

According to Vieira, all Eastern nations, as well as the Angolans and the Amerindians in Brazil, spoke Portuguese but each in their own 'style' including 'barbarisms' – mistakes (VIEIRA, 1694, p. 164). He claimed that there were two kinds of Portuguese: the 'right' language and the 'inside out'. In his view, the native peoples throughout the Portuguese Empire spoke a distorted version, while those born in Portugal communicated in the correct way (ROSA, 2003). Despite making negative observations about the differences between the Portuguese spoken in various colonies and European Portuguese, António Vieira perceived them all as Portuguese, not as a creole or as a 'chat' (*fala*), highlighting the importance of learning them. In doing so, Vieira addressed another trait associated with the missionary work of the Jesuits: the importance of an effective communication for the success of evangelisation.

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9 Vieira was born in Lisbon, but he lived in Brazil for most of his life. The missions under his control in the north of Brazil (1659) converted around 200,000 Amerindians.

10 "Meyas linguas, porque eram meyo Europèias, & meyo Indianas: meyas-linguas, porque erão meio politicas, & meyo barbaras: meyas linguas, porque eram meio portuguesas, & meio de todas as outras Naçoẽs que as pronunciavaõ ou mastigavaõ a seu modo".

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The Jesuits early reflected on native languages and did everything on their power to give adequate training to missionaries, which included learning native languages (SÁ, 2007). They had printing presses in Goa, Macao, and Japan to print doctrinal material, in Portuguese or in local languages (SÁ, 2007). Other religious orders had similar strategies, but not on the same scale as the Jesuits (SÁ, 2007). Whether the Portuguese spoken in Brazil was 'right' or 'wrong', it served both lay and clerical powers. Once they had become Christians, the Amerindians would have God, law, and justice, which would facilitate their subjugation and colonization (GANDAVO, 2008). The connection between religion and colonisation was the motto of Iberian colonization. As Vicente Rafael concludes about the Spanish presence in the Philippines, "Catholicism not only provided Spain's colonial enterprise with its ideological frame; it also embedded the structure of colonial rule within the practice of religious conversion (RAFAEL, 2012)".

It was hence fundamental to speak to the colonised population in their languages, imitating their accent and, if necessary, their mistakes (VIEIRA, 1694, p. 164). The Jesuits preferred using general languages, as native peoples had to understand the doctrine in order to legitimise their conversion and the sacraments, particularly baptism, marriage, confession, and the anointing of the sick. One of the most important points in the anointing of the sick was that Indians who were on the verge of dying had to abjure their ancestors' practices under the threat of eternal damnation. In this case, conversion meant more than accepting a new faith: it meant forgetting their ancestors' costumes and rituals once and for all (BETTENDORF, 1800; CASTELANAU-L'ESTOILE, 2011; MAMIANI, 1698). António Vieira urged the missionaries in Brazil to do as the missionary Francis Xavier did in Japan, where he spoke the 'low language' of 'vile peoples' in order to instruct them (VIEIRA, 1694, p. 164)[11]. Low language here is not Japanese, as Xavier never spoke it, but probably a general language, that was considered inferior. At the same time, Vieira criticized slave owners in Brazil for making their captives pray in Portuguese without verifying that they understood what they were saying, because as a result the captives repeated the prayers like 'parrots' and remained as pagan as they were from the start (KARASCH, 1987; VIEIRA, 1694)[12]. This is evidence that Portuguese was spread and it also lays bare the missionaries' obsession: the converts ought to understand the doctrine.

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11   "No Japão ha huma lingua baixa, de que só usa a gente vil, & de nenhum modo os nobres; & desta maneira ensinava o Santo a estes, fallando-lhe na língua baixa, ou no baixo da língua: *Sub língua tua*". Saint Francisco Xavier was a Jesuit missionary in Asia during the sixteenth century. He used Portuguese pidgins and composed jingles to spread the Gospel. See: Mullett, Michael A. *The Catholic Reformation.* London: Routledge, 1999; Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: a political and economic history.* London: Longman, 1993.

12   "Agora pergunto eu: E he este o modo com que no Brasil ensinaõ aos escravos os seus Senhores, ou os seus Feitores, ou os seus Capelaens, ou os seus filhos? Os menos negligentes fazem quando muyto, que os escravos, & escravas buçaes saibaõ as Orações na lingua Portugueza, nam entendendo mais o que dizĕ, que os Papagayos pardos de Angola, ou verdes do Brasil. E assim vivem, & morrem tam Gentios como dantes eraõ," *[...]*.

Adaptation to the native languages was therefore a strategic and useful move. This is striking because in terms of power relations, if the dominant group expects to remain dominant, it usually carries on with its language, unless they rule through local leaders, using pre-existing power structures, as in Asia, for example (FASOLD, 1987). However, new situations require new strategies and colonial society required other forms of exercising power – the adoption of local languages was essential for this. Administrative authorities also saw the importance of interpreters for colonisation. In the early stages of Brazilian colonisation, Pero Vaz de Caminha suggested a solution that would allow them to establish better communication between the Portuguese and the Amerindians: that of leaving two convicts in Brazil instead of taking a few natives to Portugal because the Indians 'were people that no one understood' and captured Amerindians would probably say yes to whatever they were asked (CASTELANAU-L'ESTOILE, 2015; CORTESÃO AND CAMINHA, 1994, p. 164)[13]. The practice of sending convicts (*degredados*) to Brazil reached its peak in the sixteenth century; the Portuguese Crown purposefully left them on the shores of nearly all the recently discovered areas with the aim of creating intermediaries who would acquire linguistic and cultural skills in order to become interpreters (COATES, 2001). There were around twenty convicts in Cabral's ship: two of them remained in the newly discovered land to learn the indigenous languages and mediate future contacts with the Portuguese; the captain also took two natives to Portugal (METCALF, 2005).

The Portuguese were not alone in using interpreters to facilitate communications with the people they subdued. Early European explorers took natives to Europe in order to learn their languages and return as interpreters (COHEN, 2008). As Paul Cohen notes, "in virtually every context, the success of European settlement, campaigns of conquest, and commercial enterprises was predicated on effectively soliciting Amerindian partners or intermediaries (COHEN, 2008, p. 399)". The Spaniards soon recognized that language and empire (stately power) were interwoven and worked on keeping both under control: Nebrija expressed this idea in the first Castilian dictionary published in 1492 (TODOROV, 1999). The first interpreters were Indians, as the colonised in general learned the language of the colonizer first (TODOROV, 1999). In his work on Spanish America, T. Todorov highlights the importance that interpreters, particularly of the Aztec La Malinche (Doña Marina) – offered as gift to the Spaniards during the first contacts – in the success of Hernán Cortés's enterprise in America (METCALF, 2005; TODOROV, 1999). In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Lima, General Interpreter was a prestigious position held by Indians in Peru (RAMOS, 2014). The General Interpreter acted as a link between the indigenous population and the Spanish authorities in the second most important colonial body in Spanish America: the *Real Audiencia*

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13   "Sobre isto acordaram que não era necessário tomar por força homens, porque costume era dos que assim levavam por força para alguma parte dizerem que há de tudo quanto lhes perguntam; e que melhor e muito melhor informação da terra dariam dois homens desses degredados que aqui deixássemos do que eles dariam se os levassem, por ser gente que ninguém entende".

(RAMOS, 2014). Despite the inferior position occupied by the indigenous people, facilitating communication could work in their favour, as there was no guarantee that the interpreters were translating accurately and not manipulating the discourse as they pleased. The following section will build on go-betweens within African languages.

African Interpreters and African languages, a Two-Pronged Sword

The introduction of African slavery to the Americas meant that European colonisers, particularly the missionaries, resorted to African interpreters in addition to Amerindians, usually accompanied by the same suspicion mentioned above. Alonso de Sandoval, a Spanish Jesuit living in Cartagena (Colombia) during the seventeenth century, dedicated a significant number of pages of his *Treatise on Slavery* (1627) to the importance of "multilingual and faithful" mediators for the teaching of the doctrine, repeatedly warning other missionaries of its limitations (SANDOVAL, 2008, p. 102-105)[14].

According to Sandoval, a missionary ought to walk all day long if necessary to find interpreters; otherwise, "the entire structure of his work [would] collapse (SANDOVAL, 2008: 102-103)". Sandoval assured the missionaries that it was not "undignified for a priest to go from home to home looking for translators," claiming that the use of interpreters was not new in evangelisation since the Apostles had also resorted to them. Furthermore, in his instructions, the Jesuit warned that some interpreters said whatever they pleased in their own language (SANDOVAL, 2008, p. 104). According to Sandoval, it was difficult to find interpreters of "good nature" and who were "religious enough to clearly state the truth (SANDOVAL, 2008, p. 132)". On the contrary, they often did not translate what missionaries said or put it in a simpler way when they felt like doing it (SANDOVAL, 2008).

Although the missionaries could not entirely trust interpreters, they knew that without them the evangelising mission would be impossible. According to Alonso de Sandoval, the first thing missionaries looked for in a group of new arrivals was a *ladino* interpreter (SANDOVAL, 2008). He uses the term ladino when referring to multilingual slaves who spoke Spanish in addition to other African languages (SANDOVAL, 2008). The first slaves forced into the Americas were Christianised and 'Europeanised' Africans that had lived in the Iberian Peninsula (Lisbon and Seville, for example) and spoke either Portuguese or Spanish (KLEIN and VINSON, III 2007; MAESTRI, 2011). Conversely, the slaves called *bozales* only spoke their mother tongues and were unbaptised (KLEIN and LUNA, 2010; KLEIN and VINSON III 2007).

The ladinos had a crucial role even before arriving in the New World: they were

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14   Alonso de Sandoval was a Spaniard and he was sent to Cartagena in 1605 to evangelise Africans.

responsible for "guarding and protecting the *bozales*" on the ships and they also explained work in the plantations and mines to the newcomers (FREYRE, 1946; MAESTRI, 2011; SANDOVAL, 2008, p.126-127). A ladino slave was usually baptised and had lived among Christians for a while, hence their relative ease in moving between both cultures (SANDOVAL, 2008; CASTELANAU-L'ESTOILE, 2000). It is interesting to note that Sandoval did not agree that the *bozales* were less intelligent than the ladinos; they simply did not understand Spanish. When spoken in their languages, however, they were perfectly capable of understanding the catechism: "when they speak in their own language, they seem as intelligent as if they were ladino. *[...]* It seems they are not capable of receiving the sacraments because they are thought to be *bozales*. Because they do not understand our language, they are left to die without the sacraments, as if they were beasts. I know one black *bozal* man who is certainly not a beast (SANDOVAL, p. 107-109)".

Sandoval also insisted in his *Treatise* that missionaries ensured that African slaves fully understood the catechism in order to be baptised, otherwise they would remain pagans. He argued that when the missionaries instructed the captives, they had to consider the nation they came from and how much Spanish they understood (SANDOVAL, 2008). He admitted that some slaves did not want to be baptised even if they comprehended the doctrine but that usually they simply did not understand the missionaries (SANDOVAL, 2008). The Jesuit advised missionaries to ask slaves if they had had water poured on them and to carefully enquire if they had been spoken to in a language they understood (SANDOVAL, 2008). It is evident from Sandoval's observations that language was fundamental for religious instruction and that it was not enough to ask future converts to repeat the catechism; they had to understand it. As the colonisation of language was an important step towards the process of symbolic domination of the colony, it was better for missionaries to learn the local languages though they usually relied on intermediaries and interpreters (CASTELANAU-L'ESTOILE, 2000; COMAROFF and COMAROFF, 1991).

Centuries later, Friar Bernardo Maria de Cannecattim, a Capuchin missionary in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Congo, wrote about the same subject in his *Dicionário da Língua Bunda ou Angolese* (Dictionary of the Bunda or Angolan Language, 1804). Cannecattim stressed the importance of establishing effective communication with the natives; however, as missionaries and administrative authorities did not speak the local languages, they had to yield to interpreters who spoke whatever pleased them most, deceiving both sides (CANNECATIM, 1804). For Cannecattim, ignorance of the local languages compromised both the success of evangelization and of the political and commercial enterprises. This posed a particularly serious problem for evangelisation because the preaching of the Gospel and the ministering of the Sacraments could not be completed unless the interpreter accurately translated everything that the missionaries said.

It is possible to infer from Sandoval and Cannecattim's remarks that the use of interme-

diaries cut two ways: despite being essential for a successful conversation, there was no guarantee that they would accurately convey the message. Sandoval did not necessarily attribute such discrepancy to mischievous behaviour, as the interpreters could simply become tired of translating (SANDOVAL, 2008). Cannecatim, on the other hand, had a more biased view and blamed the Africans' lack of knowledge of their own language and their inability to find an accurate corresponding term in their mother tongues for the poor translation (CANNECATIM,1804, p. II)[15].

The first ladinos in Brazil spoke Bantu languages such as Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Umbundu, being from Angola and Congo (CASTRO, 1980). Other languages from the Bantu family were spoken in Mozambique, such as Xironga, Cishona, and Zulu (CASTRO, 2002). As a ladino, a slave was able to switch between Portuguese to creoles and to African languages, increasing their opportunities for social category change, as they were able to act as intermediaries in commercial and political transactions (HAVIK, 2007; RIBEIRO, 2000). As Herbert Klein and Francisco Luna argue, autonomy and knowledge (of the African culture of the past, or of the European culture of the present) played an important role in slaves' lives (KLEIN and LUNA, 2010). Ladinos could have a number of occupations such as being in charge of discipline in slave dwellings or, if manumitted, working as bush captains to capture runaway slaves (CASTGRO, 1980; HIGGINS, 1999). Occupations such as these became available to some Africans along with opportunities for individual social category change (CASTRO, 1980; HIGGINS, 1999). It is important to highlight that these social changes were individual, not collective and, therefore, they did not go against slavery. On the contrary, ladinos blended into an unequal system by emulating and adapting to the colonial environment (GOOTENBERG, 2010, pp. 22; 28;31-32). This, however, depended not only on coercion but also on captives' agency in assessing their condition and making choices within restrictions.

In the linguistic landscape, the 'Africanisation' of Brazilian Portuguese by ladinos played a crucial role in shaping the language (CASTRO, 1980). Some scholars argue that it was impossible for Africans to communicate in their mother tongues, as slave owners mixed ethnicities to avoid rebellions and mutinies (LUCCHESI, 2008, pp. 160-161). Others claim that, although the Africans taken to Brazil came from different areas, they could understand each other without much difficulty, either because their languages belonged to the same family, or because they knew a pidgin or a creole (HEYWOOD and THORNTON, 2007, p. 56). A range of opportunities available for ladinos may have encouraged Africans to renounce their multilingual abilities – forcefully acquired or not – over Portuguese. As almost 5 million African slaves were taken to Brazil – against half million Portuguese from 1500 to 1760 – their role in

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15   "Os interpretes são Negros do Paiz, gente bruta, que ignora da sua propria lingua huma grande parte, e que da Portugueza apenas sabe os termo mais vulgares, e usuaes. *[...]* mas succede, frequentemente, que huns taes interpretes, ou não percebem a força, e o verdadeiro espirito das palavras Portuguezas, ou não sabem achar, e escolher na sua Lingua termos, que propriamente lhes correspondão," *[...]*.

spreading the Portuguese language is undeniable (GODINHO, 1992, pp. 17-18)[16].

The book *Obra Nova da Língua Geral Mina* (New Book of the Mina General language - 1741), by the Portuguese settler Antônio da Costa Peixoto, lends weight to this assumption. Peixoto had written a short version of this work before (1731) under the name of *Alguns Apontamentos da Língua Mina* (Some Notes on the Mina Language). The main version used in this paper was edited and analysed by ethnolinguistic Yeda Pessoa de Castro in 2002. Olaby Yai analyses another edition, published in 1944 by Luís Silveira (YAI, 2009; Peixoto 1944). As Castro claims, this text has relevant information not only for linguistics, but also for the history and sociology of African people in colonial Brazil (CASTRO, 2002, p. 25). In this work, Peixoto depicts the contexts in which he believed that using the Mina language was important in the form of dialogues and lists of words or expressions. The dialogues between freemen and captives in Costa Peixoto's text can be divided into three main subjects: slavery, commerce, and sexuality. The manuscript is revealing of the power relations between settlers and African captives and, for this reason, it is important to examine the social background of its author.

Costa Peixoto was, as most of the Portuguese who went to Brazil, from Entre-Douro and Minho, north Portugal, and he lived in Vila Rica, in the gold mining district (SCOTT, 1999, p. 36; MONTEIRO, 2009, pp. 63-65; BOXER, 1962, p. 49; 164; CASTRO, 2002, p. 26). The great numbers of slaves newly arrived in the district propitiated the development of an African general language, as the captives came from various places (Maestri 2011, p. 200). Peixoto was a 'white ladino', although the current term used by scholarship for a European that spoke native tongues is lançado (CASTRO, 2002, p. 26; DISNEY, 2009, pp. 251-372; p. 318; CURTO, 2007). The lançados were profoundly integrated into the culture they lived in, although they never completely abandoned European habits (GAMES, 2006, p. 172). Costa Peixoto was probably highly proficient in the Mina-Jeje dialect, but not a highly educated man, as his Portuguese had less polished features (YAI, 2009, p. 104). For example, he wrote 'pregunto' (I ask) instead of the standard Portuguese form 'pergunto' (YAI, 2009, p. 104). Peixoto acknowledges his low education and 'limited discourse' in the prologue, explaining that he did not have proper instruction when he could have been able to dedicate time to studying. From this statement, one can infer that instruction was supposed to happen during childhood, before the beginning of adult life when people were expected to work. It also reveals that Peixoto was aware of the 'rhetoric of modesty' expected from modern authors, according to which they noted their own weaknesses (BOUZA-ALVAREZ, 2004, p. 43). Costa Peixoto was not highly educated but he certainly underwent some basic education since, in spite of the spelling mistakes (mostly marks of orality), he was not illiterate.

Costa Peixoto organises his manuscript principally in the form of dialogues and there are

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16   The Trans-Atlantic slave Trade Database (1801-1825): http://www.slavevoyages.org/estimates/H8gDhZNt.

a few explanations for his choice. Teaching in dialogues was a common method at the time, particularly in catechisms. Considering that Peixoto had basic education, his main model was probably a catechism. Therefore, consciously or not, he organised his manuscript in dialogues, as he would not have known how to write in a more scholarly way. Another possibility is that the dialogues recorded in his work were extremely common in everyday life and Costa Peixoto witnessed them, taking notes on the spot. Dialogues also facilitated memorisation and appealed to a larger audience more accustomed to oral traditions, revealing the connection that the written world maintained with orality, despite the spread of printing (CHARTIER, 2004, p. xiii).

Costa Peixoto considered the Mina language useful and important enough to be recorded in written form despite writing from the perspective of a coloniser. As stated in the prologue, his main objective was to help other Portuguese settlers avoid becoming victims of crimes such as robbery and murder because they did not understand the Mina dialect (CASTRO, 2002, p. 26). Colonial authorities and settlers nurtured a generalised fear of rebellions and runaway slaves in the colony as whole, particularly in the gold mining district (BOXER, 1962, p. 177; SOUZA, 1999, pp. 94; 178-179). Count Assumar, governor of the captaincies of São Paulo and Minas Gerais between 1717 and 1721, was obsessed with slaves' rebellion (HIGGINS, 1999, p. 176; SOUZA, 1982, pp. 108-109). The situation continued into the eighteenth century and epistolary administrative communication pays testimony to the issue, particularly focusing on the activity of *calhambolas* (runaway slaves grouped into isolated communities called *quilombos*) that allegedly committed a series of crimes against freemen, mainly on the district's roads (GUIMARÃES, 2007, pp. 440-442; 446-447; 452; SCARATO, 2014, pp. 100-105). The formation of *quilombos* (maroons) was a form of resistance and rebellion to the slave regime (MELLO, 2014, p. 176; BAKEWELL, 2004, pp. 165; 176-177; KLEIN and VINSON III, 2007)[17].

According to Costa Peixoto all of these problems that led to insult, ruin, robbery, death, atrocities, and damages could be avoided if the slave owners and inhabitants of the gold mining district were 'less lazy' and 'more curious' (PEIXOTO, 1944, p. 12)[18]. Peixoto's audience may have been limited but he expected his manuscript to be published: at the end of the book he asks readers not to lend out their copies or reproduce them so as to encourage more people

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17   The most famous quilombo in Brazil was seventeenth-century Quilombo dos Palmares, in the state of Alagoas, in the northeast. The main language spoken in Palmares is unknown, but there is one document attesting that, when a Portuguese tried to negotiate with the *palmarinhos* (members of Palmares), he had to resort to an interpreter to understand each other Freitas, Décio. *República de Palmares: pesquisa e comentários em documentos históricos do século XVII.* Maceió: EdUFA: Ideário Comunicação e Cultura, 2004.

18   "Pois é certo e afirmo, que se todos os senhores de escravos, e inda os que não têm, soubessem esta linguagem não sucederiam tantos insultos, ruínas, estragos, roubos, mortes, e finalmente casos atrozes, como muitos miseráveis têm experimentado: de que me parece de alguma sorte se poderiam evitar alguns destes desconcertos, se houvesse maior curiosidade e menos preguiça, nos moradores e habitants destes países".

to buy his work when it came out (PEIXOTO, 1944, p. 36)[19]. The production of grammar books and dictionaries of general languages reflects a deeper European interest in native peoples. The importance of recording an African dialect on paper cannot, therefore, be glossed over, even if it was for colonising purposes, to restore settlers back in power, as it entailed the acknowledgement that it was important and needed to be recorded, fixed, and learned (AUROUX, 1994, pp. 48; 158).

Concluding Remarks

This paper has examined the varieties of Portuguese spoken in colonial Brazil, where Amerindian languages played a central role in colonisation for more than two hundred years. In some areas such as Grão-Pará and Maranhão, they continued into the nineteenth century as the first language of the largest proportion of the population. Nevertheless, general languages in Brazil never acquired the same status of those in Spanish America, perhaps because the Amerindian populations in Brazil were nomadic or semi nomadic, differently from the settled Nahua, Maia, and Quechua(ABULAFIA, 2008, pp. 263; 303; FAUSTO, 2000, pp. 13-14).

The Jesuits preferred to use Amerindian tongues when converting the Indians, only occasionally resorting to Portuguese (FÁVERO, 2008). They had a 'translation policy' in Asia, the Americas, and Europe which was linked to the missionary work (BURKE, 2005, p. 13). In the sixteenth century, religious orders required new missionaries to study Amerindian languages, where they were to preach preferably in the local vernaculars (FÁVERO, 2008, p. 141; CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE, 2000, pp. 144-152; 217). Grammar books and dictionaries contributed to the task of learning such languages, while in Brazil missionaries also counted on multilingual intermediaries, translators between two distinct worlds (METCALF, 2005, pp. 1-15). However, unlike Amerindian general languages, when Europeans produced works on African languages, they hardly ever recognised complexity in them or acknowledged their contributors (DISNEY, 2009, p. 250; YAI, 2009, p. 105). This is significant in showing the place that African slaves occupied in the Brazilian colonial society: lower than Amerindians despite their numbers becoming higher (RUSSEL-WOOD, 1992, p. 110).

In spite of the large numbers of African slaves taken to Brazil, few African general languages emerged – the most remarkable examples occurred in places such as in Bahia, Minas Gerais, and Maranhão (CASTRO, 2005, p. 58; CASTRO, 2002, p. 27; BONVINI, 2008, pp. 20-21). These discrepancies expose the power relations in colonial Brazil that determined which stories were to be told and which should be silenced (TROUILLOT, 1995). Silence is not neutral, it reveals inequalities that existed among

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19   "E que não o empreste, nem treslade, nem dê a tresladar a ninguém, e finalmente me enculque curioso para que me comprem outros volumes, que com ansia e fervor, fico dando ao prelo e breve me sairão".

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individuals and led to unbalanced power in the production of historical evidence (TROUILLOT, 1995, p. 48). Despite great numbers, African slaves occupied the bottom of the society and, therefore, written testimonies of their activities are scarce.

Amerindians, Africans, and mestizos gradually shifted from their mother tongues to *línguas gerais*, creoles or pidgins and, on the following, to Portuguese. Many cultural, economic, and political factors contributed to this language shift and to spread Portuguese as a symbol of power. Portuguese settlers succeeded in creating an illusion of cultural superiority and of having greater numbers than Amerindians and Africans. This was particularly strong in the case of Brazil, where from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, the Portuguese presence went from being purely commercial to an effective settlement process involving a high degree of miscegenation (MELLO, 2014, p. 102).

Evangelisation, combined with demographic changes might also explain why the Amerindians, Africans, and their descendants shifted to Portuguese (RAFAEL, 2012, pp. 208-212; KLEIN and LUNA 2010, pp. 215-216). At the beginning of colonisation, the missionaries, outnumbered by the Amerindians, learned and codified their languages. The process was then inverted: the Amerindians and, later, the Africans, continued using the Portuguese language in order to participate more actively in the colonial society. In Spanish America, Castilian was not always forcibly imposed, but stimulated by the desire to attain status and to participate in the colonial dynamics (FIRBAS, 2013, p. 139). A similar situation occurred in Brazil, where Amerindians and Africans took advantage of their situation, and used Portuguese as a tool to participate in colonial society. For example, belonging to an aldeia could be an advantage for the Amerindians, and so they identified themselves by their Christian names when sending a petition to the king (ALMEIDA, 2010, p. 79). Knowledge of the language became an effective tool for social category changing, since speaking Portuguese could open doors that would remain shut if they did not adopt the language (MELLO, 2014, pp. 182-183). The Jesuit linguistic policy was, therefore, a two-pronged sword: the general languages were an evangelisation tool, used to level up different ethnic groups, but the Amerindians later appropriated and used them accordingly to their interests and needs (ALMEIDA, 2010).

As soon as Portugal achieved control over the indigenous peoples, the administration felt the need to introduce more aggressive linguistic policies in order to maintain the dominance of the Portuguese in the colony. What was at stake was not only political authority, but also cultural, with the Portuguese language increasingly occupying a central role. The need to assert political authority and to expand the borders culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits and the subsequent prohibition of general languages. This change was also related to the importance that Brazil had acquired following the discovery of gold in the late seventeenth century, although Brazil's emergence in the Portuguese empire dates to the first half of the seventeenth century, concomitantly to the decline of Portuguese India (BETHENCOURT, 1998, pp. 318-319).

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This paper has challenged the idea that the spread of Portuguese and language shift was always a conscious product of the Portuguese Crown. On the contrary, it often depended on the missionaries, the population, and the colonial dynamic (COHEN, 2001, p. 20). The typical mobility of Brazilian colonial society, particularly in the gold mining district, created a sense of belonging among the captives and native peoples, as they gradually identified more with the colonisers than their peers (PIERSON, 1942, p. 162).

Multilingual African slaves, mestizos, and Amerindians contributed to the spread of Portuguese as a symbol and tool of power. As Portuguese presence in Africa had been established much earlier than the discovery of Brazil, the Portuguese were used to African dialects, whereas the Amerindian languages represented an entirely new linguistic world. Africans too were familiar with Portuguese as it had been used as a lingua franca in Africa (KLEIN and LUNA, 2010, p. 385; REBELO, 2007). As with Spanish America, Portuguese became an alternative to linguistic multiplicity after many years of contact (RAMOS, 2014, pp. 28-29). However, the Portuguese language was not one, but many, as a result of multiple linguistic interactions between diverse actors.

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THE AMBIGUITY OF PROJECTION AND THE CHOMSKYAN ADJUNCTION AS A FORMAL WAY OF APPROACHING PREDICATION IN SMALL CLAUSES AND SECONDARY PREDICATION[1]

AMBIGUIDADE DE PROJEÇÃO E A ADJUNÇÃO CHOMSKYANA COMO UM RECURSO FORMAL PARA ABORDAR A PREDICAÇÃO EM SMALL CLAUSES E PREDICADOS SECUNDÁRIOS

Marcos Barbosa Carreira[2]

ABSTRACT

This paper is focused on the syntax of the predication relations in predicative constructions such as the secondary predication and the small clause constructions. The goals are (i) to consider that adjunction structures *à la* Chomsky (1986) and May (1985) (opposing category *vs*. category segments) is an interesting solution to the syntax of predication, if combined with the idea that *merge* may be symmetrical in terms of projection (if α and β are merged, either α or β may project (CHOMSKY, 1995)); and (ii) to present a formal and unified approach to the grammar of different kinds of predication, based on Carreira (2015), specially emphasizing cases of small clauses and secondary predication. This paper presents new data from Brazilian Portuguese (BP), which challenges the classical analysis, as in Williams (1980), Stowell (1983) and Rothstein (1983) and minimalist analysis such as in Den Dikken (2006). This research is based upon the Minimalist Program by Chomsky (1995) and others. As we will argue, by exploring this mechanism, we might be able to provide a unified account for different types of predication.

RESUMO

 Este artigo enfoca a sintaxe das relações de predicação em construções predicativas, como a predicação secundária e construções de *small clauses*. Os objetivos são (i) considerar que uma estrutura de adjunção *à la* Chomsky (1986) e May (1985) (que oponha categoria vs. segmento de categoria) é uma solução interessante para a sintaxe da predicação, se combinada com a idéia de que *merge* pode ser simétrico em termos de projeção (se α e β são *mergidos*, α ou β podem projetar - Chomsky, 1995); e (ii) apresentar uma abordagem formal e unificada da gramática de diferentes tipos de predicação, com base em Carreira (2015), enfatizando especialmente casos de *small clauses* e predicação secundária. O artigo apresenta novos dados do português brasileiro (PB), que desafiam as análises clássicas, como em Williams (1980), Stowell (1983) e Rothstein (1983) e análises minimalistas como Den Dikken (2006). Esta pesquisa está enquadrada no Programa Minimalista de Chomsky (1995) e outros. Como argumentaremos, explorando esse mecanismo, poderemos fornecer uma conta unificada para diferentes tipos de predicação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: adjunção; estrutura de predicação; predicação secundária; small clause.

Introduction

The syntax of predication has been an area of great and productive debates within the Generative Grammar, and at least three important proposals have to be considered by anyone who wants to explore the issue: Williams (1980), Stowell (1981, 1983), and Rothstein (1983, 2001). These three different approaches dealt mostly with two pieces of data:

(1) John *ate the meat raw* (WILLIAMS, 1980, p. 203)

(2) Jane *considers Mary smart* (ROTHSTEIN, 2001, p. 43)

The predicative sequence [… V DP AP] emphasized in (1)-(2) gives us different semantic relations. In (1), the DP "the meat" is in a double thematic relation, as it is theta-marked by the verb "ate" and by the AP "raw". Here, both the verb and the adjective are in a semantic relation with the DP "the meat". This is a classical case of secondary predication, in which the adjective is not selected by the verb. Contrastively, in (2), the chunk "Mary smart" is taken as the complement of the verb. Thus, (2) is a classical case of small clause, in which "Mary" is in a thematic relation with "smart", but not with "consider", which theta-marks the whole small clause. The main question raised by these two types of predicative configurations is: what are the structures of double predications and small clauses, since different semantic relations are built in cases like (1) & (2)? Although Stowell, William, and Rothstein present different analyses, they all share the following proposition: (a) in cases as (1), the DP "the meat" and the AP "raw" do not form a constituent; (b) in cases as (2), the DP and the AP form a constituent. This proposition offers the following structures:

(3)
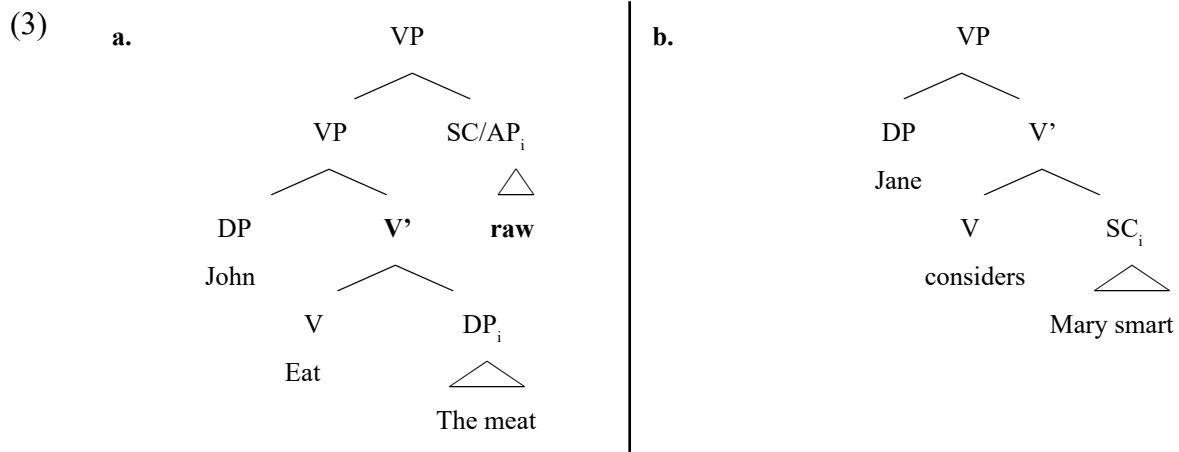
Taking (3a) and (3b) to be the right structures for (1) and (2), respectively, the Brazilian Portuguese (BP) counterpart for (1) presents itself as a problem. The sequence [DP AP] behaves syntactically as a constituent.[3] In (4), for example, it moves as a single phrase to the left periphery of the sentence:

(4) *[esse bife mal passado]ᵢ eu até comeria ...tᵢ..., mas [ele cru]j eu não como ...tj.. 'de jeito nenhum'*
    this beef rare   I even 'would eat' but [it raw] I not eat   'not at all'.
    "I could eat this beef rare, but no way I would it eat raw"

Therefore, it is not clear that the structural difference proposed in (3) is in the right track.

This paper focuses on this issue. Considering data from BP and in accordance with the Minimalist Program, we will reopen the discussion related to (1) and (2). Taking into consideration the Chomskyan approach to adjunction (cf. MAY, 1985, CHOMSKY, 1986; CHOMSKY, 1995), we suggest that adjunctions arise derivationally whenever Merge combines two syntactic objects that can both define the label of the object formed (ambiguity of projection). As we will argue, by exploring this mechanism, we might be able to provide a unified account for different types of predication.

Our goals are (i) to consider that adjunction structures based on Chomsky (1986) and May (1985) (opposing category *vs.* segment of category) is an interesting solution to the syntax of predication, whenever combined with the idea that Merge can be symmetrical in terms of projection (if α and β are merged, either α or β can project (CHOMSKY, 1995)); (ii) to present a formal and unified approach to the grammar of different kinds of predication, based on Carreira (2015), emphasizing specially cases of small clauses (2) and secondary predication (1).

This paper is organized as follows: in section 1, the classical cases of predicative constructions are revisited. In section 2, the main analyses proposed so far (STOWELL,

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3   There are other questions on crosslinguistic variations around this pattern of movement, but I would like to approach those questions latter in another paper, in which I will try to account for the problem of why this movement is not observed in English.

(1981,1983), Williams (1980) and Rothstein (1983, 2001)) are presented in a detailed way. In section 3, data from (BP) and English are introduced, showing (a) a constituency paradox from BP, as in (4); (b) an adjacency requirement on the subject and its secondary predicate – from English; (c) an interaction between VP ellipsis and secondary predication in BP, and (d) possible cases of adjectives predicating of DPs embedded within PPs in BP. In section 4, a new and unified theory of predication (UTP) is formally presented. In section 5 it is demonstrated how this theory deals with the facts presented in section 3, and its possible consequences for formal analysis of double object constructions. Finally, section 6 is devoted to final remarks, challenges and remaining issues related to the UTP.

Predicative constructions

In this section I present some classical pieces of data of predicative constructions, such as Small Clauses and Secondary Predication. What I refer to as predicative constructions can be illustrated by the examples below:

(5) John ate [*the meat*]$_i$ [*raw*]$_i$

(6) [*John*]$_i$ drove his car [*drunk*]$_i$

(7) I consider [*that boy*]$_i$ [*smart*]$_i$

(8) He hammered [the metal]$_i$ [flat]$_i$

The examples in (5)-(8) are well known in the history of Generative Grammar. In (5), we say that the AP "raw" is a depictive secondary predicate of the DP "the meat" (the subject of this PS), once this DP is an argument of the verb "to eat" and receives a theta-role from it. The same thing occurs on sentence (6), but this time the subject of the secondary predicate (the AP "drunk") is the grammatical subject of the sentence, the DP "John", and the external argument of the verb "to eat". In (7) the predicate "smart" is a predicate of "that boy", but as we can see in Stowell (1981 and 1983) and Rothstein (1983 and 2001), the DP subject of "smart' is not an argument of the verb "consider" (for more detail on that, see Carreira (2015) and the references above). As the previously cited authors pointed out, it seems that the predicate "smart" is somewhat selected by the verb "consider" (hence the unacceptability of *I consider that boy). However, this pattern do not occurs in the examples (5), (6) and (8): the predicates "raw", "drunk" and "flat" are not select by the verb "to eat" and "to hammer", respectively. We say they are adjuncts. The example in (8), however, is a bit different from (5) and (6), once the AP "flat" expresses not just a state of one participant of the main event (during that event), but instead it express the state of the object participant as a result of the main event process (for more information on that, please refer to Knöpfle (2014)).

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) shows some interesting properties of predicative constructions, which may help understanding this phenomenon and its complexity. Consider the set of

data presented below:

(9) *João comeu as   cenouras   cruas*

    João eat   the$_{[FEM/PL]}$ carrots$_{[FEM/PL]}$ raw$_{[FEM/PL]}$

    Reading-1: "João ate the raw carrots"

    Reading-2: "João ate the carrots raw"

The utterance in (9) has two possible reading, as we can see above. This two reading are known as attributive (reading-1) and predicative (reading-2). I am interested here mainly on the predicative reading, but Carreira (2015) has defended that both reading may be unified as predication, once "raw" means something like a property, either in reading 1 or in reading 2.

Those two readings seem to be the result of two different composition in syntax, and as any introduction to syntax of BP says, the two cleft below may be good constituent test to that conclusion:

(10) Foi a cenoura que o João comeu _ crua (predicative)

    It was the carrots that João ate raw?

(11) Foi a cenoura crua que o João comeu _ (attributive)

    It was the raw carrots that John ate

Therefore, from examples (10) to (11), we make those claims for BP: (i) the AP in attributive reading and in predicative reading appears after the noun, in contrast with English and German in which those two reading is expressed through a different word order; (ii) the adjective agrees with gender and number with the DP/NP it is related to, its subject. The same pattern of agreement holds on small clause constructions, as we can see in (12) below:

(12) *Marcos considera suas alunas   espertas*

    Marcos considers his   students$_{[FEM/PL]}$ smart$_{[FEM/PL]}$

Hence, as we see in BP, the AP "*cruas*" and "*espertas*" above presents gender and number morphology, once they agrees with the subject in gender and number features. The same thing does not occur in English and German, as we see below:

(13)   (01)   John ate the meat raw

(14) *João ass das Fleisch roh.*   (CARREIRA; KNÖPFLE, 2013)

    João comeu a   carne   cru

    "*João comeu a carne crua*"

The example (13) is interesting, if we contrasts it with its attributive counterpart "*João ass das rohe Fleisch*", because, in (13), the adjective appears without any agreement morpheme, but in the attributive reading, this adjective comes before the noun and shows gender, number and case agreement (CARREIRA; KNÖPFLE, 2013).

Classical analysis

The debate around the predication relation structure has taken two different directions in the 1980's. One direction goes is related to the *Predication Theory*, developed by Williams (1980, 1983). The other direction is related to the *Small Clause Theory*, developed by Stowell (1981, 1983). There was a third view, mainly cited as *Complex Predication*, developed by Chomsky (1955) (for more information on that, please refer to CARDINALETTI & GUASTI (1995)). Those three predication structure views can be summarized as Den Dikken (2006) did and I repeat it below:

(15) a. [$_{VP}$ V DP Pred]
(15) b. [$_{VP}$ [$_V$ V Pred] DP]
(15) c. [$_{VP}$ V [DP Pred]]

The three structures above represent three ways the researcher had used to accommodate the grammar of these constructions: as we can see, (15)a is a ternary branching structure which was excluded from the mainstream of the Generative Grammar on the assumption that "a theory of n-ary branching is less restrictive than one that restricts phrase structure to binary branching configurations" (DEN DIKKEN, 2006, p. 59) and on the assumption that "from a learnability perspective the latter [binary] is therefore to be preferred" (DEN DIKKEN, 2006, p. 59); however, Williams (1980, 1983) and Rothstein (2001) have adopted it to describe object-oriented secondary predication constructions, but only Williams has used it to describe canonical small clauses; (15)b was adopted by Chomsky (1955) to solve the problem with the consider-type verbs, and to maintain the rule of passivization adopted, without a novel rule; (15)c was adopted by Stowell (1981, 1983), Chomsky (1981), Rothstein (1983, 2001) and Den Dikken (2006), *inter alia*, once it takes de predication structure to be the sister of V, hence to be in its complement position.

There is still another structure that was adopted by Tim Stowell, since (15)c was used specifically to describe cases of complementation of consider-type verbs, or constructions where the predicative form a constituent which is positioned at the *compl* of V. It is worth noting that Stowell (1981, 1983) and Rothstein (1983) adopt, for constructions of secondary predication like "john ate the meat raw", a structure with the AP in an adjunct position somewhere high in the VP. Then we have something like (16)a or (16)b, where AP counts as 'Pred'.

(16) a. [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ V DP] Pred]
     b. [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ V DP] AP]

Stowell postulates a *PRO* in AP's *spec* controlled by the object of the verb, in contrast with Rothstein, since he assumes the AP is an adjunct small clause. The following trees, in which the VP with a secondary predicate and a VP with a SC is contrasted, illustrate the previous statement:

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(3) **a.**
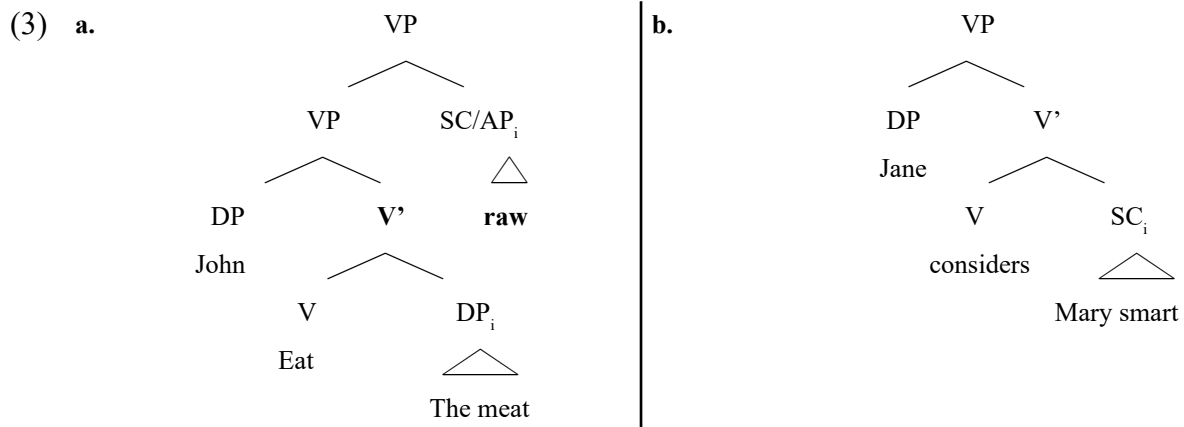
The structures (3), originally demonstrated on the introduction, constitute what I am naming *the classical proposal*, and they share the properties of postulating the following: (a) for examples like (5) and (17) – repeated below – the DP "the meat" and the AP "raw" do not form a constituent – call this the non-constituency property of SP; and (b) for examples like (7) and (18), in contrast with (5) and (17), the DP and the AP form a constituent, i.e., DP "that boy" and the AP "smart" form a constituent, as we saw previously in the trees in (3):

(17) John ate $[_{DP}$ *the meat* $]_{i\ [AP}$ *raw* $]_i$

(18) I consider $[_{DP}$ *that boy* $]_i\ [_{AP}$ *smart* $]_i$

Williams (1980, 1983) is not represented in the trees (3), but as we saw on the structures on (14), he goes on the same road of Stowell and Rothstein in taking the *non-constituency property* of *SP* (although Williams himself did not treat these cases as secondary predication, but as thematic governed predicates – refer to Williams (1983)).

To develop my proposal here, I will take the example of secondary predication and the non-constituency property of the classical proposal to the cases of secondary predication as a starting point.

In the next section, I present some challenging facts to the classical analysis presented by BP.

Challenges to the classical analysis

In this section, I introduce data mainly from Brazilian Portuguese (BP) that presents itself as challenging to the classical analysis. This data constitutes what I am calling the empirical complexity. The subsections below present the following phenomena: (a) the Constituency Paradox from BP involving the secondary predication; (b) an adjacency requirement on the subject and its secondary predicate – examples from English; (c) an interaction between VP ellipsis and secondary predication in BP; and (d) possible cases of adjectives predicating of DPs embedded within PPs in BP.

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The Constituent Paradox

If we assume that the right analysis to the grammar of secondary predication are the ones presented in the previous section, we will need to find an account to the constituent paradox presented in this subsection. Consider the example in (1) repeated below (reading-2) as (21) as a departure point:

(19) *João comeu a   carne crua*
     João ate   the meat raw
     Reading-2: "John ate the meat raw" (predicative)

When we apply some basic constituent tests to (19), considering the predicative reading (or depictive, as in Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt (2005)), the results seems to be awkward, and I bit degraded:

(20) ?*A carne crua, Pedro comeu*   →   **(reading-2 seems to be unavailable)**

(21) the meat raw, Pedro ate

However, in a contrastive focus context, this movement is perfect in BP, as we can see below, in (22):

(22) *[esse bife mal passado]$_i$ eu até comeria ...t$_i$..., mas [ele cru]$_j$ eu não como ...tj.. 'de jeito nenhum'*
     this beef rare   I even 'would eat'   but [it raw] I not   eat   'not at all'.
     "I could eat this beef rare, but no way I would it eat raw"

The evidence we have in (22) is much clearer if we observe the sequence of moved elements in the first part of the sentence, *[esse bife mal passado],* and the moved expression in the second conjunct, *[ele cru]*. The sequence *[ele cru]* "it raw" is clearly an instance of predicative reading (reading-2). So this is a case of secondary predication structure, surprisingly moved up to the left periphery of the sentence.

That said, we might conclude that a Predication Structure (PS) may be moved together as if it is a constituent; however, this conclusion is not supported by the classical analysis, since it postulates the non-constituent property of secondary predication. This is unexpected and it constitutes a constituent paradox. Someone may argue it could be a case of multiple movements, of independent constituent, however (23) shows that it is not the case:

(23) **[esse bife]$_j$ **com certeza** [mal passado]$_i$ eu comeria   t$_j$ t$_i$, mas [ele]$_k$ de jeito nenhum*
     this beef for   sure   rare   I 'would eat'   but   it   no way
     [cru]$_k$ eu não como ...t$_l$...t$_k$.
     raw   I not   eat

In (23), I made a test using the phrase *[$_{PP}$ com certeza]* "for sure", which is an VP adjunct, and which clearly intervening between *[$_{DP}$ esse bife]* and *[$_{AP}$ mal passado]*. However, if we take the adverbial PP as a VP adjunct, and we assume that the phrase of the secondary predicate is also an adjunct of VP, the prediction would be that (23) should be grammatical[4], if we could have multiple movements; the wrong prediction.[5]

The partial conclusion is that we need a constituent formed by the DP and AP in the cases of secondary predication of BP.

Adjacency requirement on the subject and its secondary predicate

There is yet another interesting empirical fact from English, first cited by Rothstein (2001), that challenges the classical analysis, as we can see below in (24):

(24) a. John eats the carrots *raw* with his fingers   (ROTHSTEIN, 2001, p. 125))
    b. ?John eats the carrots with his fingers *raw*

The examples in (24), then, show that we need the AP predicate "raw" to be adjacent to the DP "the carrots", since in (24)b, where the PP "with his finger" intervenes between the DP object and the AP predicative, the sentences is somewhat degraded.

This pieces of data were present by Rothstein (2001, p. 125) as an evidence that the secondary predicates are positioned in the V level and under V'. As she says, "this is evidence that the predicate is generated at the argument level and preferably adjacent to the argument it is predicate of ".

One more time, the conclusion is that the classical analysis would have problems in accommodating the date in (24), since they would predict a free interaction between the AP predicate adjunct to the VP and the instrumental PP phrase, but this is not the case.

The partial conclusion is that we need the AP to be more embedded in the VP.

VP Ellipsis

Another challenging pieces of data presented in Carreira (2015) are the cases of *VP Ellipsis* with the Secondary Predication:

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4   There is a reading available in which the phrase [*com certeza*] "for sure" has scope over "*mal passada*", but this is not the relevant one. The PP [*com certeza*] must scope over the VP "*comer esse bife*".
5   One could say this is a case of VP fronting. However, we do not have the right semantics of topicalization or focalization of VP.

(25) a. *O João comeu o bolo **com o garfo** e a Maria também **com a colher***

      João ate   the cake with the fork and the Maria too   with the spoon

   b. **O João comeu a carne **crua** e a Maria também **bem passada***

      João ate   the meat raw and the Maria too   well rosted

The comparison of (25)a and (25)b shows us that the AP "*crua*" and "*mal passada*" do not seem to be in a higher level of VP, as is the case of instrumental PP "*com o garfo*" and "*com a colher*", once ellipsis is possible in (25)a, but bad in (25)b.

The partial conclusion is that we need the AP predicate to be lower than the instrumental phrase (the PP "*com o garfo*" above).

SP of the complement of a P

Another interesting and intriguing fact we may find in BP is that a secondary predicate, such as [*avariado*] "broken", can have a subject, like [*o computador*] "the computer", in a complement position of a preposition, as we can see in (26)a:

(26) a. *João enviou o e-mail com o computador avariado*

    João sent   the e-mail with the computer   broken

   b. *Com o computador avariado, não vamos entregar o trabalho em tempo*

    with the computer   broken , we are not going to finish the work in time

Yet, it is possible to have the string "*com o computador avariado*" (with the computer broken) in the left periphery of the sentence, in topic position, given to the sentence a framing situation, or the circumstances in which the main event (finish the work) may (or may not) occur.

The possibility of having a subject of a SP embedded in the complement position challenges the classical proposals once they postulates that a secondary predicate should be a VP adjunct and obey some local constraint like mutual c-command or m-command.

Therefore, the fact presented in this subsection shows *that even in PP, the complement of a head P can be predicated by a secondary predicate phrase.* This may be puzzling, once locality of predication is challenged.

Once again, the partial conclusion is that we need the AP predicate sufficient local to be in a predication relation with the complement of P.

Summarizing the Empirical Complexity

In this section, we will see some of the challenges that poses strong difficulties to the analysis. Those challenges were related to the constituent paradox, the adjacency restriction on

the subject of a secondary predicate (SP), the VP Ellipis interaction with SP, and that SP of a P complement. Those empirical facts are some of the arguments we relied on to defend a new theory of predication in syntax. Those facts gave support to a research on a Unified Theory of Predication (UTC) in syntax that I have defended in Carreira (2015).

In order to summarize the empirical complexity we have observed in this section, we conclude that any analysis that postulates *non-constituency of secondary predication* is going to have a hard work in order to deal with those facts.

The empirical facts listed above indicate we need at least two things:

(27) a. AP-depictive should be more embedded in VP (or in PP, or in XP);
b. AP-depictive should form a constituent with its subject.

What I am calling here as an *AP-depictive* is our AP in predicative position, or as a secondary predicate. If we can take the predication relation as a unified relation that happens in predicative and attributive reading, we may postulates the same base structure to both reading and leaving the difference to be a result of the interaction this structure have with the properties of the global structure within which the structure of predication (SP) is embedded.

As we can see in (26), any theory of predication in syntax should accommodate the conclusion in (27)a and (27)b.

In the sections that follow, I present a new approach to the syntax of predication, which helps us have an account of the empirical complexity shown above and some interesting prediction of some other cases of predicative constructions, and yet a grasp of a unified manner in which predication may work in the whole syntax.

The syntax of predication

In this section, I present an alternative analysis of the predicative constructions called here the Unified Theory of Predication (UTP), which was first presented in Carreira (2015). This approach relies on a derivational and minimalist view of the architecture of grammar, as in Chomsky (1995).

Some properties of secondary predication of objects

For the sake of the discussion here, let's reconsider some aspects of the example in (01) repeated as (28) below:

(28) John ate [**the meat**] [**raw**].

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The properties of (28) that are relevant to the analysis are:

- The AP "raw" denotes a property of the meat (denoted by the DP) that holds during the time of being eaten (predicative reading / depictive reading)

- The V c-selects the complement category as DP/NP (i.e, "the meat"); the V s-selects an individual with the property of being able to be eaten (i.e., s-selects "something eatable"). Summarizing, V has a subcategorization grid like this: [DP, individual].
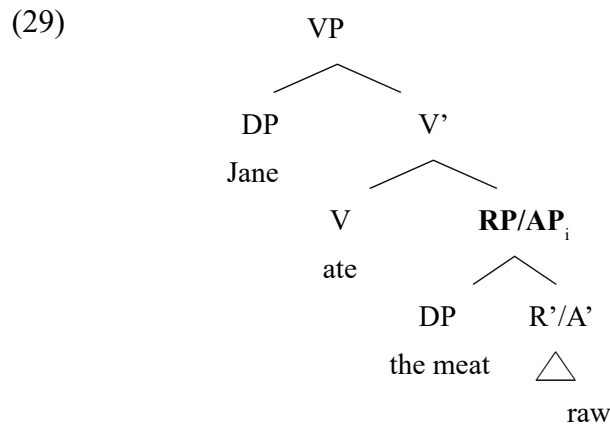
Therefore, I am assuming that any syntactic theory of predication should provide a way of predication to happen, as well as provide the c-selection and the s-selection of V to happen. However, as we saw, the classic accounts have mainly two problems: (i) they do not have the right constituency (DP and AP do not form a unit); and (ii) the AP is too high in the VP structure.

Den Dikken (2006)

Once we need a constituent formed by the subject and its predicate, one could argue that a possible minimalist solution would be related to Den Dikken (2006) because his approach to the syntax of predication adopts a constituent containing the subject and the predicate in an *exhaustive* constituent (i.e. a constituent with the structure of predication exclusively).

Den Dikken (2006) defended a syntax of predication, in which this relation is mediated by a functional head *RELATOR* that has the property of postulating constituency to this relation (the RP projection). According to that proposal, the predication is a local relation, but a hierarchically asymmetrical one, with no *apriory* definition of direction on the hierarchy.

Taking Den Dikken's *RP* as a solution to some of the questions presented above was the purpose of CARREIRA; KNÖPFLE, 2013. We tried to deal with the Constituency Paradox and to the questions of the predication relation itself using the functional null head, the *RELATOR*. That solution, however, is a SC analysis of secondary predication as in Stowell (1981, 1983), but in this case, the SC would be merged to the verbal head *compl* position, i.e. to the V "eat' in (23) above. Therefore, Den Dikken's analysis would encounter the same problems of the classical analysis presented here, if we try to use it to describe secondary predications of the object of verbs like "eat". See the tree below as an illustration:

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(29)

```
                    VP
                   /  \
                 DP     V'
                Jane   /  \
                      V    RP/AP_i
                     ate   /  \
                         DP    R'/A'
                      the meat   △
                                raw
```

As we can see in (29), the V internal argument, the DP "the meat", is positioned in the *spec* of the RP, and it is not a sister of the V head. But any proposal like the this, where the subject of the secondary predication is in *spec*, like in the Stowell's small clauses (the AP above), would fail to give an account for the c- and s-selection features of verbs like "eat" as in example (28), once we assume that s-selection and c-selection is established via mutual c-command or sisterhood.

The RP solution may be an interesting one to the canonical small clause data like (30), once, in (30), the verb does not c- or s-selects the DP-subject of the AP "smart", as we have seen with Stowell (1981, 1983) and Rothstein (1983, 2001).

 (30) Jane considers Mary smart.

I am assuming that selection requires sisterhood of the argument with some projection of the selector, or mutual c-command. As we can see, this is not the case in the tree above. Then, how can we have the right configuration for selection, once the RP or the SC is not able to provide that? How can we deal with sisterhood and c-command and yet have the right configuration?

Adjunction, label and ambiguity of projection

One interesting way of formalizing this relation is to rely chomskyan adjunction[6] (as in Chomsky 1986 and May 1985) built through the operation *merge* plus labeling in a derivational and minimalist view of the architecture of grammar, as in Chomsky (1995).

This approach relies on the category and segment of category distinction. So, in this system, a category in a tree structure may be formed by one or more nodes of the same categorical type, called segment of a category.

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6   Chomsky Adjunction, a term used to refer to this adjunction, is an expression used since the beginning of the theory of generative grammar to refer to a specific solution to recursive structure formation, an expression first used in Chomsky (1955, chapter IX), as pointed by Guimarães (2017, p. 135). But, since Chomsky (1986), this expression is used to refer to the specific kind of adjunction just described.

The adjunction, then, is assumed to be a minimal and symmetrical structure in which one or the other category (maximal projections) may project a new segment as the label of the new constituent just built.

Another important aspect of the system is the definition of c-command assumed. It is taken to be sensitive to the category and segment of category, in ways that make it possible the formalization of various kind of relations and maintaining its locality (as we see in GUIMARÃES (2008), KATO & NUNES (2009), KNÖPFLE (2014), GAVIOLI-PRESTES (2016)).

The way c-command is defined relies on the notion of domination by category, so when a segment dominates a category, it does not count as dominations to the definition of c-command (see the exclusion clause on the definition of c-command on footnote 6). Refer to section **4.5.** for more information on that.

Consider the predication structure (PS), as the relation in which one constituent XP is a subject and the other YP is the predicate, {XP, YP}. The system adopted here will first merge the SUBJECT with the PREDICATE and project one of the two constituent just merged to form a new phrase: {?, {XP, YP}} . There are two possibilities of projection (i.e., of replacing the question mark on this structure): either the SUBJECT or the PREDICATE projects the label of the adjunction[7], i.e. either we have {**YP**, {XP, YP} or {**XP**, {XP, YP}}.

The SP just formed through merge may be embedded in various environments. For the sake of our point here, consider the verbal (V) and the nominal (D) domains in (31). In this case, we will have four possible structures where predication may occur, considering those two domains, and the two possibility of projection:

(31)	Secondary Predication	Predication in Small Clauses	Predication in nominal domain I	Predication in nominal domain II

VP   VP   DP   DP

V   **DP**   V   **AP**   D   **NP**   D   **AP**

DP   AP   DP   **AP**   NP   AP   NP   **AP**

Predications can happen in A, B, C and D above, but we are interested in investigating the application of A and B. There is still some work to be done on the empirical advantages or disadvantages of a system that is able to generate C and D. The structure in C seems to be trivial and wide used in the theory of grammar for the cases of attributive reading or nominal modification, but D seems to require more studies.[8] I am using AP as the predicate here, but it

---

could be a PP or a CP (for a relative clause), or anything else.

How can we determine which category projects? Why can this structure give a solution to the selection problem just presented?

Derivational properties: Ambiguity of projection

How to determine which category projects in this system is an interesting and intricate question. As in Chomsky (1995, p. 244), a label "is determined derivationally", but for Chomsky (1995), the syntactic object (SO) merged determines the label of the structure.[9] In general, the selectional head defines the label of the constituent just built. What I am proposing here for the PS is something different because it would involve leaving the label undefined and it would be defined only when the new formed constituent is concatenated with the next lexical (or functional) head. That way, the selection features of this head would count to define the identity of the PS constituent, as illustrated below:

(32) Step 1:
- concatenate; no projection

Merge: DP + AP

       ?
      / \
    DP   AP

Step 2:
- Selection Playing a role on projection

Merge: V + ?

       /‾\
      /   \
     V   DP   (if V c-selects a DP)
           / \
          DP   AP
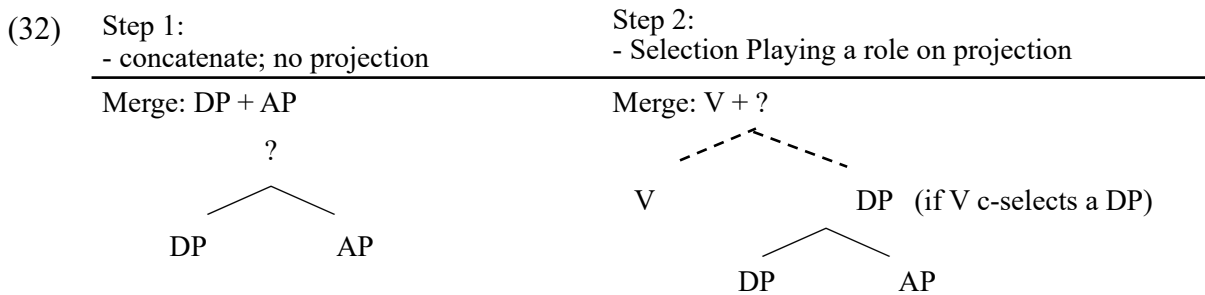
As we can see in (32), either the DP or the AP above projects the higher level, depending on the relations that the PS has with the verbal head.[10] Selection of the head merged to the structure would be very important determining the label.

This 'look ahead' postulated by the process described may be challenging and not at all trivial to the computational system, but if this were the case, the ambiguity of projection and the relation with the verb may play an important role in determining whether we have a primary predication or a secondary predication.[11]

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languages. However, if this is the case, we can give an account to that relying on the properties of the functional D head, once it may always force NP projection (not the AP), as we can see in (31).

9   It is important to remark that, on that part of the PM, Chomsky was worried about substitution, not adjunction. Some pages later, he notes that adjunction may have different ways of determining the label.

10   I am using the V head just as an example. It could be D, P or any other head. As we saw on the empirical complexity, there maybe cases of secondary predication of a P complement; there maybe predication in the internal domain of a DP (nominal domain).

11   We are working on a system without this problem, in which the label will play no role in the description of primary and secondary predication.

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Formal properties: category and segment of a category:

In this section, I discuss the formal properties of this system, aiming to show the mechanics that make this an interesting and a minimal solution to the syntax of predication.

In the example (33) below, AP is a category with two segments. Take domination of category in the lines of Chomsky (1986) and May (1985), considering the c-command relations:[12]

(33)

Asymmetric and mutual c-command
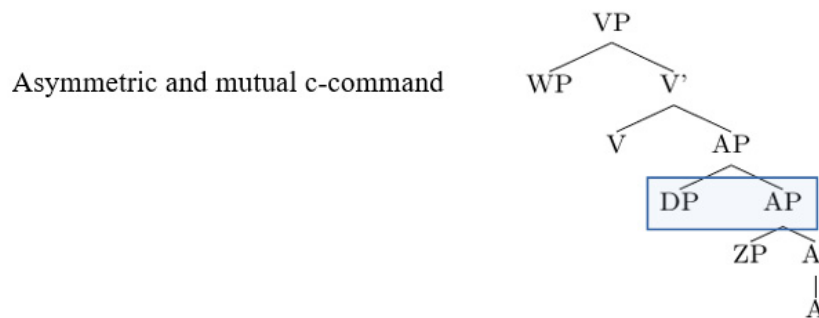
Taking the nodes highlighted by the square as the PS, the co-command relations are, considering the definition of c-command with the exclusion clause (see note 3): mutual c-command: {V, AP} and {V, DP}; and asymmetric c-command: <DP, AP>. Then, DP and AP, in the PS, is in a relation of asymmetric c-command.

In a structure like (33), we have mutual c-command between V and DP. This is in interesting result for the problems in section 3 and for the requirement presented in (27) repeated as (34):

(34) a. AP-depictive should be more embedded in VP (or in PP, or in XP);

(35) b. AP-depictive should form a constituent with its subject.

In (33), we have the predication relation (in the square) and the AP predicate is sufficient embedded forming a constituent with its subject. This way in a secondary predication construction, (33) can satisfy the verb s- and c-selection straightforwardly, because the DP subject is in a mutual c-command relation with the V head.

There are two other nice consequences of the relations just described: (i) the DP is in the domain of two heads, V and A (domain as in Chomsky (1995: 178))[13], called *ambiguity of domain de AP (or YP) predicate*; and (ii) the AP can also be in two domains, called the *visibility property of the predicative*. Even if not projecting, the AP is in the domain of V and there is mutual c-command between V and AP. This is an interesting result.

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12   **C-command:** α c-comands β iff: 1) α and β are categories; 2) α excludes β; and 3) every category that dominates α dominates β. **Exclusion clause:** α excludes β if no segment of α dominates β. (CHOMSKY, 1986:8).

13   "Take the domain of a head α to be the set of nodes contained in Max(α) that are distinct from and do not contain α." (CHOMSKY, 1995: 178).

I do not have everything on visibility of predictive formalized, but this is the formal property that we can use to establish the predicative reading as a reading expressed by the relation between two events and one participant, in which those events share one participant and the tense of the main event. Rothstein (2001) has proposed an operator, the *TPconnect*, which works in her semantics representation. Inspired on that, I think we can have this as a result of the form of syntax, once the AP is not embedded in the DP, hence visible outside.

Summarizing the ingredients of predication

This section provides us with a summary of the elements that are needed to this approach of predication to work. Some of its elements are very important to bring to this new proposal its descriptive power and advantages. See the list below:

a) **Predication is a relation between two maximal projections,** XP and YP, in an adjunction structure, as we saw in the previous subsections. The two maximal projections as sisters, but there is no mutual c-command between them, as we see on (36) below:

(36)

In Secondary Predication the DP projects. | In Small Clauses the AP projects
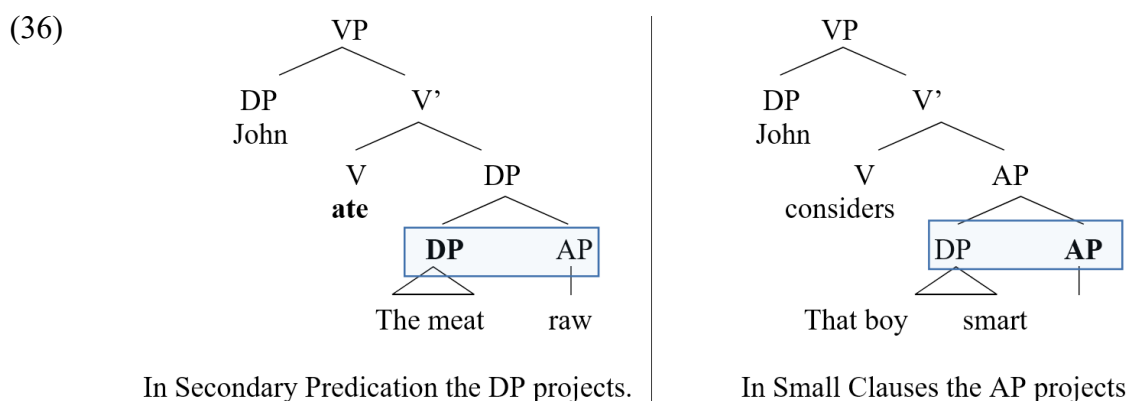
b) **Locality**: there seems to be a consensus in the studies of the syntax of predications that this relation is local. Locality has been translated through various formal devices. For Williams (1980, 1983) locality was mutual c-command, for Rothstein (1983), mutual c-command was important, but, definition of c-command varies in including or not the higher maximal projection or the immediate dominating node. For Stowell (1981, 1983) locality meant to be in the *spec* position of the predicate; and to Den Dikken (2006), as being in the same phrase, in *spec* or *compl* position. For our purpose here, locality of predication means sisterhood (an asymmetrical one).

c) **Ambiguity of Projection plays a role in distinguishing between** depictive predication, and small-clauses predications. See the trees (36) above, where the DP projects when the verb s-selects an individual and c-selects a DP, a case of secondary predication; and the AP projects when the verb s-selects a proposition and c-selects a AP (or the like), a case of what is know as small clause (for Rothstein (2001, a case of

primary predication).

d) Adjunction: adjunction + the distinction of category and segment of a category. This ingredient is an important aspect of the formal description, once it makes the right predictions about the way the s- and c-selection works. Besides that, this kind of adjunction make possible what I am calling "visibility". See (f) below.

If so we can have too more interesting properties:

e) Unification: the semantic relationship found in both predicative and attributive constructions is to be treated as predication. This is an interesting hypothesis to be pursued, since we can derive the differences between predicative and attributive reading as a result of the structural configuration where PS is built: if more embedded in the DP, attributive reading; if adjoined to the DP projection and visible outside, predictive reading, once in this case the AP is visible outside – see (f) below – and free to establish some relations outside the DP – see the trees in (37);

f) Visibility: as sad in (e) above, when a predicate is somewhat visible outside, visible to tense, then we have predicative reading; when a predicate is not visible to tense, then we have the attributive reading, as is illustrated in the trees below:

(37)

AP is visible out of the Structure of Predication	AP is NOT visible out of DP
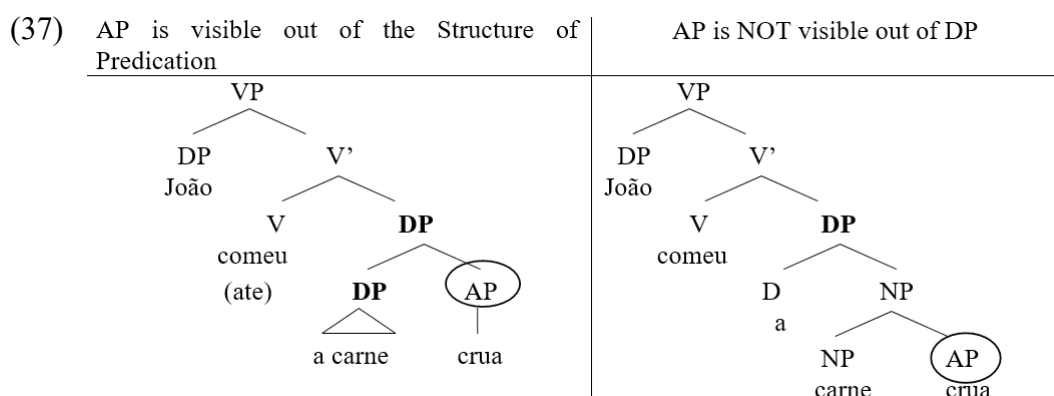
As we can, the APs in the trees above are in different position. The predicative reading is able only if AP is visible to V or T; if it is too embedded (the adjunction is complement of D), it is not visible to V, nor to tense, so we have the attributive reading. This is very interesting and may clarify the semantic difference between attributive and predicative reading (more in CARREIRA (2015)).

Applying this approach to the empirical complexity

If this approach is on the right track, then we are able to describe movements of the PS. Therefore, we can give a solution to the constituency paradox demonstrated in section 4.1, repeated below:

(38) *[esse bife 'mal passado']$_i$ eu até comeria ...t$_i$..., mas [ele cru]$_j$ eu não como ...t$_j$.. 'de jeito nenhum'*

this beef 'rare'   I even 'would eat' but [it raw] I not   eat   'not at all'.
"I could eat this beef rare, but no way I would it eat raw"

This is so because we have the right constituency for movement, as shown in (39). The circle represents the relevant constituent, that is able to be fronted:

(39)
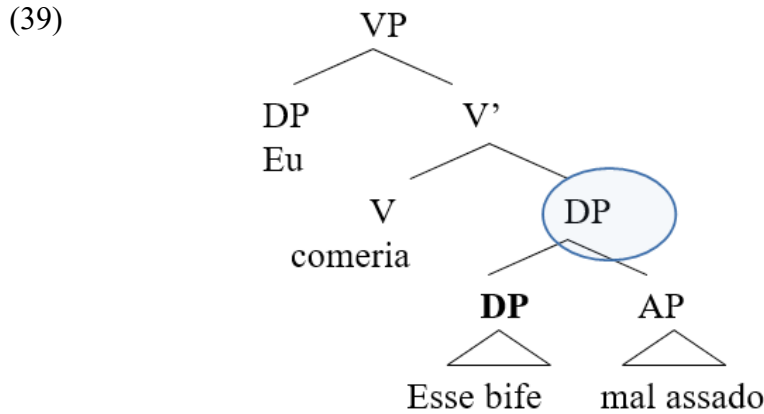
The higher DP is able to move up

The other facts presented can also be accounted for, once this account does not postulate the VP to be a VP adjunct, but to be more embedded, as an adjunct of the DP complement, in the case of secondary predication.

Therefore, the requirement of AP secondary predicate to be **adjacent** to its subject, the cases of VP Ellipsis, the PS of the complement of a prepositions can be trivially handled with this formulation of the syntax of predication. There is no problem for the locality of predication if the PS was put in the complement position of a P, once the local relation is resolved through the predicate being a sister of its subject, in the asymmetrical sisterhood relation resulted from the adjunction and the segment of category distinction plus the right definition of c-command.

**Some nice consequences and some residual questions**

The focus of this research is the predication constructions, mainly secondary predication of the object, the canonical small clauses, some cases of copular constructions etc. However, a good theory is able to give answers to questions that go beyond its initial inquiry.

Accounting of double object constructions, or to give an answer to this classical phenomenon was an interesting result. There has been a long debate on double object constructions, aside from the classical proposal of Larson (1988).

To Double Object Construction was also treated as SC (refer to Hoekstra (1988) and Den Dikken (1995, 2006)). And, interestingly, the formalization presented above may unify both the

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double complementation, and the SC analysis, as we can see in the tree below:

(40)　　*Pedro deu as flores para a　Maria*
　　　　Pedro gave the flowers to　the Maria
　　　　"Pedro gave the flowers to Maria"
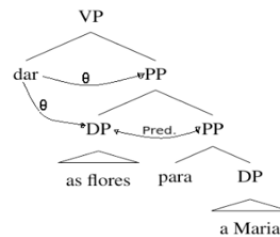
In this tree, the predication relation, as point out by Hoekstra and Den Dikken can occur between DP and PP. However, it is possible for the same structure to accommodate the theta assignment of the internal arguments in a trivial manner, through mutual c-command as represented by the arrows on the tree.

Other interesting cases are the complex copular constructions. They were in the beginning of this investigation during my PhD research, and it was somehow the motivation of the form of this proposal.[14] They are an intriguing set of data that receives an account if this theory is on the right track.

They are sorted in two different types of constructions, as follow: (i) complex copular sentences with secondary predication; and (ii) complex copular sentences with double SC. See the examples (41) and (42):

(41) a. *Maria bêbada é chata*
　　　　Maria drunk is annoying$_{FEM}$
　　　b. *Maria é chata　　bêbada*
　　　　Maria is annoying$_{FEM}$ drunk

(42) a. *Maria bêbada é chato*
　　　　Maria drunk is annoying[$_{no\text{-}gender}$]
　　　b. **Maria é chato　　　bêbada*
　　　　Maria is annoying[$_{no\text{-}gender}$] drunk

This set of data in (41) and (42) presents a real challenge to the theory of grammar, mainly if we consider the meaning and the agreement pattern of each pair, (41)a-b and (42)a-b. In (41) we have two AP, both predicating of the DP "a Maria", and the agreement holds on and is morphologically expressed on "*bêbada*" and on "*chata*", along with the possibility of the DP "*a Maria*" to be adjacent to the AP "*bêbada*" (as in (41)), or separated of it (as in (41)b).

14　This utterances caught my attention, when I was a Ph.D student at UFPR, a reading in the research group (in 2011) formed with Professors Maria José Foltran, Patrícia Araújo Rodrigues, Thais Moreira and me. It was first presented in the XII Workshop on Formal Linguistcs (Rio de Janeiro, 2012). These pieces of data also appeared in Foltran and Rodrigues (2013), Rodrigues e Foltran (2012), Carreira (2015) and has inspired Luana de Conto's Ph.D research (de Conto, 2018).

On the other hand, in (44), there is a different state of affair. The two AP have different semantic values and the agreement pattern is not observed. As pointed out by Foltran and Rodrigues (2013), we have an agreement mismatch, once the AP "*chato*" does not agree with the DP "*a Maria*" (just the AP "*bêbada*" presents gender agreement with the DP "a *Maria*"). On the semantic side, the AP "*chato*" does not predicate of the individual "*a Maria*", but of a situation in which Maria participates (refer to FOLTRAN and RODRIGUES (2013), or de CONTO (2018) for more information on that).

The problem seems to be really intriguing, but I believe that the theory presented here is able to accommodate the facts just presented. Once the structures developed here are minimal, with no resort to functional projection mediating predication, we are able do embed this minimal predicate structure one in the other, and yet rely on its formal relation (c-command, sisterhood, domain ambiguity) to make predication happen. See the trees below.

(43)
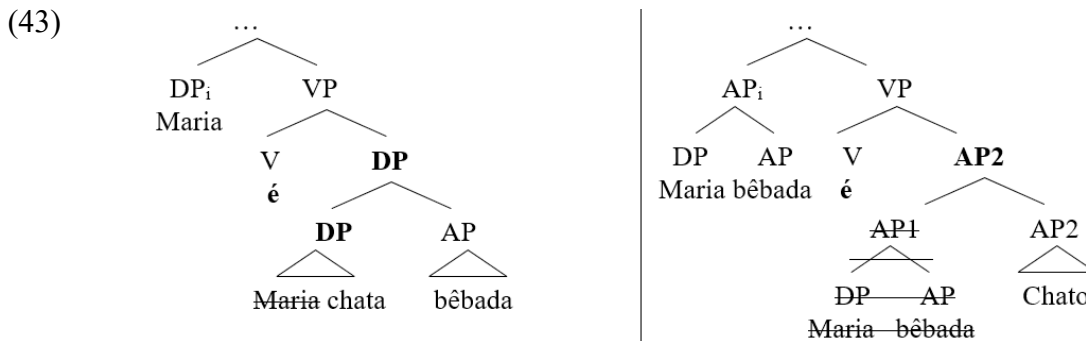
I cannot say I have a solution to the problems of agreement here (more on that on a future paper), but if the projection of the label (hence the ambiguity of projection) plays a role on that, then we may have an interesting way of accommodate the agreement pattern. However, this approach accounts for the pattern of movement and for the predications relation. We say that, in (41), the AP "*chata*" is in a predication relation with an individual (represented by the projection of the DP), because the DP projects and makes it possible to the DP and the AP be in the right relation, as defined before (asymmetrical sisterhood). Contrastively, in (42) the AP "*chata*" is in a predication relation not with an individual, but with a situation (represented by the projection of the AP – something as a small construction, as in Stowell (1981)); in this case, there is no agreement and the predication over an individual is blocked.

The pattern of movement can also be accounted because, as we can see in the trees above, in the case of the constructions with double small clauses, the AP "*chato*" is too high in the structure, and there is no constituent exhaustively dominating "*a Maria*" and "*chato*". One could argue that things would be different if the AP "*chato*" was merged to the DP "*a Maria*", but this would block the agreement between "*a Maria*" and "*bêbada*", if the predicate "*chato*" projects the label, and would force (or make free) the agreement between "*a Maria*" and "*chato*", since they would be sufficiently locally related, in the terms defined in this work.

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Final Remarks

We saw in this paper a summarized version of the Carreira (2015) theory of predication in syntax, dubbed UTP (Unified theory of Predication). This theory showed us that the distinction between the two adjunctions, as a result of the two possibilities of projection, helps us to describe the secondary predication and the small clauses constructions (secondary *vs.* primary predication).

We also saw the attributive and predicative reading is captured through visibility of the AP, depending on how much this constituent is (or is not) embedded in the DP.

The questions posited by the constituency paradox, the VP ellipsis, the adjacency of the subject to the predicate in secondary predicates, the complex copular sentences with secondary predication or with double small clauses are intriguing cases that we have an account with the UTP.

One nice consequence of this approach was having a new answer to the problems of double object constructions, unifying the traditional view with the view of object constructions as an instantiation of small clause structures, *à la* Hoekstra (1988).

Some new researches are taking the minimal and symmetrical structures proposed here, considering the ambiguity of projection and the adjunction as a possibility to account for Tough Constructions (refer to ROSE (2017)).

Further research is still necessary to show this theory can have some new applications. However, there are some residual problems this theory must face. The structures just discussed above are incompatible any version of the LCA (Linear Correspondence Axiom, as in Kayne (1994) or the PM version in Chomsky (1995). Once the system presented in this paper relies on the ambiguity of projection, and so changing the direction of c-command, the LCA will not work for the majority of the structures.

Another issue that I am paying some attention to is related to trying to develop a solution on how can we accommodate agreement in this proposal.

Some attention and some work are also required to the question of formalizing the visibility properties of the predicative reading of the AP (or any other predicative XP). This work would make it possible for us to go ahead on what I have called as the property of unification, in such a way that we could formalize in the same manner the syntax of predicative reading and attributive reading.

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